The revival of the Baroque violin

Mitchell, M.K.

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Preface

The funeral of the harpsichordist/conductor Gustav Leonhardt (1928-2012) was the primary catalyst for this dissertation. Surrounded by many of the early music pioneers, some already in their eighties, I suddenly became aware that time with this generation was limited. Important figures in the early music movement, such as Leonhardt and Nikolaus Harnoncourt (1929-2016), had often been interviewed. The Baroque violinists, lacking the figurehead status of these conductors, seemed to have been overlooked. Would their stories be lost when they were no longer with us? This realization fueled a desire to interview the Baroque violin pioneers, record their stories and examine the instrument's revival through this lens. Mindful of the importance and responsibility of this undertaking, I hoped that my training as a historical musicologist and my profession as a Baroque violinist would give me the tools to do so.

Through these one-on-one interviews - which often stretched over a period of days or months - the individual threads of the Baroque violin revival become clear. Simultaneously, the tapestry I thought I knew began to unravel, as the accepted historiography was shown to be both incomplete and inaccurate. Speaking with museum directors, instrument restorers and makers provided complementary material that confirmed these insights. As players and makers related how they grappled with new ideas, equipment and techniques; the excitement of these mid-twentieth-century experimentations became palpable. The enthusiastic idealism of this time period was also tempered by pragmatism, as these musicians began to turn their passion into a profession.

It has been a honor to speak with these important violinists and to be entrusted with their stories, but it has simultaneously been a struggle to confront the less honorable side of a profession of which I am a member. Even for someone within the field, many of these findings were revelatory, and it required an enormous amount of self-reflection and academic rigor to write this revised history of the Baroque violin revival.

Notes on Terminology

In this dissertation, “early music” will be written without its usual self-aggrandizing capital letters, and the word authenticity will be used without scare quotes. The Baroque violin revival, in conjunction with the whole early music movement, was seriously concerned with concepts of authenticity. While the twenty-first century now views many aspects of this concept as false or misguided, I feel that putting twentieth-century considerations of authenticity inside retroactive quotation marks expresses them incorrectly and out of context.

The terms Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, and modern - when used as adjectives to discuss violins and bows - refer to the style of the equipment and not the date of construction. Therefore, a seventeenth-century violin that had been modernized will be referred to as a modern instrument, and a twentieth-century copy of a seventeenth-century instrument will be labeled a Baroque violin. Likewise, a modern copy of a seventeenth-century bow will be called a Baroque bow. The term pre-Tourte will be used for the plethora of early bow types and models made before the modern bow construction became codified around 1780. If important to the narrative, the date the instrument or bow was made will also be noted. It was often impossible to determine exactly what equipment was being used, so the decision was made to use Baroque violin and Baroque bow as the generic terms throughout this dissertation for a violin in a non-modern state and a pre-Tourte bow. The phrase “period instruments” refers to the use of equipment supposedly appropriate to the time period of the music that is being performed, and this can range from a Renaissance violin to a modern violin with three unwound gut strings. A short description of the differences between early and modern violin construction, what modernization entails and the various styles of bow are given in the Appendix.

Performers of early music often refer to the other classical music community as the “modern world.” This is an illogical comparison, but other binary constructions are equally misleading. Using “traditional classical world” invokes questions about which classical period is meant and implies that the early music world is “untraditional” or “modern,” which might be true, but would certainly be confusing. Since musicians can play early music on modern instruments and modern music on period instruments, these two worlds seem to be primarily defined by the equipment used and not the repertoire that is being performed. However flawed this thinking and terminology might be, the terms “early music” and “modern” to define these two worlds seemed to be the best solution to a complicated problem of nomenclature.

The heart of this dissertation is the Baroque violin pioneers, their experiences and achievements. Even though it became obvious that they were not the first musicians to explore the early violin, I have decided not to enclose their pioneer status in quotation marks. Their remarkable achievements - bringing this instrument back onto the concert stage, codifying and disseminating their ideas of style and technique, and turning this new approach into a profession - make it clear that they deserve the appellation of pioneer with no punctuational apologies.

Quotations from the interviews, which are cited in the bibliography, are not footnoted. All translations are my own, unless stated otherwise.

Acknowledgements

It would have been impossible to write this dissertation without the myriad contributions and support of institutions, professors, colleagues, friends, family members and complete strangers. The many musicians and artisans I interviewed were especially generous, and their honesty and insights challenged many of my pre-conceived ideas about our shared field. Colleagues sent me information they thought would be helpful, people at conferences and music events donated personal reflections and many seemingly non-dissertation-related conversations contributed to this revised history of the Baroque violin revival.

During my travels, people generously offered hospitality, colleagues organized meetings with people whom they thought would be helpful and librarians in various countries cut administrative corners to provide material at very short notice. The University of Amsterdam, the Catharine van Tussenbroek Fonds and the American Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM) provided much appreciated financially support. The generosity of my advisors and other academicians with their time, knowledge and help also must be gratefully acknowledged.

On a personal level, I am extremely indebted to friends who encouraged me to “revisit” musicology, sat through many a try-out lecture, proofread my writing and listened to endless over-excited stories. I would like to specially thank my daughter Elizabeth, who has always supported my efforts and now has a more extensive knowledge of the Baroque violin pioneers than any teenager I know.

Introduction

It was no easy undertaking to revive an instrument that had been altered with such great success throughout the centuries. The revival of the Baroque violin was an amazing retrograde progression back to instruments with earlier fittings and pre-Tourte bows. Obviously, the equipment itself was only a small part of the revival, and it took the enormous efforts of the players themselves to breathe musical life back into the instrument. In the approximately fifty years from the first known appearance of a modern-day Baroque violin to the 1989 *International Baroque Violin Symposium*, the Baroque violin - and the Baroque violinist - made a remarkable comeback.

The myriad threads that contributed to the Baroque violin's revival and the professionalization of this new field had neither been thoroughly nor critically examined. In the current literature quoted throughout this study, all discussions of the Baroque violin revival begin with the players interviewed in this dissertation (with the occasional passing nod to Dolmetsch), but my research determined that they were not the first violinists interested in early music or the historical violin. This new narrative reveals the extensive "back story" of the Baroque violin revival, which has its roots in the nineteenth century and includes a multitude of players and ensembles. Just as a more inclusive view of history now demands that many famous explorers and researchers share the credit for their discoveries with less well-known figures, the Baroque violinists I interviewed must now share the stage with generations of musicians who experimented with historical instruments that were played under the chin.

Even though these musicians were not the first to play the Baroque violin, I never felt that their pioneer status was in question. These musicians were an integral part of the success and professionalization of the early music movement, and their work codified what a twentieth-century Baroque violinist should be. Since it is impossible to know exactly how seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century musicians played the violin, this revival must be seen as a newly-created or "invented tradition"[1] that was authenticated by these exceptional violinists. In this light, it became necessary to examine these musicians' pasts and the influences they had on the aesthetic choices they made. Historical and cultural factors, alongside the pioneers' personal experiences, provided not only a more nuanced look at this particular revival, but a new way to approach the whole early music movement.

Methodologies from both historical and cultural musicology were necessary to explore the Baroque violin revival. Printed source material was drawn from existing literature and archival research, as well as from contemporaneous material such as reviews and LP liner notes. Audio and video material often confirmed or refuted what was said and written, as I could hear (and sometimes see) exactly what the players were doing. Selma Leydesdorff reminds us that "history is not a closed book,"[2] and the use of oral history in this dissertation confirms this. The interviews underscored the "relationship between the official history that is recorded in books and the individual's memory,"[3] and they both

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[1] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983): 4.

[2] Selma Leydesdorff, *De mensen en de woorden: Geschiedenis op basis van verhalen* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff Editie, 2004): 9.

[3] Ibid.

corroborated and contradicted the official history of the early music movement. The semi-structured interviews with the Baroque violinists were the most important source material for this dissertation, but conversations with instrument and string makers, the pioneers' students, instrument restorers, museum experts and heads of music institutions also provided surprising material. When speaking at a conference or teaching a workshop, I was delighted to find that many people approached me and wished to share their stories.

The parameters of this dissertation were determined by the choice of interviewees whom I, and the music world, considered a Baroque violin pioneer.[4] My criterion was simple: I chose violinists who had never had lessons on the Baroque violin, with the assumption that these musicians would be uniquely qualified to discuss their trajectories to this "new" instrument. Within this group, I selected the violinists with the most prominent performing careers and important teaching positions whom I felt were pivotal for the creation of this new profession. The nationalities (or immigrant status) of these violinists confined the geographical scope of this study to Austria, Belgium, The Netherlands, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. Important figures and developments in France and Germany, therefore, are only touched upon. The time frame of this dissertation ends with the *International Baroque Violin Symposium* during the Utrecht Early Music Festival in 1989, a symbolic beginning of the post-revival phase.

The ten Baroque violin pioneers chosen, in birth order, were: Jaap Schröder (1925), Sonya Monosoff (1925), Eduard Melkus (1928), Marie Leonhardt (1928), Alice Harnoncourt (1930), Stanley Ritchie (1935), Simon Standage (1941), Marilyn McDonald (1943), Sigiswald Kuijken (1944), and Catherine Mackintosh (1947). Unfortunately, the German violinist Franzjosef Maier (1925-2014) was no longer living. I planned to organize three interviews with each of these violinists, but this was only possible with a few of these busy musicians. I also tried to experience many of these violinists "in action" and was able to see Schröder, Leonhardt, Harnoncourt, Ritchie and Kuijken in performance or in rehearsal. I was also able to see Ritchie and Kuijken conducting, Ritchie teaching a master class and Melkus hosting a concert in his home and speaking at a conference roundtable discussion. Observing these violinists in a number of different roles provided me with a fuller picture of their musical lives and personalities.

In one of the first interviews, I discovered that Leonhardt did not fit the criterion; she had studied the Baroque violin in the 1940s. This mistake alerted me to the fact that these pioneers were not the first generation interested in the historical violin and to the realization that the early music movement had not always been transparent about its origins. Research revealed a new narrative that began with nineteenth-century violinists playing other historical instruments. Virtually all histories of the early music movement discuss this time period and its fascination with "exotic" instruments,[5] but no one had yet connected these "antiquarians' playthings" with the revival of the Baroque violin.[6]

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[4] Literature (both about the early music revival and the modern violin) names many of these violinists, recordings confirmed their status and conservatory positions consolidated their position as exemplary figures. This choice, of course, excluded many excellent players who did not achieve figurehead positions.

[5] Peter Holman, *Life After Death: the viola da gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013).

[6] Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988): 24.

Historical instruments such as the harpsichord, for example, looked and sounded strikingly different from the piano that players and audiences in the nineteenth century knew so well. The harpsichord, even though viewed as the predecessor of the piano and in need of improvement, was one of the first historical instruments to make a successful comeback. Instruments that had been modernized - such as the violin - followed a different trajectory. The modern violin and bow were seen as the perfectly evolved tools with which to play all repertoire, and violinists saw no problem performing early music on their modern equipment. Nineteenth-century violinists interested in historical instruments appropriated the pardessus de viole - the smallest member of the viol family, historically played between the legs - the unusual five-string quinton and the even more impressive viola d'amore with its array of sympathetic strings. Because violinists did not yet realize that they were playing on a modernized model or because they saw these exotic instruments as predecessors to the violin,[7] this sidestep seemed to be a way for them to become a part of these first performances of early music on historical instruments. Discovering that most of the pioneers also had extensive experience with other historical string instruments before turning their attention to the Baroque violin confirmed my theory that most of these first journeys were not a straight path from the modern to the Baroque violin, but were more circuitous ones.

Much has been written about the early music movement, but there has been nothing written extensively or exclusively about the Baroque violin revival and its pioneers. Harry Haskell's *The Early Music Revival: A History* is an important, but slightly uncritical, overview of the history of the early music movement.[8] Discussions of the movement in specific countries include Jolande van der Klis' *Oude Muziek in Nederland: Het verhaal van de pioniers 1900-1975* (The Netherlands) and Nick Wilson's *The Art of Re-enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (UK).[9] Both books make extensive use of material from interviews, as does Bernard Sherman's *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers*.[10] Austria is discussed in *Alte Musik in Österreich: Forschung und Praxis seit 1800,* edited by Barbara Boisits and Ingeborg Harer,[11] and fifty years of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis in Switzerland is celebrated in two volume of essays.[12] Scholars focussing especially on cultural aspects of the early music movement include Jed Wentz and Kailan Rubinoff, who have been working on The Netherlands, and David Kjar who is studying early music audiences in the United States. All three of these scholars are also performers who have been able to incorporate their insider status into their work.

Critical commentary about the early music movement is in no short supply and is often said to begin with Theodor

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[7] For preconceptions about the quinton, see Myrna Herzog, "Is the Quinton a Viol? A Puzzle Unravelled," *Early Music* vol. 28, no. 1 (Feb., 2000): 8-16+18-24+26+28+30-31.

[8] Henry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988).

[9] Jolande van der Klis, *Oude Muziek in Nederland: Het verhaal van de pioniers 1900-1975* (Utrecht: SOOM, 1991) and Nick Wilson, *The art of re-enchantment: making early music in the modern age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[10] Bernard Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

[11] Barbara Boisits and Ingeborg Harer, ed. *Alte Musik in Österreich: Forschung und Praxis seit 1800* (Vienna: Mille Tre Verlag Robert Schächter, 2009).

[12] Peter Reidemister and Veronika Gutman, *Alte Musik: Praxis und Reflexion* (Winterthur, Amadeus Verlag, 1983) and Veronika Gutman, *Alte Musik: Konzert und Rezeption* (Winterthur, Amadeus Verlag, 1992).

Adorno's biting critique of its "didactic-pedantic character" in 1951.[13] Insider criticism was even more revealing and began as early as the 1970s with Michael Morrow's claim that "this is not authenticity. Authenticity can only mean the real thing; and no modern performance of any music of the past can sustain such a claim…."[14] The gambist Laurence Dreyfus' nod to Adorno with his "Early Music Defended against Its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century" was an even more extensive attack.[15] Bruce Haynes' *The End of Early Music* also questions the movement.[16] Richard Taruskin's criticism, beginning in the early 1980s and culminating in his infamous *Text and Act*,[17] has had the most impact on the early music movement and was especially helpful in supporting the idea that modern-day Baroque violin playing might primarily be a twentieth-century invention.

Histories of instruments do exist, but few discuss the modern-day revival of their earlier forms. One notable exception is *The Oboe,* written by two historical oboists Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes.[18] They devote a whole chapter to the oboe in the avant-garde and early music sectors and discuss how these "two exploratory channels" challenged the traditional classical music world.[19] Haynes also discusses the parallels between the revival of the Baroque violin and the early oboe, two instruments that had a very successful modernized version with which to compete. *The Rebirth of the Baroque Violin* is a memoir by Fred J. Lindeman,[20] one of the first craftspeople to restore modernized violins to their earlier state. Mostly concerned with the equipment, Lindeman's book also includes many honest reflections of the early days of the revival. Lindeman's death in 2017 was a sobering reminder of how important it is to record the stories of these important people while they are still with us.

The Book of the Violin is a fascinating collection of essays that includes chapters by important early music figures such as David Rubio and Nicholas Kenyon, as well as by the movement's staunch critic Hans Keller.[21] Surprisingly, the chapter covering the twentieth century does not mention the Baroque violin revival, but Keller's contribution "Violin Technique: It's Modern Development and Musical Decline" describes his take on the state of affairs in 1984.[22] Curiously, Keller's anti-evolutionary views - the "fallacious belief in progress"[23] - echo those of the early music movement, but he is scathing about "the authenticity boys and girls."[24] His reflections on how violinists played in the 1930s supported the idea that many aspects of the Baroque violin revival appear connected to playing styles of the early

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[13] Theodor W. Adorno,"Bach defended against his devotees" from *Prisms* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995): 144, https://lamusicologia.files.wordpress.com/2009/01/adorno1.pdf, last accessed 20 June 2017.

[14] Michael Morrow "Musical Performance and authenticity,"*Early Music* vol. 6 (1978): 245.

[15] Laurence Dreyfus, "Early Music Defended against Its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century," *The Musical Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (1983): 297-322.

[16] Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[17] Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[18] Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).

[19] Ibid., 267-300.

[20] Fred J. Lindeman, *The Rebirth of the Baroque Violin* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Gopher, 2011).

[21] Dominic Gill, ed. *The Book of the Violin* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984).

[22] Hans Keller, "Violin Technique: Its Modern Development and Musical Decline," in Gill, ed. *The Book of the Violin:* 145-157.

[23] Ibid., 146.

[24] Ibid., 153.

twentieth century. Kolneder's *The Amadeus Book of the Violin,* translated from the German, includes a discussion of the "Bach bow," mentions Sol Babitz's and Eduard Melkus' research and includes Jaap Schröder and Sigiswald Kuijken in his list of "great twentieth-century violinists."[25]

Numerous biographies of prominent musicians from the early music movement include works about Arnold Dolmetsch, Wanda Landowska, Diana Poulton and Isolde Ahlgrimm.[26] Two works in progress about David Munrow (Edward Breen) and Ina Lohr (Anne Smith) are sure to provide fascinating insights into these extremely important early music pioneers, but they also underscore the fact that no biography exists for any of the Baroque violinists. Paul Laird's *The Baroque Cello Revival: An Oral History* would seem to mirror many of the aims of this dissertation, but unfortunately his research field is limited, and his lack of insider insights often makes it difficult for him to judge the extensive material he was able to collect.[27] In contrast, Larry Palmer's *Harpsichord in America: A Twentieth-Century Revival* is slightly hobbled by the author's attempt to distance himself from his insider status.[28] By discussing himself in the third person, Palmer robs the reader of the opportunity to hear his personal experiences and insights about a revival in which he was an active participant.

Works by Arnold Dolmetsch, Robert Haas, Robert Donington and Thurston Dart provide an important overview of performance practice research and information about the early use of the Baroque violin and bow throughout the twentieth century.[29] David D. Boyden's monumental *A History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761* was the culmination of a career predominately devoted to the study of the early violin, its repertoire and technique.[30] Robin Stowell follows in a long line of violinist/musicologists who made important contributions to the historical violin revival, and his *Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* continues where Boyden's work ends.[31] Clive Brown's extensive work on Classical and Romantic performing practice encouraged me to examine the roots of the pioneers' reconstructions,[32] and as yet unpublished work by scholars such as Richard Sutcliffe offer tantalizing glimpses into early twentieth-century violin playing that mirror many of the

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[25] Walter Kolneder, *The Amadeus Book of the Violin* trans. and ed. by Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1998), originally published as *Das Buch der Violine* (Zurich and Mainz: Aatlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1972 and 1993).

[26] Margaret Campbell, *Dolmetsch: the Man and his Work* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975); Thea Abbot, *Diana Poulton: The Lady with the Lute* (Norwich: Smokehouse Press, 2013); Peter Watchorn, *Isolde Ahlgrimm, Vienna and the Early Music Revival* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007) and numerous publications about Wanda Landowska and her work.

[27] Paul Laird, *The Baroque Cello Revival: An Oral History* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004).

[28] Larry Palmer, *Harpsichord in America: A Twentieth-Century Revival* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

[29] Arnold Dolmetsch, *The interpretation of the music of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries: revealed by contemporary evidence* (London: Novello and Co., 1915). corrections by M. Alec Harman (London: Novello and Co. and Oxford University Press, 1946); Robert Haas, *Aufführungspraxis der Musik* (Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931); Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, revised version (London: Faber and Faber, 1975) and Thurston Dart, *The interpretation of music*, 4th ed. (London: Hutchinson, 1967).

[30] David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its origins to 1761* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

[31] Robin Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[32] Clive Brown, "Bowing Styles, Vibrato and Portamento in Nineteenth-Century Violin Playing," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 113, no. 1 (1988): 97-128; *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) and "Performing Corelli in the 19th Century," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* XXXVII 2013 (Winterthur, Amadeus, 2015): 265-287.

techniques the pioneers "re-discovered." Robert Philip's *Early Recordings and Musical Style* and *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* reinforce Brown's and Sutcliffe's findings through his study of historical recordings.[33]

The early music movement, though still only marginally represented, is beginning to be discussed in ethnomusicological literature. Kay Kaufman Shelemay presented one of the first ethnographic studies in "Toward an Ethnomusicology of the Early Music Movement: Thoughts on Bridging Disciplines and Musical Worlds."[34] Laurent Aubert's *The Music of the Other: New Challenges for Ethnomusicolgy in a Global Age* discusses the parallels between early music and traditional music performances.[35] He points out the difficulties of bringing both types of music to the modern world/western stage, as well as the need of both repertoires to claim that their performances are authentic. Beginning with her dissertation in 2006, Kailan Rubinoff's work has ushered in a well-grounded and incisive ethnomusicological approach to a discussion of the early music movement in The Netherlands.[36] The collection of articles in *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* provides exciting new ways of looking at the early music movement.[37] Jonathan Shull's point that "ethnography in the field of Early Music performance presents an opportunity to explore Early Music as a creative living tradition rather than as an inevitable imperfect mirror of lost cultures" had clear resonance for my work.[38]

Ethnomusicological studies, even when not writing about the early music movement, provided the most new insights, especially in its discussions of authenticity and created historical traditions. Bruno Nettl was already writing about the difficulties of discovering the "authentic" in *Traditional Music of the Western Continents* in 1965,[39] just as the early music movement was gaining momentum and well before the movement was able to explore this concept in a critical way. Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimlett and Edward M. Bruner, writing about cultural "tourism," point out that "the issue is…less one of authenticity and more one of authentication: who has the power to represent whom and to determine which representation is authoritative?"[40] It became clear that the pioneers I interviewed were the ones who "authenticated" Baroque violin playing. Marc Pagel, professor and head of the Evolutionary Biology Group at the University of Reading, discussed these types of figures in *Wired for Culture: The Natural History of Human*

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[33] Robert Philip, *Early recordings and musical style: Changing tastes in instrumental performance, 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).

[34] Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "Toward an Ethnomusicology of the Early Music Movement: Thoughts on Bridging Disciplines and Musical Worlds," *Ethnomusicology* 45, no. 1 (Winter, 2001): 1-29.

[35] Laurent Aubert, *The Music of the Other: New Challenges for Ethnomusicolgy in a Global Age* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007).

[36] Kailan Ruth Rubinoff, "The Early Music Movement in the Netherlands: History, Pedagogy and Ethnography." Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta (Canada), 2006.

[37] Jonathon McCollum and David G. Hebert, ed. *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014).

[38] Ibid.

[39] Bruno Nettl, *Traditional Music of the Western Continents* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, History of Music Series, 1965).

[40] Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimlett and Edward M. Bruner, "Tourism," *Folkore, Cultural Performance and Popular Entertainments: a communications-centered handbook* ed. by Richard Bauman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992): 303.

Cooperation.[41] Pagel uses the term "innovator" rather than "authority" to discuss the evolutionary advantage of producing just a few innovators and many copiers, and his theory helps explain how so few Baroque violin pioneers were able to develop and create a new profession.

Ethnomusicolgical examinations of tradition and heritage encouraged me to approach the Baroque violin revival in a new way. Richard Bauman's discussion of tradition as "a selective, interpretative construction, the social and symbolic creation of a connection between aspects of the present and an interpretation of the past"[42] is an idea that can easily be applied to the early music movement, as does Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's statement that "heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past."[43] Eric Hobsbawm, in his introduction to *The Invention of Tradition*, defines the phrase:

> 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.[44]

Hobsbawm's further discussion of "rules" in combination with "tradition" has enormous implications for an analysis of the conventions that became known as Baroque violin playing. The process of "formalization and ritualization" through repetition describes how the early music pioneers were able to codify and disseminate their ideas.[45] While Hobsbawm reflects that these sorts of processes have "not been adequately studied by historians" and outlines the difficulties of assessing sources and techniques,[46] I realized that my insider knowledge of the Baroque violin world provided me with many tools to research the "invented tradition" of my own field. In *Music and Social Movements*, Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison state that "the tradition to which one belongs is often an important source of personal identity…which distinguishes the practitioner… from others,"[47] and it became necessary to examine the parameters that defined a Baroque violinist in the twentieth century. As a Baroque violinist myself, the autoethnographical aspects of my research and conclusions were ever present.

Work on the folk music revival provided many parallels with the early music movement, and *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined* was especially enlightening in its articles that discussed concepts of revival, authenticity, new traditions and divisions within the community.[48] I. Sheldon Posen provided an honest discussion of his own

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[41] Mark Pagel, *Wired for Culture: The Natural History of Human Cooperation* (London: Allen Lane, 2012).

[42] Richard Bauman, "Folklore," *Folkore, Cultural Performance and Popular Entertainments: a communications-centered handbook* ed. by Richard Bauman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992): 32.

[43] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Theorizing Heritage," *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 3 (Autumn1995): 369-70.

[44] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983): 1.

[45] Ibid., 4.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements: mobilizing traditions in the twentieth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 29.

[48] Neil V. Rosenberg, ed. *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

involvement in the folk scene and his realization that his "re-creation" was not the same as the original, but was given its meaning through another context.[49] Burt Feintuch's states that "the term *revival* implies resuscitation, reactivism, and rekindling" and that revivals "are actually musical transformations, a kind of reinvention."[50] Niel van Rosenberg goes a step further and pronounces: "Revivals are artistic movements."[51] *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*[52] brings together twenty-first-century theories on this subject in an inspiring collection of articles, but the early music movement is only discussed in one.[53]

Examining the creation of my own profession was fraught with advantages and pitfalls in equal measure. As a professional Baroque violinist, I considered myself well informed about my own field. My background provided me with a large amount of insider knowledge and a broad range of connections, which facilitated both my ability to organize the interviews and discuss technical matters. For most of the people I interviewed, the fact that I was a Baroque violinist - and not just a musicologist - was a positive attribute. I was also confronted with the limitations of my knowledge and the extent of my prejudices. The early music community and its pioneers often presented an enhanced picture to the outside world, and it was difficult to face and challenge this facade. I not only had to confront my own prejudices, but also the preconceived notions that some of the interviewees had about me.

My background colored my perspective, and I had a personal connection to many of these pioneers. Inspired by a summer workshop with Marilyn McDonald in the United States, I came to The Netherlands in 1982 to study Baroque violin with Jaap Schröder. I observed many of Kuijken's lessons, had chamber music lessons with Marie Leonhardt and also played in her professional group Ensemble Baroque du Mateus. My background as a university-educated American and my extensive experience as a professional Baroque violinist naturally framed my perspective, and I was usually very aware of - but was occasionally surprised by - my biases.

I was fortunately able to forge a connection with every violinist I interviewed - even if initially awkward or strained - which enabled me to concentrate on each person's unique story. The interviewing process did not always follow accepted oral history protocol. Because I knew many of these violinists personally (and the ones I didn't seemed as equally curious about me as I was about them), a number of these interviews took the form of conversations. Fluent in Dutch and English, I was able to converse with most of the pioneers in their own (or adopted) language. Fortunately, the two Austrian pioneers were able to communicate well in English, with the occasional German word or phrase thrown in. If anything, my admiration for these violinists as people and players made it difficult to write anything negative about them, and it has been a struggle to discuss the less honorable sides of a movement of which I have been an active participant. Confronting this shadow side of the revival has been an exercise in self-reflection as well as academic rigor.

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[49] I. Sheldon Posen, "On Folk Festivals and Kitchens: Questions of Authenticity in the Folksong Revival," in Rosenberg, 127-136.

[50] Bert Feintuch, "Musical Revival as Musical Transformation," in Rosenberg, 184.

[51] Neil V. Rosenberg, "Starvation, Serendipity and the Ambivalence of Bluegrass Revivalism," in Rosenberg, 194.

[52] Caroline Bithell and Juniper Hill, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[53] John Haines, "Antiquarian Nostalgia and the Institutionalization of Early Music," in Bithell and Hill, 73-93.

In Chapter One, the plethora of modern and early music ensembles that experimented with historical equipment and performance practice ideals before 1950 demonstrated conclusively that the prevailing history of the Baroque violin revival needed to be rewritten. The mythologizing of the early music icon Arnold Dolmetsch is examined, as well as his less well-known pioneering work on the early violin. The creation of the "Bach bow," a mix of musicological fact and fantasy that brought many of the ideals of the early music movement to the general public, reveals insights into early-twentieth-century attempts to recreate the equipment, technique and sound of the past.

Chapter Two examines the important musicians who are absent or who are slowly disappearing from the accepted history of the Baroque violin revival. These include Kenneth Skeaping, who "saved the day"[54] by continuing Dolmetsch's work in England; the Swiss Walter Kägi, the first Baroque violin professor in the 1930s; and the American Sol Babitz, who fought tirelessly and belligerently for the Baroque violin and performance practice principles. The interviewees' memories were essential in providing information about these seminal figures, and this confirms that the history of this field would be grossly misrepresented if approached as "a closed book."[55]

The interviewed pioneers' early years are the focus of Chapter Three. Their musical backgrounds and modern violin training, as well as their first encounters with early music, provide important insights into the many people, experiences and institutions that influenced them and helped determine what sort of Baroque violinist they became. While a number of these stories sounded almost like prepared scripts, continued questioning often uncovered a more nuanced narrative. Virtually every violinist had some connection to the Franco-Belgian violin school, and it was important to explore this school's possible influence on the revival.

Chapter Four discusses the violinists' journeys from the modern to the Baroque instrument, which were often circuitous ones that mirrored the nineteenth-century violinists' difficulty connecting early music with the historical violin. When the pioneers began to play the Baroque violin, the equipment they used defined how they were seen by the modern music world, as well as within the early music community. The revolutionary retrograde path of their search for more historically-appropriate equipment was in striking contrast to the prevailing belief in the evolution of musical instruments. Violinists who veered from this path risked censure from within the movement, and their commitment to the cause was questioned. The "chin-off debate" not only divided the Baroque violin community, but also raised questions about which tradition was being revived.

The reception and dissemination of the Baroque violin are discussed in Chapter Five. The pioneers' memories of how their early music work was received illustrates the differing reactions of a conservative music world with a younger audience that was more open to these new sounds and musical interpretations. As the Baroque violin became a more established part of the musical landscape, these pioneers disseminated their skill and knowledge through their

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[54] Marco Pallis,"The Rebirth of Early Music," *Early Music* 6, no. 1 (January 1978): 44.

[55] Selma Leydesdorff, *De mensen en de woorden: Geschiedenis op basis van verhalen* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff Editie, 2004): 9.

performances, recordings, teaching and publications. By the 1980s, what had begun for most of these violinists as a sideline, hobby or passion had become a profession.

Chapter Six focuses on two cultural aspects that were important to the revival. The large number of female Baroque violinists and their prominent role in the early music movement deserved examination, and the pioneers' experiences are placed amongst larger gender issues. A chance remark alerted me to the idea that religion was an important marker for how many of the pioneers viewed themselves and their music making. Religious metaphors are found throughout the movement, ranging from "conversion" to the term "revival" itself. The pioneers' feelings about the differences between Protestant and Catholic approaches to the Baroque violin are also explored.

Chapter Seven discusses the state of the Baroque violin in the final decade covered in this dissertation through an examination of changing repertoire, new power configurations, early music in traditional music institutions and differing approaches to authenticity. The *International Baroque Violin Symposium* in 1989 made clear that the Baroque violin had "arrived" and that the codification of what Baroque violin playing should be was now internationally recognized. A final analysis discusses the symposium's solo Bach showcase and how the six violinists were received. The older generation was slowly being supplanted by a younger one, and the symposium is the symbolic beginning of the post-revival period of the Baroque violin.

Chapter One

A Rewritten History

Interest in music of the past and historical instruments was not just a twentieth-century phenomenon, and John Haines notes that "the Western fascination with early music goes back to the sixteenth century and the phenomenon of antiquarianism."[56] For the Baroque violin revival, the foundation of the original Academy of Ancient Music in the early eighteenth century to revive "ancient" music is an important marker, and Peter Holman argues convincingly that at least one early string instrument - the viola da gamba - never really became extinct in Britain.[57] William Weber describes the "great transformation of musical taste" between 1750 and 1875 where "miscellany" programs of mostly contemporaneous music turned into concerts with an "overpowering presence of earlier music."[58] In this climate, it is perhaps no surprise that the first threads in the fabric of the Baroque violin revival were being woven in the nineteenth century.

Musicians interested in early repertoire and historical instruments were especially drawn to the harpsichord, the viola da gamba family and the lute - all instruments that were no longer part of the concert scene at that time. In contrast, the idea of playing on earlier versions of instruments that were still in popular use took longer to appear. It is unclear if this was because of a lack of knowledge or disinterest in the earlier equipment or, more likely, because the modern versions were considered superior. By the mid-nineteenth century most violins no longer existed in their original state and virtually all early bows had been replaced by the new Tourte model (see Appendix). The idea that the violin and bow had developed into their most perfect form was already firmly in place and, even when the terminology changed to "evolution" in the early twentieth century, the concept remained the same. For example, the first edition of the Grove's *Dictionary* discusses the violin in terms of its "development;"[59] the same author in the 1910 edition states that the "general principle underlying the whole history of musical instruments…may be stated as the 'survival of the loudest.'"[60] Christopher Wiley describes the use of evolutionary terms in the British *Master Musician Series* (1899-1906) and demonstrates how this new theory had an enormous impact on how musicians, instruments and music were viewed at the beginning of the twentieth century.[61] The Baroque violin and bow suffered from the negative stigma of being considered less evolved, while unusual and exotic instruments - which had no modern counterpart - were often freed from such comparisons.

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[56] John Haines, "Antiquarian Nostalgia and the Institutionalization of Early Music," in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 74.

[57] Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013).

[58] William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 3.

[59] Edward John Payne, "Violin," in *Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. George Grove (London:Macmillan and Co., 1890). http://hz.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/2/24/IMSLP96329-PMLP192599-A_Dictionary_of_music_and_musicians_v4_1890_Stanford.pdf, last accessed 2 November 2017.

[60] Edward John Payne, "Violin Family," in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910): V: 290.

[61] Christopher Wiley, "Musical Biography as a National and Transnational Genre," paper given at the University of Amsterdam, 26 January 2018.

While keyboardists were experimenting with the harpsichord and cellists with the gamba in the nineteenth century, violinists and viola players interested in historical instruments began to explore early string instruments that could be played under the chin such as the viola d'amore, quinton and pardessus de viole (which historically should be played between the legs). These instruments were often neither in historically-accurate condition nor appropriate for the music they were used to play,[62] but early music ensembles featuring these instruments became increasingly popular throughout Europe and the United States. Creating an "old world" atmosphere, often by wearing costumes, and exploring new timbres seemed to be more important than twentieth-century considerations of historical accuracy.

The repertoire for the violin was also thought to have evolved, and many early works - except those by a few Baroque composers such as Corelli, Handel and Bach - were inaccessible to the average violinist in the first half of the nineteenth century. The increasing availability of musicological and practical editions made a wider range of early repertoire accessible, but the idea that this music should be played on the style of instrument and bow for which it was originally written did not appear until the twentieth century.

1720s-1900

Though it might seem odd to discuss the concept of "early music" in the eighteenth century, it is important to note that "repertoires of old works coalesced during the 1720s and 1730s in both England and France."[63] At a time period when most performed works were newly composed, this was a striking change in concert programming. Weber claims, in his examination of a 1746 program by the Academy of Ancient Music consisting almost exclusively of works by composers no longer living, that it "demonstrates a specialized wide-ranging repertory such as could be heard nowhere else in Europe until the early nineteenth century."[64] In France, the already canonic works of Lully were reprised almost a hundred years after his death. In contrast, little old music was found in public concerts in the German states or Hapsburg Empire until around 1770. Given this state of affairs, it is perhaps no surprise that England and France were at the forefront of the early music revival in the beginning of the nineteenth century. It must be noted that these performances of earlier repertoire, unlike later efforts, were played on contemporaneous instruments and not historical ones.

The work of the Belgian François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871) in France was extremely important for the early music revival. Already in the late 1820s, Fétis was leading Parisian music critics in a campaign to "establish an 'aesthetic of reception' that would help listeners to appreciate music of the past,"[65] even though this seemed to be as much a movement *against* commercial music as *for* early music. In 1832, Fétis organized a series of 'historical concerts" with lectures at the Paris Conservatory that were "carefully organized around themes…but often marred by inadequate

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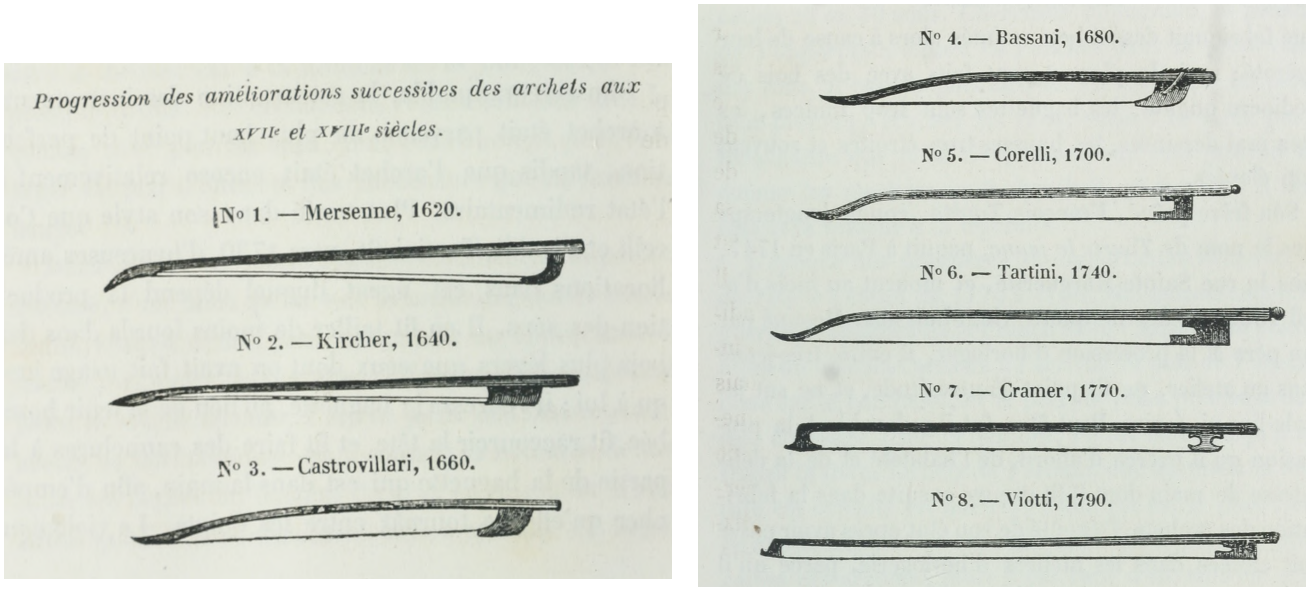
[62] August Tolbecque quoted in Holman, *Life after Death*, 309.

[63] William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, 66.

[64] Ibid., 69.

[65] Ibid., 119.

performances."[66] Fétis' use of historical instruments for these concerts was something strikingly new, and his promotion of the violon français (the five-stringed quinton) and the viola d'amore is the first mention of historical instruments being played by violinists or viola players. Fetis' historical instruments were rumored to have been modernized or altered, and the changes to the pardessus de viole were presumably done so that a violinist could play this instrument under the chin.[67] It is unclear if it was these exotic instruments that kindled violinists' interest in early music and historical instruments or if it was the players' curiosity that led them there.



1.1 François-Joseph Fétis
"Progression of the successive improvements of bows in the 17th and 18th centuries"

When Fétis returned to Belgium and became the first director of the Brussels Conservatory (1833 -1871), he brought his early music interests back with him and began producing historical concerts in 1839. In 1856, Fétis published *Stradivari, luthier célèbre connu sous le nom de Stradivarius: précédé de reherches*, which discusses the famous luthier Stradivarius, gives examples of bowed instruments from other cultures and outlines the history of the violin and bow as seen at that time (Illustration 1.1).[68] Although neither his historical concerts were considered exemplary nor his writing always completely accurate, Fétis' insistence of the importance of early music and historical instruments is an important marker for the Baroque violin revival.

The success of Fétis' concerts spawned a number of imitators, and a group of "ancient instruments" wass presented in a Concert of Ancient Music in London on 17 April 1845.[69] The program stated that two pieces were to be "performed on

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[66] Katharine Ellis, "François-Joseph Fétis," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09564pg1#S09564.1, last accessed 30 May 2017.

[67] August Tolbecque quoted in Peter Holman *Life after Death*, 309.

[68] François Joseph Fétis, *Stradivari, luthier cél`ebre connu sous le nom d Stradivarius: précédé de reherches…*(Paris: Vuillaume, 1856), https://archive.org/details/antoinestradiva00ftgoog, last accessed 30 May 2017.

[69] More detail about this concert can be found in "The 1845 Concert," in Holman, *Life after Death*, 312-317 and in Holman, "Early Music in Victorian England: The Case of the 1845 Concert," *Ad Parnassum* vol. 4, no. 5 (October 2006).

the same description of ancient instruments as those for which it was composed."[70] Fétis provided the "ancient instruments," and a footnote in the program states that "most of them, together with the music, have been kindly forwarded to England by M. Fétis, of the Conservatoire Royale, Brussels, for the present Concert."[71] Even though Fétis was known to have perpetrated a number of forgeries and the authorship of these pieces is suspect, this concert is still an important event for its use of "ancient instruments" to play music for which "it was composed" in London.

Holman states that this concert "did not lead to a wholesale revival of old instruments" in nineteenth-century England, but does feel that it helped form the "ideology that propelled and sustained the early music movement throughout the twentieth century."[72] This interest in early instruments and music was also encouraged by the Berlin-born Carl Zoeller (1840-1889), who came to England in 1873. Zoeller collected historical instruments, researched old music and books, and wrote pieces and a method for the viola d'amore.[73] The German violist Walter Voigtlander (1859-1933) also played the viola d'amore and brought his enthusiasm for the instrument to the United States when he immigrated there in 1885. Voigtlander played the viola d'amore with the Detroit Philharmonic Club String Quartet and performed two solos on this instrument at Carnegie Hall in 1903. A review in the *New York Times* writes that Voigtlander "is making an interesting attempt to revive the use of the charming and almost obsolete instrument with the sympathetic strings and the strange sweet tone."[74] Voigtlander, whose collection of music is now housed at the New York Public Library,[75] made many transcriptions and arrangements for the viola d'amore and wrote two pedagogical works for the instrument. Harry Dank's history of the viola d'amore gives many nineteenth-century examples of its use in France and describes method books for the instrument from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.[76] With the repertoire for the viola d'amore extending from ca. 1700 to the present, it can be argued that this historical instrument didn't need a revival because it "never really went away."[77]

By the second half of the nineteenth century, conservatories in Belgium and France had amassed collections of historical instruments, music and treatises. Fétis had a particular impressive collection, which included the extensive music library of Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphal (1756-1825). After Fétis' death, the Brussels Conservatory bought his library (containing 7,325 items in 1877) to add to its holdings.[78] The Belgian government acquired Fétis' instruments in 1872 and housed these at the conservatory. Victor-Charles Mahillon (1841-1924), the first curator, helped build up the

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[70] Holman, *Life after Death,* 313.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid., 317.

[73] Ibid., 323-4.

[74] "The Kaltenborn Quartet: Third and Last of the Series of Chamber Concerts This Season," *New York Times*, 11 March 1903.

[75] Walter Voigtlander collection of viola d'amore music, ca. 1890-ca.1930, http://browse.nypl.org/iii/encore/record/C__Rb18215490?lang=eng, last accessed 31 May 2017.

[76] Harry Danks, *The Viola d'Amore* (Halesowen: Bois de Boulogne, 1976).

[77] Carlos María Solar, "Viola d'amore Congress," *Early Music* 40, vol. 3 (2012): 543.

[78] Johan Eeckeloo, "François-Joseph Fétis and the Brussels Conservatory Library," *Revue Belge De Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift Voor Muziekwetenschap* 62 (2008): 135-46.

collection, and it contained over 3,000 original music instruments by 1924.[79] Non-modernized violins are found in the catalogue, but I have found no mention of these instruments being played. This extensive collection of music, treatises and historical instruments at the Brussels Conservatory made it possible for students and teachers to explore any early music interests they might have.

The Belgian musicologist and composer François-Auguste Gevaert (1828-1908) followed Fétis as director of the Brussels Conservatory and, like his predecessor, began a series of concerts of "authentic instruments" in 1879. Gevaert's *Histoire et Théorie de la Musique de l'Antiquité* from 1875, primarily a discussion about very early music and theory, made clear that he felt that music of the past was an important subject to study.[80] The conservatory's influence on one of the most important early music icons during Gevaert's time is discussed later in this chapter under the heading "Arnold Dolmetsch."

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Paris Conservatory offered music historical studies and Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray began producing lecture recitals of early music in 1878.[81] The conservatory's collection of instruments - including "booty from the Revolution," "a second load from Versailles"[82] and more than 300 items from Louis Clapisson's collection - opened as the *Musée Instrumental of the Conservatoire* in 1864.[83] Three Paris Conservatory teachers began playing on historical instruments from the collection in the 1880s. Louis van Waefelghem (viola d'amore), Louis Diémer (harpsichord) and Jules Delsart (viola da gamba) gave concerts throughout the 1880s, including a performance at the 1889 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris. Joined by a hurdy gurdy player and calling themselves the *Société des Instruments Anciens*, this ensemble toured France, Belgium, England and Switzerland in the 1890s (Illustration 1.2). A violinist and viola player, Van Waefelghem (1840-1908) devoted himself to a full-time study of the viola d'amore in 1895 and - even though the instrument had never disappeared - "his efforts as performer, music historian and editor account in part for the revival of the viola d'amore in the early twentieth century."[84]

1.2 *Société des Instruments Anciens* (1897)

[79] "MIM: musical instruments museum," http://www.mim.be/history, last accessed 8 June 2018.

[80] Fr. Aug. Gevaert, *Histoire et Théorie de la Musique de l'Antiquité* (Gent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1875). http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k504010f/f3.image, last accessed 30 May 2017.

[81] D. Kern Holoman, "The Paris Conservatoire in the Nineteenth Century," *Oxford Handbooks Online*, http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935321.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935321-e-114, last accessed 29 June 2018.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] "Louis van Waefelghem," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29757?q=louis+van+waefelghem&search=quick&source=omo_gmo&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit, last accessed 30 May 2017.

Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, scholarly editions such as the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe* (1851), the *Händel-Gesellschaft* (1856), the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (1884), and the *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunt Denkmäler* (1892) made an enormous amount of new music (and well-known works in more historically-accurate editions) available. Certainly musicologically important and interesting for the more academically-interested performer, it would seem more likely that performing editions would have made more of an impression on the average violinist. This is disproved by Clive Brown's research into of an amazing array of nineteenth-century performances of Corelli, even though performing editions had "dwindled to a trickle" in this same time period.[85]

Arnold Dolmetsch (1858-1940) and the Baroque Violin

Arnold Dolmetsch, considered the most iconic figure in virtually all accounts of the early music movement, straddled the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Born in France and living for a time in Belgium and the USA, Dolmetsch was intrinsically intertwined with the early music revival in Great Britain. He worked as an instrument maker, restorer, performer, and researcher; and his passionate commitment to promoting forgotten music and historical instruments made him a seminal figure in the early music movement. Dolmetsch's multi-faceted accomplishments are often discussed, but Dolmetsch the violinist and his diverse contributions to the Baroque violin revival had not yet been specifically analyzed.

In many ways, Dolmetsch is an important figure only in the early music world's retrospective regard for his work. Dolmetsch created his own world apart from the musical establishment, and he was no avuncular figure interested in building bridges between the two. His atmospheric concerts - marked by unusual clothing, exotic instruments and unknown music - were incredibly successful, but often marred by ill-prepared and amateurish performances. Dolmetsch must have seemed like a slightly mad eccentric and not, as seen today, as the visionary spokesperson for a future musical movement. Much writing about Dolmetsch is colored by the early music movement's retrospective perception of him, as well as the desire to make Dolmetsch more of a singular figure "untouched by outside influences" than he was. It is a struggle to separate reality from the myth, especially in Margaret Campbell's biography and the writings of his most devoted disciple Robert Donington (1907-1990). Mabel Dolmetsch's recollections of her husband are also subjective, but her descriptions seems to provide a less carefully crafted description of Dolmetsch. His lute student Diana Poulton provides one of the few negative depictions of the man.[86]

The first account of Dolmetsch was written by his student Donington in 1932 while Dolmetsch was still alive, and it is likely that this was approved by Dolmetsch. This pamphlet accompanied a letter from the Dolmetsch Foundation asking for money and was essentially an advertisement for the foundation and its work. Donington's first-hand knowledge of Dometsch gives his readers a fascinating insider's view of the man and his many activities, and he describes Dolmetsch's work as an effort to "recreate the broken tradition of the music and recapture the whole style and spirit of

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[85] Clive Brown, "Performing Corelli in the 19th Century." *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* XXXVII 2013 (Winterthur, Amadeus, 2015): 269.

[86] Diana Poulton, "The Lute and I," *The Lute* 33 (1993) and Thea Abbott, *Diana Poulton: The Lady with the Lute* (Norwich: Smokehouse Press, 2013).

its interpretation."[87]

Donington writes as extensively about the violin as the viol in this pamphlet. Donington states: "As a result of some most important researches and experiments, the fittings of the Dolmetsch violins and of violins restored by him depart appreciably from recent traditions, and approach closely the original principles of the old violin-makers."[88] In a footnote, Donington describes the modern fittings that were fueled by the "desire for a greater volume. But it is questionable whether any gain in musical telling power has resulted, sufficient to set against the loss in warmth and purity of tone."[89] In the main text, Donington states Dolmetsch's views in great detail. Donington describes the flatter bridge of the old violin and states, incorrectly, that the violinist "can if he wishes play firmly and smoothly on three strings at once,"[90] in a possible counter-argument to the spurious "Bach bow," a modern invention (see p. 50, "The 'Bach Bow'"). He outlines Dolmetsch's approach to the historical violin bow:

> Dolmetsch considers that the principle of the original, out-curved bow was in fact the right one, and he thinks also that in the modern violin bow the increase of the length - in itself an advantage up to the point where the arm can stretch no further - has been carried rather too far, because it has been obtained at too great a price in unwieldiness and in loss of strength. Moreover even for long singing notes, the extra length of the modern bow is not all gain, for it is necessary to keep it moving a little faster; the out curved bow bites the string a little more crisply, and goes further in proportion to its length.
>
> With these facts in mind, Dolmetsch has been able, after many experiments, to evolve an out-curved violin bow longer than some old violin bows but a little shorter than the modern bow, and fluted so as to reduct the weight without lessening the strength, which has proved successful not only for music down to and including Bach, but also for Haydn, Beethoven or Brahms. It appears that this bow may represent the optimum combination of delicacy, length and strength.[91]

According to Donington, Dolmetsch had developed an "improved" bow by creating a hybrid that would work well for seventeenth-century music as well as for Brahms. It is unclear what drove Dolmetsch to create this bow, but it sounds similar to his motivation to "improve" the jack system for the harpsichord. As later accounts of Dolmetsch the visionary begin to appear, Donington's pamphlet provides a rare view of Dolmetsch's ideas and activities that do not conform to the ideals of the early music movement in the second half of the the twentieth century.

Dolmetsch's biographer Margaret Campbell helped create and solidify the myth of this important pioneer in *Dolmetsch:*

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[87] Robert Donington, *The Work and Ideas of Arnold Dolmetsch: The Renaissance of Early Music* (Haslemere: The Dolmetsch Foundation, 1932): 7.

[88] Ibid., 12.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid., 13.

[91] Ibid.

the Man and his Work.[92] Campbell was indebted to his family's help in her research and is very sympathetic to Dolmetsch, and Donington states that she is "warmly on [her subject's] side."[93] Donington goes on to add that the early music movement "pretty much began, as such movements must, in a single man's visionary initiative,"[94] confirming Campbell's conclusions if not condoning her methods.

Campbell relates how Dolmetsch began playing the violin as a young boy when he "came across an old violin in the loft, but could find nothing better than a double-bass bow with which to try his skill."[95] A footnote relates that this violin was "later known to be a converted treble viol."[96] The idea that this early music pioneer actually started playing "violin" on a viol with a gamba-like double-bass bow sets the stage for a fairy-tale story that intimates that all that followed was predestined and meant to be. Dolmetsch's violin teacher, "an impoverished gipsy [sic] violinist,"[97] would perform tricks for his student if he was allowed to hide behind a screen. Campbell writes:

> The sound which came forth was more like that of a string quartet than a solo instrument. Arnold was curious beyond endurance and crept up to look through one of the slits in the silk cover. He saw the man undo the frog of the bow and weave the hair through the strings so that when he rescrewed the frog and bowed, all the strings were being played together: in fact, by deft stopping he could play almost any combination of notes with a single stroke.[98]

This gypsy violinist sounds as if he is using the same sort of techniques that the later "Bach bow" enthusiasts first tried before inventing their modern bow contraption to play three or four strings at once. Many Baroque violin pioneers looked to "folk fiddlers" for a connection to earlier playing techniques, but - in this case - it appears as if Dolmetsch's biographer wanted to stress that his teacher had violinistic tricks, but no traditional training. This contributes to a picture of Dolmetsch as an "outsider" who was - at least at first - unspoiled by the conservatory-trained modern world, which is an image that a number of early music pioneers were eager to cultivate.

In 1879, Dolmetsch moved to Belgium and began private violin lessons with the virtuoso Henri Vieuxtemps (1820-1881), an important violinist within the traditional musical establishment. The fact that Dolmetsch studied with Jean-Baptiste Colyns (1834-1902) at the Brussels Conservatory is never mentioned, and I only discovered this when a colleague at the conservatory library showed me Dolmetsch's student card.[99] Dolmetsch related nothing about these lessons, but it is important to note that this conservatory's directors had a strong interest in early music and the institute had amassed an important collection of early music, treatises and historical instruments. Colyns played in early music

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[92] Margaret Campbell, *Dolmetsch: the Man and his Work* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975).

[93] Ibid., ix.

[94] Ibid., x.

[95] Ibid., 3.

[96] Ibid., 13.

[97] Ibid., 3.

[98] Ibid., 4.

[99] With special thanks to Richard Sutcliffe at the Brussels Conservatory Library.

concerts at the conservatory and made an edition (with Gevaert) of six of Handel's violin sonatas ca. 1890.[100] Colyns' editorial markings represent nineteenth-century violin aesthetics with its use of upper positions and added bowings, but the fact that he found these works worth editing shows an interest in this repertoire. Dolmetsch only mentions that he attended a "Concert Historique" at the Conservatory in Brussels on 23 December 1879, which included early repertoire played on a number of different keyboard instruments, a treble viol and a viola da gamba. Campbell relates that Dolmetsch "was greatly impressed by the music he heard, but he also remembered sensing instinctively that 'something was not quite right.'"[101] If this is true or not is impossible to ascertain, but Campbell's statement implies that Dolmetsch had an inborn feeling for early music and what was "right."

During his time at the conservatory, Dolmetsch met Louis van Waefelghem, a "fellow student and close friend" who "was a fine performer on the viola d'amore."[102] According to Campbell, Dolmetsch often borrowed Van Waefelghem's instrument and it was Van Waefelghem who suggested that they take some of the instruments from the Conservatory collection and form a group (Illustration 1.3). Dolmetsch is said to have "welcomed the proposal and helped to round up a number of similar enthusiasts,"[103] but nothing more is written of Van Waefelghem's initiative. The number of violinists playing the viola d'amore, the amount of historical instruments available, the historical treatise and multitude of works for the instrument in the library's collection point to a vibrant interest in the viola d'amore at the Brussels conservatory.[104]

1.3 Louis van Waefelghem and the viola d'amore

Unfortunately, the need to underscore Dolmetsch's place in history results in the neglect or deprecation of other important pioneering efforts. Campbell doesn't discuss the Brussels Conservatory's extensive history of interest in early music, gives only a cursory glance to the important French ensemble *Société des Instruments Anciens (*which included Van Waefelghem) and only discusses the ensemble's extremely successful concert in London in 1895 because the review mentions Dolmetsch. Other sources occasionally mention Van Waefelghem as Dolmetsch's pupil rather than his colleague, further diminishing his important work and reputation. Dolmetsch's own view is perhaps better reflected in his wife's memoirs, which mentions "dear old Van Waefelghem (the pioneer reviver of the viola d'amore)."[105]

Dolmetsch continued his violin training at the Royal College of Music in London with Henry Holmes (1839-1905), who

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[100] G. F. Händel, *6 Sonaten,* ed. Jean-Baptiste Colyns (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1890), http://imslp.org/wiki/Sonatas_for_an_Accompanied_Solo_Instrument%2C_Op.1_(Handel%2C_George_Frideric), last accessed 21 April 2018.

[101] Campbell, 9.

[102] Ibid., 12.

[103] Ibid.

[104] With thanks to Richard Suttcliffe for discussing this in detail and showing me the material in the Brussels Conservatory library.

[105] Mabel Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957/8): 31.

had earned the praise of violinists such as Louis Spohr (1784-1859), Charles August de Bériot (1802-1870) and Hubert Léonard (1819-1890).[106] When Dolmetsch became assistant violin master at Dulwich College in 1887, Campbell relates that he taught the beginners by "placing frets on the fingerboard, as recommended by Playford" and introduced his students to Elizabethan music, Purcell, Corelli, and lesser-known work of Handel.[107] Mabel Dolmetsch describes how her husband taught the beginners of two schools run by Margaret Kemp and Mrs. Fish in 1918-19, and it sounds as if Dolmetsch used these young students as early music guinea pigs:

> In the initial stages of both of these school orchestras Arnold had made the children begin by holding their violins and violas downwards like viols, to avoid any strain. Then, when they had acquired an easy fluency, they were taught to hold them over the arm and the frets were gradually removed. This method answered admirably.[108]

There was already considerable interest in early music and the viola da gamba in the UK in the nineteenth century, and Holman argues that William Alexander Barrett (1834-1891) might have put together the first consort of viols in his concert of "Old fashioned musick" on 25 November 1887.[109] It is unclear if Dolmetsch was aware of these activities, but he was certainly becoming increasing interested in early music and historical instruments at this same time. A review of one of Dolmetsch's concerts, where he often spoke at great length, gives the impression that Dolmetsch was already promoting himself well and proclaiming a preference for the viol family over the violin in 1892. It states: "Mr. Dolmetsch may be said to have reinvented the viols, rediscovered the art of playing them, and rescued from oblivion the music written for them - all of which things had disappeared before the noisy and aggressive violin…"[110]

1.4 Dolmetsch playing the viola d'amore, 1910

Campbell claimed that Dolmetsch's "first love [was], the violin, his second, the viola d'amore, and then the instrument for when he had developed an insatiable passion - the lute."[111] Given this, it is surprising that, though there are occasional mentions of violins being used in Dolmetsch's early concerts, much more attention is given to his revival of the viola d'amore, instruments of the viol family, the harpsichord and the lute than to the historical violin (Illustration 1.4). Accusations of poor violin technique could have contributed to Dolmetsch's infatuation with

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[106] W. H. Husk and Albert Mell, "Holmes, Alfred" and "Holmes, Henry" in *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* vol. 8 (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1980): 655, 657.

[107] Mabel Dolmetsch, 17.

[108] Ibid., 135.

[109] Holman, 333.

[110] Ibid., 48, quoting *St. James's Gazette,* 25 April 1892.

[111] Campbell. 86.

instruments that few other people played. Reviews such as this by John Runciman would not have encouraged Dolmetsch to continue performing on the violin when there were so many other tasks he wanted to tackle: "The great violin sonata in A, long romped through by Sarasate, was played by Mr. Dolmetsch with expression enough, but with technique so lame and stiff as to show that Mr. Dolmetsch needs practice."[112] It is also possible that Dolmetsch was becoming enamored of other early string instruments that could be played under the chin. A photograph of "a corner of Arnold Dolmetsch's music room at 7 Bayley Street," where Dolmetsch lived from 1897-1900, shows a quinton and a viola d'amore hanging on the wall.[113] This photograph predates any mention of Dolmetsch playing the Baroque violin, so it is very possible that he also followed a circuitous path from the modern to the Baroque instrument. Occasional violin performances are mentioned or preserved in photographs (Illustration 1.5). A concert program from 22 June 1904 shows that Dolmetsch was still an active performer on the violin in this all-German program included works by Rupert Ignaz Mayr, Johann Jakob Walther, Telemann, and Bach.[114] It is not clear what sort of violin and bow Dolmetsch is using, but the program was exceptional for including then little-known composers such as Mayr and Walther.

1.5 Arnold Dolmetsch with a violin, 1905

In 1915, Dolmetsch published his *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries Revealed by Contemporary Evidence*. Almost fifty years later, Donington still considered it "a pioneer work, revolutionary in its day, and of enduring value, provided that allowance is made for some considerable inaccuracy in the quotations, translation, *etc*. Errors of substance are remarkably few."[115] This endorsement is missing in the revised edition of Donington's book, making one wonder if the student judged his teacher in a different light as time progressed. After more than a hundred years, it is no surprise that aspects of Dolmetsch's book have not withstood the test of time, but Dolmetsch's uncanny ability to outline so many of the precepts of the future early music movement must still be considered visionary. The final clause in the title, proclaiming that how to play early music could be "revealed by contemporary evidence," was a revolutionary thought in an age in which interpretation was felt to be intertwined with tradition rather than academic study.

In *The Interpretation of Music*, Dolmetsch writes that once earlier music was considered "merely old-fashioned" and

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[112] Ibid., 111.

[113] Mabel Dolmetsch, Illustration V.

[114] Mandy MacDonald, "Arnold Dolmetsch, a Bach double harpsichord concerto and the genesis of the early dance revival," *Semibrevity: A blog about early music pioneers*. http://www.semibrevity.com/2016/10/arnold-dolmetsch-a-bach-double-harpsichord-concerto-and-the-genesis-of-the-early-dance-revival/, last accessed 20 May 2018.

[115] Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963): 549.

that the "attention of musicians was so completely withdrawn from this 'Old Music' that no tradition of it survived."[116] To recreate this music well, Dolmetsch states that one needs "reliable information [that] is to be found only in those books of instruction which the old musicians wrote about their own art."[117] Dolmetsch is also adamant about the passionate power of the early repertoire and is intent to "show how erroneous is the idea, still entertained by some, that expression is a modern thing, and that the old music requires nothing beyond mechanical precision."[118] He ends by denouncing the present state of many modern editions and pleads for a more accurate representation of the original score for performers, closing with "we can no longer allow anyone to stand between us and the composer."[119]

Dolmetsch writes briefly about the violin family, but the three pages devoted to them seem paltry compared to the nine pages he devotes to the viols. He discusses the fact that old violins "must be altered before they are considered fit for modern requirements" and gives a short description of what this entails.[120] His adjectives make his preference for the original clear: "Whether these changes increase the amount of pure tone available is doubtful, but the violin thus treated has become more gritty, more assertive, more capable of holding its own against its aggressive neighbours."[121] Dolmetsch's description of the early bow is rather simplistic, but he did recognize that "the radical changes undergone by the bow…had even more important results, musically, than the alteration of the violin."[122] He goes on to describe that "after considerable experience in playing with the old bow, [he] has no hesitation in pronouncing it preferable to the modern bow for playing the old violin music."[123] The necessity of using historically-correct instruments for early repertoire, unequivocally stated by Dolmetsch, became one of the cornerstones of the early music movement. Curiously, Dolmetsch did not see his "improvements" to historical instruments as contradictory to this idea.

Dolmetsch was interested in bringing early music not only to concert goers, but also to performing musicians, and his editions began making an appearance in the late nineteenth century. Violinist were able to buy a volume at the local music shop from the series *Novello's albums for violin and pianoforte,* and these editions provided little known early repertoire that was edited to produce a musical realization of these works. This series included Dolmetsch's editions of Corelli's *Opus V,* Handel's *Opus 1*, *Fourteen pieces for the violin*, and Dolmetsch's own *Twelve easy pieces*. A review of the Corelli trio sonatas from 1890 states that the Corelli solo sonatas, "which have already appeared have exercised no little influence in reviving an interest in old violin music, which the present book will doubtless augment."[124] This edition included a "pianoforte accompaniment (constructed upon the original figured bass), marks of expression,

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[116] Dolmetsch, vi.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid., vii.

[119] Ibid., 471.

[120] Ibid., 454.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid., 455.

[124] Review of Arcangelo Corelli, *Six Trios for two violins and violoncello, or pianoforte; or as quartets, with violoncello and pianoforte, Corelli* (Opus 1 and 2), *The Musical Times* (1 June 1890): 363.

bowing, and fingering, by Arnold Dolmetsch" and were considered "capitally arranged."[125] To a present-day early musician, the violin parts display a shocking array of additions by Dolmetsch that include bowings, articulations, dynamics, tempo markings, as well as Italian expressive and technical suggestions such as *delicatissimo, mezza voce espressivo* and *punta d'arco*. These editions were designed to provide the non-specialist musician with not only the music, but also Dolmetsch's interpretations of them. Ironically, if Dolmetsch had presented these works according to more urtext ideals (with no one standing "between us and the composer"),[126] the resulting performances would have most likely reflected the contemporaneous belief that "expression is a modern thing, and that the old music requires nothing beyond mechanical precision."[127]

Dolmetsch's attempts to put his theories into practice and shock the establishment produced mixed results. In retrospect, Dolmetsch's use of a historical violin to play Bach with a modern orchestra was a foolhardy venture. Henri Verbrugghen, the Belgian conductor of the Bach-Beethoven-Brahms Festival at Queen's Hall in 1915 must have initiated the idea or agreed to the plan. Dolmestch implies that this was his idea and wrote Ernest Newman on 15 April 1915: "Then I play the solo part of the Concerto in F [Bach's First Brandenburg Concerto], on a real *Violino Piccolo*… as we give no warning of our intentions, there might be, there *ought* to be, discussions if the critics have ears!"[128]

Dolmetsch's wife Mabel recalls how this concert came about and writes that "among the violinists of the orchestra, none could be found ready to play the part on the violino piccolo; whereas Verbrugghen would not consent to have it played, as some suggested, in the upper reaches of an ordinary violin. Suddenly one of their number said: 'What about Dolmetsch?' On being approached, Arnold readily consented and played the part at short notice on an exquisite little Amati piccolo, whose slender, silvery tones glittered through the solo passages."[129] She went on to add that "in the tutti, however, against the large orchestra, which mustered eight double-basses, it was not always distinguishable."[130] The *Daily Telegraph'* s reviewer of this concert was, as could be expected, not convinced by Dolmetsch's choice of instrument:

> In the slow movement the thin tone of the small-sized violin may have suggested to some minds the antiquity of the music, but in the final allegro all the efforts of the soloist, Mr. Arnold Dolmetsch, could not prevent the entrance of comic element consequent on the rich tones of the London Symphony Orchestra's strings with those of the baby violin.[131]

Marco Pallis saw this event in a different light and claimed that Dolmetsch felt that this experiment was a pivotal moment in his relationship with the violin. Pallis, like Mabel, relates that Dolmetsch was asked to play the *violino*

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[125] Ibid.

[126] Dolmetsch, 471.

[127] Dolmetsch, vii.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Mabel Dolmetsch, 118.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid., 201.

piccolo. Pallis writes:

> [Dolmetsch] told me at a later date, for some years he laid aside his fiddle, until a happy chance led him to reconsider its problems. In 1915 at a concert in aid of the Red Cross he was asked to play the violino piccolo in Bach's First Brandenburg Concerto, unheard of at that time. He accepted this invitation only to find, once again, his Tourte bow quite unsuitable for the purpose. Fortunately, however, he had in his collection an example of what was then known as a 'Corelli bow,' much shorter than the Tourte and outcurved like the bows used on the viols. No sooner had he tried this bow than AD knew that here was the tool he had all along been seeking; the rights sounds now came almost of their own accord.
>
> The rest soon followed. For Dolmetsch's logical mind the pointers were clear; if 19th-century changes to the form of the bow were wrong, then so must be all parallel changes affecting the instrument itself. Away with the heavy bass-bar and much-curved bridge the later converters had imposed; after all, was it likely that Amati and Stradivari had not known what fittings best suited their own masterpieces? So reasoned Dolmetsch with results many now accept, but not so the professionals of his time, with rare and somewhat hesitating exceptions.[132]

It is likely that these new revelations about the violin and "its problems" inspired Dolmetsch to build his first Baroque instrument and bow, but it is not clear when Dolmetsch was able to realize this goal. According to Campbell, Dolmetsch made his first early violin and bow in April 1928. The Dolmetsch online site states that there is a test pressing made in 1920/1921 of Dolmetsch playing Baroque violin, but it is impossible to know if this was a violin in original condition, an instrument Dolmetsch made himself or an instrument he had converted to Baroque state. The entry for this recording states: Rameau, Fugue 'La Forqueray' from the 5ieme Concert / Le Cupis; performers: Arnold Dolmetsch (baroque violin), Mabel Dolmetsch (viola da gamba), Rudolph Dolmetsch (harpsichord).[133]

Unfortunately, the Dolmetsch Foundation has never released this recording, so it has not yet been possible to hear Dolmetsch playing the Baroque violin.[134] Dolmetsch wrote that the record company executives had qualms about the recordings of the early instruments and 'think they are not powerful enough to publish. I differ from them."[135] He continued: "They seem to me very good. The timbre of the instruments is reproduced very faithfully. They don't sound as loud as Caruso's [voice], but they are, I think, quite loud enough. They might interest only a small section of the public, but from the educational point of view, they are worth having."[136] It is possible that the recording company found the performances, rather than the instruments, "not powerful enough," but it is impossible to discuss recordings that one cannot hear.

In 1925, Dolmetsch began the Haslemere Festival which gave him the opportunity to realize many of his early music

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[132] Marco Pallis, "The rebirth of early music," *Early Music* 6, no. 1 (January 1978): 44.

[133] Dolmetsch Archive Recordings. http://www.dolmetsch.com/darecordings.htm, last accessed 30 May 2017.

[134] The Foundation never replied to my request to obtain a copy of this recording.

[135] Campbell, 209-10.

[136] Ibid.

dreams and, according to Campbell, Dolmetsch had the complete family of violins reconstructed for the festival.[137] Dolmetsch was especially eager to bring back the tenor viola, which is larger than the modern day instrument, rather than hear "the latest noise machines."[138] Donington, as the story goes, became so "captivated" at the third festival in 1927 that he "broke away from his parents and accosted Dolmetsch backstage, telling him that he wanted to become his pupil."[139] Considering that Donington was twenty at the time, some of this canonic tale seems apocryphal, but it is true that Donington did go on to study with Dolmetsch and become one of his most influential champions. As late as 1963, with many Baroque violinists on the scene, Donington still claimed that Dolmetsch "was the most successful violinist of modern times in developing a technique and style fitted to the needs of baroque music."[140]

Donington wrote a personal and revealing account of Dolmetsch's playing "a violin of which the fittings were of eighteenth-century pattern, and with a bow of pre-Tourte design."[141] Donington remembered:

> Dolmetsch's basic tone of the violin was of a more fiery colouring and a less refined texture than we generally associate with this most versatile of instruments (almost as if 0.01 per cent of bagpipe chanter had got blended in). He played more into the string, and with a more slowly moving bow, than is general nowadays. His accentuation was almost entirely of the crisp variety (sharp attack, often preceded by silence of articulation) rather than of the massive variety (by arm-weight and pressure). His cantabile was exquisitely sustained; but the rest of his playing was highly articulated. Not only were the expressive silences numerous; notes not separated by silences were kept articulated by an incisive little bite of the bow-hair on the string. The result was piquant and cleanly-etched; it had an intoxicating lightness combined with solid strength and virility. It was at the same time vital and relaxed.[142]

In the revised version of Donington's book, he adds two telling words to this description. Writing about Dolmetsch's bow stroke, he adds that "the notes…were kept articulated by an incisive little bite of the bow-hair on **(not off)** [boldface added] the string."[143] Donington seems to want to make clear that Dolmetsch didn't bounce or lift the bow to produce this articulated stroke. Donington is positive about Janine Rubenlicht's and Sonya Monosff's Baroque violin playing in this revised edition, but still proclaims "No fiddler carried on quite that blend of subtle poetry, fiery colouring, lucid transparency and keen cutting edge which was at once so singular to Arnold Dolmetsch's personality and so convincingly baroque."[144]

Dolmetsch, even at an advanced age, still had the ability to touch people with his violin playing. In 1925, at almost 70 years, Dolmetsch would have been pleased that a reviewer found that he was able to evoke the energy and expression of

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[137] Ibid., 219.

[138] Dolmetsch, 456.

[139] Campbell, 220.

[140] Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963): 465.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, revised version (London: Faber and Faber, 1975): 531.

[144] Ibid., 41.

Bach's music. His performance on the "older violin" inspired this critic from the *Daily Telegraph* to write: "To hear Bach's music played 'in native worth' is to realise how very much a man of his own time he was; with contemporary forms of expression he was always in touch and through this touch, the forms throbbed with a life and energy that have not yet been exhausted."[145] Dolmetsch continued playing the violin until the end of his life. In 1929, he performed the Bach E minor sonata for violin and harpsichord with his son Rudolph Dolmetsch at the Grotrian Hall in London. In 1937 Dolmetsch played "Erbarme Dich" from Bach's St. Matthew Passion at Haslemere, and a reviewer remarked that he played the "violin obbligato (with the old type of bow)" and that it was "remarkable for a man in his 80th year."[146]

Dolmetsch is always lauded as a visionary figure in the early music movement, but he is not usually considered an important influence on the Baroque violin revival. It is clear that his experiments with the Baroque violin and bow, as well as his performances and editions of less-known violin repertoire, were important to the growing interest in the historical violin. Even though the violins and bows that Dolmetsch made would not be considered authentic reproductions in the latter part of the twentieth century, they are the first modern-day attempts to create these historical models. Most importantly, Dolmetsch's expressive performances on a Baroque violin and bow were found to be "convincingly baroque"[147] and mark him as the first authenticator of this new tradition.

1900-1950s

Following the already well-established tradition of historical instrument ensembles in France, Henri-Gustave Casadesus (1879-1947) founded *La Société des Instruments Anciens Casadesus* in 1901 (Illustration 1.6). Insinuations that some of the pieces they played were newly composed and that some of the instruments were not as historical as claimed[148] didn't stop the ensemble from becoming a great success and touring "extensively throughout Western and Eastern Europe, North America, the Middle East and even Russia."[149] Listening to a recording of their "*Menuet du Pays de Tendre*," I was struck by the accessibility of the performance, but heard the same concerns that contemporaneous accounts mention. The chamber ensemble sounds strangely orchestral, as if more people are playing than listed, and the "ancient music" sounds suspiciously like modern compositions.[150] It is important to view such ensembles as products of this important experimental and extremely professionally-successful time period, while

1.6 *La Société des Instruments Anciens*, 1930

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[145] Campbell, 215.

[146] Campbell, 279, quoting the *Daily Telegraph,* 26 July 26 1937.

[147] Ibid., 41.

[148] Charles L. Cudworth, "Ye Olde Spuriosity Shoppe, or, Put It in the Anhang," *Notes*, Second Series, 12, no. 4 (Sep., 1955): 533-553.

[149] Henry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988): 50.

[150] Henri Gustave Casadesus, *Menuet du Pays de Tendre*, La Société des Instruments Anciens Casadesus, Columbia 78 rpm D 15224.

simultaneously mentioning contemporaneous concerns about "false advertising." In contrast, Haskell mentions a tantalizing account of a Baroque chamber orchestra *La Couperin*, led by Eugène de Bricqueville, "whose players used authentic old instruments."[151]

In Germany, "the birthplace of modern musicology,"[152] Hugo Riemann began the modern collegium movement in 1908 at the University of Leipzig. Haskell describes "a group of musicologists and amateurs [who] met weekly to perform Baroque music" and gave concerts that were open to the public.[153] In 1905, the gamba and baryton player Christian Döbereiner (1874-1961) co-founded of the *Deutsche Vereinigung für Alte Musik*. A photograph of this ensemble (Illustration 1.7), playing in costume, shows the same sorts of instruments that the French ensembles used (harpsichord, gamba, viola d'amore), as well as what appears to be a violin with a shortened fingerboard and a modern bow. Another photograph from 1906 (Illustration 1.8) clearly shows a modern instrument. Herma Studeny (1896-1973), a German violin virtuoso and composer, is said to have played with Döbereiner. Studeny doesn't appear to have been involved in other early music ventures, even though an autograph from 1915 includes three bars of the Bach Chaconne with the text "This is my credo!!!" that intimates that she felt a strong connection to this repertoire.[154] The viola d'amore player pictured is most likely Ludwig Meister, who played violin, viola and viola d'amore with Döbreiner, but no further information has been found about this musician. The first concert of the *Vereinigung* was an enormous success and the ensemble toured throughout Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Spain. The onset of World War I meant the end of the ensemble.

1.7 *Deutsche Vereinigung für Alte Musik*

1.8 *Deutsche Vereinigung für Alte Musik*, 1906

Döbereiner's *Vereinigung* was clearly based on that of Casadesus, but it seems to have had a different stance towards performing early music on historical instruments. The fact that Döbereiner's ensemble played in costume might make them appear less serious about performance practice issues than the French group in normal concert attire, but this is an incorrect assumption. Critics praised for German group for the "'painstaking authenticity' of their performances and

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[151] Robert Wangermée, "Les Premiers Concerts Historiques à Paris," in *Mélanges Ernest Closson* (Brussels, 1948): 188 quoted in Haskell, 50.

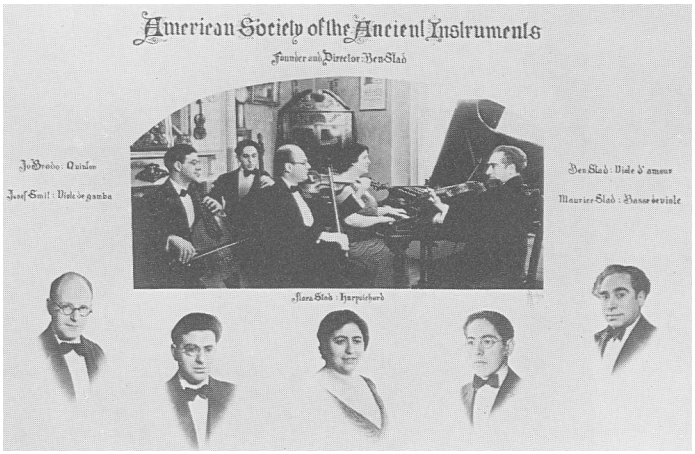
[152] Haskell, 56.

[153] Ibid.

[154] "Herma Studeny," https://www.kotte-autographs.com/en/autograph/studeny-herma/, last accessed 30 May 2017.

musical editions," but "conceded that the French society was far more polished technically."[155] Döbereiner organized numerous early music ensembles, including the Döbereiner Trio (also known as the *Döbereiner Trio für Alte Musik*), with Anton Huber on violin and viola d'amore, as well as a number of groups based in Munich. Unlike the purely "exotic" instruments of the French ensembles, Döbereiner used violins and violas. It is this exceptional use of the violin in the early twentieth century that makes Döbereiner's ensembles an important marker for the Baroque violin revival.

European interest in early music traveled to the United States, made an impression there and helped produce a new community of early musicians. In 1903, the same year that Voigtlander played his viola d'amore in Carnegie Hall, the Dolmetsches made their first American tour with Dolmetsch playing the violin, viola d'amore and lute.[156] Their fourteen concerts were such a success that another tour was arranged for the following year. Between 1905-1910, Dolmetsch worked at the American Chickering Factory for pianos in Boston, which allowed him to enjoy a steady salary, build various kinds of historical instruments and perform. The Casadesus' ensemble also toured in the United States in 1917. A review mentions that "these instruments and the music for them are not unknown to New York thanks to the ministrations …of Arnold Dolmetsch and his associates."[157] A review of Casadesus' concert gives a short description of the instruments, but it is the performance that captivates the writer. Unusually, this concert is not just seen as an exhibit of curious instruments and unknown music, but as a performance where technique and style unite. Unlike the many reviews and descriptions of Dolmetsch's ensemble that hint at amateurism, Casadesus' ensemble is described in very different terms:



1.9 American Society of Ancient Instruments

> The four string players are artists of uncommon skill and fine artistic feeling, and their playing shows long and intimate experience together and a full understanding of the exacting demands of a well-balanced and perfectly finished ensemble. Even more valuable in contributing to the results they gain is their appreciation of the elusive element of style, and the essential qualities of the music to which they devote themselves.[158]

The Dutch violinist Ben Stad, who had been associated with the Casadesus ensemble in Europe, moved to Philadelphia in 1908 and founded the American Society of Ancient Instruments. Based on Casadesus' ensemble, this American Society featured the quinton and viola d'amore amongst other historical instruments. Stad's ensemble continued through mid-century, and a review of their seventeenth annual festival in 1945 remarks that there was "nothing amateurish about

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[155] Haskell, quoting German critics in general and the musicologist Hugo Leichtentritt specifically in "painstaking authenticity," 55.
[156] "Music of Olden Times: The First of Sam Franko's Series of Concerts," *New York Times*, 7 January 1903.
[157] "Old Instruments Heard. The Friends of Music Introduce French Organization," *New York Times*, 29 January 1917.
[158] Ibid.

their playing," implying that other early music groups were.[159] A review from the 1950s provides an interesting insight into the Society's concept of historical instruments: "The one anachronism is that the players use tourte-model bows instead of the older arched variety. Mr. Stad explained that all the performers have played with tourte bows since childhood, and, it was felt therefore that re-learning their bow technique completely would not be worth the effort."[160]

It is unusual for a reviewer at this time to be aware of such an "anachronism" and even more striking that an early music group was already being chastened for being "inauthentic" in the 1950s. Stad's Society made a number of 78' discs, and their recording of Byrd and Purcell[161] from 1934 gives an impression of their playing. The string players don't sound particularly different from modern players of the time with their soft-edged sound, occasional use of portamento and a slow, continuous vibrato. A YouTube upload states that the viola d'amore, quinton, viola da gamba and basse de viole are being played,[162] which were the original instrumentation of the Society. If so, that would make this choice of instrumentation for early English music particularly incorrect and unhistorical by late twentieth-century standards. The Byrd is played with a very modern-sounding harpsichord to twenty-first century ears and the Purcell is recorded with only strings, whereas most late twentieth-century ensembles would use a continuo instrument. The Society's choices, standard for the 1930s, underline the fact that historically-appropriate equipment and instrumentation was not yet considered a necessity in the first half of the twentieth century.

1.10 Collegium Musicorum

The USA was given an extra early music boost when William Lindsey bought the Galpin instrument collection and donated it to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1917[163] and the Boston Symphony Orchestra obtained Henri Casadesus' instruments in 1926. Casadesus' ensemble - through its tours, recordings and instruments - was an inspiration for early music ensembles throughout the world. Not only did new ensembles use the same set of instruments as Casadesus' original group, but their names and publicity photographs were also exact imitations of the original ensemble (Illustrations 1.6 and 1.9). In 1938, a group of four string players from the Boston Symphony led by the cellist Alfred Zighera, formed the Boston Society of Ancient Instruments. The Belgian *Quatuor Belge des Instruments Anciens* was led by the harpsichordist Aimée van de Wiele (1907-1991) was also active in the 1930s. Van

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[159] "Music: Ancient Instruments," *Time Magazine*, 19 February 1945.

[160] John Briggs, "Old Instruments Heard at Concert: American Society Celebrates 25th Anniversary, Features Variation of the Viol," review of concert on April 15 in Valley Forge, Penn. Special to *New York Times*, 16 April 1953.

[161] American Society of Ancient Instruments, dir. Ben Stad. His Master's Voice, 78 rpm. D.B. 2145 and 2146.

[162] "Purcell Chacony (American Society of Ancient Instruments, 1935)," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3bpAlVmGXhE, last accessed 31 May 2017.

[163] "Sneak Peek: Art in Tune." https://www.mfa.org/membership/museum-council/news/2017/fall/art-in-tune, last accessed 2 July 2018.

de Wiele, a pupil of Wanda Landowska (1879-1959) appears to have been one of the first women to begin an early music ensemble.

La Société des Instruments Anciens Casadesus was well known in the Netherlands, and a Rotterdam newspaper review from 1926 remarks that the ensemble had played in The Netherlands twenty four years earlier.[164] This enthusiastic review of the 1926 concert relates that Casedesus spoken introduction "proved his eloquence and especial artistic musical knowledge" and that audience members went on stage to look at the Pleyel harpsichord in the intermission. This "show and tell" aspect of early music concerts continued throughout the twentieth century, as musicians felt the need to explain the historical instruments and unusual repertoire to the audience.

The Collegium Musicorum from the northern Dutch province of Friesland was clearly based on Casadesus' ensemble. The pianist and harpsichordist Jacoba Kueter-Zwager and her cellist husband Klaas Kueter, both born in 1899, began the ensemble together in 1934. Lambooy claims that "with their early instruments, they were committed to the propagation [*propaganda*] of chamber music, especially Bach."[165] Lambooy's use of the word "propaganda" in Dutch is either a slip of the pen or a commentary about their efforts. A film of Collegium Musicorum recorded on 1 January 1938 shows five musicians in eighteenth-century costumes playing harpsichord, two viola da gambas (with endpins), a quinton, and a viola d'amore (Illustration 1.10).[166] The three string instruments at the front were modern copies made by the luthier Cornelis Blomhoff (1887-1967) from Leeuwarden[167] and demonstrates that luthiers as well as players were interested in historical instruments. In the 1950s. Jaap Langerhorst made a Baroque violin for the violinist Lien Beijers, who played in Hans Philips's *Gezelschap voor Oude Muziek*.[168] A former student of Beijers remembers: "I played quite a lot of Telemann and Händel [with her]. Little vibrato, simple fingering and absolutely no portamento. None of that Romantic stuff. Gliding to another position was then done by many people."[169]

In Belgium, early music had been part of the musical landscape since the nineteenth century and continued throughout the twentieth. Safford Cape (1906-1973), a transplanted American, was perhaps the most important early music organizer in Belgium between the two wars. His Pro Musica Antiqua, devoted to pre-Baroque music, began performing in 1933. The violinist Janine Rubinlicht (1932-1989) worked under Cape, and she - as many Baroque violinists - began her early music career playing other early string instruments such as the *vièle de déchant* and the discant gamba. Pro Musica recorded for the *L'Anthologie Sonore*, made numerous LPs for major labels and enjoyed tours throughout Europe, Canada and the United States. This ensemble was the inspiration for the New York Pro Musica, which fueled Monosoff's early music interests in the 1950s.

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[164] "Societé des Instruments Anciens," review of concert in Rotterdam, *De Maasbode*, 30 November 1926.

[165] Th. P. A. Lambooy, *Leeuwarden Musiceert II: Leeuwarder muziekleven 1940-1985* (Drachten/Leeuwarden: A.J. Osinga Uitgevery, 1986): 133.

[166] "Friesche Collegium Musicorum, 01 jan 1938," http://in.beeldengeluid.nl/collectie/details/expressie/77483/false/true, last accessed 31 May 2017.

[167] "C. G. H. Blomhoff," http://www.vdv.dds.nl/loopbaan.htm, last accessed 31 May 2017.

[168] Van der Klis, 90.

[169] Helma Huijten, email correspondence with the author, 1 March 2018.

In 1930s Vienna, the keyboardist Isolde Ahlgrimm (1914-1995) was an important musician who was "virtually alone in using genuine period instruments,"[170] according to her biographer Peter Watchorn. Ahlgrimm's husband Erich Fiala had the monetary means to collect historical instruments and was "passionately interested in using and not simply admiring the instruments he collected."[171] Ahlgrimm and Fiala put together a concert series *Concerte für Kenner und Liebhaber*, which ran for almost twenty years (1937-1956) and had the "revolutionary primary intention of playing music of the eighteenth century on period instruments."[172] According to Watchorn, they were also aware that pitch standards were lower in the eighteenth century, which "was a unique insight" for the 1930s.[173]

For the Baroque violin revival, the Ahlgrimm-Fiala collection of instruments was especially important, for it included a "fine set of precious instruments of the Amati school, including a couple of the more famous members of the family."[174] These instruments were loaned to players for the chamber music series. When the Dutch recording firm Philips asked Ahlgrimm to record all of the Bach harpsichord concertos and obbligato harpsichord music in the 1950s, it is possible that the instrument collection was a factor in their decision to offer the contract to Ahlgrimm. According to the liner notes in the original release: "Only old Italian string instruments of the Amati school were used in this recording. Any changes and modernizations effected in the course of time were carefully removed and the original sound character restored."[175] It remains a mystery who restored these instruments.

According to Watchorn, Vienna "was full of good string players who seem to have adapted quickly to the special demands imposed by the old instruments,"[176] and Ahlgrimm's concert series and recordings are full of familiar early music names such as Alice and Nikolaus Harnoncourt, Eduard Melkus and Kurt Theiner. Unfortunately, the violin and harpsichord sonatas, recorded by Ahlgrimm and the Swiss virtuoso Rudolf Baumgartner (1917-2002) in 1954, were never released. Even though Ahlgrimm felt that Baumgartner had "fully mastered the instrument by the time the sonatas were recorded," she explained that "the executives at Philips were nervous about presenting the Baroque violin to the public as a solo instrument."[177] The master tapes have disappeared, so it is impossible to hear what this Baroque violin and violinist sounded like. Baumgartner had studied in Vienna with Wolfgang Schneiderhan (1915-2002) and it is during this time that he presumably came into contact with Ahlgrimm. Baumgartner's interest in the Baroque violin appears to have only been tangental to his modern violin career, but he later made arrangements of Bach's *Art of Fugue*

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[170] Peter Watchorn, *Isolde Ahlgrimm, Vienna and the Early Music Revival* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007): 10.

[171] Ibid., 51.

[172] Ibid., 59.

[173] Ibid., 113.

[174] Ibid., 117.

[175] Phillips A 00 300 L, quoted in Watchorn, 121.

[176] Ibid.,117.

[177] Ibid., 124.

and *Musical Offering* and recorded many Baroque works with the modern-instrument Lucerne Festival Strings.[178]

Fortunately, recordings of the Bach harpsichord concertos from the 1950s with *Das Amati Orchester* do exist, and they demonstrate extroverted and convincing playing from Ahlgrimm and the strings. Pictures of the violinists show them indeed playing on historical instruments, but holding them like modern players on the left side of the tailpiece and using modern bow holds on their Baroque bows. In her liner notes, Ahlgrimm admitted:

> It was not easy to find the necessary musicians for this orchestra. It is evident without further proof that such essential alterations to the instrument bring with them a change in performing technique, and as hardly any musician can earn his living exclusively through 'old' music a permanent change of technique was not an undertaking acceptable to every orchestral musician.[179]

Ahlgrimm's awareness that Baroque instruments should "bring with them a change in performing technique" is a particularly insightful comment for the 1950s. Her realization that this was possible only by being able to play exclusively on early instruments, and the financial difficulties this would entail, underlines one of the many challenges this pioneering generation faced. The financial insecurity of choosing early music as a profession must have been a consideration for all of the pioneers, even though this was rarely expressed.

In the UK, it is curious to see how little impact Arnold Dolmetsch made on the early music scene in the twentieth century, except for the revival of the viol consort. The Haselmere Festival continued after Dolmetsch's death, but its influence on the mainstream music scene seems to have been tangental. The inconsistent quality of Dolmetsch's concerts and recordings meant that it was easy for these activities to be dismissed as amateurish and inconsequential. The influx of modern instrument performances of early music seems to have made more of an impact.

The Boyd Neel Orchestra, founded in 1932, was one of these influential English ensembles. The orchestra's base of eighteen players worked together regularly, and - even though their repertoire included nineteenth- and twentieth-century works - they were especially well known for their performances of Baroque string music." Their recording of Bach's Brandenburg Concerto no. 3 from 1945 demonstrates an energetic performance with unusually quick tempos for this time period, and it is easy to hear how the public would have been captivated by performances such as these.[180] When Neel emigrated to Canada in 1952, the musicologist and harpsichordist Thurston Dart (1921-1971) took over the ensemble and renamed it the Philomusica of London. Dart's plans for the orchestra included the use of editions made from original sources and direction "by the continuo-player [presumably Dart playing harpsichord] with the leader of the Orchestra on one side of him & the principal cello & double bass on the other."[181] He wrote at great length about

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[178] "Baumgartner, Rudolf," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02370?q=rudolf+baumgartner&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit, last accessed 8 July 2017.

[179] Isolde Ahlgrimm, "Notes to Bach harpsichord concertos," Phillips, 1955, quoted in Watchorn, 126.

[180] Boyd Neel Orchestra, *J.S. Bach Brandenburg Concerto 3*, Decca 78 rpm, K. 1619, recorded 21 June 1945.

[181] Thurston Dart to 'Philomel & Jeff' [Louise Dyer and her husband Dr. Geoffrey Hanson], Cambridge, 20 September 1955, MS/Dart/2/23, Thurston Dart Archive, Cambridge University Library, reproduced from Edward Breen, email correspondence with the author, 8 March 2017.

> one particular aspect of it, since it's one that's very close to my special interests. We propose to make a very special study of music composed before 1770 or so. To this end we have had made for us a complete set of 'Corelli' bows - not these awful 'Vega Bach Bow' nonsense, which are the most scandalous spoof that's ever been foisted on a long-suffering public, but the true bows for which all this early music was composed.[182]

Just over a month later, Dart wrote about the results of this experiment: "Next, the bows: you have never heard string tone like this before. The clarity of articulation, the sweetness of the sound (so gentle, so un-wiry), the precision of the attack, the elegance – all that one had hoped for from 18th-century music, in fact."[183] Dart was the most prominent harpsichord/director at this time, and this harpsichord-led power configuration is seen in many of the first early music orchestras. Dart's use of "Corelli" bows with a modern ensemble in the 1950s was a daring decision and mirrors the first step that many violinists made in their explorations towards more historical equipment.

The violinist Neville Marriner (1924-2016) was also important to the English burgeoning early music scene on modern instruments. Marriner had studied for a year in Paris with René Benedetti (1901-1975), whose warm sound and clear playing (as well as two minutes of convincing jazz violin) can be heard on various recordings.[184] According to Kenyon, "Marriner played Baroque violin with Robert Donington in the 1950s, but decided not to pursue this."[185] This quote raises a tantalizing array of questions, and a possible answer to "why he didn't pursue this" is because of Donington's connection with Dolmetsch. One can surmise that the professionally-trained Marriner would not be interested in following a path that was tainted with intimations of dilettantism.

Marriner and Dart met as servicemen convalescing from war injuries, and this friendship turned into a musical one. Marriner remarked that "I suppose I had a weedy sort of sound on the violin that appealed to him for making the sort of music that he wanted at the time,"[186] confirming the prejudice that this thin violin sound was appropriate for early music. Marriner and Dart joined forces to co-found the Jacobean Ensemble, which specialized in seventeenth and eighteenth century music and made numerous recordings of Purcell and Couperin in the 1950s and 60s. In 1959, Marriner founded the Academy of St. Martin's in the Field, one of the first modern chamber orchestras led by the concertmaster rather than a conductor. Dart became the Academy's "musicological father" for performances of early and Baroque repertoire and was succeeded by Christopher Hogwood (1941-2014) after his death in 1971.[187] Marriner

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[182] Ibid.

[183] Thurston Dart to 'Philomel', October 22, 1955, MS/Dart/2/23, Thurston Dart Archive, Cambridge University Library, quoted in Edward Breen,"Thurston Dart and the new Faculty of Music at King's College, London," email correspondence with the author, 8 March 2017.

[184] "Réné Benedetti suona Zoubok, Deux minutes de jazz," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=081nssrmWFk, last accessed 31 May 2017 and "René Benedetti (Vn)_ Sarasate : Malaguena-Dance Espagnole (1927)," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3GrJi9ATBxA, last accessed 31 May 2017.

[185] Sir Nicholas Kenyon, interview with Nick Wilson, 12 November 2012, in Wilson, 239, footnote 61.

[186] Marriner speaking on *Mining the Archive,* BBC interview, 1996, quoted in Breen.

[187] Wilson, 70.

recalled that

> when Christopher came along, he was different. In many ways he was more specific than Bob [Thurston] Dart was. Bob Dart would always say, you know, that an ornament was played the way you feel - it was put there for you to express yourself. Whereas Christopher was much more intent on accuracy as far as this was concerned.[188]

Twenty years Dart's junior, Hogwood is a representative of the following generation of early musicians who were more intent upon reproducing new ideas of authenticity. Early music was no longer to be played "the way you feel," but now needed to be performed with the prevailing concepts of historical accuracy. Dart's generation, including the older Baroque pioneers, was exceptional for its interest and dedication, but had to struggle to find historical instruments and musicologically-based editions. The same age as the younger Baroque violin pioneers, Hogwood grew up in an early music world that was already established, but one in which the question as to what extent authenticity could be reproduced was not yet being asked.

In the United States, the influx of refugees during WWII provided a new early music impetus. The German Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) had "enjoyed playing and composing for his viola d'amore since the 1920s" and had used "early musical instruments with his students" to perform newly-composed works at the *Hochschule für Musik* in Berlin.[189] In 1938, Hindemith emigrated to Switzerland and, two years later, to the United States. According to Buis, "there was little room for a Hochscule-trained composer in Germany at that time to enter the early music performance arena," but the States didn't demand a musicologist for this and "welcomed a composer as an early music performer-teacher."[190]

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Hindemith was busy disseminating his early music interests. His series of six early music concerts containing "149 compositions ranging in date from the 12th -17th centuries" as part of Tanglewood's amateur division in 1941 reflects early music's connection to amateur music-making in Europe.[191] Hindemith was especially taken with the medieval estampie *Tre fontane,* and Buis describes a "rebec part written in Hindemith's hand that shows the *scordatura* tuning distinctly."[192] Without going into a discussion about rebec tuning and the use of the term *scordatura* to describe it, it does seem plausible that the idea of alternate tunings could have captivated Hindemith and resulted in his performance of eight of Heinrich Biber's Rosary sonatas using this technique on 24 February 1942.[193]

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[188] "Hogwood at 70," (2009) Gramophone podcast, quoted in Wilson, 75.

[189] Johann Buis, "Early Music and Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) in the United States: A Centenary Evaluation," *College Music Symposium*, vol. 36, (1996): 17.

[190] Ibid.

[191] Ibid., 18.

[192] Ibid., 19.

[193] Ibid., 20.

When Hindemith was offered a permanent position at Yale University in 1941, he lost no time in introducing the German *Gebrauchsmusik* and *Collegium Musicum* concepts to the American university, and the Yale Collegium Musicum became the most renowned ensemble of its kind in the United States. Its public early music concert programs from 1945-1953 were "a survey of Western music from the Notre Dame School of the twelfth century to the great Renaissance masters, with a smattering of Baroque works thrown in for good measure."[194] Many of Hindemith's students, including Albert Fuller, went on to become important early music figures in the USA, and Monosoff remembers hearing one of Hindemith's concerts at the Metropolitan Museum in 1953.

In a final aside, Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962) and his "baroque" compositions must be mentioned. One of the most celebrated violinists of the early twentieth century, Kreisler often played encores "to which he attached the names of certain old composers, such as Pugnani, Couperin, Francoeur, and Vivaldi."[195] He concocted a story "that these pieces had been unearthed from a collection of manuscripts which he said he found in a Benedictine monastery in the South of France near Avignon" and "even told one American reporter he had paid the monks around $8000 for their treasure."[196] These pieces were a great success and, published with the false attributions, were also played by other violinists. Kreisler finally admitted the hoax in 1935, and his "doting public scarcely [knew] whether to laugh and call him clever or to feel a trifle huffy over being fooled, albeit so charmingly, by the maestro all these years."[197] Reactions made it clear that the public was upset by Kreisler's dishonesty and embarrassed that they had been taken in by these fake early music compositions. It is a surprising twist to realize that one of the most important modern violinists felt the need to compose pseudo-Baroque compositions to charm the public.

The "Bach Bow"

Numerous scholars and players were aware of the differences between early bows and modern ones in the first half of the twentieth century, but the incorrect conclusions some drew resulted in the creation of the "Bach" or "Vega" bow. The story of this bow is worth looking at in detail, as its mix of musicological fact and fantasy confusingly reflected many of the ideals of the early music movement.

The idea of the "Bach Bow" can be traced back to an article by Arnold Schering in the *Bachjahrbuch* of 1904. He writes:

> The bow hair in Bach's time was only fastened (without screw mechanism) onto the stick and was made tighter or looser by the thumb of the right hand at libitum. With the free use of the wrist and with "bouncing" bowing kept to a minimum, there was room for the development of multi-stop playing. Today, one plays the adjacent chords which appear in the G minor and C major Fugues, in the Chaconne and in the Prelude of the 5th sonata, laboriously by breaking the chords starting from the lower strings, but in the past this was done by suddenly loosening the bow hair - so that it would lie on

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[194] Haskell, 108.
[195] Charles L. Cudworth, "Ye Olde Spuriosity Shoppe, or, Put It in the Anhang," *Notes* 12, no. 1 (Dec., 1954): 31.
[196] Ibid.
[197] E.S.B. "Armchair Gossip," *Music Educators Journal* 21, no. 5 (Mar. - Apr., 1935): 62.

> top of the thin strings and not sound so harsh. Bach's multi-voiced fugues and especially movements like the Siciliano in the G minor sonata, which even with the most perfect performance by modern violinists would always show technical shortcomings, can be understood with this technique. And we can only regret that with it [the loss of this technique] a big part of the greatest effects of old violin-music has been lost for ever.[198]

He goes on to add, in a footnote:

> The organ-like sound, that is effortlessly produced, can be approximately heard when one loosens the hair of a modern bow and puts the stick under the strings [and with the hair above the strings] and bows multi-voiced chords. That Bach, here and there, was actually thinking of the organ, is confirmed. Also, before Bach, one can find similar passages in the works of Biber and Walther.[199]

1.11 Frans Hals, *Daniel van Aken Playing the Violin*, ca.1640 demonstrating the thumb-under bow grip

Schering was correct in asserting that some bows in Bach's time had no screw mechanism, but there is no evidence of a bow that was able to change the hair tension by the violinist's thumb while playing. Perhaps the underhand bow hold of a viol player, where the thumb actually touches the hair, and iconographic evidence of violinists placing their thumb under the frog, rather than on the stick (Illustration 1.11), contributed to this misconception. Schering's description of putting the stick under the strings to produce chords sounds similar to Dolmetsch's "gypsy" teacher's trick.

It was the idea of this "organ-like sound" that caught the imagination and kindled the hope that Bach's difficult works for solo violin could be heard as Bach had not only imagined them, but had actually experienced them. Ironically, this almost textbook ideal of the early music movement was used to create a purely twentieth-century invention under the guise of authenticity. Albert Schweitzer, scientist and music lover, repeated Schering's ideas and stated that Bach would not have written music that could not be ideally performed and incorrectly describes historical bows in his book about Bach.[200] Schweitzer's incorrect description of historical bows encouraged an attempt to find or create a bow which would make polyphonic playing on the violin easier.[201]

Schweitzer, in an attempt to find a modern day connection to historical equipment, described the Norwegian violinist Ole Bull:

> The last representative of chord playing on the violin was the Norwegian, Ole Bull (1810-1880). His

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[198] Arnold Schering, "Verschwundene Traditionen des Bachzeitalters," *Bachjaarbuch* (Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1904): 11. translation by author and Susanne Braumann.

[199] Ibid.

[200] Albert Schweitzer, *Bach*. Translated by Ernest Newman from the German version of the text (1908), which is an altered version of French text. altered and added to at Dr. Schwetzer's request (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935).

[201] Ibid., 389.

> bridge was quite flat; he had his bows made in such a way that the stick stood at a considerable distance from the hairs. It is interesting to know that he always maintained that this method was no new invention of his own, but a return to the true violin method of the past. It is quite possible that in Scandinavia the traditions of the seventeenth century had been retained, along with the old bows, down to Ole Bull's time.[202]

Ole Bull is said to have "studied the playing of Norwegian peasants on the Hardanger, a folk-violin" and to have put a flatter bridge and thinner strings on his violin "to facilitate chords and polyphonic playing."[203] He also borrowed a "long heavy bow" from "a peasant Hardanger virtuoso," which…being flexibly haired, made chords easier."[204] The fact that Bull regretted the modernization of violins and that his Bach playing was "much admired" made it attractive to claim that "he may be the missing link between Baroque playing and its revival."[205] This hope for a tangible link to the past was often invoked when peasants or folk musicians were involved, as with the Norwegian peasants and Old Bull.

Based on Ole Bull's equipment, Schweitzer suggests that to play the Bach sonatas, one "need only to file down the arching of the bridge and to use a bow so shaped from nut to point that the hairs can curve towards the stick without touching it. Still better is a bow with a slightly curved stick. In this way violinists will be able once more to play Bach in a correct style."[206] In a footnote, Schweitzer adds: "It is to be hoped that the instrument makers will soon provide us with serviceable bows of the old type. Till then the player must make shift with an old bow, inserting a couple of pieces of wood between the stick and the hairs at top and bottom. A bow reconstructed in this primitive way will do quite well to experiment with."[207] He describes hearing a violinist play the Bach Chaconne with a bow "thus provisionally arranged."[208]

Schweitzer goes on to repeat Schering's suggestion of loosening the bow hair and discusses at great length the "curious softness" and the "organ-like ethereal tone" produced by this imitation of an old bow.[209] He adds that we "purchase beauty of tone…at the expense of some loss of strength" and wonders "whether the modern public would accustom itself to this weak tone." He hoped that such chamber works as the pieces for solo violin would no longer be played in large concert halls, but "be restored" to the smaller chamber music venues "to which they really belong."[210] It is striking how these ideas reflect many of the aims of early music movement - performing Bach as it would have been in Bach's time, using an old bow to facilitate this, training the public to accept this new sound at the expense of power and performing in more appropriate venues.

The writing of such eminent minds as Schering and Schweitzer set the stage for a serious attempt to find - or create -

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[202] Ibid., 390.

[203] William Mann, "The Nineteenth Century" in Dominic Gill, *The Book of the Violin* (Oxford, Phaidon Press, 1984): 142.

[204] Ibid.

[205] Ibid.

[206] Schweitzer, 390.

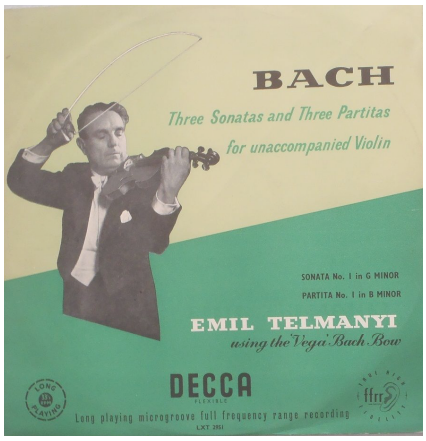
[207] Ibid.

[208] Ibid.

[209] Ibid., 391.

[210] Ibid.

Bach's bow. Although this idea was already being criticized in the 1930s,[211] Rolf Schröder built a highly-arched bow on which the hair could be loosened and tightened whilst playing in 1933. The *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* describes it succinctly: "It is of very high arch, as much as 10 cm separating the bowstick and the hair at the highest point. By a mechanical lever, worked by the thumb, the player can tighten the hair at will to play on individual strings and loosen it to encompass all the strings, thus sustaining multiple stops continuously."[212]



1.12 Emil Telmányi using the Vega-Bach Bow

The musicologist David D. Boyden was, at first, cautiously interested in the idea of playing three or four notes simultaneously, but he began his experimentations with a more historically-accurate bow. By 1950, Boyden's opinion of the modern "Bach Bow" is clear. Boyden describes the "contradictions in Schering's theory," outlines the Schweitzer-Schering connection and succinctly states that "Bach may have played his sonatas in the manner advocated by Schering, but there is no evidence to show that he did so."[213] He adds that the Schröder bow is "a kind of mechanical monster," but his musicological condemnation did not slow the growing fascination with the "Bach Bow."

Rolf Schröder recorded the complete Bach sonatas for Columbia records with his new invention, but it was the Hungarian violinist Emil Telmányi (1892-1988) who brought the modern "Bach bow" to the attention of the international classical music community. Telmány had tried Schröder's bow, but found it "rather thin and feeble" on the single strings.[214] More troublesome was the fact that it required a different bow arm position. This supinated and side-movement of the bow arm that Schröder's bow required is a position that many present-day baroque players use, but that was too extreme a change of technique for Telmányi. As Telmányi claims, "modern violin-playing advocates a fairly strong pronation of the right arm, it is of no advantage to dispense with it."[215] It is ironic that Telmányi would be interested in a fake historical bow, but would reject the more historically-accurate bow arm position needed to play it. Telmány asked the Danish violin-maker Arne Hjorth to construct his ideal Bach bow, but was finally satisfied with the bow made by Knud Verstergaard "along quite untraditional lines" with its patented device in the nut to fix and loosen the hair.[216] This highly arched bow could produce "the more powerful and intense tone of the ordinary [modern] bow" and needed only a slightly flatter bridge than normal.[217]

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[211] Robert Haas, *Aufführungspraxis der Musik* (Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademischische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931), 206. Haas discusses Schering's theory and Gustav Beckmann's counter-theory of the use of arpeggiated chordal playing based on gamba technique. Haas appears to support Beckmann's theory and reproduces examples of how to arpeggiate chords in works by Walther and Schmelzer.

[212] David D. Boyden, "The 'Bach' Bow," *Grove Music Online*. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.uba.uva.nl:2048/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000003753?rskey=Yu3BMO&result=6. last accessed 17 June 2018.

[213] Boyden, 19.

[214] Ibid., 15.

[215] Ibid.

[216] Ibid.

[217] Ibid., 18.

Telmányi recorded the Bach unaccompanied works "using the Vega Bach Bow" for Decca in 1954. The cover of the recording, showing Telmányi in mid-stroke (Illustration 1.12), was enough to pique the public's interest.[218] Hearing the organ-like sound produced by playing four strings simultaneously, the listener must have felt that this was finally Bach as it had been heard by the composer.

The public and many publications were caught up in the excitement of this new bow. A long polemic in the *Musical Times,* mostly between the American Sol Babitz and Telmányi, discusses the authenticity of the "Bach Bow" at exhaustive length. Telmányi's 1955 article repeats many of Schweitzer's ideas and, more confusingly, discusses his work using ideas akin to those of the burgeoning early music movement. He speaks of violinists "ill-treating" Bach's works with a modern bow and of the "obvious solution: to make a bow similar to the old type and play with it."[219] He admits to experimenting with an older bow and trying, for example, to strike three-part chords in one stroke rather than arpeggiating them. Babitz scoffs at the idea that Bach couldn't play his sonatas and needed "a mechanical Messiah" to make excellent performances possible.[220] He also suggests that Telmányi use his "admirable energies" to investigate "the use of the eighteenth-century violin, and bow with their appropriate style and technique."[221] It is interesting to note that Max Rostal, Leonhardt's modern violin teacher in London, wrote about Babitz's disapproval of the "Bach Bow" theory and seems to have followed this polemic.[222]

This might seem to be the end of the "Bach Bow," but this is not so. Even in the twenty-first century, some modern violinists still believe that this invention was the real thing, and a few string players still use it today.[223] Although the "Bach Bow" was a serious detour in the path to rediscover the eighteenth-century equipment that would have been used to perform Bach's music, it is striking that such an invention brought many of the principles and ideals of the embryonic early music movement to the general public.

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[218] "Music is my Sanctuary," http://www.musicismysanctuary.com/immaculate-recordings-emil-telmanyi-bach-sonatas-partitas-for-unaccompanied-violin-deccalondon-1954, last accessed 26 June 2016.

[219] Emil Telmanyi, "Some Problems in Bach's Unaccompanied Violin Music," *The Musical Times* 96, no 1343 (Jan. 1955): 14.

[220] Sol Babitz "The Vega Bach Bow: A Reply to Dr. Emil Telmányi," *The Musical Times* 96, no. 1347 (May 1955): 251.

[221] Ibid., 253.

[222] Max Rostal, Marion Rostal, and Berta Volmer. *Handbuch des Geigenspiels: ein begleitender Ratgeber für Ausbildung und Beruf* (Bern: Müller & Schade, 1993): 56.

[223] Theo Olof, *Flarden* (Baarn, Uigeverij de Pro, 2000): 184.

Chapter Two

Forgotten Figures

Interviews with the ten Baroque violinists made clear that they were not the first violinists after Dolmetsch to play the Baroque violin, and this realization challenged the accepted history of the Baroque violin revival. It was also the impetus for an investigation into the previous generations of forgotten pioneers. Not only was a connection made to nineteenth-century explorations with unusual instruments, but relatively unknown figures such as Kenneth Skeaping (Great Britain), Walter Kägi (Switzerland) and Sol Babitz (USA) came into sharper focus. Boyden mentions both Skeaping and Babitz in his monumental *History of Violin Playing* from 1965, but the *New Grove's Dictionary* from 1980 only includes an article about Babitz. No mention of Kägi has yet been found in any discussion of the early music movement, and it is only through Marie Leonhardt's memories and archival research in Basel that a part of Kägi's Baroque violin story could be told.

Kenneth Skeaping (1897-1977)

Few people know of Kenneth Skeaping's important contributions to the Baroque violin revival, and he is not even mentioned in Wilson's recent book about the early music movement in Great Britain.[224] Tributes after Skeaping's death describe "a complete musician," inspiring teacher, exceptional mind and "lovable personality."[225] His modesty might have prohibited him from making a more brilliant career, but it most certainly contributed to making him a fine colleague and generous teacher (Illustration 2.1.).

2.1 Kenneth Skeaping

Marco Pallis considered Skeaping the Baroque violin heir apparent to Arnold Dolmetsch and wrote in 1978:

> When the old man [Dolmetsch] died in 1940 it seemed by no means certain that the battle for the baroque violin would not have to be fought all over again, but fortunately things turned out differently, otherwise we would not find ourselves where we are now.
>
> The first years after the war were critical ones in this respect; what saved the day was the adherence to the cause of one man who was sufficiently endowed in a technical sense to take up the work where Arnold Dolmetsch had left off. This was Kenneth Skeaping, himself a seasoned violinist of wide experience who also possessed a rarely acute experimental flair. Though he had never met Dolmetsch, his own interest in the subject enabled him to piece together enough to provide the necessary link with whatever his own researches and those of others might produce (the name of Professor David Boyden of the University of California, Berkeley, should here be mentioned). In this providential way the violin was saved.[226]

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[224] Wilson, *The art of re-enchantment*.

[225] MP [Marc Pallis], "Tributes to Kenneth Skeaping 1897-1977," *Early Music* 6, no. 1 (Jan. 1978): 279-281.

[226] Marco Pallis,"The Rebirth of Early Music," 44.

It is interesting to note that Pallis was already presenting a modern-day Baroque violin lineage with Dolmetsch as the visionary pioneer and Skeaping as the disciple who would "take up the work" where Dolmetsch left off. This link, however, is tangential since Skeaping had never met Dolmetsch, but Skeaping's performances at Dolmetsch's Haslemere Festival in the early 1950s must have encouraged people like Pallis to view him this way.[227] A review from the 1955 festival states that "Kenneth Skeaping provided the only memorable solo string playing apart from Harry Dank's [on the viola d'amore], making a brief but successful début on the treble viol as well as playing the violin on several occasions."[228] Skeaping, like many of the older pioneers, played the viol as well as the violin, and it is interesting to speculate if he also came to the Baroque violin by way of the gamba. Although we are unable to hear what Skeaping's playing sounded like at Haslemere, it is possible to discover what equipment he was using.

In a lecture-recital given on 10 November 1955, music of Lawes and Jenkins was performed by Skeaping and Marshall Johnson on violins "using the outcurved bow."[229] In a letter to the editor about the erroneous Bach Bow, G. Layton Ring points out that the "real" outcurved bow was revived long before Telmányi began his experiments and implies that Skeaping was playing on an early-style bow when he performed at Haslemere in 1951. Ring writes:

> Jean Pougnet, Maurice Clare and Kenneth Skeaping - three among many leading violinists - all employ the 'Bach' or 'Corelli' bow exclusively when performing early violin music. Jean Pougnet has been using one for years at the Haslemere Festival; I have myself accompanied Maurice Clare, similarly equipped, in New Zealand.
>
> The first player actually to use an outcurved bow in modern times, I understand, was Arnold Dolmetsch in 1916 - its use has never since been discontinued at Haslemere. This is quite apart from any previous theories in print about the desirability of its revival.[230]

Pougnet (1907-1968), who made a name for himself in light music to classical genres, cemented his reputation as a modern virtuoso with recordings of Delius and Vaughn Williams. His interest in early music seems to have only been a sideline, and his recording of Purcell's "Golden Sonata" from 1939 - even if it played with an "outcurved bow" - sounds like modern violin playing of the time. Continuous vibrato, over-legato playing and slow tempi weigh down the slow movements, but the fast movements are quick and spritely (with large final retards).[231] Clare (1914-1987), leader of the Boyd Neel orchestra after World War II, also didn't make early music the most important part of his career. A student of Clare's at the Royal Northern College of Music from 1975-1980 remembers that Clare always carried Baroque bows in his violin case and was clearly interested in using them when appropriate.[232]

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[227] *The Musical Times*, vol. 92, no. 1299 (May 1951): 230.

[228] Jeremy Noble, "The Haslemere Festival," *The Musical Times* vol. 96, no. 1351 (September 1955): 488.

[229] Cecily Arnold and Marshall Johnson, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 82nd Sess. (1955-1956): 13.

[230] G. L. Ring, "The Bach Bow" letter to editor, *The Musical Times* 96, no. 1345 (March 1955): 148.

[231] Jean Pougnet and Frederick Grinke, violins; Boris Ord, harpsichord, "Purcell -Sonata in F major 'Golden Sonata,' Z. 810 - Grinke, Pougnet, Ord.," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jrCLT-aP58Y, last accessed 4 June 2017.

[232] John Wilson Meyer, conversation with author, 4 June 2018.

Skeaping was a more committed early musician than Pougnet and Clare, and he published a number articles about the early violin and historical playing. In 1952, Skeaping wrote a review that betrays his feeling about the "prevailing fluent sterility of the modern fiddler [which] arises largely from the fact that he and his teachers have lost contact with the roots of their art."[233] Skeaping, born in the nineteenth century, would have experienced the great change in violin playing in the first half of the twentieth century and most likely shared Hans Keller's views about violin technique's "modern development and musical decline."[234] "Some Speculations on a Crisis in the History of the Violin" from 1955 is Skeaping's most important publication and was quoted in Boyden's tome.[235] In this article, Skeaping admits that he hopes to "get away from our retrospective bias" with his discussion of why Stainer violins, which were so prized in the past, had become less highly respected through the centuries.[236] His discussion of his experiments with a Stainer and Thompson violin in original condition demonstrates his abilities both as a scholar and as a musician. His analytical mind understood the importance of noting the exact measurements and historical context of the instruments, while his musicianship enabled him to play both violins and describe their sounds. These same qualities are seen in his article "A Baroque Violin from Northumberland."[237]

When visiting Skeaping's son Roddy, I was able to look at his father's Thompson violin, which is in a Classical rather than Baroque state. Although this Classical violin would not necessarily have been the best instrument to compare to a seventeenth-century Stainer for the 1955 article, Skeaping was unusual for having and performing on an instrument in original condition at that time. I was also able to look at Skeaping's collection of bows, but neither his son nor I could be certain which were originals and which were modern copies.

Skeaping and the American musicologist David Boyden were colleagues and joined forces for the first BBC radio broadcast that specifically states that a Baroque violin is being used. On 21 October 1955, the program "The Bach Bow" was broadcast "illustrated by Kenneth Skeaping (18th c. violin) and Desmond Dupre (lute)." *The Radio Times* writes that in this broadcast, Boyden "questions the desirability of using a special type of bow for Bach's violin music, and demonstrates how alterations made in the last two centuries to both the violin and its bow have affected its tone."[238] One is curious about which bows Skeaping used and what conclusions Boyden drew.

Boyden's and Skeaping's names appear side-by-side in one publication, Anthony Baines' *Musical Instruments Through*

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[233] Kenneth M. Skeaping, review of *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing by Leopold Mozart* by Editha Knocker, *The Galpin Society Journal* 5 (March 1952): 61.

[234] Hans Keller, "Violin Technique: Its Modern Development and Musical Decline," in Dominic Gill, ed. *The Book of the Violin* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984):145-157.

[235] David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761 and its Relationship to the Violin and Violin Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965): 196, footnote 8.

[236] Kenneth Skeaping, "Some Speculations on a Crisis in the History of the Violin," *The Galpin Society Journal* 8 (March 1955): 3.

[237] Kenneth Skeaping, "A Baroque Violin from Northumberland," *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 14 (March 1961): 45-48.

[238] "The Bach Bow," BBC Third Programme, Friday 21 October 1955, *Radio Times 1923-2009*. http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?adv=0&q=david+boyden&media=all&yf=1923&yt=2009&mf=1&mt=12&tf=00%253A00&tt=00%253A00#search, last accessed 4 June 2017.

the Ages.[239] Boyden writes the more extensive chapter on "The Violin," and Skeaping follows with a shorter chapter about "The Viola." One can't help feeling that Skeaping was happy leaving the heavy musicological work to Boyden so that he could enjoy writing knowledgeably and entertainingly about an instrument that "was still regarded as a legitimate field of activity for incompetent violinists, or as a part-time or emergency undertaking for good ones."[240] Boyden recalled that Skeaping's professional career, access to authentic bows and instruments and "allergy to formal musicology" were the perfect complement to his own amateur string playing and academic training. The two men only met in 1954, but Boyden writes that:

> there was hardly seems a time when I did not know him - so pervasive and complementary were our mutual interests in the violin…Although his name never appeared as co-author of any article or book of mine… I acknowledge gratefully the contribution he made to my own work and writings through the blend of unusual musical intuition and knowledge, tinged with skepticism, that distinguished his thinking.[241]

Boyden wrote admiringly of Skeaping in the acknowledgment of his magnum opus, stating that "Kenneth Skeaping has contributed numerous ideas concerning the subject in many discussions and letters over the past ten years - an association I greatly prize and remember with the greatest pleasure."[242] Roddy explained that his father was slated to play the recording that accompanied Boyden's book, but "had a breakdown and was too nervous"[243] to be put in the spotlight. Alan Loveday (1928-2016), a modern violinist who led the Academy of St Martin in the Fields and the Royal Philharmonic, ended up playing the recorded examples.

In a curious review of only the recording that accompanied Boyden's book, the reviewer - perhaps unaware that Skeaping had first been approached - complains that Skeaping would have been a better choice and that the recording doesn't properly demonstrate the difference between the modern and early violin. He explains:

> This particular contrast, therefore, still awaits its full realization in recorded sound. And perhaps the best way to do so, though rather outside the scope of Professor Boyden's purpose here, would be to perform a complete work in both styles. It is only right, therefore, to point out that such a performance happened experimentally long ago at the second Annual General Meeting of the Galpin Society, when Kenneth Skeaping, using his own Vuillaume and this same Stainer [that was used in the recording], played two versions of a Corelli sonata; first at modern pitch with piano accompaniment, the old Novello edition, totally unadorned, and edited by - of all people - Arnold Dolmetsch; and second, at the low pitch with harpsichord, the early Amsterdam edition of Roger, containing the written-out ornaments…[244]

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[239] Anthony Baines, ed. *Musical Instruments Through the Ages* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961).

[240] Ibid., 125.

[241] Pallis, "Kenneth Skeaping," 279.

[242] David Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its origins to 1761* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965): xi.

[243] Roddy Skeaping, interview with author, London, United Kingdom, 7 October 2014.

[244] Eric Halfpenny,"Contrasts," review of *The History of Violin Playing*. Comparative examples played by Alan Loveday and introduced by David Boyden, *The Galpin Society Journal* 20 (March 1967): 139.

The Galpin Society was formed for the study of music instruments in 1946, so this performance most likely occurred in 1947. This anecdote not only underlines Skeaping's reputation and his ability to perform on both modern and Baroque violin, but also how views of historical authenticity were changing. The Corelli edition by the early music icon Dolmetsch was now considered suitable for a performance with modern violin and piano, while - for the members of this specialized society - playing at low pitch on an unmodernized violin with harpsichord and using a historical edition were already considered essential for a proper early music performance in the 1940s.

Skeaping was not only friends with Boyden, but also the American violinist Sol Babitz. Skeaping obviously knew Babitz's work, as seen in his review of Babitz's translation of Tartini's treatise, which states that "the recovery of [this treatise's] treasure will be accomplished only by violinists whose devotion to the practical study of eighteenth-century violin playing is equal to that of Mr. Babitz himself. There will not be too many of them."[245] Letters from Skeaping to Babitz are said to be in the Sol Babitz Archive in California, but they have yet to be uncovered in the archive's present disarray.[246] Skeaping's son Roddy, a violinist himself, showed me how his father used to shift without using his chin on the Baroque violin, a technique that Babitz was also proposing. Babitz and Boyden had severed their friendship by 1969, and it is interesting to note that Skeaping remained on good terms with both men.

Skeaping's recordings at the BBC show an increasing commitment to early music. In the 1920s and 30s, Skeaping was playing "Popular Excerpts from Shakespeare" and Bach cantatas, both presumably on modern instruments.[247] By the 1940s, he was part of the BBC televised "Music Through the Centuries: 2: A series of programmes in which Scott Goddard traces the development of music and musical instruments from the sixteenth century to the present day."[248] This production included well-known early music figures such as Alfred Deller, Desmond Dupre, Marshall Johnson on viola d'amore and Skeaping on violin.[249] Other BBC recordings in the 1960s and 1970s include performances with the English Consort of Viols as well as playing tenor viol and violin in a group led by Catherine Mackintosh.[250] These almost fifty years of BBC recordings demonstrate Skeaping's life-long interest in early music, as well as reflecting the increasing commitment to the use of historical instruments in Great Britain. Skeaping also played modern viola with

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[245] Kenneth Skeaping, review of *Treatise on the Ornaments of Music by Giuseppe Tartini,* ed. Sol Babitz, *The Galpin Society Journal* 12 (May 1969): 99-100.

[246] Lois M. Sabo-Skelton, "Sol Babitz, The Early Music Laboratory and String Pedagogy, with annotated Catalogues" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2001): 225, 233.

[247] The Snow String Quartet (March 2, 1925) "Popular Excerpts from Shakespeare," BBC 5XX Daventry, Tuesday, 3 March 1925, 18.40, http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?adv=0&q=popular+excerpts+from+shakespeare&media=all&yf=1923&yt=2009&mf=1&mt=12&tf=00%3A00&tt=00%3A00#search, last accessed 4 June 2017 and "The Bach Cantata Club," BBC Regional Programme, Tuesday 12 October 1933 20.15, http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?adv=0&q=Bach+Cantata+club&media=all&yf=1923&yt=2009&mf=1&mt=12&tf=00%3A00&tt=00%3A00#search, last accessed 4 June 2017.

[248] "Music Through the Centuries: 2." BBC TV, Sunday 29 February 1948 21.30, http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?adv=0&q=music+through+the+centuries&media=all&yf=1923&yt=2009&mf=1&mt=12&tf=00%3A00&tt=00%3A00#search, last accessed 4 June 2017.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Concert with Musica Reservata on 2 July 1967 and an ensemble led by Catherine Mackintosh with works by Pelham Humfrey and Matthew Locke on 28 July 1973.

other historically-aware musicians in Neville Marriner's Academy of St. Martin in the Fields 1971 recording of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos.[251]

Skeaping taught at the Royal College of Music, and his influence is still felt by his students. Mackintosh's biography states that she was "much inspired by Kenneth Skeaping's Baroque chamber music classes," and her enormous respect for him is repeated in many interviews.[252] Skeaping helped her find her first Baroque violin, "a little old English fiddle in original condition," which she still owns because it "launched [her] on the path!" Mackintosh played with the Skeapings (Kenneth and his sons Roddy and Adam) in the Skeaping Ensemble, and she - in turn - employed her former teacher. Two of Skeaping's children and his former daughter-in-law were part of the early music movement, and the Skeaping surname is dotted amongst a myriad of early music ventures and recordings. Roddy remembers that his father encouraged historical instrument makers and early music players and was "glad to see the movement take off," repeating the often heard comment that his father "was never in it for his own glory."[253]

Skeaping's modesty has made it difficult to uncover his many contributions in helping the movement "take off," but the occasional story did surface. In the early 1960s, Skeaping was part of an "interesting experiment" with the Northern Sinfonia, a British chamber orchestra.[254] According to the Sinfonia's archive, Skeaping came "to show the Orchestra how the old instruments were played, the kind of bow that was used, the kind of quality of sound and something about the way they would ornament the music."[255] Even though "this was found to be invaluable guidance," the Sinfonia didn't have the means to purchase historical instruments and couldn't "pursue this intriguing line of development."[256]

Eduard Melkus related a story about a generous violinist at Lady Jeans' festival that sounds very much like Skeaping. Susi Jeans (1911-1993), an Austrian keyboardist who married Sir James Jeans, founded the Boxhall Festival in 1966. Melkus recalls:

> There was an old gentleman who played violin… he looked like [he was] out of a seventeenth-century book with his white beard, and we became very good friends. I remember I had a wonderful bow, an original bow, one of my treasures, but he had a transitional bow… long but normal, just a little bit of a swan's head. I admired his bow very much, and next year when I came back to Haselmere, he approached me and said 'Mr. Melkus, I have a surprise for you.' He opened up the case and there was a copy of his bow that he [had had made] for me as a present.

I shared this story with Roddy and asked if he thought this "old gentleman" with the "white beard" could have been his

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[251] J.S. Bach, Brandenburg Concertos by The Academy of St. Martin in the Fields, dir. Neville Marriner, LP recording (The Netherlands, Phillips 6700 045, 1971).

[252] Lucy Robinson, "Mackintosh, Catherine (Anne)," *Grove Music Online*. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/46194?q=kenneth+skeaping&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit, last accessed 4 June 2017.

[253] Roddy Skeaping, interview.

[254] Bill Griffiths, *Northern Sinfonia: a magic of its own* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Northumbria University Press, 2004): 26.

[255] Ibid., quote from the Archive 7/7.

[256] Griffiths, 26.

father. He wrote:

> Yes that is a definite fit with his character and I have no doubt it is true. I remember him taking part in Suzie [sic] Jeans' festival…. In those days people were in general much more interested in helping each other to forward the idea of authentic performance and nothing like so competitive as they are now that it's become absorbed into the music industry.[257]

In the many tributes written about Skeaping, Loveday provided important insights into this shy pioneer: "His playing and style were a revelation. It is such a pity that he kept his prowess almost a secret, to hear him at his best one almost had to hear him playing when he was unaware of anyone listening. I am sure the musical world has not yet realized the full extent of the loss to authentic string playing when Kenneth passed away."[258]

The early music world seems to have never "realized the full extent" of Skeaping's many contributions to the Baroque violin revival. It is telling that Melkus doesn't remember the name of the generous violinist who had a bow built for him, and it's clear that Skeaping is fading away in personal and collective memories. In Donington's *The Interpretation of Early Music,* he points to Skeaping as one of two people alongside Boyden "who are conducting important researches into the theory and practice of the [early violin]."[259] In the revised version from 1974, Skeaping is no longer mentioned. It is a sad realization that such a modest man, who contributed so much to the Baroque violin revival, seems to have disappeared from the historiography of the early music movement in just over a decade.

Walter Kägi (1901-1998)

As the first person employed to teach "*Violine in alter Mensur*," Walter Kägi holds pride of place in the professionalization of the Baroque violinist. Kägi (Illustration 2.2) was a member of the original faculty of the Swiss *Schola Cantorum Basiliensis,* founded in 1933, and he continued teaching there until 1954. His children, whom I met in Basel in 2014, were completely unaware of their father's interest in early music and had never heard a recording of him playing the Baroque violin until my lecture. It has been difficult to reconstruct the extent of Kägi's important work for, like many of the less well-known pioneers, early music was just one part of Kagi's professional life.

2.2 Walter Kägi

The Schola offered both viola d'amore and Baroque violin instruction, which further confirms the connection between these two historical instruments. An examination of the Schola's 1935 prospectus reveals that Kägi had much more than a superficial knowledge of the Baroque violin and its repertoire. The description for Baroque violin study reads: "Left hand and bow technique on the historical instruments, scordatura, Italian and German masters from the early days of the violin (Marini, J.J. Walther, Biber), and the virtuosity

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[257] Roddy Skeaping, email correspondence, 30 November 2017.

[258] Marco Pallis, compilator, "Tributes to Kenneth Skeaping 1897-1977," *Early Music* vol. 8, no. 2 (April 1978): 279.

[259] Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (1963), 465.

of the 17th and 18th centuries (Corelli, Vivaldi, Leclair, Händel, Bach, etc.)."[260]

This course description, though succinct, provides a clear and well-defined outline for this study. Mentioning both left hand and bowing techniques implies that these were different from those on the modern violin, and *scordatura* was a technique that few modern violinists would have explored. Some of the composers would have been familiar to a modern violinist, but Marini, Walther, Biber and Leclair would have been new for most of the students.

One can hear Kägi play on the *Archiv* recording of Bach's Brandenburg concertos from 1953 with the *Schola Cantorum Basiliensis "Konzergnruppe"*conducted by August Wenzinger (1905-1996). This recording sounds more historically stylish than the recording of a Telemann Concerto with Thomas Brandis on violin that the ensemble recorded more than ten years later.[261] In the Brandenburg concertos, Kagi's sound is light and his vibrato never seems to dominate the sound. Kagi's playing, reflecting that of the other soloists, is very legato in the slow movements and very articulate in the fast ones.[262] In 1960, Kägi recorded two pieces by Rupert Mayr (1646-1712) and Johann Krieger (1652-1735), but his playing seems slightly more square than in the earlier Bach disc.[263] Like many recordings from this time period, Kägi is not playing on a violin from the time period of the music. His 1785 instrument is too late for the featured works and was most likely not in a completely Baroque state.

Although it is impossible to tell exactly what equipment Kägi was using from the record covers or from photographs in the *Schola*'s archives, it is likely to have been similar to that of his pupil Marie Leonhardt, which is well-documented. This would have been a violin in some sort of pre-modernized state with gut strings and a chin rest, plus a modern-copy Baroque bow. Kägi's and Leonhardt's early use of almost continuous vibrato leads one to believe that they are using a chin rest to hold the instrument, and videos of Leonhardt from the 1960s confirm this.

There is so little information available about Kagi's early music activities that Leonhardt's memories were essential in reconstructing what studying Baroque violin at the Schola entailed. Leonhardt recalled that her parents Dr. and Mrs Amsler were great music lovers, supported the *Schola* and that singers from the school performed in their home. She related that her father "was a doctor and intellectual and felt the importance of doing music in another way." During her modern violin studies in Geneva, Leonhardt claims that her parents demanded, "Enough of this virtuoso thing, go to Basel for a year!" She recalled that she wasn't so keen, but was ultimately grateful that she did.

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[260] *Schola Cantorum Bailiensis Prospekt für das Sommersemester 1935*, Griff- und Bogentechnik auf den Instrumenten mit alten Mensuren, Scordaturiesen. Italienische und deutsche meister aus der Frühzeit des Geigenspiels (Marini, J.J. Walther, Biber), die Virtuosenzeit des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts (Corelli, Vivaldi, Leclair, Händel, Bach u.a.) from the archive of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis; Basel, Switzerland.

[261] Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, 3 Concertos from Tafelmusik by G.F. Telemann (Archiv, LP, 1966) and "Telemann: 3 Concertos from Tafelmusik (1965 -Wenzinger - Schola Cantorum Basiliensis," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVC8iBD6jZo, last accessed 31 May 2017.

[262] "1953 Brandenburg concerto nr2 bwv 1047 part2," from *Archiv* 45 rpm single, recorded 4 January 1953. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGuKpQCyHZ8, last accessed 8 July 2017.

[263] R.I. Mayr, "Laudate pueri Dominum" and J. Ph. Krieger, "Herr, auf dich trau ich," from *Aus der Geschichte der abendländischen Musik* (from the History of Occidental Music) Research Periods I-XII, VI. Forschungsbereich, Serie F: *Archiv,* 33 LP Stereo, 198180.

Comparing the Schola with her modern violin studies, Leonhardt admitted being surprised by the *Schola*'s way of teaching. She remembers that she "sang very early music at the *Schola* and learned how to approach music in a different way. First, you used your voice; the instruments were in second place. Bach was the last thing you tackled." Leonhardt remembers her lessons with the gambist August Wezinger: "He coached the strings and was a wonderful teacher and wonderful player. We could listen to him for hours." She recalls studying with Kägi:

> A wonderful player, but he couldn't teach. He was so relaxed, but if you played as relaxed as he did, you'd drop your violin! It was amazing that I managed. It was all so unconscious. We followed our teachers because we played with them. And we didn't think at all. Not yet.

The importance of singing and considering Bach the "last thing" one tackled would have been strikingly different from a modern conservatory training, but Leonhardt's description of following her teacher's lead sounds very much like traditional violin study at this time. Playing alongside one's teachers was an important part of the Schola's education, and documents confirm that "Marie Amsler" was in the orchestra alongside Kägi in two programs that included Bach Brandenburg concertos, a serenata and harpsichord concerto.[264] It is likely that Leonhardt's feeling that she did not yet "think" at the Schola is a comparison with her later experiences with the Leonhardt Consort, where they "worked hours and hours" to create a style that "let the music sound as it should."

Leonhardt mentioned that she had a Baroque violin at the *Schola,* and the school did provide instruments for the students. The 1935 *Prospekt* states that "procuring an historical instrument can best be discussed with the respective teacher," and it is possible that Leonhardt was able to borrow a Baroque bow and a "*Violine in alter Mensur*" during her studies.[265] Dr. Thomas Drescher, present head of the *Schola* and early violin expert, spoke to me about the instruments that were available in the early days of the school.[266] He mentioned Dr. Rudolf Eras (1904-1998), who was an important researcher and builder of historic violins and lived just over the border in Kandern, Germany. Eras studied historical and modern instrument making in Markneukirchen, published "*Uber alte Mensuren in der Geigenfamilie*" and reconstructed many historical instruments.[267] Although outside the perimeters of this dissertation, Eras is an important figure in the Baroque violin revival and it is the hope that his work will be looked at in greater detail.

Just as Kägi's career included modern and early music, the students at the *Schola* also experienced a broad repertoire. Leonhardt remembers that both she and her future husband Gustav played in Paul Sacher's *Das Basler Kammerorchester.* She recalls playing Honneger and Martin: "It was terribly difficult. We had to practice, especially me, to play this modern orchestral music." This concert took place during their student days, but Leonhardt was also a

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[264] On 18 and 22 September 1947 in Veronika Gutmann, ed., *Alte Musik: Konzert und Rezeption* (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 1992): 247-8.

[265] "Die Frage der Beschaffung alter Instrumente wird am besten mit dem jeweiligen Lehrer besprochen." Archive of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis; Basel, Switzerland.

[266] Dr. Thomas Drescher, interview with the author,Basel, Switzerland, 11 December 2014.

[267] Dr. Rudolf Eras, "Uber alte Mensuren in der Geigenfamilie," *Zeitschrift für Hausmusik*, Jarhgangs 3/1935: 90-92.

member of the orchestra from 1952-1953 and therefore still playing modern violin at this time.[268]

The Swedish violinist Lars Frydén (1927-2001), who also studied with Kägi at the Schola, is another almost forgotten Baroque violin pioneer (Illustration 2.3). Frydén had met Gustav Leonhardt while they were both studying in Basel, and this musical friendship continued after their studies. Frydén performed with Gustav in Vienna and in The Netherlands and recorded a number of discs with him.[269] A review of a recital they gave together in Delft states that Frydén played "especially beautifully and stylistically pure."[270] To twenty-first-century ears, Frydén's playing is indeed beautiful and technically assured, but sounds old-fashioned with his use of almost continual vibrato.[271] It is most likely that he was using the same sort of equipment that Leonhardt used in the 1960s, and the use of a chin rest made this sound easier to produce.

2.3 Lars Frydén

It is frustrating to not be able to discover more about Kägi's pioneering work at the *Schola* and his early music activities. Even after searching through the *Schola's* archives and speaking with people there, it was impossible to find much concrete evidence to determine what sort of equipment Kägi used or what sort of music he performed. Playing the Baroque violin must not have been considered a career possibility and no diplomas were issued for this instrument during Kägi's tenure. Given this situation, it is all the more commendable that Kägi produced at least two professional Baroque violinists. It is fortunate that, thanks to Leonhardt's memories, a small part of his story can be told.

Sol Babitz

The American violinist Sol Babitz (1911-1982) is rarely mentioned in accounts of the early music movement, and it was surprising that his name often came up during the interviews for this dissertation. After extensive research, it became clear that Babitz's writings, recordings and contact with many of the early music pioneers were surprisingly influential to the revival. Babitz (Illustration 2.4) was in touch with many important Baroque violin scholars and players including Boyden, Skeaping, Schröder, Melkus and Kuijken.

Babitz liked to proclaim that he was a born rebel and primarily self taught, and this reflects the same sort of mythologizing accounts of Dolmetsch and Kuijken. Babitz wrote: "I…have a been a dissenter as long as I can remember. Except for a semester at the Berlin Hochschule with Carl Flesch and a summer semester in musicology with

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[268] Veronika Gutmann, ed. *Alte und Neue Musik II: Das Basler Kammerorchester unter leitung van Paul Sacher 1926-1976 (*Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1977): 532.

[269] J.S. Bach, Sonatas for violin and harpsichord, Telefunken, Das Alte Werk, ca. 1964; J.P. Rameau, *Pièces de clavecin en concert*, Amadeo (with Nikolaus Harnoncourt, viola da gamba), n.d.; J.J.C. de Mondonville, "Six Sonatas for Violin and Harpsichord," n.d.

[270] V. D.V., "Concert in Prinsenhof een unieke ervaring," *De Telegraaf* 6 October 1962.

[271] "Mondonville - Pieces de clavecin en sonates, Gustav Leonhardt & Lars Frydén," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VyZMxRaBFcY, last accessed 16 June 2018 and " / Gustav Leonhardt, Lars Fryden, 1963: Sonata in F minor, BWV 1018," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W47ex3-JEwI, last accessed 16 June 2018.

Curt Sachs I have been self educated since high-school."[272] A closer examination produced a more nuanced biography.

It is impossible to reconstruct exactly when and how Babitz's interest in early music first began, but it could have been as early as the 1930s. His wife stated that "during his time in Berlin, Sol began to disagree with how Bach was played by contemporary musicians,"[273] and Babitz himself writes that "at the age of 20 I was disagreeing with Flesch and I recall his saying dolefully to the class, 'Mark my word, he will write a book!'"[274] Because of the increasingly tense situation in Germany, Babitz spent his last few months in Europe in Paris. In May and June 1933, Babitz studied with the French violinist Marcel Chailley (1881-1936). Chailley kindly agreed to start teaching Babitz before all the finances were sorted and wrote that he would not refuse to teach "a talented student" because of "money matters."[275] Babitz never mentioned these lessons, and it is interesting to speculate if any of Babitz's Baroque ideas were formed by his brief acquaintance with the French violin school.

2.4 Sol Babitz

Upon his return to the States in 1933, Babitz became close friends with composers such as Stravinsky and Schoenberg, as well as the violinist Joseph Szigeti (1892-1973). Babitz played for many silent films, was a session musician for Twentieth Century Fox, worked with the Los Angeles Philharmonic, and loved jazz, mariachi bands and modern music by composers such as Charles Ives. All of these activities didn't keep Babitz from pursuing his early music interests, and he sought contact with many like-minded musicians and musicologists during his extensive study of the Baroque violin.

From the 1940s on he corresponded extensively with figures such as Donington and Dart and became good friends with Boyden. There are letters from virtually every important early music figure from 1940-1970 in the Sol Babitz Archives at the University of California in Los Angeles, but the careful organization of this archive by Dr. Lois Sabo-Skelton is in shambles. Because of the disarray of the collection, it has been impossible to recover most of these letters from afar, but the few that have been examined are of great importance for an understanding of Babitz's achievements and influence.

In 1948, Babitz joined forces with the keyboardist Wesley Kuhnle (1898-1962) to found the Early Music Laboratory, an organization "for the Advancement of Historical Accuracy in Performance." By the early 1950s, Babitz had obtained a

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[272] Sol Babitz, *The Great Baroque Hoax* (Los Angeles: Early Music Laboratory, 1970): 2. Although Sachs was in Berlin in 1932-3, Babitz only mentions studying with him at in the early 50's at USC. Lois M. Sabo-Skelton, "Sol Babitz, The Early Music Laboratory and String Pedagogy, with annotated Catalogues," (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2001): 45.

[273] "Sol Babitz," http://www.maebabitz.com/about/sol-babitz/, last accessed 31 May 2017.

[274] Babitz, *The Great Baroque Hoax,* 2.

[275] Lois M. Sabo-Skelton, quoting from a letter in the Sol Babitz Private Collection, 31.

violin with early fittings and was busy trying to put his ideas into practice. Babitz was intent upon disseminating his theories and began to publish articles in numerous respected journals, including *The Musical Quarterly*, *Music and Letters*, *The Musical Times* and the *Journal of Research in Music Education*. "A Problem of Rhythm in Baroque Music," published in 1952, is his most important early publication.[276] His reputation must have been serious enough to merit a spot at the American Musicological Society meeting in 1954, where he demonstrated the differences between modern and early violins, bows and techniques.[277]

Babitz found his personal soapbox and most outspoken platform with his Early Music Laboratory. With Stravinsky as Honorary President giving the venture a stamp of authority, the Laboratory produced fifteen Bulletins, a collection of books, numerous cassette tapes and one LP recording. After the death of Kuhnle, Babitz continued as sole director of the Laboratory. No longer reigned in by judicious colleagues or editors nor fettered by musicological niceties such as footnotes, Babitz could write and record anything he wanted. In 1970, the Early Music Laboratory released its most infamous publication, an LP disc and accompanying booklet that can be considered the culmination and denouement of all of Babitz's work. The cover of the disc, entitled *The Future of Baroque Music: a lecture-recital by Sol Babitz,* proclaims that one will hear "the first restored baroque violin" with "many baroque conventions never before heard on records."[278] This was not only incorrect, but also an affront to the violinists who had been recording on historical instruments since the 1940s and 1950s. The LP is meant to demonstrate the ideas Babitz presents in the booklet, and the recording is a mix of Babitz speaking and playing the Baroque violin "with early technique."[279] In the spoken introduction, Babitz states that he has been busy for 35 years with this "revolutionary experimentation," implying that he began this work in 1935, just a few years after his return from Europe.

This recording is predominately a vehicle for Babitz to exhibit the differences between his concept of the modern, smooth style of violin playing with its "heavy, Wagnerian sound" and the Baroque style with its "much lighter, more improvised sound" where "one tries to get a different emotion on every note." Often out of tune, scratchy and uncontrolled, Babitz's exaggerated Baroque playing is not a good advertisement for his ideas. Claiming that the ugly sounds were caused by his "very old Stainer full of cracks," Babitz undermined his argument that historical equipment is superior to the modern violin and bow for playing Baroque music. Alongside excuses and unrefined playing there are also moments of beauty and musicality where Babitz seems better able to realize his ideals.

The booklet made the same sorts of exaggerated assertions as the LP cover. This was Babitz's writing at its most unrestrained and went so far that even Babitz felt he must make a few changes in the second edition, apologizing for -

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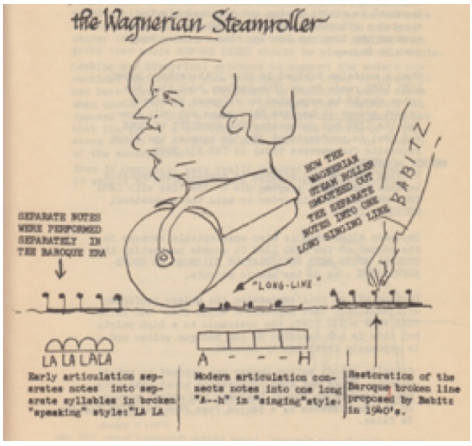
[276] Sol Babitz, "A Problem of Rhythm in Baroque Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (1952): 533-565.

[277] Sol Babitz, "Differences Between 18th-Century and Modern Violins, Bows and Technique"(paper presented at the Southern California Chapter in Los Angeles, CA. on February 12, 1955), abstract in *JAMS* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1956), 56-7. Most likely similar to his AMS demonstration (Ann Arbor, MI, 17 December 1954).

[278] Sol Babitz, *The Future of Baroque Music: a lecture-recital by Sol Babitz,* LP disc (Los Angeles: Early Music Laboratory, 1970).

[279] Ibid.

as he put it - "some of the flamboyant and arrogant sections."[280] Babitz's cartoons are infamous (Illustration 2.5), and his Wagnerian steamroller crushing Baroque music (restored by Babitz's helping hand) and a sewing machine boring into Bach's head were designed to provoke. As was his prose. Ideas were often proclaimed with little nuance, enemies executed without trial and all were typed with an unremitting barrage of exclamation points and capital letters. One example states:



2.5 "The Wagnerian Steamroller"

> Recent research in early performance practice shows that NOT ONE NOTE of Bach is being performed correctly. When people distort Bach out of ignorance of historical facts that is tantamount to a hoax. There is however a large contingent of educated musicians who KNOW that the Baroque era was a high point of FLAMBOYANCE and who SAY that the performer must use Baroque abandon and 'transcend the notes.' When people who KNOW and SAY such correct things then proceed to DO the opposite of what they say and perform Bach like a SEWING MACHINE that is THE GREAT BAROQUE HOAX.[281]

This publication, far from cementing Babitz's reputation, contributed to its decline. In 1963, Donington had cited Babitz as one of the two people, alongside Boyden, "who are conducting important researches into the theory and practice of the [early violin]," although Donington did add that some of Babitz's "conclusions I would, however, question."[282] Donington's review of Babitz's book and LP made it clear that he could no longer support Babitz's work, writing: "I am genuinely sorry to say I think that [Babitiz's] revolutionist's programme … cannot be accepted, either on musicological or (the crucial test) on musical grounds."[283]

Babitz's work became increasingly personal and extreme through the years, yet an examination of his whole oeuvre shows that much of his early work was based on extensive study of original sources and experimentation with historical equipment. I have compiled Babitz's basic theories about playing the Baroque violin, and his guidelines would not be out of place in a Baroque violin course in the twenty-first century. They include:

1. The use of an instrument in Baroque state (with no modern additions such as chin rests and shoulder pads) and an 18th-century bow.
2. The modern, legato style should be exchanged for a more articulated way of playing. The basic bow stroke should be louder at the frog and softer at the tip.
3. The hierarchy of the bar line should be restored. Notes should be accented or elongated to make the beats and bar lines clear.

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[280] Robert Donington, review of *The Great Baroque Hoax*, by Sol Babitz, *The Musical Times* 111, no. 1528 (June 1970): 606.

[281] Babitz, *The Great Baroque Hoax,* 12.

[282] Donington, *Interpretation* (1963), 465.

[283] Donington, review, 606.

4. Equal notes should be played unequally with a "baroque swing."
5. Chords should be arpeggiated, not broken.
6. Vibrato should be minimal and expressive bowing, such as the use of the *messa di voce* (a crescendo and diminuendo of the sound) should be used.
7. Appropriate ornamentation should be added.

Babitz's ideas attracted many followers. He recruited members for his Laboratory from all over the world and printed their names and positions in every Laboratory bulletin as a tacit advertisement. Many musicologists and early musicians were members of Babitz's Laboratory, including such prominent names as Gustav Leonhardt and Jaap Schroder in the Netherlands; Thomas Binkley, Noah Greenberg, Alan Curtis and Neal Zaslaw in the United States; as well as people and institutions in the UK, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, France, Russia, Israel, Brazil and Australia.

In the United States, Sonya Monosoff never met Babitz but recalls: "He was, I think, a rather odd character but was the first American to address, in writing, concerns among us 'pioneers'…. I still have the application form for membership in his Early Music Laboratory, and his *Music Review* and *Musical Quarterly* articles of 1967 and 1952.[284]

Babitz never found the support and recognition he desired in the United States, and his early music work never landed him a job nor financial security. His later antics at a American Musicological Conference (grabbing the microphone and proclaiming that all that was spoken there was lie) solidified his reputation as an unhinged revolutionary.[285] His falling out with the respected musicologist Boyden robbed him of one of his few friends and supporters. Babitz most likely felt that Europe would be a more fertile ground for his early music proselytizing and had no reservations about contacting musicians and inviting himself to their institutions and homes. Grants from the Ford and Fulbright foundations, as well as the American Council of Learned Societies, helped Babitz travel to Europe a number of times.[286] Unfortunately, Babitz's strident, abusive manner also did not endear him to colleagues on the other side of the ocean.

Melkus, when speaking about the Baroque violin, explained: "I can trace back this crazy idea. There was in the States, in California, a Mexican violinist who was interested in old music. This was Sol Babitz." Babitz was Jewish, not Mexican, and although it is doubtful Babitz ever said he was from Mexico, it is possible that he didn't publicize his heritage during and immediately after World War II. Melkus continued:

> Did you ever meet him? It was fun to meet him. I met him at an ASTA [American String Teachers Association] meeting. I thought that what he thought was quite interesting. I invited him to the Vienna Academy - I was already a teacher there - to promote his ideas. When you responded in a different way or mentioned different ideas than he had, he became suddenly furious. You could never debate with him.

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[284] Sonya Monosoff, email correspondence with author, 8 December 2015.

[285] Neal Zaslaw, conversation with author, Cincinnati, Ohio, 15 April 2016.

[286] Sabo-Skelton, 100.

Melkus adds that he felt that Babitz laid much of the foundation for what Melkus called "the Netherlands School," and it is true that his theories seemed to find particularly fertile ground there. Schröder and Babitz corresponded, and Schröder's personal possessions include four well-penciled early articles by Babitz, six Early Music Laboratory bulletins and three letters. Schröder recalls Babitz's visit to Amsterdam in October 1972, stating "[he was] a strange figure, yes, he came here to the house. He had a few interesting ideas and was the first to publish them, but he was quite awful." In the introduction to Schröder's Bach book, he acknowledges Babitz's accomplishments, while being equally honest about his shortcomings. It was only in my conversations with the gentlemanly and articulate Schröder that I realized that he was using "from scratch" in both senses of the phrase. Schröder wrote:

> In the late 1950s the American violinist Sol Babitz gained a well-deserved reputation for aggressively promoting the correct way of playing that forgotten instrument, the baroque violin. [His] pioneering publications… made many excellent points. His practical demonstrations were less convincing, however; it would be fair to say that in both these activities he started from scratch.[287]

Gustav and Marie Leonhardt knew Babitz and his work well. The two men corresponded, and Gustav wrote to him in 1962, "Will you be coming to Amsterdam before long? We hope! My wife sends you her best regards. She is considering many of your remarks in her playing."[288] When Marie was asked about her musical influences, she said that "[people like Babitz] are imprinted in our heads. I've kept his articles. I tried to follow some of his theories. He was a very important person, but so extreme that no one could follow him. He liked that." Babitz did indeed come visit the Leonhardts a number of times. Marie recalled:

> What a shock. He showed us things, he had his own way …. [and had] strange theories about the violin. [He had] very strong opinions, too strong sometimes. He had a way of playing - it sounded terrible! I remember Gustav was half crying/half laughing, but fascinated. [Babitz] was possessed. And strident. Half crazy, but fun.

Kuijken's chance encounter with a cassette tape of Babitz in New York was a revelation for the young violinist and inspired his radical change of approach to the Baroque violin (see Chapter Four, "Playing the Baroque Violin"). As early as 1955, Babitz was already promoting the idea of using historical playing techniques on the early instrument. He felt that using historical instruments was only the first step and stressed that it was equally important to play them in a historical way. This was a revolutionary idea in the 1950s, as Babitz was proposing that technique as well as equipment needed to follow a retrograde path to produce a true historically-informed performance.

As inspiring as Babitz could be from afar, his non-collegial rudeness made it virtually impossible for him to find the support and respect he desired. When Kuijken invited Babitz to give a masterclass in The Netherlands, Babitz published a critical report of his host:

> The members of the Kuyken [sic] Quartet, Sigiswald: violin,… Wieland viol, Bartold Baroque flute

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[287] Jaap Schröder, *Bach's Solo Violin Works: A Performer's Guide* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007): 3.

[288] Letter from Gustav Leonhardt to Sol Babitz, Amsterdam, 12 September 1962, Sol Babitz Archive, University of California Los Angeles.

> were kind enough to invite me to give a lecture-demonstration at their sessions at the Hague Conservatory. When I saw that they were teaching unequal notes to the students in these classes I thought that they had changed their manner of playing from that in their recordings and had begun to play with rhythmic freedom - however it seems that they are capable of teaching it without actually doing it themselves![289]

Boyden, who had been a friend and colleague for many years, was forced to confront Babitz about his bad behavior. Boyden had generously acknowledged Babitz in his *History of Violin Playing*, writing:

> I am especially grateful to professional violinists and firms of violin dealers and makers who have interested themselves in the subject [the early violin]. In particular, Sol Babitz has provided me with an immense amount of information and violinistic stimulation, so to speak, over a period of years; and, although we have not always agreed, I owe several basic ideas to his acute perception.[290]

Boyden sent Babitz a copy of his book and, according to Boyden, Babitz took over two months to acknowledge this present. When he finally did, Boyden claimed that Babitz wrote that the book was "generally good" but "burdened with about 300 serious errors."[291] Defending himself from Babitz's critique, Boyden pinpoints Babitz's increasingly stubborn viewpoints and writes that perhaps "there is no such thing as 'the baroque violin.' When you ponder the differences in sound of the violin in Italy, France, and Germany about 1700, you are faced with a series of 'Baroque' violins. Your simplistic views in this matter are something I have never been able to follow."[292]

Clearly jealous of Boyden's professional success, Babitz complains about his own financial problems in this same letter. Boyden cannot resist responding honestly:

> You put it down to idealism. That surely comes into it, but there are still a number of people who have and maintain ideals without similar penalties. I think, in your case, one could look also for other causes such as bad judgement, arrogance, and an extraordinary lack of sensitivity toward others.[293]

Boyden is most likely correct about the reasons for Babitz's lack of success. When Boyden's book was published in 1965, the professionalism of the Baroque violin was already under way, but Babitz was unable to become an active member of this community. Babitz's "simplistic views," undisciplined playing, strident personality and inability to collaborate hobbled not only his later musicological work but would also have made it impossible for him to play with other early musicians. Babitz was certainly flawed, but he was also a true Baroque violin pioneer who helped bring the instrument to a broader public through his writings, recordings and unrelenting need to promote himself and his ideas. Babitz's early work, especially his insistence that the use of historical technique was as important as the use of historical instruments, was nothing short of visionary. Babitz, however arrogant and unpleasant, deserves to be more than just a footnote in the history of the Baroque violin revival.

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[289] Sol Babitz, *EML Bulletin* 13, (1976):1.

[290] David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its origins to 1761* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965): xi.

[291] Letter from David Boyden to Sol Babitz, 24 January 1966, from private collection of Lois Sabo-Skelton.

[292] Ibid.

[293] Ibid.

Chapter Three

The Interviewees: Education and Interest in Early Music

The early musicians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries - in combination with the Baroque violin work of Dolmestch, Skeaping, Kägi and Babitz - were of great importance to the following generations of violinists interested in the historical violin. Directly and indirectly inspired by their predecessors, this next generation of pioneers was able to build upon their accomplishments and turn their vocation into a career.

Since this profession did not exist when these pioneers were young, examining their different trajectories to such an unexpected career is imperative to understanding the Baroque violin revival. Interviews revealed unanticipated material that not only completely revised the focus of this dissertation, but also provided possible explanations for the similarities and differences of the pioneers' approaches to the instrument. It was a surprise to learn how many of these pioneers had already come into contact with historical instruments and performance practice ideas during their tertiary education, and even more unexpected was discovering how many played the gamba before turning their attention to the Baroque violin. It was no surprise that world events and gender would have affected the pioneers' musical lives, but some topics which came up - such as religion - were more unexpected (see Chapter Five).

Interviewing these violinists because of their important contributions to the Baroque violin revival, I was aware that many of the interviewees spoke to me through this lens. They all had trained to become modern violinists, and - with one exception - their interest in early music came later. Although most of these violinists spoke appreciatively about their modern violin study and the modern music world, a few expressed views that were clearly colored by their later sensibilities as period players and/or by my interest in them as Baroque pioneers.

Early Training

Most of these violinists were encouraged to study a musical instrument by their parents as part of a well-rounded education, but none had parents who were professional musicians. Many pioneers claimed that their families weren't musical at all, but further questioning often revealed a strong middle class, amateur music-making background. Usner describes the beginning of twentieth-century Viennese music life, which he claims began earlier "with the rise of a non-aristocratic middle class and the founding of the music societies, institutions and ensembles that created modern Viennese musical life."[294] Harnoncourt's confirmed this when describing her mother, who played the piano as "everybody at that time [did]," since "most of the bourgeois people played an instrument." Schröder describes a similar sort of background in The Netherlands. In the USA, Monosoff also remembers that her parents were "very encouraging." Since none of the pioneers had professional musician parents, it is interesting to consider that this might have made it easier for them to to veer from the traditional violin path in their later careers.

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[294] Eric Martin Usner, "'The Condition of MOZART': Mozart Year 2006 and the New Vienna," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 20:3 (2011). http://www-tandfonline-com.proxy.uba.uva.nl:2048/doi/full/10.1080/17411912.2011.650926?scroll=top&needAccess=true, last accessed 24 November 2017.

All ten of these musicians started studying the violin between age six and eight, with the exception of McDonald who began at five. Growing up in or near a big city made music training easily accessible for most of these pioneers, with the exceptions of Ritchie in Yenda (Austalia) and Kuijken in Dilbeek (Belgium). Both men felt that their backgrounds formed them. Ritchie jokingly referred to himself as a "lazy Australian" whose success just seemed to happen by chance, while Kuijken stressed his isolation from the modern musical world. Repeated questioning showed Ritchie to be a hard-working violinist and Kuijken's musical background to be less narrow than first presented. It is important to describe and, when appropriate, demythologize Kuijken's recollections.

Kuijken spoke of himself as an outsider who came to his early music realizations as a child unspoiled by outside influences, and this trope is repeated in other published interviews. Kuijken's recollections of his youth are filtered through this lens, as seen in his claim that it was "perfectly obvious to a child…that old music sounded best on old instruments. You don't have to be a musicologist to see that. A child thinks that is perfectly normal. They belong together. A child wouldn't understand why you would play [early music] on an instrument from 200 years later." When I remarked that his musical journey seemed like something out of a fairy tale, he was clearly struck by this observation and thought awhile before agreeing that "yes, it is a bit of an unbelievable story."

Kuijken stated that his family was not musical, but further questioning revealed that his mother played piano (transcriptions of "themes from *Don Giovanni* and the Pastoral Symphony"), aunts and uncles were amateur musicians and his grandfather was a smith "but played violin the whole day." Kuijken's first instrument was a homemade viedel played between the knees that his brothers brought back from a course over the border past Monschau, Germany in 1951 and 52. They also brought back "little music books from the Home and Youth Music, something like *Music at Home*." Kuijken played "duets by Lassus… and old music from that time" with his brother and describes it as his "first music, except for those piano bits, that I tried to figure out. That was *the* doorway to early music."

The Youth and Home amateur music-making movements that Kuijken described encouraged the use of historical instruments. Wouter Paap's *Huismuziek en leekenmuziek* (Home and Amateur Music), published just three years after Kuijken was born, includes extensive information about historical instruments, including the early violin.[295] Discussing "instruments from earlier times that men began to value again," Paap adds that these instruments weren't inferior but "better suited to the living room than the concert hall."[296] He claims that the modern violin "has predominately outgrown the strong expressive side and the typically vocal character of early music" and recommends that a violinist playing in an early music ensemble be modest, cultivate an intimate sound, avoid vibrato and portamento, use lower positions and - in short - to be "as little 'violinistic' as possible."[297] Many of these pronouncements - including the negative descriptions of the modern violin and violinist - became part of the rhetoric of the Baroque violin revival, and

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[295] Wouter Paap, *Huismuziek en leekenmuziek* (Bussum: Ons Leekenspel, 1947).

[296] Ibid., 10.

[297] Ibid.

it's likely that Kuijken absorbed many of these ideas alongside the instruments and music his brothers brought home. Once the early music world began to become successful, it had to work hard to distance itself from the House Music (with its amateur status) and Youth (with its Nazi associations) movements which had supported many musical ideals that became tenets of the early music movement.[298] Nikolaus Harnoncourt remembered that for the Bach recording made with the Leonhardts (1954) the record company asked Alice to use her maiden name, because two married couples on the LP cover would have looked too much like the "familial House Music" and been "bad for business."[299]

When Kuijken protested that the idea that he and his musical brothers were prodigies who sprang up "from nothing" was "nonsense," his wife interrupted and was equally adamant that it was true. Kuijken related that he heard a radio for the first time at the age of eight and experienced his first LP record when he was thirteen or fourteen. He recalls that in the beginning "everything on [the record label] *Archiv* was good. I didn't know the difference between Tibor Varga [a modern Hungarian violinist, with whom Harnoncourt briefly studied] and Wenzinger with the Schola [on early instruments]. After a few years, a few months, you figure it out." It is unclear if this was indeed so or if Kuijken was viewing his past through the lens of a period violinist. Kuijken continually stressed that many things were "perfectly obvious" to him, that he discovered most things on his own and that he had no trouble going against authority. Confirming the last, Kuijken's brother Bartold writes that he too

> was greatly supported by the general family spirit of curiosity and independent thinking, also (especially?) when this went against institutions and authorities such as school or tradition. As children we were encouraged to follow our own path but were reminded by our parents of the risk of doing so. In other words, if you were convinced, go ahead, but do not complain afterward about the consequences.[300]

Both Kuijkens present a positive picture of their family background, but the reality was more complicated as their father's association with Nazi ideals would have made things difficult for the family. It also became clear that many aspects of the family story were not completely true. The family was more musical than claimed, the children heard Mozart and Beethoven and well as early music, and they moved to the town of Brugge when Sigiswald was only eight. This would have made their upbringing much less isolated than someone like Ritchie's in Australia.

Few of these violinists remember early music being part of their early eduction with the exception of Melkus and Mackintosh. Melkus remembers coming into contact with early music in secondary school and recalls that his teacher Jan Solvic introduced him to "so-called ancient music - Renaissance music from the time of Isaac onwards - and [I] learned to love it." Mackintosh remembers that she studied music with the English composer Harrison Birtwistle (b.

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[298] For a discussion of the Nazi youth movement on the early music revival, see Anne Smith, "The Development of the *Jugendmusikbewegung,* its Musical Aesthetic and its Influence on the Performance Practice of Early Music," to be published in *Basler Jahrbuch* vol. 39 (2015).

[299] Nikolaus Harnoncourt, *Wir sind eine Entdeckergemeinschaaft: Aufzeichnungen zur Entstehung des Concentus Musicus*, ed Alice Harnoncourt (Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 2017): 36.

[300] Barthold Kuijken, *The Notation is Not the Music: Reflections on Early Music Practice and Performance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013): 5.

1934) for her O-levels. She claims that they "spent a lot of time on very early music - of course, we got through what we had to learn - but we spent a lot of time on the pre-Baroque repertoire." Birtwistle's interest in early music, also shared by other British composers from this period such as Peter Maxwell Davies (1934-2016), helped fuel the UK's interest in this repertoire.

All of these violinists' early training set the stage for them to continue their musical education at conservatory. Only Schröder had a completely different tertiary education in mind, but world events determined and changed his course of study.

World War II

Schröder, living and occasionally hiding in Amsterdam during the Nazi occupation, was planning to go to university when a "loyalty declaration" was imposed just as he was graduating from high school in 1943. As he explained,

> … to go to the university you had to sign a declaration that you would never take any action against the Germans. I refused to do that. That meant I couldn't go to university, which I otherwise would have done, to study history or musicology. When I needed to make a decision, I realized that the Germans had never set foot in the conservatory. Musicians must not have seemed dangerous enough to worry about. So I decided to go to conservatory and study the violin until the war was over.

The war also affected the Austrian violinists' educations. In 1938, Melkus remembers saying goodbye to his first violin teacher, a Polish Jew who went by an assumed name. As a teenager, Melkus had already started studying with Ernst Morovec when "even young people had to enter the army, [because] they came and took over our whole class." Melkus admits that his "only safety was to have a nervous breakdown" and leave secondary school, and it is unclear if this breakdown was real or feigned. By traveling to Berlin and being granted dispensation as a "specially gifted" person, Melkus was spared military service. After the war, he had to finish secondary school to make up for the "two years [he] lost" before he was able to enter the Academy of Music. Melkus related that the influential teacher Josef Mertin was unable to continue much of his work during the war because his wife was Jewish. Melkus concluded, "but you survived. It's better to forget" and added that they did not yet know "all those terrible things." Melkus seems to prefer to remember that they "as young people just safely played our wonderful music" and that art and music are "a wonderful island" that allowed you to not know "what's going around you too much."

Harnoncourt also stressed the positive side of music-making during the war. She remembers going to the Academy when she was just fourteen alongside her gymnasium studies, "but then came the war and everything stopped." Unlike the men who feared being drafted, Harnoncourt described the almost idyllic-sounding situation of being part of "a group of musical children with one professor" who traveled to the countryside to escape the bombs in the city. Because her family home was occupied by the English after the war, the 15-16 year old Harnoncourt was able to go to the Mozarteum in Salzburg, share "a little room there with a girlfriend" and study violin with Theodore Müller. For Harnoncourt, the war afforded her more musical opportunities than if daily life had not been so interrupted.

Many of the older pioneers were also tangentially affected. Jewish musicians fled the Nazi regime and found safer havens in The Netherlands, Great Britain and the United States, and many of the pioneers studied or worked with these refugees. In neutral Switzerland, Leonhardt studied at the Geneva Conservatory with Michel Schwalbé, a Polish Jew who immigrated there in 1939. One of Schröder's most important musical influences was the Jewish Paul Godwin (1902-1982), the stage name of Pinchas Goldfein. Godwin, a Polish violinist/violist, was forced to leave his successful *Tanz-Orchester* in Berlin and flee the Nazi regime in 1933. The Jewish Monosoff's circle of friends in New York was full of refugees, and Monosoff was horrified to hear first-hand news of the events in Europe. Kuijken's father's Nazi sympathies would have had negative consequences for the family after the war. Kuijken described it as a "strong belief in the old German mythology," which led to a political choice that was "disastrous" for the family.[301]

European music institutions became important symbolic expressions of reconstruction and freedom from the Nazi regime after the war. Musicians who had been denied work during the occupation (Mertin), had fled to safety (Melkus) or were unable to follow their studies (Schröder) began rebuilding their disrupted lives. Usner describes how "many of the post-war generation reminisced…about the importance of musical life within Vienna after 1945" and that one of the first reconstruction projects was the state opera house.[302] He claims that for the post-war generation, "music *was* tradition,"[303] and one can imagine how this sentiment resonated with those who were interested in early music. Rubinoff discusses "the high priority" the Dutch government placed on funding the arts and culture after the war. She claims that "these social policies would have important implications for the Early Music movement in the Netherlands, particularly in the areas of education (especially higher education), and in the funding of arts granting agencies, festivals, orchestras and chamber music series."[304]

Conservatory/University Training

All of the pioneers had excellent music educations and studied with fine teachers at good institutions, but early repertoire and performance practice ideas were not a part of their violin training. When asked, many of these violinists recalled important early music influences during their studies, but none of these memories included their primary violin teachers. However seemingly inconsequential, the violin pedigree of these pioneers was extremely important for determining their later aesthetic choices as Baroque players.[305] Unusually, Harnoncourt, Melkus and Leonhardt played

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[301] Sigiswald Kuijken & Marleen Thiers, *Op de Jakobsweg: Pelgrimeren op Oneindi*g (Tielt:Uitgeverij Lannoo, 2007): 131.

[302] Usner.

[303] Ibid.

[304] Kailan Ruth Rubinoff, "The Early Music Movement in the Netherlands: History, Pedagogy and Ethnography." Ph.D. diss. (University of Alberta (Canada), 2006): 198.

[305] Harnoncourt studied violin with Theodor Müller at the Mozartium, Ernst Moravec (1903-1967) at the Vienna Academy and unofficially with Tibor Varga (1921-2003) in Austria and in the UK. Kuijken studied with Maurice Raskin (1906-1984) at the Brussels Conservatory, Leonhardt at the Geneva Conservatory with Michel Schwalbé (1919-2012) and Max Rostal (1905-1991) in London, and Mackintosh with Orrea Pernei (1906-1993)and Sylvia Rosenberg at the Royal College of Music. McDonald studied with Ángel Reyes (1919-1988) and Josef Gingold (1909-1995) at Northwestern University and Indiana University, Melkus with Ernst Morovec at the Vienna Academy, Monosoff with Louis Persinger (1887 -1996) and Ernst Rosenberger at the Juilliard Conservatory in New York, Ritchie at the Sydney Conservatorium and with Ernest Llewellyn, Joseph Fuchs and Oscar Shumsky. Schröder studied with Julius Röntgen Jr. (1881-1951) and Jos de Clerck (±1893- 1978) at the Amsterdam Conservatory, Standage studied with David Martin (1911-82) and Ivan Galamian (1903-1981).

early music on historical instruments at conservatories in the 1940s, as did Mackintosh twenty years later. Leonhardt's Baroque violin study at the Schola is discussed extensively in Chapter 2 under "Walter Kägi."

Harnoncourt and Melkus both admit a huge debt to Josef Mertin (1904-1998). This Austrian musicologist, organ builder, conductor, performer and teacher is given much of the credit for "Vienna's rise to [Early Music] prominence in the 1950s."[306] In more militant terms, Milan Turkovic writes that "[Mertin] was the father of all Viennese efforts to free Renaissance and Baroque music from its Romantic whitewashing and groundless traditions."[307] Nick Wilson, surveying the vast influence of Mertin's students, remarks that it "is indeed intriguing to reflect on the extraordinary influence that this one musicologist and performer has had subsequently throughout the early music field."[308]

Mertin was organizing early music concerts as early as 1934, worked at the Music Academy from 1937-8 and became Professor at the Vienna Music Academy after the war, where he exerted an enormous influence on some of the most important early music figures of the twentieth century. Melkus and Hanoncourt (neé Hoffelner) were both students in Mertin's "Aufführungspraxis Alter Musiik" class in the late 1940s. Melkus claims that Mertin was "certainly the most important early music pioneer in Vienna for 50 years" and adds that "he also had a certain interest and love for modern music." Melkus said that he "learned a lot" from Mertin and his Collegium, citing his "mainly…musical, not theoretical approach." He adds that Mertin "had the gift of a very spontaneous approach to music [combined] with all that knowledge. He led with his wonderful ideas and emotions. This was the great idea that very few have accepted and continued. It was a unique gift. It was wonderful teaching on how to approach music - old or new."

Melkus recalls that Mertin didn't impose his will on his students, but allowed them room to develop their own initiative. He remembers Mertin giving Alfred Altenburger, Alice Hoffelner (Harnoncout), Nikolaus Harnoncourt and himself Bach's *Art of Fugue* in a version for four string instruments and just letting "the fire catch." After listening patiently to their first efforts on the early instruments, he invited them to perform in his Albertina concerts in the 1950 Bach year. It is important to note that Melkus' and Alice Harnoncourt's first experimentations were not with instruments of the violin family, even though Melkus recalls that it "was not really a gamba quartet" with its unusual mix of instruments, as were many of these early gamba consorts. Harnoncourt confirms that Mertin "was quite an interesting person, a little bit - in a very good sense - a dilettante, but he *was* a musician," going on to explain that he was "not so professional, but very enthusiastic." She describes his Collegium Musicum class: "Almost no one at the Academy studied with him, so we were a very small circle that played in his group. That was where it started; it was the nucleus. There we had the possibility to find music and make experiments with the instruments. We were under his shell [protection] in his class - with Gustav Leonhardt, Alfred Altenburger, Eddie Melkus. We met in the Collegium."

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[306] Haskell, 168.

[307] Milan Turkovic, "Beschmunzelt und bestaunt" in *Die Seltsamsten Wiener der Welt:Nikolaus Harnoncourt und sein Concentus Musicus* (Austria: Residenz Verlag, 2003): 17.

[308] Nick Wilson, 73.

Mertin recorded Bach's Brandenburg Concertos with many of his talented pupils including Melkus, both Harnoncourts, Gustav Leonhardt and the *Kammerorchester des Wiener Konzerthauses* in 1950. Often touted as the first recording of these works on "period instruments," it is actually a mix of modern instruments and historical ones. Supraphon re-released this recording on CD in 2016,[309] and the press release proclaims the contributions of Nikolaus Harnoncourt (misspelled), Gustav Leonhardt (playing the incorrect instrument) and the rising violin star Eduard Melkus" (who is actually playing the first viola solo in Brandenburg 6).[310] This blatant, yet sloppy attempt to capitalize on the later fame of these three musicians underlines the "star status" afforded to these early music pioneers in the twenty-first century.

Compared to other recordings from 1950, Mertin's Brandenburg Concerto No. 6 has an especially transparent texture and quick tempi. In Karl Münchinger's excellent performance with the *Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra,* for example, violoncellos are used instead of gambas.[311] In contrast, Mertin must take the different instrument families designated by Bach into consideration to determine balance and use of vibrato. Mertin's string players produce an articulate yet singing sound, although it is unclear if this was made possible by the use of Baroque bows or only through Mertin's musical direction.

Like many from this generation, Mertin was convinced that "live music-making must not be subordinated to a purely scholarly treatment of the existing problems, for we arrive at decisive insights only by active musical realization of a work."[312] When writing about the use of modern instruments for early music, Mertin seems to be wagging a professorial finger at some of this students when he writes:

> Should such music be played only on old violins or is the modern musician at liberty to play also old music on the instrument and with the technique familiar to him? This problem affects many aspects and must therefore not be solved by one-sided intolerance! In the case of the modern violin, an overall balance must be achieved. The players ought to be thoroughly informed about all musical and structural qualities of the particular composition to be able to concentrate their personal share on the essential tasks of interpretation. With such good insight into the composition, they may under some circumstances be preferable to performers with old instruments, the more so as exclusive concern with peculiarity of an old instrument often turns into purism.[313]

Few of the pioneers had such extensive early music experiences at the conservatory. Even though the Brussels Conservatory had a history of interest in early music (see Chapter 1), Kuijken remembers that his musicology class was "the only place I felt at home" and "the only moment at the conservatory where everything made sense." Mackintosh

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[309] Josef Mertin, dir. Bach Branenburg concertos" CD re-release of 1953 LP Supraphon H23301 and H23302 (Prague: Supraphon, 2016).

[310] "Weiner Kammerorcher, Josef Mertin - Bach: Brandenburg Concertos," http://www.supraphon.com/album/275973-bach-brandenburg-concertos, last accessed 3 June 2017.

[311] Karl Münchinger, *Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra,* J.S. Bach, Brandenburg Concerto 6, Decca LXT 2501, 1950.

[312] Josef Mertin, *Early Music: Approaches to performance practice*, translation by Siegmund Levarie (New York: Da Capo Press, 1986): xiii.

[313] Ibid.

was “very excited” when a chest of viols was given to the Royal College of Music in London and she had the opportunity to learn to play the viola da gamba. Her chamber music lessons with Kenneth Skeaping also made a huge impression with her. Standage met Christopher Hogwood and David Munrow at the Cambridge University Music Club, and it was this musical connection with old university friends that later nudged him into an early music career. Ritchie recalls that “little things” through the years stuck with him. In 1956 all the diploma candidates in Sydney had to answer the question “what is meant by style in music” and Ritchie claims that “the seed was planted there.” He also recalls a performance practice class in 1959-60 where the teacher

> talked about the meaning of *alla breve* and pointed out that the Moonlight Sonata is [written with] the *alla breve* metrical sign and played it twice as fast as anyone else. When the melody came [Ritchie demonstrated this by singing it], it made all the sense in the world. I don’t think he knew anything about old pianos, but was just pointing out this one thing.

For most of these violinists, it appears as if their tertiary violin instruction had little to do with their future early music careers, except by preparing them to play the violin very well. Simultaneously, other teachers at the conservatory were already very interested in early repertoire, historical instruments and performance practice concepts. Many pioneers, whether already open to these ideas as young students or as the result of trying to reconstruct their past to explain their future, recalled these seminal moments when “the seed was planted.” It is curious that this “seed” was often sown at conservatory - be it with a musicologist, coach, set of instruments or future colleagues - but not as part of their violin instruction. This further strengthens the argument that violinists of their teachers’ generation, many born in the nineteenth century, had a difficult time relating the ideals of the early music movement to their instrument. It is also possible, but unlikely, that these pioneers were less willing to admit that their violin teachers had any interest in early music or performance practice principles, thereby reinforcing their own pioneer status.

Most of these pioneers looked back fondly on their tertiary studies, with the exception of Kuijken. Since “no one knew anything about early music” at the conservatory, he and and his brother Wieland felt they must kept this interest to themselves. Kuijken explained that he was following “a different, parallel path” with the need to create a “double bookkeeping” during his studies. He explains: “I wanted to study the violin. I was never condescending. It was two different things that I kept well separated. It wouldn’t have worked otherwise. We couldn’t play what we wanted to play with modern technique … It’s impossible to use modern instruments and modern technique to play early music.” He continued:

> When I got my diploma, I immediately started doing what I hadn’t studied. I graduated in 1964. I started doing everything what I hadn’t learned - early music and avant garde. Webern and Schoenberg were taboo. Music stopped with Prokofiev and Stravinsky, if you were lucky, but don’t mention Messiaen! The atonal music didn’t exist, was not spoken about. Early music certainly not, maybe in the organ class. … For the other instruments - nothing, nothing. That was a great advantage.

Kuijken claims that his extremist view was already in place during his conservatory days, although it remains questionable if this was so. Invested in his concept of himself as an outsider who felt that the musical status quo was

misguided, Kuijken's retrospective idea of himself is very possibly influenced by his later view of himself as a visionary pioneer. A young man in the 1960s, Kuijken also represented a different generation from the violinists born in the 1920s and was more comfortable presenting himself as a dissident. When asked if there was something rebellious in what he did, he responded with an eager "yes, certainly." Kuijken also made clear: "I don't like structure; I've remained an anarchist." His wife chimed in that "it was more anarchistic than rebellion." Kuijken continued:

> The avant garde movement was so [rebellious]; you were pushing against something. Bartók was boring, although I always liked to play it. My first concert on the viola was was *Pierrot Lunaire*, Schoenberg… the second, Boulez. '64, I'd just graduated - that was more rebellion. The early music was rebellious in that you didn't play what was on the page. That was an important aspect. In the modern music, the notation was often very free…and sometimes very specific. I played everything that was a reaction against the conservatory. Early music didn't start that way; it was always another track. That was not anti.

Kuijken sounds surprisingly like Babitz, who claimed that he was self-taught, had "been a dissenter as long as [he] could remember"[314] and also played a large amount of contemporary music. For these two violinists, playing the Baroque violin was part of a reaction against the status quo. Both men faced an enormous amount of opposition - Babitz in the 1950s and 60s with his new theories and Kuijken in the 1970s with his new technique - and both seemed proud to be stamped a rebellious dissenter.

The Franco-Belgian School

Many of these violinists went on to further study after their conservatory training, and Paris seemed to be the main destination as a sort of violin "finishing school." Violin schools in the early twentieth centuries are generally described as having three main branches: the German (led by Joseph Joachim), the Franco-Belgian (led by Eugène Ysaÿe) and the Russian (led by Leopold Auer),"[315] and it is curious that so many of the Baroque violin pioneers had connections with the Franco-Belgian school. A brief examination of this school from the early nineteenth- to the mid-twentieth centuries shows how its aesthetic and technical attributes seem to be closely connected to the Baroque violin revival.

Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot (1771-1842), considered one of the founders of the French school, writes in 1834 that the artist should "follow [the composer] in all his intentions," reminds the violinist that Baroque composers "wrote only the canvas for their Adagios" and includes ornamentation "allegedly provided by Corelli" from Roger's edition. Baillot warns that all the information in a modern score "can end up extinguishing the genius of performance" and states that the violinist "can avoid this unhappy effect by studying old music and never losing sight of it; this always leaves a wide field open to his imagination."[316] Baillot's "Catalogue of the Composers," whose compositions were taught at the Paris Conservatory, included eight composers born in the seventeenth century and confirms Baillot's

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[314] Babitz, *The Great Baroque Hoax* (Los Angeles: Early Music Laboratory, 1970): 2.

[315] Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014): 191.

[316] Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*. ed. and trans. by Louise Goldberg (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991): 479, 278-9.

knowledge and respect for the early repertoire.[317]

The huge technical advances of the French school throughout the nineteenth century, in combination with the talents of Belgian soloists such as Henri Vieuxtemps (1820-1881) and Eugène Ysaÿe (1858-1931), produced a school that valued refinement and musicality over power. Nineteenth-century interest in early music at the Paris and Brussels Conservatories is legendary (see Chapter 1). Recordings of Baroque works from the 1930s by French violinists such as Jean Pasquier (1903-1992) and Jean Fournier (1911-2003) demonstrate a clear sound and clean bowing style that sounds much like the pure tone and articulated bow stroke favored by the Baroque violinists. A 1946 video of the French violinist Ginette Niveu (1919-1949) shows a bow hold with a low elbow that looks like that of many of the Baroque violin pioneers.[318]

Even those pioneers who didn't study in Paris were almost all a part of the Franco-Belgian lineage, including Kuijken through Raskin (who studied with Ysaÿe), Leonhardt through Schwalbé (who studied at the Paris Conservatory), McDonald through Reyes and Gingold (who both studied with Ysaÿe), Monosoff through Persinger (who studied with Ysaÿe and Thibaud), Standage through Galamian (who studied with Lucien Capet) and Mackintosh through Rosenberg (who was a student of Galamian and Boulanger). Many of the pioneers had direct connections with this school. Dolmetsch had private lessons with Vieuxtemps and studied with Colyns at the Brussels Conservatory in 1879, and Babitz worked with Marcel Chailley in Paris for a few months in 1933. Schröder, Harnoncourt and Ritchie all won scholarships that allowed them to go to Paris to study, and Schröder combined violin lessons at the École Jacques Thibaud with musicology classes at the Sorbonne.

During his conservatory study in The Netherlands, Schröder's dream had been to study with the French violinist Jean Pasquier. Schröder had heard the Pasquier brothers' famous trio perform in Amsterdam a number of times and was in awe of the "virtuosity and flexibility" of their bowing technique. In Paris, Schröder first studied with Fournier and finally with Pasquier. He found it "wonderful, fantastic. I wanted to learn every detail of his basic bowing technique." Harnoncourt and Ritchie were less enthusiastic about Paris. Harnoncourt wanted to study with Jacques Thibaud (1880-1953), but his busy schedule meant that his students had lessons with Fournier. Harnoncourt copied an enormous amount of music from the Biliothèque Nationale and bought a few original instruments during her time in Paris. She recalls Thibaud saying that "the only people in the world who can play Mozart are the French!" which was particularly galling for the Austrian Harnoncourt, who felt that the "musical life of Paris was nothing compared to that of Vienna." Ritchie was also not very impressed, stating that he "was amazed and appalled at how much lower the quality in Paris was. How sloppy [they are], and they think they're so good!" Ritchie partially blames himself for his uninspiring time in France, stating "I wasn't intellectually ready."

Since most of the Baroque violin pioneers had direct or indirect exposure to the Franco-Belgian school, it is interesting to consider what sort of influence this might have had on the Baroque violin revival. Andres Carden, a student of

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[317] Ibid., 486-489.

[318] "Ginette Neveu toca Chausson Poème." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kDkaWj4WJn8, last accessed 8 July 2018.

Gingold's and professor at Carnegie Mellon University (Pittsburg), provides a few clues in his description of this school's approach:

> I think that the emphasis in the Franco-Belgian School was not on the technique so much. It was actually more on the style, and I would say that there was significant *bow* technique, not so much left hand, but significant bow technique. And that bow technique was the usage of the bow in such a way that the bow was extremely expressive, and the bow would be used in a manner to create more color, more palettes, more - I guess I would also say more variety in color and and sound and texture, and that the vibrato would kind of help that along. We didn't spend an awful lot of time on the left hand except in the vibrato area, and in using extremely expressive fingerings, but not so much in the area of technical expertise, accuracy and perfection. That certainly was not the Franco-Belgian School's emphasis; that was more the Soviet School and some of the schools that were offshoots of the Soviets School - the Czech School, the Polish School. They were more interested in accuracy and dexterity than they were in expressivity.[319]

Cardenes' description of the lack of interest in "technical expertise, accuracy and perfection" can possibly explain why Harnoncourt and Ritchie were not so impressed by the "sloppy" French players. More interestingly, Cardenes' comparison of the Franco-Belgian with the Soviet School echoes many of the differences cited between Baroque and modern violin playing, including an emphasis on stylistic concerns over technical virtuosity and "significant bow technique" over left hand prowess. Present work on the Franco-Belgian school by scholars such as Richard Suttcliffe have shown that these violinists used the "crawling" shifting technique, proposed by Babitz and Kuijken in Baroque playing, well into the twentieth century.[320] These tantalizing discoveries imply that the Baroque violin pioneers might have been reviving techniques from the recent past, and it is the hope that future research will be able to look into this surprising idea more closely.

Kuijken describes his experience with the different violin schools during his conservatory training with Maurice Raskin. He recalls that Raskin wasn't an ambitious teacher like the other violin professor in Brussels, who was "a dictator, the East European/Russian school. Maurice had all the Belgian students, but never had great success with them. …But I have much to thank Raskin for, especially his mentality. I didn't want to play Paganini. I received a First Prize, but without Wieniawski and Paganini." Kuijken was obviously grateful that he wasn't forced to become a virtuosic Russian school type of player, when he was clearly more comfortable as a Franco-Belgian one.

Standage feels that his lessons with Galamian "had the greatest influence on his playing."[321] He remembers: "it was after reading Galamian's *Principles of Violin Playing* that I decided to become his pupil in New York, and the two years of lessons I had with him greatly improved my technique, especially the bow arm, and influenced my approach to

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[319] Christian Matthew Baker, "The Influence of Violin Schools on Prominent Violinists/Teachers in the United States" (DMA treatise, Florida State University College of Music, 2005): 5. https://fsu.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fsu:169151/datastream/PDF/view, last accessed 13 June 2017.

[320] Richard Sutcliffe, email correspondence with author, 21 and 22 April 2018.

[321] Simon Standage, "Galamian's Greatness," *The Strad* (1 May 2015): 10.

playing."[322] Cardenes confirms Galamian's connection to the French school when describing how Galamian's emphasis on bow distribution was very much influenced by "the volumes of books on bow technique" by Lucien Capet.[323]

Listening to a number of recordings of Baroque music by Fournier and Pasquier, who taught Schröder, Harnoncourt and Ritchie, is illuminating. Fournier's Vivaldi's Concerto in D major for violin and orchestra (Opus 3, #9), recorded in 1936, demonstrates a very clean and concise bowing style.[324] In the slow movement, Fournier plays with a more articulate bow stroke than a purely legato one and also uses very little portamento. Of course, the recording is also of its time with Fournier's use of vibrato and large *ritardandi*. Pasquier's 1935 recording of a Telemann quartet demonstrates the same style.[325] Even though modernisms such as obvious vibrato on the final note do exist, the bowing style of these French violinists produce what is now considered a very Baroque sound and articulated way of playing.

The ideals of the Franco-Belgian school made for a natural transition into what was considered Baroque playing in the twentieth century. Although the low elbow of the German school would have appeared to offer a more Baroque-style arm position, this "broad bowing" style did not offer the wider range of subtle articulations possible by the Franco-Belgian bowing technique.[326] Technically, compared to the very high elbow and pronated right hand of the Russian school, the less extreme arm position and less pronated hand of the Franco-Belgian school could relax easier into the lower upper arm and flatter hand position that many modern Baroque violinists use. Aesthetically, the Franco-Belgian emphasis on a palette of colors and subtle musicality, rather than a robust sound and virtuosic technique, was a better fit with many of the early music movement's ideals. Only Schröder and Kuijken openly expressed their admiration for this school, but it is possible that many of the pioneers absorbed aspects of the Franco-Belgian tradition during their studies and this might have unknowingly influenced their approach to the Baroque violin.

Further Studies

Leonhardt had the unusual experience of actually studying the Baroque violin in the 1940s at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis where she "learned to approach music in a completely different way" (see Chapter 2, "Walter Kägi). Leonhardt didn't mention studying the gamba in Basel, but photographs show Leonhardt playing this instrument in the 1950s, and it remains a question where she learned to play this instrument. After her year in Basel, Leonhardt finished her study in Geneva, then went to England to study with Max Rostal (1905-1991). Rostal was interested in early music, had followed the "Bach bow" debate and even made an edition and "arrangement" of the Biber *Passacaglia*, but Leonhardt has no memories of studying early music with him. She recalled having "had a terrible time with the violin. Beethoven, Brahms, Mendelssohn - it must have been awful, all much too difficult." Her use of "it must have been" seems to reflect judgements created in hindsight and her desire to distance herself from this repertoire as a Baroque violinist.

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[322] Ibid.

[323] Baker, 5. This would have included Lucien Capet, *La technique supériuere de l'archet* (Paris: M. Senart, 1916).

[324] Jean Fournier, *Concerto in D major* (Opus 3, #9) by A. Vivaldi, *L'Anthologie Sonore* no. 37, 78 rpm (AS84-5, Paris:1936).

[325] Jean Pasquier, Marcel Moyse and Etienne Pasquier; *Quartet in e minor* by G. Telemann, *L'Anthologie Sonore* no. 26, 78 rpm (AS60-1, Paris:1935).

[326] Philip, *Performing Music*, 192.

Harnoncourt went to Oxford for a month to study English, but was predominately eager to have lessons with the Hungarian violinist Tibor Varga in London. It is clear that Harnoncourt was more attracted to Varga's style of playing than that of the French school. A recording of Varga playing Mozart with the Philharmonia Orchestra in London from 1955 demonstrates his agile virtuosity and warm, full sound.[327] A video of Varga playing Mozart in 1950 shows a more pronated right hand and higher elbow position than the orchestra violinists use.[328] His big, yet sweet sound, is supported by constant vibrato. Harnoncourt's Baroque playing, with its more legato approach and use of more vibrato than many of the other pioneers, reflects this aesthetic.

Melkus and Schröder both studied musicology alongside violin. Melkus studied with Erich Schenk (1902-1974) at the Vienna University, while Schröder studied at the Sorbonne in Paris and at the University of Amsterdam after World War II. Neither became a musicologist, but their intellectual and theoretical grounding enhanced their period music-making and teaching. The need to have "musicological backing" became an important aspect of the Baroque violin revival, as well as for the whole early music movement. Even though both of these violinists have a very personal approach to the instrument and would consider themselves musicians first, their musicological studies granted them an authority that many other pioneers didn't seem to possess, however unwarranted. The difference between a conservatory and a university education weighed heavily on some of these violinists. Monosoff is still aware that she chose a conservatory study at Juilliard rather than a university one at Barnard College. Unlike the strict divisions between conservatory/ university on continental Europe, MacDonald was able to study violin at a university in the USA, while Standage first read music at Cambridge before continuing his violin studies in New York.

Ritchie studied with Joseph Fux for just a semester at Yale and recalls that he "wasn't there for the academics, but to play the violin." Ritchie remembers an inspiring performance practice class with David Kraehenbuehl (1923-1997), who was a pupil of Hindemith. Kraehenbuehl's compositions reflect the influence of earlier musical forms on his work, which include motets, a canzona, a partita, dance movements and a toccata.[329] Ritchie also studied briefly with Oscar Shumsky (1917-2000) and Samuel Kissen who "ushered in the kind of technique that I could apply to Baroque violin. A fluidity of movement." Ritchie is the only pioneer who considered (or admitted) that his modern training was a help to his later Baroque playing.

Mackintosh won a three-year scholarship from 1967-9 to attend the European Seminars of Early Music in Bruges, which was first led by Safford Cape then Bernard Gagnepin. "I ended up playing lots of very early music on the *vielle de déchant*," she remembers. She attended a few masterclasses with Kuijken and "admired his teaching." Mackintosh remembers Melkus coming to London and remains "a bit sorry I didn't go to Vienna to study with him." She also

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[327] Tibor Varga and Philharmonia Orchestra dir. by Walther Susskind, Konzert für Violine und Orchester B-Dur KV 207 by W. A. Mozart, LP, Columbia, ca. 1955. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wSZW6StV3Zc, last accessed 1 July 2017.

[328] Ibid.

[329] "Music of David Kraehenbuehl: An Anthology," http://www.davidkraehenbuehlsociety.org/news_events.html, last accessed 13 June 2017.

attended a fiddle camp in California twice, working with the Scottish Alasdair Fraser (b. 1955), the American Bruce Molsky (b. 1955) and the Irish Martin Hayes (b. 1962). She feels that "this sort of playing is the missing link in early violin playing." These fiddlers all hold their modern instruments (and therefore their bow arms) in a lower position then modern violinists, and this is certainly close to what is known of Baroque playing positions. Fraser holds his violin on the right side of the tailpiece like a Baroque violinist, and Molsky - who often sings when he plays - doesn't hold the violin with his chin at all. Mosky's and Hayes' left hands touch the violin's neck, making it impossible to produce the constant vibrato of a modern player. Mackintosh also remembers hearing a Moravian group in the Czech Republic playing the same folk tunes that Biber used, strengthening her belief that folk music and musicians are the "missing link" to early music. Mackintosh was excited to discover these possible connection to earlier playing styles, and this reinforces how difficult it was for the pioneers to find information to recreate the "lost tradition" of the Baroque violin. Although folk musicians don't use historical equipment, the period bow maker Ralph Ashmead - in a possible cross-fertilization twist - confirms a folk and early music connection, stating:

> One really interesting development has been that a lot of fine contemporary Irish and Scottish folk-fiddlers are starting to realize that early bows are perfect for their dance music. They don't really need the power and length of a full-sized bow, and these are lighter and easier to handle. A few really great players, Alasdair Fraser being one, have started pushing for this. After all, a lot of the best old Scottish and Irish fiddle tunes do come from the 17th and 18th centuries…[330]

Studies of the folk music revival reveal striking parallels between the two movements. These scholars have been analyzing the folk movement's desire for authenticity and the impossibility of recreating the past since the 1990s, and early music scholars can learn much from their work. Feintuch's states that "the term *revival* implies resuscitation, reactivism, and rekindling" but that revivals "are actually musical transformations, a kind of reinvention."[331] Niel van Rosenberg goes a step further and pronounces: "Revivals are artistic movements."[332] Even though considering the Baroque violin revival as a "reinvention" could be seen as a traitorous thought, viewing the pioneers' accomplishments as artistic ones seems more useful than judging them as historical reconstructions which are impossible to achieve.

Interest in Early Music

Kuijken grew up with early music; while Harnoncourt, Leonhardt, and Melkus were exposed to the music and instruments during their conservatory training in the 1940s. Their backgrounds, combined with the colleagues they met early on, were clearly the catalyst for their future Baroque violin careers. Almost twenty years later, Mackintosh became captivated by the gamba when studying at the conservatory. For the other pioneers, interest in early music developed more slowly, and it was often a chance meeting or experience with a single person or ensemble that kindled their interest.

As a freelance violinist in New York in the late 1940s, the young Monosoff played and recorded numerous Baroque

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[330] Ralph Ashmead, interview by Elisabeth le Guin in "Making an Early Bow," *The Strad* (October 1993): 949.

[331] Bert Feintuch, "Musical Revial as Musical Transformation," in Rosenberg, 184.

[332] Neil V. Rosenberg, "Starvation, Serendipity and the Ambivalence of Bluegrass Revivalism," in Rosenberg, 194.

works for Max Goberman (1911-1962) on modern instruments. Goberman straddled popular and classical worlds and had more than a passing interest in early music. He edited and recorded many early works, which included an edition of the Boyce symphonies and an unfinished project to record the complete works of Vivaldi and all the Haydn symphonies. Meeting Bernard Kranis and Noah Greenberg just as they were about to found New York Pro Musica in the early 1950s, was more important for Monosoff. She remembers that Kranis and Greenberg "were basically much more interested in earlier-than-Baroque music, but Noah thought it would be a good idea to add a violinist" to their new group. Because of the focus on pre-Baroque repertoire, Monosoff played gamba as well as violin in the ensemble. Monosoff claims she was "a vile viol player. I used violin fingerings… We started out playing the viol with no frets because nobody knew what it was all about. Then somebody criticized Noah, and he *immediately* did some research and realized we weren't doing the right thing." Monosoff describes this period of "learning as they went along" well, and this became a constant refrain from many of the pioneers as more information, better equipment and more reliable editions became available.

Monosoff remembers becoming interested in some of the early violin repertoire when she was a member of an ensemble directed by the German musicologist Fritz Rikko (1903-1980), and this was most certainly the Collegium Musicum of New York that Rikko founded in 1951. Rikko had made an edition of music by Salomone Rossi with Joel Newman, the musicologist for the New York Pro Musica who provided Monosoff with the golden tip of her early music career. Monosoff recalls that sometime in the late 1950s "Newman was the one who said, 'Well, there are these marvelous sonatas by Biber.'" "Who was Biber?" Monosoff replied, laughing at her lack of knowledge at the time. She added that she "got the DTÖ edition of the Biber and was asked to make the recordings in the early 60s. It was a pretty crazy undertaking. I looked at the music and fell in love with it."

In Austria, Harncourt remembers the early days of Concentus, the ensemble she founded with her husband Nikolaus in the early 1950s (Illustration 3.1). She explained that in the beginning "there were just three of us at first, then five, then six. The nucleus was very small." They discussed everything – not just how to do things, but why. "There weren't so many of us, so we could have real discussions. We had the time, we *took* the time," she emphasized. Leonhardt remembers the same intensity of rehearsals with the Leonhardt Consort during this same time period. She recalled:

3.1. Nikolaus Harnoncourt, gamba
Alice Harnoncourt, pardessus de viole

> When we began playing the music, it immediate touched us. It was like being in love with someone. But it took hours and hours, and our parts were full of signs and notations. We were creating something new, reinforced by study and new techniques, but most importantly we tried to let the music sound as it should. We didn't know what that was, we had to discover it.

The younger generation of Baroque violin pioneers, including Kuijken, Ritchie and McDonald had the advantage of

learning from their early music elders. They all described hearing recordings that inspired (and occasionally offended) them, as well as having the opportunity to play with more experienced early musicians. Kuijken remembers hearing the *Archiv* series of recordings as a young boy and being captivated by the music, yet adds he didn't yet know the difference between modern and more stylistic performances. He recalls first hearing the recordings of the Harnoncourt's Concentus Musicus which "opened my eyes and ears wide!"[333] The teenage Kuijken couldn't have dreamt that he would be sharing the stage with these same musicians in the future.

Fortunately, Kuijken had many opportunities to play early music in Belgium. Pro Musica Antiqua (Brussels) had made its debut in 1933 and was well established by the time Kuijken was a young man. Kuijken's brothers had met many of the members of Pro Musica Antiqua at the viedel course, and Kuijken claims that this sort of coincidence proves that "it was meant to be." Kuijken first played gamba with Pro Musica Antiqua as a replacement for his brother Wieland, who was doing military service. The violinist Janine Rubinlicht paved the way for Kuijken's interest in the Baroque violin. Rubinlicht had began her early music career playing *vièle de déchant* and discant gamba with Pro Musica and became the main early string pioneer in Belgium.[334] Her performance on Baroque violin with Musica Aurea, playing seventeenth-century English music in London, garnered an excellent review that proclaimed "rarely have I heard such a finely balanced ensemble: the fiddle of Janine Rubinlicht blended beautifully with the viols."[335] Rubinlicht's untimely death in 1989 meant that this "distinguished artist"[336] has mostly been forgotten. Numerous people spoke to me about Rubinlicht and encouraged her inclusion in this dissertation,[337] but the dearth of material demonstrated again how quickly many important musicians in the revival have been forgotten.

In 1960, Rubinlicht co-founded the Alarius Ensemble, (Illustration 3.2) which first performed both modern and early music on historically-appropriate instruments. When Sigiswald joined the Alarius Ensemble as a gambist and second violinist in 1964, one cannot help but think that Rubinlicht took the young musician under her wing. Reviews praised the group's technical prowess, insinuating that this was not always the case in early music concerts. Most reviewers were enthusiastic and declared that "Alarius is worthy of Versailles,"[338] but American ones often complained that the ensemble was "a shade stiff and overly calculated."[339] The recordings of the Alarius Ensemble in the late 1960s and early 70s demonstrate subtle,

3.2. Alarius Ensemble, ca. 1969
Janine Rubinlicht, Baroque violin; Robert Kohnen, harpsichord; Sigiswald and Wieland Kuijken, viola da gamba

[333] Sigiswald Kuijken, interview by Ronny De Schepper, 5 September 2012.

[334] Bernard Gagnepain, "Safford Cape et le 'miracle' Pro Musica Antiqua," *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 34/5 (1980/1981): 215.

[335] Frank Dobbins, "Early Music," *The Musical Times* 121, no. 1643 (January 1980): 45.

[336] Jennifer Eastwood, "Journées de la Musique Ancienne 1980," *Early Music* 8, no. 3 (July 1980): 8.

[337] Joel Cohen, conversation with author, Bloomington, Indiana, USA, 20 May 2016.

[338] Franz Straatman, "Alarius is Versailles waardig," *De tijd: dagblad voor Nederland,* 24 June 1970.

[339] Peter G. Davis, "Alarius Ensemble offers Early Music," *New York Times*, 14 November 1970.

sophisticated interpretations with excellent playing that display a warmer sound with more vibrato than was usual in the later years of the twentieth century.

Ritchie's career in early music seems to have been catapulted from his one chance remark to the right person. After making a career as concertmaster for various opera orchestras in New York, Ritchie resigned from the Met Opera Orchestra to go on tour with the New York Chamber Soloists in 1970. "I was scared to death," he recalled, "I'd never made chamber music as a living." He remembers coming home from a concert in 1971, turning to the harpsichordist Albert Fuller, and saying "'Albert, I'd like to learn more about Baroque music.' Albert jumped about six feet in the air and said, 'When?' He introduced me to what was happening in Europe. Everything sounding horrible!… I was less than overwhelmed. [He added dryly] Albert was very persuasive." Fuller and Ritchie started playing Baroque sonatas together, but Ritchie admits that "obviously tuning down with a Tourte bow wasn't very convincing." Fuller took Ritchie to the violin dealer Rembert Wurlitzer to buy his first Baroque violin, and Ritchie started "getting used to the idea." Although Ritchie obviously needed convincing, he was soon excited by the early music scene's sense of community and curiosity.

Standage's old university friends David Munrow (1942-1976) and Christopher Hogwood were instrumental in encouraging Standage's early music interests. Standage played modern violin with Eleanor Sloan on Munrow's renaissance dance band LP,[340] and Hogwood told him he "needed to get a Baroque violin." In 1972 he did, and his early music career took off. By the early 70s the early music community in the UK was becoming well-established, and Standage was able to slot easily into the existing scene.

McDonald remembers that she became interested in playing Baroque violin after hearing Monosoff's recording of the Biber Passacaglia.[341] Her practical experience with early music began almost by accident. As the young wife of a faculty member at Oberlin College, McDonald started playing gamba consorts with James Caldwell, the multi-facetted oboe professor and early music enthusiast. McDonald remember playing tenor gamba "until it got too difficult and I would have had to start practicing." Caldwell found early string instruments for her, as well as for the college, "buying all the cast-off violins from Concentus for Oberlin." McDonald only started playing Baroque violin around 1977-8.

However dissimilar these pioneers' backgrounds and educations were, a few conclusions can be drawn from these individual stories. First, it was surprising to see how many of the oldest pioneers were exposed to historical instruments and early music during their tertiary education. Of the four violinists born between 1925-30, Melkus and Harnoncourt (and possibly Leonhardt) played gamba and Leonhardt studied Baroque violin. The number of violinists who first played gamba before transferring their early music interests to the violin was also surprisingly high, with only Schröder, Ritchie and Standage not mentioning any experience with instruments other than the violin. Kuijken was the exception, having first played a homemade viedel before playing the violin. These facts confirm two seemingly contradictory

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[340] David Munrow, The Early Music Consort of London, *Praetorius* (EMI, 1974).

[341] This work was included in Sonya Monosoff et al., *Fifteen sonatas for scordatura violin and continuo* by Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber, LP set, Cambridge Records, [1963].

theories: that the roots of the Baroque violin revival were already well in place before these violinists began their experimentation, and that journeys from the modern to the Baroque violin were often circuitous ones. It was surprising to discover that for the majority of violinists, even those born in the 1940s, the idea of playing early music on a Baroque violin only came after their experimentations with other historical string instruments.

Chapter Four

The Interviewees: Becoming a Baroque Violinist

Becoming a Baroque violinist in the twentieth century was an arduous undertaking, and it is to the pioneers' credit that they dared try to achieve this difficult feat. Most followed similar trajectories to the Baroque violin: first playing other historical string instruments, then experimenting with Baroque bows and gut strings and finally playing on a violin in some sort of pre-modernized state. Finding historical equipment was a challenge; and the pioneers, as well as artisans and instrument museum directors, contributed their memories of this aspect of the revival. The "retrograde" journey that most pioneers followed by using increasingly more historically-accurate equipment became an important marker for one's commitment to the early music movement's ideals. Learning how to play the Baroque violin was a more elusive undertaking, and the ideological differences that incurred almost split the community irrevocably in two.

The Search for Equipment

With a few exceptions such as Dolmetsch and Kägi (and the musicians Ahlgrimm employed), most violinists used modern equipment for their performances of early music until the middle of the twentieth century. Dolmetsch, as far as can be determined, made the first modern Baroque violin in 1928. Campbell relates that "when making his own instrument he sought to maintain the principles of the old masters, such as the flatter bridge and shorter neck and fingerboard. But he added one touch of his own: the bass-bar made in one with the table.[342] The historiography of Dolmetsch is often colored by misrepresentation, and this "touch of his own" was actually a historical construction.

Dolmetsch's Baroque violins in the 1920s were exceptional, for interest in the early violin began in earnest after World War II. Most of the pioneers, like nineteenth-century violinists, first experimented with instruments other than the violin. Harnoncourt, Mackintosh, McDonald, Melkus, Monosoff, Kuijken and possible Leonhardt all played a member of the viola da gamba family before playing the Baroque violin. For most of these violinists, these instruments were their first introduction to the early music world; for others, it became an important part of their professional lives. Kuijken is exceptional for first playing the viedel before studying the violin; and Leonhardt is unusual for studying the Baroque violin alongside, or possibly before, playing the gamba.

In 1949, the Vienna Viola da Gamba Quartet was formed, including both Harnoncourts and Melkus. Melkus recalls that even though all the instruments had flat backs, it "was not really a gamba quartet" with its unusual mix of instruments - a pardessus, a "deformed viola d'amore" with five strings tuned in fifths and two gambas. Melkus admitted that even with these instruments and steel strings, it still had "a bit of that gamba sound." Nikolaus Harnoncourt remembered that they played with gut strings on a quinton, two violas d'amore and Mertin's Coletti gamba.[343] Melkus seemed to want to stress the inauthenticity of these early efforts, while Nikolaus Harnoncourt was more interested in describing the

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[342] Campbell, *Dolmetsch*, 224.

[343] Harnoncourt, *Wir sind eine Entdeckergemeinschaft*, 13.

intensity of the rehearsal period and the concert on 17 March 1950 where "no one in Vienna had ever hear anything like it."[344] Alice Harnoncourt confirmed Melkus' description of the instruments and remembered first playing the pardessus in the correct manner between her legs, but quickly feeling more comfortable playing the instrument under her chin. Whatever instruments and strings were used, the musicians' excitement in exploring this new sound world and the seriousness of the venture were palpable.

Monsoff played gamba with the New York Pro Musica in the 1950s, and it was this experience that led her to the Baroque violin. In the early 1950s, Leonhardt played gamba in Karl Scheit's ensemble Schola Antiqua Wien (Illustration 4.1), but did not even remember this until shown a picture of herself holding the instrument. McDonald was introduced to early music and gamba consorts at Oberlin College in the 1970s before getting her first Baroque violin. Mackintosh was a committed viol player, joined the English Consort of Viols in 1969 and proudly stated that "I actually earned my living for two years as a treble viol player!" Kuijken first played the viedel before taking up the violin and has continued playing gamba throughout his career.

4.1 Schola Antiqua (Vienna, 1950s)

l. to r. Josef Mertin (organ), Luise Schreiber (soprano), Eduard Melkus (viola d'amore), Marie Leonhardt (gamba), Peter Strummer (bass), Karl Scheit (lute) and Gustav Leonhardt (gamba)

For most of these violinists, playing other early string instruments was an important experience that allowed them to transfer the concept of using historical equipment to the violin. Schröder, Ritchie and Standage were unusual for beginning their early music explorations with the violin. Schröder recalls playing though the Bach obbligato sonatas with the harpsichordist Janny van Wering (1909-2005). He immediately felt that something wasn't right in the balance between the two instruments and claims "I had the feeling 'but my violin, it doesn't fit together with the harpsichord.'" He added, "I tried gut strings and an old bow. That was just for myself, in the 50s. That sounded better. And of course, tuning down a half step." Ritchie, twenty years later, also came to the same realizations when playing through sonatas with the harpsichordist Albert Fuller. Standage both debuted as a modern violinist and became a founding member of The English Concert as a period player in 1972, and he was able to keep a hand in both musical worlds. This English "switch-hitting" mentality was often necessary to earn a living and was also a musically fulfilling choice for some.

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[344] Ibid.

Performing on "original" or "period" instruments" soon became essential to meet the changing ideals of the early music movement. This more clearly-defined ideology, combined with the support (and demands) of record companies, meant that violinists needed to play on what was considered the correct historical equipment. Using a modern violin was no longer appropriate, and it became necessary to find one of the few unconverted instruments or restore an instrument to an earlier state (see Appendix for an explanation of what modernization entailed). It is unclear who first converted a modernized string instrument back to Baroque specifications, but the pioneers and makers provided important memories of this process. Some players, like Leonhardt and Melkus, were able to find unconverted or only marginally-converted instruments early on in their careers, but there were not many excellent instruments to be found in this condition.

Fortunately, the most revered seventeenth-century violins by makers such as Jacob Stainer and member of the Amati family were less suitable for modern conversion than the later, flatter models of Antonio Stradivarius, so it was easier to find these sorts of instruments for a reasonable amount of money in the mid-twentieth century. The 1910 *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* confirms that "a high-modelled violin, however handsome and perfect, is practically of little use. The tone, though easily yielded and agreeable to the player's ear, is deficient in light and shade, and will not 'travel;'"[345] and the conclusion was that such instruments should be "left to amateurs."[346] Kolneder's assertion that "steel strings do not sound good on all instruments, especially on highly arched violins" would have also contributed to the popularity of these instruments amongst Baroque players who used unwound gut strings.[347] Stainer violins, with their historical connection to composers such as Biber and Bach, soon became the most desirable instruments for the Baroque violin pioneers.

In an "adventurous search," the Harnoncourts found many unconverted instruments in a Baroque cloister in the Gleink Penitentiary in Austria.[348] Harnoncourt discussed her and her husband's decision to play on Stainer-type instruments when starting their ensemble in the 50s:

> We soon discovered that Italian-style instruments, Stainer and German-style instruments all sound different … And we decided that Stainer is in the middle … They are very good for Bach and they are good for Italian music, too. The Italians have more volume, are rounder; their sound is different. And especially for German Baroque music, the more pure sound of the Stainer is more appropriate. It began, perhaps, because we were not able to afford Italian instruments, but we were able to get very, very good Stainer instruments. So I had a Stainer. And then, in the end, I would not like to have an Italian [instrument], it is not my [sound] ideal. My ideal is Stainer.

The Harnoncourts' decision to concentrate on Stainer instruments, certainly for the financial and aesthetic reasons stated, would also have helped set themselves apart from other early music activities in Vienna. Ahlgrimm and Fiala had

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345 E. J. Payne, "Violin Family" in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910): V, 310.

346 W.W. Cobbett, "Violin-Playing" in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910): V, 330.

347 Walter Kolneder, *The Amadeus Book of the Violin,* trans. and ed. by Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1998): 53.

348 Monika Mertl and Milan Turkovic, *Die Seltsamsten Wiener der Welt* (Residenzverlag, 2003): 46.

amassed an impressive collection of Italian string instruments which they converted to Baroque state and used in their Amati Orchestra, in which both Harnoncourts played. The Harnoncourts' decision to use Stainer-style instruments for their new ensemble helped them idealistically disengage from the previous generation of Viennese early musicians.

Leonhardt describes finding her Stainer violin with original bass bar in a small, old violin maker's shop in Austria: "It was abandoned,… in bad condition and not played. No one wanted it." The owner said, "it's nothing, it's in an *old state*," and Marie admits that no one was interested in a Stainer violin at that time. She remembers that the members of the Leonhardt Consort had to look for their own bows, and many pioneers describe scouring violin shops and markets for original equipment. Melkus describes finding an old bow in Paris, going into the shop and playing on it. The elderly owner was surprised that he "could really play on it" and gave it to Melkus as a present.

With so much focus on early equipment, it is perhaps surprising to realize that many of the pioneers were still performing early music on modern violin in the 1960s. As late as 1965, Monosoff used modern violins with gut strings and a Baroque bow when making her ground-breaking and extremely successful recording of Heinrich Biber's *Rosary Sonatas*.[349] Schröder also performed on modern violin with early music specialists Gustav Leonhardt (harpsichord), Anner Bijslma (modern cello) and Frans Brüggen (modern flute) in Quadro Amsterdam (Illustration 4.2). This ensemble was enormously successful and the Baroque oboist Ku Ebbinge stated that "the fact that Quadro still played on modern instruments was of little importance, because what they did was very good. They showed that early music could sound easy and well thought out. Therefore, the step towards using early instruments became more acceptable for the general public. From that, came this [early instruments]."[350]

4.2 Quadro Amsterdam, ca. 1965

Ebbinge implies that other groups that played on early instruments didn't make it "sound easy" or "well thought out," and Marie Leonhardt remembers that when Quadro played the public "started being convinced." She recalls that "the audience didn't like the Leonhardt Consort [on early instruments] so much" and found the seventeenth-century "music, the way of playing" somehow "not necessary." Whether through the virtuosity of the four soloists or their more accessible later repertoire, Quadro seems to have been more successful than the first efforts of other historical instrument ensembles in The Netherlands. Ebbinge suggests that Quadro's success encouraged the future use of historical instruments.

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[349] Sonya Monosoff, Heinrich Biber, *Fifteen Sonatas for Scordatura Violin and continuo and Passacaglia for Solo Violin*, LP recordings (Cambridge CRS 1811).

[350] Jolande van der Klis, *Oude muziek in Nederland: Het verhaal van de pioniers 1900-1975* (Utrecht: SOOM, 1991):140.

When Schröder was asked about Quadro, he explained, "Yes, the recordings we made…were still with modern instruments. But, as I often tell my students, of course it's fantastic to have an old violin, but the most important thing is [pointing to head] here!" Schröder made his career as a period violinist, but also played on a modern instrument in certain situations. For Schröder, having historically-appropriate equipment was never necessary for him to achieve his musical vision, since it was "in his head." Melkus claims that when he listens to his old recordings, he's not sure if he's playing on a modern or a Baroque violin since he was "looking for the same thing on both." His use of modern aids such as the chin and shoulder rest on the Baroque violin, as well as his later use of metal strings rather than pure gut ones, makes his claim feasible since he was using the same equipment on both instruments.

However much they determined or diverged from the early music movement's ideology, the pioneers' descriptions of their journeys toward more historical equipment is also reflected in succeeding generations of period violinists. Violinists in the 1980s no longer needed to play other historical string instruments to fulfill their early music longings, but most first tried a Baroque bow, gut strings and lower pitch before finally switching to an instrument in Baroque state. By changing just one parameter, the bow, then making superficial alterations to the violin (strings and pitch), violinists could experiment before making the financial and idealogical commitment to a Baroque instrument.

Baroque-ing, Converting or Retro-fitting Violins

The idea of first converting a modernized violin back into its original state was so shocking and controversial that even in the twenty-first century the well-respected Dutch violin restorer Fred J. Lindeman (b. 1932-2017) could not discuss this with his violin-making colleagues without being subjected to their derision. Many early musicians consider the modernization of old violins a sacrilege, while innumerable luthiers would consider undoing this modernization an equally horrific undertaking. Terminology is also problematic and has altered as concepts of authenticity became more exacting. "Baroque-ing" an instrument is only appropriate if the violin is being built back to a Baroque state, "converting a violin back" has intimations of proselytizing and "modernizing" implies improvement. "Building back" seems the least offensive, although "building back to authentic state" remains disputable. Laurence Libin, the former curator of the Department of Musical Instruments at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, prefers the term retro-fitting and explains:

> I prefer to avoid the term 'authentic' because it implies that we know what the makers originally intended and can reproduce it. We don't and can't with much certainty; we still have only sketchy ideas of how those violins were designed, varnished, strung, and pitched, not to mention precisely how the bridges and soundposts were positioned and how the plate thicknesses were determined. The irreversible effects of natural aging also remain controversial, and many myths are still perpetuated, while gaps in understanding between dealers/connoisseurs and scientifically trained conservators remain large. Any claim that an old violin is in 'authentic state' is therefore highly suspect. I wish I'd realized this 40 years ago when I too used the term carelessly.[351]

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[351] Laurence Libin, e-mail correspondence with author, 28 July 2015.

However little one can know about the authentic state of a violin, the pioneers all found luthiers who were interested in exploring the practical side of restoration, however one chooses to describe it. Some violinists approached this scientifically, others theoretically, some as a solution to a musical problem and others as a combination of these various approaches. Since no one had done this before, it took a great deal of research, experimentation and experience garnered along the way to discover how this should be tackled. Josef Krenn in Vienna, Fred J. Lindeman in Amsterdam, Dietrich Kessler in London and William Monical in the USA are some of the important luthiers who were first interested in exploring this process.

It is unclear when and who built back the first modernized violin. In 1932, Donington discusses Dolmetsch's work: "As a result of some most important researches and experiments, the fittings of the Dolmetsch violins and of violins restored by him depart appreciably from recent traditions, and approach closely the original principles of the old violin-makers."[352] Melkus tells of performing on a "converted violin" with the keyboardist Isolde Ahlgrimm in the series *Concerte fur Kenner und Liebhaber* in Vienna in the early 1950s. Melkus explained that Ahlgrimm's husband "had bought a very beautiful instrument - with a touch of real Amati - that sounded beautiful. He had had it converted and forced everybody to play on this instrument [in their series]." Algrimm's and Fiala's series began in 1937, but it cannot be confirmed if they were already using built-back string instruments at this time.

In the USA, Sol Babitz claimed that "around 1950 I began to use [a] short-necked violin with original fittings of 1780 as well as a Baroque bow."[353] In a later publication, he goes into more detail and states that "around 1952 I obtained from Hill a good-sounding transition violin," a Stainer copy made by Thomas Smith in 1779.[354] According to Babitz, the bass bar was original, but longer than a Baroque one; the neck was not original, but copied from the Hill's Stainer; and the soundpost was of modern dimensions. This instrument, "restored under his direction by Dolmetsch Workshops and Hans Weisshaar," was captured in a photograph from 1959 (Illustration 4.3).[355] Babitz claims he had "misgiving about the authenticity of [his] instruments" and "decided to do everything possible to discover the baroque specifications."[356] He adds that "since no

4.3 Sol Babitz

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[352] Robert Donington, *The Work and Ideas of Arnold Dolmetsch: The Renaissance of Early Music* (Haslemere: The Dolmetsch Foundation, 1932): 12.

[353] Sol Babitz, *The Great Baroque Hoax: A Guide to Baroque Performance for Musicians and Connoisseurs* (Los Angeles, Early Music Laboratory, 1970): 36.

[354] Sol Babitz, *How to Restore the Viols & Violins of the Renaissance & Baroque Eras: FIRST CORRECT GUIDE* (Los Angeles, Early Music Laboratory, 1977): 22.

[355] Sol Babitz, *The Violin: views and reviews: 78 articles from the monthly column which have appeared in the "International Musician" since 1941* (Urbana: American String Teachers Association, 1959): 27.

[356] Babitz, *How to Restore the Viols & Violins*, 22.

violin -maker had any more information that I had, I concentrated on starting to restore from scratch! The 15 months of concentaraed [sic] work which followed was made more arduous and protracted because of the conceit and stubbornness of the luthiers.[357] Babitz described the process in great detail and presents a picture of conceit and stubbornness on both sides, writing:

> With the aid of violin repairmen in London, Paris, Bremen, New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, I conducted endless experiments - using up one hundred bridge-designs, dozens of sound-posts and five bass-bars. Finally, late in 1964 I gave the final tap to the sound-post on my Stainer and had the joy of hearing for the first time the unmistakeable open beauty of the Baroque violin. This instrument sounded good WITH a Stradivari bridge and bad with a modern one. The quick response of this violin made possible the use of short bow-strokes and this made possible for the first time the use of wrist motion which in turn made possible a technique in which metric accents, note holdig [sic] and swing were far better than anything I had previously produced.[358]

It is unclear if Babitz is speaking about a real Stainer violin or his 1779 Stainer copy by Smith. If this is the Smith instrument, one must question the wisdom of removing an original bass bar and the appropriateness of converting an eighteenth-century violin to a Baroque state in which it never was. Hearing and playing an instrument that had been built back to Baroque specifications would certainly have been revelatory, but Babitz exaggerates the differences between a converted and modern violin, as short bow strokes and wrist action can be achieved on any instrument. In 1964, Babitz reported his findings and pleaded to save modernized violins "by restoring them as baroque violins."[359] This idea would have great resonance within the early music community, and the idea that modernization was harmful to old violins gained hold.

Although Babitz was certainly at the forefront of these new ideas, the Harnoncourts in Austria and Kuijken and Rubenlicht in Belgium were all working along the same lines. The Harnoncourts collaborated closely with Krenn in Vienna. Harnoncourt remembers that "he was a fantastic maker, but he had no historic knowledge. He just learned it by doing it." She recalls that her husband Nikolaus studied "how the old instruments were made" and Krenn "did everything we wanted." Dr. Gerhard Stradner, former head of the musical instrument collection at the *Kunsthistorische Museum* in Vienna, knew Krenn and his work well. Stradner complains that modern makers had too many of their own ideas and wanted to restore instruments so that the ideals and "proper proportions" of modern instrument-making were retained. Based on Krenn's work, Stradner described the problems with modern luthiers:

1. They have their own modern ideas, not the historical ideas of violin making.
2. They adhere to modern aesthetics, which included sanding down the inside of old instruments (thereby losing much historical information).
3. They often move or even remove the original labels inside an instrument, making it impossible to tell if the

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[357] Ibid., 23.

[358] Ibid., 37.

[359] Sol Babitz, "Identifying the Renaissance, Baroque and Transition Violins," *The Strad* (1964), reprinted in Babitz, *The Great Baroque Hoax*, 51.

instrument is original.[360]

Stradner's concerns, however valid, would be less of a concern for a player than an organologist, and Harnoncourt had no complaints about Krenn's work. She describes how Krenn converted her Stainer violin and how seriously the Harnoncourts took the restoration process. They made experiments in an acoustic-free environment - first recording the modern instrument with gut strings, then again after it had been rebuilt. She is adamant about the seriousness of the venture, explaining that "we *really* made experiments, we didn't just do it." By comparing the overtones of the instrument in both states, the Harnoncourts hoped to scientifically document and underline the integrity of their work. Mertin's description of "electrical technical measurements" in acoustic research and his comparisons of the overtones of the "old" and "modern" violin raise the question if he was also involved in these experiments.[361]

Kuijken approached Lindeman in 1967 "when Janine Rubenlicht and I… decided to have our old violins restored to 'Baroque state' according to the prevailing conceptions of the time."[362] Kuijken remembers that the Hill brothers' book about Stradivarius, which contained original measurements, and a few well-conserved museum instruments were the main sources available to them. He recalls profiting from his contact with Nikolaus Harnoncourt, who shared his experiences with the young violinist, and related that Harnoncourt "could speak very passionately about it."[363]

Lindeman remembered the process and confirmed "we had to discover everything ourselves with much patience and dedication."[364] When asked how his first restored violin sounded, he replied "interesting, also for me, with a bit of 'what have I done.' I was curious to hear how it would sound - would it be weak without any focus?"[365] Lindeman was relieved to discover that no matter what restoration work he did, "the violin remains the same violin."[366] Lindeman wrote that Kuijken felt "that in order to achieve a totally consistent approach, the instrument had to be in its original condition."[367] In contrast, Lindeman felt that Schröder's desire to build back his instrument was driven by another reason. Lindeman wrote, and the story is corroborated by Schröder, that Schröder was "in search of a good sound balance between the modern violin and the harpsichord."[368] He remembered that Schröder

> came to the conclusion that the modernised violin had to be adapted to the harpsichord. Once restored according to original specifications, i.e. from the period of the harpsichord, the instruments should be fitting partners. Thus, from their different starting points, the two violinists arrived at the same conclusion: Sigiswald seeking historical correctness and Jaap seeking the appropriate sound.[369]

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[360] Dr. Gerhard Stradner, interview with the author, 11 July 2016.

[361] Mertin, 134.

[362] Lindeman, *The Rebirth of the Baroque Violin*, 9.

[363] Jolanda van der Klis, 158.

[364] Ibid., 27.

[365] Fred Lindeman, interview with author, 4 December 2013.

[366] Ibid.

[367] Lindeman, *Rebirth of the Baroque Violin*, 26.

[368] Ibid. 28.

[369] Ibid.

These approaches define the two main trajectories within the Baroque violin revival. At its best, "authenticity" and "musical intuition" combined to produce an historically-informed and artistically-satisfying whole. Unfortunately, many pioneers chose or felt forced to identify predominantly with one approach or the other. These differences are most apparent in questions of technique and style; but it is interesting to observe that, in this case, they produced the same result.

Many Dutch violin makers were interested in Baroque instrument construction, and Jaap Bolink (b. 1946) recalled a meeting of the Dutch Violin Makers in 1973 where members brought all their instruments with original necks and fingerboards and compared measurements. Other Dutch makers could be accused of doing work that would just "look Baroque," using pure fantasy in their conversions and thinning down a thick original neck in a way that "no one would do now."[370] Lindeman complained that many of these sorts of conversions were requested by the players themselves, and he especially disapproved of being asked to make an instrument "look Baroque" without doing a proper conversion. For busy professionals, authenticity and practicality were often at odds.

In the USA, Ritchie remembers asking Hildegund McGee, a New York bow maker, to convert his old Mittenwald violin into a Baroque instrument. According to Ritchie, she transformed his violin into a sort of hybrid, an early eighteenth-century instrument with late eighteenth-century fittings. It is unclear if McGee was unaware of the correct way to restore the instrument or if she was intentionally producing an instrument that would work better for later repertoire. Most conversions are some sort of compromise. Lindeman confirmed that many of his restorations included a fingerboard that was longer than the "supposed original state" and felt that this was "a justifiable decision."[371] Since most violinists are unable to afford two or more excellent instruments, many players have one "all purpose" early instrument and one modern violin. The ideology of authenticity was also limited by finances.

William Monical seems to have been primarily guided by the search for authenticity in his restorations. Monical thought that Stainer would be the maker "most involved in the evolution of the instrument"[372] and, like a paleontologist hoping to find the perfect fossil, he was fortunate enough to experience the discovery of an instrument "which still retains its original undisturbed baroque neck."[373] Monical's use of the term "evolution" in this context is surprising, since most early musicians would be hesitant to intimate that a Stainer violin is more evolved than earlier models. In contrast, Monical claims that the violin is still evolving with the "electric violin and five-string instruments," as well as a German violin with "a drawer in the body of the instrument" that allows one to physically "de-construct" the violin.[374]

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[370] That this source wishes to remain anonymous underlines the hesitation to disclose inauthentic working methods.

[371] Lindeman, 64.

[372] William Monical, telephone interview with author, 8 November 2015.

[373] Roger Hargrave, "A Violin by Jacobus Stainer 1679," http://www.roger-hargrave.de/PDF/Artikel/Strad/Artikel_1987_09_Jacobus_Stainer_1697_PDF.pdf, last accessed 24 June 2017.

[374] William Monical, telephone interview.

Some players took the opportunity to explore an option that, in their view, was even more authentic: playing on a newly-made instrument. Since Baroque violinists in earlier centuries were playing on new instruments, it could certainly be considered an authentic approach to play on a newly-built Baroque violin. In the early days of the movement, the players on continental Europe and in the United States played almost exclusively on old instruments, while a period group in England was usually made up of a mix of old violins and modern copies. Rowland Ross (b. 1934), alongside other British luthiers, made affordable copies of Baroque violins that supported the burgeoning English scene. Of all the pioneers interviewed, Mackintosh was the only one who was enthusiastic about modern instruments and admitted owning and playing on a modern-built Baroque violin.

All of the Baroque violin pioneers in the Netherlands played on old instruments, even though there were a number of Dutch luthiers who were interested in making new copies. The luthier Matthieu Besseling (b. 1951) remembers hearing a recording of Alice Harnoncourt playing unaccompanied Bach that "was more beautiful than anything he had ever heard"[375] which inspired his interest in building early-model violins. Besseling made a copy of a Guarneri-model Baroque violin for Leonhardt, which she used on a recording in the 1980s. To Besseling's chagrin, the record company continued to list her Stainer instrument on the liner notes, and Besseling claims that Leonhardt admitted she felt an enormous amount of pressure from the record company to use - or at least list - her original instrument. Besseling wrote the record company and threatened to sue them if they didn't credit his instrument.[376] This is a shocking example of the packaging of recordings "on original instruments" and a warning that it is impossible to completely reconstruct exactly what instruments were being used on many of these early discs.

The Bow

The revival's interest in "original" or "authentic" instruments almost always centered on the violin itself, and the exact pedigree (maker and date) of each instrument is listed on most recordings and many programs. In contrast, the bows are rarely mentioned. Because so few early bows exist, most period violinists in the late twentieth century played almost exclusively on copies of original bows. British and American pioneers had less access to original bows than their Continental counterparts and therefore needed to find makers to build them a period bow. Monical remembers that when he started in New York in the early 1970s "there wasn't a single baroque bow maker on the planet! So what we did was talk to the Seifert workshop in Germany that made commercial violin, viola and cello and bass bows and we asked them to try to make Baroque bows."[377] The Seifert firm began to produce Baroque bows, but Leonhardt remembers that they "were not good yet."

The historical accuracy of many of these early reproductions is questionable. A restorer who worked with a Dutch maker in the 1980s remembers that some of the bows made were concave, not convex, and remarked that the unhistoric

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[375] Matthieu Besseling, interview by author, Amsterdam, 14 May 2016.

[376] Matthieu Besseling, conversation with author, 28 April 2016.

[377] William Monocle, telephone interview.

curve of these bows made it easy for modern players to use them.[378] Michael Coleman, a British bow maker, recalled that "we worked out what the players today could use and get to speak properly."[379] His approach, which seemed to reflect the general practice of the time, was to make a composite model that combined elements of a number of original bows to make something that easily worked for the players. The Dutch maker Gerhard Landwehr (b. 1952) took a different approach. He explained that "in the violin world there is still a sort of separation between builders who followed a special study and builders who mastered the trade through their passion, interest and independent study. I'm in the second category."[380] Landwehr feels that he has been able to be more open to the inconsistencies of early-model bows, unlike a traditionally-trained maker who finds it more difficult to accept the "illogical" curve of many older sticks. Landwehr remembers that when he first made a faithful copy of the Oxford #19, one of the most copied historical bows, no one could play it. Six or seven years later, players could manage and the model began to sell.[381] Landwehr's remarks confirm Stradner's concern that many violin makers wanted to restore instruments so that the ideals and "proper proportions" of modern instrument-making were retained, rather than following historical models. It is clear that makers, as well as players, had to be convinced to follow a "retrograde" path in their historical reconstructions.

Strings and Accessories

Unwound gut strings, which were not in standard use by the mid-twentieth century, were also necessary for a period violinist. Surprisingly, most of the older Baroque violin pioneers remember learning to play the violin on metal strings. Melkus, the exception, remembers that his "first teacher [when he was six, ca. 1934] insisted on gut strings." When he started studying with Adolf Seiferth, he changed to metal strings, because "they sound better and last longer." Harnoncourt recalls that she - a Viennese city girl - played on metal strings, but her husband - a country lad - started on gut strings. She remembers that by the early 50s "everybody changed. Everybody had steel strings, nobody had gut. Not at all."

When the Baroque violin pioneers started experimenting with playing on gut strings, they were plagued by the unavailability of good quality strings. In the 1950s, Schröder remembers playing on the red Pirastro E strings that were made for the harp, not bowed string instruments. Lindeman recalled a Dutch firm E.N.S. that produced gut strings that were supposedly specially treated to be very durable, but "produced anything but a subtle tone."[382] In this same time period, Leonhardt remembers borrowing strings from Harnoncourt when she was in Vienna, stating that "you couldn't buy them."

Melkus began playing on gut strings on his Baroque violin, but stopped in the 1960s. He relates:

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[378] Ulrike Wiebel, interview by author, 11 March 2016.

[379] Michael Coleman, telephone interview by author, 30 November 2015.

[380] "Gerhard Landwehr – Strijkinstrumenten en strijkstokken," http://www.de-nvmm.nl/profielschets/landwehr.pdf, last accessed 26 June 2017.

[381] Gerhard Landwehr, interview with author, 12 May 2016.

[382] Lindeman, 88.

> One evening, when playing with Musica da Camera, my gut E string broke before the concert. It was my last. I went to the [violin shop], which was fortunately open late, and he said 'I'm out, too. I have these new aluminum strings by Pirastro, try this.' I said, 'NO!' But it sounded beautiful and was almost indiscernible from a gut string, but better. Since those days I have preferred aluminum wound strings. It must have been around the 60s [when I made the switch to metal strings].

The problem of E strings breaking seemed to plague Melkus's busy career on both modern and Baroque violin. He recalls:

> I played my first American tour with a gut E string. I had [strained] my little finger, so I couldn't touch steel. I had to play very difficult things and knew gut strings from playing on the old instruments. I met Mr. Pirastro, the founder of Pirastro, and asked him to make forty gut strings with a loop so I could use it on a modern violin during the tour. I must add that my colleagues were always betting if my string would last through the whole concert!

In his attempts to justify his later use of metal strings, Melkus discussed not only the practical problem of strings breaking, but also the poor quality of gut strings that were available in the mid-twentieth century. He admits that using metal strings "ruined [his] reputation as a Baroque violinist." When he took over Fiala's instrument collection and allowed his young colleagues to use metal strings on the instruments, many people "used this propaganda against me." He hints that many period players in Austria are now also using metal-wound strings, "but it's not mentioned." In the early music community, Melkus' decision to play on metal strings was considered unhistorical at best and traitorous at worst. His claim that the gut strings available to him in the 1950s were not good enough, while certainly an understandable complaint, become a less compelling argument as string making improved throughout the second half of the century. Melkus' practical considerations were considered inappropriate to the violinists who were intent upon exploring historical authenticity.

With the exception of Melkus, most of the pioneers were interested in finding strings that worked with their Baroque instruments and bows, and string makers began researching historical strings and string making techniques. Ephraim Segerman of Northern Renaissance Instruments in Great Britain and the American Damian Dlugolecki were two important figures in the early days of period string making. Both did extensive study, and Dlugolecki describes gathering information "over years of visiting museums and examining specimens from collections of luthiers, by observing how instruments are strung in old paintings, studying recondite treatises and through hands-on trial and error."[383] His methods, mostly done by hand or with simple equipment, are intentional. "I wanted to follow the old ways and wanted to have a hands-on experience with the strings, with the operations of string making, which would enable me to have some insight into the older processes. I didn't want any shortcuts, in other words.[384] Dlugolecki was clearly a follower of retrograde evolutionary thinking in his desire "to follow the old ways" and make more historically-accurate gut strings.

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[383] Hannah Hanani, "Modern Gut Strings: Damian Dlugolecki Offers Musicians a Choice," *Strings* (July/August 1991): 38.
[384] Ibid., 40.

Making excellent gut strings for the Baroque violin was one thing, getting period violinists to use what the makers considered appropriate strings was another. Segerman describes the problem:

> When the violin family joined the Early-Music movement, no serious research into the history of its stringing had yet been undertaken. By the time that research was done and published [in the 1980s], the pioneers had already arrived at stringing practices they thought were appropriate, and were very satisfied with. Their services were so much in demand that there was neither opportunity nor motivation to change to more historical practices.
>
> When they worked out their stringings, the pioneers were under the false impression that baroque stringing tensions were generally lower than modern. So they lightened their strings as much as they dared without losing any of the scope of musical expression they felt they needed.[385]

Lindeman, who sold strings alongside his work as a violin restorer, confirmed this and observed that the Baroque pioneers played with much thinner strings than present-day period violinists, who often use an E string as thick as a pioneer's A. Even though the quality of gut strings has improved greatly over the years, many violinists find a stringing that works and rarely change. As in many aspects of the Baroque violin revival, the practicalities of a busy professional life do not always allow the players to keep up with or adjust to the latest research and technical advances in equipment.

Even rosin makers joined the historical brigade, and the firm Aquila currently sells a rosin made especially for gut string players that "scrupulously follows the indications of an Italian-recipe dating to the mid-18th century."[386] The plastic mute was obviously not considered appropriate for a period violinist, and there was a resurgence in the use of wood, bone and leather mutes.

Chin and Shoulder Rests

For period violinists playing later repertoire, a chin rest was appropriate as well as helpful. Louis Spohr (1784-1859), in his *Violin-Schule* of 1832, claims to have invented the "fiddle holder" some ten years earlier.[387] Unlike today's chin rest that is usually fastened on the left side of the instrument, Spohr's chin rest was placed over the middle of the tailpiece. Many violin restorers also make these Spohr-style "fiddle holders" for period players who are performing nineteenth-century music.

Surprisingly, the use any kind of cushion or shoulder rest was still considered inappropriate for modern violinists in the early twentieth century. In 1921, the pedagogue Leopold Auer (1845-1930) states that "the placing of a cushion beneath

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[385] "Northern Renaissance Music," http://nrinst.co.uk, last accessed 26 June 2016.

[386] Aquila rosin, paper included in rosin bag, also to be found on https://www.aquilacorde.com/early-music-strings/early-music-products/119/bow-rosin-end-18th-c-italian-recipe/?lang=en, last accessed on 8 April 2017.

[387] *Louis Spohr,'s Celebrated Violin School*, translated by the original by John Bishop (London r. Cocks, pref. 1843): 2. https://archive.org/stream/louisspohrsceleb00spohuoft#page/2/mode/2up, last accessed 26 June 2017.

the back of the instrument, in order to lend a more secure support to the chin grip, should …be avoided" because it contributes to the "disastrous effect" of muting the tone.[388] Although chin rests and shoulder rests were shunned by most period players as inauthentic, a chammy, or piece of soft leather, was often used to keep the violin from sliding off slippery clothing and occasionally to hide a surreptitious chin rest. A pad or cushion was also placed into many a player's jacket or blouse to slightly change the angle of the instrument to a more modern tilt. In most circles, the use of a chin rest or shoulder pad/rest was not advertised and was often kept hidden.

Until around 1970 there was no problem with using these modern aids on the Baroque violin. Leonhardt confirms that at the Schola in the 40s "we just played on a violin 'with everything on it' - a chin and shoulder rest. It was that way for a long time, you simply didn't think that you could play without those aids."[389] Once more exacting historical expectations became the norm, these aids were no longer acceptable. Leonhardt, when shown a video of the Leonhardt Consort from 1963,[390] was appalled and exclaimed "it's terrible - that video - you can see my chinrest!" Leonhardt later abandoned the chinrest, but even the reminder that she once used it was disturbing for her to see. Many pioneers also first used a chin rest, but discarded it during this same period.

When Kuijken was twenty and playing with the Alarius Ensemble, he "thinks" he used a chinrest and shoulder rest in the beginning, but "soon [did] without." A picture of the ensemble on tour in the United States c. 1968 shows a young Kuijken holding the violin with his chin on the left side of the tailpiece, but a chammy makes it impossible to see if he is using a chinrest or not. I found it exceptionally honest of Kuijken to allow me to copy this picture (Illustration 4.4), since it deviates so far from his present convictions. Standage, McDonald and Mackintosh entered the field when using a chinrest was not appropriate, but all of the older pioneers began playing the Baroque violin with one (Illustration 4.4).

4.4 Sigiswald Kuijken, left

Jaap Schröder, right

Harnoncourt described her relationship with modern aids, stating:

> I was playing without a chinrest for a long time, but then my violin maker said 'be careful, it's taking away the varnish.' I wasn't so happy about it. I played for *year*s without a chinrest…I have a shoulder

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[388] Leopold Auer, *Violin playing as I teach it* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1921):11.

[389] Van der Klis, 121.

[390] The Leonhardt Consort, *Gouden Klanken,* KRO, 11 November 1963.

rest that I have used since [I studied] in Paris.

It was odd to discover that Harnoncourt had difficulty accepting the idea of using a chinrest, but had no qualms at all about using an even more inappropriate shouder rest. It also begs the question if Harnoncourt was only using a chinrest to save the varnish or for some other more personal or technical reason. She's aware that the Dutch school thinks "that I'm too modern. I'm not playing real Baroque violin." Harnoncourt claims that in Austria "they don't care, not at all."

Melkus is unapologetic about his use of all modern aids. He claims that he "could not have played my technically demanding things without a shoulder pad and chin rest" and feels that one shouldn't reject these things for purely historical reasons. He states that "it is a very bad thing to go backwards" because you play less well, but is also aware that these anachronisms ruined his reputation as a Baroque violinist. Melkus also stated that, unlike other pioneers, he "was proud never to mention before a concert that I was playing on old instruments." His insinuation that others used equipment as a badge of honor or as an excuse for technical lapses is certainly an honest appraisal of the early days of the movement. Melkus' attitude sets him apart from all the pioneers in his clear rejection of the "retrograde" progression of increasingly historically-accurate equipment. By the 1980s, the equipment one used - or didn't use - defined the violinist, and Melkus' choices made him an outcast in the Baroque violin community.

Playing the Baroque Violin

Finding historical equipment was only the first hurdle for the Baroque violin pioneers, and trying to discover a historical way to play was an even more daunting challenge. In 1915, Dolmetsch claimed that the "attention of musicians was so completely withdrawn from this 'Old Music' that no tradition of it survived,"[391] and realized how important historical equipment and historical treatises were to his attempts to recreate this music. The equipment the Baroque violin pioneers helped define certain aspects of historical playing; other aspects remained more elusive.

Experimentations with a Baroque bow - which is shorter, less heavy and with a proportionally lighter tip than a modern bow - made perfectly clear what sort of sound and stroke the old bow could easily produce. Pallis related that when Dolmetsch played on a Corelli-style bow, he "knew that here was the tool he had all along been seeking; the right sounds now came almost of their own accord."[392] The heavier down-bow and lighter up-bow was no longer just a theoretical idea of a rhetorical "speaking sound" gleaned from treatises, but something the bow did naturally. It also became obvious that the modern, continuous legato sound ideal and certain *martelé* and bouncing bow strokes were much more difficult to achieve on a Baroque bow than with a modern one. Pure gut strings also required a different touch than metal-wound ones. This use of historical equipment meant that pioneers came to a sort of bowing consensus fairly early on, although different hand/arm positions were also apparent. Some violinists kept aspects of their modern bow hold, as can be seen in the more pronated hand and higher elbow of the Austrian violinists compared to the less pronated hand and lower elbow of many proponents of the Dutch school. This seems to reflect the different modern

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[391] Dolmetsch, vi.

[392] Marco Pallis, "The rebirth of early music," *Early Music* 6, no. 1 (January 1978): 44.

violin backgrounds of these pioneers.

However much study and experimentation these violinists did, their approaches to the Baroque violin remained at least partially conjectural. Clive Brown concludes, when speaking about Classical and Romantic performance practice, that "in the study of earlier periods, when the aural resource is not available, it is necessary to accept that however much information is assembled and whatever patterns of change are identified, we are still far from knowing what kinds of sounds would have been considered tasteful and beautiful by our forebears."[393] In the period before 1750 even less material is available to study, and deciding what would have been considered "tasteful and beautiful" is by necessity partially speculative.

The new Dutch school under Kuijken's influence was especially known for its exaggerated heavy-light bowing, as well as its use of the *mezza di voce*. Melkus was particularly dismissive of this style and recalled a colleague barely able to keep from laughing when hearing a young Dutch violinist play. Melkus remembers that "she was almost hysterical - 'This exaggerated style!' I said, 'Be careful. This is the revolution … They will completely take over because it is very easy to imitate - always this swell tone, no vibrato.' …Nobody believed me, but of course after one or two years everyone was talking about this 'real' or 'authentic' style."

This style was an aesthetic choice, but it also became intertwined with Kuijken's experimentation with a new chin-off technique in the late 1960s. This technique completely altered not only how one held the instrument, but also one's left hand technique. Babitz was already proposing playing without chin pressure in the 1950s and Skeaping's son Roddy demonstrated how his father used a "creeping back" shifting technique, but this technique is always incorrectly considered purely Kuijken's contribution to the Baroque violin revival.[394]

In a short diversion, it is interesting to note that holding the violin in the early twentieth century was not as standardized as once thought, and one lone violin maverick was proposing that all chinrests should be abolished in 1915. Arthur Hartmann (1881-1956), an American violinist and friend of Debussy in Paris, questioned if it was desirable to "hold the violin" and "whether the chin-rest is essential thereto."[395] Hartmann described a violin world of the past where technical feats were "executed without the aid of chin-rests."[396] He claimed that "the player who uses cushions and large chin-rests is very much like the rider who, in the trot, raises himself in the saddle by means of the reins and not directly from the knee-joints …The violin should be held firmly (at times *only*) by the chin and the shoulder."[397]

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[393] Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999): 523.

[394] Sol Babitz, "Basic Differences Between 18th-Century and Modern Violins, Bows and Technique" (read in Los Angeles, Calif., on 12 February 1955 at a meeting of the Southern California Chapter), *JAMS* 9, no. 1 (Spring, 1956): 56.

[395] Arthur Hartmann, "Why all Chin-Rests Should Be Abolished," *The Musical Times* 56, no. 864 (Feb. 1, 1915): 105.

[396] Ibid., 106.

[397] Ibid.

The responses to this article are as interesting as the essay itself. Percival Hodgson wrote that it is "obvious to me that some of our greatest technicians vary the method of support, even in the same solo, according to the passage; sometimes holding entirely with the chin, sometimes with the left hand, and alternating these with the balanced support, which rests both."[398] In contrast, the renowned British violinist Albert Sammons (1886-1957) proclaimed "that the comfort of chin-rests accounts for half of the enormous modern advances in violin technique."[399] He also added that his playing improved when he exchanged tall 2 1/2 inch collars for 1 1/4 inch ones, reminding us that clothing also contributes to how one is able to hold the instrument.

It is clear from these tantalizing reports that there were many ways of holding the violin at the beginning of the twentieth century, and recent research into late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century playing techniques have shown that there were also various ways to shift.[400] It would be a surprise if Kuijken's chin-off method was a revival of a late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century technique, though it could be similarly argued that this was the way violinists had been playing for centuries.

Kuijken, born in 1944, could not possibly have experienced this transitional technical period before holding the violin with the chin was a necessary part of the modern violinist's technique. Kuijken learned to play the violin with a chin and shoulder rest, but as a Baroque violinist he was intensely interested in exploring earlier playing techniques. Kuijken related how Babitz unknowingly influenced his decision to make a radical technical change, and Monosoff confirmed this story.

On tour in the United States with the Alarius Ensemble in 1969, Kuijken was invited back to Monosoff's New York apartment for an impromptu party of European and American early musicians. Monosoff played Kuijken a cassette of Babitz. Kuijken recalled:

> I had heard about him through articles and thought that he was already doing what I was thinking of doing: playing without my chin, without a shoulder pad. Then suddenly, there I was, hearing a tape of him playing and speaking! It wasn't really very good - he was old - but it was interesting and convincing enough that I naively thought - 'if he can do it, I can certainly do it better!' Later I heard that he didn't play without his chin at all, but I hadn't yet seen him play. In any case, that cassette caused a sort of derailment in me to try and do it myself.[401]

Kuijken could be forgiven for thinking that Babitz was holding the violin in a new way. A photograph of Babitz from the 50s show him resting a violin without a chinrest on his collar bone (Illustration 4.3), rather than holding the instrument under his chin. Already in 1955, Babitz was promoting the idea of using earlier playing techniques on the Baroque violin. He stated:

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[398] Percival Hodgson, "Chin-rests," *The Musical Times* 56, No. 867 (May 1, 1915): 284.

[399] Ibid.

[400] Conversation and email correspondence with Richard Suttcliffe, April 2018.

[401] Piet Strijkers, "Eindelijk waren er een paar zotten die het nog deden ook!" *Tijdschrijft voor Oude Muziek* 2 (1989): 5-6.

> In order to compare objectively the early and modern instruments and their techniques it is necessary that the early ones be seriously practiced according to early instructions, so that both will be played with approximately equal authenticity and skill. To attain this it is best to disregard the article on violin technique in the new *Grove's Dictionary,* which suggests that the early violin be held in the modern manner for greater convenience. Such 'short cuts' are worse than useless since they lead to a chain reaction of errors. While the low 18th-century position without chin pressure is admittedly difficult at first, it can be mastered with practice, and in the course of this practice many important aspects of early technique such as fingering, position shifting, and vibrato are mastered in their authentic form.[402]

Although Babitz himself never appeared to have mastered this way of playing, Kuijken - inspired by what he *thought* Babitz was doing - developed a radical chin-off approach to the Baroque violin (Illustration 4.5). This was a startling departure from modern violin pedagogy and demanded learning a completely new left hand technique. This technique, which Kuijken used exclusively, became Kuijken's most important, yet controversial, contribution to the Baroque violin revival.

4.5 Sigiswald Kuijken and the chin-off technique

When asked how he came to this idea, Kuijken related:

> I think that it was a sort of very slow realization. Of course I had looked at many old pictures and paintings. And with my playing, I slowly began to feel that what I doing was completely anachronistic. It just wasn't right…I never saw a representation [of] someone that [depicted someone clamping the violin].
>
> It was so difficult. No one could tell me how to try to do this. I tried two times [and quit]…but the the third time I succeeded. I was actually primarily curious. As soon as I decided to try, I never wanted to return to how I used to play. It was a sort of fanaticism, but a good fanaticism. It was a liberation for me…to hear the violin without your ear on it. As if someone walked in the room through the other ear.

When asked if the sound was so different because of the new way of holding the violin or through the use of the bow,

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[402] Sol Babitz,"Demonstration of Basic Differences Between 18th-Century and Modern Violins, Bows and Technique." Abstract of paper in *JAMS*. 9, no. 1 (Spring, 1956): 56.

Kuijken explained that it was

> everything at once. Before that, we had played with a bit of chin pressure on the wood. [Without that], the sound was suddenly much rounder. That was the biggest difference. And a more objective way of bowing. When you take away your chin, the sound is different and you have to be more careful with your bow arm, it must be much closer to the instrument. That is good. You play more from the music than from your movement. It is what is exactly good for that music…not that virtuosic sort of repertoire. Not at all. That is what fascinated me the most. I had to simply stay busy with the business at hand.

Kuijken often expressed his distaste for "that virtuosic sort of repertoire," and it is obvious that his completely chin-off approach would work less well for compositions that demand large shifts up and down the fingerboard. Since Kuijken's rejection of the modern violin world's celebration of empty virtuosity is one of the cornerstones of his early music philosophy, it is fitting that his new left hand technique wouldn't facilitate playing this repertoire.

Kuijken explained the challenges of learning this technique:

> Vibrato was also so *difficult* in the beginning. The violin moved a bit with the motion of your hand. In all ways, the beginning was like completely starting again. All the pieces that I had played for years, from 64-69, I had played by holding my violin with my chin. … All the pieces that I knew so well that I could dream them, I had to relearn. In reality, I was experimenting on stage. I could have stopped; it wasn't always comfortable, of course. But I did it. Never compromised. Also not on stage. Than you see what works well and what doesn't work at at all. Then you start searching. But with compromises - even if no one notices - you don't learn anything.

Not holding the violin with the chin has huge consequences for a violinist. Modern violinists place their chins on a chinrest to support the instrument, which completely frees the left arm to allow unimpeded travel up and down the fingerboard. Many of the pioneers continued to use a chin and shoulder rest, but most eventually abandoned these modernisms. Without a chinrest, a violinist must use the left hand to support the instrument. Most players did not continuously hold the violin with their chin, but virtually all the pioneers put their chin on the violin to hold it steady when shifting back from a higher position to a lower one. In this movement, the left hand must move away from the player and - without chin support - the violin is apt to move away from the player's body as well.

Kuijken's study of Francesco Geminiani's *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (London, 1751) provided him with the explanation he needed to develop a new method of shifting without relying on chin pressure. Kuijken writes that Geminiani explains how the fingers and thumb move independently. When shifting to a higher position, the fingers move first and "leave the thumb behind as much as possible."[403] When shifting to a lower position, the fingers move back first and the thumb follows later. This is completely unlike modern violin technique where the left hand and fingers move primarily as a unit. Kuijken's technique demanded a great deal of dexterity, so that the hand and fingers could

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[403] Pieter Andriessen, ed. *Authentiek of Fanatiek: 25 jaar La Petite Bande* (Peer: Alamire muziekuitgeverij, 1997): 45.

stretch backwards and forwards without the thumb having to change position. Unlike the more fixed left hand unit of a modern violinist, Kuijken's method demanded a left hand that was often in two positions at once. Without the solidity of a more fixed hand position, it is much more difficult for a violinist to play well in tune.

Kuijken describes the first recording he made using this new technique:

> I know all too well that the very first recording I made [without my chin] was with Leonhardt and Wieland [Kuijken]. The first piece was the *Sonnerie* [*Sonnerie de Sainte Geneviève du Mont-de-Paris* by Marin Marais] on the Versailles recording.[404] I went to listen after the first take, and I didn't know what to think. Was it very good or very bad? I thought it sounded a bit like a strange discant gamba. I had just been busy with this technique for six months. The piece wasn't so difficult, but I couldn't make heads nor tails of the sound. I hadn't yet heard myself on a good recording. But there was no choice. I had to go further. …Within five minutes I knew it was OK.

Listening to Kuijken's recording of this piece, one can barely understand how these eight minutes could have been such a turning point for the Baroque violin revival. It also makes one question if this radical new technique was audible for the average listener, even if was obvious when one was able to see a live performance. For some, the sound was very different, as Kuijken describes. Ritchie remembers hearing a recording of Kuijken playing Rameau[405] made just a few years later and thinking "that doesn't sound like a violin, that sounds like a viol!"

Kuijken was still able to vibrate with his new chin-off technique, but he doesn't use the continuous vibrato that many of the older pioneers still favored. Perhaps it is Kuijken's "more objective bowing" style that can be heard more than his left hand technique. Kuijken still uses long bow strokes, but plays with a more pronounced "strong-weak" articulation than a more purely legato sound. He does use shorter articulations that could have sounded "less violinistic" to many, especially when compared to the gamba which, even when playing short strokes, produces a more resonant sound.

Kuijken's new technique shook the early music world. Kuijken's self-proclaimed "fanaticism" left no room for doubt, and he was absolutely convinced that this was the correct way to play the Baroque violin. The older pioneers had been more concerned with finding historical equipment, studying contemporaneous source material and coming to their own conclusions. Suddenly, there was a "right" and "authentic" way to play the Baroque violin, and the older generation played in a way that was now considered "inauthentic" and "wrong." Kuijken's new technique meant getting rid of all modern aids (chin- and shoulder rests) and learning a completely new left hand technique. Many of the pioneers felt pressured to try and do this; others considered it pure folly.

Kuijken's world is divided into those who embraced his new technique and those who didn't: "Janine [Rubenlicht] had difficulty with it and never did it completely… Jaap [Schröder] didn't do it…Marie [Leonhardt] tried…Alice [Harnoncourt], never." Kuijken claims that the German-speaking lands were against it, as well as the modern Belgian

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[404] "Music in Versailles," Gustav Leonhardt, Sigiswald Kuijken and Wieland Kuijken, LP (Koln: Deutsche Harmonia Mundi, 1970).
[405] "Pièces de clavecin en concerts" by Jean-Philippe Rameau," LP (Hamburg: Telefunken, ca. 1973).

violin school. Kuijken admits that his greatest support came from Gustav Leonhardt, who "immediately knew that it was good. Nicky Harnoncourt didn't want to know." Kuijken says outright that Leonhardt and Schröder are "old school" and "never really changed their style completely," and he claims that this would only have been possible if one would "change the parameters." Leonhardt must have felt particularly pressured to try this new technique since her husband played with Kuijken and supported his ideas. Leonhardt had played the Baroque violin with a chin and shoulder rest since her study in Basel, and had continued using this equipment throughout the 50s and 60s.

In conversations with Leonhardt, as well as in other interviews she gave, she spoke about Kuijken's new technique in contradictory ways and this surely reflects the confusion this issue caused her. In one interview she claims that "Sigiswald completely convinced me, I found it really very good what he did, but I was also very 'down.' I had a big house and three children, so had very little time."[406] Leonhardt added that "for around ten years I just didn't play the violin much. I couldn't find my place [anymore] here in The Netherlands, nor could I defend [my position]."[407] When the children were older, Leonhardt had more time for the violin and confided that she finally felt musically grown up on the "day I played without holding the violin [with my chin]. I was so proud, because he couldn't tell me how to do it … We had a terrible time. He forced us to play without our chins, but I said 'it takes time, it will come. You can't suddenly play the harpsichord without a chair!'"

It is not unequivocally clear whom Leonhardt is speaking about, but it seems most likely that it is her husband Gustav. Melkus claims that it was Gustav's "dictate" that meant Marie "had to give up vibrato." Playing with vibrato is more difficult without using chin pressure, and it's unclear if Melkus was speaking about musical or technical ideas that he felt Gustav forced upon Marie. Comparing playing the violin without her chin to "playing the harpsichord without a chair" reflects how physically unnerving this technique must have felt for her. Leonhardt admits that she uses "lots of things under [the violin] to bring it up to my chin," which many Baroque violinists of both chin on and off persuasion use to make things easier. "And of course a chammy," she added. "It was very laborious. It went very slowly." She concluded with a surprising, "it's not of great importance though."

Leonhardts' opinion changed throughout the interviews, first stating that she wouldn't "be doctrinaire" about it, then proclaiming unequivocally "never under the chin." Proud of her attempts to master this technique, Leonhardt also felt that everyone should feel free to make their own choice. She concluded, "I'm not so didactic about it, but I had so much trouble to get so far. I don't particularly like it when people say it doesn't matter. One has to strive to that, but you can also manage in your own way." Leonhardt still feels superior to those who haven't tried the new technique, but clearly bristles that she felt forced into doing it. She claims that the Austrians are still

> holding their violins like modern violins! I don't know if you can say that. For us, it's a shame, but they don't mind. We didn't do that in Holland. But you can't do everything without your chin. For certain *cantalina* phrases. When the music allows you to, you can play with a free violin. It's not ME

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[406] Van der Klis, 159.

[407] Ibid.

> who wants to play without; it's not a theory. Jaap [Schröder] and I had a long conversation and he said, 'Nonsense, you can play just as beautifully holding the violin.' But for me it was quite a change. I did it in the end.

Leonhardt's strong admission that "it's not ME who wants to play without" makes it even clearer that she felt outside pressure to use this technique. Schröder didn't seem to feel the same need to conform to these new ideas as Leonhardt did. When asked about the chin-off technique, Schröder commented that he "always recognized Kuijken when he heard him" and succinctly added that he "didn't agree." Schröder and Kuijken are an excellent example of how different ideals and approaches within the movement could produce similar and radically different results. Although both violinists had their instruments built back for different idealistic reasons, the results were identical. In contrast, their surprisingly similar ideas about technique resulted in strikingly different choices. Schröder describes why he doesn't use a chin rest:

> In the 18th century, there was some pressure from the chin on the tailpiece first of all on the right-hand side. The tutors all describe this very differently. But shifting without a chin rest is a problem, of course. It's not at all like modern technique. Shifting up is not so difficult but coming down is more complicated. The left hand does not have the same position as in modern playing, it's more in contact with the whole violin, supports it, and has to crawl back into first position when it has been in a higher position. But certainly the fact that there is no chin rest influences the choice of fingering. It's not just a historical curiosity that I am not using a chin rest; it helps a lot in finding the right articulation.[408]

Schröder used playing without a chinrest as a tool to teach him about the correct musical approach to a piece; similarly, Kuijken claims that his chin-off technique helped him "to get closer to the music." An article from 1977 described their two approaches:

> Holding the violin under the chin to the right of the tailpiece allows Schröder to move the instrument and bow in opposite directions, playing less from the waist than a modern violinist does. For Kuijken, the violin is not an extension of the trunk of the body, as it has been held since the 19th century, but is held in front of the chest and touched by the chin only when shifting, thus allowing the player to hear the volume of sound around him. The sound comes less from within, is perhaps less subjective, and is heard by the player from a somewhat more objective distance.[409]

Kuijken's objectivity is stressed, not only in the distance the instrument is held, but also in the sound itself. Further in this review, Schröder's subjectivity is noted in respect to the anachronistic bow he used for his program "as a matter of personal preference."[410] Kuijken's self-proclaimed fanaticism that resulted in a theory that was to be applied to all situations and repertoires is in sharp contrast to Schröder's lack of interest in purely "historical curiosities" and his insistence on "personal preference" as his guideline. The description of Kuijken using his chin for shifting is a rare occurrence in his adamant chin-off stance.

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[408] Jaap Schröder, Christopher Hogwood and Clare Almond, "The Developing Violin," *Early Music* 7, no. 2 (1979): 163.

[409] Bruce Bellingham, "Lowlands Visitors," *Early Music* 5, no. 4 (October 1977): 607.

[410] Ibid.

Outside of The Netherlands, other members of the Baroque violin community had differing reactions to this new technique. McDonald's first experience was with the more technically conservative Schröder. McDonald remembers watching Schröder "shift by laying his violin neck on his wrist" and admits that she "wasn't so impressed" with the Europeans after seeing that, even though she realized that everyone was trying to find his or her own way. McDonald never became a chin-off advocate, but related that many of the exercises for her pupils are done without the chin. She first gives her students fifteenth-century tunes to be played with the violins laying on their arms, then helps them discover the motion of shifting in later repertoire with the violin in its normal position.

The Austrians, far away from the experiments taking place on Dutch and Belgian soil, were not interested in exploring Kuijken's new technique and found his sound ideal too far from the warmer sound and longer bow strokes they preferred. Harnoncourt claims that Kuijken's ideas "came from pictures [historical prints and paintings]" and defends her viewpoint by describing how modern-day press photographs of famous violinists also don't show them in perfect playing positions, but in aesthetically-pleasing ones. She says that she and her husband think Kuijken is "extreme. We don't like it. The sound is not the same." She adds that "it's a pity, because he's a very good musician, but it's just an *idée fixe*." A student of Harnoncourt explains that "Alice herself was not bothered by this technicality [chin on or off] and always put meaning of music, sound, phrasing, articulating, etc. first."[411] For a musician like Kuijken, technical and musical choices were intertwined; for violinists uninterested in Kuijken's technique, musicality was often invoked as taking priority over technical matters.

Melkus feels that "a lot of things are wrong" with the Baroque violin world, and it soon became clear whom he felt was responsible for this. Even though Melkus never spoke explicitly about the chin-off technique, it was clear that he felt that the new style "created by Sol Babitz and taken over by the Kuijkens" had changed the way of playing the Baroque violin for the worse, especially in The Netherlands and in England. "The Kuijkens were too close to England; I was too far. I saw the change happen." Melkus stated that "we have been strong enough to resist his ideas, but others not." Melkus always stressed his separation from the Harnoncourts, and this is one of the few times that Melkus used the plural "we" in speaking about their shared opposition to the "Dutch school."

Melkus claims that he "could never find anything to agree with" in the Kuijken brothers' approach and was clearly unimpressed by their "extreme ideas," as well as their "long hair, [wearing] jeans and holes in their trousers." Melkus' words juxtapose his and Kuijken's concepts as normal/extreme ideas and appropriate/inappropriate clothing, and this can be seen as a generational as well as ideological divide. Melkus feels that his generation reflected the musical approach of someone like Mertin, which was "different from later generations" who said "it must go this way" and which "sounds more theoretical than musical." When he asked the Dutch student who played for him "Why do you play [early music] this way?," he claims that she responded with "you *must* play it this way."

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[411] Ingrid Seifert, email correspondence with the author, 22 April 2013.

Kuijken's school - characterized by the chin-off technique, lack of continuous vibrato and use of the *mezza di voce* - soon had adherents throughout the world, and this caused difficulties for the older pioneers. Monosoff discovered this when she played a Vivaldi concerto in New Zealand in 1988. The musicologist and Baroque violinist Peter Walls (b. 1947) believed in "the chin-off approach" and, according to Monosoff, "we didn't see eye to eye." She remembers that it "was not a very good experience. It was clear that there were preconceived ideas about the way all this should be done, and they weren't my preconceived ideas."

Monosoff could have expected this confrontation after having read Walls' article about violin fingering, which was published just a few years before her tour. Walls writes:

> The problem of moving up and (more particularly) down the fingerboard without using the chin seem at first formidable, but a player determined to develop this sort of technique soon reaches a point where it is the notion of clutching the violin between chin and shoulder that becomes an image of terrifying insecurity. Performers such as Sigiswald Kuijken demonstrate not only that a fluent 'chin-off' technique is possible, but that it can bring musical and physical benefits that amply justify the endeavour.[412]

Unfortunately, Walls' personal opinion about this matter colored any attempt at academic impartiality. Using the word "clutching" to describe the use of the chin and describing such playing as "an image of terrifying insecurity" seems exaggerated at best and prejudicial at worst. Monosoff, in a lengthy written response, takes Walls to musicological task, points out many errors and offers alternative theories to some of his more speculative claims. Walls' response, while admitting to "an element of special pleading," made clear that his chin-off convictions remained firm.[413]

Ritchie claims that the United States didn't suffer from this sort of "us and them" attitude, but does admit that the "guru thing distresses me. That's not what music is about. There are certain things I disagree about, [but playing] chin-off is their business." "Sigiswald has gotten away with it," he continued, adding that this way of playing has become a sort of cult. He makes it clear that "it wasn't Sigiswald; it was his students." Ritchie describes his own attitude:

> We can't know how those people played. I still don't understand how Geminiani played unless he had an arm like an orangutang!…You read one thing and think that's how it was. You have to take things into account. Someone with a very long neck would likely find it very difficult to play the violin without some sort of artificial aid.
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> There's never an explanation how to change positions…Geminiani is the closest. Beyond that, there are no details how to shift, which is correct, because everyone's hand is different. It's up to the individual to decide how to do that. I can adjudicate. But to enforce one way of playing and say that there is only one right way. There's no place in music, in the arts, for that kind of thing.

In England, period violinists grappled with this new idea. In 1977, the Baroque violinist Judith Falkus expressed her

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[412] Peter Walls, "Violin Fingering in the 18th Century," *Early Music* 12, no. 3 (August 1984): 301.

[413] Sonya Monosoff and Peter Walls, "Violin Fingering," *Early Music* 13, no. 1 (February 1985): 79.

view in a letter to the editor of *The Musical Times*, stating that "the authentic 'no chin' technique remains the optimal solution."[414] In a surprising choice from a period player, she adds that "the next best solution - and not necessarily an inferior one - would be the use of a chinrest" and that the "practise of holding the violin with the chin but without a chinrest would be only a third-best, inferior solution."[415] Standage, having had many years to reflect on this topic, believes that "a lack of rigidity of approach is important" and adds that many of his students play in very different ways, including a student with a very long neck who plays chin off. Standage has more problems with the right arm in this approach then with the left hand. He explains: "Actually, I find the 'headless' approach more debilitating for the bow arm. To keep the violin stable you have to use the bow for something else, rather than just creating the sound. That seems to me to be the worst aspect of an over-rigid approach to playing without the chin."

Too gentlemanly to say anything obviously negative, Standage's use of the word "headless" belies his true feelings. It wasn't clear if he meant that the idea of this new technique was foolish or that it was intellectually/musicologically suspect or both. When asked if he felt the chin-off approach is too strict, Standage immediately jumped up to show me a number of treatises that contradicted this theory: "Here's an old faded fax from Charles Medlam with a quote from Prinner that says it's silly." The fact that violinists *within* the early movement felt the need to use musicological clout to support their choice about how to play the Baroque violin was a disturbing new trend in this predominately collegial world. The "chin on" advocates always quoted Geminiani's treatise, while the "chin off" faction quoted the same work in a different edition to prove their viewpoint. Curiously, both camps traded scholarly blows using the same excerpt from Prinner to prove opposite sides of the argument.

The period cellist and gambist Charles Medlam first brought the quote from Johann Jacob Prinner's manuscript *Musicalischer Schlissl* (1677), in his own translation, to the early music community's attention:

> If you want to play the violin properly you must hold it under your chin with the left arm held hollow like an arch and put the neck up by the pegs in your hand bent hollow and hold the violin so firmly with your chin that there's no reason to hold it with the left hand otherwise it would be impossible to play quick passages which go high and then low or to play in tune like that unless one were to hold the violin with the right hand so that it shouldn't fall down.
>
> Nevertheless I have known virtuosi of repute who irrespective of this put the violin only against the chest, thinking it looks nice and decorative because they have taken it from a painting where an angel is playing to St Francis and found it more picturesque: but they should have known that the painter was perhaps more artful with his paintbrush than he would have been with the violin bow.[416]

Kuijken is well aware of this quote and claims

> The second half is the proof for what I do. The first half says that it is easier to hold the violin with

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[414] Judith Falkus, "Baroque Violin Technique," *The Musical Times* 188, no. 1617 (Nov. 1977): 912.

[415] Ibid.

[416] Charles Medlam, Correspondence: "On Holding the Violin," *Early Music* 7, no. 4 (October 1979): 561, 563.

> your chin so that the left hand is free. The man [Priller] was a good amateur; he observed the situation well. Why don't the virtuosi do it [hold the violin]? Do they do it only to look good? … The second paragraph, which is often not quoted, is worth gold.

The Prinner quote in its entirety was first printed in *Early Music*, and a continuing correspondence in this journal kept kindling the flames of this idealogical debate. The Danish violinist Mogens Brendstrup contributed his own translation of a quote from Johann Daniel Berlin's music-tutor, which also supported the chin-on faction. Brendstrup states that "due to its appearance in Danish this very clear and important testimony from 1744 has not previously been internationally known."[417] Like all the musicians using this public forum to support their own viewpoint, it is likely that this Danish quote reinforces Brendstrup's own choice about how to play the Baroque violin.

The battle between chin-on and chin-off lovers, according to Kuijken, was also fought by the conductors. Some, like the Belgian Philippe Herreweghe (b. 1947) and the Dutchman Frans Brüggen (1934-2014), supported this new approach; others "wouldn't hire the students who played without their chin. That was wrong." Kuijken didn't mention the numerous complaints about chin-off players' intonation, but did admit that the conductors, "in the beginning, were a bit right to do so." He complains that conductors just want things "as good and as fast as possible. But it's ALL compromise." One of his English pupils told him that she suffered from this prejudice when she returned home and had difficulty finding work because "everyone is chin on" and she was conspicuously "chin off." Although this might have been the case in the 70s and early 80s, the British Baroque violinists I spoke with were less negative about this approach than Kuijken claims. Mackintosh admits that she tries "to play chin off when appropriate, but I'm not religious about it." She reminds us that prejudice works both ways and that "the Dutch players looked down on us."

Arriving in The Netherlands in 1982, I can confirm that playing chin off was considered the only way to play the Baroque violin. I remember feeling sheepish using my chin in certain playing situations, and I knew that I could never play in some ensembles because I did not play completely chin free. Since I was studying with Schröder, Kuijken's students claimed that I "wasn't really studying Baroque violin." When I spoke with Kuijken about his pupils' comments, he remarked "that students always want to be 'right' in a childish way. It's a bit natural - the school with one color finds the other color not as good." He went on to speak about people who play with their chin, "for me, they've missed a boat, not *the* boat, but *a* boat. It's an experience they should have tried." When asked why people didn't do it, Kuijken replied:

> Fear. And a lack of experimentation … All the English did it a bit halfway…I don't find it bad. They were people who were a bit frightened of losing face. They didn't dare, so you never play completely free. You don't change completely.

Kuijken claims that he "never attacked anyone" for having different ideas and adds that "you have to dare. Everyone can do what he wants. If you don't dare…I've always asked a lot of questions. If someone else doesn't want to ask

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[417] Mogens Brendstrup, "Danish Violin Testimony," *Early Music* 8, no. 3 (July 1980): 430

those questions, I don't get involved." The fact that these violinists might not follow his ideas because they did not agree with him didn't seem to enter Kuijken's consciousness. His intimation that people didn't follow his new ideas through a personal fault or weakness created a difficult situation within the Baroque violin community.

Both sides had little respect for the other. The "Dutch school" with a Belgian figurehead was ridiculed and occasionally demonized. It was jokingly called "The Roquefort Method" since the violin was held as low as possible and the nose was pointed in the opposite direction, as if the instrument stank.[418] Kuijken remembers his instrument being called a "*Bio Geige*" in Switzerland, but that had possibly more to do with Kuijken's long hair and socks with sandals attire than with his way of playing. Kuijken's school often bore the brunt of complaints about intonation problems and thin sound quality, and detractors claimed that they were giving the Baroque violin a bad name. "If only he'd put his chin down, he'd play better in tune" was a common remark.

This split within the Baroque violin community still exists, and one can still see and hear the difference in approach between players, even though they co-exist in many ensembles. The scars of being labeled "less authentic" have still not healed for some of the older players. I had difficulty organizing interviews with one pioneer, because I was seen as a representative of the dreaded Dutch school and was sure not to respect his "old-fashioned" playing. He was also the only person I interviewed who was especially eager to hear me play, and I felt that it was only to confirm his worst prejudices about my Baroque violin background. After reassuring him that I was a great admirer of his playing, he softened but still wanted to hear me play, adding "I would like to hear you. Your ideas sound very normal; it would be interesting to listen to the results." It became clear in the interviews that, to him, the Dutch school's ideas were not normal at all.

Although "on" and "off" players will most likely to continue to disagree as long as people continue playing the Baroque violin, the question of "how it was" will never be answered. Treatises, contemporaneous accounts, and iconography can only tell us a small part of the story about how the historical violin was played. One can only imagine that at different times, in different places and in different situations people played the Baroque violin in various ways. Most violinists accept the idea that virtually no one is able to afford the exact equipment appropriate for each country, repertoire and time period, but many are still pugnacious about a player's choice of playing technique, which was likely to have been equally diverse.

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[418] Sigiswald Kuijken, interview with Ronny de Schepper, 5 September 2012.

Chapter Five

Reception and Dissemination

Most of these pioneers were very successful modern violinists; winning prizes, leading orchestras and performing as soloists. Their ability to create a new career playing a "new" instrument was a major accomplishment, especially in the face of criticism from the modern music world. These violinists described the excitement and camaraderie of being part of the burgeoning early music movement, and the lack of financial gain for many of these early efforts underlines the idealism of the revival. The recording industry helped turn this sideline into a profession, and a discussion of iconic recordings demonstrates each pioneer's important contribution to a rapidly changing field. Finally, teaching appointments and publications solidified the codification and dissemination of the pioneers' accomplishments.

Reception

Gauging the reception of the early days of the Baroque violin revival is difficult, for reviews of performances and memories of the performers vary enormously. The "old guard" reviewers always found fault and hoped that "this too shall pass,"[419] while the "new guard" was positive about even the most flawed historical instrument performance. Similarly, many pioneers stressed the difficulty of trying to convince a recalcitrant public; others claimed that they were enthusiastically received from the first moment they stepped on stage. These early performances were confronting pre-conceived ideas about how the violin should sound and how a certain repertoire should be played, and the most balanced reports noted that different reviewers and audience members often responded to the same concert in different ways.

The sound of the Baroque violin (and the use of less vibrato by its players) was most often a point of discussion. String-playing critics were able to provide especially perceptive commentary, such as that by the Austrian-born British musician Hans Keller (1919-1985). Keller was both deprecating and sexist when writing about "our authenticity boys,"[420] but he is able to discuss early string playing with admirable insight. He claimed that the vibrato-less ideal of many early music players is unsuccessful, not because the concept is incorrect, but because "the modern string player is no longer capable of enlisting his right arm in the service of tonal finesse to the extent to which a player was who grew up with non-vibrato as well as vibrato."[421] Keller admitted that he was "lucky (i.e. old) enough to have heard, and indeed produced, vibrato-less tone with all the required shadings."[422] Keller concluded that it would be better for a modern string player "to appreciate his own playing incompetence" and use vibrato, although he does admit that there could be exceptions to this maxim. Keller stated that "if it so happens (and it *has* happened) that he has escaped the narrowing down of our expressive range in this dimension, that his right hand is capable of producing, and subtly

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[419] Quoted by Stanley Ritchie in his acceptance speech upon receiving the Howard Mayer Brown Award. Boston, 12 June 2009. https://www.earlymusicamerica.org/files/EMA%20speech.pdf, last accessed 15 June 2017.

[420] Hans Keller, "Whose Authenticity?" *Early Music* vol. 12, no. 4 (November 1984): 517.

[421] Ibid.

[422] Ibid., 518.

modulating, his vibrato-less tone, one will, of course, joyfully demonstrate to him what ought to be played without vibrato, and why."[423]

Keller, older than all of the pioneers interviewed for this dissertation, was able to describe the variety of string sounds produced at the beginning of the twentieth century. One might disagree with his conclusion that most modern violinists should use vibrato because they are incapable of playing well without, but Keller does give credence to the Baroque players' assertions that bow technique had suffered with the advent of continuous vibrato and that this mid- twentieth-century sound ideal was not appropriate for earlier repertoire.

Vibrato-less playing is fuel for the vitriol of the modern violinist Pinchas Zuckerman (b. 1948), one of the most outspoken opponents of the early music movement. Zuckerman claims that the idea that vibrato was not widely employed until after World War II is "garbage" and finds the early music movement "a diseased little aspect of what we are as a society - and hopefully we will find real medication for it to go away in the future. And I can't believe it will last very long. It can't."[424] Unlike Keller, Zuckerman would have had no first-hand experience of the accepted violin sound ideal before the war, and historical recordings prove that violinists' use of vibrato in this period varied enormously. Zuckerman's venomous comments reflect how threatening early music ideals were to the modern violin world, even well into the twenty-first century.

Back in the mid-1950s, Leonhardt remembers that even though the harpsichord was accepted in The Netherlands, finding that same degree of enthusiasm for the Leonhardt Consort "took more time" and that they "had to build it up." Gerrit van der Veer, a keen amateur early musician, remembers attending a concert of the Leonhardt Consort in Amsterdam during this time period. He recalls hearing "Boo!" and "Unacceptable!" from the audience when Leonhardt's E string went flat and had to be retuned. As a fledgling early musician himself, Van der Veer realized that this was the result of using gut strings, not the result of poor playing. He feels that the modern and early music worlds in The Netherlands were completely separate in the 1950s and 60s.[425] Leonhardt also recalls that people laughed to hear "a man with a beard singing so high" when they first played concerts with the English countertenor Alfred Deller. She recalls that when the Leonhardt Consort played predominately seventeenth-century music in the early days, the audience "didn't clap so much, … later, they enjoyed the orchestra, the singers. We got better too. In the beginning, they didn't know the music at all." It is difficult to imagine how startling the sound of a countertenor and unknown repertoire must have been for audiences in the 1950s and early 60s.

Harnoncourt felt that the public became interested in Concentus very quickly. When they started their series of concerts in 1957 at the Schwarzenberg Palace in Vienna, she states that "it was attractive and everybody came, even though it

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[423] Ibid., 519.

[424] JFL [Jen L. Laurson], "Interview with Pinchas Zukerman," 31 October 2006, http://ionarts.blogspot.com/2006/10/interview-with-pinchas-zukerman.html, last accessed 29 October 2017.

[425] Gerrit van der Veer, interview with author, Ede (The Netherlands), 21 January 2017.

was new." When asked if they ever experienced any negative reactions, Harnoncourt admitted that there was also criticism. She recalled that "the [modern] musicians, *they* were negative; but the public was open. The critics at first said 'Oh, what is this?' Some quickly became enthusiastic, but some were very conservative. Vienna has two sides. It can be very conservative, but it can also be very open and very modern."

Schröder mentions this same dichotomy in the Dutch music world as late as the 1970s when he formed Quartetto Esterházy, the first period instrument string quartet. Schröder recalled feeling quite a bit of resistance from the traditional quartet public, but enjoying a very enthusiastic reception from the younger generation. More than twenty years younger than Schröder, Kuijken reminded me more than once that many of these early music developments began in the 1960s. Kailan Rubinoff writes convincingly how both early and modern music musicians took part in the 1960s protest movements in The Netherlands.[426] The rebellious, counter-culture aspect of the Baroque violin revival is seen primarily in Kuijken's long hair, casual attire, anti-authority stance and extreme attitude to playing techniques.

The pioneers who continued playing modern violin experienced this time period in a different way. Having not made such a strong stand by "rejecting" the modern violin, these violinists were still a part of the modern world and remained interested in its opinions. Monosoff is particularly proud of an excellent review from Boris Schwartz, "who didn't really like the Baroque violin very much," as well as for being included in his *Great Masters of the Violin*.[427] Melkus is the only other pioneer mentioned, and Schwartz writes that "despite all authenticity, Melkus has preserved a natural, sweet-sounding violin style."[428] Schwartz's intimation that most Baroque players sounded neither natural nor sweet confirms Monosoff's view that Schwartz was prejudiced against the Baroque violin. Melkus and Monosoff are also the only two violinists mentioned in the first edition of Campbell's *The Great Violinists* as "two of the leading exponents"[429] of the period instrument revival. The very qualities that made Melkus and Monosoff appreciated by the modern violin world made them suspect in the early music one. Schröder felt that Monosoff "was a bit between modern and Baroque," and this was not considered a compliment. Although Melkus was originally seen as an important figure in the revival, his use of modern aids and metal strings on his Baroque violin ruined his reputation for many within the movement. By the second edition of Campbell's book in 2004, things had changed dramatically. The Baroque violin now merits its own chapter, and Marie Leonhardt is one of five violinists featured on the cover.[430] Melkus and Monosoff are no longer mentioned, but all of the other violinists interviewed for this dissertation are noted, as well as many from the succeeding generations. Dolmetsch is lauded as "the real pioneer" and Babitz is noted for his scholarly work, but Kägi and Skeaping are both absent in discussions of Leonhardt's and Mackintosh's training.[431]

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[426] Kailan R. Rubinoff "Cracking the Dutch Early Music Movement: The Repercussions of the 1969 Notenkrakersactie," *Twentieth-century Music* 6, no. 1 (2009): 3–22.

[427] Boris Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin* (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1983): 546.

[428] Ibid., 404.

[429] Margaret Campbell, *The Great Violinists* (St. Albans: Granada Publishing, 1980): 54. Campbell was the biographer of Dolmetsch.

[430] Margaret Campbell, "New Sounds in Old Music," in *The Great Violinists* (London: Robson Books, 2004): 295-302.

[431] Ibid.

In the UK, Standage recalls "that there was a lot of antipathy in the early days," where people assumed the use of old instruments often justified the "vile whine of the Baroque violin." Ritchie remembers that in the United States some audiences liked early music, "but the rest thought it was some sort of fringe thing. Or [that the players were] not good enough to be modern players." McDonald also recalls that "early musicians were often looked down upon." She stated that the *New York Times* was "terrible for the early music scene, very negative" and always printed bad reviews; but that the press in Boston was "always more generous" and "offered more support." Given this situation, it's no surprise that the first big early music festival in the USA was founded in Boston in 1980.

Ritchie wrote about the pioneering days in the 1970s and pointed out the negative side of early music's increasing popularity:

> There was in the United States at the time no strictly professional motivation, so we pioneers were united solely by the enthusiasm of the explorer. Flying in the face of tradition as we were, our efforts were often regarded with skepticism and even ridicule. But gradually our numbers grew, and within a few years the movement had become firmly established. An unfortunate consequence was that some musicians who, having previously derided the concept and mocked the pioneers, now perceived that there was money to be made, and jumped aboard without paying the fare. In the cynical spirit of derision they decided that all they needed to do in order to qualify as a 'Baroque' or, later, 'Classical' musician was borrow the necessary equipment.[432]

Already in the 1970s, Leonhardt's only published article warns that "what in the sixties was a sensation has now become an infatuation" and that "the game has become easy and opportunism stirs."[433] Ritchie and Leonhardt mention no names, but the violinist Sergiu Luca (1943-2010) comes immediately to mind. In a 1970s interview, Luca claimed that he planned to play all of the Bach solo works using a Baroque bow because that "should appeal to the younger generation."[434] Although Luca appeared to be genuinely interested in and quite knowledgable about the bows, one doesn't sense the same commitment that the pioneers exhibited. When a New York interviewer asked Luca about the specialists "in what some people call the Baroque ghetto;" Luca states that he gives them "all his respect," but adds that "these experts in one field lack the technical virtuosity to do justice to the Bach solo violin works." Luca claimed he "has that virtuosity, and he wants to try to make this music popular to the average audience today."[435] The reviewer's use of the term "Baroque ghetto" and Luca's snipe at the "lack of technical virtuosity" of period players make their viewpoints clear. In the early music savvy Amsterdam, Luca received a lukewarm reception with his all-solo Bach program. A review claimed that Luca was "very vulnerable" in the "unknown territory" of period playing and stated that "it's obvious that at the moment Luca is so preoccupied with the new sounds and stylistic procedure that he is not able

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[432] Stanley Ritchie, *Before the Chinrest: a Violinist's Guide to the Mysteries of Pre-Chinrest Technique and Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012): xii.

[433] Marie Leonhardt, "Early Music throughout Europe: The Present State of Music in Northern Europe, in particular the Netherlands," *Early Music* 4, no. 1 (January 1976): 51.

[434] Samuel and Sada Applebaum (with Alan Grey Branigan), *The Way They Play*, book 4 (Neptune City, New Jersey: Paganiniana Publications, Inc., 1975): 256.

[435] Raymond Ericson, "J.S. Bach Takes a Baroque Bow," *New York Times*, 3 November 1974.

to get to the core of Bach's violin music."[436] I was in the audience for this concert and remember that the general consensus was that ego trumped respect for the composer and more "Luca" than Bach was heard that evening. Luca was the first violinist to record these works "on period instruments,"[437] but his reception in Amsterdam supports the belief that "he jumped aboard" without paying the whole fare, to paraphrase Ritchie.

Creating New Careers

For most of these pioneers, their early experimentation with the Baroque violin and performances with early music ensembles was a non-paid passion. Fortunately, the recording industry encouraged many of these ventures and provided many of the pioneers the financial support to explore this new sound world further. Projects such as the Columbia History of Music (1929), Two Thousand Years of Music (1930) and *L'Anthologie Sonore* (1933) had encouraged recording early repertoire in the first half of the twentieth century, and a number of the pioneers' teachers can be heard playing early repertoire on modern instruments in these series. Already in 1958, *Archiv Produktion* - a subsidiary of the German *Deutsche Grammophon Gesselschaft* - was formed to specialize in recordings of early music, and many of the Baroque violin pioneers are featured on these discs or mention being influenced by them. The earliest recording of a Baroque violin I discovered is an *Archiv* disc from 1949 featuring the German violinist Lilli Friedemann (1906-1991) playing works by Johann Jakob Walther in "old tuning" on a "short neck violin."[438] The use of historical instruments warranted special instructions by *Archiv*: "because of the sweet soft sound, don't turn up the volume too high." Friedemann, better known for her interest in "group improvisation" than as an early musician, is another forgotten pioneer who deserves further study.

In post-World War II Europe, the strong dollar made it possible for American companies to record a whole European orchestra "for a farthing,"[439] and the Bach Guild/Vanguard firm took advantage of the new long-playing disc and the European economy to make many early music recordings in 1950s Vienna. One of the first to include the Baroque violin pioneers was the all-Bach LP from 1954 (Amadeo AVRS 6045). The "baroque ensemble directed by Gustav Leonhardt" included Marie, both Harnoncourts, Melkus, the English countertenor Alfred Deller (1912-1979) and the Swiss oboist Michel Piquet (1932-2004) amongst others. This ground-breaking recording introduced the future of the early music movement in its embryonic form. Paramount was its use of historical instruments and a countertenor rather than a female alto,[440] as well as the choice to record in an appropriate historical venue. The international character of this small band of specialists reflected four countries that were at the forefront of the early music revival - Great Britain, The Netherlands, Switzerland and Austria. By choosing to record Bach, rather than some unknown composer, it was as if

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[436] S. Bloemgarten, Review of Concert with Sergiu Luca, Baroque violin, 11 January 1984, "Tegenstrijdigheden in Luca's Bachopvattingen," *NRC Handelsblad*, 12 January 1984.

[437] Sergiu Luca, J.S. Bach, *Unaccompanied Sonatas & partitas,* LP, Nonesuch HC-73030, 1977.

[438] Johann Jakob Walther, *Sonate mit Suite*, Lilli Friedemann, Baroque violin (copy of Nikolaus Amati, Cremona 1672 by Eugen Sprenger, Frankfurt 1941),Walter Gerwig, lute (alto lute, modern copy Hans Jordan after a 17th c. model), Johannes Koch, viola da gamba (Tielke, Hamburg, 1677), *Archiv* 2201 AVM 78 rpm, recorded 7 September 1949 (Hamburg).

[439] Gustav Leonhardt, interview by Kailan R. Rubinoff, 3 July 2008, in "The Grand Guru of Baroque Music: Leonhardt's antiquarianism in the progressivist 1960s," *Early Music* XLII/1: 25.

[440] Ironically, this voice type was also incorrect. Bach would have used a boy soloist, and Leonhardt made use of boy soloists in his later Bach cantata recordings.

these musical explorers were planting a flag and claiming this territory as their own. Leonhardt remembers the adventure of it all:

> We were recording before we had given so many concerts. We were very out of tune, but we laughed a lot, and the records were a great success because of Deller. Deller was there in all his glory. I'm still ashamed after all these years. That Agnus Dei was so out of tune!

Compared to later recordings which were able to take advantage of more sophisticated editing, these LPs reflect a time of less exacting expectations. Listening to the whole disc, the Agnus Dei doesn't suffer from the worst intonation problems. Marie's comment, repeated in numerous other interviews, reflects her own self criticism - or that of others - more than the reality. This is also repeated in her feelings about the 1954 recording of Purcell's *Plaint* with Deller when she stated "I don't think that Plaint is beautiful *now*, no, not any more." The use of "not any more" intimates that Leonhardt used to feel more positive about the recording. When confronted with the fact that others still found it beautiful, she replied "Yes, that's what people say, but we were horrified to hear [it]." The use of "we" implies that this wasn't just Marie's opinion. She found the recording process difficult and related that "Alfred never listened to what the others did, you had to follow him." She remembers him imploring her to "cry, Marie, cry" in the Plaint, but she claims that in those carefree early days she replied "I can't be unhappy." The juxtaposition of her descriptions of the joyful time in Vienna with her later dissatisfaction with those recordings was jarring.

The Leonhardt Consort was praised for the "warmth and liveliness" of its sound and Marie was singled out to "receive a medal" for her playing and fantasy on these early recordings.[441] Purcell's *Plaint,* however "horrified" Marie was to hear it, demonstrates how beautifully she matched Deller's rhythmic flexibility and subtlety of sound. Deller's interpretation and Marie's extensive use of vibrato would be considered old-fashioned to twenty-first century ears, but there is no denying that this performance draws the listener into their intimate musical-making. Deller's 1979 recording of the same piece with different musicians never reaches the daring fragility and flexibility of this 1954 version.[442]

These early LPs paved the way for an explosion of recordings on "original instruments." In 1960, the Harnoncourts new ensemble Concentus Musicus released two discs on Amadeo, and *Telefunken* began recording Gustav Leonhardt and his "barokensemble" in various configurations. Beginning in the 1970s, *Telefunken* entrusted both ensembles to record all the sacred Bach cantatas (from 1971 to 1988), and these LPs were presented in luxurious boxed sets, garnered enormous amounts of press and helped solidify two groups of period players in The Netherlands and Austria. As early as 1976, Leonhardt wrote that in The Netherlands "the number of people who are making a living from old music amounts to more than a hundred. And there is still room for more."[443]

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[441] Van der Klis, *Oude Muziek in Nederland: Het verhaal van de pioniers,* 191.

[442] "Music for a while," by Henry Purcell, performed by Alfred Deller, Roderick Skeaping (baroque violin), Wieland Kuijken (cello) and William Christie (harpsichord), LP (France: Harmonia Mundi, 1979).

[443] Marie Leonhardt, "Early Music throughout Europe: The Present State of Music in Northern Europe, in Particular the Netherlands," *Early Music* 4, no. 1 (1976): 51.

The Harnoncourts' Concentus Musicus' recording of Vivaldi's Four Seasons in 1977[444] made a huge impact upon its release. Reviewers claimed that the orchestra "plays as if possessed by demons" and Alice "fiddles like a modern day Paganini."[445] This recording is still on many reviewers' lists of favorite versions,[446] and even more than thirty years after its release it's claimed that this "pioneer recording of The Four Seasons made many musicians stop in their tracks and fall in love with the whole Baroque period."[447] The violinist Ingrid Seifert, who was in the orchestra for this recording, remembers that

> [Alice's] excellent violin technique allowed her to be free to totally concentrate on expression: for example, when she asked for re-takes in solo recordings it was always to improve on her musical ideas, to put a more personal stamp on the interpretation, to get her point across yet even more convincingly. How lucky I was as a young violinist to witness that total conviction and enthusiasm in her playing.[448]

The contributions of both Nikolaus and Alice were audible. A Dutch newspaper recognized and printed a photograph of both Alice and Nikolaus. Almost twenty years later, an American reviewer praises the Harnoncourts' rhetorical music-making, adding "by the way, exactly which Harnoncourt am I talking about? They're such stunning partners you can take your pick."[449] The balance of this partnership clearly enhanced this production, as well as all their music-making together (see Chapter 6).

Schröder, Melkus, and Monosoff all began organizing their own groups, which varied from modern instruments ensembles to period ones. Stylistic-aware recordings on modern instruments were being produced alongside recordings on "original instruments" throughout the 1960s and 70s. It is unclear if this was to be able to record a wider repertoire or because of some uncertainty about the early instruments. When asked by Telefunken's Wolf Erichson to record some Bach cantatas in 1960, Schröder put together Concerto Amsterdam, a small orchestra on modern instruments whose repertoire ranged from Baroque composers to Hindemith. Ultimately focusing more on the early repertoire and uneasy with the sound of modern instruments, Schröder began recording with this same group "on original instruments" in 1978. Because of the growing success of period instrument recordings, the recording company might have also pushed for this change.

In Vienna, Melkus concentrated on a more solo career and solidified his position through a large number of recordings

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[444] Alice Harnoncourt, *Il cimento dell'armonia e dell'inventione: 12 concerti op. 8* by Antonio Vivaldi, Concentus Musicus Wien, dir. Nikolaus Harnoncourt, LPs (Hamburg: Telefunken, 1977).

[445] Peter G. Davis, "Coming Down from the Vivaldi Craze," *New York Times*, 17 December 1978.

[446] Rob Cohen, Review of "Vivaldi 4 Seasons & Concertos RV257, 376 & 211" *Gramophone*, https://www.gramophone.co.uk/review/vivaldi-4-seasons-concertos-rv257-376-211, last accessed 9 June 2017.

[447] Laura Rónai, "Classical Recordings: Vivaldi," *Fanfare* (Jan 2009): 277-278.

[448] Ingrid Seifert, email correspondence with author, 22 April 2013.

[449] Gilbert French, Review of "Vivadi: Four Seasons…" *American Record Guide* (Sept/Oct 1996): 224.

that showcased his impressive technique and easy sound.[450] Although many of these recordings sound dated, mostly due to Melkus' extensive use of vibrato, one can't help but be impressed by his seemingly effortless playing. In 1965, Melkus founded the Vienna Capella Academica, which still exists more than fifty years after its inception. Melkus describes how this ensemble began: "[The name] Capella Academica is a thank you to the Academy of Music in Vienna, which bought the old instruments from Fiala's collection for us. I insisted on Baroque instruments. Then came *Deutsche Gramophone*, for whom we recorded a great deal."

Comparing a recording of Melkus' Cappella Academica on early instruments with Quadro Amsterdam on modern ones makes clear that aesthetic choices have little to do with what instrument the violinist is playing.[451] Schröder and his Quadro colleagues are clearly knowledgable about period playing and are able to produce what would be considered historically-informed performances on modern instruments. In contrast, Cappella Academica's orchestral playing sounds very modern with its full sound and constant vibrato. Melkus's exquisite playing cannot be faulted for being heavy or unrefined, but his constant vibrato makes him sound more like a modern violinist than a period one.

Monosoff also presented herself as a soloist and most of her projects, tours and recordings featured her in this role. Americans didn't enjoy the same financial support from the recording industry as Europeans did, but a number of small companies encouraged early musicians the best they could. Monosoff recalls that her recording of the Biber Rosary Sonatas in 1962 most likely came about because one of her colleagues knew Charlie Fisher of Cambridge Records, and "that's how it happened." Cambridge Records, unlike a large firm such as *Telefunken* or *Deutsche Gramophone*, was essentially a one-man enterprise. Monosoff remembers: "All the recording was done in the studios in Framingham, which is where Charlie [lived] in his beautiful old Revolutionary-age house. He had set one part of it up as a studio." The recording was a labor of love for all who were involved and reflected the dedication of players, scholars, and instrument dealers alike. Paul Nettl wrote the program notes, while the violin expert Rembert Wurlitzer generously lent a number of excellent violins and helped with the laborious process of finding gut strings for all the different tunings. Monosoff seems fairly sure that no money was involved, "nobody got paid really for any of this stuff… If Charlie paid us, I don't remember. I don't know how he distributed it, but he must have distributed it well enough that it got a certain amount of publicity."

The music world of the 1960s was captivated by these recordings. The multitude of excellent reviews consistently praised Monosoff's virtuosity, as well as the venture itself. In one review, Boyden proclaimed her "a first-rate violinist

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[450] Including *Corelli Violin Sonatas, Opus 5* with extant 18th-century embellishments prepared in conjunction with musicologist Marc Pincherle, the Biber *Rosary Sonatas* (which won the Deutscher Schallplattenpreis in 1967), the Tartini/Nardini *Violin Concerti*, the *Hoheschule der Violine* which includes the first period-instrument performances of the Tomasso Vitali *Chaconne* and Tartini *Devil's Trill Sonata*, the Handel *Violin Sonatas, Opus 1*, the Bach *Violin Concerti* and Tartini/Nardini *Violin Concerti*.

[451] Eduard Melkus, and Capella Academica Wien, dir. by August Wenzinger, *Giuseppe Tartini and Pietro Nardini - Violin Concertos* (W. Germany: Archiv Produktion, ca. 1966), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dn_ngQD__cE, last accessed 14 June 2017. Quadro Amsterdam, François Couperin, *l'Espagnole* (Das Alte Werk, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yXwnJbIGdHg, last accessed 16 June 2018.

with the instincts of a true artist."[452] At a time when the early music movement was still tainted by complaints of amateurism, these sorts of reviews helped change the public's perception. Monosoff performed these works on modern and Baroque violin throughout the United States, Europe, Australia, New Zealand and Israel. Monosoff remembers that everyone seemed to respond to Biber. A review from her modern violin recital at the Concertgebouw in 1967 confirms this and states that Monosoff's playing was rather lukewarm until the final Biber sonata, which thrilled press and public alike. "And how!" one reviewer exclaimed.[453]

Monosoff went on to record other works, but still regrets that she never had "any contact with record companies or record people who were interested in recording the [early] repertoire I was interested in. And they were being done in Holland and England with other people." The difference between the situation in the USA and Europe was clear to Monosoff. She recalled that "when I was with [the Canadian harpsichordist] Kenneth Gilbert, he asked 'Well, don't you have a recording contract for *this* kind of music?' [I replied], 'That doesn't happen in this country. You live in France, so it's different.'" As late as 1988, American early musicians were still aware that they had less opportunities to make recordings than their European counterparts. An American journal reports that "a quick survey of the Schwann catalogue, which lists recordings available in the United States and Canada, shows that *less than five percent* of the period-instruments titles were actually made in America."[454] A list of causes for this state of affairs included: recording in America costs more than in Europe, classical record companies are largely foreign, record companies are run solely to show a profit, good recording venues are hard to find and [are] inaccessible, and - perhaps the most sensitive - America is viewed as culturally inferior.[455]

The two younger pioneers who made their careers in the United States also experienced this situation, but they were in a position to take more advantage of the possibilities that European recording companies could offer. MacDonald, almost two decades younger than Monosoff, was able to record for European labels, as well as the American Gasparo, Smithsonian and Telarc. Gasparo and Telarc were two independently owned American companies, and the Smithsonian label was supported by the extensive collection of museums in Washington, D.C. Ritchie was also able to record for European companies alongside smaller American ones such as Dorian Discovery, Focus, and Musica Omnia.

In the UK in the early 1970s, Standage was simultaneously the concertmaster of The English Consort on period instruments and assistant concertmaster and concertmaster of two orchestras on modern violin. The ability to hold such high-profile positions in two musical worlds was not as common on the continent and engendered distrust rather than respect, as if someone who chose this path wasn't completely committed to the early music cause. The idea of who was a "real Baroque violinist," based on the work they did, what equipment they used and how they played the instrument was a continuing issue throughout the Baroque violin revival. Even in England, Standage was at first just considered

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[452] David D. Boyden, review of *Heinrich Franz Biber: Fifteen Sonatas for Scordatura Violin and Continuo and Passacaglia for Solo Violin,* by Sonya Monosoff and others, *Musical Quarterly* vol. 49, no. 3 (July 1963): 397.

[453] Reviews, *Rotterdam Courant, 25* April 1967 and *Het Parool*, 24 April 1967, from Ms. Monosoff's private archive.

[454] Stephen Hammer, "Early Music Recording in America," *Historical Performance* (Spring 1988):11.

[455] Ibid.

one of the "established converts."[456]

In contrast, Mackintosh, just a few years younger than Standage, jumped right into an early music career as a gamba player in the UK She explains that she "left college and started playing in all the early music groups. There weren't many of us then and everybody played in everything - we had different directors for the different groups, and different names, but the same faces tended to crop up."[457] It is unclear if Mackintosh's experience was so different because of her ability to play gamba as well as violin or if it was Standage's choice to continue playing in both worlds. Finances often determined career decisions, and it is also possible that Standage had more financial responsibilities than Mackintosh (see Chapter 6).

The recording industry in the UK is often blamed and lauded in equal part for creating the British early music scene. While an American musician like Monosoff was desperately trying to find a recording company, British companies seemed to be searching for the musicians. Wilson describes how the idea for The Academy of Ancient Music was created during a conversation between the harpsichordist Christopher Hogwood and Decca's Peter Wadland. When Wadland asked if it would be possible to create a quality period ensemble along the lines of Neville Marriner's modern group, Hogwood remembered: "Rather foolishly, I said 'Yes!' Not so much because I knew the English players could, but I could see that the Viennese and the Dutch had - I could see no reason why we couldn't."[458] Standage remembers that even in the 1990s, record companies provided the impetus for new ventures, stating that "Collegium Musicum was set up around recording. I conduct the Baroque things from the violin; Hickox conducts the bigger works with choir and soloists."

When asked which of his recordings was his favorite, Standage said that he was quite pleased with his recording of the slow movement of the Haydn C major concerto with the English Concert.[459] This recording epitomizes the British early music movement with clean and crisp orchestral playing and Standage in complete control of the demanding solo material. The outer movements sound quickly put together with important turning points in the music glossed over, although it is impossible to listen impartially when one is aware of how quickly British early music recordings were made. The slow movement is more impressive with its simple, heartfelt orchestral accompaniment that allows Standage free rein. Critics noted that "Standage's musically perceptive performances admirably contrast passages of virtuosity… with those of sheer lyricism (e.g. the central movement of the same work), and his playing combines remarkable technical facility (notably in his surety of execution in the high reaches of the instrument…), great sensitivity and good taste, especially in the subtlety of his ornamental approach and in his skillful use of tempo rubato."[460] That a period violinist is being praised for "remarkable technical facility" underlines the fact that this was still not a given in the

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[456] Wilson, 78.

[457] Jessica Duchen, "Practicing Performance," *The Strad*, vol 106, no. 1261 (May 95).

[458] Christopher Hogwood, interview with Nick Wilson 10 January 2003, in *The Art of Re-enchantment*, 81.

[459] Simon Standage, "Concerto in C major" by Joseph Haydn (Archiv, 1989). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jCv8aw4NbqE, last accessed 14 June 2017.

[460] Robin Stowell, "Haydn and Bach," *The Musical Times* 130, no. 1759 (September 1989): 550.

1980s. Standage stated that he would like to be remembered for bringing a level of professionalism to the field, stating that "my musical achievement was, in some way, also a technical achievement."

In The Netherlands, Schröder's formation of Quartetto Esterházy, the first string quartet on period instruments, was a turning point for his career as well as for the early music movement. Intentionally or not, Schröder's decision to approach one of the most revered repertoires in a new way was a statement. The quartet rehearsed for a whole year before giving a concert, taking the time to consider the correct equipment, reliable sources, iconographical evidence, pitch, tempo, vibrato, articulation and phrasing. However well-researched, Schröder's choices for the quartet were always musical ones. Lies Wiersema, who interviewed Schröder at great length, writes: "Although Schröder always took the transparent sound of the period instruments and the performance practice principles of the period into consideration, his decisions were always ultimately led by what he found musically convincing. That's the difference, he felt, between a musician and a musicologist."[461] Many reviewers writing about the quartet confirm this, stating that "unlike some of their colleagues they never make authenticity an end in itself."[462] It seems that this reviewer's idea of authenticity was rather stilted, as he continues with "on the contrary, they play with spirit and, occasionally, quite an amount of freedom."[463] One of the most striking sounds in Quartetto Esterházy' recording oeuvre is the opening of Hayden's Op. 76, no. 2.[464] The opening theme in fifths, played without vibrato and often on open strings, is a shock compared to a modern quartet's aesthetic sound choice.[465] Quartetto Esterházy not only solidified Schröder's reputation, but also encouraged the early music movement to move confidently into the Classical period's repertoire.

The younger pioneers had the benefit of entering an early music world which was already becoming well-established, and they were able to focus almost exclusively on period playing if they so chose. When the young Kuijken and his brother Wieland went to Amsterdam to audition for Gustav Leonhardt in 1965, the older harpsichordist was immediately impressed by the young violinist and, according to Kuijken, asked him to play with the Leonhardt Consort just a few months later. "I had to play a solo, a bit of a test. We just played it through once, and the concert was that evening," Kuijken remembers. "[Gustav's] principle was 'don't rehearse more than necessary.' It was never a problem. If you *need* to rehearse, then there's a problem!"

Gustav's support of the young Kuijken was an important push to his career, often to the detriment of the older generation. When Gustav included Kuijken in the Leonhardt Consort and continued playing with Kuijken after the Consort officially stopped in 1971, Marie couldn't help but feel displaced. Schröder also admitted that "[Kuijken] had enormous support from Leonhardt." Kuijken made many discs with Gustav and together they formed La Petite Band in

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461 Lies Wiersema, *Op zoek naar de historische uitvoeringspraktijk van strijkkwartetmuziek in Nederland* (Utrecht, 2005): 82.

462 N.K. [Nicholas Kenyon], "Purcell Room: Esterhazy Quartet," *Daily Telegraph*, 13 April 1978.

463 Ibid.

464 Quartetto Esterházy, *String Quartet Nr. 35 f-moll, opus 20, 5; Nr. 76 d minor, op 76, 2: Quintenquartett,* LP (Hamburg:Telefunken, 1979).

465 Amati Quartet, "Joseph Hayden Quartets," LP (Hamburg, Deutsche Grammophon, 1964 -1979).

1972 at the request of the record company Harmonia Mundi (Germany) to record Lully's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.[466] This first recording helped determine what was to became the early music world's standard interpretation of French music - the grand orchestral sound (doubled woodwinds), correct scoring decisions (violas used for the inner voices, no double bass), over-dotting and *inegalité*. Taken for granted in the twenty-first century, this was a something strikingly new in the early 1970s. Watching Kuijken direct the Amsterdam Conservatory project with this same type of repertoire in 2014, I was struck by how strong this interpretation still sounds.

The success of Dutch/Belgian early musicians, and the recording companies that supported them, helped solidify the reputation of the Dutch school. Even in Britain, with its pool of period violinists, there were still intimations that players on the continent were more experienced. When Schröder was asked to lead AAM for the complete Mozart symphony project beginning at the end of the 1970s, Mackintosh admits that it was a "jolt, but a good one. I had been doing things my own way for fifteen years, and it was nice to be nudged out of that routine." Ritchie recalls that early music wasn't as socially nor as financially well established in the United States as in Europe. Throughout the 70s, Ritchie was still making his living as a modern violinist. He claims that "you couldn't make a living with it [early music], and I didn't want to. The only reason I stopped was when I got this teaching position, which didn't allow keeping three instruments up." Ritchie remembers the excitement, but lack of money for early music in the early 70s, and describes how string experts were still being imported in from Europe. He describes the Aston Magna Academy:

> In summer'73 we had our first workshop. We were all learning, all curious, how to make it sound different with all these instruments. Jaap [Schröder] was there, Wenzinger too, I think. Also Shirley Wynne (1928-2013) with her troop of dancers. A wonderful learning experience. That was the thing that we had in common - we were curious. There was no money at that time.

Video footage of the older pioneers is rare, so it's a special treat to be able to see and hear Ritchie play Mozart sonatas with Malcolm Bilson.[467] Ritchie is playing on a classical-style violin with a transitional bow which blends beautifully with the fortepiano. Ritchie's head is centered over the tailpiece, but his compact build and short neck allow the violin to be secure without any need to grip the instrument. The video shows a right arm position with the wrist higher than the elbow, and the use of a fairly quick bow stroke. Ritchie and Bilson are technically polished players with flair, and the two short excerpts available on YouTube make one long for more.

McDonald came of age in the American early music movement at exactly the right moment in the early 1980s. With Schröder imported in for projects at the Smithsonian, McDonald was able to profit from the influx of funds and support for all of the institute's early music ventures. From 1982-7, McDonald played second violin to Schröder in the period instrument Smithson Quartet and remembers that playing the Haydn quartets with historical instruments was "eye-

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[466] La Petite Band website, http://www.lapetitebande.be/lpb.php, last accessed 13 June 2017.

[467] "Classical Vienna: Mozart, a genius in his time" and "Classical Vienna: Mozart: Dropping the Patron." Films for the Humanities. Granada Television International. Film (Princeton, NJ : Films for the Humanities, Inc., 1988) Sonata in G major, K. 370, 1st movement, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JdE-CJj18Y0, last accessed 13 June 2017 and Sonata in A major, K526, 3rd movement, vyLdwx21qPM, last accessed 13 June 2017.

opening." McDonald also played in, and eventually led the Smithsonian Chamber Players, a large chamber group that received "big backing" from the institute. She remembers that once a month they were sent out with traveling exhibits. There was so much money that a designer made chic costumes for the women and "brown velvet suits for the men." Clearly a main player in the early music scene, McDonald admitted that after spending one year playing Baroque violin exclusively, she decided to continue playing modern violin too. She is rightfully proud that the faculty group Oberlin Baroque Ensemble performed in "normal" chamber music series from the beginning and had to adhere to the same standards as musicians in the modern world.

McDonald's first recording with the Castle Trio demonstrates her ability to straddle both worlds. Performing piano trios by Smetana and Dvorák "on original instruments" is a feat few period violinists would have dared in 1988.[468] McDonald and the cellist Kenneth Slowik play both modern and period instruments, and they make frequent use of nineteenth-century portamento and tempo fluctuations in this recording. McDonald remarked that, unlike the period string players who look at how this repertoire grew out of the classical and early romantic playing styles, most pianists approach this repertoire from the other direction. Even though this recording sounds a bit cool compared to recordings by musicians born at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was a daring step to record this repertoire on period instruments in the 1980s.[469]

That many of the Baroque pioneers continued playing modern violin, while being at the top of the early music field, was surprising. Since I was interviewing these violinists as Baroque violin pioneers, this might have influenced how they spoke about this side of their careers. Melkus and Monosoff spoke openly about the extensive repertoire they played, while Standage and McDonald spoke little about their modern playing. Melkus, Monosoff and McDonald also taught modern violin at their respective institutions, which would have provided an economic incentive to operate in both worlds. All three seemed equally interested and committed to both repertoires, and I also detected a sense of pride that they weren't "just Baroque violinists." The stigma of not being "good enough" to be a modern violinist still had resonance with this generation.

Mackintosh discussed various recordings from her varied professional life, but pointed out that "of course, live concerts are very different and sometimes it just all comes together. There was a live Bach E major concerto that was like that." A comparison of two recordings of Purcell trio sonatas by Mackintosh demonstrate not only her playing, but also a dramatic change of approach to the same repertoire in just six years. The "10 Sonatas in 4 Parts," recorded in 1982 on the same label as the Academy of Ancient Music, was most certainly Christopher Hogwood's production.[470] Hogwood wrote the liner notes that discussed the musical texts and instruments used to underline the project's historical

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[468] Castle Trio (Marilyn McDonald, violin; Kenneth Slowik, cello; Lambert Orkis, piano), "Smetana and Dvorák trios," CD (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1988).

[469] Hansen Trio, "Trios," LP, Telefunken, ca. 1960. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xIQg2KqDu70, last accessed 14 June 2017. David Oistrakh (violin), Sviatoslav Knushevitsky (cello), Lev Oborin (piano). Studio recording, Moscow, 7 January1950, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-E3dJhX2wQ, last accessed 13 June 2017.

[470] Henry Purcell, "10 Sonatas in 4 Parts," Catherine Mackintosh, Monica Huggett, Christophe Coin and Christopher Hogwood, CD, (London: Editions of L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1982).

authenticity.[471] The violinists play with very little vibrato and their bowing is occasionally choppy. The surprising harmonies and occasional strange turn of phrase are clear, but not relished. The dreaded "early music gap" before the final note is heard in abundance. Recorded just six years later, Mackintosh's recording of the other set of Purcell sonatas by the Purcell Quartet[472] sounds as if the string players have been released from a musical straightjacket. The freedom of sound, bowing and expression is notable. The gap before the final note is missing, the string players use a variety of articulations and a wide range of dynamics, and the general lyrical approach makes this recording seem more expressive. Both violinists are now using old instruments, signaling a change in British early music aesthetics (as well as the ability to afford an old instrument).

In the 1980s, Leonhardt enjoyed a "second musical life" at the atmospheric Casa de Mateus palace in Portgual. She helped organize a yearly early music festival and summer academy, and these activities culminated in the creation of her own group Ensemble Baroque de Mateus. Leonhardt felt as if she was "swimming in a sea of discoveries" with all the organizational as well as musical responsibilities of running an ensemble. She admits how much she enjoyed the musical freedom:

> When I decided to have my own ensemble that was very, very important for me…My husband held us tightly in his reins. When I was leading, you could just go, sometimes it was just luck that we were together. It was much freer. With my husband, every note was organized; but I learned how to work. With Mateus, it went by itself. It wasn't so difficult. That's why I enjoyed it so much.

Leonhardt blossomed in this new phase of her musical life. Andrew Manze, one of the ensemble members who went on to become one of the next generation's leading Baroque violinists, remembers that "every concert demanded one's attention throughout because a) anything could happen and b) there would assuredly be a moment of ineffable sublimity which you would not want to miss and would never forget."[473] Leonhardt's ability to recreate herself professionally and musically, as well as her influence on a large number of young players at a later stage in life, was exceptional.

Most of the older pioneers, if pressed, felt that no one influenced them. Certainly in the early days of the Baroque violin revival everyone was finding their own way with this "new" instrument, but many of the pioneers seemed unaware of the many influences that contributed to their burgeoning early musical sensibilities. Schröder generously discussed his influences as a modern violinist, but couldn't think of anyone who influenced him as a Baroque violinist. "No," he commented, " I had my own ideas about things. I discovered it myself!" When confronted with the fact that some of his older modern colleagues also experimented with Baroque bows and historical instruments, Schröder was dismissive of their efforts, which he described as less historically-informed than the work of his generation. Although Schröder was correct in his judgement, he was unable to see any connection between those earlier experimentations and what his generation was able to accomplish.

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[471] Christopher Hogwood, Liner Notes, Ibid., 8.

[472] Henry Purcell, "Sonnatas of III Parts," Purcell Quartet (Catherine Mackintosh, Elizabeth Wallfisch, Richard Boothy, Robert Woolley), CD (Colchester: Chandos Records, 1988).

[473] Andrew Manze, email correspondence with the author, 19 April 2013.

Most of the older pioneers are very invested in their status as a "pioneer." It was often unclear to me if they were unaware of others' work, didn't value it or conveniently "forgot" to mention it. Monosoff is clearly proud, but also careful, to state that she "was probably the first [Baroque violinist] in the United States. I think I really was the first one." Monosoff knew about Sol Babitz and had even corresponded with him, but didn't credit him as an influence. Harnoncourt admits that she learned much under Mertin's tutelage, but did not mention the time that she played in Ahlgrimm's period instrument orchestra. She claims that no one influenced her and her husband's creation of Concentus, leaving one with the impression that they were the first to put together a period instrument orchestra in Vienna. Open about many of his early music experiences as a young man, Kuijken's vision of himself remains very much one of someone untouched by the modern music world who followed his natural instincts to the correct early music conclusions. However obvious it might be that "the Kuijken brothers did not arrive on Parnassus unassisted,"[474] the myth-making surrounding this family of musicians is impossible to ignore. Kuijken continually returns to the almost fairy tale story of his musical beginnings, playing Renaissance music on home-made viedels, to give him the ultimate stamp of pioneering authenticity.

Of course, being considered a "pioneer" - even if just through my request to interview someone through this lens - is a title to be cherished. Even though I clearly found the ground-breaking work of these violinists impressive enough to merit traveling to interview them, many of these musicians seemed overly protective of this status. Some were possibly not aware of the preliminary work that was happening in another country or across the ocean; others must have feared that their accomplishments might seem less impressive if they let themselves be too aware of those who helped them on their way.

Dissemination: Teaching and Publications

The pioneers are primarily viewed as performers, directors of ensembles, concertmasters, and recording artists, but they also disseminated their ideas through teaching and publications. At first, teaching was just giving pointers to other interested violinists, but this collegial exchange of ideas became more formalized as the pioneers were asked to give summer courses and were appointed to teaching positions. With the exception of Harnoncourt, all these violinists held posts at various institutions, including conservatories in Europe and universities in the United States. These positions not only allowed the pioneers to codify their ideas and reach a wider range of students, but also provided financial security and helped legitimize this new profession. Writing articles, reviews and books also helped disseminated their ideas.

Harnoncourt claimed that she never taught, but added that she did "some, here and there." She said "I always thought I couldn't, [that] I'm not able to, but my husband said it's not true. But I didn't feel certain enough. And my musical education was a different one. After that … when I need to know something, I just have to ask my husband. So *I* don't

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474 Joel Cohen (text) and Herb Snitzer (photographs), *Reprise: The Extraordinary Revival of Early Music* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown & Company, 1985): 58.

know so much, because I have my lexicon (laughs). I can ask [him]. I haven't read all the treatises. But he has." When I reminded Harnoncourt that she has an enormous amount of experience, intimating that she was just as able to teach as her husband, she had to agree. Ingrid Seifert wrote about meeting Harnoncourt at a course in Bremen as "a complete novice:"

> In the few lessons I had with Alice she mostly talked about music (the sound you make has to be heard in your heart first) and rarely about technique. Never would she impose her bowing technique (her grip was so different from mine), but the idea of "the *Klangrede*" [musical rhetoric] was definitely essential to understanding music. Often would I think about her playing when discussions about chin on or off would inflame the baroque violin world and I would come to the conclusion (rightly or wrongly) that both are possible and necessary in order to enrich our experience of music. Elements like hierarchy, unevenness, varied vibrato and open strings etc. suddenly became valuable tools and improvising, doing research and questioning one's old trusted teachers was a must under the guidance of Alice and Nikolaus. The desire to find out, deciding for oneself and justifying one's decision are only a few of those many values the Harnoncourts introduced us to and they still are important for us today in music as much as in life generally.[475]

Seifert unknowingly supports Alice's belief that her husband was essential to her ability to teach. Seifert begins by writing about her lessons with Alice, but very quickly moves to what she learned "under the guidance of Alice and Nikolaus" and "the values the Harnoncourts introduced us to." It appears that not only to Alice, but to the rest of the early music world, the Harnoncourts came as a package deal (see Chapter 6).

After Kägi in the 1930s, Melkus acquired the first teaching position of the pioneers with his appointment as the modern violin and viola professor at the Vienna Academy (now the *Hochschule für Musik*) in 1958. He only later taught Baroque violin and performance practice at this same institute. Melkus was also a visiting professor at the Universities of Illinois and Georgia (Athens) in the United States. The American violinist Leopold La Fosse (1928-2003) studied with Melkus in Vienna and remembered Melkus as not only an early music expert, but "also a complete musician" and "a very inspirational teacher [who] brings a very informed and stimulating approach to Baroque performance. … He brings his own personal stamp to his performances, based on a combination of profound knowledge and individual artistic taste."[476]

La Fosse describes Melkus as "one of the leaders of historical performance practice," but it is obvious that he respects Melkus more for being a "complete musician." The concept of an early musician as being somehow "incomplete" is a slur that Baroque violinists often had to fight, and it makes the choice of many of the pioneers to keep a foot firmly planted in the modern world more understandable. Melkus' "own personal stamp" and "individual artistic taste" was a more controversial stance in the early music community, in which Melkus' personal taste veered too far from the accepted norm. Melkus stresses the importance of the "personal interpretation" in the two textbooks he created for his

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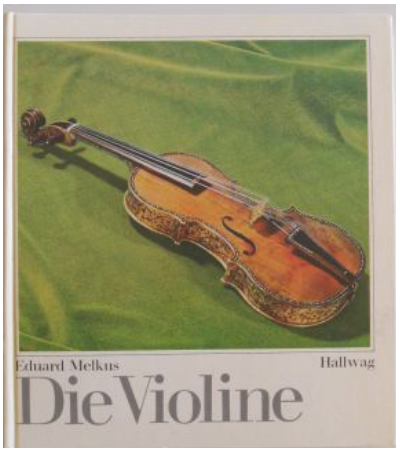
[475] Ingrid Seifert, email correspondence with author, 22 April 2013.

[476] "Baroque violinist Melkus will appear with La Fosse Baroque ensemble," http://news-releases.uiowa.edu/1998/february/0227melkus.html, last accessed 14 June 2017.

performance practice class in Vienna.[477] These volumes underline his abhorrence of a "cookbook" that provides recipes for "the perfect interpretation of early music," and describe his hope to provide a more philosophical "exploration of the foundation from which those rules have sprung."[478]

Melkus is a prolific writer, and his works include articles about vibrato, Handel's violin sonatas, Haydn's operas and Mozart's cadenzas.[479] He contributed to the Beethoven Almanac, a book about the Bach chaconne and the celebratory volume about Josef Mertin.[480] His book about the violin, *Die Violine, eine Einführung in die Geschichte der Violine und des Violinspeils,* first published in German in 1973, was subsequently translated into French, Dutch, English and Italian.[481] This delightful, royally-illustrated book for the non-specialist includes enough information to be interesting to the professional violinist as well.



5.1 Eduard Melkus, *Die Violine, eine Einführung in die Geschichte der Violine und des Violinspiels*

In The Netherlands, Leonhardt started teaching Baroque violin privately at home, and her first pupils were Lucy van Dael and Alda Stuurop. Van Dael remembers:

> When I first heard a record of the Leonhardt Consort at Ton's [Koopman], it was a revelation for me. I really had the feeling: this is what I've been searching for. Nap de Klijn [her teacher] thought I was crazy, but organized an old bow for me from Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp. Then I went to Marie Leonhardt to ask if she could advise me about instruments and technique. She helped me find my own Baroque violin.[482]

In 1976, Leonhardt was asked to teach Baroque violin at the Rotterdam Conservatory and she began a summer academy at *Casa de Mateus* in Portugal in 1980. She also taught at the Academy of Ancient Music at Versailles and has given masterclasses in London, Copenhagen, San Francisco, Bremen, Tokyo, Madrid and Paris. She offered especial encouragement to those outside of the usual Baroque circles, such as talented students from Russia. Leonhardt claims that she "wasn't [a] very conventional" teacher and made her students "discover it themselves." Reinhard Goebel (b.

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[477] Eduard Melkus, *Aufführungspraxis I* (Vienna: Eduard Melkus, 1987) and *Aufführunspraxis II* (Vienna: Eduard Melkus, 1990).

[478] Eduard Melkus, "Vorwort" from *Aufführungspraxis I* (Vienna: Eduard Melkus, 1987).

[479] Eduard Melkus "Das Vibrato im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Jakob Stainer und seine Zeit,* Walter Salmen, ed. (Innsbruck: Helbling, 1984): 191-94, also published in Thom Eitelfriedrich, ed. *Musikzentren: Conzertschaffen im 18. Jahrhundert,* (Blankenburg/Hartz: Die Kultur- und Forschungsstätte, 1984): 66-72; "Zur Auszierung der Händel-Violinsonaten," *Das Orchester* 33 (1985): 453-68; "Haydn als Dramatiker am Beispiel der Oper *La vera costanza*" in *Joseph Haydn: Bericht über den Internationalen Joseph Haydn Kongress. Wien, Hofburg, 5-12 September, 1982*, edited by Eva Badura-Skoda (München: Henle, 1986): 256-76; "On the Problem of Cadenzas in Mozart's Violin Concertos," transl. Tim Burris in *Perspectives on Mozart Performance,* ed. R. Larry Todd and Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 74-91.

[480] Eduard Melkus, *Beethoven Almanac 1970* (Vienna: E. Lafite, 1970) and Jon F. Eiche, *The Bach chaconne for solo violin: a collection of views* (Urban Ill.: American String Teachers Association, 1985); Josef Mertin and Michael Nagy, *"Musik muss man machen:" Eine Festgabe für Josef Mertin zum neunzigsten Geburtstag am 21. März 1994* (Vienna: Vom Pasqualatihaus, 1994).

[481] Eduard Melkus, *Die Violine, eine Einführung in die Geschichte der Violine und des Violinspiels* (Bern: Hilwag, 1973).

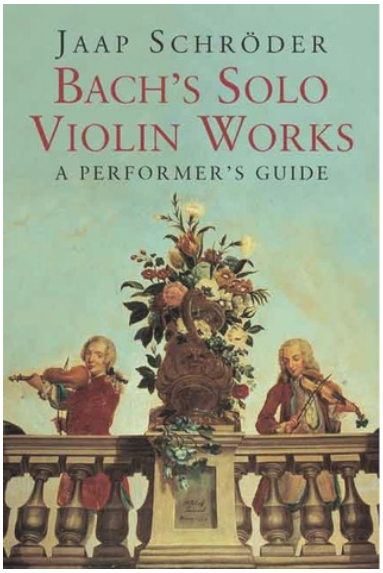
[482] Van der Klis, 59.

1952) is one of her most famous and grateful students, and Leonhardt confesses that he still sends love letters to "his beloved teacher." When Leonhardt first met Goebel, she claims that he was immediately keen "and asked me everything, and we played and played. 'You are too good,' I said, 'forget all your technique that you learned at the conservatory.' He was flabbergasted by that." Goebel described what he learned "by sitting most of the time of three years next to Mrs. Leonhardt in Ton Koopman´s former 'Antiqua Amsterdam' orchestra and having many private lessons - was [the] intensity and speech of the bow, but perhaps I learnt it more through the atmosphere, through looking and hearing, opening my ears."[483] He recalled how recordings influenced his decision to study with Leonhardt:

> The reason that I went right away to Marie Leonhardt to study, and not to the Harnoncourts, was basically that I was very much fascinated by the ensemble culture of the Leonhard Consort, about their choice of music and the natural sweetness of Marie's sound … It was once again the unity of sound and the un-nervousness of the ensemble that made this "school" so desirable for me … I bought the Purcell and the Biber/Rosenmüller recordings of the Leonhardts and I must confess that I listened every spare minute to these wonderful compositions and the wonderful way they were played: the old German way [seemed] suddenly completely obscure for me.[484]

Schröder, like Leonhardt, also first started teaching Baroque violin in an non-official way. Schröder was appointed violin professor at the Sweelinck Conservatory in Amsterdam in 1963, but he appeared to need to keep his Baroque violin teaching activities separate at first. The amateur early musician Gerrit van der Veer (b. 1940) recalls that Schröder wanted to organize a Baroque violin masterclass for his students, but the conservatory "did not appreciate" the idea and Schröder was forced to find a different venue.[485] Schröder ultimately taught both modern and Baroque violin at the conservatory, but he shared the responsibility for the Baroque violin department with his younger colleague Lucy van Dael. Schröder was also the Baroque violin professor at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis (1975-1990), a guest teacher at Yale University and the Juilliard School of Music in the United States, and also taught at numerous summer courses in Norway, France and the USA.

Schröder did extensive research, presented radio programs, published editions and transcriptions and wrote countless notes for programs and recordings. His book *Bach's Solo Violin Works: A Performer's Guide* (Illustration 5.2) describes his philosophy and approach, stating that "a scrupulous imitation and following of the rules would lack spontaneity and artistic quality."[486] Schröder, by his own admission an intuitive musician first, writes tellingly about Baroque rules: "In the end, my personal philosophy is similar to the attitude of the French and Italians concerning traffic lights: we should not always respect them scrupulously, but we must always take them seriously into account."[487] Having studying with Schröder, I can attest that he was a generous teacher who was predominately interested in the music and not the



5.2 Jaap Schröder, *Bach's Solo Violin Works: A Performer's Guide*

[483] Reinhard Goebel, email correspondence with the author, 13 June 2013.

[484] Ibid.

[485] Gerrit van der Veer, interview.

[486] Jaap Schröder, *Bach's Solo Violin Works: A Performer's Guide* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007): viii.

[487] Ibid.

"rules." My lessons were always with another violinist, and we played the sonatas' bass lines on the violin for each other. Schröder's insistence that we study the whole piece, and not just the solo line, was a revelation for a modern-trained violinist.

Kuijken, on the recommendation of Frans Brüggen, was made the first Baroque violin professor in the Netherlands with his appointment to the Royal Conservatory in The Hague in 1971. That a violinist in his twenties was hired for such an important position made it clear that the older generation, and their way of playing the Baroque violin, was now considered passé. Kuijken remembers:

> I wasn't ready at all. I was completely in the middle of changing my technique. The students in the first year were in a sort of laboratory situation. That scared off lots of people, but I immediately started teaching. Some could do it [play chin off]; others couldn't. After a half year they left and that was for the best. The first year I also gave gamba lessons. I had so many students - 15 or 16 once a week.… They were crazy times, it was the Super Baroque Time.

Kuijken remembers that he only taught in The Netherlands in the early years and was invited "as a sort of foreign expert. It wasn't so easy, and they only slowly began to tolerate it. The older violin teachers at the end of their careers and a young upstart! [But] I never had any conflicts." He remembers being called in by the director of the conservatory as an "expert witness" in the case "Which edition of Corelli should the [modern violin] students use?" He recalled that the early musicians sat across from the modern faculty, as if in court, and that the atmosphere "was tense." To the surprise of all, Kuijken remembers insisting that the modern players "should use the old editions with those beautiful piano accompaniments" rather than an urtext edition, and a confrontation was averted. He explains, "You shouldn't try to build bridges. It's not useful. No compromises. Every one his own thing."

Kuijken has written and co-authored a number of books that contain personal accounts of his musical and spiritual journeys. It is surprising that someone who is so rightfully proud of introducing a new technique to the Baroque violin world has yet to put his theories down in a modern-day treatise. Perhaps Kuijken feels that everyone should follow his own example when he states that his teachers were "the old violin methods, prints and painting of violinists, but most of all my ears and (even more so) my eyes, thanks to a mirror that showed me what wasn't possible, what was a dead end, etc. I never had a more intelligent, friendly, patient and…inexpensive teacher!"[488]

The Baroque violin arrived at UK conservatories later than in The Netherlands. Mackintosh began teaching in the late 1970s, and Standage was only appointed professor at the Royal Academy of Music in London in 1983. Standage also taught violin and conducting at the Dresden *Akademie für Alte Musik* since 1993, as well as summer courses in the USA and in Europe. Standage is adamant about bow technique, stating that he sees "a lot of young players whose bowing is quite undisciplined"[489] and admits that he tends to be "a bit pedantic about bowing."

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[488] Pieter Andriessen, Pieter, ed. *Authentiek of Fanatiek: 25 jaar La Petite Bande* (Peer: Alamire muziekuitgeverij, 1997): 43.

[489] Simon Standage, "Bow control and son filé: How to get the most out of a bow stroke," *The Strad*, 1 (February 2015): 72.

Mackintosh is a dedicated teacher and "has played a vital role in establishing the study of early music at British conservatories, encouraging and training many of the Baroque violinists in British orchestras."[490] She was Professor of Baroque and Classical Violin at the Royal College of Music from 1977-99, is a Fellow at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama and coaches extensively in the UK and abroad. Unlike Kuijken, who isn't interested in building bridges, Mackintosh has insisted that all the modern violinists in Scotland take a semester of Baroque violin. This is a major accomplishment in uniting two violin worlds which often prefer to remain separated. When asked what she hoped her legacy would be, she replied that she hoped "that I'd been able to convey my enthusiasm for music to the people I've taught."

In the United States, Monosoff, McDonald and Ritchie were all committed modern violinists when they were appointed to their teaching positions. Monosoff ended up teaching primarily modern violin, McDonald taught both and Ritchie taught mostly historical players. Monosoff spent eighteen summers coaching chamber to amateurs and taught briefly at Smith and MIT before joining the faculty at Cornell in 1972. Most of her students were modern violinists with the exception of Tom Gyorgi, who became a committed early player specializing in the viola d'amore. He wrote about Monosoff and the American early music scene:

> I never did baroque violin with Sonya, only modern. So Sonya was my first baroque violin mentor, by real world example more than usual teacher student way. And like many of my colleagues, I learned baroque performance more on the job than in a studio or classroom. When I studied with her, from 1974 to 1977, there were no degree programs in early music in North America, no chamber orchestra sized early music ensembles performing or recording. I think Sonya saw her job was to get me proficient on the modern violin and also aware of performance practice, because in those days there was no Tafelmusik or other similar orchestras nearer than Europe.[491]

As a period player, Monosoff gave a series of lecture recitals about the history of violin playing in Italy and Israel in the 1980s that also included teaching. She remembers giving a class about Corelli sonatas to about ten high school students in Fusignano, "It was astonishing. These kids were so square and un-daring at the beginning, but by the end of those ten days they were ornamenting like mad and having a wonderful time." Monosoff related that when she and Malcolm Bilson gave lecture-recitals, they were usually asked to give a masterclass for the modern students the following morning. They always found the students open, but "the teachers [were] the most antagonistic. That was always true. Were the threatened? They were." Although Monosoff does not consider herself a scholar, her article *Die Rolle der frühen Musik im modernen Geigenunnterricht*[492] was published in 1982. The numerous reviews she wrote in the *Musical Times*, *Early Music* and *Notes* most likely provided her with a larger audience. Often in the middle of early music polemics, Monosoff displayed a quick mind and a sharp pen.

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[490] Lucy Robinson, "Mackintosh, Catherine (Anne)," *Grove Music Online,* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/46194?q=kenneth+skeaping&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit, last accessed 4 June 2017.

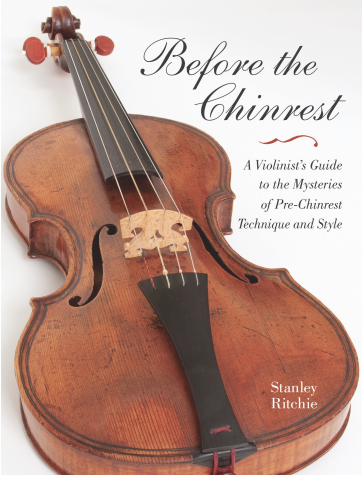
[491] Tom Gyorgi, email correspondence with the author, 4 May 2013.

[492] Sonya Monosoff, "*Die Rolle der frühen Musik im modernen Geigenunnterricht"*(Graz European String Teachers Association, 1982).

McDonald began teaching at Oberlin College in 1977 and is responsible, in conjunction with Ritchie, for producing an enormous number of period violinists now working in the United States and Europe. Oberlin, one of the first American universities to offer an early music program, helped solidify the idea that the Baroque violin was a proper instrument to study. The Baroque Performance Institute, a yearly summer course which began in 1972, is often the first stop for anyone interested in exploring period performance. Monosoff encouraged her student Gyorgi to attend back in 1975, and it was McDonald's encouragement during my summer at BPI that nudged me towards further study in The Netherlands. McDonald teaches modern and Baroque violin at Oberlin and is a firm believer that "separation is not a good thing." McDonald loves teaching university-age students and is committed to "the importance of teaching a discipline." McDonald, like Mackintosh, differs from Kuijken in her insistence that the modern and Baroque worlds should interact.

Ritchie became a purely historical player in 1982 when he was offered the job teaching Baroque violin at the Jacobs School of Music at the University of Indiana in Bloomington. This position gave Ritchie the possibility to train a large number of violinists, and his students have become prominent members of early music ensembles and now hold teaching positions throughout the USA. Wendy Gillepsie, chair of the IU Department of Early Music in 2009, reminds us that Ritchie's "students are everywhere -- throughout the United States but also worldwide, on instruments from violin to cello. Stan has a special gift as a musician -- a gift that he is happy to share, wherein lies his genius as a teacher. His unique ability goes way beyond violin technique and historical performance straight to the music, and surely that is the most important thing."[493] Ritchie has also taught and lectured in Australia, Germany, Italy, Columbia, China and Greece. He would very like to be remembered "as an educator, having opened doors for people."

Ritchie published his *Before the Chinrest: a Violinist's Guide to the Mysteries of Pre-Chinrest Technique and Style* in 2012 (Illustration 5.3), in which he uses Geminiani's method "as a basic tool" and sets down principles "empirically acquired and systematically employed in almost thirty years of teaching."[494] Divided into four parts, Ritchie's book covers right and left hand technique, interpretation and ends with "A Technique and Intonation Practice Guide." Very much written from a practical point of view without too much musicological interference, Ritchie's book is an excellent method for a first approach to "the world of chinrestlessness."[495] It is surprising that this is the only modern Baroque violin guide, with the exception of Judy Tarling's *Baroque String*



5.3 Stanley Ritchie, *Before the Chinrest: a Violinist's Guide to the Mysteries of Pre-Chinrest Technique and Style*

[493] "IU Professor Stanley Ritchie receives lifetime achievement award,"17 June 2009, http://info.music.indiana.edu/news/page/normal/11173.html, last accessed 8 July 2018.

[494] Stanley Ritchie, *Before the Chinrest: a Violinist's Guide to the Mysteries of Pre-Chinrest Technique and Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012): xi.

[495] Ibid., xv.

Playing: for ingenious learners.[496]

Although this overview of the dissemination of the pioneers' influences is necessarily brief, it does underscore their ability to codify their approach to this "new" instrument through their teaching appointments and publications. The large number of professional musicians these pioneers produced is an obvious testament to their success, but it is equally true that it is impossible to quantify the extent of their influence. Just as the pioneers spoke of the occasional moment that kindled their interest in early music, the number of "sparks" they produced throughout their careers can never be known. Some stories have surfaced - an amateur violinist still remember Schröder's masterclass more than fifty years later and an encouraging remark by MacDonald changed my professional trajectory - but it's also possible that the high school students in Italy whom Monosoff taught to ornament "like mad" also found that a revelatory experience.

National Styles

By 1989, all of these pioneers had taught at least one generation of period violins and the concept of different national styles had already been formed in the Baroque violin world. The Dutch, Austrian, American and English styles of playing were firmly established by this time, and - with some crossover - one can articulate the different approaches that set apart each "school." With so few teachers at a limited number of institutes, the Baroque violin world was still a very small and personal one, and each "school" was still represented by its main proponent. Many pioneers, some involved with early music for more than forty years by the late 1980s, had also altered their approach to the Baroque violin.

Mark Pagel describes the dispersion of new ideas through innovators and copiers in *Wired for Culture*,[497] and it is interesting to apply this theory to the early music movement. In Pagel's theory, the Baroque violin pioneers could be considered innovators who created a new musical tradition. According to Pagel, it is easier to copy than innovate, and in evolutionary terms this explains the scarcity of innovators and the plethora of copiers. The Baroque violin revival, when viewed in this context, needed only a few innovative violinists to produce a whole community of players who learned from them. Through this lens, it is easy to see how different "schools" of Baroque violin playing could evolve from such a small pool of pioneers.

The Baroque violin in The Netherlands was played in such different ways that it's difficult to speak of one school. Schröder and Leonhardt taught what was considered a more old-fashioned approach to the instrument; while Kuijken insisted that all his students use his chin-off technique. Kuijken's position at the most important conservatory, combined with the number and fervor of his students, meant that his way of playing became the predominant school associated with The Netherlands. Kuijken's approach quickly determined how the Dutch music world viewed the Baroque violin scene, and Dutch newspapers reflect this change of aesthetic. In 1965, Eduard Melkus was considered a "very well

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[496] Judy Tarling, *Baroque String Playing: for ingenious learners* (St. Albans: Corda Music Publications, 2013).

[497] Mark Pagel, *Wired for Culture: The Natural History of Human Cooperation* (London: Allen Lane, 2012).

respected soloist,"[498] but by 1979 a reviewer claimed that Melkus (amongst other older artists at the recording firm Archiv) had absorbed little or nothing of early performance practice.[499] Not all preferred the new style, and one reviewer clearly prefers Melkus's "natural, controlled-passionate presentation" compared to the "sterile playing of most of the present-day Baroque purists."[500]

The Austrian style, represented by two older players, seems more focused on a special concept of "sound," and both Harnoncourt and Melkus often mentioned this. Harnoncourt says that she is always looking for a "very sweet, but a little bit sharp" sound. Harnoncourt's comments about the Dutch school, even when speaking positively about the present generation, included the remark "well, it's extraordinary how good they are *nowadays*, but the sound is not… [what one would like to hear]." Melkus remembers that "in 1950, it was our greatest intention to make [the Baroque violin] as beautiful as a modern violin and to play with the same taste and with the same finesse." Melkus feels that younger players - especially in the Netherlands - didn't share this same ideal. Melkus is also adamant about the transmission of a sound heritage and in 1982 became the head of the Institute for Viennese Sound and Style, an organization intent upon studying the "Viennese sound."

The importance of a Viennese tradition and the eagerness to be part of a continuum of fine music-making was an important idea in a land eager to rebuilt itself after World War II. In 1945, the Jewish music critic Max Graf, writing from New York, claimed that "the past is vividly alive in Vienna. Its musical history is bound to the present and does not lie in dead books."[501] Writing more than half a century later, Usner describes how studying music in Vienna for foreign students "'authenticates' a bearer of that tradition and imparts capital upon returning home"[502] and how there was a "quality of 'Viennese-ness' that emerged like a trope… throughout [his] research."[503] The students Usner interviewed described a "Viennese authenticity of sound and a 'Viennese way.'" A retired American member of the Viennese Philharmonic Orchestra claimed that the "Viennese sound" comes from the special construction of the instruments, the pedagogy and "an essentialised notion of 'Viennese-ness.'" Melkus and Harnoncourt both consider their "Viennese-ness" an essential part of their musicianship.

Melkus' concept of this sound is so unwavering that he admits:

> I have played Mozart on the modern violin and on the Baroque violin; I've done the same with Bach. Sometimes it is difficult for me and typical for me to ask, when I hear old recordings, to really remember what instrument was this? I was looking for the same thing on both. I have learned from the Baroque violin and from the modern violin just to sustain and get a bright sound out of the instrument.

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[498] B. Burger, "Nieuwe Grammofoon Platen," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 June 1965.

[499] B. van der Kleij, "Archiv ook stilistisch overstag met platen van oude muziek," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 22 January 1979.

[500] A. van Amerongen, "Nieuwe grammofoonplaten: Bach, zijn zoons en een leerling," *NRC Handelsblad*, 17 February 1976.

[501] Max Graf, *Legend of a Musical City* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945): 10.

[502] Eric Martin Usner, "'The Condition of MOZART': Mozart Year 2006 and the New Vienna," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 20: 3 (2011). http://www-tandfonline-com.proxy.uba.uva.nl:2048/doi/full/10.1080/17411912.2011.650926?scroll=top&needAccess=true, last accessed 24 November 2017.

[503] Ibid.

> That is natural, what everybody must/should do.

Harnoncourt and Melkus do not sound alike, but there is something about the Austrian sound that is recognizable and usually considered warm and full, but modern, by the rest of the Baroque violin world. Their use of chin and shoulder rests to hold the violin make it easier to vibrate, and this is the aspect of Austrian playing that most often comes under criticism. The Austrian fondness for tradition, although lauded in the Viennese Philharmonic's sound, is often seen as a stumbling block in their ability to produce a more historically-based school of Baroque violin playing.

McDonald, when asked about the "healthy" American style of Baroque violin playing, explained that the acoustics of American concert venues made such a sound necessary. The dryer acoustics of most modern American halls would, according to McDonald, require a different playing style than would be necessary in the more resonant churches used for many European concerts and recordings. When Ritchie was asked if there was an "American" school of Baroque violin playing, he commented wryly: "I think Europeans would probably say that there is." He adds that many people in the States have studied in The Hague or in Brussels and have come back with "that kind of approach [chin off]." "I never did," continues Ritchie, "so what I teach is something I developed myself through the experience of playing." The Australian Ritchie began playing the Baroque violin in the USA and would most likely consider himself a member of the "American school."

When I asked the British violinists if there was a UK school of Baroque violin playing, Standage felt that compared to the extremism found in other countries - like Italy - the English way of playing would be considered staid in comparison. Mackintosh agrees that the British style is not eccentric and explains that the British school was founded on flexibility and facility:

> In general, English period players have gone about it the 'easiest way they can.' They are often playing different instruments in modern and period groups with little rehearsal at a high professional level, so it all had to 'work' immediately. I think our style is bright, brilliant, but not bizarre. Also, very accurate and well-organized with a sense of flexibility. And English players were always known for being excellent sight readers…

Mackintosh underlines the main strengths and criticisms of the English school. The ability to work so quickly is seen as highly professional by some, but superficial and "less committed" by others. The comment that they go about it "the easiest way they can" is reflected in the hybrid equipment used by many and the switch-hitting mentality. The professional success of the British early music scene, predominately the result of the recording industry, resulted in a scene that had to "work immediately" with all its pluses and minuses.

The older pioneers, coming of age in the early days of the early music revival, had the most scope to change their approach to the instrument. When Leonhardt and Harnoncourt played together in Vienna in the 1950s, they appeared to share a similar concept of how to play the Baroque violin, but - after the Leonhardts moved to The Netherlands in 1955 - their sounds and styles became more disparate. By the mid-1980s, one can immediately detect if the Austrian or Dutch

group is playing on the *Teldec* Bach cantata recordings, which was shared by the Leonhardt Consort and Concentus Musicus. Possibly reflecting Gustav Leonhardt's and Nikolaus Harnoncourt's aesthetic considerations more than their wives' tastes, the more restrained and mannered Dutch style with its less extravagant sound was a world away from the full sound and more extroverted interpretations of the Austrians.

Monosoff went from a very technically agile, but slightly stiff-sounding Baroque violin soloist in the mid-1960s to a free and stylish Classical player with the Amadé trio in the 1970s.[504] Melkus' chameleon-like ability makes it not only difficult to tell if he's playing Baroque or modern violin, but also when the recordings were made. Melkus made very modern-sounding recordings in the 1980s, as well as more "Baroque-sounding" ones in the 1970s.[505] Schröder's stylistically-aware early performances of Baroque music on a modern instrument gradually metamorphosed into performances of these same works on Baroque violin. His bowing style became more articulate and his vibrato less apparent through the years, as heard in a comparison of early recordings with the Bach concertos from 1982.[506] Kuijken's way of playing also changed dramatically. One only has to compare Kuijken's playing with the Alarius Ensemble from 1969 with his solo Bach recording from 1988 to hear an increasingly leaner aesthetic, as well as a change of technique.[507] In contrast, Ritchie, McDonald, Standage and Mackintosh all came to the Baroque violin once it had already been well-established and were able to enter a more settled early music aesthetic.

Listening to Baroque violin recordings from the 1950s to 1989, one can hear how the sound and musical aesthetics of Baroque string playing changed in just this short time period. All of these violinists, like every good musician, matured throughout their Baroque violin careers. Their individual development and that of the early music movement often went hand-in-hand, and one is - in most cases - able to hear a change from a 1950s "more modern" aesthetic to a more codified concept of what was considered Baroque style by the 1980s. Generally speaking, this meant a less continuously legato bowing, which created a more articulated style with more difference between "good" and "bad" beats. The concept of a "speaking style" rather than a purely "singing" one was often lauded, but the extent to which a violinist "spoke" rather than "sang" varied enormously. The left hand, however one chose to shift and hold the instrument, used more lower positions, open strings rather than covered notes and - in principle - less continuous vibrato than in modern playing. Other left-hand expressive devices, such as portamento, were considered too Romantic and were shunned.

Although most violinists agreed with this basic modern-day conception of Baroque violin playing, their styles within this basic framework were still quite varied. Since the revival of the Baroque violin meant learning a "forgotten" musical language that one could never be sure of speaking correctly, it is possible to conclude that the pioneers helped create a new, historically-based musical language for the Baroque violin based on study and musical intuition. Like the

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[504] Amadé Trio, "Trios" by Joseph Haydn, LP (Cambridge, Mass.,Titanic Records Ti-12,1976).

[505] Eduard Melkus, Violinkonzerte, BWV 1041-1043, by J.S. Bach, LP (Hamburg: Archiv Produktion, ca. 1971).

[506] Jaap Schröder, Violin Concertos by J.S. Bach, The Academy of Ancient Music, dir. Christopher Hogwood, LP (L'Oiseau Lyre DSDL 702, 1982).

[507] Alarius-Ensemble Brüssel, "Italenische Violinsonaten" LP, Telefunken 6.42095, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HvuB_Ag5Aug, last accessed 15 June 2017 and Sigiswald Kuijken, "Sonatas & Partitas, BWV 1001-1006" by J.S. Bach (Hamburg: Harmonia Mundi, 1983), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=11b6wQjbQm4, last accessed 15 June 2017.

speakers of the artificially-created Esperanto language, all the Baroque violinists could “understand” each other’s musical language, but still spoke their own dialect with their own personal accent. The dissemination of these various “dialects” through the recordings, writings, students and leadership roles of these pioneers helped create schools of players with similar playing styles.

Chapter Six

Cultural Reflections: Gender and Religion

Gender

Gender, while not an issue most of the interviewees considered problematic, did have consequences for many of these violinists. Both men and women were forced to deal with societal and professional expectations and demands, and the changing world of the twentieth century presented them with both difficult situations and new opportunities. Schröder's mother, for example, was not allowed to become a professional pianist, but the female Baroque violinists of Schröder's generation were touring as a soloist (Monosoff) and leading two of the first period instrument orchestras (Harnoncourt and Leonhardt).

Although I was not aware of any gender bias in my selection, five of the ten pioneers interviewed for this dissertation are women. This is surprising, especially when compared with the lack of women in the embryonic days of the Baroque violin revival (see Chapter 1). The older generation, born between 1925-1930, displays an even higher percentage of women at 60%, though the death of Fransjosef Maier did not permit equal representation. In contrast, in a survey of great modern violinists from 1530 to 1983, less than ten women merit their own heading compared with more than a hundred men.[508] This huge discrepancy supports the theory that the new early music field provided more professional opportunities for women than the modern one.

While the rare female violin soloist has always existed, many professional outlets were closed to or were very limited for women in the first half of the twentieth century. The most notorious example, the Vienna Philharmonic, only agreed to admit women as full members of the orchestra in 1997 "after long maintaining that the orchestra's superior sound and style came partly from its maleness."[509] The Concertgebouw Orchestra in Amsterdam, in contrast, employed female string players (and not just harpists) from 1897 on.[510] In the USA, four female string players joined the first-rank San Francisco Symphony in the 1920s and 1930s. World War II - with many male musicians joining the military service - drastically changed the situation, and "made possible the entrance of female players of all instruments into the major symphony orchestras, as well as the orchestras in opera, radio, the movie and recording industries, from which they had formerly been excluded."[511] It is possible that Monosoff's busy free-lance career in New York in the 1940s profited from the professional opportunities the war provided. Harnoncourt, while forced to leave Vienna during and after the war, enjoyed the extra musical experiences that this disjointed time afforded her. The war had more negative

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[508] Boris Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin: From Corelli and Vivaldi to Stern, Zukerman and Perlman* (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1983).

[509] Jane Perlez, "Vienna Philharmonic Lets Women Join in Harmony," *New York Times*, 28 February 1997, http://www.nytimes.com/1997/02/28/world/vienna-philharmonic-lets-women-join-in-harmony.html, last accessed 13 June 2017.

[510] H. J. van Royen et al, "De leden van het Concertgebouworkest - 3.11.1883-3.11.1988," vol. 2, *Historie en kroniek van het Concertgebouworkest 1888-1988* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1989). Curiously, the men's first names were cited only with initials and the women's were written out in full, making it all too clear that the women were the exception.

[511] Carol Neuls-Bates, "Women's Orchestras in the United States, 1925-45" in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. by Jane Boweers and Judith Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986): 363.

consequences for the men with both Schröder and Melkus being forced to hide, leave the country, interrupt or change their course of study.

By mid-century on, the female Baroque violinists' achievements, in conjunction with the opportunities the early music world provided women, can be seen as extraordinary. In the 1950s, Leonhardt and Harnoncourt were both concertmasters of important ensembles, although these women's positions were certainly connected with their husbands' as director (Leonhardt) or co-founder (Harnoncourt). A comparison with the number of women holding similar positions with modern orchestras is revealing. Shockingly, it was only in 1988 that the first woman in the United States was appointed to a concertmaster's position.[512]

6.1 Leonhardt Consort

6.2 Concentus Musicus, 1967

This Dutch tradition of a female-friendly professional environment is reflected in the composition of the Leonhardt Consort, in which women often outnumbered the men. In Vienna, it is no surprise that Harnoncourt was the only female member of Concentus for years. Harnoncourt remembers that in the early days, Nikolaus "was the musical leader, and I was the concertmaster. No one complained." Though she claims that her right to be in that position was accepted without hesitation, Harnoncourt remembers that some of the older men grumbled when other women joined in the 1970s. An early member of Concentus remembers that it was a tricky moment but suggests that it had more to do with youth than gender, stating:

> We older ones noticed that today's youth were, of course, uninhibited, self-assured and cheeky. I can't personally complain because, although I was there, I was never directly confronted with it…For the

[512] Norman Lebrecht, "Are we seeing more women concertmasters?" *Slipped Disc*, 29 April 2015, http://slippedisc.com/2015/04/are-we-seeing-more-women-concertmasters/ last accessed 22 March 2017.

> violinists it was certainly more difficult. The situation was never really completely sorted until the older generation retired.[513]

The older generation of female violinists (Monisoff, Leonhardt and Harnoncourt) were adamant that they had not suffered from any prejudice in their professional lives. "Not in the least!" Leonhardt asserted. Monosoff made it clear that she didn't want her achievements related or published as a "woman's story" and preferred to be judged on her own merits and not as a "female violinist." Traveling, studying and having a career didn't seem to be a problem for these violinists. Leonhardt went on her own to England to study; Harnoncourt "didn't feel frightened or lonely" and enjoyed traveling to Salzburg and Oxford. Monosoff only recalled the laboriousness of "always dragging music [around]… and a suitcase that had to have decent clothing in it."

6.3 Sonya Monosoff

Monosoff kept her maiden name, which was particularly unusual for someone born in the 1920s. She stated, "I've always used Monosoff professionally. It never occurred to me to use my husband's name. It was just that I was Sonya Monosoff, the violinist, and [when I was married I was] still Sonya Monosoff. And my husband was not in any way threatened by that, so it seemed a logical thing to do." Mackintosh, born twenty years later, also kept her own name, while McDonald used her husband's. A newspaper article about McDonald, born with the Polish surname Wojcik, states that she considered using a hyphenated name. The male journalist claims that McDonald broke into a laugh at the idea of the Polish and Irish names joined together.[514]

Leonhardt and Harnoncourt both took their husbands' surnames, and their careers as well as their names became inextricably intertwined with their husbands.' Gustav Leonhardt and Nikolaus Harnoncourt become two of the most important figures in the early music movement, and the names "Leonhardt" and "Harnoncourt" invariably refer to the men. The 1980 *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* devotes articles to both men, Alice and her achievements are only noted in the final paragraph of her husband's entry and Marie received no mention at all. In contrast, Monosoff, with her solo career and without a musician husband, is given her own article.

Compared to Monosoff in the USA, Leonhardt and Harnoncourt grew up in more conservative environments. The Swiss Leonhardt, although she didn't want to go to the Schola to study, did what her parents requested. Harnoncourt conformed to Austrian expectations and spent the obligatory year apart from Nikolaus before they could marry, as demanded by her parents. She also attended "housewife school" in Graz, as did the Austrian keyboardist Ahlgrimm, fifteen years Harnoncourts' senior. For Ahlgrimm, this entailed "two years of cooking and sewing school in preparation

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513 Eduard Hruza, quoted in Monika Mertl, "'Demakratur' und Harmonie," in *Die Seltsamsten Wiener der Welt* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 2003): 42.

514 Bob Kotleur, "Making sweet music in Oberlin" *Lordin Journal*, 25 April 1982.

for marriage and family."[515] Harnoncourt related that as a young newlywed she felt that "now I'm married and I have to just take care of my husband. The first month, I didn't play the violin at all because I thought 'it's not good, I should not do it, it's not proper.' My husband said, 'Why don't you play violin?' I said, 'Well, am I allowed to (laughs)?'"

According to Harnoncourt, her "musical life [was] *absolutely* intertwined" with her husband's, and Concentus was something they did together "from the very first moment." She downplayed the pressure of practicing, rehearsing and performing while taking care of the family, insisting that she "wanted to do everything" and fortunately had a strong constitution. She admitted that her husband criticized her playing a lot in their early days, but claimed that she "*knew* that he was right." When questioned if this was always true, she stated that he was musically always right, for "a very long time. Now I'm grown up, but for the first ten years, no, I wasn't." Marie was also deferential to Gustav and said that she "just followed [her] husband." When they formed the Leonhardt Consort in Amsterdam, she remembered that Gustav was "already extraordinarily experienced [and knew] how to hear this music and [work with] articulation. He was shouting at every note what we had to do, 'Short! Long!' … He led as if he was leading children. We didn't know much. String players don't work with their heads very much."

Later, both women became more musically confident. Leonhardt admitted that even though Gustav "told [her] everything," she had a "certain temperament that was the cream on the cake" of their music-making together. Even though Leonhardt might not have felt this as a young women, early recordings of the Leonhardt Consort confirm her contribution to their musical partnership. While Gustav's concepts of form and style were strong, his sense of articulation occasionally sounds affected when used by the string players. In contrast, Marie's freer manner of playing often created breathtakingly beautiful lines, which kept their recordings from sounding staid. Harnoncourt stated that she "would have been nothing" without her husband, but was also aware of her important contribution to their partnership. In a newspaper interview, Harnoncourt discussed the difficulties of finding her place in her marriage, her husband's strong personality and her belief that it isn't good for the man or the woman to be subservient.[516] When asked if this was true, she exclaimed "Correct!" and elaborated:

> It's good that I'm a little bit more normal [than my husband]. I have quite a stable personality; my husband is somehow different. I think this combination is quite good…We have chosen that I do the practical things that make it possible for him to do all the other things. … This balance is very good. It's good for me because I'm not here 'serving,' but I am on the same level.

While Harnoncourt felt equal to her husband and important to their professional relationship, the outside world didn't always understand her and possibly found her "too modern" within the conservative Viennese society. Mertl writes that "for the wives of the Concentus men - depending on their viewpoint - Alice Harnoncourt was seen as a shining example of discipline and resilience or a negative example of ambition and perfectionism."[517] Ingrid Seifert, who played with Concentus, paints a picture of Alice as a supportive musical and personal helpmate to her more extroverted husband:

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[515] Watchorn, 44.
[516] "Nikolaus Harnoncourt: Ein Weltstar ganz privat," *Klein Zeitung*, 5 December 2009.
[517] Monika Mertl, "'Demakratur' und Harmonie," in *Die Seltsamsten Wiener der Welt* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 2003): 37.

> When I played in the Concentus, most of the grown-up players were Symphoniker [the orchestra where Nikolaus was first employed], who were personally engaged and committed to the ensemble, found great relief from their orchestra jobs and respected Alice 100%. While Nikolaus would be spewing out new and fantastic ideas, eyes rolling, burning with enthusiasm, Alice would quietly translate it all to the ensemble, trying out new bowings, articulations etc, but as the members of the ensemble were so well attuned to each other, lots of new things appeared to happen by 'osmosis.' It was undeniably the strong bond between Nikolaus and Alice which ensured the success of Concentus. It was so touching to see that Alice also took care of her husband's personal needs. Nikolaus, who in his enthusiasm for music rarely noticed getting hotter and hotter, often had to be reminded to take his jacket off.[518]

Ritchie and Kuijken also had professional relationships with their partners. The harpsichordist Elizabeth Wright Ritchie's second wife, was an important musical influence on Ritchie. Wright had studied with with Gustav Leonhardt, and Ritchie remembers that "she was much more immersed in it…I had no training. I was learning more from the top of my head. She had some ideas about style that made a lot of sense to me." Kuijken met his wife Marleen Thiers (b. 1945) when they were both studying violin at the Brussels Conservatory. Thiers kept her own surname, is a strong and outspoken woman and seems - at least what I observed during my short visit - happy creating a support system for Kuijken and their musical activities. The first half of their book *Op de Jakobsweg* is written by Thiers; the second half by Kuijken, and this book seems to express their mutually-supportive relationship.[519]

The violinists I interviewed all had children, and the question of how they were able to combine their careers with family life was asked in each interview. The men, though often committed spouses and fathers, weren't expecting this question. One admitted that he honestly hadn't given the question any thought, having left that side of things to his wife. Schröder explained that his career was based in The Netherlands when his children were small and that his international career only took off when they were older, but it is unclear if this was a conscious career choice. One violinist found this question painful, admitting that his career and spending "more time away" negatively affected his personal life.

Leonhardt and Harnoncourt both combined child-raising with their playing careers. Harnoncourt and her husband rehearsed in their home while the children amused themselves, and they created a sort of Concentus kindergarten with the other members' children. Eduard Hruza, the bass player in the early days of Concentus, found Harnoncourt "admirable" for her ability to combine her musical and family responsibilities, but admits that she was also "a bit overtaxed."[520] Leonhardt remembers that the children "crawled between the music stands" and were also cared for by a babysitter or her in-laws while they were working.

Monosoff, married to an architect, enjoyed a very different situation. Busy making her career as a young soloist, Monosoff went on her first European tour when her oldest daughter was just a few months old. She remembers that it

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[518] Ingrid Seifert, email correspondence with author, 22 April 2013.
[519] Sigiswald Kuijken and Marleen Thiers, *Op de Jakobsweg: Pelgrimeren op Oneindi*g. (Tielt: Uitgeverij Lannoo, 2007).
[520] Edi Hruza, quoted in Monika Mertl, "'Demokratur' und Harmonie," in *Die Seltsamsten Wiener der Welt*, 40.

"was really hard for the family and for me, and I vowed never to do that again." In a later interview, I asked her if it was difficult to leave home when the children were little. Perhaps daring to be more honest, she replied:

> No, I was rather embarrassed by the fact that…once I'm away from home I'm away from home… except when I knew a child was sick. Knowing that my husband was fully capable of dealing with whatever came up, and we had various babysitters all the time, because of course he was working. I just never thought an awful lot about the kids [when I was away].

The younger female pioneers were more outspoken about the difficulties they encountered. Mackintosh was also married to an architect who, with the help of an *au pair,* cared for the children when she was on tour. Mackintosh, who "was growing up during the feminist movement and was convinced I could have it all," admitted to having regrets. She recalled that when Schröder was asked to lead the Academy for a large project, she made the best of an awkward situation since "the Mozart recordings happened when my children were little, so that was much easier than constantly going on tour." McDonald laughed explosively when I asked her if she experienced any professional difficulties as a woman. I thought she meant "of course not," but she soon made it clear that she meant "of course I did!" She claims she "wants to shoot the TV" every year when the predominantly male Vienna Symphony plays its New Year's concert. McDonald feels that she had to work harder to achieve the same as a man and had to constantly prove that she wasn't "a dumb blond." Aware that she couldn't let being a mother appear to limit her professionally, McDonald related that she played a concert when her twins were just a week old.

In spite of their professional accomplishments, many of these women suffered from society's perception of them as wives and mothers first and musicians second. A newspaper article about Monosoff in 1967 is headed "Soloist for Suburban Symphony Concert A Busy Woman With Career and Family," and the article mentions Monosoff's invitation to appear on a television program that specialized in women "who have a family - preferably a large one - and still manage to have a successful career."[521] None of the articles I read about the men mention their families. In a striking exception, Schröder is also shown to be a family man performing a puppet show for his children in a Dutch documentary about Quadro Amsterdam from 1965.[522]

At the very least, having children complicated the female pioneers' lives. Even though Monosoff continually claimed that she wasn't very good at organizing, she did more of this in the early part of her career. It seems clear that children and the necessity of working to help support the family meant that there was no longer so much time to spend on non-paying activities. Leonhardt, Harnoncourt and MacDonald carried the main load of childrearing on their shoulders; Monosoff and Mackintosh were able to share, and occasionally be relieved of, this responsibility. Monosoff related one revealing story of her attempts to combine family life with work. Having won fellowships from the Radcliffe and Smithsonian Institutes to do research, Monosoff admitted that

> I wasn't able to go there very often. I had little children to take care of. The grant that I received - all I

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[521] "Soloist for Suburban Symphony Concert A Busy Woman With Career and Family," *Cranford (N.K.) Citizen and Chronicle*, 26 January 1967.

[522] "Quadro Amsterdam," VARA, 12 February 1965.

> asked for was the money to pay for babysitters. I loved being there - it was very, very interesting…but I couldn't be there long enough, and when they offered to renew the fellowship for a second year, I refused it, because there was no point.

Monosoff's admission brings up the financial consequences of choosing a less well-established professional musical path. None of these violinists complained about the financial difficulties of their choice, but a number did speak about the enormous amount of unpaid time they put into their early Baroque efforts. In retrospect, the financial uncertainty of this new venture must have made it difficult for many of the older violinists, especially the men, to be able to make a total commitment to early music until the field was more established. Marie Leonhardt and Alice Harnoncourt were first supported by Gustav's teaching appointments and Nikolaus' orchestral job until the recording industry made the two couples' early music explorations more financially viable. Schröder and Melkus, in contrast, had wives and children to support and both men had positions as modern players in orchestras, string quartets and conservatories. In the United States, Monosoff shared the financial responsibilities with her husband, and her decision to leave the free-lance world and take a position as a modern violinist at Cornell University was at least partly a financial one. Ritchie, with also a family to support, worked as a modern violinist until he was offered a job as a Baroque violin professor. In contrast, the younger violinists entered an early music world that was more established, and the financial consequences of choosing early music as a career had much less impact than for the older generation.

Female violinists were always well-represented in period instrument orchestras and were unusually prominent in the concertmaster role. Mackintosh was asked to lead Christopher Hogwood's Academy of Ancient Music from its inception in 1973, and she went on to lead many period instrument orchestras including The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment. Monica Huggett (b. 1953) led Ton Koopman's Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra from 1980-1987, and Lucy van Dael (b. 1946) was one of the co-founders of Frans Brüggen's Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century in 1981 and led the orchestra for years. It's important to note that all of these orchestras (with the exception of OAE, which had no fixed director) had male conductors.

However much women were an integral part of the early music movement, an underlying sexism can often be discerned. A 1982 review of Koopman's Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra called the group "Ton's own English ladies' orchestra with the crazy name,"[523] which was belittling, sexist and nationalistic. Eva Legêne, who studied with Frans Brüggen and remembers his extraordinary support, recalled that Brüggen originally didn't want women in his orchestra and that she argued with him about this stance.[524] Whatever Brüggen's original idea might have been, women were always well-represented in his orchestra, but this anti-woman rumor plagued the ensemble. Lamon remembers that when she wanted to join Brüggen's orchestra it was made clear that there were already "enough women" in it, but it cannot be confirmed that this was the reason for Lamon's rejection.[525]

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[523] Franz Straatman, "Festival Oude Muziek overrompelend succes" *Trouw,* 6 September 1982.

[524] Eva Legêne, conversation with author, 21 May 2017.

[525] Jeanne Lamon, interview by author, Tape recording. Amsterdam, 11 May 2017.

Playing in a string quartet, another predominately male domain, was another profession that was more open to women in the early music world. Most mid- to late-twentieth century modern quartets were all-male ensembles,[526] but by the 1980s women were members of the Kronos Quartet (USA, founded 1973), the Mondriaan Quartet (The Netherlands, 1982), and the Hagen Quartet (Austria, 1981). It is worth noting that two of these quartets are devoted to modern music, a specialist field like early music, and one began as a quartet of siblings. None of the first violinists in these quartets is female. This is markedly different in the period instrument world. The first period instrument quartet, the Dutch Quartetto Esterhazy (1972) had one (then two) female members. McDonald was the second violinist in the Smithson Quartet (USA, 1982) and the Salomon Quartet (UK, 1982) had two female players, as does the Austrian *Quatuor Mosaïques* (1985). While women make up almost half of the members of these quartets, there was still no early music quartet led by a woman before the 1980s.

Holman reminded me of the shadow side of the predominance of women in period instrument ensembles by remarking that these positions were much less well paid than their modern counterparts.[527] The free-lance nature of much early music work made it possible to combine professional and family responsibilities, but it also meant that this work couldn't financially compare to a modern orchestral position. Lamon admitted that she earned just $8,000 for her first year directing Tafelmusik in 1981 and commented that "no man would have taken that job."[528] It's disheartening to realize that women's high visibility in the early music field was partially the result of these positions being more flexible and less well paid than their modern equivalents, but one must not underestimate how important these female figureheads were. Heidi Erbrich (b. 1966), a British violinist who studied Baroque violin in the 1980s in London, remembers that there were virtually no woman leading modern orchestras at that time, but that "it was inspiring to see so many women in key positions in early music. The majority of the players were women!"[529] Erbrich saw not only women concertmasters, but also experienced Catherine Mackintosh conducting the Baroque orchestra at the Royal College of Music. Unfortunately, there have yet to be any studies about women and the early music movement, but it is certainly a topic that deserves further attention.

Religion

Even though questions about religion were not a part of these interviews, the topic occasionally came up in conversation. Of the ten violinists I interviewed, one discussed her Jewish background, two their Catholicism and one her Protestantism. This identity reflected how they thought about themselves and, more importantly for this dissertation, how they felt it influenced their music-making. As a result of these remarks, a perusal of the large number of religious-toned words in the historiography of the early music movement and the Baroque violin revival was enlightening.

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[526] All male quartets include Juilliard Quartet (USA), Amadeus Quartet (UK), the Netherlands String Quartet and the Alban Berg Quartet (Austria). Quartetto Italiano, with a female second violinist, is an exception.

[527] Peter Holman, telephone conversation with author, 24 April 2017.

[528] Lamon, interview by author.

[529] Heidi Erbrich, conversation with author, Amsterdam, 3 April 2017.

Rosenberg reminds us that the word "revival" itself has religious overtones, since "the word's connotation of religious fervor captures an essential aspect of the phenomenon: the verve, zeal, energy, and fervor of revivalist involvement."[530] Mixed religious metaphors abound, as seen in Adorno's complaint of the sectarian aspect of performances of Bach's music by those working "under the unholy star of Historicism."[531] The Jewish Babitz wrote that Bach was not waiting for "a mechanical Messiah"[532] [the discredited "Bach Bow" invention] to be able to play his own works convincingly. Prominent early musicians were spoken about with almost religious reverence. Leonhardt would have been horrified to hear that he was often called "God" by early musicians in The Netherlands, and Nikolaus Harnoncourt was described as "a high priest in the temple of orthodox stewardship of *Kunstmusik* in Vienna."[533] Kuijken was considered a guru by Ritchie, who made it clear that "it wasn't Sigiswald, it was his students." The new chin-off technique had its "believers," "non-believers' and "converts." Mackintosh says that she tries "to play chin off when appropriate," but admitted that she was "not religious about it."

Conversion was a common theme. "Converting" a modern violin back could have religious connotations, as this operation was seen as bringing an instrument back from the "damaging" demands of the modern world to its original "pure" state. Marie Leonhardt claims that she "was spreading the tidings" with her teaching. Gustav, on the other hand, stated that he "didn't want to convert people"[534] [modern musicians], but that "those who wish to be converted, I will welcome with open arms…"[535] His intimation that early musicians were the true believers is clear. While these words are obviously used as figures of speech, they do reflect the fervor of the early music movement and the clear demarcations between those who "believed" and those who didn't.

Monosoff continually stressed that she wasn't religious, but she spoke about her Jewish background from the first moment in her first interview, stating:

> A cousin was in the Cleveland Symphony, my father played a little bit… Like a lot of Jewish families from the Ukraine, people could just walk out of the country with a violin. So many famous violinists came from that area. I guess it was just fated.

It is no surprise that Monosoff equated her Jewish background with the idea that she was destined to become a violinist. An extraordinarily large percentage of the famous violinists from her generation are Jewish, including Jascha Heifetz, Yehudi Menuhin, Nathan Milstein, David Oistrakh, Isaac Stern and Henryk Szeryng.[536] In this context, it is surprising that so few of the Baroque violin pioneers were Jewish. Salvatore Sterck (1895-1965), the violinist who played quinton

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[530] Neil V. Rosenberg, "Starvation, Serendipity, and the Ambivalence of Bluegrass Revivalism," in *Transforming Tradition*, 195.

[531] Theodor W. Adorno, "Bach defended against his devotees," 142. https://lamusicologia.files.wordpress.com/2009/01/adorno1.pdf, last accessed 25 June 2017. Originally published in German in 1951.

[532] Sol Babitz "The Vega Bach Bow: A Reply to Dr. Emil Telmányi," *Musical Times* 96, no. 1347 (May 1955): 251.

[533] Eric Martin Usner, "'The Condition of MOZART': Mozart Year 2006 and the New Vienna," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 20:3 (2011). http://www-tandfonline-com.proxy.uba.uva.nl:2048/doi/full/10.1080/17411912.2011.650926?scroll=top&needAccess=true, last accessed 24 November 2017.

[534] Gustav Leonhardt, interview by Franz Straatman, *Disk*, September 1980.

[535] Ibid.

[536] Darryl Lyman, *Great Jews in Music* (Middle Village, New York: Jonathan David Publishers, 1986).

in the Friesche Collegium Musicorum in The Netherlands, the American Sol Babitz and Monosoff are the only Jewish violinists discovered from this pioneering time period. Speaking about Babitz at a Dutch symposium, I was surprised to hear from one of the audience members that she felt that Babitz received so little acknowledgments in The Netherlands because of anti-semitism.[537] While no conclusions can be drawn from these observations, it is certainly worth noting the scarcity of Jewish musicians in the early days of the Baroque violin revival.

When interviewing Alice Harnoncourt, her husband Nikolaus asked if I knew if Marie Leonhardt was Protestant or Catholic. He spoke about Gustav, whose mother was Catholic and father was Protestant. This was clearly an important question for him, and I got the strong impression that he felt that Catholics and Protestants were different sorts of musicians. Back in Amsterdam, I asked Leonhardt if religion influenced her music-making, and she responded with an unequivocal "yes!" Raised Protestant and married to a strict Calvinist, Leonhardt affirmed that she felt that religion certainly played a role in determining one's approach to music. She felt that the Catholicism in Vienna was tangible in its extroversion and need to "make an impression." With Calvinism, she continued, everything was "internal, modest, austere," and music was expressed through your own initiative.

Jed Wentz has looked extensively at the role Calvinism played in the aesthetics of the Dutch early music movement, where performances of Bach by the Catholic conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra Willem Mengelberg epitomized the sins of "conductorial vanity and artistic ego."[538] Protestant restraint was needed to make the music "speak as purely as possible,"[539] and the performer was expected to serve the music rather than his or her own ego. Gustav Leonhardt expressed his feelings about religion, stating: "I am a Protestant body and soul. I don't care to go too deeply into this, and I wouldn't persecute them, but banalities play an important role for Catholics; there are many distracting superficialities."[540] Leonhardt is clear about the divide and which approach he feels is superior. A Dutch review of a Monteverdi recording by Concentus writes openly about this difference and complains about the lack of audience for this Catholic repertoire in The Netherlands:

> One possible explanation for this stance is the so-called "theatrical" aspect of Monteverdi's devotion, which our Calvinistic country has always looked at askance. Sacred music must be strict, introverted and abstract: than it becomes sublime. Sensual passion and colorful splendor are suspicious.[541]

A Dutch reviewer in 1982 goes so far as to compare the average concert goer with uneducated, fourteenth-century Catholics who didn't understand Latin. Without explicitly naming her religious beliefs, the interviewer writes that the modern music world's Catholic "merchandising" of music isn't necessary and that the early music's Protestant approach will prevail and make this repertoire accessible to everyone.[542] Kuijken feels that religion plays a part in the animosity between the Dutch and the Flemish. "The average person in Flanders has no idea how a Dutchman thinks," he related.

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[537] Juul Müller, conversation with author, Utrecht, The Netherlands, 31 August 2017.
[538] Jed Wentz, "Gustav Leonhardt, the Naarden circle and early music's reformation," *Early Music*, vol. XLII/I (February 2014): 5.
[539] Ibid., quote from *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 September 1921, in Wentz, 4.
[540] Ibid., quote from Maas, "Ik beweeg niet meer dan mijn vingers," 2, in Wentz, 11.
[541] J. Reichenfeld, "Triomf van de zinnelijke devotie," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 July 1967.
[542] Els van Swol, "FO geschakeerd, niet authentiek," *Leeuwarder Courant*, 9 December 1982.

"For them, Calvinism is surrealistic, and vice versa. They just can't understand each other."

The aesthetics of a "Catholic" and "Protestant" approach to the Baroque violin are audible. The sound of the Austrian school is often considered warm and "Romantic" compared to the cooler, more cerebral aesthetic of the new Dutch school. Harnoncourt, when asked about the different styles of playing, described this difference in geographical rather than religious terms: "they are more north; we are more south." Cohen describes the difference of these two ways of playing:

> The Romantic roots were still evident in Alice Harnoncourt's solo playing with Concentus; the on-the-string legato and continuous vibrato she favored were rejected by the Brussels players. Many crisp, short bow-strokes alternated with the longer ones. … Vibrato was almost totally suppressed; it reappeared as an occasional ornament on longer notes.[543]

Surprisingly, the the main proponent of the "Protestant" new Dutch school is a Belgian convert to Catholicism, and Kuijken discussed this extensively in our interview. Born into an atheist family, Kuijken described his long inner journey that culminated in his 1966 baptism. Another interviewer hinted that Kuijken had to be baptized before he could marry his Catholic girlfriend but admitted that Kuijken was clear that it had nothing to do with the maxim "Paris is well worth a Mass."[544] In our conversation as well as in his home furnishings, Kuijken seemed very comfortable with a pan-spirituality that included a Buddha statue in his garden which he claimed "probably shocked the neighbors."

Kuijken feels that even though the Catholic/Protestant difference in music-making is "not completely untrue," he feels that it is more "the difference between people who are spiritually interested and those who are not. That is the big difference." When pressed, he added: "Baroque is actually Roman Catholic. Different than controlled, that is not completely Baroque. Sweelinck isn't Baroque. Real Baroque music is, I think, Biber. Biber is real Baroque, but I don't find it interesting. That virtuoso [writing] doesn't speak to me, only the moments of polyphony."

Kuijken only considers flamboyant music truly Baroque and Catholic, yet seems to value controlled polyphonic writing - especially in the music of Bach - more.[545] Ironically, polyphonic music has long been associated with Catholic music-making, most often symbolized by the sacred vocal music of Palestrina. Melkus spoke about the German theologian Henning Bultmann, who believed "that only polyphonic music could represent heaven." Melkus remembered that Bultmann brought "a wonderful group of theologians and thinkers to our group" that "gave our music-making more depth." Melkus claims that since he had studied musicology he realized, unlike Bultmann, that "a mass by Bruckner could be just as holy as polyphonic music."

Kuijken's spirituality certainly influenced his music-making, and the terminology of his religious journey echoes that of

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[543] Joel Cohen, *Reprise: The Extraordinary Revival of Early Music* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown & Company, 1985): 59.

[544] Quote originally attributed to Henry IV after renouncing Protestanitism and converting to Catholicism to obtain the French crown. Kuijken, De Schepper interview.

[545] Sigiswald Kuijken, *Bleib bei uns, Bach* (Tielt, Uitgeverij Lannoo, 2014).

his musical one as he searched for "the sensitivity and intuition to find and follow one's own way."[546] His decision to follow a pilgrim's route seems to reflect this, as he writes:

> A certain magic animates the Camino de Compostela. That the whole legend of Jacob rests on the thinnest of historical facts plays no role at all. Or perhaps it does? Perhaps the mysterious attraction for some who follow this pilgrim's path is made therefore stronger because of the certainty that it's not about an historical reality, but - the opposite - a created myth, that through the centuries is considered more or less true and is experienced by countless people…[547]

Even though Kuijken was speaking about a spiritual journey, it is tempting to equate Kuijken's pilgrim's path with his journey as a Baroque violinist. Kuiken's idea that the strong attraction of this path was "because of the certainty that it's not about an historical reality, but - the opposite - a created myth" echoes many of the tenets of an "invented tradition" as outlined by Eric Hobsbawm.[548] The pioneers' interpretations about how to play the Baroque violin were "considered more or less true and experienced by countless people," as they defined a new tradition through their musically-convincing performances and their dissemination of a codified set of practices.

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[546] Kuijken and Thiers, *Op de Jakobsweg: Pelgrimeren op Oneindi*g, 127.
[547] Ibid. 125.
[548] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Chapter Seven

The 1980s: Passing the Bow

In the final ten years covered in this dissertation (1979-1989), many of the older pioneers were gradually moving out of the spotlight as their students and the younger pioneers took their place. A brief examination of representative ensembles provides a focus for the new directions that twentieth-century Baroque violinists were taking. These include new concepts of correct equipment as the repertoire for the Baroque violin widened, as well as the infiltration of historical instruments into traditional institutions. Also, the violinist as conductor took center stage, simultaneously pushing aside any thoughts that gender and sexual orientation could limit one's career. In contrast to the concept of historic playing as a recreation of the past, some early musicians embraced the concept of historical playing as a continuum. Finally, the International Baroque Violin Symposium can be seen as a microcosm of the Baroque violin world and provides a setting in which to review the state of the revival in 1989.

One's choice of equipment became an even more important marker in the 1980s. The pioneers often played a variety of different repertoires on instruments that were not always of the appropriate time period, but throughout the second half of the twentieth century there was an increasing interest in the use of more historically-correct equipment. The Parley of Instruments, for example, was not content to play Renaissance music on Baroque instruments, and the combined efforts of Holman's musicological research, Paul Denley's craftsmanship and the players' commitment enabled the Parley to create the first sixteenth-century violin consort in modern times in the 1980s.

Babitz wrote in 1977 that "an almost unavoidable by-product of the baroque violin studies was the finding of the pre-baroque violin, the renaissance violin," but he recalled that when he asked luthiers to make experiments with renaissance fittings on the viol "one of them actually said to me: 'You are crazy."[549] What seemed crazy in the 1970s became a reality in the 1980s. Because very few instruments from the sixteenth century survive, it was necessary to make modern copies of these instruments for the Parley. Denley, the luthier for the Parley's Renaissance consort, remembers that he "mooted the idea of a renaissance violin consort/band in *Southern Early Music* magazine in 1983."[550] By 1985 the Parley had a small group of instruments with "a) a short neck of stout dimensions, b) a bridge placed low down the belly with legs but no discernible 'feet,' c) a short fingerboard and d) a low set up resulting from a shallow neck."[551] Denley explains that "the sound concept is created using all gut strings tightly strung producing a reedy quality in the lower register and bright piercing sound in the upper."[552] At this time most period players used pure gut strings on only the top two or three strings, so an all-gut G string was something very new. The sound created by this equipment was noted in a review of the first recording by the Parley on its Renaissance violin consort:

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[549] Babitz, *How to Restore the Viols & Violins*, 31.

[550] Paul Denley, e-mail correspondence with author, 3 January 2016.

[551] Ibid.

[552] Ibid.

> The consort is a revelation: it has something of the gorgeous huskiness of 16th-century viols but with an astonishing spritliness [sic] and grace (partly the result of using short, light bows) that is truly exhilarating. Having experienced its distinctive colouring, I doubt whether all-purpose 'Baroque' instruments will ever again sound entirely satisfactory in music of this period.[553]

For many players, just using this new equipment was enough, but others also changed how they held and played the instrument. Concepts of authenticity, as seen in Kuijken's chin-off technique, now included playing techniques as well as equipment. Denley recalls: "The 'enlightened' players were keen to purchase these instruments and accept the challenge of a different playing style, though it has to be said not all went the 'whole hog' and adopted the 'short rib' position for the instrument and played thumb under frog!"[554]

The King's Noyse, directed by David Douglass in the USA, followed the Parley's lead in 1988. Douglass was adamant about the use of the low playing position, and this set Noyse apart from the Parley (Illustration 7.1). Daniel Larson made the set of instruments for the Noyse, modeling his consort on the extant instruments made by Andrea Amati in the mid-sixteenth century. Because no small Amati viola exists, Larson created his own design in the Amati style. By not copying an existing instrument, one can argue that Larson was overstepping a certain strict boundary of historical reproduction or conclude that he was following a luthier's duty, throughout all time periods, to create an instrument according to the player's wishes. Unusually, The King's Noyse mentions the bow maker in the liner notes of their first disc, crediting Harry Grabenstein for his bows "in the style of those used by Renaissance dance musicians."[555]

7.1 David Douglass using the "short rib" position

My experience with the Renaissance violin demonstrates the dilemma of trying to find and use more historically-accurate equipment. When performing with my copy of the small Ventura Linarola violin from 1581,[556] an historically-appropriate instrument for the early repertoire I was playing, most people seemed to prefer the later Baroque violin I had been using. This gave me a taste of what the pioneers must have experienced when critics preferred modern instruments rather than historical equipment. In a disheartening footnote, the authenticity of the Linarola violin has been under renewed scrutiny. Even though a 2007 dendrochronological test confirmed that fifteenth-century wood was used in the instrument, recent research has shown the violin is not as original as previously thought and, therefore, should not be considered "as a model for the reconstruction of a late-renaissance or early baroque violin."[557] The high prices paid for violins make this instrument especially vulnerable to forgeries, but it is particularly demoralizing that early

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[553] Graham Sadler, "Christmas Music by Michael Praetorius,"review of recording by David Hill, the choir of Westminster Cathedral and the Parley of Instruments (Hyperion A66200, rec. 1986), *Early Music* 15, no. 2 (May 1987): 303.

[554] Denley, e-mail correspondence.

[555] The King's Noyse, *The King's Delight*, directed by David Douglass, liner notes, CD (Harmonia Mundi USA, 1993): 60.

[556] SAM 91 from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

[557] Rudolf Hopfner, email correspondence, 17 November 2017.

musicians would have their honest endeavors compromised by these unscrupulous practices.

Just as the pioneers had challenged the idea that the modern violin and bow was suitable for earlier repertoire, the all-purpose Baroque instrument and bow was now being questioned from within the movement in its search for more historically-accurate equipment for each time period. As ensembles like the Parley and the Noyse were exploring the earliest string repertoire, violinists were simultaneously being asked to play later and later music. A Baroque violinist now needed not only a "quiver of bows," but also a steamer trunk of instruments to play all the music one was expected to perform on historical instruments. It would now be more appropriate to call most Baroque violinists "period" players. Unfortunately, there was not always time to learn about the latest developments nor enough money to purchase appropriate equipment to keep up with increasingly varied professional obligations. As a young Baroque violinist coming of age in the 1980s, I can confess that my understanding of what the correct equipment should be, as well as my ability to obtain and afford it, often lagged behind the necessity of making a living.

The Classical repertoire had been a mainstay of the movement since its early days and included important milestones such as the Harnoncourts' Concentus Musicus' Haydn recording (1960), Monosoff's Amadé Trio (1974), Schröder's Quartetto Estérhazy (1970s) and his collaboration with Christopher Hogwood in the Academy of Ancient Music's (AAM) complete Mozart symphony project (1979-1985).[558] Playing Mozart and Haydn on original instruments was one thing; recording the complete Beethoven symphonies was another. Many people considered the softer-edged historical instruments appropriate for Mozart, but there were concerns whether they could produce the preconceived concept of Beethoven's more aggressive sound world and whether the period players were up to the challenge. When the Academy began its recordings of the complete Beethoven symphonies in the mid-1980s, a violinist would have needed a Classical bow, if not a different violin set up and stringing as well, to record these works with the appropriate equipment.

Later repertoire brought other difficulties. The ability to examine stylistic matters of different music periods depended more on the amount of rehearsal time available than on what the musicians would like to achieve. Playing mostly in The Netherlands and Belgium, I was fortunate enough to work with chamber music ensembles and orchestras that enjoyed a luxurious amount of rehearsal compared to my colleagues in the UK. The "'two rehearsal and concert' situation created by the grant-giving bodies" described by Kenyon made this sort of work situation almost impossible to achieve in England.[559] Kenyon also notes that chamber musicians were "forced in order to earn a living to go from paid rehearsal to paid rehearsal."[560] In contrast, Schröder's first period instrument quartet rehearsed for a year without playing a concert.

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[558] Concentus Musicus, *Works by Joseph Haydn*, LP (Amadeo: MHS 3152, 1960); Amadé Trio, Joseph Hayden, Trio in E flat major H. XV:29; Trio in G minor: HV:19; Trio in C major : H. XV:27, LP (Titanic Records, 1976); Quartetto Esterházy, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Streichquartette*, LP (Hamburg: Telefunken, 1979) and Academy of Ancient Music, Christopher Hogwood and Jaap Schröder, Complete Mozart Symphonies, LP (Decca, 1979-1983).

[559] Nicholas Kenyon, "The Economics of Early Music," *Early Music* 4, no. 4 (Oct., 1976): 443+445+447.

[560] Ibid.

Playing later standard repertoire on period instruments was always a precarious step for the early music movement, for it meant being judged by the standards of the modern musical establishment. The AAM's decision to record the Beethoven symphonies in the 1980s was a treacherous task, and one must question if this venture was fueled by the explorative spirit of the musicians or by the eagerness of the recording industry. While the Hannover Band and the London Classical Players also began to record Beethoven symphonies in the 1980s, the well-established period orchestra AAM will be the focus of this discussion.

A review of AAM's first and second symphonies by a modern music journal complains that it doesn't offer "new musical insight into these much-loved, much-played works," adding that "one experiences the mixed blessings of authentic sound: imperfect intonation and fascinatingly diverse horn timbres."[561] Even an early music journal had to admit that the fourth and fifth symphonies:

> are more or less reasonable and accurate renditions of the notes, but substantially lack the strong-minded or intuitive nuances of shape and feature that make the difference between a routine performance and a memorable one. Hogwood's players 'on authentic instruments,' all listed by name in the record notes, play accurately and well; but there is little sign that they are called upon to serve a grand conception of these works that underlies the glossy surface of the performances.[562]

These poor reviews, disappointing at first reading, were a sign that the early music movement was finally being taken seriously. No longer was an early music performance judged on different terms than modern ones, as "imperfect intonation" and the lack of "a grand conception" were now noted and no longer tolerated. An American review stated that the recording of the fourth and fifth symphonies "proves so wanting in interpretive insight, it raises some key questions about the whole issue of 'authenticity' with respect to musical performance."[563] The reviewer goes on to explain that, in his view, Hogwood produced not only authenticity "in terms of general sonority…but also in terms of the missing insight that, perforce, accompanies the presentation of a masterpiece when it is mint fresh."

7.2 Jeanne Lamon, 1981

This problematic quote is an excellent example of some of the problems facing early musicians venturing into standard repertoire. Many reviewers, as well as audience members, assumed that the traditional interpretations of iconic works had reached a pinnacle of musicianship and musical understanding and, therefore, found these early music interpretations missing depth or insight." Many early symphonic works would have originally not been conducted, but led by the first violinist, and Schröder is listed as co-director on the AAM's Mozart symphony recordings. With the

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[561] William Drabkins, "Authentic Classical," *The Musical Times* 128, no. 1731 (May 1987): 274.

[562] Lewis Lockwood, "Recordings: Ludwig van Beethoven," review of The Academy of Ancient Music, conducted by Christopher Hogwood *L'Oiseau-Lyre* 417 61401 (rec. 1987), *Early Music* 16, no. 2 (May 1988): 287.

[563] Mortimer H. Frank, "Beethoven Symphonies: No. 4 in Bb, Op. 60; No. 5 in c minor, Op. 67" Academy of Ancient Music, directed by Christopher Hogwood, L'Oiseau-Lyre 417 615-2, http://www.fanfarearchive.com/articles/atop/11_3/1130400.az_BEETHOVEN_Symphonies_4_B.html, last accessed 17 November 2017.

Beethoven cycle, Hogwood was doing exactly what he felt was appropriate by letting the music speak for itself with little or no interference from the conductor. This is of itself an interpretative choice, and Hogwood admits that he is "often criticized for being rather laid back and cool and precise in recordings."[564] He adds that live performances are different "because I will allow performances to take their head much more than I would allow a recording to take its head and then embarrass us for another 20 years."[565] The awareness that these recordings were lasting monuments certainly influenced many "safe" interpretations, but the limited time allowed for British recordings must also be taken into account.

The idea that *all* music could be performed using performance practice knowledge and historical instruments was a new ideology that has had lasting consequences. The 1980s saw a wide range of orchestras being formed that would ultimately take the concept of period performance into music of the twentieth century. To name just a few examples, Roger Norrington and his London Classical Players (founded 1978) and John Eliot Gardiner and his *Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique* (1989) continued pushing the boundaries of period instrument repertoire in the UK. Jos van Immerseel and Anima Eterna (1987) in Belgium and Philharmonia Baroque Orchestra (1981) in the USA, now headed by Nicholas McGegan (b. 1950), continued the same sort of work, even performing modern compositions especially composed for them.

At first glance, the formation of the Canadian period instrument orchestra Tafelmusik in 1979 would appear to be just one of the many period instrument ensembles springing up across the world, but it was the appointment of the American violinist Jeanne Lamon (b. 1949) as music director in 1981 that radically changed the profile of this ensemble (Illustration 7.2). Lamon had become acquainted with the Baroque violin while studying modern violin in The Netherlands in the early 1970s and had studied with Kuijken for a few years in The Hague before returning to the States. Also in 1981, the Swiss violinist Chiara Banchini (b. 1946) founded the period instrument Ensemble 415 (Illustration 7.3). Banchini had studied modern violin at the Geneva conservatory with Corrado Romano (1920-2003), continued her studies with Sándor Végh (1905-1997) and became interested in early music through Nikolaus Harnoncourt. Banchini studied with Kuijken in The Hague, was awarded a soloist's diploma in 1978 and played in Kuijken's *La Petite Bande*.

Both Lamon's and Banchini's excellent and extremely successful period ensembles were directed primarily from the concertmaster's stand, which followed the historical tradition of violinists leading ensembles from this position. Many of the pioneers had conducted ensembles this way, but Lamon and Banchini were exceptional for building their primary ensemble from this position and for being the first women to successfully do so. Lamon's and Banchini's achievements were two-fold: not only did women organize and lead these two ensembles, but the male harpsichordist/conductor had been replaced by a female violinist leading from the first desk. This was not only an important milestone for women in

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[564] James Badal, "On Record: Christopher Hogwood." originally issued in *Fanfare* (Nov/Dec 1985): 2. http://www.fanfarearchive.com/articles/atop/09_2/0920390.aa_On_Record_Christopher_Hogwood.html, last accessed 17 November 2017.

[565] Ibid.

the early music field, but was empowering for all female musicians. Lamon is also openly lesbian, proving that sexual orientation in the 1980s was not an impediment to professional success. Given Tafelmusik's history, it is perhaps no surprise that when Lamon stepped down as musical director, a woman violinist was "the unanimous choice of both the orchestra and the search committee."[566] Lamon explained that it was made absolutely clear that conductors need not apply, and this secured the orchestra's wish that Tafelmusik remain a violin-led ensemble.

7.3 Chiara Banchini

Compared to working within the bubble of the early music community, ensembles that hoped to push historical instruments into traditional establishments experienced a more difficult trajectory. The Dutch Bach Society (*De Nederlandse Bachvereniging*), founded in 1921, and the annual opera festival at Glyndebourne, begun in 1934, are highly-respected music institutions in The Netherlands and the UK. The Bach Society's decision to change to historical instruments and Glyndebourne's acceptance of a resident period ensemble shook traditional musical worlds in both countries. This was a different battle for the early music movement to fight, and its success demonstrated that early musicians could now be considered worthy competitors in the modern music world. No longer content to be confined to a specialized corner - performing unknown repertoire and being judged by different criteria - early instrument players were now ready to elbow into, or even overthrow, traditional organizations.

When the Bach Society was formed in 1921 it had no early music pretensions, but historical instruments were not completely unknown in The Netherlands nor to the society. A harpsichord was already used in the first performances of the St. Matthew Passion in the 1920s. From 1929-1960, Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp (the first cellist of the Concertgebouw Orchestra) played the gamba solos on a viola da gamba, not on a cello, but used a non-historic overhand bow hold and no frets. In 1938, the Bach Society also used recorders in their St. Matthew's performance, although both parts were doubled to balance the modern instruments.[567]

In the 1960s and 1970s, early music proponents in The Netherlands were making a forceful stand for performing Bach on historical instruments. The Groningen Bach Society had already collaborated with Concentus Musicus Wien, the Alarius Ensemble and the Leonhardt Consort. They had also received a subsidy in 1972 to buy Baroque instruments for a five-year period with the hope was that the local conservatory would work together with the Groningen Society to teach players how to play the historical instruments.[568] It is likely that the Bach Society was aware of these developments.

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[566] "Elisa Citterio - Music Director Designate," http://www.tafelmusik.org/about/bios/elisa-citterio-music-director-designate, last accessed 15 May 2017.

[567] Jolande van der Klis,"Bach en het muziekleven na 1900," in *Oude Muziek in Nederland: Het verhaal van de pioniers 1900-1975* (Utrecht: SOOM, 1991): 37-48.

[568] "Bachvereniging Groningen krijgt authentieke barok-instrumenten," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 8 March 1972.

Leaving the political jostling within the Bach Society aside, it is clear that the faction that supported performing Bach in a new way on historical instruments became stronger than the one that wanted to continue its traditional performances with modern instruments.[569] By 1975, The Bach Society began to hire early music specialists as guest conductors. Charles de Wolff (1932-2011), the director of the ensemble since 1965, was not keen on the new approach nor satisfied to become just one of the many conductors of the Bach Society. De Wolff left with a large number of choir members,[570] and the Bach Society made the decision to create a period instrument orchestra to accompany its newly-reformed choir in 1983.

Wim ten Have, a period viola player, was in charge of setting up the new period instrument orchestra for the Bach Society. He remembers how quickly the orchestra had to be put together, stating that "we immediately jumped into deep water and the ripples are still felt."[571] Prospective choir members had to audition, but the orchestra members were chosen "on the basis of their reputation or through recommendation," and Ten Have admitted at the time that "the Baroque world is a pretty insular circuit."[572] In an interview from the mid-1980s, Ten Have occasionally sounds as if he is defending his players, stating "What is *niveau*? At the conservatory you see what talent is. *Niveau* doesn't have much to do with with age or educational background." Especially unusual at this time, Ten Have welcomed both chin-off and chin-on violinists and seems to have wanted to create an "all inclusive" orchestra. More importantly, he wanted to create an ensemble that didn't have a "workhorse" mentality:

> Our violinists have different ways of playing. That speaks to me, because I'm a string player myself. There was never just one authentic model of playing. Our orchestra contains students of Sigiswald Kuijken, as well as string players with a totally different background. What binds us together is the interest in this music. We never get into deep technical discussions; people respect each other. Everyone, without exception, plays with love. That is often different in a professional orchestra.[573]

On 2 December 1983, the choir and Baroque orchestra of the Dutch Bach Society gave their first concert in Naarden under the direction of Jos van Veldhoven.[574] This change to historical instruments was not without its difficulties. In 1983, two performances of Bach's Christmas oratorio were reviewed together - one by the "historical" Bach Society and one by the former director de Wolff with modern instrumentalists from the Concertgebouw Orchestra.[575] Kasper Jansen reviewed both concerts and criticized both performances. He concluded with the observation that with the Bach Society it was as if "Joseph was leading a stubborn donkey with the heavily pregnant Mary up a rough mountain path," while the modern performance felt as if "Joseph was driving his fiancée in a shiny Mercedes on the highway to an

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[569] Jolande van der Klis, "De Nederlandse Bachvereniging gaat authentiek," in *Een tuitje in de aardkorst: Kroniek van de oude muziek 1976-2006* (Kampen: Kok, 2007): 86-89.

[570] Ibid.

[571] Interview with Wim ten Have, in "Wim ten Have: Orkestleider" by Marjan van Giel and Frans Wieringen, *Cornemuse* 1984/85, Nr. 1, 4.

[572] Ibid.

[573] Ibid.

[574] Van der Klis, "De Nederlandse Bachvereniging gaat authentiek," 88.

[575] Kasper Jansen, "Weinachtsoratorium ledit tot richtingenstrijd bij twee Bachkoren," *NRC Handelsblad*, 23 December 1983.

overbooked hotel."[576] He remarks that the Bach Society's orchestra wasn't of the same quality as older, more established period ensembles and wonders where helping "this jerking and bumpy way" will lead.

The fight between the early music faction and the traditionalists continued throughout the 1980s. As late as 1988, a newspaper headline reported the score "Battle over Bach: 5-3," and these numbers referred to how many government ministers attended two concurrent performances.[577] According to Ten Have, the period instrument orchestra of the Bach Society was given just two years to "prove themselves,"[578] but they were successful, and the Dutch Bach Society still has a period instrument orchestra in 2018. In a surprising footnote, the Bach Society became a violin-led ensemble when the concertmaster Shunske Sato (b. 1984) became the artistic director of the organization in June 2018.[579]

The Bach Society's change to historical instruments was a strong statement of support for the early music movement, but the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment's (OAE) ability to become part of the traditional opera world at Glyndebourne was an even more remarkable accomplishment. In 1986, the formation of the OAE, a player-organized period orchestra, "signaled Early Music's coming of age," as well as "a classic story of labor unrest under capitalism."[580] OAE was founded by players who were frustrated by the fact that the movement "was becoming a victim of its own success,"[581] felt that they "were the property of their one artistic director"[582] and wanted the freedom to work with various conductors. This was a brave stance to take in a conductor-led world, but the OAE's independence, savvy marketing and clever professional choices enabled it to become "part of Britain's professional classical musical establishment."[583]

It was predominantly OAE's collaboration with the up-and-coming conductor Simon Rattle which made this possible, which ironically proves that it was indeed still conductors who determined an orchestra's success. While it's true that Rattle was instrumental in OAE's introduction to Glyndebourne, one must not forget that it was the orchestra that first contracted Rattle to work with them in a production of Mozart's opera *Idomeneo*.[584] When Rattle was invited to conduct all the Mozart-Da Ponte operas at Glyndebourne in 1989, he demanded that the OAE be asked to accompany these performances. One can imagine that Rattle had to do an enormous amount of convincing to secure this appointment, but the result was a coup for the orchestra. Being accepted as part of the "rarified world of Glyndebourne was the moment

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[576] Ibid.

[577] "Slag om Bach: 5-3." *De Telegraaf*, 2 April 1988.

[578] Interview with Ten Have.

[579] "Shunske Sato Nieuwe Artistiek Leider Nederlandse Bachvereniging," 11 mei 2017, https://www.bachvereniging.nl/nl/page/3933, last accessed 16 May 2017.

[580] Wilson, 208.

[581] Quote from Marshall Marcus from Helen Wallace, *Spirit of the Orchestra* (London: Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment, 2006): 10, quoted in Wilson, 89.

[582] Quote from Felix Warnock from interview with Wilson, 10 March 2003, in Wilson, 89.

[583] Wilson, 91.

[584] Ibid.

when the Orchestra really arrived,"[585] as well as one of the defining moments of the early music movement's acceptance into the modern world.

The reception was mixed, often within the same review. One reviewer states that "Glyndebourne, long the refuge of traditionalist performance…came forward on 2 July as the first of our houses to offer a repertory production with a period orchestra,"[586] but continued:

> It was enterprising and laudable. But I wonder - speaking as one firmly in favour of good period performance - whether it wasn't ill-advised, or at any rate too half-hearted to achieve anything. Period performance is, to borrow a fashionable term in the neo-medical world, a holistic matter. If you change some things and not others, you are likely to create fresh problems. Thus we had period instruments in a modern, post-Wagnerian sunken pit, conducted by a distinctly modern conductor, coupled with a cast of singers with no training (or no apparent training) in period styles and a wholly modern setting and production.[587]

Unfortunately, this reviewer didn't just object to the mixed metaphor production. He clearly wanted to like this performance, but admits that "one would have been hard put to it to guess that the orchestra was really much different from usual (except, one must - unfairly - say, that it lacked some aspects of the LPO's solid professionalism)."[588] The word "unfairly" jumps out in this quote. The intimation that a period orchestra couldn't be as solidly professional as the London Philharmonic must have been galling to the OAE, which was hoping to be judged on the same terms as its modern counterparts. However mixed the reception was, the use of a period orchestra at Glyndebourne altered the British modern music world's viewpoint. A review of another opera remarked: "Paradoxical that Glyndebourne, having decided on an 'authentic' orchestra for *Figaro*, should allot Gluck's earlier masterpiece to the London Philharmonic." Using clever wordplay to express which orchestra he would have preferred to hear, the reviewer quips that "the audience was kept unenlightened."[589]

7.4 Quatuor Mosaïques

Unlike efforts to oust or change the status quo, *Quatuor Mosaïques* (formed in 1985) claimed to want to continue a historical tradition (Illustration 7.4). Their decision to create a quartet on historical instruments was nothing new, for Schröder had done this back in 1972. It was *Mosaïques*' statement of intent that surprised, as they claimed that their "primary aim was not to create the sort of 'authenticity' that belongs in museums, but rather to ensure in their work a living link to the great European quartet tradition."[590] This statement, a direct criticism of the early music movement, would have simultaneously piqued interest and raised eyebrows. Negative expressions of museum-

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[585] Quote from Anthony Robson in Wallace, 31, quoted in Wilson, 91.

[586] Stanley Sadie, "Le nozze di Figaro" *The Musical Times* 130, no. 1760 (October 1989): 621-622.

[587] Ibid.

[588] Ibid., 622.

[589] Arthur Jacobs, review of Orfeo ed Euridice, 20 May 1989, *The Musical Times* 130, no 1758 (August 1989): 483.

[590] "Quatuor Mosaïques," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quatuor_Mosaïques, last accessed 27 May 2017.

like authenticity or "musicological fundamentalism" had been raised many times, most acidly by Daniel Waitzman in 1980:[591]

> Either we are practitioners of a living art, or we are museum curators and morticians. I do not think that a mausoleum is an appropriate setting for our musical heritage. Only those who remain unmoved by this heritage could dare to advocate its embalmment in the formaldehyde of historical formalism - and they do not deserve to be hailed as its guardians.[592]

Mosaïques' inspiration is said to be the Végh Quartet, in which first violinist Höbarth played in the quartet's final years. Founded by the Hungarian violinist Sándor Végh in the 1940s, the Végh Quartet played the Viennese classic quartet repertoire, as well as the quartets of Bartók and Kodály, whom Végh had known. *Mosaïques*' new concept of authenticity was a combination of the early music movement's ideals with the idea of continuing a living link to the past. *Mosaïque*'s players all worked with the Harnoncourts and their biography states that they "follow in the footsteps of those who changed the interpretation of the baroque and classical repertoire in the last decade."[593] In this light, the quartet can also be seen as "a living link" to mid-twentieth century Austrian early music-making.

The Austrian early musicians I interviewed seem to feel a personal connection to their national musical heritage. Melkus claims to have a special feeling for Mozart "as an Austrian," and he has spent much time and energy studying the "Viennese sound." Harnoncourt found it absurd when she was told that the only people who could play Mozart were the French, when she was certain this could only be said about the Austrians. Their feeling of an unbroken connection to the past was best described by Nikolaus Harnoncourt:

> A clear distinction must be made between works which have been performed in an unbroken line from the period in which they were written up until today, and other works which disappeared from concert programs for a shorter or longer period of time. The compositions of Beethoven, for example, have been played uninterruptedly since their first performances; the tradition of rendition, therefore, can be traced directly to the composer. In such cases, traditional opinion is probably correct. The traditional interpretation born of many performances undoubtedly possess a high degree of authenticity.[594]

This idea is in stark contrast to most early musicians' contention that nineteenth-century romanticism had altered earlier playing traditions. The Austrians' belief that they have a special connection to their eighteenth-century heritage supported their idea that their modern-day playing style of this repertoire could be "traced directly to the composer." This concept of a continuous tradition is directly reflected in *Mosaïque'*s statement of intent, even though historical recordings have demonstrated how quickly these "traditions" can change, especially string playing in the first half of the twentieth century.

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[591] Daniel Waitzman, "Historical Versus Musical Authenticity: A performer's view," *The American Recorder* xxi, no. 1 (May 1980): 11.

[592] Ibid., 13.

[593] Program Book, Festival Oude Muziek (Utrecht: SOOM, 1989): 103.

[594] Nikolaus Harnoncourt, "Performance Traditions," in *The Musical Dialogue: Thoughts on Monteverdi, Bach and Mozart,* trans. Mary O'Neill (Portland, Amadeus Press, 1989): 43.

First violinist Höbart leads not only Concentus Musicus on period instruments, but also the Vienna Sextet on modern ones. Robert Philip, analyzing recordings of both groups, claims that the difference in sound between the two ensembles is "not very great."[595] Curiously, Höbart feels "that the two things that make the greatest difference between period and modern playing are the pitch and the strings," while most period players would name the violin and bow.[596] Höbart also admits that he has played on the same instrument - "though with different bows" - in both ensembles for years and is of the opinion that "players simply equip themselves with a convenient approximation to the instruments that the composer had in mind, and use their musical intelligence."[597] Amid the more exacting ideas of historically-appropriate equipment in the 1980s, these words would have sounded either traitorous or as a frank admission of what many players did.

The quartet's first recording of Haydn's Opus 77 quartets was released in 1989. Their full, warm-blooded sound and extrovert performances were a strong contrast to other period instrument quartets' interpretations. A video of the British Salomon String Quartet (Illustration 7.5) from 1987 playing Beethoven demonstrates a leaner sound and controlled, yet exciting, playing style.[598] The Salomon quartet, as far as one can see, is using historically-appropriate classical instruments and bows. Standage, most often seen in close up, is using three pure gut strings. The violinists are holding their instruments with their chin on the right side of the tailpiece, and the cellist is not using an endpin. These players are exhibiting all the hallmarks of a period instrument ensemble that was using historical sources and performance practice principles to inform their music-making.

7.5 Salomon String Quartet

A video of *Quatuor Mosaïques* from 2013 confirms their very different approach.[599] One immediately hears a warmer, fuller sound with more vibrato than most early musicians use for this repertoire. The quartet states that they play on "original instruments," but the video raises many questions. Gut strings are seen, but not on as many strings as other ensembles would choose to use, and the bows seem much too late for this repertoire. Hobart's belief that one should use

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[595] Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004): 225.

[596] Ibid.

[597] Ibid., 226.

[598] Salomon String Quartet,"Ludwig van Beethoven: 'String Quartet No. 6 in Bb major," from Classical Vienna" a documentary film from 1987, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ulHoIP41q8, last accessed 25 March 2017.

[599] "Mozart, la predilección de Klee. Cuarteto Mosaïques," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rGNRC0aq1oM, last accessed 20 March 2017.

a "convenient approximation to the instruments that the composer had in mind" is evident. Two of the players are holding their instruments on the left side of the tailpiece and chammies appear to be covering chin rests, which were not in use when Mozart quartet were written. The first violinist holds his instrument over the tailpiece, which would be a more historical position, but his bow arm is a beautiful twentieth-century example rather than what is known of earlier bowing styles. All three upper string players are using shoulder rests, a twentieth-century invention, and the cellist is using an endpin. Historical reproduction is clearly not the driving force behind this ensemble and its interpretations.

One cannot deny that this is a very fine quartet with its excellent ensemble playing, strong contributions from all four members and its use of a variety of colors (with the first violinist not eschewing the occasional use of portamento). *Mosaïque* is a striking contrast to other period instrument quartets in its sound, playing techniques and interpretations. One English reviewer reluctantly wrote, "to over-simplify horribly, as a rule the Salomon Quartet play straighter" and the "Mosaïques engage with more relish in the rhetoric."[600]

Based on his article "Mozart as early music: a Romantic antidote," Laurence Dreyfus would likely defend *Mosaïque*'s "Romantic antidote" to the usual period performances of Mozart.[601] Dreyfus' uses a 1929 recording (of the same Mozart quartet in *Mosaique*'s video) by the American Flonzaley Quartet to outline his solution to the modern and early music traditions, echoing some aspects of Mosaïque's concept of a continuity link to living traditions. But - in the case of *Mosaïque* - to what tradition? Listening to the same quartet recorded by the Végh Quartet in 1951/1952 shows that *Mosaïque* is indeed closer to the Végh tradition as far as sound, but somewhere between both older quartets in terms of tempo and style. But what about Mozart's tradition? Some critics would suggest that a quartet playing in 1929 is closer to Mozart's style than one from the 1950s and that *Mosaïque* would have been better advised to follow the living tradition of the Flonzaley's performance than that of the Végh Quartet. Others would claim that the idea of a continuous tradition cannot be proven and seems, based on the historical recordings one can now study, unlikely.

Questions of authenticity have often plagued the early music movement, and it is impossible to know how classical quartets sounded when first performed. The overarching question if playing in this way should be the goal for a quartet in the twentieth century must also be asked. In an early music world before Taruskin's *Text and Act*, where did things stand in 1989? Would the Salomon Quartet, with its adherence to what was known of appropriate classical equipment and playing techniques, or *Quatuor Mosaïques*, with its blatant disregard for these factors but a strong respect for the Viennese tradition, win the authenticity prize for its performance of classical quartet repertoire?

In conclusion, by the 1980s the concept of a "Baroque violin" and the "Baroque violinist" had changed. As repertoire broadened and more historically-accurate equipment was demanded, "period violinist" had become a more correct term than a "Baroque violinist." The idea of playing in an historically-informed way had filtered through to the modern music world, and it is indeed a new era when modern musicians are being called the "dissidents." Traditional

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[600] Caroline Wood, "Chamber music by Haydn, Mozart and Reicha," *Early Music* (February 1994): 163.

[601] Laurence Dreyfus, "Mozart as early music: a Romantic antidote," *Early Music* (May 1992): 297-309.

performances were now being judged by early music criteria, and early music performances were being increasingly judged by the same standards as those of the modern instrument world.

By the 1980s, the period violinist was no longer always in service to the conductor, and female violinists now organized and led important ensembles. Women continued to make professional headway in the movement, as seen by the increasing number of female concertmasters and all-female chamber ensembles such as Trio Sonnerie (founded in 1982). Women were always better represented in historical-instrument quartets than modern ones, and the tradition of a male primarius was finally broken in 1984 with a performance by Lucy van Dael with the Hoffmeister Quartet.

Early music ideals were also changing, and there seemed to be room for both increasing efforts of historical fidelity in an effort to rediscover a "lost tradition" as well as the startling new concept of early musicians continuing a "living tradition." As interest in later repertoire grew, the "living tradition" came into closer view. No longer limited to extracting information from treatises, manuscripts and historical equipment; performers interested in nineteenth-century music could now listen to recordings and occasionally watch video performances by the composers, their students or musicians whom had worked with the composer. This new approach to performance practice study also had its dangers. Listening to a recording of Joseph Joachim playing Brahms is certainly informative, but considering it the definitive or only approach created a new and equally dangerous concept of authenticity.[602]

In a coda, the International Baroque Violin Symposium in 1989 can be revealed as a defining moment in the revival. The Baroque violin, its makers and players were given center stage at a four-day event in the midst of the Utrecht Early Music Festival, one of the most important international early music events. This symposium mirrors the state of the field in 1989, reflects a growing community and provides a glimpse into the future of the historical violin "post-revival."

International Baroque Violin Symposium

The International Baroque Violin Symposium (30 August - 2 September 1989) was a huge event sponsored by the Utrecht University (*Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht*), the Royal Dutch Academy of Science (*Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen*), the Prince Bernhard Fund (*Prins Bernhard Fonds*) and the Holland Festival Early Music Utrecht. The symposium was organized by STIMU, a Dutch organization for the study of performance practice (Illustration 7.6). The combined support from academic institutions, funding organizations and concert promoters provided the necessary financial, academic and organizational experience to make the event a success.

This was not the first conference about the Baroque violin. In 1987 there was a four-day event organized by Neal Zaslaw entitled "The Violin School to the Time of Corelli: Instruments, Repertory, Performing Practices" as part of the Boston Early Music Festival. "Unusual in its juxtaposition of scholarship and live performance," this conference

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602 "Joseph Joachim plus Brahms Hungarian Dance # 1," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f-p8YeIQkxs, last accessed 27 April 2017.

featured predominately American scholars and musicians.[603] The pioneers were well-represented at this event, as Monosoff, Schröder and Ritchie spoke and performed at three of the four lecture-demonstrations. The musicologists Walls and Holman spoke at both this conference and the one in The Netherlands, but there was virtually no overlap of the players. One must speculate if finances, nationalism and/or differing aesthetics played a part in the choices made for each event.


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The Netherlands

7.6 Advertisement for the symposium

Walls wrote a balanced and extensive review of the the Dutch symposium and described the breadth of activities: "Through lectures, workshops, and a selection of the Festival concerts specifically adopted as part of the programme, the Symposium provided a meeting ground for performers, instrument makers and musicologists interested in performance practice."[604] Each day was a combination of lectures, round-table discussions, workshops and concerts. The first day centered on "Construction and Restoration;" the second through fourth on "Repertoire and Interpretation." Speakers from Belgium, the USA, Germany, The Netherlands, Australia, New Zealand and the UK spoke on a broad array of topics based on research and/or playing experience. Workshops were scheduled to be given by a mix of older and younger generations from Germany, Switzerland, The Netherlands and the UK and included Schröder, Reinhard Goebel, Chiara Banchini/Jesper Christensen (harpsichord) and Monica Huggett. This mix of nationalities reflects the countries that were then considered to be at the forefront of the Baroque violin revival.

The concerts presented as part of the symposium included one recital from the older generation (Schröder) and two from the student generations (Chiara Banchini, b. 1946 and Martha Moore, b. 1957). Chamber music ensembles from The Netherlands (two), the UK (three), and Germany (two) filled out the program. Some of these country designations, even though correct as to the home base of the ensemble, do not always reflect the background of the players. The Dutch ensemble The Locke Consort, for example, includes an Englishman, an American, a German and a Dutchman; and London Baroque consists of only one Englishman. These two ensembles represented the influence of older pioneers who were not present at the symposium. The first violinist of The Locke Consort studied with Leonhardt and London Baroque's Seifert had a number of lessons with Harnoncourt. Leonhardt, Melkus and Franzjosef Maier are also mentioned as Goebel's teachers in his biography. The only older pioneer featured at the symposium was Schröder, who gave a lecture, concert and workshop. Walls writes that Schröder "took a very active and varied role in the whole

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[603] Sonya Monosoff, "Boston: Baroque Violin Conference," *Historical Performance* (Spring 1988): 39.

[604] Peter Walls, "International Baroque Violin Symposium Utrecht 30 August-2 September 1989," *Early Music* 18, no. 2 (May 1990): 347-349.

symposium and his contributions were always marked by a personal modesty and generosity."[605] It is clear that the older generation, with the exception of this respectful nod to Schröder, was already considered passé in 1989.

The centerpiece of this symposium was two concerts that presented all six Bach works for unaccompanied violin. The six Baroque violinists chosen to play were all born in the 1940s and 50s. No one from the older generation, though all were still actively performing, was included in this selection. The younger pioneers were represented by Standage and Kuijken; the rest were all from the "student" generation. As often seen in the gender division within the Baroque violin community, half of the chosen violinists were female. Two of the violinists were also openly homosexual, confirming the idea that gender and sexual preference were no impediments to success in this field.

The violinists chosen to play Bach demonstrate whom the Dutch organizers considered the pre-eminent Baroque violinists of the day: the British Monica Huggett (b. 1953) and Standage, the Belgian Kuijken, the Dutch Lucy van Dael (b. 1946), the Swiss Chiara Banchini (b. 1946) and the German Reinhard Goebel (b. 1952).[606] It is curious that no violinists from the United States or Austria were chosen. It is impossible to know if the Dutch organization was not completely aware of the American early music scene, didn't consider them "far enough along" or found them too expensive to import. The Boston Museum Trio had played in the 1983 festival, but it was the only American-based ensemble that performed at the festival in the 1980s. The Austrian Baroque violin scene, with its use of shoulder rests as well as the occasional chin rest, was already considered too old fashioned by the more exacting standards of the Dutch early music world. Curiously, *Quatuor Mosaïques* had been asked to perform as part of the festival, but not as part of the Baroque violin symposium. Unfortunately, the quartet cancelled and an interesting confrontation between approaches did not occur.

The four older violinists chosen to play Bach all taught Baroque violin at various prestigious institutions, including Kuijken at the Royal Conservatory (The Hague) Van Dael at the Sweelinck Conservatory (Amsterdam) and in The Hague, Standage at the Royal Academy of Music (London) and Banchini at the *Centre de musique ancienne* (Geneva). These positions established them as authorities within the early music community, and - in the case of Kuijken, Van Dael and Standage - experts within the modern conservatory world as well.

All the reviews of this event discuss the players' different ways of approaching the Baroque violin. Walls, a violinist himself, commented that "the boundaries between an approach based on research in performance practice and assertion based on personal taste ('musical judgement') were often not well marked."[607] It seems that the "objective," musicologically-based way of playing the Baroque violin and the "subjective," musically-based approach were still divisions in Walls' mind. Most reviewers focused on other differences in the two concerts that featured the six violinists

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[605] Ibid., 348.

[606] The organizers were listed as Louis Peter Grijp, Loes Helsloot and Clemens Romijn in the program book of the Festival Oude Muziek (Utrecht: SOOM, 1989): 9.

[607] Walls, 347.

each performing one of Bach's works.

I first examined these Bach concerts as a battle between the two most different technical approaches to the Baroque violin. Huggett and Banchini had both studied with Kuijken, and Van Dael had become a convert to his chin-off technique. In contrast, Goebel, the pupil of three older players, was not interested in this technique; nor was Standage. It seemed to me that the confrontation was stacked with unfair odds and a home team advantage, with Kuijken and his three students pitted against Goebel and Standage. Huggett was having problems with her thumb and was replaced by Elizabeth Wallfisch (b. 1952), an Australian violinist who was making a reputation as a period player in the UK. The playing field, in my view, was now even: three chin-off and three chin-on violinists, with each side represented by musicians from three different countries. I was curious to see which would win.

But it became clear, after reading all the reviews and speaking to people who had attended these concerts, that this was no team event. The chin on or off approach, which had been an important matter for the older generation, no longer seemed to be a topic of discussion. Walls, a chin-off advocate, is the only reviewer to discuss technical matters, writing:

> It is not just left-hand technique and the way of supporting the instrument which divides baroque violin players; there is a very significant division between those who play with a relatively low elbow and a basically slow bow stroke, and those who use a faster stroke and who keep their elbow in more or less the same plane as the bow.[608]

All of the reviewers appreciated the enormous pressure these violinists were under to perform well, and one admitted that these concerts became "something of a bloodsport for the audience."[609] It was certainly an individual trial, and one reviewer referred to the marathon as "an especially heroic endeavor."[610] A third stated: "No matter how you look at it, it remains sensitive - an election for the festival violinist 1989 - your votes please."[611] This reviewer goes on to add that the event "became an imposing department store, where you could buy anything. Borders were respected and exceeded. Technical prowess, but also problems. Beautiful and ugly violin sounds, with and without excess noise. Lyrical and aggressive, music and show."[612]

In general, most reviewers proclaimed Wallfisch the most confident, Van Dael the most nervous and Goebel the most brash; but their feelings about the interpretations varied enormously. A German reviewer felt that Wallfish presented a "powerful performance,"[613] but an English-language one complained that it was "perhaps rather modern-sounding."[614]

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608 Walls, 348-9.

609 Walls, 348.

610 Ellen Kempers, "'Marathon' van Bach's vioolsonates vooral heldhaftige onderneming," *Utrechts Nieuwsblad*, 2 September 1989.

611 Thiemo Wind, "Zes violisten intrigeren met strijd om Bach," *de Telegraaf,* 4 September 1989.

612 Ibid.

613 Herbert Seifert, "In seiner Art ein wahres mekka: Das Holland Festival für Alte Musik in Utrecht," *Die Presse*, 11 September 1989.

614 Walls, 348.

Dutch reviews of Wallfisch's performance varied enormously, calling her "refreshing and skillful"[615] to a negatively expressed "opinionated interpretation."[616] Some reviewers wrote that Van Dael played as if she "didn't really believe in it"[617] or was "bored;"[618] others claimed that she "produced moments of real beauty."[619]

Standage was rarely mentioned, and the continental reviews make clear that his English reserve didn't translate well on that side of the Channel. A German review found his performance "pale and reluctant,"[620] and a Dutch paper could only report that it was "neat, in tune and neutral."[621] Banchini, often criticized for her lightening quick tempo in the final gigue of the first sonata, was clearly the favorite of one reviewer, who claimed that she played "extremely musically" and "was able to capture the feeling."[622] Both Banchini and her teacher Kuijken were praised for their well-organized interpretations.[623]

It is curious that Kuijken, the young upstart turned elder spokesman, received so little press attention. His playing was admired for its "warmth," but the same reviewer mentioned the "skittish intonation."[624] Walls, Kuijken's only unequivocal admirer, admitted that he was prejudiced and wrote that "for me, at least, Kuijken's account of the C major Sonata stood out for its maturity and its sheer quality of sound."[625] Kuijken's playing technique was not mentioned in any of the reviews, and it was either not noticed or accepted without comment. The former revolutionary was no longer considered so rebellious.

That title was bestowed on the German Goebel, whose interpretation of the D minor suite was mentioned in virtually every review. One reviewer wrote that even though Goebel was "generally considered the most virtuoso Baroque violinist," his performance was "a horror."[626] One reviewer felt that Goebel "wanted to shock with his almost brutal bow strokes and hurried tempi."[627] Goebel's chaconne was likened to "sandpaper,"[628] and audience members were shocked to see him stop and turn a page mid-movement because, according to someone in the know, there was a page turn in the original manuscript. Only one reviewer seemed positive about the experience.

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615 Aad van der Ven, "Oude muziek met een Engelse boventoon," *Goudsche Courant, Haagsche Courant, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad,* 4 September 1989.

616 Kempers.

617 Ibid.

618 Seifert.

619 Walls, 348.

620 Seifert.

621 Kempers.

622 Ibid.

623 Seifert.

624 Ibid.

625 Walls, 348.

626 Van der Ven.

627 Seifert.

628 Wind.

In all of these reviews, the violinists were judged on how they sounded, not how they technically approached the instrument. In general, there seemed to be a slight prejudice against the technically-polished violinists who represented the English school; while Dutch players, even when their technical deficiencies were noted, always seemed to be given musical praise. Goebel, with his shocking performance, was now officially "the bad boy" of the Baroque violin.

Van der Waa summed up the symposium: "Carefulness in opposition to warm-bloodedness: that is roughly the difference that can be heard from the various performances of the Baroque violinists in this festival. Everyone is in agreement about the basic stylistic principles: the extreme minimum use of vibrato, supple phrasing and careful articulation."[629] It is interesting to note that this reviewer considers "the basic stylistic principles" now so ingrained that "everyone is in agreement." The turf wars of the 1970s, where concerns about historical authenticity almost broke the Baroque violin revival in two, seemed to have settled into an acceptance of various approaches. Van der Waa described the differences between players: "one player intones the catechism, another preaches a flammable oration."[630] Unlike the pioneers who felt that "Catholic" music-making was more warm-blooded than the more sober interpretations of the "Protestants," it is curious that Van der Waa uses a metaphor that implies the opposite. The pious Catholic catechism is contrasted with the Protestant's fiery sermon that was sure to convert or repel members of the congregation/audience.

Van der Waa's choice of the most inspiring Baroque violinists of the festival had nothing to do with which technique these violinists used, nor to which "school" they belonged, nor even if they were subtle or extreme. Van der Waa writes:

> The most imposing are those musicians such as Jaap Schröder, Lucy van Dael and Reinhard Goebel who are able to make the tension between *want* and *can* audible in their interpretations. A man like Jaap Schröder, whose musical seams are always neatly pressed, but is still inspiring; a Lucy van Dael, who even with mistakes in her performance of the third partita had the tenacity to fight through to the very last measure.
>
> And finally Reinhard Goebel. He managed to perform the second partita (with the famous *Ciaccona*), although often on the edge of panic, with an intensity and motor skill seldom observed in Baroque circles.[631]

In these pre-*Text & Act* days, when authenticity had not yet been imprisoned within scare quotes, Van der Waa's final analysis was surprising. Van der Waa did not write about the *historical* authenticity of the performances during the International Baroque Violin Symposium, but praised the individual conviction - or personal *musical* authenticity - of these performers. It is Schröder's gentlemanly musicality, Van Dael's tenacity and Goebel's intensity that he admires; not how one is holding the violin nor the height of the other's elbow. His praise for such diverse musical characters implies that the historical violin world had moved past technical and stylistic concerns. The Baroque violin revival, now judged purely on musical conviction, had reached adulthood.

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[629] Frits van der Waa, "Goebel legt barok op de ontleedtafel," *de Volkskrant*, 2 September 1989.

[630] Ibid.

[631] Ibid.

Conclusion

The early music movement has suffered from both excessive criticism and exaggerated praise, and it is no surprise that the movement has created its own mythology as a result. My research made clear that the subjective and incomplete historiography of the Baroque violin revival needed to be re-examined, and I hope to have contributed a more thorough and balanced account in this dissertation. This entailed challenging the mythology, reconnecting the work of the twentieth-century pioneers with the previous century, reinstating forgotten figures, exposing the less honorable sides of an idealistic vision and underlining the enormous challenges and artistic accomplishments of the Baroque violin pioneers during their creation of this modern-day profession.

Reviving an instrument that had been so successfully modernized was an enormous achievement, and it took generations to recreate the historical equipment, develop a new aesthetic and perform in what was considered a historically and musically convincing way. The appearance of the first known modern-day Baroque violin in 1928 is often seen as the beginning of the revival, but interest in historical string instruments began more than a century earlier. Nineteenth-century violinists performed on the viola d'amore, quinton and pardessus de viole with great success, but the concept of the violin as an historical instrument did not emerge until the following century. Even then, violinists often first played early music on other historical string instruments before exploring the Baroque violin. It is significant that 75% of the pioneers I interviewed played some form of the viola da gamba and, for most of them, these instruments were their first introduction to early music. Even for pioneers born in the 1940s, their journeys from the modern to the Baroque violin were often circuitous ones, which mirror the previous century's difficulty connecting early music with the historical violin.

Nineteenth-century experimentations had yet to be linked to the Baroque violin revival, and uncovering this extensive "back story" is the most important contribution of this dissertation. The accepted historiography suffered from large gaps between nineteenth-century musicians, Arnold Dolmetsch and the mid-twentieth-century pioneers. These empty spaces became filled with a concert hall full of soloists and ensembles in the USA, the UK and continental Europe; this list is sure to be far from complete. The interviewees' memories were essential to be able to reinstate the important contributions of the almost forgotten and/or misaligned figures of Kenneth Skeaping, Walter Kägi and Sol Babitz to this rewritten history. There are now generations of pioneers, each contributing to the Baroque violin revival in different ways.

Experimentations with the violin often followed similar trajectories: first changing one parameter (playing with a Baroque bow on a modern violin), then another (putting gut strings on the modern instrument) and finally making the transition to an instrument in some sort of pre-modernized state. Through this "de-construction" of the modern violin, the pioneers were challenging the prevailing evolutionary view that the modernized violin and Tourte bow were improvements to the earlier models. These violinists' insistence that a Baroque violin and bow were the perfect tools on which to play music of earlier periods was a daring assertion and nothing short of revolutionary.

In a movement fueled by ideology, equipment became a tangible marker of one's commitment to the cause. As concepts of historical authenticity became more exacting, violinists were expected to adapt to these new demands. Chin and shoulder rests, widely accepted in the early days, were discarded; and the type of bow one used was expected to be of the correct time period. Veering from this retrograde historical path was perilous. Melkus' conviction that "it is a very bad thing to go backwards," coupled with his use of modern aids and metal strings, ruined his reputation as a Baroque player. Violin, bow and string makers described the difficulties of recreating historical equipment and were unusually honest about the practical, rather than idealistic, choices that were often made. Just as violinists grappled with their modern violin background in learning to play the Baroque instrument, many of these artisans struggled with a traditional training that was at odds with the seemingly illogical aspects of period equipment. The admission that one cannot "know what the makers originally intended,"[632] and therefore cannot accurately reproduce it, calls attention to the fact that even the most concrete aspect of the revival cannot claim historical accuracy.

How to play the Baroque violin was an even more intangible conundrum and, unlike the equipment, it was impossible to deconstruct a modern violinist and recreate a Baroque one in its place. Dolmetsch assumed that "no tradition of it survived" and that one needed to look at the "reliable information [that] is to be found only in those books of instruction which the old musicians wrote about their own art."[633] The pioneers studied treatises, contemporaneous accounts, iconographical evidence, original manuscripts and first prints in an attempt to discover how violinists of the past played and sounded. Aware of the limitations of this material, Leonhardt recalled that learning to play the Baroque violin wasn't taken "from a book. There was no book!" Some violinists looked to folk musicians for a possible connections to earlier playing techniques, while others believed - in a striking new claim - that they were part of an unbroken musical continuum. Because so much is unknown and so many sources are contradictory, these violinists were all forced to come to their own conclusions about how to play the Baroque violin. Some pioneers claimed to be driven by theoretical and historical correctness; others admitted that musical considerations won over musicological ones.

Viewing the Baroque violin revival as an "invented tradition" does not undermine the pioneers' achievements, but presents a new framework in which to view them. Using Hobsbawm's "set of practices" which are governed by "overtly or tacitly accepted rules" that imply "continuity with the past," one can describe the Baroque violin revival as the combination of a revolutionary movement with an "invented tradition."[634] Originally claiming "to free Renaissance and Baroque music from its Romantic whitewashing and groundless traditions,"[635] these early musicians rejected the nineteenth century's seemingly empty virtuosity, personalized music editing, and aspects of violin playing such as continuous vibrato and portamento. In their "attempt to establish continuity" with earlier musical time periods, these musicians codified a set of practices that defined Baroque violin playing in the twentieth century. This included the use

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[632] Laurence Libin, e-mail message to author, 28 July 2015.

[633] Arnold Dolmetsch, *The interpretation of the music of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, vi.

[634] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[635] Milan Turkovic, "Beschmunzelt und bestaunt" in *Die Seltsamsten Wiener der Welt:Nikolaus Harnoncourt und sein Concentus Musicus* (Austria: Residenz Verlag, 2003):17.

of historical equipment, facsimile or urtext editions, different left hand choices (more open strings, lower positions and a less-continuous vibrato) and a more rhetorical than predominantly lyrical bowing style. One was also expected to shun modernities such as chin rests, shoulder pads and metal strings; and some factions demanded the use of the chin-off technique that was impossible for a modern violinist to reproduce without years of practice.

Although aspects of Baroque violin playing varied per player, many of "the *practices* symbolizing [this invented tradition] were virtually compulsory,"[636] including the use of historical instruments and urtext scores. Through repetition in live concerts and on recordings, as well as by passing on these new "rules" and "practices" to students, this invented tradition became a standardized norm. Although these parameters altered throughout the twentieth century and each violinist had his or her own interpretation of this basic style, there was a surprising unanimity about what constituted proper historical playing. By 1989, a reviewer could state confidently that "everyone is in agreement about the basic stylistic principles: the extreme minimum use of vibrato, supple phrasing and careful articulation."[637]

Although Mark Pagel considers it a "bold position," he agrees that these same events can be seen in the light of his theory about cultural evolution, in which it is evolutionarily advantageous for just a few people to innovate and the majority of people to copy.[638] Using Pagel's theory, the Baroque violin pioneers could be viewed as cultural "innovators" who produced an artistic change, while their students and followers could be seen as "copiers" who solidified this new tradition. In just over fifty years since the appearance of Dolmetsch's modern Baroque violin, these innovators were able to create a cultural environment rich enough to sustain the many schools or "subgroups" they helped form. The small number of influential pioneers and the large number of professional players in the twenty-first century supports looking at the revival through Pagel's intriguing theory.

The importance of the recording industry for the revival cannot be overestimated, as succinctly stated by Standage: "Would the whole movement have succeeded without recording? I doubt it."[639] From the early post-war LP recordings in 1950s Vienna to the present, recording companies have promoted performances on historical instruments. The pioneers recalled the idealistic early days when "nobody got paid really for any of this stuff" to the huge projects, such as the complete Bach cantatas and Mozart symphonies, that substantially contributed to the musicians' incomes. Many of the interviewees - from the pioneers to their students to the artisans - recalled how a certain recording sparked their interest in the Baroque violin. The dissemination of these recordings was essential to the authentication of the early music movement, and the recording industry and movement were both supported by a plethora of concert series, radio and television programs, festivals and magazines. The shadow side of the recording industry was also revealed, including lack of rehearsal time, over-editing which produced results "beyond the competence of the [ensemble] to

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[636] Eric Hobshawm and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition*, 11.

[637] Frits van der Waa, "Goebel legt barok op de ontleedtafel," *de Volkskrant*, 2 September 1989.

[638] Mark Pagel, email to the author, 15 July 2016.

[639] Phillip, *Performing Early Music*, 214.

reproduce in a live concert,"[640] profit-driven artistic decisions and incorrect liner notes which reinforced the historical instrument hype.

In the twenty-first century, the movement's claim that early musicians were performing music as "the composer would have heard it" was seen as a marketing ploy, and most early musicians post-Taruskin would never dare claim that their performances are authentic. Leaving the authenticity battles within the movement aside, it is still important to ask: If recreating the past was an impossible (and possibly foolhardy) task, what exactly were the Baroque violinists doing?

It would be incorrect to imply that the pioneer's codified practices were not the result of extensive study and experimentation; but, as Morrow pointed out, when "there is no surviving tradition" there is "the potentiality of countless possibilities of interpretation."[641] In this light, it is amazing that the pioneers' ideas of how to play the Baroque violin - from Los Angeles to Vienna - overlapped to such a degree. Most of the pioneers claimed that their Baroque playing wasn't influenced by anyone, so how can the similarities and differences of their styles be explained?

The pioneers, intent upon trying to recreate the sound world of the past, could not help but be influenced by the present (to oppose it, at the least) and by their own musical histories. These violinists' backgrounds, teachers, colleagues and work situations all influenced how they approached the instrument, and viewing the revival through this lens helped codify the various factors that influenced their work. These violinists' training had far-reaching consequences. The very different aesthetic ideals of the Austrian and Dutch players, for example, can be explained primarily as the result of the differences between their violin pedigrees. The question of how far back these differences reach and if the present-day distinctions reflect national styles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is an intriguing one. Robert Philip complains that the present early music style "has become so globalised that…it is almost impossible to tell apart period instrument groups from Britain, Holland, Japan or the USA,"[642] and it is imperative that the more diverse styles of these older players are examined before they disappear into an increasingly international style.

The influence of the Franco-Belgian school on the Baroque violin revival is palpable, and virtually all of the pioneers had studied in one of these two countries or with a teacher who had. This school's interest in early music throughout the centuries, a bowing technique that favored articulation over power and its use of a "crawling" shifting technique well into the twentieth century all point to a possible important influence on the revival. In a stimulating interview with Clive Brown, he confirmed that many Baroque violinists hold the violin and bow arm in positions that resembled those of the nineteenth century and also quoted many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German sources which discuss "thumb shifting."[643] It is certainly controversial to intimate that the Baroque violin revival recreated aspects of

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[640] Ibid., 218.

[641] Michael Morrow, "Musical Performance and Authenticity." *Early Music* 6, no. 2 (1978): 233.

[642] Philip, 224.

[643] Including Ferdinand David, *Violinschule* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1864), Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser, *Violinschule : in 3 Bänden* (Berlin: Simrock, cop. 1905).

nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century techniques, but it is a theory worth pursuing, and it is the hope that future researchers will look into this more closely.

In tangential support of a connection to previous centuries, the Austrian pioneers and their protégés have always been vocal about their feelings of connection to a "surviving tradition." Usner claims that for the post-war generation in Vienna, "music was tradition"and that the feeling of Austrian-ness still permeates music study in Vienna.[644] *Quatuor Mosaïque* claims a double pedigree as the successors to the earlier generation of Austrian period players, especially the Harnoncourts, and as "a living link to the great European quartet tradition."[645] Regardless of the validity of this claim, Mosaïque and the Austrian pioneers' conviction that they have a special connection to the past is a possible explanation for this school's approach to period playing, which has been less influenced by the prevailing changes of aesthetics within the revival than other schools. Their use of less historically-appropriate equipment, as well as a preference for a fuller sound with more vibrato and more extroverted performances, might very well be the result of this specific cultural background.

The older violinists' early music pasts, if they had them, was uncomfortable terrain. Some neglected to mention early musicians with whom they played, most often because they felt that their predecessors were not "as serious" and/or possibly in an attempt to solidify their pioneer status. The mythologizing of the Baroque violin revival often began with the pioneers themselves and was continued by their students, their biographers and the movement itself. This has been a severe impediment to a more honest examination of the revival. The accepted historiography continues to marginalize many of the important events, institutions and less well-known figures who contributed to the movement and has made it difficult to uncover the reality behind the facade.

The accepted biographies of Dolmetsch and Kuijken, for example, present them both as musical outsiders who were exposed to early music as a child, had an instinctive feel for what was right and were relatively untouched/uninfluenced by the modern music world. Dolmetsch learned to play the violin "on a converted treble viol,"[646] which is mirrored by Kuijken's first instrument being a home-made viedel. Similarly, their experiences at the Brussels Conservatory, an institute with a strong interest in early music and an exceptional collection of early music and historical instruments, are disparaged. The first early music concert that Dolmetsch heard at the conservatory is always reported, but is often coupled with the disclaimer that Dolmetsch "remembered sensing instinctively that 'something was not quite right.'"[647] Dolmetsch is always described as studying privately with the virtuoso violinist Vieuxtemps in Brussels, but I have found no accounts that mention that he studied at the conservatory with Colyns, who had more than a passing interest in early music. Almost a century later, Kuijken claims that "no one knew anything about early music" at the conservatory

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[644] Eric Martin Usner, "'The Condition of MOZART': Mozart Year 2006 and the New Vienna," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 20:3 (2011). http://www-tandfonline-com.proxy.uba.uva.nl:2048/doi/full/10.1080/17411912.2011.650926?scroll=top&needAccess=true, last accessed 24 November 2017.

[645] "Quatuor Mosaïques," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quatuor_Mosaïques, last accessed 27 May 2017.

[646] Margaret Campbell, *Dolmetsch: the Man and his Work (*London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975): 13.

[647] Ibid., 9.

and that the musicology classes "were the only place I felt at home."

The mythologizing of these icons and the idealization of the movement combined to produce a "created myth" of the Baroque violin revival, and it has been confrontational to discover the less positive sides of a movement of which I have been an active participant. However embarrassing it might be to mention costumed concerts, blatant forgeries (of music and instruments), connections to amateur music-making and the Nazi youth movement, belligerent figures such as Sol Babitz and the fact that practicalities often trumped idealism; it is vitally important that this is also included in any discussion of the Baroque violin revival. A more inclusive history does not diminish the pioneers' achievements nor should it shake the fundamental ideals of the movement, but acknowledges that an awareness of what people *did* is just as important as an idealized account of what they *wanted* to do.

The Baroque violin pioneers *wanted* and *did* do something new and their use of historical equipment and creation of a new musical aesthetic, both strikingly different from the prevailing models, was indeed revolutionary. It is ultimately immaterial if the Baroque violin pioneers were able to reproduce the sounds and musical ideals of an earlier period, but it is of great importance that the modern music world was convinced by their attempts to do so. The early music movement would not have succeeded if these violinists' music-making had not spoken to the audience, whether heard in the concert hall, on the radio or on recordings. Generations of younger violinists were also inspired by their playing and studied with the pioneers during private coachings, summer courses, university and conservatory studies.

Van Rosenberg reminds us that "revivals are artistic movements,"[648] and Aubert states that although we assume we are listening to something unchangeable, traditional or authentic, we are actually listening to "the personal conduct" or artist.[649] Each of these Baroque violin pioneer's is recognizable on recording, and their interpretations are strong, personal and persuasive. Since their different musical and technical approaches are all convincing, one must conclude that the search for historically-accurate Baroque violin playing arrived at various, equally possible, destinations. It was the artistic achievements of these pioneers which touched audiences, inspired future players and enabled the Baroque violin to be so successfully vaulted out of the past and into the present.

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[648] Neil V. Rosenberg, "Starvation, Serendipity and the Ambivalence of Bluegrass Revivalism," in *Transforming Tradition*, 194.

[649] Laurent Aubert,"Us and Them: Game of Mirrors"in *The Music of the Other: New Challenges for Ethnomusicolgy in a Global Age* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007).

Appendix

Violin and Bow Construction

The Violin

The corpus of the violin has not changed in more than four hundred years, but internal and external fittings have been altered throughout the centuries. The differences between an early-style violin and a later one are, in short, changes that allowed the instrument to adapt to new musical developments and demands. To perform in larger concert venues, the violin needed to become louder, and soloists needed a sound that would project over increasingly larger orchestras. Composers and performers who wanted to explore new left hand possibilities needed a neck on the instrument that would facilitate this. To adapt to these new demands, it became necessary to add tension to the instrument to produce a louder and more penetrating sound and to develop a neck that would allow easier movement up and down the fingerboard. Some of these changes require major structural intervention; others are more superficial. The first alterations to the violin were made in the eighteenth century and continued, as the Dutch violin restorer Fred J. Lindeman writes, "until the middle of the nineteenth century."[650]

A violin in old-style construction, succinctly described by David Boyden, has a shorter, thicker neck that "projects straight from the body, while the neck of the modern violin is bent down at an angle."[651] The early fingerboard was usually made of maple with a veneer of ebony or other hard wood, unlike the pure ebony fingerboard of later instruments, and runs more parallel to the belly of the violin. Because of the more parallel positioning of the neck and fingerboard of the early violin, it was necessary to insert a wedge "between the neck and the fingerboard to permit the latter to rise in an angle to the bridge."[652] The bridge of an early violin is also lower, and the bass bar is generally shorter and lighter than most modern bass bars.[653] The sound post is also less robust than a modern one.

It is important to remember that the early violin was not standardized, and that great variations in neck angle, length of fingerboards and shape of bass bar exist. A luthier in Vienna who has studied old instruments in New York and throughout Europe commented that "old instruments are not all the same."[654] As more instruments that have not been modernized are discovered, new information "questions many of the concepts that define baroque violins and their sound."[655]

However un-standardized the early violin was, during the second half of the eighteenth century virtually all of these

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650 Fred J. Lindeman, *The Rebirth of the Baroque Violin*, (Gopher B.V,, 2011): 42.

651 David D. Boyden. *The History of Violin Playing from its origins to 1761 and its relationship to the violin and violin music* (Oxford University Press, 1965): 34.

652 Ibid

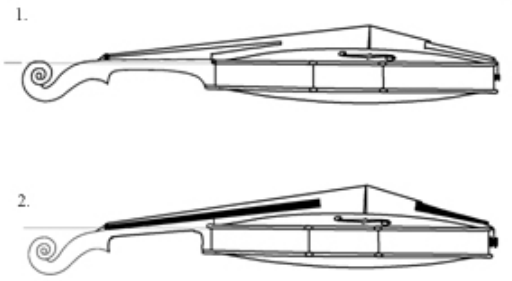
653 Lindeman, *The Rebirth of the Baroque Violin*, 37.

654 Henriëtte Lersch, Interview by author, 14 July 2016.

655 Ben Hebbert, posting in Historical Performance Research, Facebook, on 8 December 2017.https://www.facebook.com/groups/performancepractice/ last accessed 8 December 2017.

instruments began to be converted so that they could adapt to new musical and technical demands. The neck became longer and thinner and was fastened to the body of the violin at a more extreme downward angle. This allowed the thumb to rest closer to the instrument and facilitated playing in higher positions. The fingerboard, now made of solid ebony, was lengthened to extend the range of the instrument. These changes produced more tension on the instrument and needed to be reinforced by a longer and sturdier bass bar.

Baroque violin construction



1. Neck and Fingerboard Construction

These two changes - a new neck and a reinforced bass bar - could only be accomplished by major operations on the violin. The old neck was often discarded, and the scroll - if it survived - was grafted onto the new longer and thinner neck. To attach a stronger bass bar, the violin needed to be opened up so that the old bass bar could be removed and a new one glued into place. The other fittings - sound post, tailpiece, bridge, strings - were easily altered. The addition of a chin rest, not in general use until the late nineteenth century, completed the transformation of an earlier instrument into what is now considered a modern violin. A shoulder rest, neither used by all violinists nor permanently attached to the instrument, did not appear until the twentieth century. Holding the instrument with one's chin meant that the left hand was freed from this role and could easily travel up and down the fingerboard.

These modifications, according to Robin Stowell, "were implemented gradually over a substantial period of transition between c. 1760 and c. 1830, and most instruments were adapted to comply with late-eighteenth-century musical ideals."[656] These changes to the violin were seen as improvements. In 1933 Van der Straeten notes that "the neck of the violin was, in the first stages of the instrument, still broad, short, and clumsy," and this view is repeated in other histories of the instrument.[657] After these alterations, the modernized violin was seen as perfectly suitable for playing the music of all eras. Stowell adds that very few excellent instruments were spared these modernizations, and "those which are available [in original state] were either probably never worth converting in the first place or are priceless collectors' items or museum property."[658] Ironically, the adaptability of the violin once again became necessary in the

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[656] Robin Stowell, *The Early Violin and Viola: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge University Press, 2001): 33.

[657] Edmond van der Straeten, *The History of the Violin*, vol. I (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), a reprint of the original (London: Cassell, 1933): 46. This description is repeated by Sheila M. Nelson, *The violin and viola* (London, Benn, New York: Norton, 1972).

[658] Stowell, 49.

twentieth century, as modernized instruments were built back to Baroque or Classical specifications to comply with the early music movement's new demands.

2. Violins in Baroque State (left) and Modern State (right)

The Bow

The early bow, unlike the violin, could not be altered to meet new musical demands throughout the centuries, and relatively few of these musical "dinosaurs" survive. Based on extant bows and iconographical evidence, it is clear that the early bow was also not a fixed entity, but was - in principle - short, convex, and with a narrow strip of hair that was fastened to a pointed tip and fan immovable frog. Different woods, such as snakewood and ironwood, were used for the stick.

Unlike the violin that could be made more robust, bows that were short and light could not be lengthened nor made heavier. As musical demands changed, a longer, more concave bow that had the ability to change the tension of an increasingly wider band of hair became desirable. Various systems of changing the tension of the hair were employed, ranging from a clip-in frog to a *crémaillère* device that could be adjusted along notches on the stick. The modern screw frog, which could easily tighten and loosen the hair in subtle increments, was in general use by the middle of the eighteenth century.[659]

After hundreds of years of different and ever-changing models, the bow developed by François Tourte (1747-1835) during the 1780s was considered ideal, and the basic violin bow has not changed since. Now made almost exclusively of pernambuco wood, the Tourte bow is concave, 74-75 cm long, has a higher and heavier head with a protective plate, plus a screw mechanism frog with a metal ferrule. Unlike the short early bow that was heavier and more articulate at the frog than at the tip, the Tourte-style bow could more easily produce a louder and more continuous legato sound through the concave stick and its relatively more weighted tip. The curve of the stick facilitated many new bowing techniques,

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[659] Stowell,*The Early Violin and Viola*, 41.

especially springing ones. Like the modernized violin, the modern bow was seen as the perfect tool to perform all music.

3. Bows from the 17th Century to the Tourte Model

top to bottom,
17th-century clip-in frog, two baroque models, two classical or "transitional" bows to a modern Tourte bow

Illustrations

1.1 François-Joseph Fétis: "Progression of the successive improvements of bows in the 17th and 18th centuries"
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1.4 Dolmetsch playing the viola d'amore, 1910
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1.5 Arnold Dolmetsch with a violin, 1905
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MP [Marc Pallis], "Tributes to Kenneth Skeaping 1897-1977," *Early Music* 6, no. 1 (Jan. 1978): 279.

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Photograph from the private archive of Martin Kägi.

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2.5 "The Wagnerian Steamroller"
Sol Babitz, *The Great Baroque Hoax* (Los Angeles: Early Music Laboratory, 1970): 27.

3.1. Nikolaus Harnoncourt, gamba; Alice Harnoncourt, pardessus de viol
Monika Mertl and Milan Turkovíc, *Die Seltsamsten Wiener der Welt: Nikolaus Harnoncourt und sein Concentus Musicus* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 2003): 195.

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Jolande van der Klis, *Oude muziek in Nederland* (Utrecht: SOOM, 1991): 156.

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Photograph from the private archive of Eduard Melkus.

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Photograph from the private archive of Jaap Schröder.

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Sol Babitz, *The Violin: views and reviews: 78 articles from the monthly column which have appeared in the "International Musician" since 1941* (Urbana: American String Teachers Association, 1959): 27.

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Jaap Schröder
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5.3 Stanley Ritchie, *Before the Chinrest: a Violinist's Guide to the Mysteries of Pre-Chinrest Technique and Style*
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Appendix

1. Neck and Fingerboard Construction
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2. Violin in Baroque State
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3. Bows from the 17th Century to the Tourte Model
Photograph by author of bows from her own collection.

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De Herleving van de Barokviool

De terugkeer van de barokviool kwam, als onderdeel van de oude-muziekbeweging, voort uit het idee dat muziek het best tot haar recht komt als zij wordt gespeeld op instrumenten uit de periode waaruit zij dateert en met inachtneming van de toenmalige esthetische idealen. Voor violisten die muziek van vóór 1850 uitvoeren betekent dit: spelen op een niet-gemoderniseerde viool en met een pre-Tourte strijkstok. Deze anti-evolutionaire visie was controversieel. De terugkeer naar historische instrumenten en strijkstokken, die door de eeuwen heen juist zo succesvol waren "verbeterd", was dan ook een enorme onderneming.

De invloed van de oude-muziekbeweging nam gedurende de twintigste eeuw toe. Tot dusverre ging men ervan uit dat de barokviool ook in deze periode werd herontdekt. Uit interviews met tien van de oudste nog levende barokviolisten, een groot aantal instrumentenbouwers en conservatoren van instrumentencollectes kwam een ander beeld naar voren. Er werden nieuwe verbanden met 19e-eeuwse experimenten zichtbaar, vergeten personen kregen opnieuw een plaats in het verhaal en de geschiedenis van de terugkeer van de barokviool bleek te moeten worden herschreven.

In de beginperiode was zowel het terugvinden als het bouwen van historische instrumenten lastig, en het achterhalen van de juiste speelwijze was een nog veel ongrijpbaarder vraagstuk. Ondanks hun intentie om de klankwereld van het verleden te reconstrueren, lieten deze ambachtslieden en musici zich toch ongewild beïnvloeden door het heden. Veel bouwers worstelden met hun traditionele opleiding, die botste met schijnbaar onlogische eigenschappen van het historische instrumentarium. Daarnaast drukten de achtergrond, opleiding, collega's en werkomstandigheden van de musici een stempel op hun benadering van de barokviool.

De opvatting van de terugkeer van de barokviool als een "invented tradition" maakt de prestaties van de pioniers niet geringer. Wel kunnen ze nu in een nieuw kader worden bekeken. Zowel het gebruik van historische instrumenten als het ontwikkelen van een nieuwe muzikale taal weken sterk af van de gangbare muziekpraktijk, en beide waren inderdaad revolutionair. Uiteindelijk is het onbelangrijk of de pioniers de klank en idealen van vroegere perioden exact hebben kunnen reconstrueren. Wat wel van groot belang is, is dat de traditionele klassieke-muziekwereld overtuigd werd door de pioniers hun pogingen hiertoe. Deze violisten brachten de barokviool terug op het concertpodium, codificeerden en verspreidden hun ideeën over stijl en techniek, en ontwikkelden vanuit deze benadering een nieuw beroep. Uiteindelijk waren het de artistieke prestaties van deze musici die ervoor zorgden dat de barokviool zo'n succesvolle sprong vanuit het verleden naar het heden heeft gemaakt.

The Revival of the Baroque Violin

The revival of the Baroque violin, as part of the early music movement, was based on the idea that music is best expressed by using the instruments and aesthetic ideals from the time period of the music that is to be performed. For violinists playing music before the mid-nineteenth century, this would entail playing on a non-modernized instrument and a pre-Tourte bow. This anti-evolutionary stance was a confrontational position to take, and it was an enormous undertaking for the Baroque violin pioneers to revive an instrument which had been so successfully "improved" through the centuries.

The influence of the early music movement grew throughout the twentieth century, and the Baroque violin was assumed to have been revived during this same time period. Interviews with ten of the oldest living Baroque violinists, numerous instrument conservators and makers revealed a new narrative. As a result, the historiography of the revival was challenged, forgotten figures were reestablished and new connections to nineteenth-century experimentations were made in this rewritten history of the Baroque violin revival.

Finding or making historical equipment was problematic and learning how to play the Baroque violin was an even more intangible conundrum. Intent upon trying to recreate the sound world of the past, these artisans and players could not help but be influenced by the present. Many makers grappled with a traditional training that was often at odds with the seemingly illogical aspects of period equipment. The musicians' upbringing, training, colleagues and work situations also influenced how they approached the Baroque violin.

Viewing the Baroque violin revival as an "invented tradition" does not undermine the pioneers' achievements, but presents a new framework in which to view them. These violinists' use of historical equipment and their creation of a new musical aesthetic, both strikingly different from the prevailing models, was indeed revolutionary. It is ultimately immaterial if the pioneers were able to reproduce the sounds and musical ideals of an earlier period, but it is of great importance that the traditional classical music world was convinced by their attempts to do so. These violinists brought the Baroque violin back onto the concert stage, codified and disseminated their ideas of style and technique and turned this new approach into a profession. Ultimately, it was the artistic achievements of these musicians that enabled the Baroque violin to be so successfully vaulted out of the past and into the present.