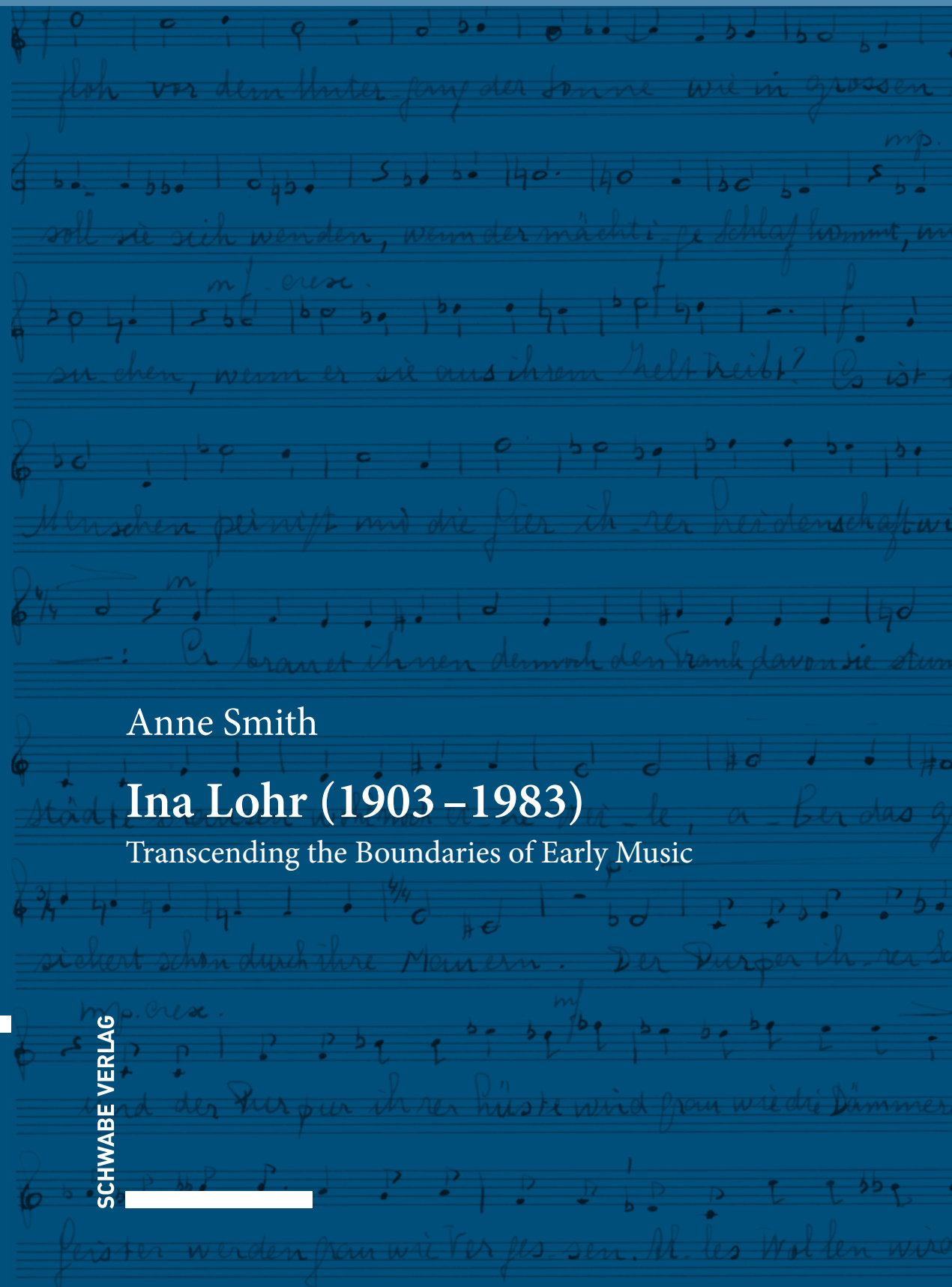
Schola Cantorum Basiliensis Scripta 9



Anne Smith

Ina Lohr (1903 – 1983)

Transcending the Boundaries of Early Music

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Herausgegeben von Thomas Drescher und Martin Kirnbauer

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List of Abbreviations

AJC	Arbeiders Jeugd Centrale
BKO	Basler Kammerorchester (Basel Chamber Orchestra)
CMZ	Collegium Musicum Zurich
FAMB	Freunde Alter Musik Basel (Friends of Early Music, Basel)
ISCM	International Society for Contemporary Music
PGEM	N.V. Provinciale Geldersche Electriciteits-Maatschappij
PSF-ILC	Paul Sacher Foundation, Ina Lohr Collection
PSF-PSC	Paul Sacher Foundation, Paul Sacher Collection
SCB	Schola Cantorum Basiliensis

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As ever with such endeavors, I am indebted to many people and institutions who helped me during the process of writing this book. Without their generous donation of time, knowledge and financial support, it would have been impossible to draw together the material necessary for fleshing out the figure of Ina Lohr.

The Schola Cantorum Basiliensis served as a basis for the entire project, not only in regards to their archives, but also personally and financially. I wish, in particular, to thank its director, Thomas Drescher, for his warm support of the research for this biography. In addition, it was through this institution that I received a generous two-year grant from the Swiss National Science Foundation, which enabled me to profit from the collaboration on the project with my Schola colleagues, Jeremy Llewellyn and Kelly Landerkin, as well as with Jed Wentz in the Netherlands. Further, Martin Kirnbauer and Martina Papiro of the research department have been of great assistance, both in regard to source material and documentation of my finds. In addition, both Markus Erni and Martina Wohlthat of the Vera Oeri Bibliothek of the Musik-Akademie Basel aided me in the procuring and archivation of documents, and gave me the opportunity of presenting some of my initial results to a more general public. Finally, the Maja Sacher Foundation supported a study day devoted to the link between Basel and the Netherlands through Ina Lohr, as well as sponsoring the recording of some of her early works, which gave many new insights into her musical personality.[1]

It also would have been impossible to write this biography without the Paul Sacher Foundation, as Ina Lohr's estate is found in its archives. Various members of its staff, Carlos Chanfón, Felix Meyer, Ulrich Mosch, Simon Obert, Heidrun Ziems and Heidy Zimmermann, all in their way contributed in a significant manner to the content and style of the book. Simon Obert's careful reading of the final text was particularly valuable.

The staff of the library of the University of Basel, the Zentralbibliothek of Zurich, the archives of Winterthur and Davos all welcomed me and assisted me in finding documents important to my study. I am also grateful to the various libraries and archives in the Netherlands and Sweden which gave me access to their collections: the Amsterdam City Archives, the Netherlands Music Insti-

1 www.forschung.schola-cantorum-basiliensis.ch/de/ina-lohr-project

tute in The Hague, as well as the Music and Theater Library of Sweden and the Nydahl Collection of the Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande in Stockholm.

And then there were all of those patient individuals who answered my questions, told me their stories in regard to Ina Lohr, offered me material and insights. Without their personal memories and documents, this book would lack much of its color: Wulf Arlt, Anneke Bailes-van Royen, Anthony Bailes, André Baltensperger, Albert Jan Becking, Henk van Benthem, Elisabeth van Blankenstein, Herbert Blomstedt, Anneke Boeke, Edward Breen, Mieke Breij, Edith Büchi, Peter Bürgi, Jan Crafoord, Arthur Eglin, Tore Eketorp, Stefan Felber, Margrit Fiechter, Veronika Gutmann, Veronika Hampe, Barbara Hasspacher, Christina Hess, Iris Junker, Elisabeth Kiessling, Jolande van der Klis, Jos Knigge, Evelyne Laeuchli, Petra van Langen, Silke Leopold, Jos Leussink, Hans-Martin Linde, Reina Lohr, Marianne Lüthi, Madeleine Modin, Esther Nef, Julia J. G. Muller-van Santen, Christine M. Resink-van der Meer, Hans Adam Ritter, Willy Rordorf, Christina Rufenacht, Katelijne Schiltz, Christian Schmid, Ursula Schmidt, Giselher Schubert, Urs Schweizer, Richard Sparks, Theophil Spoerri, Simone Staehelin Handschin, Hans-Jürg Stefan, Conrad Steinmann, Martin and Esther Stern, Hinrich and Elisabeth Stoevesandt, Marie Sumpf-Refardt, Monica Vischer Richter, Wolfgang Vischer, Henk Waardenburg, Bettina Wehrli, Christin and Walter Wehrli, John Wellingham, Peter Welten, Floris and Aleid Zuidema. I fear that this list is incomplete, but my intent was to include everybody who helped me in the course of writing the book; I beg foregiveness from any whom I may have overlooked.

And last, but by all means not least, are the two people who served as catalysts and later as supporters and advisers in the writing of this book, Christopher Schmidt and Jed Wentz. Christopher not only inspired me in our first interview to uncover more about Ina Lohr, but later his stories and his reactions to my findings were a constant source of both delight and reassurance, the former because of his memories and his ability to make astonishing connections, the latter because he had known Ina Lohr well, both as a student and a colleague. And it was Jed's invitation to write an article together about Gustav Leonhardt's early study years that served as the instigation to write the book. Knowing they were in the wings, so to speak, helped me through many a difficult passage. There is no way I can adequately express my gratitude for the time and thought they gave the project.

Foreword

Flight into the past? I do not know where the present stops and the past begins. Nothing is ever completely over. History can be written and rewritten in a dozen ways. Hidden under the surface of the customary historical picture, in the depths, the mass of that formidable material, lie, never yet 'seen', the connecting points of other pictures with another perspective and completely different forms and dimensions.[1]

On one level, these words of Hella Haasse can be applied directly to my decision to write a biography of Ina Lohr – a woman whose work has by now been largely forgotten – in that her contribution to the world of music, as a co-founder and pedagogical inspiration for the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, and musical assistant to Paul Sacher, a major patron of contemporary music in the 20th century and conductor of the Basel Chamber Orchestra, gives an entirely new understanding to these institutions. Further, through the investigation of her role in both the Early Music movement and Neoclassicism, new light is shone on the movements themselves.

More personally, however, I recognized in these words a description of the process I went through while sifting through the information and documents concerning Ina Lohr's life. My first intention had been to demonstrate – no matter how strongly this was contested in the latter half of the 20th century[2] – the common roots of the performance ideals of the Early Music movement and Neoclassicism in a single figure, someone who, in addition, possessed a strong sense of religiosity. I saw her as crossing boundaries, moving between fields of activity that were seemingly contradictory. But I soon came to recognize that I, too, in spite of all good intents, was blinkered, only looking for things that I expected to find. The more I opened myself up to the "connecting points of other pictures with another perspective", the more I found them: indeed, I dis-

1 "Vlucht in het verleden? Ik weet niet waar het heden ophoudt en het verleden begint. Niets is ooit geheel voorbij. De geschiedenis kan op duizend manieren geschreven en herschreven worden. Verborgen onder de oppervlakte van het geijkte beeld der historie, in de diepte, de massa van dat ontzaglijke materiaal, liggen, nog nooit 'gezien', de verbindingspunten van andere beelden met een ander perspectief en volstrekt andere vormen en afmetingen". Hella S. Haasse, *De tuinen van Bomarzo*, Amsterdam: Em. Querido's Uitgeverij B.V. 1972, 158.

2 See Richard Taruskin, *Text & Act: Essays on Music and Performance*, New York: Oxford University Press 1995, for some of the articles that initiated the whole discourse, as well as his responses to various critics.

covered that it was I who needed to transcend my own boundaries to be able to do a modicum of justice to a biography about such a multifaceted woman. In attempting to gain understanding of her life, it was almost as if I had to imagine what it would be like to walk in her shoes. In doing so, my world picture expanded immensely, as she was involved in so many aspects of life that were foreign to me, geographically, intellectually and spiritually. I was, as it were, being forced to reconsider all aspects of my understanding of the 20th century, and my part in it.

One of the most striking differences was that some of the cultural and social boundaries of her age had shifted in our time in such a manner, and at such a deep level, that I was unaware of the changes, taking my own mores for granted. This in turn was complicated by the fact that they were also subtly different from those which surrounded me in my youth in the New World. In writing this biography, I came to see that what for me were boundaries, for her were part of a continuum, and vice versa; in addition, some of the categories I was using to judge aesthetic processes created divisions that did not necessarily exist for her.

A prime example would be the boundary that I had believed to exist between Early Music and Neoclassicism. When I came of age professionally in the 1970s as a recorder and baroque flute player, there was a sense of a pioneering spirit, as if we were discovering the essence of music anew, and that the performance practices we were developing for Early Music had nothing to do with the conventional ones in the contemporary scene. On a certain level this was, of course, true, but on another, we were unaware that we were basing this new practice on the criteria of the conventional approach to music. While the details of the specific interpretation may have been extraordinarily different, the fundamental attitude behind the performance remained the same, perhaps most pithily summed up by Igor Stravinsky when he wrote that "the idea of execution implies the strict putting into effect of an explicit will that contains nothing beyond what it specifically commands".[3] Thus, although the results of the two approaches may have at times radically varied from one another, we were using the same basic underlying set of criteria for judging all music. The standards of objectivity, precision, and accuracy we associate with modernism were being applied to music of earlier eras, even though we now – in particular through the internet – have abundant concrete evidence in the form of his-

3 Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons*, New York: Vintage Books 1947, 127.

torical recordings that these standards were still perceived differently as late as the beginning of the 20th century.[4] Nevertheless the conviction gradually arose that the stylistic differences were so great, that musicians needed to decide between early and modern instruments, that it was impossible to play both at the highest standards, as the differences in performance practice were too great. This distinction, with great hubbub, was first called into question by Richard Taruskin in musicological circles, but its implications have yet to be truly understood.

This whole uproar, however, almost becomes irrelevant when we come to view the work of Ina Lohr as the musical assistant of Paul Sacher. On the one hand, she was helping in the preparation of the concerts of the Basel Chamber Orchestra, whose performances were devoted to those works which received little attention from the large orchestras, i.e. works of the early Classical era and before, as well as contemporary compositions for a small chamber orchestra. At the same time they were building up the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis together, now an internationally recognized school for Early Music. They were thus at the forefront of two of the most innovative fields of music in that period. Although original sources were studied in their preparation of early music, so that, for example, questions of instrumentation and ornamentation received new consideration, and Ina Lohr used them as a basis for her analysis and teaching, the basic aesthetic parameters for the century, objectivity and precision, were not called into question. Thus the surface appearance of the two styles differed, but the substrate remained the same.

Aesthetically – and not only in Early Music – the focal point for Ina Lohr lay elsewhere: in the question of function. She was convinced that because the earlier distinctions in functionality, between chamber and concert music on the one hand and between liturgical and concert music on the other, were being disregarded, in that both chamber and liturgical music had become part of the standard fare in the concert hall, that the link between the amateur and professional musician was endangered, with grave consequences on numerous fronts. The social aspect of chamber music, the confessional aspect of liturgical music were both being replaced by a professionalism which deprived the music of its original function. With the removal of chamber music from the realm of amateurs, an important bond with professional musicians was negated; with the ad-

4 Neal Peres da Costa, *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, New York: Oxford University Press 2012, for example, presents a brilliant analysis of such differences in historical recordings of the piano.

vent of professional musicians in the church, the congregations were no longer being united by their common profession of their faith through music. She was concerned about the disintegration of these elements, seeing it as a cause for the weakening of public support in the modern concert world and of the active participation of the members of the congregation in the church. Thus – apart from her passionate interest in the music itself – in her exploration of the practical and theoretical sources, she was primarily seeking out means of bridging the gap between the amateur and professional, a completely different perspective from that of ours today.

I was also blind to the influence of confessional interests on the 20th-century practice of Early Music. Our practice of Gregorian chant is largely dependent on the battles won by the Benedictine monks of Solesmes, in particular Dom Joseph Pothier and Dom André Mocquereau, who by persuading the Vatican of their ideas in 1904, came to dominate the performance of chant through the omnipresence of their publications. But the same could also be said of the musical reform movements of the Protestant church in the beginning of the 20th century, which in the name not only of musical, but also theological purity, advocated changes in the performance of Johann Sebastian Bach's sacred works, with consequences that still resonate today.[5] Political and social movements also left their traces, from the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, to World War II, and the student protests of the late 1960s.[6] Due to the fact that of all of these trends, I myself was only involved with the protests, and that on a rather minor level – and as far as I was concerned they had no relationship to music – I was oblivious to all of these influences as well.

As a result of my research into a single person who was involved in many different movements, but perhaps paradoxically never really belonged to any, my way of looking at the Early Music movement has been totally revolutionized. I have had to abandon the idea that we were trying to recreate something historical, have gained an entirely new comprehension of the consequences of our inability to escape the culture in which we live. One of the side effects has

5 See Jed Wentz, "On the Protestant Roots of Gustav Leonhardt's Performance Style", in: *BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 48–49, No. 2–1 (2018), 48–92.

6 See Anne Smith, "The Development of the *Jugendmusikbewegung,* its Musical Aesthetic and its Influence on the Performance Practice of Early Music" in: *Basler Beiträge zur Historischen Musikpraxis* 39 (2019), 465–508; and Kailan Rubinoff, "Authenticity as a Political Act: Straub-Huillet's Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach and the Post-War Bach Revival", in: *Music and Politics* 5, no. 1 (winter 2011), http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0005.103 (23 November 2019).

been that I have not only had to completely revise my understanding of the Early Music movement, but also my view of my role within it, however minor that may have been. This has been not only extraordinarily enriching, but also very liberating.

* * *

It cannot be denied that Ina Lohr would have undoubtedly led a different life if she had been a man, other doors would have been opened for her, given her abundance of talent and knowledge. Her music and ideas would have had a more open reception and there is no doubt in my mind that she would have attained a certain recognition as a composer. At the same time it must be acknowledged that her father, a true progressive, had insisted that she have such a broad and thorough education that, if needs be, she could support herself; thus her persona and upbringing were such – even if she did not go out and fight for her rights as a female – that she had no hesitation in insistently demanding that she, including all her ideas and her music, be accepted as an individual. Perhaps it was even because she was a woman that she was able to insidiously realize many of her almost revolutionary ideas concerning music's function. As she required peace and quiet in order to maintain her intense sense of identity, her life was a constant battle between the need of stimulation derived from active participation in the outside world, and of periods of retreat, where she could find herself again. Thus, in all she did, she was intent on maintaining her personal boundaries, while continually making forages in the world around her in search of enlightenment, both earthly and heavenly, and with the intent of changing the world for the better through her singing and teaching.

* * *

It is my hope that in this book some of the consequences of these far-ranging boundary shifts will become clear, both explicitly and implicitly, not only in the life of Ina Lohr, but also in the world of music as a whole, and also specifically in Early Music. First and foremost, however, *Ina Lohr: Transcending the Boundaries of Early Music* is intended to be a biography of a remarkable woman, one almost forgotten today, who unknowingly served as a link between various of the important musical movements of the first half of the 20th century.

The origins of the book go back to 2012, to a period where I – in this context somewhat paradoxically – was trying to redefine my own boundaries, my own interests, when Jed Wentz asked me whether I would co-author an article with him on Gustav Leonhardt's student years at the Schola Cantorum Basi-

liensis.[7] I, of course, saw this as an opportunity to practice saying no, and did so firmly, while at the same time offering to set up some interviews for him, as I knew the people with whom he would need to speak. I then went along on the interviews in order to facilitate the communication. The one with Christopher Schmidt – a fellow student of Leonhardt's as well as a later teacher of ear-training and Gregorian Chant at the Schola – was particularly interesting, or maybe overwhelming is a better word, in that he brought the whole period to life for us. What became crystal clear was that for the three professional students of that time period, Christopher Schmidt, Gustav Leonhardt, and David Kraehenbuehl (Yale University), it was not so much the school's main instrumental teachers (August Wenzinger and Eduard Müller) who captured their interest, but rather Ina Lohr, whose name I recognized as being one of those who, together with Paul Sacher, founded the Schola, but knew little about.

In all honesty, I must admit that I not only knew very little about her, but I also had some clear prejudices against her, based on remarks that I had absorbed from the walls of the school, both during my studies (1973–77) and my subsequent employment there. It is only now that I realize that I came to the Schola at a turning point in its history, at a time where there was a shift away from a focus on the cultivation of early music within amateur and church circles, to one devoted to raising its level of practice to that generally attained in the field of classical music as a whole, i.e. at a time when a new boundary was being established. As I came precisely at the point of change, I was completely unaware of what had gone on before. Needless to say, these ideological and structural changes caused a great deal of upheaval within the institution, most of which also passed me by. Furthermore, it must also be said that I was a product of my time and culture, wanting to distance myself from the standards of organizations such as the American Recorder Society and similar mass gatherings of amateurs in my desire to become a professional musician.

It was thus with a certain amount of surprise that I heard that three people of such penetrating musical ability and intellect had been so fascinated by Ina Lohr and what she had to offer, that they had spent their weekends preparing 15th-century music on two recorders and gamba for those special occasions when she joined them with her voice. Indeed it made me so curious that I began doing a little bit of research at the Paul Sacher Foundation where Ina Lohr's

7 In spite of originally saying no, it appeared under both of our names as "Gustav Maria Leonhardt in Basel. Portrait of a Young Harpsichordist", in: *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 34 (2010 which was published in 2014), 229–44.

estate is located, ostensibly to find a bit more information about Gustav Leonhardt's connection with her. In actuality, however, I ended up surveying a large portion of her estate. In the process I began to discover that she had not only influenced him, but also Jan Boeke, Kees Vellekoop, Sven-Erik Bäck, and Eric Ericson. This in turn caused me to read many of her articles and it was through them I began realizing for the first time the degree to which our performance practice of Renaissance music was affected by the aesthetic of the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, of the *Singbewegung*, at the beginning of the 20th century, rather than by our knowledge of the theoretical treatises of the 16th century.

It was about at this point that I, together with Jeremy Llewellyn, Kelly Landerkin and Jed Wentz, applied to the Swiss National Science Foundation for a grant to study her life and work within the project "Ina Lohr (1903–1983), an Early Music Zealot: Her Influence in Switzerland and the Netherlands" at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis/University of Applied Sciences and Arts FHNW. We were very fortunate to receive generous funding for our work for the two-year period 2014–2016. What came to light through our research with a particular clarity was how some of the specifically Dutch aspects of her musical training – particularly in regard to the reform of sacred music, both Catholic and Protestant – were taken to Switzerland, transformed and then brought back to the Netherlands. In the course of this process, many national, religious, stylistic, and chronological boundaries were transcended, or perhaps just ignored, blurred or violated.

Indeed, I have come to realize that the choice of topic could not have been more serendipitous. First of all, Ina Lohr was far more influential in Early Music than I had originally imagined, in that she seems to have been a link between various important strands of the movement. In addition, by looking at this movement from the perspective of a single individual my field of vision was expanded, forcing me to see it in relation to many other cultural tendencies and phenomena of the 20th century. This has particular validity for Ina Lohr, due to the above-mentioned link with Paul Sacher in regard to two prominent Basel musical institutions. In connection with this biography, I was the first person given permission to examine their complete correspondence, in which it becomes clear that she played a highly influential role in the development of the Basel Chamber Orchestra: she analyzed and marked up the scores, assisted in the choice of program and soloists, helped rehearse the choir, and provided general musical advice. Their relationship was at times contentious, in that their goals were different, Paul Sacher's being the cultivation of music outside of the mainstream for a chamber orchester in the concert world, whereas her main focus lay in the praise of God through music wherever she was. No matter what

the issues, however, they found a way to move on, accomodating their working relationship to the new circumstances. Through this work, she also became acquainted with many notable composers, such as Hindemith, Stravinsky or Bartók, whose commissioned works were premiered by the orchestra. Thus she was directly involved with both earlier and later repertoires, living evidence, if you will, of the closeness of the practice of the two, obviating all need for Richard Taruskin's arguments. But beyond the musical realm, her religious convictions, her focus on the liturgical use of music in earlier centuries, her connections with the church both in Basel as well as in the Netherlands brought her into contact with some of the foremost theologians of her time, such as Karl Barth, Wilhelm Vischer, Ernst Gaugler, Gerardus van der Leeuw, and Kornelis Miskotte. Thus an evaluation of her life, of her work, necessitated examining Early Music not only in relation to the Modern Classic but also in relation to other currents of the time, such as educational reform, the reform of church music (in both the Catholic and Protestant churches), in addition to various "modern" responses to Romantic music. Thus Early Music itself is not merely seen from the point of view of reviving music from earlier eras, but also within its progressive 20th-century context.

Not surprisingly, given all these connections, I discovered that Ina Lohr herself was a multifaceted, intensely creative individual. She had so many different capabilities and interests that she tended to deal with the world around her in a compartmentalized fashion. When beginning my research on her, I was worried that I would only find information about her Early Music contacts, as she rarely spoke of her family with her professional acquaintances and friends, or discussed her religious concerns with her musical colleagues, or displayed her profound interest in *Hausmusik* with the professional students. But rather each of those with whom I have spoken has automatically assumed that his or her specific contact with Ina Lohr was that which was central to her life. It has therefore been particularly gratifying to find certain documents, diaries, extant correspondence with people very close to her, which have enabled me to build up a more complete picture of the woman as a whole.

At a certain point in the process I became so overwhelmed by the sheer amount of disparate information to be analyzed that I began to despair of bringing it into some sort of cogent form. It was only after I realized that the structure of the book must of necessity reflect that of her life, must in turn be compartmentalized, that the present order suggested itself. Thus it opens with a chapter on her formative years in the Netherlands and the first few years in Basel in which she continued her studies in music theory and composition, while simultane-

ously creating for herself the musical environment that would serve as a basis for all of her later professional activities. The sparse factual information that we have about Ina Lohr's childhood and education stems primarily from a few documents that she herself wrote in the last years of her life: she seems to have gone through a period – perhaps at the request of others – of reflecting upon the circumstances and decisions that led her to come to Basel and caused her to devote herself to the cultivation of vocal music of earlier centuries. I have, in addition, been extremely fortunate with the generosity of some of the descendents of the Lohr family. Not only have Aleid and Floris Zuidema, the executors of the estate of Ina's two sisters, Etty and Sally, placed many family photos and documents at my disposal, but also the historian, Elisabeth van Blankenstein, has been extraordinarily magnaminous in the assistance she has given me concerning the family background.[8]

The following two chapters concern her religious and musical convictions, examing so to speak, where she drew her boundaries, as these are the formative elements of her life. They thus constitute a basis upon which all the day-to-day activities of her professional life can thereafter be discussed in an ongoing narrative. Specifically, the second chapter is devoted to her religious beliefs, which were so central to her persona that it is difficult to understand many aspects of her professional work and career without this knowledge. In this connection, I have been fortunate to have access to her correspondence with two people to whom she turned for spiritual guidance, Ernst Gaugler (through the Paul Sacher Foundation) and Hinrich Stoevesandt (private access).

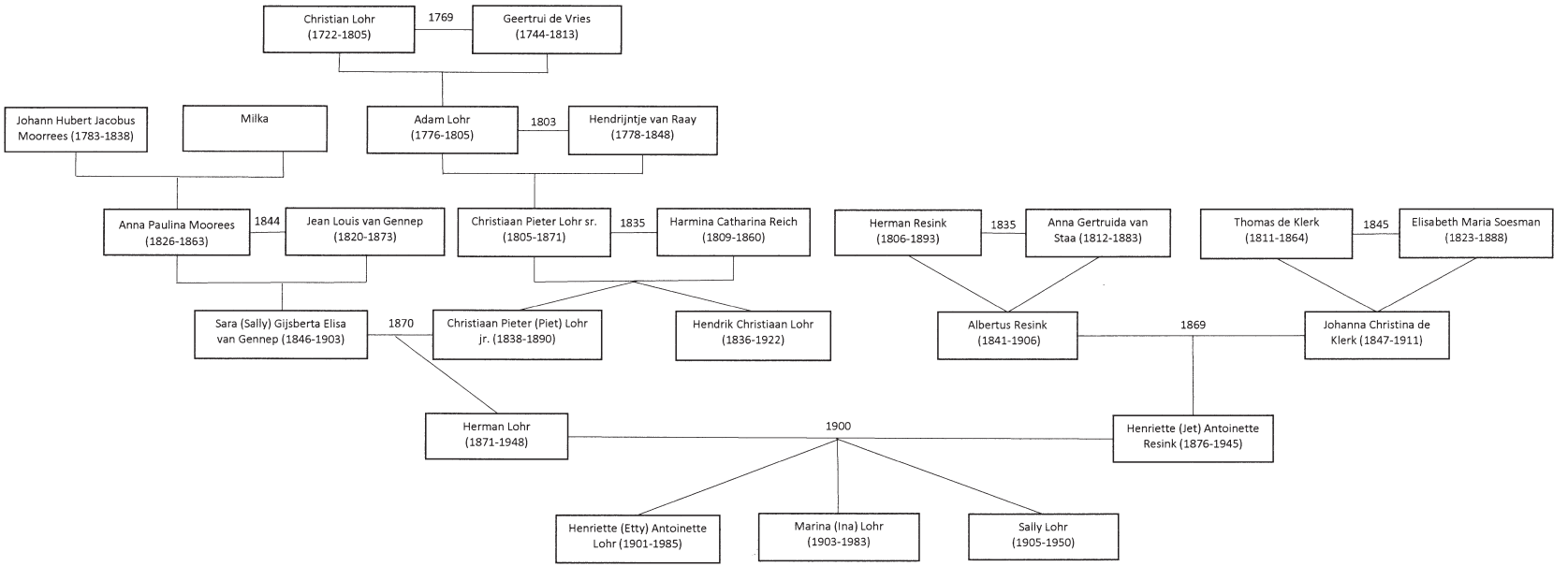
Her musical convictions are the focus of the third chapter. As with the religious beliefs, it is necessary to look at her musical beliefs in advance, as they are the source of many of her professional choices that are otherwise somewhat incomprehensible for musicians today. It is, for example, hard for us to understand why someone of her caliber of musicianship would prefer to work in the world of amateur music-making, when all the doors to the elite lay open to her. The source lay both in her background and inner needs, in her extreme religiosity and her difficulty in dealing with the emotional turbulence in the world around her. As her primary means of finding inner peace was through song, in particular to God, her musical values were strongly related to the fulfillment of this aspiration. An awareness of these factors enables us thereafter to examine her life both in regard to her own lights, as well as to ours.

8 Elisabeth van Blankenstein, *Dr. M. van Blankenstein: een Nederlandse Dagbladdiplomaat 1880–1964,* The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers 1999.

The subsequent five chapters deal with Ina Lohr's professional life: the first decade in Basel, in which her first experiences as Paul Sacher's assistant as well as the origins of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis are chronicled; the war years characterized not only by the desolation in the world around her, but also by her internal existential battles which caused her increasingly to turn toward God, not only generally, but also in music; her heyday at the Schola, as it found its place on the map of the world; her final working years at the Schola; and lastly, old age. These periods, of course, were chosen because they represent turning points in Ina Lohr's life, when significant events or decisions affected the course of her activities. As the circumstances changed, both within and without, she came more and more to pursue a life that was in harmony with her goals. This means that over time, different interests received emphasis, which is also reflected in the chapter divisions. In covering the various facets of her work, an endeavor is made to discuss them within the context of the cultural developments in the world around her. It is only by this means that her significance in the world of Early Music can be made visible, that she can be validated in the context of her time; at the same time that context will of necessity also be re-evaluated, be seen within a larger whole.

As with all biographies, the story that one tells is related to the sources available. Thus while her work at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis is documented primarily by printed texts, either the annual reports of the institution, or articles written by Ina Lohr herself, her cooperation with Paul Sacher is illuminated through their correspondence. This results in a different sort of coverage of the material, one which perhaps does not truly reflect the balance between various aspects of her life, between the more official and the more personal. This can never be known, just as we can never really know how another person ticks. In all cases, however, I have attempted to allow her to speak for herself, so that her views, her insights, her beliefs are not immediately colored by my interpretation of them, so that the reader is free to draw other conclusions than those I have come to in the process of my research. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

Table 1: Genealogical Table



Chapter 1. Ina Lohr: Childhood and Education

1.1 Family and Childhood

It could almost be maintained that Ina Lohr transcended her first boundary more than a decade before she was born, in that she on some level must have vicariously experienced the exotic, culturally-mixed colonial environment in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) where both of her parents, Henriëtte Antoinette (Jet) Resink (1876–1945) and Herman Lohr (1871–1948) spent their formative years.[1] Rob Nieuwenhuys evocatively described its laissez-faire tropical atmosphere as being

> the time of the flattering *sarong kabaja*, of private carriages with Sydneyers [an Australian breed of horse], of hour-long moonlight drives, of *nontonnen* [looking in at festivities as an outsider] in front of the theater called the "Concor[dia]", of fireworks, fountains and mirrors, of French and Italian operas, of big house parties, of gossip and card parties, of *krossie-males* [lounge chairs] and rocking chairs, of the *tong-tong* [a drum made out of a hollow tree trunk], of the *poekel boem* [a ship's time signal] and free gin in the hotels.[2]

Europeans who had been there, or grown up there, for the most part experienced greater freedoms, socially and economically than their peers in the Netherlands; they often participated in a higher class of society than their status in their "home country" would have warranted. Rob Nieuwenhuys also speaks of how

> each white man who came to Indië [the Dutch East Indies] underwent a process of transformation that made him a different person. Certain characteristics in him came to the top and had the possibility of development, others had to be suppressed; he distanced himself from prejudices, but he took on new ones; he almost always lost all illu-

1 For the following information concerning both families I am greatly indebted to Elisabeth van Blankenstein. Not only was she extraordinarily helpful in responding to specific questions, she also gave me much of the documentary material, including the genealogy and two of her New Year's letters, from 2012 and 2015 (each containing a nugget of family history). In addition, the entry for "Herman Lohr" by A.B.J. Teulings, in: *Biografisch Woordenboek Gelderland*, Hilversum: Verloren 2002, 94–97, proffers much information concerning Herman Lohr's professional career.

2 "de tijd van de flatteuze sarong kabaja, van eigen rijtuigen met Sydneyers, van het urenlang toeren in de maneschijn, van het 'nontonnen' voor de schouwburg of 'Concor[dia]', van Bengaals licht, fonteinen en spiegels, van Franse en Italiaanse opera's, van grote huisfuiven, van klets- en hombertafels, van de krossie-males en de wipstoelen, van de tong-tong, van poekoel boem en de gratis jenever in de hotels". Rob Nieuwenhuys, "Tempoe Deloe", in: *Tussen Twee Vaderlanden*, Amsterdam: G.A. van Oorschot Uitgever, 2nd edition, 1967, 5.

sion and attached himself increasingly to material things, in that money means power; he could establish himself socially in the Indonesian society and assert himself, [in a manner] which birth had never enabled him to do in Europe; he learned other ideas about the church and marriage, about divorce and living together, he began to apply other moral standards. One man became coarser in his doings, forgot his upbringing, the other polished his language and allowed himself a position of distinction, without being able to fully succeed in the one or the other; the first felt himself to be "sagging", the other felt himself to be rising, but both of them grew increasingly close to one another in the stereotypical "East Indies emigrant". When these East Indies emigrants came back to Holland, with a pension or on a leave in order to "chill out", only then did they notice how they were changed, that they no longer felt at home in the Dutch lifestyle. They felt themselves to be encaged between walls, they became sick of the gray light and even of the long-awaited snow, the "oedijan kapok" seemed merely to fall in order to make the bad atmosphere absolute. Then they thought about Java and about the magnet that according to many tales was hidden in the volcanoes; then they visited one another, at home, on the street and in the foyer of the opera; then they spoke again about promotion and salaries, government mistakes and scandals, about [the] East Indies which maintained its hold on them. They bore the unmistakable Indies "tjap" in their words and gestures, in attitude and appearance and though some did their best to speak quietly and to think differently, they were irrevocably changed, they had become "East Indian", a stereotype which furthermore first came into its own in the East Indies itself.[3]

3 "Elke totok die in Indië kwam werd onderworpen aan een omvormingsproces, dat een ander mens van hem makte. Bepaalde eigenschappen in hem kwamen naar boven en kregen de mogelijkheid tot ontplooiing, andere moesten worden onderdrukt; hij deed afstand van vooroordelen, maar hij kreeg er ook nieuwe bij; hij ontnuchterde bijna altijd en hechtte zich hoe langer hoe meer aan het materiële, omdat geld macht betekent; hij kon zich in de Indische samenleving maatschappelijk bevestigen en doen gelden, waar geboorte hem in Europa nooit toe in staat had gesteld; hij leerde andere opvattingen krijgen over kerk en huwelijk, over echtscheiding en samenleving, hij bogon andere morele maatstaven te hanteren. De ene verruwde in zijn doen en laten, vergat wat aan hem opgevoed was, de andere beschaafde zijn spraak en mat zich een houding van voornaamheid aan zonder in het een en ander ten volle te kunnen slagen; de ene voelde zich 'afzakken', de andere voelde zich stijgen, maar beiden groeiden naar elkaar toe in het type van de 'Indischgast'. Kwamen deze Indischgasten in Holland terug, met pensioen of met verlof om 'uit te vriezen', dan pas merkten ze hòe ze veranderd waren, dat ze niet meer thuishoorden in het Hollandse leven. Ze voelden zich beklemd tussen muren, ze werden ziek van de grijze luchten en zelfs de lang verwachte sneeuw, de 'oedijan kapok', scheen slechts te vallen om die nare stemming volledig te maken. Dan dachten ze aan Java en aan de magneet, die volgens veler zeggen in een der vulkanen verborgen moest zijn, dan zochten ze elkaar op, thuis, op straat of in de foyer van de opera, dan spraken ze weer over promotie en traktement, regeringsfouten en schandaaltjes, over Indië, dat hen bléék vasthouden. Ze droegen het onuitwisbaar Indisch 'tjap' in woord en gebaar, in houding en uiterlijk en al deden sommigen nog zo hun best zachter te spreken en anders te denken, ze waren onherroepelijk veranderd, ze waren 'Indischman' geworden, een type dat overigens eerst in Indië zelf tot zijn recht kwam". Rob Nieuwenhuys, "Tempoe Deloe", 32–33.

Thus her parents, who only came to the Netherlands in their adolescence, were among the sizable number of colonial returnees who, with their families, formed a recognizable subset of Dutch society.[4] Ina Lohr herself, to be sure, never experienced Dutch East Indian culture directly, but she must have been aware of her parents' efforts to come to terms with the differences between the cultures. And although her family – through her father's diligence, his education and professional capabilities – became a successful part of Dutch society, it was not without its emotional price.

Herman Lohr was the son of Christiaan Pieter Lohr (1838–1890) who had gone to work in Batavia – as Jakarta was called during the Dutch East Indies period – for the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij (NHM) in 1860. In 1870 Christiaan Pieter Lohr married Sara (Sally) Gijsberta Elisa van Gennep, the oldest daughter of Jan Louis van Gennep, an influential member of the NHM factory there. He was transferred to Semarang in 1871 where their first of nine children, Herman, was born. In 1878 Christiaan Pieter Lohr was appointed the president of the Batavian NHM factory, the highest post attainable for an employee in Dutch East India, thus implying that his family possessed considerable wealth and standing. The family returned to Haarlem in 1886, where Herman Lohr first attended the Hogere Burgerschool before going to Delft in 1890 to study engineering at the University of Technology where he received his degree in 1895.

The family, in line with the society at the time, was well-versed in the arts, with all the children receiving musical instruction, as may be seen from a hand-written concert program of salon music in which the children were to show off their skills on various instruments, Herman on the zither and the mandolin. That he played this instrument is substantiated by Illustration 1.1, in which the family and friends have created a kind of *tableau vivant* on the staircase in front of their house in Haarlem. Herman is the mandolin player half-standing behind the guitarist in the foreground.

Another aspect of the consequences of the colonial experience in the Dutch East Indies is also evident in this image. Due to the fact that from the end of the 16th century until the middle of 19th century – with one exception of short duration in the 17th century – Dutch women were not allowed to emigrate to the Indies, Dutch men established various forms of alliances and marriages with lo-

4 A contemporary description of the life of such people, how they dealt with a society that was now foreign to them, may be found in Paul Adriaan Baum's novel, *Indische mensen in Holland*, first published serially in 1888 in Batavia, and later as a book in 1890, and as a modern edition Amsterdam: Em. Querido's Uitgeverij B.V. 1963.

Ill. 1.1: The Lohr family and friends in Haarlem. Photo: courtesy of Aleid and Floris Zuidema, Lochem.

cal women, the resulting children of necessity straddling the two cultures, both in regard to their skin color as well as their upbringing.[5] Thus a social network came into being in the East Indies which was based on the family connections of the young Eurasian brides who married Dutch men. This meant that outside of the administrative affairs, the social life in the East Indies was determined by the local culture; the children were brought up by Asian women, except for the boys who were often sent back to the Netherlands for schooling. The result of this, however, was that the Dutch in the East Indies were exposed to a far greater degree to the local culture, local beliefs, local ways than the English, for example, in India. It may be assumed that this was also the case in the Lohr family in that Herman's great-great-grandmother Milka Room was the indigenous concubine of Johan Hubert Jacobus Moorrees (1783–1838), whom he perhaps later married; in any case, he did legally acknowledge their children as being his own.[6] Her eldest daughter, Anna Paulina Moorrees (1826–1863) gave birth to Herman's mother Sara (Sally) Gijsberta Elisa van Gennep (see Ill. 1.2) in 1846.[7] However that may be, the photograph of family festivities in Haarlem poignantly captures the amalgamation of East Indian delight in such conviviality with the stricter Dutch formality, as evidenced by the elder members on the balcony. This was the context in which Ina Lohr grew up.

The image is perhaps also indicative of the creative streak that ran through the Lohr family. All of its members were highly intelligent, gifted individuals, brilliant in their professional fields or, in the case of the women, married to men who were. Many of them were, however, plagued by what was seen as depression and a certain constitutional weakness, often of the circulatory system. Herman Lohr attributed this to the fact that their father died so young:

5 Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*, Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press 2009², particularly Chapter 6, provides great insight into the cultural cross-currents within the colonial society.

6 Once again I am indepted to Elisabeth van Blankenstein for this information, confirmed by the document found online by André de Jong, "Kwartierstaat van Ing. Hugo, Gustaaf en Mr. Willem de Clercq", http://www.familiedeclercq.nl/fileadmin/declercq/Pdf-bestanden/Genealogie/Kwartierstaat_Willem_de_Clercq.pdf (27 April 2018), 3. De Jong suggests that Milka's last name "Room" may be simply an inversion of the first four letters of Moorrees. This was a common practice according to Rob Nieuwenhuys, who writes in *Tussen Twee Vaderlanden*, 20, that some of these children of East Indian concubines had inverted names of their father, such as "Rhemrev in plaats van Vermeer (of Vermehr), Kijdsmeir in plaats van Van Riemsdijk, Esreteip in plaats van Pieterse".

7 There may also be similar traces of East Indian heritage on the Resink side, but if so they are not documented.

Ill. 1.2: Portrait of Sara (Sally) Gijsberta Elisa van Gennep as a young woman, by Woodbury and Page, famous photographers in the colonial Dutch East Indies. Photo: courtesy of Elisabeth van Blankenstein, Leidschendam.

> Later I often very much regretted this [death of my father at an early age], because it is only later that you feel what it is to lack a father in the difficult years of training for later socio-economic life. I am completely convinced that this lack of a 'father' at this time [was the source of the] development in all of us of that so strongly evident *apathy* (I am sorry that I have to use this word) that has slowly become a family trait (in the children!).[8]

He defines this apathy as a kind of floating through life without "thinking about *how* life must be led with greater care, in order to really accomplish our *whole* duty toward oneself as well as to others".[9] Further, Herman Lohr writes of a conversation in which a good friend's success is held to be a product of his father's consistently strict and demanding upbringing rather than that friend's

8 "Ik heb dit later vaak zeer berouwd omdat je later pas voelt wat het gemis van een vader is in die moeilijke jaren van vorming voor het later maatschappelijk leven. Ik ben vast overtuigd dat het gemis van een 'vader' in die tijd, in ons allen heeft ontwikkeld het zo sterk sprekende apathische (het spijt me dat ik dit woord noemen moet) dat langzamerhand een familietrek (in de kinderen!) is geworden". Letter of 15 November 1901 from Herman Lohr to Piet[er] Lohr (1879–1945). Letter in the Lohr Archive, Leidschendam, transcribed and placed at my disposal by Elisabeth van Blankenstein.

9 "nadenken hoe het leven met meer zorgen geleid moest worden, om werkelijk met volle ernst onze volle plicht te doen tegenover onszelf zoals tegenover anderen". Ibid.

formal education, obviously drawing the conclusion that the absence of this paternal solicitude in their own case was the source of the family trait. Today one might be inclined to suspect that this "apathy" was a form of dissociation related to the trauma of being uprooted from the environment in which they had grown up, of being transposed from the warmth of the East Indian island life to the colder, more straitlaced Dutch culture, rather than having its origins in a lack of self-discipline.[10] Indeed this process may have even begun earlier, even in the East Indies itself, during the course of the financial and social upheavals there in the second half of the 19th century: as concubines were increasingly frowned upon, the East Indian Europeans came to be dissociated from the general culture there.[11]

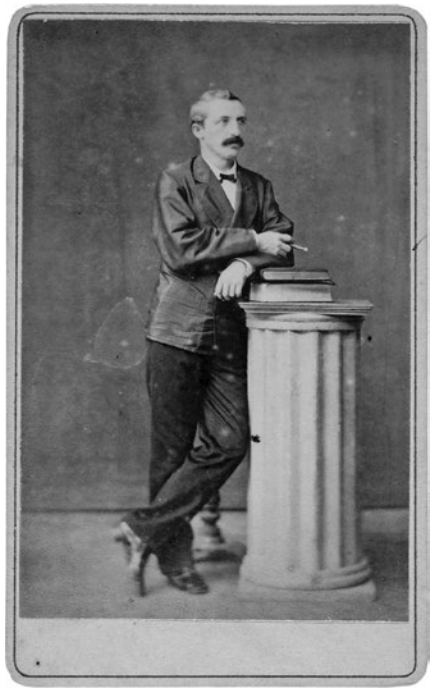
The occasion for this letter had been a conversation with Herman Lohr's mother, Sara van Gennep Lohr, who was worried about what would happen with her younger children upon her death, as she, unbeknownst to the family, had not undertaken the financial restructuring necessary after her husband died. Her eldest son had assured her that he would assume the responsibility of making sure that his younger siblings had the wherewithal necessary to complete their education upon her death and had written to communicate this necessity to his younger brother. As this letter was written in 1901, just after the birth of Herman Lohr's eldest daughter, Henriette (Etty), one can imagine the effect that this had, not only on his dealings with his siblings following his mother's death in 1903, but also on his attitude toward the upbringing of his own children. Indeed it led him to be active, perhaps even over-active, in supplementing and supervising his children's education.

Less is known about the Resink family.[12] Jet Resink's father (see Ill. 1.3a), Albertus (1841–1906), was the son of a confectioner who went to Jakarta as a lieutenant in the army. He was a civil engineer and set up his own company, A. Resink en Co., which serviced the machines required by the sugar industry as well as exporting supplies to the principalities. A freemason, he was one of the ten wealthiest men in Jakarta. He married Johanna Christina de Klerk (1847–1911, see Ill. 1.3b) in Jakarta in 1869, where all their children but the youngest son were born. This family, too, settled in Haarlem upon their return

10 I would like to thank Evelyne Laeuchli here for taking the time to discuss the psychological aspects of Ina Lohr's personality with me. It was invaluable to have her professional input and encouragement.

11 See Nieuwenhuys, *Tussen Twee Vaderlanden*, 19.

12 What little I have is from Christine M. Resink-van der Meer, who kindly answered an appeal to all of the Resinks in the Netherlands in the online telephone book, as well as from Elisabeth van Blankenstein.



Ill. 1.3a. and 1.3b: Albertus Resink (left) and Johanna Christina de Klerk [Resink] (right). Photos: Anonymous, Photo Collection RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague.

to the Netherlands in 1894. Albertus Resink joined a lodge there as well and was asked to become a member of the board of trustees of the Colonial Museum. The disposition of the family was liberally progressive with a well-developed interest in the arts. Indeed, Johanna Christina not only had a grand piano, but also played it well. This obviously was an influence on Jet, as like her mother, she was an accomplished pianist, attending the Amsterdam Conservatory, without, however, obtaining a degree in piano.[13] In the mid-1890s the family moved to Alexanderstraat 10, just around the corner from the Lohrs. It was no doubt this proximity which contributed to the marriage of Jet Resink and Herman Lohr in 1900.

In 1902 Herman and Jet Lohr moved to Amsterdam with their first daughter, Etty, where it is said that he had been named the assistant engineering director at the Gemeentelijke Electriciteits Werken. And it is there that Ina was born

13 The fact that she did not complete the degree is mentioned by Ina Lohr in a radio interview "Musik für einen Gast: Ina Lohr" on DRS1 on 30 November 1965, archive of Swiss Radio and Television.

Ill. 1.4: Jet Lohr (left) with her daughters Etty and Ina and an unknown woman. Photo: courtesy of Aleid and Floris Zuidema, Lochem.

on 1 August 1903 (see Ill. 1.4), a date that was perhaps an omen, as it is Switzerland's national holiday. The youngest child, Sally joined them two years later in 1905. In 1907 the family moved to Nijmegen where Herman Lohr had taken on the responsibility of building an electrical plant for the city. In 1915 he became the director of the N.V. Provinciale Geldersche Electriciteits-Maatschappij (PGEM) in Arnhem, thereby assuming the job of overseeing the electrification of the entire province of Gelderland. Thus Ina Lohr's childhood was largely spent in Nijmegen and Arnhem.

In both of these cities the family lived in the apartments for the director within the complex of the corporation for which her father worked, which were located on the Waal in Nijmegen (see Ill. 1.5) and on the Lower Rhine in Arnhem (see Ill. 1.6 and 1.7). In each case the view from the windows of the apartments onto the open fields on the other side of the rivers must have been spectacular. The peaceful expansiveness of the Dutch landscape was something that Ina Lohr later missed in Switzerland.[14]

14 Letter Ina Lohr to Paul Sacher of 29 July 1932, private collection, Switzerland.

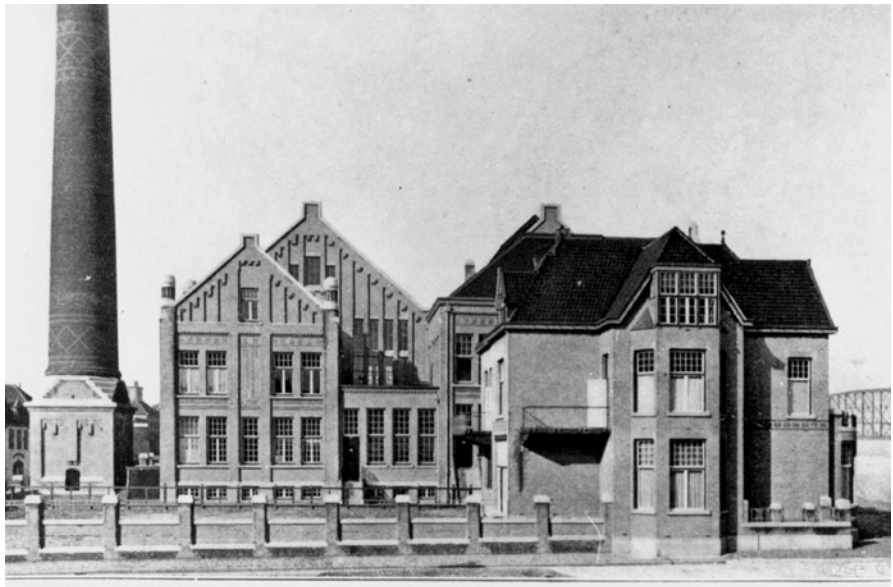


Fig. 6. Oostgevel, rechts de directeurs-woning.

Ill. 1.5: PGEM Nijmegen, the director's apartment is on the right. Photo: PSF-ILC.

Although we only have photos of the interior of the family home from a later period, years after Ina Lohr had left the Netherlands, they give an impression of what her environment in her early life must have been like (see Ill. 1.8 and 1.9). In them one sees a rich concatenation of styles and periods. The dark wainscoting, no doubt that from a small synagogue in Prague referred to in Judith Schmitz's memoirs,[15] allied with the wall tapestries and heavy velvet drapes, serve as a background not only for European paintings and works of art from the 16th through the 20th centuries, but also for No masks, chinoiserie and the cupboard full of large, leather-bound books. The freedom with which Asian and European works of art are juxtaposed with one another exemplifies the influence of the colonial experience in the Dutch East Indies on those that returned to the Netherlands.

Ina Lohr sang before she spoke, and remembers her mother singing with her three daughters all day long.[16] It is no doubt due in part to this that she de-

15 Memoirs of Judith Schmitz, Elisabeth van Blankenstein's father's sister, written for her children, 154. Lohr Archive, Leidschendam, in the hands of Elisabeth van Blankenstein.

16 From a first version of a text for 27 September 1978 at a program for her 75th birthday, organized by Arthur Eglin in conjunction with the *Oekumenischer Singkreis Basel-Riehen* and the *Stadtposaunenchor Basel*. Many thanks to Arthur Eglin for making all of his documents related to Ina Lohr available to me for this book.

Ill. 1.6 and 1.7: PGEM Arnhem, the Lohr family's apartment was on the top floor. Photos: PSF-ILC.

Ill. 1.8: Interior of the Lohr family home in Haarlem, 1943. Photo: courtesy of Aleid and Floris Zuidema, Lochem.

veloped absolute pitch, even to the degree of being able to differentiate the micro-intervals that her mother used in singing songs from the East Indies.[17] Indeed, singing became her primary mode of expression to the degree that, as she told Elisabeth Stoevesandt, she had not spoken for the first four years of her life. Apparently once when guests had been invited over and were seated at the table, and she was sitting off to the side playing, her mother remarked that they also had "their Ina", who unfortunately could not talk. And then "their Ina" spoke up, saying: "Ina can talk. Ina does not want to talk".[18] This choice of mutism is not only a sign of her great inner willpower, already evincing itself at an early age, but also reflects the necessity she experienced of encapsulating herself from the rest of the world, creating a bubble where she could maintain her own sense of self. It was a battle that she waged for the rest of her life.

Writing in 1958, Ina Lohr speaks of how "the source of the art song lies in singing speech that should remain part of children's experience. Almost every child expresses itself in a singsong manner [*singelt*] as long as he or she is small,

17 Interview "Musik für einen Gast: Ina Lohr" on DRS1.
18 Interview with Elisabeth Stoevesandt, 15 January 2015.

Ill. 1.9: Interior of the Lohr family home in Haarlem, 1943. Photo: courtesy of Aleid and Floris Zuidema, Lochem. The portrait above the fireplace is of Sally Lohr, painted by Sierk Schröder (1903–2002).

primarily then when playing alone".[19] This was certainly her own experience – and maybe that was also a source of the late development of her language skills – as in her autobiographical sketch, she writes that although she was a sickly child, she sang all the time, not only children's songs, but fragments of things that she had heard or created. If it became disturbing,

> one sent me with my younger sister, who patiently bore everything, to our dollhouse, where the singing then somehow began being in two parts, and where the more than twenty dolls listened to us benevolently.[20]

Thus at a very early age singing became a mode of expressing herself, perhaps comforting herself, enabling her to give voice to emotions she did not know how to put into words. Its importance to her is exemplified by her answer to a guest who asked her when she was five years old what she wanted to become. Her answer, which came like "a pistol shot", was that she would "make music the whole day or [become] a mother in an orphanage or have twenty children of my own".[21] This in turn may be interpreted as an unspoken expression of her own need of mothering. In this context her choice of music would also make sense, in that it was also where her own mother turned for solace.

Ina Lohr also speaks of how the only way she could successfully "recite" the children's verses she had to learn by heart in school was by singing them. This was more or less accepted there until she was 15 years old when she had to learn Schiller's *Das Lied von der Glocke* as a disciplinary measure. She reports that she memorized the numerous strophes of the poem with varying melodies depending on their content. This first produced astonishment and then such merriment in the class that the teacher decided to let her off the hook. She writes, however, that an illusion was destroyed and her "free singing" was silenced.[22]

19 "Und doch liegt die Ursache auch des Kunstgesanges im einfachen singenden Sagen, das den Kindern vertraut bleiben sollte. Fast jedes 'singelt', solange es klein ist, vor allem dann, wenn es allein spielt". Ina Lohr, "Musik aus der Sprache, Musik aus dem Spiel", in: *Singt und spielt* 25 (1958), 67.

20 "schickte man mich mit meiner alles duldenden jüngeren Schwester in unsere Puppenstube, wo der Gesang dann irgendwie zweistimmig wurde, und wo uns die mehr als zwanzig Puppenkinder wohlwollend zuhörten". Ina Lohr, "Skizze zum Lebenslauf", 1; Vera Oeri Bibliothek, Basel, Rara Sign. MAB Fb182.

21 "Die Antwort sei […] wie ein Pistonlenschuss gekommen: Ich werde den ganzen Tag Musik machen oder Mutter in einem Waisenhaus sein oder zwanzig eigene Kinder haben". Ibid., 1.

22 Ibid., 1.

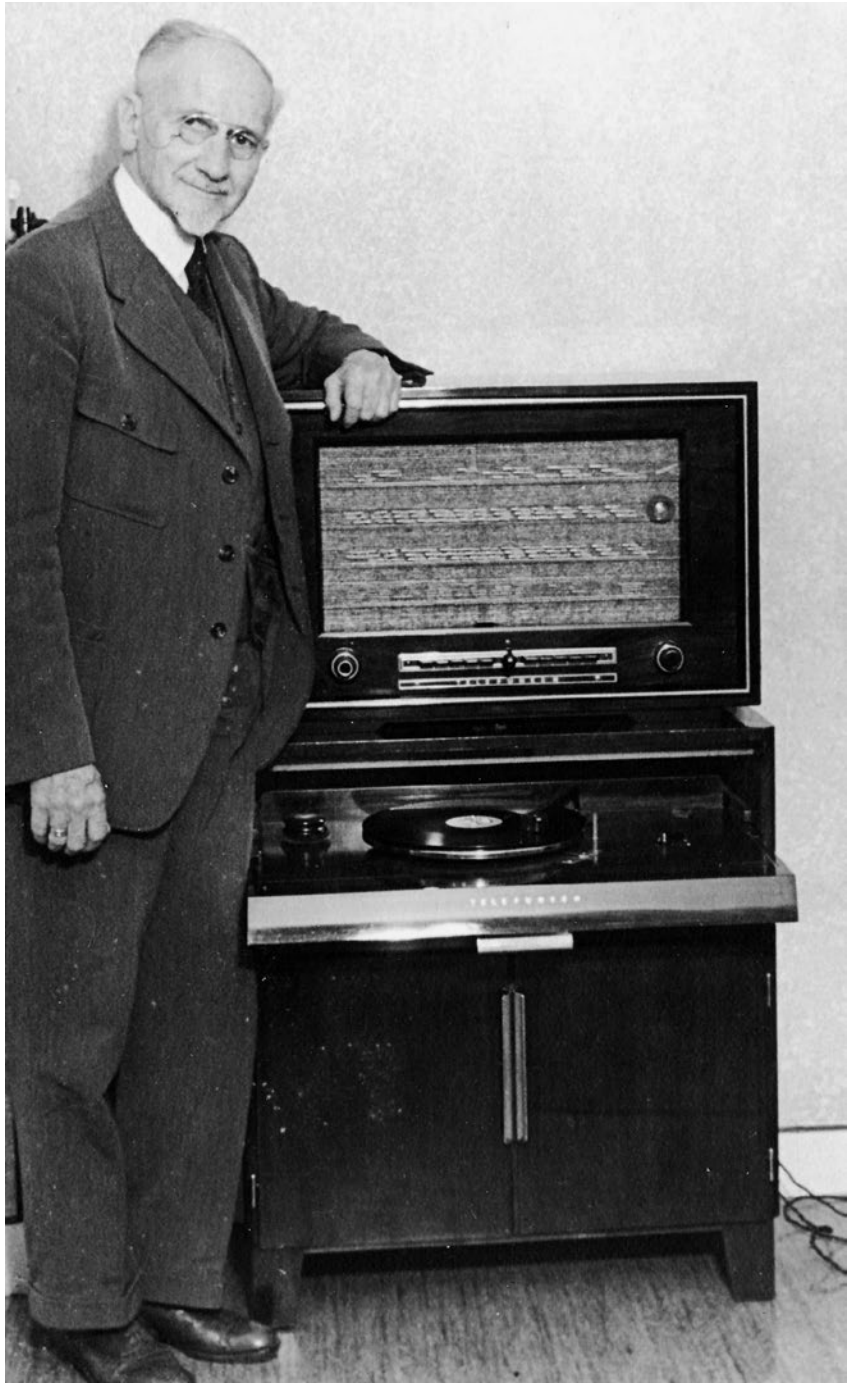
The significance of this emphasis on singing at the beginning of her autobiographical sketch – written just a year or so before she died – on an innate connection between words and melody cannot be underestimated, as it was an intrinsic part of her attitude towards life, of how she coped with it, as well as of her belief structures; in addition, it served as the foundation of what was to become her profession. Her musical development, however, was also encouraged in other ways within the family home. As she was often ill as a child, her parents did not acquiesce to her desire to play the violin until relatively late. To tide her over this period, her father created an instrument for her from a cigar box, strung with tunable mandolin strings. She spent hours with this instrument searching out accompaniments to her improvised songs, which as she wrote may have been "very primitive, but as [an] expression were authentic and therefore right".[23]

Furthermore in her early years, her parents introduced their children to opera by performing individual scenes from Gounod's *Faust* on mandolin and piano with great verve. In 1912 things changed dramatically, however, when Herman Lohr purchased their first gramophone (see Illustration 10 showing him with one of his later treasured machines for audio reproduction). In his hands it became not only a source of pleasure to the family, but also an extraordinarily effective didactic tool in the musical education of his children. For example, before they were allowed to listen to the first operatic arias, he gave them a summary of the plot of the entire opera as well as a translation of the text in language suitable for children. They then listened to the arias over and over again until they possessed them, had made them their own; they devoured the photographs of the singers and composers, and the liner notes. Ina Lohr even described Marcella Sembrich, Frieda Hempel, Enrico Caruso and Antonio Scotti as being their "first, very patient music teachers, from whom we imitated everything they sang with conscientious exactitude, so that no portamento, no sob, no fermata with tremolo was overlooked".[24]

After that, of course, came Wagner, by means of which they learned their first German by repeating the texts out loud. In addition, they had to learn all

23 "die auch sehr primitiv, als Aeusserung aber echt und deshalb richtig waren". Ina Lohr, "Gedanken zum Musizieren in der Freiheit", in: *Basler Nachrichten* III, Nr. 64, 11 February 1955.

24 "Sie waren unsere ersten, sehr geduldigen Musiklehrer, denen wir alles nachsangen, und zwar mit gewissenhafter Genauigkeit, so dass kein Portamento, kein Schluchzer, keine Fermate mit Tremolo verloren ging". Ina Lohr, "Das Grammophon als Erzieher", in: *Basler Nachrichten* 110, Nr. 494/5, 20–21 November 1954. The description in the following paragraphs of what they learned from recordings is all taken from this article.



Ill. 1.10: Herman Lohr with a later version of his gramophone. Photo: courtesy of Aleid and Floris Zuidema, Lochem.

of the *leitmotiv*'s by heart before they could listen to the recordings, even discussing and being quizzed upon them at the family dining table.[25] The children then, of their own accord, reenacted scenes from the *Meistersinger* in the attic, in particular getting great pleasure from the aria "Wahn, Wahn, überall Wahn" which they sang with their high soprano voices. At that time, Ina Lohr was already concerned with the expression of the text, and as they were unable to achieve the change of timbre she deemed necessary for the phrase "der Frühling [Flieder] war's, Johannisnacht" with their light voices, she convinced her younger sister to lengthen the accented syllable of its last word to "Johaaaaaanisnacht". Their father heard this and felt it then necessary to explain that this was unacceptable, that one was not allowed to alter the rhythm arbitrarily. They were then required to conduct the recordings for awhile until they had acquired a conscious understanding of meter. It was thus with a sense of liberation that she discovered Gregorian chant in her first year of study at the Muziek-Lyceum Amsterdam, in that she was no longer constrained by a regular meter. This, too, was something she could then share with her parents by means of recordings from Solesmes and Beuron.

The gramophone also came to her aid with the violin. She was perfectly happy to practice exercises to reach her goal, but intensely disliked the "character pieces" she was required to learn; she would have preferred improvising, seeking out her favorite opera arias on her violin, rather than playing notated pieces. At the time, however, this was frowned upon by both her teacher and her parents. When her father brought home recordings of Bach and Mozart by Henri Marteau, Fritz Kreisler and Carl Flesch, however, a new world revealed its treasures to her.

She writes that Bach then became "an almost tyrannical friend of the family". Her mother began studying the suites and some of the Well-Tempered Clavier, her sister practiced the small preludes and together with their mother on the piano they sang from Schemelli's *Geistliche Lieder und Arien*. If their mother could not accompany them, they then "improvised" a second vocal part to the songs. Improvised two- and three-part singing became a normal accompaniment of their daily tasks. Thereafter her mother sang Mendelssohn, Abt, and Schumann duets with them, and followed this up with four-part vocal works by Palestrina and other composers of the 16th century. Elsewhere she

25 The detail of the discussions at the dining table is taken from the interview "Musik für einen Gast: Ina Lohr" on DRS1.

laughingly remarked on how they, as women, also enjoyed singing the works for men's choir by the Russian composer Dimtry Bortniansky.[26]

As their taste and knowledge expanded, her father put together Sunday evening "concerts", which included not only the obligatory Mozart D major violin concerto, but also *Lieder*, even some by Strauss, and an exploration of works by Debussy, Fauré, and Duparc. They listened to Bruckner and Mahler with the score in their hands. And almost daily they not only listened to a string quartet, but also discussed it, with Herman Lohr persistently asking questions until they could describe in words was was taking place in the piece.[27] It was an unparalleled form of musical education. Given this background, it is no surprise that she decided to pursue music as a profession.

At the same time she was making these musical discoveries, she was, of course, also attending school. Her secondary education took place in Arnhem. She makes particular reference to the pleasure she took in the literature of four different languages, presumably German, French and English, as well as the self-evident Dutch. In the evenings and on Sundays the children not only devoted time to listening to music, but also – sitting around the fire in low chairs specially constructed for them – to the literature their father read aloud to them.[28] In addition, they were taught how to look at paintings and other works of art. In this Herman Lohr was equally dedicated to being a thorough and good teacher, as can be seen by the lectures he wrote on Käthe Kollwitz and on Japanese woodcuts for a general audience.[29] All this was supplemented by frequent visits to Amsterdam for larger concerts and museum exhibitions. She writes that they had a "very full, very happy childhood, which defined our lives".[30] The serious beauty in the expression of all members of the family in

26 Interview Ina Lohr with Jos Leussink, 24–25 March, 1983. I first received cassettes with this interview from Henk van Benthem; later Jos Leussink gave me a digital remastering of the original interview, which is now found in the Vera Oeri Bibliothek, Musik-Akademie Basel, Ina Lohr Collection. I wish here to not only thank Henk van Benthem for making me aware of the interview through his gift of the cassettes, but also Albert Jan Becking for his transcription of excerpts from interview.

27 Interview "Musik für einen Gast: Ina Lohr" on DRS1.

28 Interview with Bettina Wehrli, 13 September 2014.

29 "Käthe Kollwitz", lecture for the Dinsdagavondgezelschap in Haarlem, 21 May 1946, from the Lohr Archive, Leidschendam, in the hands of Elisabeth van Blankenstien; and "Inleiding tot de bezichtiging van een collectie japansche houtsneden", lecture September, 1926, Nr. 2041 in the archive of the Broese van Groenou family in The Hague's Gemeentearchief.

30 "reich befrachtete, sehr schöne Jugend, die unser Leben bestimmt hat". Ina Lohr, "Skizze zum Lebenslauf", 2.

Ill. 1.11: The Lohr family: Etty, Jet, Ina, Sally and Herman (from left to right), 12 January 1913. Photo: courtesy of Aleid and Floris Zuidema, Lochem.

Illustration 1.11, portrayed in front of the piano, representing the importance of music and the arts to the parents, gives an indication of what the Lohr family life might have been like.

The care that Herman and Jet Lohr devoted to the upbringing of their children was exceptional and – partnered with their obvious love – fostered extraordinarily close familial bonds. This can be perceived in various ways. On the one hand it created an intellectually and culturally rich bastion within which the children received boundless support and attention; on the other, it was coupled with Herman Lohr's desire, based on his conviction that his father's early death was the cause of his family's "apathy", to see his children equipped with all the mental and spiritual self-discipline necessary to be successful in the outside world, to be able "to do their duty towards themselves, as well as to others".[31] But it also burdened the children with the obligation of attaining the goals or dreams that their parents had for them, with their success in doing so

31 "om werkelijk met volle ernst onze volle plicht te doen tegenover onszelf zoals tegenover anderen." Letter Herman Lohr to Piet[er] Lohr (1879–1945) of 15 November 1901, courtesy of Elisabeth van Blankenstein.

being felt in some measure to be an indication of their worthiness of this expression of parental love.

Concretely this meant that Etty Lohr had to give up her desire to become an artist and instead study medicine, a field that also interested her, as "she did not have a brother who could support her later".[32] She went on to become a highly successful doctor, opening her own practice in Amsterdam, and later taking on a job as a cardiologist at the hospital of the University of Utrecht, someone the family turned to when no other doctor could offer any hope. This, however, was also a source of great inner conflict for her in those cases where there was nothing that she could do, especially when those she loved were concerned, such as her younger sister Sally Lohr. Her sibling suffered from tuberculosis for the last fifteen years of her life; at that time there was no known cure for it. She had studied art (as she had an older sister who could support her), and was apparently just beginning to have some success in the field when she became sick while visiting Etty Lohr in Switzerland, who herself had gone there to rid herself of the tuberculosis she had picked up in her residency in Groningen. Sally Lohr later lived with her parents and, following their deaths, with her eldest sister; during these years, her sickroom was organized in such a way that she could continue with her artwork within the limits of her illness.

Ina Lohr, on the other hand, was expected to become a professional violinist. Shortly after completing her secondary schooling, however, she was forced to postpone her plans to study music for a year and a half due to a serious illness.[33] Toward the end of her life, she told close friends that she had had a hysterectomy due to a fibroid tumor and that she as a result had had to give up any ideas of marrying, of having children.[34] Although fibroid tumors in young females are still a rarity today, it is nonetheless clear that such an operation must have been an enormous shock to her system, not only seriously deranging her hormonal development and balance, but also impacting her emotional state, her sense of self. It is only in a letter of 11 March 1942 to Paul Sacher that she reveals the degree to which this operation affected her, determined her path. In it she speaks first of what is common knowledge, namely that she was sympathetic to the concerns of others, before going on to describe the further consequences of this long period of illness:

32 "Zíj had geen broer die haar later zou kunnen onderhouden!" Memoirs of Judith Schmitz, 165.

33 Ina Lohr, "Skizze zum Lebenslauf", 2.

34 Interviews with Bettina Wehrli 13 September, 2014; with Christin Wehrli 28 November 2014.

> [Now] I not only have to listen and help when people pour out their hearts to me, but also complete strangers can deposit their sorrow with me without wanting to. It can happen that I am walking through the city and suddenly somebody looks at me and I know all their troubles and must carry them. I know no details nor the reasons behind it; only the dull feeling of a pain is there and presses upon me. Already as a child I was very "compassionate" [in the etymological sense of the word, as "mitleidig" in German means sharing someone else's pain]; this idiosyncrasy only became significant at the time I was seriously ill at the age of 19 years. When I once again moved among people, I always saw what lay behind them, and for a long time I was afraid and one also avoided me because I was so strange. I could not speak about this, I endured it like a disgrace and like an illness, which would perhaps make me go mad. The Bible helped me there, but I had too little understanding of its language. My salvation at first only lay in music.[35]

Even in her sickbed, music was her consolation, as is evident from her autobiographical sketch, where she writes that

> During this time I was never without music, even when I could not play for months at a time. […] I had a machine [gramophone] next to my bed and listened to string quartets of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, which I could follow in Eulenberg scores. Bach's *Matthew Passion* always lay in reach.[36]

Music was thus from her earliest years, in her earliest memories, her source of comfort, her mode of expressing herself. It is just this sense of unquestionable unity of person and musical expression which fascinated those around her in later years.

35 "Ich muss nicht nur zuhören und helfen, wenn die Menschen mir ihr Herz ausschütten, sondern auch wildfremde Leute können mir ihr Elend anhängen, ohne dass sie es wollen. Es kommt vor, dass ich durch die Stadt gehe und plötzlich schaut mich jemand an und ich weiss seinen ganzen Kummer und muss ihn tragen. Ich weiss keine Tatsachen und keinen Grund, nur das dumpfe Gefühl von einem Schmerz ist da und drückt mich. Schon als Kind war ich sehr 'mitleidig', entscheidend wurde dann diese Eigenschaft, als ich mit 19 Jahren schwer krank war. Als ich da wieder unter Menschen kam, sah ich immer, was hinter ihnen stand und ich war lange Zeit erschrocken und man scheute sich auch vor mir, weil ich so fremd war. Ich konnte nicht darüber reden, trug es wie eine Schande und wie eine Krankheit, die mich vielleicht verrückt machen würde. Die Bibel half schon da, aber ich verstand ihre Sprache zu wenig. Meine Rettung war zunächst nur die Musik". Letter Ina Lohr to Paul Sacher of 11 March 1942, private collection, Switzerland.

36 "Während dieser Zeit war ich nie ohne Musik, auch wenn ich monatelang nicht spielen konnte. […] neben meinem Bett hatte ich einen Apparat und hörte Streichquartette von Haydn, Mozart und Beethoven, die ich aus Eulenburg-Partituren mitlesen konnte. Bachs Matthäuspassion lag immer in erreichbarer Nähe". Ina Lohr, "Skizze zum Lebenslauf", 2.

1.2 Ina Lohr's Studies at the Muziek-Lyceum Amsterdam

Given her background, the all-encompassing nature of her education in music, art and literature, it is not surprising that she decided that she should attend the progressive Muziek-Lyceum in Amsterdam which had opened its doors in 1921 rather than going to the more traditional Conservatory.[37] She later said that someone had told her that "they were stuck at the Conservatory", and used worn-out methods, that she should be someplace where her own thinking was stimulated.[38] The moving force behind the Muziek-Lyceum's inception was the cellist Eugène Calkoen (1881–1947, see Illustration 1.12), who was dissatisfied with the prevailing conditions at the Amsterdam Conservatory where he was then teaching. Under the regime of the pianist Julius Röntgen, who was its director from 1913–1924, there was no sense of community and little possibility for individual teachers to have any influence on the structure and content of the program of study. In addition, there was a lack of awareness of the necessity of giving instruction in anything beyond the mere technical facility required to execute a piece of music.[39]

Calkoen gathered together a group of idealistic musicians and sponsors in an association whose objective was to create a new form of music education. His ambitious educational ideals were revealed in its first prospectus, an educational manifesto of the first degree. As its ideology informed Ina Lohr's approach to music, it is important to examine it in greater detail. The association had, namely,

> set itself the task of educating not only good musicians but also a musically developed general public, and wishes to reach this goal by starting from principles which are directed towards a harmonic link between technical education and inward development.[40]

37 Jo Juda, concertmaster of the Concertgebouw Orchestra from 1963–74, writes in his autobiography, *De zon stond nog laag*, Nieuwkoop: Uitgeverij Heuff 1975, 146, that "his parents had heard, however, that one taught in a more modern way at the Muziek Lyceum". "Mijn ouders hadden echter gehoord dat er op het Muziek Lyceum op meer moderne wijze werd lesgegeven".

38 Interview Ina Lohr with Jos Leussink, 24–25 March 1983.

39 Rutger Schoute, *Het Muzieklyceum 1921–1976: een terugblik*, Hilversum: [without publisher] 1976, 14–15.

40 "Zij stelt zich tot taak, zoowel goede toonkunstenaars als een muzikaal ontwikkeld publiek te vormen, en wil dit doel bereiken, door uit te gaan van beginselen, die gericht zijn op een harmonisch verband tusschen technische vorming en innerlijke ontwikkeling". *Muziek-Lyceum*, prospectus of 1921, 4, Staatsarchief Amsterdam, 1079/56.

Ill. 1.12: Eugène Calkoen, presumably supervising some sort of (entrance?) exam. Photo: Amsterdam City Archives: Archive of the Vereniging Muzieklyceum.

Further, these principles

> should in all respects take into account the demands of a serious musical practice which is completely directed towards oneself. Our attitude sees the technical and music theoretical education of the future musician as something undoubtedly necessary, in addition to good instruction in the practice of an instrument for a talented dilettante, and does not want to neglect in any respect the one or the other: but most of all, it wants to direct its attention to the spiritual [*geestlijke*] and aesthetic education as a basis for an artistic development; the one and the other in direct connection to the natural talent and the spiritual needs of each particular individual.[41]

Thus, the Muziek-Lyceum intended to not only educate the ongoing professional in a far more complete manner than the current system allowed, it was

41 "die in alle opzichten rekening houden met de eischen van een ernstige muziekbeoefening welke geheel op het innerlijk is gericht. Onze instelling beschouwt de technische en muziek-theoretische vorming van den aanstaanden toonkunstenaar zeker als iets noodzakelijks, evenals goed onderwijs in de beoefening van een instrument voor den begaafden dilettant, en wil noch het eene, noch het andere, in welk opzicht ook, verwaarloozen: doch vóór alles wil zij het oog gericht houden op de geestelijke en aesthetische vorming, als basis voor een artistieke ontwikkeling: één en ander in onmiddelijk verband met de natuurlijke begaafdheid en de geestelijke behoeften van ieder individu afzonderlijk." Ibid., 10.

also fired by the desire to widen and deepen the cultural base for music within Dutch society as a whole, seeing it as a necessary part of general education.

The emphasis on the spiritual aspects of the teaching and appreciation of music is in line with the reaction at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th against what was perceived as Romantic excesses in performance. This attitude manifested itself with particular vehemence in both the Netherlands, as well as in German-speaking countries (see Chapter 4 on Ina Lohr's own musical aesthetic), and is, in turn, reflected by the idea(l)s found in the prospectus. It is likely that the formulation of the prospectus was influenced by one of the Muziek-Lyceum's first teachers, Herman Rutters (1879–1961), a musicologist, pedagogue and music critic who through his reviews in the Amsterdam *Algemeen Handelsblad* waged a continuous and influential battle for musical purity.[42]

The almost religious nature of this search for purity is revealed by the final section of the prospectus on "Religion and Philosophy", where their role in the development of future musicians is discussed. In it, the 19th century was seen as being directed toward the precise perception of reality, toward objectivity, to a degree that this "passion for reality" conquered the arts and sciences.

> But now we realize once again that the human consciousness is only human in its entirety when it has been consecrated and deepened by synthetic reasoning. Now we once again realize that it does not benefit man to discover the world, unless he also discovers himself in the central, cosmic sense, through the diversity of the world. The Socratic call to self-reflection rages again through the lonely mind with new clarity and new force. The call is not without danger. If the professional study can no longer be said to be the only salvation, the powerful sense of reality that we received from the 19th century as a precious inheritance threatens to dissipate again into unhealthy dilettantism. It is, therefore, in all truth a spiritual "demand of our time" *to link daily professional studies with philosophic and religious reflection*, and to do so [in such a manner] that this does not remain *adjacent* to the professional studies, but penetrates, deepens and purifies all professional studies as "the centrality of consciousness".
>
> This centralization will naturally first be possible at institutions for instruction in *art*. Whilst a scientific field still has "practical use" without all reflection on life, an artistic field degenerates to a gymnastic [exercise] without this reflection on life, which only results in soulless skill, with neither practical use nor living beauty.[43]

42 Cf. Jed Wentz, "H.R. and the Formation of an Early Music Aesthetic in The Netherlands (1916–1921)", www.forschung.schola-cantorum-basiliensis.ch/de/forschung/ina-lohr-project/rutters-and-the-early-music-aesthetic.html (4 February 2020).

43 "Maar thans gaan wij toch weer beseffen, dat het menschelijk bewustzijn eerst vòlmenschelijk is, als het gewijd wordt en verdiept in synthetische gedachten. Thans gaan we weer beseffen, dat het den mensch niet baat, de wereld te ontdekken, tenzij hij met de veelheid der wereld ook zichzelf ontdekt in centraal-kosmisch inzicht. De Socratische roep om zelfbezinning woedt weer met nieuwe duidelijkheid en nieuwe kracht door de vereenzaamde

Thus the Muziek-Lyceum saw itself as an institution on the forefront of educational and spiritual reform, was highly idealistic in nature, creating new pedagogical structures to attain their goals.[44] Not unsurprisingly this remained a private initiative for many years with charitable donations covering fees for those who could not afford tuition, and with teachers willing to accept lower rates of pay for the satisfaction of teaching at a school where the concept of a complete musical education was paramount. And it is because of the high quality of the musicians associated with it – many of them also playing in the Concertgebouw Orchestra – that it quickly gained an influential position in the musical world of Amsterdam.

This, then, was the school that Ina Lohr attended – entering in the second year of its existence[45] in 1922 or 1923 – one that complemented the esteem with which the arts were regarded within her family. In order to attend it, she had to pass a stringent entrance exam. Beyond having a good general education, she had to demonstrate that her general musical development was sufficient for the school's requirements. In ear-training she was expected to be at home in various keys and meters, have an understanding of the use of clefs, use her organs for respiration and speech well, and know something about the art of performance and phrasing. This was to be tested by:[46]

> gedachten. Zonder gevaar is die roepstem niet. Als de vakstudie niet meer het alleen zaligmakende mag heeten, dreigt het krachtige werkelijkheidsbesef, dat we van de 19de eeuw als kostbare erfenis ontvingen, weer te vervluchtigen in ongezond dilettantisme. 't Is daarom in alle waarheid een geestelijke 'eisch van onzen tijd' *degelikjke vakstudie te verbinden met wijsgeerige en religieuze bezinning*, en wel zóó, dat deze niet *naast* de vakstudie blijft, maar als 'centraliteit van bewustzijn' alle vakstudie doordringt, verdiept en verpuurt.
>
> Deze centraliseering zal uiteraard het eerst mogelijk zijn bij inrichtingen voor *kunst*onderwijs. Heeft een weteschappelijk vak nog 'praktisch nut' buiten alle levensbezinning om, een kunstvak ontaardt buiten die levensbezinning tot een gymnastiek, die maar ziellooze vaardigheid geeft, zoowel zonder practisch nut als zonder levende schoonheid". *Muziek-Lyceum*, prospectus of 1921, 39.

44 Emblematic for his insistence on this approach is the fact that Calkoen loaned Jo Juda several works by two authors on spiritual and philosophic subjects, Jiddu Krishnamurti and Mathieu Hubertus Josephus Schoenmaekers. Jo Juda, *De zon stond nog laag*, 157.

45 This is the date given by Ina Lohr in an interview with Jos Leussink in 1983. Although in her autobiographical sketch (1981) her training may be understood to have only encompassed two years, 1927–29, this seems unlikely given her knowledge and capabilities by the time she arrived in Basel. Furthermore, in addition to the interview with Jos Leussink, on another cassette tape documenting her memories of "Die Entstehung der Schola Cantorum Basiliensis" (1980), she speaks of having studied several years in Amsterdam, PSF-ILC, CD 4.

46 The following information is found in *Muziek-Lyceum*, prospectus of 1921, 19–21.

1. the accurate singing of scales, intervals and chords (triads and dominant seventh chords with their inversions);
2. the notation, singing and also transposition of one-part dictations of medium difficulty from Lucien Grandjany's *500 dictées graduées* (Paris, 1892);
3. the rhythmical reading and beating of the measure in exercises from Hugo Riemann's *Kathechismus des Musikdiktats* (Leipzig, 1889);
4. the demonstration of ease in the notation of well-known folksongs in c-clefs and the playing of the easiest two-part exercises from Franz Wüllner's *Chorübungen der Münchener Musikschule*, vol. II (Munich, 1877);
5. the sight-singing of a second part, for example Dutch canons, or of one of the two-part songs and cantatas from Angelo Bertalotti's *Solfeggi a Canto e Alto* (Bologna, 1744);
6. the demonstration of knowledge of the most frequently used musical terms.

In harmony, she was expected to be able to make very simple harmonic connections both in writing, and more importantly on the piano, as well as to be able to make harmonic sense of a simple melody.

On the piano she would have to have been able to play all scales, as well as short and long arpeggios, demonstrate that she had thoroughly studied Carl Czerny's *Schule der Geläufigkeit* (composed in the 1830s) or a similar work, and could play some of Johann Sebastian Bach's two-part Inventions.

Finally on her instrument she would have been required

1. to play any scale, also in thirds and sixths and octaves, triads and seventh chords in three octaves with various bowings;
2. to demonstrate her knowledge of left-hand positions, and how to shift from one to another by performing some etude for the left-hand;
3. to demonstrate her knowledge of bowings by playing one exercise from each of the six parts of Otokar Ševčík's *Schule der Bogentechnik* (Leipzig, 1901);
4. to play etudes from Rodolphe Kreutzer's *40 Études et Caprices* (composed ca. 1796) or Federigo Fiorillo's *36 Études ou caprices pour violon*, op. 3 (18th century);
5. to play four concerti by Bach, Nardini, Viotti, Kreutzer, Rode or Bériot; two sonatas from Ferdinand David's *Die hohe Schule des Violinspiels* (Leipzig, 1870); and also a few simple concert pieces.

The musical prerequisites placed by the Muziek-Lyceum more than sufficiently document that although the school was ideologically progressive, it still