Erwin Bodky as Musicologist, Pedagogue, and Performer: A German Émigré in The United States

Andrew A. D'Antonio
University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/masters_theses_2

Part of the Music Education Commons, Musicology Commons, Music Pedagogy Commons, and the Music Performance Commons

Recommended Citation
https://scholarworks.umass.edu/masters_theses_2/345

This Open Access Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Dissertations and Theses at ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.
ERWIN BODKY AS MUSICOLOGIST, PEDAGOGUE, AND PERFORMER: A GERMAN ÉMIGRÉ IN THE UNITED STATES

A Thesis Presented

by

ANDREW A. D’ANTONIO

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF MUSIC

May 2016

Music Department
ERWIN BODKY AS MUSICOLOGIST, PEDAGOGUE, AND PERFORMER: A GERMAN ÉMIGRÉ IN THE UNITED STATES

A Thesis Presented

by

ANDREW A. D’ANTONIO

Approved as to style and content by:

__________________________________________
Erinn Knyt, Chair

__________________________________________
Ernest May, Member

__________________________________________
David Josephson, Member

__________________________________________
Jeff Cox, Department Head
Department of Music and Dance
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the help of several individuals, to whom I would like to extend my gratitude. Thank you to Erinn Knyt, my advisor, who has been tireless in her enthusiasm, support, and guidance; David Josephson, a fellow German émigré enthusiast and an indispensable resource who first brought Erwin Bodky to my attention; and Ernest May, who has provided thoughtful comments ranging from historiography to historical performance. Thank you to Mark Lindley, without whom much of this thesis would not exist, as he was gracious in sharing a wealth of material, including many original documents and photographs gathered from around the world.

Thanks to Pam Juengling, University of Massachusetts Amherst Music Librarian, who repeatedly helped me track down nearly impossible-to-find sources. Thanks to Nicholas Brown, Music Director and Founder of the Irving Fine Society, whose thought-provoking comments about the Music Department at Brandeis University and the liberal arts led to the idea for my second chapter. Thanks to Roy Rudolph, librarian at the Longy School of Music. Thanks to the staff members at the Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections at Brandeis University; the M.E. Grenander Department of Special Collections & Archives at the State University of New York at Albany; the Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library, Harvard University; the Smith College Archives; the Amherst College Archives; and the University of Washington Libraries.

Finally, I would like to extend a special thanks to Robert Hansler. Thank you for your feedback and support, and for being with me every step along this journey. I can think of no other companion with whom I would rather spend my life.
Before 1933, Erwin Bodky actively participated in musical life in Berlin. When he was a student, the Prussian Government had given him grants in 1920 and 1921 to study with the distinguished composers Richard Strauss and Ferruccio Busoni. His international performing career was launched when, at the last minute, Bodky was asked to replace a pianist for a performance with Wilhelm Furtwängler. When he became a professor at the Staatlich Akademie für Kirchen- und Schulmusik in Charlottenburg in 1926, he immersed himself in early music, performing on harpsichord and clavichord and founding his own collegium musicum. His publications, *Der Vortrag alter Klaviermusik* (Berlin: Hesse, 1932) and *Das Charakterstück* (Berlin: Vieweg, 1933), promised a future wealth of scholarship.

However, in 1933, Bodky was expelled from his teaching position because he was a Jew. After officials came to seize part of his instrument collection, he and his family fled to Amsterdam, where they were in exile for five years. In 1938, he managed to escape Europe by securing a position at the Longy School of Music in Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Bodky would become one of the most important proponents of early music in the United States. Over the last twenty years of his life, he promoted historical instruments, performance practice, and forgotten early music repertoire. His many accomplishments in the United States include the founding of the Music Department at Brandeis University and the Cambridge Society for Early Music, the introduction and promotion of the collegium musicum, and the publication of the treatise *The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960).

This thesis provides the first detailed examination of his influence in the United States. His roles as performer, scholar, and teacher are each explored. Relying upon unpublished archival material, academic records, memoirs, and numerous concert programs in addition to Bodky’s published writings, this study reveals that Bodky had a significant impact on how early music was performed, taught, and received in the United States.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter/Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. BODKY, BACH, AND BOSTON: ERWIN BODKY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EARLY MUSIC SCENE</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Music in Boston</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Instruments</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cambridge Society for Early Music</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. MORE THAN A VIRTUOSO: ERWIN BODKY’S NEW APPROACH TO HIGHER MUSIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching Historical Performance: Instruments and Repertoire</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collegia Musica in the United States</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodky and the Liberal Arts</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding Thoughts</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. POSTLUDE: BODKY IN RETROSPECT</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Music Department at Brandeis University</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cambridge Society for Early Music</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding Thoughts</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX: SYLLABI</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1: Erwin Bodky 1896-1958</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1: Bodky with Landowska.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: Bodky at the Berlin Musical Instrument Museum, with a piano that belonged to Carl Maria von Weber.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4: Bodky conducts an unidentified ensemble at Longy.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Sometime during the 1930s, Wanda Landowska, “Queen of the Harpsichord,” agreed to meet with a young professor from Berlin who was beginning to gain recognition for his own work on the harpsichord.¹ When this professor, named Erwin Bodky, arrived at Landowska’s studio, the matriarch coldly directed him: “Play something for us—play the Goldberg Variations!” He promptly sat down and played the entire piece from memory. Landowska was not very happy.²

It was more than just Bodky’s precociousness that ruffled Landowska’s feathers: his ideology differed fundamentally from Landowska’s approach to early music performance, period instruments, education, concerts, and music in general. While he would later praise Landowska for the exposure she gave the harpsichord, he asserted that she was misinformed in her insistence on playing *all* early music on the harpsichord. He argued that her approach was narrow-minded; he thought that the early music keyboardist should be familiar with instruments like the clavichord, fortepiano, and even the English virginal, in addition to the harpsichord.

¹ According to Bodky’s daughter, Angelica Bodky Lee, they were actually living in Amsterdam when he went to visit Landowska. However, Bodky would have certainly been associated with Berlin at that time. Angelica Bodky Lee in “Reminiscences of Bodky,” http://www.csem.org/Selected%20PDFs%20for%20Bodky%20site/Reminiscences%20of%20Bodky.pdf, accessed August 12, 2014.

² Ibid.
Figure 1: Bodky with Landowska. Photo courtesy of Mark Lindley.

The origin of Bodky’s interest in early music still requires considerable research. Tamara Levitz has noted that as early as 1921 he was immersed in studies concerning historical performance and repertoire.³ (See Biographical Timeline, Table 1). Lindley has suggested that Bodky began visiting the Berlin Musical Instrument Museum in the 1920s or 1930s, which provided him practical experience on historical instruments.⁴ Bodky’s position at the Staatlich Akademie für Kirchen- und Schulmusik in Berlin (1926-33)

³ Tamara Levitz, Teaching New Classicality: Ferruccio Busoni’s Master Class in Composition. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), 137.

⁴ Further research is required to determine when Bodky first began visiting the museum, which collections he interacted with, and what was the nature of his studies there. Lindley has provided me a photographs of Bodky with rare instruments from the museum, including Carl Maria von Weber’s personal piano. Lindley email message to author, October 24, 2014.
placed him within close quarters of the musicologist Hans Joachim Moser, who was
directing a collegium musicum in Berlin.\textsuperscript{5} Bodky and Moser became close friends with a
shared interest in early music.\textsuperscript{6}

Figure 2: Bodky at the Berlin Musical Instrument Museum, with a piano that belonged to
Carl Maria von Weber. Photo courtesy of Mark Lindley.

Although Bodky was respected in Berlin, his life and the lives of his family
members were placed into peril in 1933 because they were Jewish. Shortly after his
dismissal from his professorship, officials came and seized a Steingräber harpsichord and
clavichord that had been given to him. Bodky and his family had no choice but to flee.\textsuperscript{7}

\textsuperscript{5} Lindley, interview with author, August 12, 2014.

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid. According to Lindley, Moser even invited Bodky to perform the clavichord on a collegium musicum
concert.

\textsuperscript{7} Angelica Bodky Lee in “Reminiscences of Bodky.”
For five years they lived in Amsterdam, eventually immigrating to the United States in 1938. Bodky was 42 at the time, beginning a new life as an American. During the final two decades of his life, 1938-1958, he became one of the most important promoters of early music in the United States, accomplished through his roles as a performer, teacher, and scholar.

Table 1: Erwin Bodky 1896-1958

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Born in Ragnit, Prussia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Enters the University of Berlin and the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Wins the Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Prize for composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-18</td>
<td>Drafted into German army, studies placed on hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Wins the Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Prize for composition again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Graduates from the University of Berlin and the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin, M. A. summa cum laude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Receives fellowship from the Prussian Government to study with Richard Strauss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gives debut as solo pianist, receives positive reviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Receives fellowship from the Prussian Government to study with Ferruccio Busoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-22</td>
<td>Tours as a concert pianist for the first time, meets Wilhelm Furtwängler</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are several discrepancies between my timeline presented here, which is based upon resumes and biographies written by Bodky himself, and the biographical sketch presented in Mark Lindley’s article “Erwin Bodky (1896-1958): A Prussian in Boston,” Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (2011): 229-242. Lindley makes the following claims that differ from my own: 1. Bodky began his studies at Hochschule für Musik in Berlin in 1914; 2. Bodky began his studies with Richard Strauss at Prussian Academy of the Arts (formerly the Royal Academy) in 1918; 3. Bodky won the Felix Mendelssohn Prize in 1920; 4. Bodky began teaching piano at Klindworth—Scharwenka Conservatory in Berlin in 1924; and 5. Bodky met Wanda Landowska in Paris at some point during the 1920s or 1930s. While there is photographic evidence that Bodky did meet Landowska, I cannot confirm when or where he met her, though Angelica Bodky Lee has traced this to when Bodky was living in Amsterdam. It is entirely presumable that they met in Paris or that their paths crossed when both had immigrated to the United States.

This fellowship was awarded on October 1, 1919, but the lessons probably did not go into effect until 1920.

According to Lindley, Bodky received positive reviews, but I have not found any primary sources to confirm this claim.

See footnote 6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923 or 1924-26</td>
<td>Teaches at Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatory of Music in Berlin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Organizes a Collegium Musicum in Berlin, performing entire programs of early music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-1933</td>
<td>Becomes Assistant Professor of piano at Staatlich Akademie für Kirchen- und Schulmusik in Charlottenburg (1926-28); becomes Associate Professor (1928-33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Publishes <em>Der Vortrag alter Klaviermusik</em> (Berlin: Hesse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Publishes <em>Das Charakterstück</em> (Berlin: Vieweg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loses job at Staatlich Akademie because he was Jewish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moves to Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forms Collegium Musicum in Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-38</td>
<td>Teacher at Music-Lyzeum in Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teacher at the Conservatory of Music in Haarlem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Moves to United States after receiving part time position at Longy School of Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-1952</td>
<td>Becomes a faculty member at The Longy School of Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>The Cambridge Collegium Musicum becomes The Cambridge Society for Early Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summers 1945, 1947, 1948 Academic year 1948-49</td>
<td>Becomes a visiting faculty member at Black Mountain College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-58</td>
<td>Founds music department at Brandeis University, eventually becoming full professor (1958)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Dies while on vacation in Switzerland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Posthumous publication of <em>The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works</em> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Sometimes also referred to as the Staatlich Akademie für Kirchen- und Schulmusik in Berlin.

13 Slosberg et al have written that Bodky formed a collegium musicum in Holland in 1932, but this date is unlikely, given that Bodky was still living in Berlin and would not move to Amsterdam until the following year. *Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute*, Helen S. Slosberg, Mary V. Ullman, Isabel K. Whiting, editors (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University, 1965), 20.

14 Bodky’s daughter, Angelica Bodky Lee, said that Bodky taught private students while in Amsterdam, but I have not been able to find any details about Bodky’s private studio. “Reminiscences of Bodky.”
Summary of Previous Scholarship

Scholarship about Bodky’s life and work is limited in number and scope. William D. Gudger has written a short article on Bodky in the Grove online dictionary. Mark Lindley is the only scholar to publish an article with Bodky as a central focus. Relying heavily on primary source material including communications with Bodky’s daughter Angelica, and interviews with Bodky’s friends, colleagues, and students, Lindley compiled a biographical sketch of Bodky’s life in his article, “Erwin Bodky (1896-1958): A Prussian in Boston.” Lindley has worked with both the Cambridge Society for Early Music and Brandeis University to bring attention to Bodky. On the website of the Cambridge Society for Early Music, Lindley has provided a biographical overview of Bodky and uploaded a number of documents related to Bodky. This includes Lindley’s transcriptions of interviews with individuals who had significant interactions and connections to Bodky, titled “Reminiscences of Bodky.”

---

15 Mark Lindley, a musicologist and harpsichordist, first learned about Bodky when he rented a room from Bodky’s daughter, Angelica Bodky Lee, and son-in-law, Roger Kenneth Lee, at Bodky’s old house on School Street in Watertown, Massachusetts. Lindley’s earliest interviews with friends and relatives of Bodky date back to 1996.

16 My outline of Bodky’s life differs significantly from Lindley’s. I have included these discrepancies in footnote 8.


Tamara Levitz’s dissertation “Teaching New Classicality: Busoni’s Master Class in Composition, 1921-24” examines a brief portion of Bodky’s student years. Later, Bodky would recount stories about Busoni to his students; while there were significant aesthetic differences, particularly in the interpretation of early music, he generally spoke of Busoni with great admiration.

Henry Haskell’s *The Early Music Revival* identifies Boston as one of the most important cities in the United States in the development of historical performance. He credits this development in part to Bodky and his Cambridge Society of Early Music, along with the pioneering efforts of Nadia Boulanger and Alfred Einstein. While Haskell was one of the first scholars to identify Bodky’s significance in the early music movement, he incorrectly states that Bodky performed early music repertoire solely on modern instruments. As I establish in my first chapter, Bodky used an array of historical instruments in combination with modern instruments, with the overriding philosophy that historical instruments would be used whenever possible.

Bodky is also mentioned in a number of memoirs. Abram Sachar, the first president of Brandeis, wrote about the founding and early years of Brandeis in *A Host at Last* and discusses his interactions with Bodky during the founding of the School of Creative Arts at Brandeis. A number of alumni and affiliates from Black Mountain

---

19 Tamara Levitz, “Teaching New Classicality: Busoni’s Master Class in Composition,” (PhD diss., The University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1994).


21 Ibid, 107-108.

College wrote about their experiences at the experimental school in the form of memoirs, letters, and essays, many of which have been published. One text that published many of these writings and includes numerous references to Bodky was *Black Mountain College: Sprouted Seeds, An Anthology of Personal Accounts*.\(^{23}\) Perhaps the most famous story about him involved his clash with another Black Mountain faculty member, John Cage, in the summer of 1948. This story has surfaced in texts on Cage.\(^{24}\)

However, research on the biography and impact of Bodky is still incomplete. While this thesis is currently the most extensive and detailed examination of his time in the United States, there is still work to be done, especially on his time in other countries. His five years in Amsterdam have yet to be researched. Like Boston, Amsterdam and the surrounding area have been a major center for early music, and examination of Bodky’s influence there would contribute to our understanding of his international role in early music.

**Primary Sources**

The main sources of information for Bodky’s years in America include archival collections and Bodky’s own writings about early music. The most extensive archival collection is Bodky’s Nachlaß, which is held in the M.E. Grenander Department of Special Collections & Archives at the State University of New York at Albany. This collection is maintained in the German and Jewish Intellectual Émigré Collection. The


\(^{24}\) There are several texts that include this story; a more recent example is Rob Haskins, *John Cage* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 53.

Other significant archival collections are held at the academic institutions where Bodky taught.\(^{26}\) The holdings in the Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections at Brandeis University are located in the Abram L. Sachar Brandeis University Presidential Papers, 1940-1990, n.d.\(^{27}\) The material consists primarily of correspondence between Sachar and Bodky, including Bodky’s proposal for a music department at Brandeis and his proposal for a resident string quartet. The Longy School of Music contains a collection of Bodky’s papers, including correspondence, programs, advertisements, and reviews.\(^{28}\)

Bodky’s earliest publications, which began with his transition into musicology as a young teacher in Berlin, promised a great wealth of research. His first publication, Der Vortrag alter Klaviermusik (1932), provided an “initial sketch” of what would become a


\(^{26}\) One exception is Black Mountain College, as the institution closed in 1957. Archival collections are now located at the Black Mountain College Museum. Due to ongoing renovations at the museum, my requests for documents were not fulfilled.


\(^{28}\) Longy does not have a finding aid for their collection, nor is the collection a formal archive. Access to these papers was courtesy Roy Rudolph.
lifetime dedicated to historical repertoire on keyboard instruments. The following year he published *Das Charakterstück*, an anthology of keyboard literature edited and provided with commentary by Bodky. During his exile to Amsterdam, Bodky wrote (in German) a couple of book reviews for the Dutch journal, *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis*.

When Bodky moved to the United States, his scholarly productivity declined, as he was overworked at the Longy. As he gained greater financial stability through working summers at Black Mountain and a tenure position at Brandeis, he renewed his interest in scholarship. In 1945, he presented a paper on clavichord music at the New England Chapter of the American Musicology Society, a topic he had just begun to explore in *Der Vortrag alter Klaviermusik*. In 1952, Bodky presented a paper at the International Musicological Society titled “New Contributions to the Problem of

---

29 See Chapter 3.

30 This anthology is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.


32 His “part-time position” was part-time in salary rather than workload, so he had to take on additional private students. Bodky was paid about $2000 annually by Longy for teaching at least six classes a year plus private lessons. The average salary for professors across the US in 1936 was between $2606 and $4676, and if Bodky was working across the street at Harvard, he probably would have made somewhere between $9,500 and $13,000 annually. Ralph L. Dewey, review of *College Salaries, 1936* by Walter J. Greenleaf, *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors (1915-1955)* 24, no. 5 (May, 1938): 451-452; and Seymour E. Harris, “Faculty Salaries,” *AAUP Bulletin*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Dec. 1957): 581-593.

Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works.” This paper provided the basis of his treatise, The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works, which had been the focus of his scholarship since Der Vortrag alter Klaviermusik. In The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works, he discussed various interpretive concerns including articulation, tempi, and ornamentation. The treatise would be his most significant piece of scholarship: its publication attracted half a dozen reviews, and the work has been cited in other treatises.

**Thesis Outline**

Bodky was a man of many talents. He began his life in music as a virtuoso pianist and competition-winning composer. In the United States, he was a teacher, a conductor, an early keyboard specialist, an administrator, a curator, and a musicologist. Although he was Jewish by birth, he never considered himself religious. In terms of national identity, he was a Prussian who became a German who became an American. The American government and various diplomatic committees labeled him as an exile, a refugee, an émigré, and a displaced person. However, Bodky never bothered with any of these

---

34 “New Contributions to the Problem of Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works,” Société international de musicology, Cinquième congrès, Utrecht, July 3-7, 1952, 73-78.

35 See Chapter 3.

36 One example is in John Butt’s Bach Interpretation: Articulation Marks in Primary Sources of J. S. Bach (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1.

37 Bodky would abandon both of these occupations before coming to the United States.

labels and their limiting boundaries. To those closest to him, he was a father, a husband, a
friend, and a mentor.

The three occupational identities of Bodky addressed in this thesis—performer, teacher, and scholar—function as structural organizers for the following chapters of this thesis. The first chapter focuses on him as a performer. The setting is Boston, a center for historical performance that was relatively undeveloped when Bodky arrived but professional when he departed. He accomplished this through his performances as a harpsichordist, clavichordist, and conductor. He established the Cambridge Society for Early Music, which gained a significant following and paved the way for future early music societies and performers. The second chapter traces Bodky’s role in higher education in the United States, from his methods of teaching at the Longy, Black Mountain, and Brandeis, to his creation of a new type of liberal arts department of music. The third chapter places him within a current context, concluding that while his legacy on the surface is as musicologist who authored an important treatise, his work in all his occupational roles has contributed to the foundation of historical performance in the United States.

Those who knew Bodky found him to be likeable, pleasant, brilliant, and enthusiastic. The man was a walking encyclopedia of music history, and he could sit down at a keyboard and play virtually any excerpt from memory. The obstacles he faced, including discrimination and displacement, never deterred him from his constant goal: to share music with others.
CHAPTER 1
BODKY, BACH, AND BOSTON: ERWIN BODKY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EARLY MUSIC SCENE

“The final proof of a pudding is its perpetuation in a recipe for the continuing enjoyment of a consuming public. Erwin Bodky was wise in sensing the need of making known a wealth of music lying silent in libraries, and energetic in bringing it to life.”

-- John N. Burk

It is hardly coincidental that Boston’s rise to prominence in the development of historically informed performance practice during the 1940s and 50s coincided with the arrival of Erwin Bodky, who came to Boston in 1938. Bodky, a student of Ferruccio Busoni and Richard Strauss, and later a prolific performer and keyboard teacher at the Akademie für Kirchen- und Schulmusik (1926-33), was one of hundreds of music scholars and musicians to arrive in the United States after being exiled from Germany before WWII. Bodky arrived in Boston with an array of historical keyboard instruments and an unprecedented (at least for Boston) knowledge of early music. Not that Boston was a complete stranger to early music—“historical concerts” were happening there as early as the mid-nineteenth century—but the city during the 1940s and 50s witnessed a

---


40 Bodky’s Jewish background forced him to flee Berlin in 1933 and move to Amsterdam. He managed to escape Europe with his family in 1938, through securing a part-time position at the Longy School of Music in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This allowed him and his family to immigrate to the United States, where they would remain for the rest of their lives.

dramatic increase in both quality and quantity when it came to early music making. Bodky was a significant contributor to these changes. His influence in the Boston-area came through his teaching appointment at the Longy School of Music, his direction of the Early Music Concert Series at the Germanic Museum, and his founding of the Cambridge Society for Early Music and the Department of Music at Brandeis University, as well as his numerous concerts as a keyboardist and conductor.

Bodky’s work in Boston centered around Johann Sebastian Bach and culminated in the treatise, *The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works* (1960). That treatise has received about half a dozen reviews, but besides them and a brief biographical essay by Mark Lindley, Bodky has been largely ignored by scholars. Relying on original documents and archival material such as correspondence, course descriptions, and concert, society, periodical, and academic records, this chapter provides the first comprehensive study of Bodky’s approach to Bach and the performance of early music during his time in the Boston area.

**Early Music in Boston**

Harry Haskell traces Boston’s interest in early music back to the 1815, when the “Handel and Haydn Society” was founded. As one of the first historical music societies in the United States, the Handel and Haydn Society was initiated as a community-sing of approximately one hundred participants on Christmas night. Other ensembles and

---

42 Erwin Bodky, *The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960). This treatise is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

43 Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988) 94-95. Today the Handel and Haydn Society functions as a period instrument orchestra and chorus. Haskell asserts that the Society gave the first performances of Bach in Boston in the 1870s, though advertisements for Bach concerts in 1853 prove that claim to be incorrect.
performers followed the Handel and Haydn Society’s lead, and within the next few decades it became common to program music by dead composers. By the 1850s, the repertoire for historical concerts had expanded beyond Handel and Haydn: concert advertisements reveal that Bach’s music, as well as music by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, John Blow, and Henry Purcell, was being performed in piano recitals, chamber concerts, orchestra concerts, churches and “vocal readings” at venues throughout the city.44

These concerts were promoted as being performed with historical considerations. A concert listing from April 23, 1853 in Dwight’s Journal of Music included the addendum: “In addition to the truthful rendering of these works, the Executants propose giving introductory remarks to such of the Pieces, as require Historical exposition, all of which will be duly notified in the Programmes of the day.”45 (See figure 3.)

---

44 “CLASSICAL CHAMBER CONCERTS,” Dwight’s Journal of Music, April 23, 1853, 23. Dwight’s Journal sought to be the authority on musical happenings for Bostonians. Therefore, not only were events in Boston covered; light articles addressed issues like aesthetics and pedagogy, and there were reviews and concert summaries of significant events happening in major cities across the United States and Europe.

45 Ibid. This is in a listing for classical chamber concerts, which features eighteenth-century music on piano and repertoire from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music for voice.
Despite such claims, concerts in the 1850s were historically informed only insomuch as they used historical repertoire. Instrumentation and ensemble-size for eighteenth-century music was appropriated to nineteenth-century aesthetics. The piano was considered the ideal instrument for the keyboard music of Bach, and the ideal ensemble for a Bach Passion was a choir of 200 and an orchestra of 100.  

Although historical repertoire was thriving, a parallel interest in historical instruments did not develop in Boston until the early twentieth-century. Arnold

---

46 Nathan Richardson, “Our Correspondence from Germany,” Dwight’s Journal of Music, April 30, 1853, 27.
Dolmetsch began restoring historical instruments in 1889 in England, and he garnered international attention by giving concerts on these instruments. In 1905, the Chickering factory of Boston hired Dolmetsch to create a line of historical instruments, which included viols, lutes, harpsichords, virginals, and clavichords. The market for such instruments was ripe in Boston, and when Dolmetsch left Chickering in 1910, musicians and connoisseurs sought out instruments through European makers. While other cities like New York City were also promoting historical concerts, Boston was unrivaled in its embrace of historical instruments during the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries.

By the early twentieth-century, Boston had several formal societies dedicated to early music, and these societies would frequently advertise concerts in the *Boston Globe*. Two of the most important societies were the Flute Players’ Club and the Society of Early Music. During the 1930s, the Flute Players’ Club listed several concerts of music from 1600-1800 and with harpsichord accompaniment, and a concert on April 12, 1937 featured a solo harpsichord performance by Putnam Aldrich. By 1938, the Society of Early Music was performing concerts of music by Georg Philipp Telemann, Diego Ortiz, Christopher Simpson, and Girolamo Frescobaldi. These historical concerts took place at an array of venues, from churches and hotel lobbies to concert halls and academic

---

47 Boston’s demand for historical instruments allowed for the success of later American instrument makers like John Challis, who began making harpsichords in 1931.

48 Another significant society was The Society for Ancient Instruments, which was founded in 1938. This group was a chamber ensemble that performed on historical instruments.

49 “HOTEL VENDOME: Flute Players Club,” *Daily Boston Globe*, April 12, 1937, 6. I have been unable to determine when the Flute Players’ Club was founded or what their mission statement was. Their earliest appearance in the *Boston Globe* is February 10, 1935.

50 “MUSIC: WOMEN’S CITY CLUB: Society for Early Music,” *Daily Boston Globe*, November 30, 1938, 23. It is unclear when this society was founded, though it was probably earlier in 1938.
institutions. Harvard University was a major contributor to venue space, lending societies use of Paine Hall, the Germanic Museum, and Sanders Theatre for the performance of early music.

As societies, venues, and audiences dedicated to early music grew in size and number, Boston began to attract more early music specialists. Many of Wanda Landowska’s American harpsichord students, including Putnam Aldrich, Ralph Kirkpatrick, and Daniel Pinkham, moved to Boston after studying with her in France.\(^{51}\) Concerts given by these students in the 1930s gave Bostonians a familiarity with the harpsichord, although other historical keyboard instruments, like the clavichord and fortepiano, received very little attention prior to Bodky’s arrival.

Other early music specialists to arrive during the 1930s were European émigrés, like Bodky. The most notable émigrés involved with early music were Nadia Boulanger, Alfred Einstein, Willi Apel, Wolfe Wolfinson, and Iwan D’Archambeau.\(^{52}\) Therefore, when Bodky arrived in Boston in 1938, the city was well-primed for a man of his expertise. He increased the public’s access to early music offerings through his performances and the range of festivals, series, and individual concerts he curated. The quality of early music performances increased as well, through his acquisition of fine and

\(^{51}\) Other students of Landowska, like Alice Ehlers, did not move to Boston, but still gave concerts there. “Notes and Comment,” \textit{Daily Boston Globe}, February 16, 1936, A44.

\(^{52}\) Alfred Einstein’s academic position at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts placed him 100 miles west of Boston, but he was still active in early music events happening in Boston.
rare historical instruments, his insistence on historical instruments in performance, and his scholarly approach to programming and interpretation.53

While Bodky would increase the quantity and quality of early music offerings in Boston, he probably would not have succeeded in a different American city, at least to the same extent as he did in Boston.54 Boston offered him a range of professional and semi-professional early musicians for collaboration, a devoted audience eager to hear more early music, and a wealth of historical instruments. Bodky and Boston greeted each other with open arms.

**Historical Instruments**

The use of historical instruments was an issue of utmost importance to Bodky: large portions of his books *Der Vortrag Alter Klaviermusik* and *The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works* address that concern, which he refers to as the “instrument problem.”55 He argued that Bach always had a specific instrument—typically a harpsichord or clavichord—in mind.56 An educated performer could decipher which instrument Bach had intended for the piece by using analysis: works where the harmonic and structural integrity were maintained by terraced dynamics were suited for the

---

53 Bodky’s interpretation is outlined in great detail in *The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works*. See Chapter 3.

54 The only exception to this might have been New York City. Further studies are necessary to fully understand the development of early music in New York City before 1938.


56 Concerning the performance of Bach on the piano, Bodky was discouraging and recommended this only in the most dire of circumstances—and these should be restricted to private, home performances. If Bach’s works are going to be played on the piano, they must be transcribed. Bodky recommended the organ transcriptions of Liszt, Tausig, Reger, and Busoni as ideal models. See *The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works*, 12-13 and 92-95.
harpsichord, and works that required the use of gradual dynamics changes were intended for the clavichord. Bodky wrote, “We will find that the range of influence of the clavichord is far greater than one ever expected it to be, and that Bach did not need to indicate which piece was meant for harpsichord and which for the clavichord, because he almost always conveyed this message to the experienced player with ‘invisible ink.’”

Consequently, Bodky argued that Bach’s work should not be referred to as the “Well-Tempered Clavichord,” as was typical in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s, but as the “Well-Tempered Keyboard.”

This attachment of theoretical and analytical study to historical performance was a major component of Bodky’s approach:

This unforgivable attitude [that theory is irrelevant] is supported by many teachers, who eternally complain that assignments in theory prevent the student from having enough time for practicing; indeed, the matter comes up regularly for discussion at faculty meetings in nearly every conservatory. Our analytical discussions of Bach’s fugues should certainly have convinced readers that knowledge of the problems of musical structure is an indispensable prerequisite for a performer.

Bodky’s admonition to use the music to determine the historically correct instrument was especially novel considering that the clavichord was largely unused at the

57 This is a simplification of Bodky’s theory. In the Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works, Bodky dedicated almost one hundred pages explaining and demonstrating this theory, and when he would lecture on this idea, which he would frequently do at public lecture recitals, at television and radio appearances, and in his college classes, he would often dedicate an entire session to explaining this idea.

58 Bodky, The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works, 26.

59 Bodky’s examination of the Well-Tempered “Keyboard” in The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works deals primarily with the fugues.

60 Informed study in connection to performance was a major component of Bodky’s teaching. See Chapter 2.

61 Bodky, The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works, 97.
time. Not all of the instruments Bodky used were historically accurate: programs from the Cambridge Society for Early Music indicate that occasionally a Challis model harpsichord was used.\textsuperscript{62} However, Bodky’s writings indicate that he was always concerned with the “authenticity” of instruments, and several of the other instruments he used, like the Stein pianos, were historical. Whether or not all the instruments he used were historically accurate should not lessen the fact that his intentions were for historical models, which put him a step ahead of contemporaries like Landowska.\textsuperscript{63} His interest in historically correct instruments led to his advocacy for the clavichord, an instrument that his first text, \textit{Der Vortrag alter Klaviermusik}, was largely responsible for resurrecting in Germany and abroad.\textsuperscript{64}

By the time of Bodky’s arrival, Bostonians were aware of the clavichord, but the instrument had yet to be integrated into performance or educational circles.\textsuperscript{65} The records of the few clavichord performances before 1938 indicate a lack of understanding about the instrument and its historical context. For example, in 1938 Corinne Frederick gave a clavichord performance broadcast on Boston radio station WBZ. In the spirit of revival,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item\textsuperscript{62} John Challis was more interested in inventing a new type of harpsichord than making historical reproductions.
  \item\textsuperscript{63} Haskell incorrectly claims that the Cambridge Society for Early Music gave concerts on modern instruments “as a rule.” Haskell, 107.
  \item\textsuperscript{64} This is according to Alfred Mann. Alfred Mann interview with Mark Lindley, 1996 in “Reminiscence of Bodky,” http://www.csem.org/Selected%20PDFs%20for%20Bodky%20site/Reminiscences%20of%20Bodky.pdf, accessed August 12, 2014. See Chapter 3.
  \item\textsuperscript{65} We know that Bostonians had some contact with clavichords because Dolmetsch at Chickering & Sons had been making them at the beginning of the century. A poem by Anne Campell published in the \textit{Daily Boston Globe}, titled “The Clavichord,” indicates some cultural familiarity with the instrument. The poem gave a spiritual transcendence in tribute to the delicate qualities of the historical instrument, and a lack of any sort of accompanying description suggests that the average \textit{Globe} reader would have at least a basic knowledge of the instrument. Anne Campbell, “The Clavichord,” \textit{Daily Boston Globe}, Apr 7, 1938, 25.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the event sought to make history featuring the clavichord with a full orchestra, playing the first movement of Mozart’s Concerto in A major, K488. To compensate for the obvious balance issues that such an experiment would produce, the clavichord was amplified.66

Bodky advocated for the clavichord and educated the public about the instrument through his performances, which were primarily selections from Bach’s Well-Tempered Keyboard or the Three-Part Inventions. In addition to these performances, course listings at Longy indicate that he offered private lessons in clavichord as well as the harpsichord.67 For his larger history classes, he would welcome students into his home for demonstrations on his personal instrument collection.68 His instrument collection included a harpsichord by Karl Maendler, a clavichord, a virginal and/or square piano, as well as multiple Beckstein pianos.69

In addition to advocating for the clavichord and harpsichord in Der Vortrag Alter Klaviermusik and The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works, Bodky published articles on the merits of other historical keyboard instruments, including the fortepiano

66 “Program Highlights,” Daily Boston Globe, Jan 23, 1938, C8. Corinne Fredericks gave another clavichord performance earlier on WBZ radio station that might have been more successful—the program listed was the solo pieces “The Call of the Birds” by Rameau and “Prelude in B flat” by Bach.” In “Program Highlights,” Daily Boston Globe, Nov 21, 1937, B7.

67 I have been unable to find any records of specific students who may have studied these instruments with him.

68 Bodky’s students and pedagogical methods are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

69 The specifics of this collection vary between sources. Nancy Golden references a virginal and Adele Borouchoff references a square piano, though it is possible that these were the same instrument. “A Tribute to Erwin Bodky,” Slosberg Music Center, Brandeis University, October 19, 2014. It is unclear what type of clavichord Bodky owned. I have not been able to find any further identifying information about these instruments.
and virginals. In a review of Hans Brunner’s Das Klavierklangideal Mozarts und die Klaviere seiner Zeit (1935), Bodky addresses the merits of various keyboard instruments, particularly the fortepiano; in “New Contributions to the Problem of Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works” (1952) Bodky offers a brief examination of the unique role of virginals and the compositional techniques of virginalists in relation to Bach’s music.70

In his concerts with the Cambridge Society for Early Music, Bodky’s selection of keyboard instruments for the performances ranged from restored and replicated harpsichords to historical pianos by Stein.71 These instruments typically came from private collections, sometimes including Bodky’s own. In 1955, the Society had raised enough money to purchase a Stein piano, which was used in performances of music by Mozart and his contemporaries.72

**The Cambridge Society for Early Music**

The Cambridge Society for Early Music developed out of an existing concert series at the Germanic Museum at Harvard, which were referred to as “The Concerts at the Germanic Museum.”73 These concerts sometimes featured the Longy Orchestra as well as historical performers like the Cologne Chamber Music Trio, which subsisted of

---


71 Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute, 59-60.

72 The society refers to this instrument as a “Mozart Piano.” Ibid, 54.

73 The Museum was founded in 1903 as the Germanic Museum, but it changed its name in 1950 to the Busch-Reisinger Museum, as it is known today. I use the term “Germanic Museum” throughout this Chapter, as Bodky involvement with the museum predates the name change.
harpsichord, viola da gamba, and recorder flute. Bodky was named director of the series shortly after arriving to the United States.

Under Bodky’s direction, the concerts became more popular, which allowed him to offer a larger number of historical concerts featuring professionals in solo or chamber recitals. On the series he appeared as soloist as well as with his trio, The Cambridge Collegium Musicum, which included his fellow Longy colleagues Wolfe Wolfinson (violin) and Iwan D’Archainbeau (cello). The successful series was threatened to be cancelled after 1942, due to the United States involvement in World War II. The Germanic Museum shut its doors to art activities and was commandeered by the United States Army. The series was moved to the Exhibition Room of the Houghton Library beginning in 1942, but after a three years Longy withdrew its support, citing undisclosed financial constraints.

The patron base that Bodky had developed at The Concerts at the Germanic Museum refused to let financial and political obstacles prevent these concerts from continuing. After Longy announced that the series would no longer be continued, fans sent several letters decrying the decision. When the letters proved unsuccessful, the patrons, led by Robert Ulich and Elsa Brönstrom Ulich, united together to form the “Committee of Friends for Early Music,” attracting the distinguished Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge as Honorary Chairman. Bodky was immediately named director and the Cambridge Collegium Musicum as the resident ensemble of the series.

---

74 Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute, 14.

75 Many of the letters are still in the Bodky Papers at the Longy School of Music.
The Committee of Friends of Early Music established a budget for the series that would allow “three concerts of early chamber music” each season. By 1945, a first official season was launched under the new name, “The Society of Friends of the Cambridge Collegium Musicum.” Concerts took place at the Rindge Technical High School Auditorium, as the venue provided more space for a growing audience. The newly formed series triumphed, and within three years after the move the Society had grown to over 1,000 patrons. Such large audiences demanded that the series change venues again. By 1949, the series used Harvard’s 1,000 seat Sanders Theatre for its venue, and concerts were filled to capacity. In 1952, the Society officially changed its name to the “Cambridge Society for Early Music,” the name it currently retains, and announced a new first season.

The Cambridge Society for Early Music was Bodky’s greatest achievement in historical performance; he was introducing thousands of Bostonians to historical music and repertoire. The Society’s strong patron base led to financial stability, which allowed Bodky considerable freedom of programming, including the ability to program cantatas and other pieces that required a chamber orchestra in later seasons.

Bodky wrote that his approach to performing was “to render this music as faithfully as the present day’s musicological knowledge allows, in the spirit of the period in which it was written, and to ask players and listeners to adapt themselves to a kind of sound which is rather far away from what gives enjoyment to the ear in the concert halls

---


77 This is according to Abram Sachar in A Host at Last, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), 149.
of our time.” Bodky stood in stark opposition to virtuosity for virtuosity’s sake and claimed that listeners seeking such concerts were better off going to the commercial concert halls. In his dedication to historic recreation, he asked his listeners to open their minds to the aesthetic of the past, and he coached his players in restraint.

Bodky sought to replicate the instrumentation and number of players that would have been present at the original performance. In the December 3, 1956, performance of Haydn’s “The Seven Last Words of our Savior,” he presented the piece in its “original” form with baritone and orchestra. Prior to Bodky, performance were typically in the string quartet arrangement.

Bodky programmed obscure pieces from significant collections throughout the Boston area, including the libraries at Harvard and Radcliffe and the Boston Public Library, as well as from a few personal collections, among them his own. Before his work, most of these scores were restricted to academic study. He brought this music to life, introducing it to thousands of Bostonians.

---

78 Quoted in *Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute*, 141-142.

79 There is a little irony here, as Bodky in his youth was a virtuoso pianist who would compose works to feature his technical ability.

80 *Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute*, 141-142.

81 Ibid, 128-132.

82 It is possible that Harvard’s collection was the most significant that Bodky was able to access, due to his position at Longy and the special working connection the two institutions had. For an idea of the breadth of rare scores that Bodky might have utilized, see Barbara Mahrenholz Wolff, *Music Manuscripts at Harvard* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Library, 1992) and David A. Wood, *Music in Harvard Libraries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980). As for Bodky’s personal library, I have been unable to determine exactly what he had.

83 The programs that he arranged for the Cambridge Society of Early Music have been catalogued by Helen S. Slosberg, Mary V. Ullman, and Isabel Whiting in *Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute*. The
At the center of his programming was the music of Bach. In Bodky’s fourteen years as director, almost one-third of the concerts were exclusively the music of Bach, and over half of the programs had a least one piece by Bach on them. Programs lacking music by Bach were designed thematically. Bodky intentionally programmed pieces that Bostonians had never heard, exceptions being major works by Bach like the Brandenburg Concerti, Goldberg Variations, The Musical Offering, and The Art of Fugue.

The focus of these programs was academic. Sometimes concert programs were chosen expressly for the purpose of demonstrating specific historical instruments. Bodky wrote in the program notes of the November 19, 1951, concert titled “Late 18th Century Concert”:

A program of 18th century music gives us again an opportunity to demonstrate the merits of the Early Piano, which during this period began to take over more and more the duties of the harpsichord in solo work and in continuo parts. We are fortunate to present to our listeners an authentic instrument of this period, a piano by Andreas Stein, the most famous piano builder of his time.

Programs that he arranged for the Cambridge Society of Early Music have been catalogued by Helen S. Slosberg, Mary V. Ullman, and Isabel Whiting in Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute.

This also includes music that Bodky attributed to Bach but scholarship has now reattributed to his contemporaries, like the cantata “Schlage Doch.”

A few of these themes include “French Music,” “Italian Music,” “Music of Haydn,” “The Age of Mozart,” and “Bach’s Sons.”

A note in the Longy Papers claims that Bodky gave Boston its first ever performance of The Musical Offering as part of the Germanic Museum concerts on December 27, 1939.

Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute, 67.
The Stein piano (which was restored by Challis) was not the only historical keyboard on
that concert; the event also featured harpsichords by Karl Maendler, Challis, and an
anonymous Italian builder, F. A. 1677, restored by Hubbard and Dowd.\textsuperscript{88}

In fourteen years, only two pieces were programmed more than once: Bach’s
\textit{Musical Offering}, which Bodky scored for flute, violin, harpsichord, and strings and
programmed four times, and Bach’s \textit{Art of the Fugue}, which Bodky scored for strings and
programmed twice.\textsuperscript{89} He never explicitly said why he programmed these works multiple
times. However, he considered these to be Bach’s most “academic” works. For the
performances of these two pieces, he wrote uncharacteristically long and detailed
program notes, transcribing motifs and even including a facsimile of Bach’s manuscript
for the November 4, 1957 concert.

One unusual element of Bodky’s programming was his inclusion of Mozart and
other classical era composers in a series dedicated to “early music.”\textsuperscript{90} Anticipating that
there would be criticism for programming Mozart in an early music series, Bodky wrote
the following statement in the program notes for the 1950-51 season:

\begin{quote}
An organization setting for itself the task of performing “Early Music” hardly
needs to apologize for presenting a series of chamber music by Mozart in its
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{89} Bach’s \textit{Musical Offering} was programmed on April 18, 1945, March 14, 1946, November 7, 1949, and
November 14, 1954; and Bach’s \textit{Art of the Fugue} was programmed on November 29, 1954 and November 4,
1957. Bodky said he chose to score for these instruments due to the neutrality of color that they
possessed, and because Bach left no indication of what the exact scoring should be. Whenever Bodky made
alterations to a score, he justified his decisions by saying that these alterations would have been in the style
of the time period.

\textsuperscript{90} Some of Bodky’s colleagues were advocating for historical performances of Mozart and his
contemporaries, notably Alfred Einstein with his Mozart concerts at Smith College around the same time.
While historical performance of Mozart’s music has now become common in many major performance
venues around the United States, movements to the restore music from the nineteenth century to its original
performance settings and instruments have been generally unsuccessful.
programs. The term “early music” may best be interpreted as denoting music where the conditions of performance at the time the music was composed differed from the practices of our time. This can safely be said to be the case for all music written before 1800.\footnote{Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute, 59.}

Examination of Bodky’s programming gives insight into his biases and aesthetic values. Beyond his interest in Bach, Bodky was also interested in programming lesser-known composers.\footnote{Bodky refers to these composers as “smaller” instead of “lesser-known” in the October 29, 1956 program note of Telemann’s music.} As he wrote in the program notes of the November 29, 1956 concert, “Works by Georg Phillip Telemann”: “Only in most recent years have we learned that we deprive ourselves of an overwhelming treasure of music if we apply indiscriminately a measuring stick derived from the evaluation of the greatest masters for the estimation of the smaller ones.”\footnote{Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute. 121.}

Despite Bodky’s advocacy for these lesser-known composers, rarely did he feel that they were capable of standing on their own in the concert hall.\footnote{Some of the lesser-known composers Bodky programmed were Tomaso Albinoni, Benedetto Marcello, Franz Xaver Richter, Giovanni Punto, Tomaso Antonio Vitali, Pietro Nardini, François Francoeur, Jean-Baptiste Loeillet, and Louis Aubert.} He programmed lesser-known composers within thematic contexts: these composers were worthy of programming if they contributed to a broad demonstration of national/period style or if they could be branded as “transitory” between better-known figures. To illustrate this point, Johann Christian Bach was always programmed within the context of someone else: His music appears on three concerts: March 27, 1947, titled “Works by the Sons of
Johann Sebastian Bach”; November 19, 1951, titled “Late Eighteenth-Century Music”; and December 5, 1955, titled “The Age of Mozart.”

Placing minor figures within the context of greater figures or movements is still a trend used both in concert programming and historical narratives. Minor figures are reduced to innovations or mannerisms in their works, and these figures’ aesthetic and cultural contributions are often reduced to technical novelties, later to be collected and adopted by some grander figure. A detailed examination of this trend in historiography and performance exceeds the scope of this thesis, but such a study would be well-worth pursuit.

This chapter has documented that Bodky’s achievements in Boston were not small, even if previous scholarship has neglected to properly acknowledge his role in the development of historical performance. One scholar who has given credit to Bodky, as well as other émigrés, is Haskell. He writes:

“The impact that musicians like Boulanger, Bodky and Einstein had on American musical life is hard to overestimate. As part of the European diaspora of the thirties and forties, they helped change the direction of American musical scholarship and hence, indirectly, of performance. The presence on American campuses of Willi Apel, Manfred Bukofzer, Hans T. David, Otto Gombosi, Paul Henry Lang, Curt Sachs, Leo Schrade, Edward Lowinsky, Karl Geiringer and Hans Tischler, to name only the most prominent of the expatriate musicologists, made America a significant force in the study and practice of early music. A thriving tradition of applied musicology, a concept still viewed with suspicion in some parts of Europe (though not in England), gave the United States an advantage in the comparatively young discipline of historical performance practice.”95

In this quote, Haskell claims that the work of these émigrés indirectly changed the direction of historical performance, but I must argue that Bodky was an exception. He

95 Haskell, 107-108.
directly changed this course. While most of these émigrés built their influence through musicology programs, training students who would later become leaders in historical performance, Bodky was on the front lines of performance.
CHAPTER 2
MORE THAN A VIRTUOSO: ERWIN BODKY’S NEW APPROACH TO
HIGHER MUSIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

“In an era when teaching is too often considered the domestic drudgery, the housework, of scholarship, Erwin Bodky’s artistry as a teacher remains as his finest legacy to Brandeis. He gave selflessly of his time and energy. He never stinted in his encouragement. He was that rare and unforgettable citizen in the academic world – a truly incandescent teacher.” --Abram L. Sachar, 1965

In 1938, Erwin Bodky arrived in the United States, bringing with him his wife, young daughter, and a collection of historical keyboard instruments. He had maintained a successful career in Europe, holding the position of Associate Professor at the Staatliche Akademie für Kirchen- und Schulmusik in Charlottenburg. His work as a musicologist, pianist, harpsichordist, clavichordist, conductor, and teacher had been applauded. However, as a Jew, Bodky was forced to flee Germany with his family in 1933 to Amsterdam. In 1938, he managed to escape Europe by securing a position at the Longy

---


97 He had begun teaching there in 1926. Before this appointment, Bodky had held a position at Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatory of Music beginning in 1923. His talent was recognized at a young age, and he was given fellowships from the Prussian government to study composition Richard Strauss in 1920 and Ferruccio Busoni in 1921. His abilities as a concert pianist were recognized early on by Wilhelm Furtwangler. A successful premiere as a last-minute fill-in for a pianist at one of Furtwangler’s concerts launched Bodky’s performing career, and by the age of twenty-five he was embarking on major European tours and the subsequent teaching appointments.

98 This work included his publications, the first of which was Der Vortrag Alter Klaviermusik (Berlin: Hesse, 1932), which acted as an early manifesto for the topic he would spend the rest of his life researching. His second book, published the following year, Das Charakterstücke (Berlin: Vieweg, 1933), marked the beginning of his editorial efforts and included a range of pieces from the late Renaissance to Modern time periods.

99 Bodky was dismissed from his teaching position, and officials came to confiscate a Steingräber harpsichord and clavichord that had been given to him to use. See Mark Lindley and Angelica Bodky Lee, personal communications 2009-2010, in “Reminiscences of Bodky.”
School of Music in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he would teach until 1952.

Through his positions at Longy and later at Black Mountain College (during the summers of 1945, 1947, 1948, and the academic year of 1948-49) and Brandeis (from 1949 until his death in 1958), Bodky would become an influential teacher in the United States.

Bodky’s greatest impact on higher music education in the United States was through his instruction in historical performance. He used historical instruments and early music in private lessons, in lecture courses at academic institutions, and in public lectures through television and radio appearances. He was one of the earliest individuals to promote this style of performance at universities in the United States.

Related to these efforts, Bodky pioneered the development of collegia musica in the United States.\(^\text{100}\) While the repertoire for his groups was not exclusively early music, the concept of a pedagogical ensemble that combined elements of performance with scholarly research and analysis reflected his general educational philosophy—a philosophy that sought to develop the entire musician.

\[\text{http://www.csem.org/Selected\%20PDFs\%20for\%20Bodky\%20site/Reminiscences\%20of\%20Bodky.pdf}, \text{accessed August 12, 2014. In the Netherlands, Bodky taught at Music-Lyzeum in Amsterdam and the Conservatory of Music in Haarlem.}\]

\(^\text{100}\) Prior to the 1930s, collegia musica were located primarily in Europe. They have been traced back to Germany in the mid-sixteenth century, although the groups were more prominent in the mid-seventeenth century. The collegium musicum was revived in the twentieth century by Hugo Riemann, who in 1908 used the term to refer to his own institute of musicology at the University of Leipzig. See Howard Mayer Brown, “Pedantry or Liberation?: A Sketch of the Historical Performance Movement,” in \textit{Authenticity and Early Music}, edited by Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) 34-35. Collegia musica were established throughout Germany, especially at universities with notable musicology departments like Freiburg and Heidelberg. I have not been able to find any records of collegia musica Bodky might have belonged to as a student, but he does seem to have organized collegia musica in Germany and Holland 1926 and around 1932, respectively. \textit{See Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute}, edited by Helen S. Slosberg, Mary V. Ullman, and Isabel K. Whiting (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 1965). See also footnote 13.
As the second part of this chapter reveals, this teaching philosophy was unusual at the time in that it advocated for a well-rounded musician—someone able to make scholarly contributions through composition or research, yet still grounded in performance. Bodky’s approach found a welcome home in the American liberal arts and was most fully realized in his proposal for a music department at Brandeis University.\footnote{By 1950, Brandeis University was organized with a specific avoidance of the “departmental system”; therefore music faculty and courses were part of the School of Music, Drama and Fine Arts rather than a separate department of music. See General Catalogue of Brandeis University, 1950-51, 10-11. Despite “School of Music, Drama and Fine Arts” being the proper title in 1950, I use the term Department of Music throughout this chapter because 1. Bodky’s proposal in 1949 was for a “department of music”; 2. this chapter does not examine the drama or fine arts at Brandeis; 3. the titles and organization of departments and schools at Brandeis were reorganized several times during the first ten years of the University; and 4. Brandeis today has a department of music.} Combining the often contradictory educational goals of vocation and general foundation, he proposed an innovative model for the music department: one that reflected not only the needs of Brandeis but also reflected the shifting national attitude towards higher education.

Bodky’s pedagogical innovations have been largely neglected by scholars.\footnote{See Introduction.} Relying on course books, student memoirs, testimonies, interviews, as well as personal correspondence and other archival material, this chapter provides the first scholarly examination of Bodky’s influence as a teacher and educational administrator in the United States.
Teaching Historical Performance: Instruments and Repertoire

Bodky’s efforts during the 1940s and 1950s helped propel Boston into the center of the historical performance movement. While much of that growth was accomplished through his performances as a harpsichordist and clavichordist, he helped promote an interest in historical performance through higher education as well. When working with students, he presented historical instruments and performance practice—not as a niche area of study reserved for specialists, as much of it is today—but as a component of a well-rounded education.

For example, Bodky would often welcome students from his music history lecture courses to his house on School Street in Watertown for demonstrations of historical keyboard repertoire. During the demonstrations he stressed the unique qualities that using what he considered the “correct” instrument would bring out in the music. His collection, which he had brought with him from Amsterdam, was impressive: there were three Bechstein pianos, a harpsichord, a clavichord, and a virginal or square piano. The extent of this collection was unusual even for Boston, a city then known for having the highest concentration of historical instruments in the United States.

Bodky’s use of historical instruments in higher education was novel during that time. Arnold Dolmetsch had introduced historical instruments in Boston by 1905, but Bodky was one of the first individuals to teach on historical instruments. Prior to his

---

103 These accomplishments have been recognized by Harry Haskell in *The Early Music Revival: A History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988). See Chapter 1.

104 See Chapter 1, footnote 69.

105 See Chapter 1.
arrival, most Boston-based harpsichordists in the 1930s and 40s had to travel to Europe to study seriously.  

When playing early music, Bodky felt it imperative that historical instruments be used whenever available. Keyboard works of Bach should not be performed on the piano: the only exception was if one did not have access to a historical instrument (i.e. clavichord or harpsichord). In that case a transcription would be necessary to more fully realize the timbral qualities of Bach’s music. Bodky stressed the importance of deciding on the correct historical instrument based on specific criteria, which he referred to as the “architecture” and “registration” of the piece. In addition to writing about this theory extensively in The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works, he gave guest lecture-recitals at universities, colleges, and conservatories around the United States, often using his own harpsichord and clavichord for his demonstrations.

---

106 Ralph Kirkpatrick managed to teach himself harpsichord at Harvard, but even he eventually went to France to study with Wanda Landowska. See Chapter 1.

107 Golden, one of the first music majors to graduate from Brandeis, wrote a thesis about the Bach “Chaconne,” from the second Violin Partita, BWV 1004, with Bodky as her adviser. Even though she was working on a violin piece, Bodky insisted that she interact with historical instruments in order to become familiar with Bach’s music; consequently, she would come to his house to play on the clavichord and harpsichord. “A Tribute to Erwin Bodky,” Slosberg Music Center, Brandeis University, October 19, 2014. Bodky would later encourage Golden to pursue her studies in Bach with a graduate degree in musicology. He sent her to Boston University to study with a fellow German émigré and Bach enthusiast, Karl Geiringer. Golden described her time with Geiringer as “a continuation of Mr. Bodky.”

108 This idea was probably strongly influenced by Bodky’s studies in Berlin with Ferruccio Busoni. Busoni had transcribed large amounts of Bach’s music for the purpose of playing it on the piano. Bodky recommended using Busoni’s transcriptions, as well as ones by other composers, as a preferable alternative to playing Bach’s untranscribed work on the piano. The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960) 95-99.

109 Essentially, Bodky claimed that it was possible to analyze the pieces by Bach and decide whether the piece required gradual or terraced dynamics, in which case would correspond to a performance on either the harpsichord or the clavichord. See the “The Instrument Question” in The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works, 1-88.

110 A collection of thank you letters in the Erwin Bodky Papers, 1897-1958, (German and Jewish Intellectual Émigré Collection, M. E. Grenander Department of Special Collections & Archives, University
Bodky taught about historical instruments in private lessons, ensembles classes, and lecture courses at the Longy, Black Mountain, and Brandeis. He also offered lessons in piano, harpsichord, and clavichord in his own private studio. Lessons in the Bodky home were a family affair: after the couple would greet the guests, Bodky’s wife would entertain parents with coffee, conversation, and German pastries, while Bodky would teach. His private studio tended to consist of older and more advanced students. The two youngest students he accepted, presumably when both were teenagers, already had performing experience when they began their studies with him, and both went on to have significant careers. These students included Laurence Berman, a pianist and later a professor at University of Massachusetts Boston, and Anton Kuerti, a Canadian pianist and conductor with a major recording and performing career.

Although Bodky was interested in a broad range of repertoire, including twentieth century pieces, he advocated for early music repertoire. Das Charakterstück, an

\[\text{at Albany, State University of New York}\] gives an incomplete map of the many United States institutions Bodky visited for lecture-recitals. The collection includes letters from The Juilliard School of Music (8/12/1938), Smith College (1/8/1940), Amherst College (11/28/1941), Boston University (4/17/1942), and Warren Wilson College (1/23/1949). Box 1, Series II, 14.

111 Laurence Berman interview with Mark Lindley, 1996, in “Reminiscences of Bodky.”

112 Bodky expected that his private students would be technically proficient by the time he received them into his studio. Rather than drills of scales and exercises, Bodky would give his students ample amounts of sight-reading, and then they would together discuss the pieces.

113 I have been unable to confirm the age of Bodky’s students, but Laurence Berman suggests that he and Kuerti studied with Bodky when they were teenagers. Laurence Berman, “Reminiscences of Bodky.”

114 Ibid.

115 Bodky also advocated for contemporary music, especially the works by German composers. His edited compilation of character pieces Das Charakterstück (Berlin: Vieweg, 1933) ends with recently composed works by Kurt Hessenberg (born 1908) and Hermann Reutter (born 1900). He wrote a letter to Mrs. Schoenberg dated February 1, 1955, thanking her for permission to stage Schoenberg’s “Dance around the Golden Calf” from Moses und Aron, so presumably this took place at Brandeis sometime during 1954 or
anthology of character pieces that he edited and published in 1933, included early music keyboard works with selections from *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, French Clavecin composers, and German composers like Biber, Handel, Muffat, and J. S. Bach.\textsuperscript{116}

Other insight into early keyboard music that Bodky taught comes from a syllabus for the lecture course titled “Old keyboard music from 1500 until 1800,” which he taught at Longy during 1938-39.\textsuperscript{117} (See Appendix: Syllabi: “Old Keyboard-Music from 1500-1800.”) While eleven of the twenty-eight lectures were dedicated to the music of Bach, Bodky included the works of many lesser-known composers, like Conrad Paumann and Antonio de Cabezón. The first three lectures of the course were dedicated to “The comparative merits of harpsichord and clavichord, [the] history of these instruments and history of the Pianoforte[, and] how to decide the problem of the interpretation of Old Music on the right instrument by formal analysis.”\textsuperscript{118}

---


\textsuperscript{117} Bodky taught a version of the course at Black Mountain College and presented it in a condensed form for radio stations in Boston.

\textsuperscript{118} Erwin Bodky Papers, The Longy School of Music.
Outside of academic settings, Bodky educated the general public about early instruments and early music on television and the radio. The role of historical instruments was a significant part of his television series, “Roads to Bach,” which was broadcast live in 1955 on WGBH-TV, a Boston station, on Friday evenings. The series consisted of five or six episodes and was very popular, judging by the considerable amount of fan mail Bodky and the station received.\textsuperscript{119} It focused primarily on the music of composers who “prepared the way” for Bach. Bodky lectured to the camera and demonstrated examples on his usual array of keyboard instruments—harpsichord, clavichord, and piano—as he saw fit for examples.\textsuperscript{120} The next year Bodky did a follow-up series, “Roads to Mozart,” which was also well-received.

Bodky gave similar lectures on keyboard repertoire and performance practice on the radio. On March 15\textsuperscript{th}, 1953, he gave a radio program titled “Forgotten Piano Music,” for WBUR, a radio station then located at Boston University. This appearance was only one of many radio appearances Bodky gave in the United States and across Europe.\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{119} One such letter sent to the television station on May 25, 1955 said, “I am sure you must have heard from hundreds of appreciative listeners (and watchers) like those of us here in Peterborough who have found your television programs delightful—and stimulating—beyond words to express. We have not been able to see as many as we should like, but with such fascinating samples as Erwin Bodky’s Roads to Bach...we feel that you are giving us far more in the way of [indistinguishable word] entertainment that we dared dream possible. Sincerely yours, Kate S. Kendall.” Erwin Bodky Papers, 1897-1958, German and Jewish Intellectual Émigré Collection, M. E. Grenander Department of Special Collections & Archives, University at Albany, State University of New York, Box 1, Series II, 15.

\textsuperscript{120} The series was never recorded, as the station’s policy in the 1950s was to broadcast live without any taped version. Therefore, no record as to the details of these series are available, and it is unclear what pieces Bodky might have used.

\textsuperscript{121} WBUR archives were largely destroyed in a fire, and shows before 1980 were often not recorded, so we do not have a complete record of Bodky’s involvement. Wayne Shirley mentions an unidentified college radio station that hosted Bodky, in “Reminiscences of Bodky.” An undated biographical document in Bodky’s Nachlaß details that during one summer Bodky gave radio lectures in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Holland, as well as giving masterclasses at Berlin’s State Academy of Music and Vienna’s State Academy of Music and Theater Arts. As the document identifies Bodky as “newly appointed chairman of the School of Creative Arts [at Brandeis]”, we can assume that this European tour
Another significant component of Bodky’s teaching in the United States that periodically involved historical instruments was the pioneering of the collegium musicum. While he was not the first to introduce the collegium musicum to the United States, the ones Bodky directed and/or founded contributed to the nationwide rise of these groups. Historically associated with German universities, the collegium musicum is best understood as an academic musical society dedicated to the study and performance of music, and most frequently early music.

The collegium musicum that has received the most attention in the United States is Paul Hindemith’s at Yale, because of the number of recordings the group produced over the years and Hindemith’s renown as a composer and teacher. Formed in 1941 by Leo Schrade as a “reading group for musicology students,” the group was taken over by Hindemith in 1945, who famously tailored the repertoire and study to early music with 

took place during the summer of 1954 or 1955. However, I am unable to identify which topics might have been covered during those radio stations appearance and master classes. Along with this tour, Bodky gave a harpsichord recital of music by Bach and “Old Masters” at the opening of the newly restored Festival Hall of the Albertina Museum in Vienna. Erwin Bodky Papers, 1897-1958, German and Jewish Intellectual Émigré Collection, M. E. Grenander Department of Special Collections & Archives, University at Albany, State University of New York.

122 Elmer Schoettle’s group at Longy in 1937 is the earliest collegium musicum in the United States that I have found records of, but it is possible that groups were active before 1937.

123 See footnote 100.

124 A decent overview of the group is Eckhart Richter’s “Paul Hindemith as Director of the Yale Collegium Musicum,” College Music Symposium, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spring 1978), 20-44. Hindemith and Bodky shared a striking number of similarities: both were German, both were interested in early music and education, both were performer/composers, and both lived in Berlin and New England during similar time frames. Despite these similarities, I have found no record of the two ever meeting or interacting.
historical instruments. However, Bodky was directing a collegium musicum at Longy three years before Schrade began his at Yale. This group was founded presumably in the mid-1930s, as by 1937 it was giving public performances led by Elmer Schoettle and possibly assisted by Willi Apel. Bodky took over the collegium musicum upon his arrival in 1938, as he was more suited for the job— he had already started collegia musica in the Netherlands and Germany.

Figure 4: Bodky conducts an unidentified ensemble at Longy. Photo courtesy of Mark Lindley.

---

125 Richter, 25. It should be noted that Schrade, Hindemith, and Bodky were all involved with collegia musica in Germany before their subsequent exiles.


127 See footnote 100.
Bodky’s collegium musicum at Longy did not focus exclusively on early music. He gave the course the subtitle, “The Workshop of the Composer.” (See Appendix: Syllabi: Collegium Musicum Syllabus.) As an introduction, students began by studying Hanslick’s aesthetic theory, followed by a discussion in “The elements of the language of music,” which included melody, harmony, rhythm, and the “aesthetics of the intervals.” The rest of the course was focused on standard forms and styles, including Rondo, Sonata, Improvisation and Free Fantasy, Character Pieces, and Program Music, with a culminating unit on “The Great Forms in Music,” which Bodky considered to be the symphony and the sonata. The majority of the repertoire was German keyboard music, although there were several exceptions.

Bodky exercised full control over this group for only a single year—the following year he shared the teaching responsibility of collegium musicum with Hubert Lamb, Everett Helm, and Willi Apel. Bodky probably shared the load because he started directing a group in “old chamber music.” This class was capped at twelve students who he met once a week for an hour and half. He led students in “The study of Duo- and Trio-Sonatas for flutes, violins, violoncello, and other instruments with harpsichord” as well as a chamber orchestra.

128 August 11, 1938, letter unsigned by Director of Longy School, provided the following description of the Collegium Musicum: “The Collegium Musicum is for the purpose of widening the scope of understanding of musical works. Students studying for the diploma are required to attend these group meetings and will be given the opportunity of taking an active part in the performance of the works studied. All students of the School are invited to attend.” Bodky Papers, Longy School of Music.

129 I have not been able to find any syllabi to see how the course might have changed with the inclusion of new faculty.

130 Longy School of Music Course Catalogue 1939-40, 26. I was unable to find a syllabus for this course, and it was unclear if any period instruments besides the harpsichord were included.
By 1944, Bodky was giving performances with another historically-oriented group he had formed, the Cambridge Collegium Musicum. The group was organized with a couple of the Longy faculty, Wolfe Wolfinson and Iwan D’Archambeau. As a professional group (as opposed to pedagogical group), they focused primarily on early chamber music and performed on a mix of historical and modern instruments.¹³¹

In 1945, Bodky created a collegium musicum at the Black Mountain Summer Music Institute that followed the format more commonly associated with collegia musica today. This ten-week course, which met twice each week, used early music for repertoire. The course organized students into vocal and instrumental ensembles, with repertoire consisting of “selected works for chamber music from trio sonatas to concerti grossi, including Bach’s Musical Offering and his Art of Fugue and Haydn’s Seven [Last] Words of the Saviour.”¹³²

The repertoire covered by the collegium musicum at Brandeis, which Bodky started in 1957 and taught with assistants, also featured sixteenth- to eighteenth-century music, but included music through the twentieth century.¹³³ Like the group at Black Mountain, the Brandeis group was organized into vocal and instrumental groups with combinations for larger works. The group started almost a decade after the founding of

---

¹³¹ For concerts with the Cambridge Collegium Musicum, Bodky would have used historical keyboard instruments, but it is more likely that Wolfinson and D’Archambeau played on modern instruments. This group formed the basis for the concert series that eventually became known as the Cambridge Society for Early Music. See Chapter 1.

¹³² Black Mountain College Summer Institute Course Catalogue, 1945, 7. It can be assumed that a harpsichord was used, as many student memoirs and accounts recall Bodky and his harpsichord, and there is also a photograph in possession of Mark Lindley that pictures Bodky with a harpsichord at Black Mountain College. However, it is unclear if anyone else played period instruments in the collegium musicum.

¹³³ Brandeis Course Book, 1957-58, 137.
the music department, probably due to the original lack of students and the outsourcing of applied studies.

Through these groups, Bodky was able to teach the musical matters that concerned him most—aesthetic and formal problems—in a setting that combined research and analysis with applied performance. These general groups were designed as foundational courses in music, but their flexible nature allowed for further specialized study, as was the case with Bodky’s initial group at Black Mountain and Hindemith’s group at Yale.

**Bodky and the Liberal Arts**

Bodky’s early music teachings were supported by an idiosyncratic educational philosophy, one that stressed the combination of research and analysis with applied performance. It was this philosophy that informed all of his pedagogical endeavors, including his creation of a model of liberal arts education in music, which he implemented at Brandeis beginning in 1949. Bodky used the uniquely “American” form of liberal arts, which, though born of a European tradition, had developed into a breed of its own.134

The earliest unified definition of this liberal arts came in the 19th century, when a report released by Yale College in 1828 declared liberal arts education as foundational rather than vocational.135 That definition would be hotly contested: some argued that a

---

134 “The free-standing liberal arts college in America has been a study in persistence amid change, continuity amid adaptation. For, oddly enough, the American college may be unique as an institutional type in that it has persisted as an example of a form of education that has all but disappeared in Western Europe from where it was derived.” Allan O. Pfnister, “The Role of the Liberal Arts College: A Historical Overview of the Debates,” *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 55, no. 2, 1984, 147.

135 See *Reports on the Course of Instruction in Yale College* (New Haven: H. Howe, 1828). This widely influential report, which stressed a foundation in all subjects rather than professional specialization, helped
lack of specialization at the college level did little more than promote elitism rather than provide career opportunities for the students.\textsuperscript{136} The conflict—vocation verses foundation—has been and continues to be one of the biggest surrounding the ideology of a liberal arts education.

Even as the American liberal arts developed into its own entity, it continued to look toward the more established European models as guides for navigating conflicting ideologies. Allan Pfnister connects this development specifically to the German model:

There were those who saw the German university, exclusively professional and technical in orientation, as the model. Others wanted to retain the tempering character of the traditional liberal arts education, although in a form something less than (or different from) the four-year structure that had characterized the liberal arts college for over two hundred years. It became clear that whatever shape the university took, it could not avoid making some decision about the relationship between the liberal education characteristic of the American college and the graduate and professional work characteristic of the continental (particularly the German) university. If the model of the German university had prevailed, the liberal arts college would have remained as the preparatory institution, and the university would have concentrated upon research and professional preparation; the college might have evolved as an advanced secondary school. As it was, a variation of the ‘tempering’ view prevailed, and the university combined certain aspects of the liberal arts preparatory course and the advanced study of the continental university.\textsuperscript{137}

By the 1940s, American liberal arts institutions fell along a spectrum between foundational and vocational orientations.\textsuperscript{138} An example of an institution more oriented

\textsuperscript{136} Joseph Ben-David has observed that “such education created a superior person. His superiority was aesthetic…it was also more…finally, it was an intellectual superiority, since the cultivated mind was capable,” which was problematic because “college education in the United States was not meant for the selected few, and was certainly not meant to be a selection process.” \textit{American Higher Education: Directions Old and New} (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), 61.

\textsuperscript{137} Pfnister, 155.

\textsuperscript{138} The 1940s also saw changes in the liberal arts underway in the United States on the federal level. By the 1940s, public opinion on higher education had changed drastically: “In 1947, the President’s Commission
towards foundational education was Amherst College.\textsuperscript{139} While Amherst did offer a major in music, the degree was a bachelor of arts, expressly disallowing “narrow, vocational subjects in any of its departments.”\textsuperscript{140} Amherst College assured students that this broad approach to education would thoroughly prepare them for “many fields of graduate study” should that be the student’s long-term goal, but mentioned that 50\% of students went directly into business after graduation.\textsuperscript{141} In contrast, Smith College was oriented more towards vocational education. While Smith’s general mission was similar to Amherst College’s—to develop well-rounded, educated members of the community—Smith was more insistent upon the need for majors and a mastery over a subject.

Brandeis was ideologically somewhere between Smith and Amherst. In the 1949-50 bulletin gave the following general description:

The Brandeis Curriculum is based on the general education concept. This plan requires the student to participate in an integrated sequence of “core” courses which, by general consent, appear to provide the best means of establishing a solid general foundation of knowledge about our cultural heritage…The new scheme does not prevent a student from pursuing a coherent sequence of courses in some preferred field of concentration. If specialization in this sense continues, it does make certain, however, that the student will be introduced to the major experiences of our social evolution, and to those significant scientific

\textsuperscript{139} I use the examples of Amherst College and Smith College because they are the colleges Bodky identified in his proposal.

\textsuperscript{140} Amherst Course Bulletin, 1947-48, 20.

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid.
achievements which should be common possession of educated men and women.”

As Brandeis began to add graduate degree programs beginning in 1953, the undergraduate program became increasingly focused on general education. The description from the 1952-53 bulletin said:

The liberal arts approach characterizes the Brandeis curriculum and the student must not expect to find patterns of courses conceived with specific vocational goals in mind. At Brandeis the student may obtain a broad and sound education in liberal arts and sciences which will prepare him for further study in specific professional and vocational fields at the graduate level. On the premise that a liberal arts education is the best preparation for professional training, the College of Arts and Sciences does not recommend highly specialized courses for pre-professional students. The liberal arts experience can simultaneously provide the student with a broad foundation of culture and with specific knowledge. For example, the prospective civil engineer can obtain a liberal education while establishing a sound foundation in physics and mathematics.

Bodky aided Brandeis in designing a model for a music department that broached both roles—the vocational and the intellectual. He had high expectations for the program. During initial discussions about the department, he apparently told Sachar, “Brandeis must create the very finest musical education, else it is better that we do not start.” In a letter dated October 18, 1948, he submitted an outline for a music department. This proposal stated it would be best for Brandeis to develop a department which provided the opportunity to major in history or composition, but with an applied music program to support the practical experiences of the students. The schools which he said already

---


144 Ibid, 149.

145 Bodky Papers, Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections, Brandeis University.
followed this model were Yale University, [University of] Rochester, and Seattle [University of Washington], but the problem with them was that the applied music department was too strong—in this model, the talented students sought to become performers and focused on technique with a sort of single-mindedness reserved for conservatories. Bodky felt that Brandeis would be better off to avoid generating virtuosi. In his proposal, he wrote that:

The general student at Brandeis should get from his Music department a training to become an intelligent and even critical listener by making him acquainted with the elements of the musical language and bringing close to him the chief treasures of musical literature. The student who wants to graduate from Brandeis with Music as his major should certainly not have the concert stage as his goal. He should however be distinguished by having so much of musicianship and all round academic knowledge in addition to a high standard on his main instrument that he would be able to take a strong influence upon the public music life wherever he would establish himself as a teacher, a critic or a research worker.

This approach was specifically tailored to the liberal arts model. The idea of “all round academic knowledge” put distance from the virtuosi-producing schools, and Bodky suggested that Brandeis should become a leading institute in producing what he called the “most desirable type of student.” The only institution he cited that was producing these students was Smith College. (He didn’t mention that with twenty-five music faculty members and an enormous budget, Smith College was capable of a music department that would be out of reach for Brandeis, at least in the beginning.) He claimed that other

---

146 Not all the students at these schools were oriented towards performance. For example, though the University in Washington, which by 1948 was already a major research institution with over 16,000 students, was organized by a school of music, it still offered majors in music literature and history, composition, and music education in addition to performance majors.

147 Bodky Papers, Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections, Brandeis University.

148 There was no way Bodky would have been able to replicate Smith’s structure. Even though Smith only had around 1600 students, it offered around ten courses each in composition, music literature, and music pedagogy. Almost half of the twenty-five faculty members were tenured professors. Applied lessons were
prominent liberal arts schools like Amherst College had kept music as an extracurricular without any opportunities to major, a claim that was partly true. While universities like Harvard were producing students who followed similar professional paths to those projected by Bodky in his Brandeis proposal, Harvard was missing a department in applied studies. Brandeis would have an applied studies department to ensure that students were capable on their respective instruments, but in order to avoid the “virtuoso problem,” applied studies would be limited, with lessons available primarily on piano, violin and cello. Applied studies would be financed by student fees for private lessons and would therefore place little, if any, strain on the music department’s budget.

Bodky’s proposal was idealistic: he suggested that he would be able to lead this department at Brandeis with only two staff professors, at least in the beginning. The claim meant that in functionality the department at Brandeis was closer to Amherst—which had only two music professors—than to Smith—which had about twenty-five music teaching faculty. Bodky stated that these professors would teach university-wide courses in general musicianship and music appreciation, focusing on “productive offered in piano, violin, viola, cello, organ, voice, and chamber music. Smith College Bulletin, Catalogue Issue 1946-47, 131.

149 Amherst College did have a music major, contrary to Bodky’s assumptions; however, the institution’s stance against specialized study contributed to a lack of opportunities for students to study music seriously. Amherst Course Bulletin, 1947-48, pg. 20. Amherst only had two music faculty who taught history and analysis courses and seminars, and the institution did not have any applied program of its own. Amherst students could receive technical training on instruments through Smith College.

150 Bodky was most accurate in his depiction of Harvard. This was probably because he had been teaching Harvard students at Longy for the last decade and was friends with Harvard musicologists.

151 Private lessons would become an issue for Brandeis later. See Chapter 3.

152 It was not possible for me to get an exact number of professors at Smith, as the courses listings are not always clear about the rankings of instructors.
listening” and providing an “introduction into the literature of music.” In the music department, the professors would offer seminars in history and aesthetics, as well as a theory regimen of harmony, counterpoint, composition, and structure of music.\footnote{Bodky Papers, Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections, Brandeis University.}

Bodky’s proposal for Brandeis was accepted, but in its earliest years, the department was limited in what it could offer. In 1949, Bodky’s first year, he was the only professor, and the course book lists only one class: “style and structure in music.”\footnote{Golden said that there were two classes that year: theory and history. “A Tribute to Erwin Bodky,” Slosberg Music Center, Brandeis University, October 19, 2014.} With only a few buildings on campus, Brandeis did not have the facilities for a music department. Golden said that music classes initially took place in the mailroom of the university, which was a “banana-shaped room without any blackboards,” but Bodky managed to make it work, because beside Golden there was only one other music major.\footnote{This information is according to Golden. “A Tribute to Erwin Bodky,” Slosberg Music Center, Brandeis University, October 19, 2014. I have not been able to find any information about who the other student was.} Sachar suggests that for the first few years Brandeis did not even have a piano.\footnote{Ibid, 150.}

For his second year, Bodky was joined by Harvard composer Irving Fine, which allowed more classes to be offered.\footnote{The Brandeis course book from 1950 lists 23 courses for music majors; however, there is no indication of whether these students were taught by Fine or Bodky, and it is certain that not all of those courses were available that year. Fine was the more dominant personality and would take over as head of the department in 1951.} Bodky began to develop the ensembles at Brandeis during his second year, and of the approximately 250 freshmen enrolled, over 40
participated in concerts offered by the music department.\textsuperscript{158} The department saw further growth through the development of a graduate degree in music in 1953 and through celebrity faculty members like Aaron Copland and Leonard Bernstein who attracted more music students.\textsuperscript{159}

As the department grew and became more self-sufficient, Bodky was able to spend more time on his scholarship and performance. His death came unexpectedly in 1958 while vacationing in Switzerland; at the time, he was sixty-two and showed no intention of reducing his teaching load. The Brandeis Bulletin from 1958-59 lists the courses he would have taught that upcoming year: The Opera, Contemporary Music, Advanced Keyboard Harmony and Improvisation of the Thorough Bass, and Canon and Fugue.\textsuperscript{160}

**Concluding Thoughts**

Between 1940 and 1960, the United States saw several important changes in higher music education. The growing public opinion that higher education should be more accessible, and that students should be given career opportunities in conjunction with a broad, foundational education led to the birth of institutions like Brandeis. For Brandeis, Bodky designed a music program that would fit this criterion, one that developed proficient, well-rounded musicians grounded in a liberal arts education. His proposal articulated the shifting attitude of the American liberal arts: it was no longer

\textsuperscript{158} Sachar, 149.

\textsuperscript{159} This degree was initially in music composition. Other graduate degrees Brandeis offered at that time were in chemistry, near eastern and Judaic studies, and psychology.

\textsuperscript{160} Brandeis Bulletin, 1958-59, 137-141.
sufficient for music students to be either solely technicians or solely scholars. This new direction of liberal arts was not only adopted by new institutions; many established programs began to adjust towards the well-rounded approach. Both the music departments at Smith and Amherst have moved away from their former selves and have embraced models almost identical to the proposal made by Bodky sixty-seven years ago.

Further research is necessary to fully demonstrate the impact of his work in music education within the context of the evolving education culture of the 1940s and 1950s. His advocacy for a well-rounded approach to music education was mirrored beyond the liberal arts by his colleagues at research universities and conservatories.

Before Brandeis, Bodky had been applying his well-rounded approach to music through collegia musica that sought to combine elements of scholarly work with applied performance. As the historical performance movement gained considerable momentum during the 1970s, collegia musica became widespread across the United States. Similarly, Bodky’s insistence on scholarly study with performance led to the use of historical instruments, laying a pedagogical foundation for the growing interest in historical performance.
CHAPTER 3
POSTLUDE: BODKY IN RETROSPECT

“In [Bodky’s] book (Der Vortrag alter Klaviermusik) on the performance of early keyboard music, written more than sixty years ago, he speaks of the clavichord—whose place in modern music practice he virtually reinstated—as one of the finest and most intimate instruments we have, though its status might seem modest to observer. His career and achievement could be similarly described.” – Alfred Mann, 1996

On October 19, 2014, the Slosberg Music Center at Brandeis University hosted “A Tribute to Erwin Bodky: Brandeis University’s First Professor of Music and Founder of the Cambridge Society for Early Music.” While the concert hall was not full; perhaps one hundred people were in attendance. These attendees were from the generation of Bostonians who still wore furs to events: old, distinguished, and cultivated. A few recognized friends in the crowd. Most had come for unstated personal reasons.

Over the course of the evening, performances came from members of the Cambridge Society for Early Music and other prominent performers in the Boston area. The music consisted mainly of compositions written by Bodky in his youth, but one piece, a violin and harpsichord sonata, was by Bodky’s favorite composer, Johann Sebastian Bach.


162 Sonata in A Major, BWV 1015, for violin and harpsichord. Bodky’s compositions performed were “Variations on an Old German Song”; “O Schweigen, komm”; “Fremd in der Heimat”; “Vöglein Schwermut”; and “Frühlingsreigen der Ruhrbazillen.”
The performances were punctuated by remarks from those who had known Bodky well, including his past students Adele Borouchoff, Nancy Golden, and Judith Davidoff. The scholar Mark Lindley gave a lecture on Bodky’s life with a slide show containing many remarkable documents and photographs from Bodky’s life. The final piece on the program was “Frühlingsreigen der Ruhrbazillen” (Spring Round-Dance of the Dysentery Bug.) An elegant dessert reception was waiting in the lobby.

This event was not the first “tribute” to Bodky. Helen S. Slosberg, Mary V. Ullman, and Isabel K. Whiting published Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute in 1965. This book was written after a memorial ceremony on December 6, 1964. Other tributes to him have included a sculpture—a bas-relief by his daughter, Angelica Bodky Lee, which now hangs in the Slosberg Music Center at Brandeis—and a prize name—the “Erwin Bodky Prize,” which is awarded by the Cambridge Society for Early Music.

Thanks to the efforts of Lindley some of Bodky’s musical compositions have been made available through the Cambridge Society for Early Music’s website, but the event on October 19, 2014 seemed to over-emphasize these compositions. Bodky had

---

163 Judith Davidoff was not able to attend the event, so her statement was given in the form of a letter.

164 Lindley gave the presentation via Skype as he was in India at the time.

165 The book consists primarily of programs from the Cambridge Society for Early Music when Bodky was director, but it also contains statements about Bodky from his friends and colleagues, as well as a few lists of facts about Bodky’s life. Helen S. Slosberg, Mary V. Ullman, and Isabel K. Whiting, Erwin Bodky: A Memorial Tribute (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 1965).

166 “The Erwin Bodky Award was established in 1968 to encourage young performers to seek professional careers and to pursue excellence in the field of early music. The CSEM is especially proud of its sponsorship of so many talented young musicians; in almost three decades over sixty persons have received the Bodky Award, and many of them are now luminaries in the field with extensive performing, recording, and teaching careers.” From http://www.csem.org/awards/bodky.html, accessed March 12, 2015.

no impact as a composer, as he gave up composing around World War I when he was still a student. According to his daughter, Angelica Bodky Lee, “he noticed that another composer was writing very similar music and he felt there was no need for two such composers.” While he saved much of the music from his youth, he never told his American colleagues about his past life as a composer.

Bodky’s influence in the present day can be traced with an examination of his most significant scholarly contribution, *The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works*. In this treatise, Bodky provides detailed explanations of historical performance, including an appendix that offers interpretative suggestions to every significant keyboard work written by Bach. This treatise is historically important because it provides the most thorough documentation of keyboard performance practice during the 1930s and 1940s.

Other indicators of Bodky’s lasting influence are the Music Department at Brandeis and The Cambridge Society for Early Music. Today, Brandeis maintains Bodky’s pedagogical ideals, but the University has succeeded beyond what he imagined possible. Similarly, The Cambridge Society for Early Music continues to be a central proponent of early music in the Boston area, even though programming has extended into areas that Bodky would not have anticipated.

---

168 Angelica Lee Bodky interview with Mark Lindley in “Reminiscences of Bodky.”

169 Bodky’s surviving compositions can be found in the Erwin Bodky Papers, German and Jewish Intellectual Émigré Collection, M. E. Grenander Department of Special Collections & Archives, University at Albany, State University of New York, Series V.


171 Bodky’s students are also indicators of his influence, but they are not included here as they have already been discussed in Chapter 2.

172 See Chapter 2.
The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works

Bodky wrote his treatise as the culmination of a life spent studying and performing the keyboard music of Bach. He explained the origin and purpose of his treatise in the preface:

The nucleus of the research work on the instrument problem, which forms the first part of this book, was first published some twenty-eight years ago in my Der Vortrag alter Klaviermusik. During the time since then, I have consolidated my findings and, in the present book, expound the theses on a much broader basis than I was able to furnish in the first “essay”...although I know only too well and have outlined over and over again how much of Bach’s language is still a secret, I hope that the principle of my approach to the problem of the interpretation of Bach’s keyboard works may prove to be a spring-board to further investigations.

In many ways, this treatise was the greatest achievement of Bodky’s life. Over the course of four hundred pages, he articulated the convictions behind his performance decisions, providing insight into Bodky the teacher and Bodky the performer.

Bodky’s acknowledgments reveal that he had collaborated on the text with several important figures in the historical performance movement, including Putnam Aldrich, Kenneth Levy, Eduard Lowinsky, Alfred Mann, Frank Hubbard, Hugo Kauder, Alfred Einstein, and Herman de Grab. These individuals were more than just resources for Bodky; they were his close friends.

The treatise is still one of the most extensive examinations of Bach’s works for keyboard. There are 9 chapters: 1. Historical Review, 2. The Instrument Question, 3. The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works, v.

173 Bodky, Der Vortrag alter Klaviermusik (Berlin: Max Hesse Verlag, 1932). This text was included in Hesse’s Musik-Hanbücher series through the recommendation of Alfred Einstein. Alfred Mann has credited Der Vortrag alter Klaviermusik for the revival of the clavichord, see footnote 162.

174 Bodky, The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works, v.

175 Ibid.

Bodky’s book was met with mixed reviews. Margaret Lyon wrote that, “There is no doubt that some of the conclusions will be open to debate. Nevertheless this is an important contribution to the study of Bach’s music.” She never specifies why she thought the treatise was an important contribution, but the qualification to her endorsement was echoed by other reviewers. Walter Emery, who had written a book on Bach ornamentation, was less enthusiastic, concluding that, “[The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works] is forthright, often amusing, never arrogant, and thoroughly likeable. It is with real regret that I have to sum up by saying that although it may do good by provoking scholars and experienced performers into thinking again, it is not

177 Bodky’s innovations in the book, the most significant being his analytical method to address “the instrument problem,” are discussed in Chapter 1.


179 Lyon, 101.


181 By most personal accounts by his students and colleagues, the phrase “forthright, often amusing, never arrogant, and thoroughly likeable” could be applied to Bodky as well as to his book.
altogether a safe guide for those who are incapable of reading it critically."\(^{182}\) Emery and other reviewers claimed that weakness of the text was that Bodky arrived at several of his conclusions, like those concerning tempi, through a performer’s preference rather than a scholar’s objectivity.

However, it is precisely this blend of scholarly and performative insight that makes the book significant. Bodky’s text is a primary source in understanding historical performance practice during the 1940s and 1950s.\(^{183}\) He was not trying to write a text that provided a concrete catalogue of how Bach would play his own works. Bodky was offering a detailed record of interpretation, written by someone who had spent his entire adult life researching Bach’s keyboard works. Klaus Speer recognized this purposeful subjectivity of Bodky’s text. In his review, Speer wrote:

> Probably the most valuable part of this book is the ‘Suggestions for Interpretation…’ in Appendix A. The author would have readily admitted that some of them may be debatable. They are not presented as absolute truths, but as the result of years of study with the thought processes of which the body of the book acquaints us.\(^{184}\)

Even though the treatise was never reprinted, it was reassessed by Mark Lindley and Tamar Hestrin Grader in “Some 21st-century Comments on Erwin Bodky’s The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works.”\(^{185}\) Lindley and Grader identify many of the

---

\(^{182}\) Emery, 31.

\(^{183}\) Further studies might reveal how much of the treatise was shaped by the ideology of Ferruccio Busoni, with whom Bodky studied in 1921. Busoni and Bodky differed in their opinions concerning the degree to which early music should be influenced by the performer. While Bodky was important for establishing a foundation for historical performance, shifts in performance practice since 1960 might reveal the many similarities between Bodky’s and Busoni’s approaches.

\(^{184}\) Speer, 256.

\(^{185}\) This review was accessed via the Cambridge Society for Early Music website. It has not been published anywhere else to my knowledge. I have not been able to find a date that might indicate when this was
limitations of Bodky’s work: he did not consider unequal temperament, his research used harpsichords, the Bach Flügel or Bach Cembalo, which have been discredited in Bach scholarship, and his commentary on articulation in Bach’s music is now surpassed by the scholarship of John Butt and Julia Severus. Lindley and Grader also place Bodky within a historical context of transition, although they underplay his significance:

Bodky may be regarded as an intermediate figure between two waves of 20th-century revivalists of Baroque keyboard music, some of whom are remembered today more than he is. He was, on the one hand, younger than Arnold Dolmetsch and Wanda Landowska….But on the other hand, his work predates the wave, which began to swell in the 1960s, of modern-style (from a 21st-century perspective) ‘authentic’ performances of 18th-century music. He removed some of the stylistically anachronistic accretions of the generations before him, but the next generation [including Leonhardt, Dowd, Hubbard, and Skowroneck]…was to strip them back even further.

While Bodky is still not as well-known as those who came after him, many of his efforts were pivotal for the achievements of his successors. John Butt acknowledges Bodky by quoting the treatise at the beginning of his book, *Bach Interpretation: Articulation Marks in Primary Sources of J. S. Bach.* Bodky’s treatise continues to be an important resource for the current understanding of the development of historical

---

186 Ibid.

187 Ibid.

188 John Butt, *Bach Interpretation: Articulation Marks in Primary Sources of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 1. The passage Butt quotes is about Bodky’s unsuccessful search for consistency in the slurs in Bach’s music. While the passage that follows is a scholarly overview, Butt acknowledges Bodky’s foundational work in understanding Bach’s articulations.
performance and can be understood as a primary source from a master interpreter of the 1940s and 1950s.

**The Music Department at Brandeis University**

Since Bodky’s death, the Music Department at Brandeis has maintained his ideology of education for a well-rounded musician, although the department has exceeded his original vision for the department.\(^{189}\) The department currently offers a bachelor of arts with areas of specialization in composition, cultural studies, history, performance, and musical theatre performance.\(^{190}\) Graduate degrees are offered in composition and theory, musicology, and music and women’s, gender, and sexuality studies.\(^{191}\) These degrees indicate two important changes to Bodky’s original proposal: first, the inclusion of interdisciplinary studies, which aligns with his concept of a well-rounded musician, and second, the inclusion of performance studies.

Currently performance at Brandeis is pursued through a bachelor of arts rather than a bachelor of music, and there are no graduate degrees available in this area. While Bodky was against performance as a focus at Brandeis in his 1948 proposal, he seems to have changed his mind by 1955. During its initial years, Brandeis struggled to attract talented students, and many students had to pursue secondary instruments so that the university ensembles had enough members. Susan Kaplan, a music major at Brandeis commented:

\(^{189}\) See Chapter 2.


\(^{191}\) Ibid.
[Bodky] conducted the student orchestra. It had to draw members from the whole university as there were in those days not many in the music department who played orchestral instruments. Although my main instrument is piano, I played violin in the orchestra…He was very exacting of the orchestra, and our level was not very high; it must have been quite frustrating for him.192

Evidently the quality of the students was frustrating to Bodky. In September 1955, he sent a memorandum requesting a resident string quartet at Brandeis.193 He argued that a resident string quartet of international reputation would attract high quality students and save Brandeis money, as the current method of outsourcing private lessons to local teachers was both expensive for Brandeis and unappealing to students.

Conversations with archivists and historians at Brandeis suggest that the earliest resident string quartet at Brandeis was the Lydian Quartet, which was founded in 1980 and is still at Brandeis.194 While this was twenty-five years later than Bodky had requested, the success of the Quartet has benefited the Department of Music, just as Bodky had predicted. In addition to their duties at Brandeis, the Lydian Quartet actively performs at prestigious venues around the world.195 The Quartet has proven to be attractive for composers as well as performers: every year since 2012, the quartet announced a competition for a commissioned work, with a prize of $15,000.196

---


193 “Memorandum from Bodky to Sachar,” September 14, 1955. Bodky Papers, Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections, Brandeis University. For an account of the development of resident string quartets in American universities and colleges and their German roots, see Walter Levin, “Immigrant Musicians and the American Chamber Music Scene, 1930-1950” in Driven into Paradise.

194 I have been unable to find any documents that indicate whether or not Brandeis had any quartet in residence before the Lydian Quartet.


196 This prize was won in 2015 by Steven Snowden.
The music department at Brandeis has grown substantially since 1958, with currently close to fifty faculty members and at least eight visiting scholars. The department boasts many notable alumni, with at least forty-six musicologists and fifty-four composers holding academic positions, some of which are at top-rated institutions. Even Bodky, with his limitless optimism, could not have anticipated how successful the department at Brandeis would become.

**The Cambridge Society for Early Music**

Bodky’s greatest achievement while he was alive was the Cambridge Society for Early Music. His concerts attracted crowds of close to a thousand patrons, giving historical repertoire and instruments significant public exposure and placing Boston at the forefront of early music movement, at least among cities in the United States. After Bodky’s death, the Cambridge Society for Early Music continues to flourish. Significant performers engaged by the Society include Gustav Leonhardt, Ralph Kirkpatrick, Frans Brüggen, Nicolaus Harnoncourt with Concentus Musicus Wien, and John Eliot Gardner with the English Baroque Soloists.

The Cambridge Society for Early Music is still active today, though it is no longer in residence at Sanders Theatre, and the performers are more diverse. The most recent performance took place at Christ Church in Cambridge on March 19, 2015. The

---


199 See Chapter 1.

performance was a collaboration between Scott Metcalfe’s Boston-based Blue Heron and Debra Nagy’s Cleveland-based Les Délices in a concert titled “‘A More Subtle Art’-The 14th Century Avant Garde.”

Bodky would have been pleased to see how diverse the programming has become. In the 1940s and 1950s, he had pushed the boundaries of early music programming beyond the Baroque Era. He probably would have been delighted to host a concert of the fourteenth-century avant garde.

Further studies are necessary to understand how the Society has created opportunities for other early music societies, festivals, and performers, in Boston and elsewhere. As one of the earliest and most successful societies to promote early music in the United States, credit must be given to Bodky for his development and cultivation of this Society.

Concluding Thoughts

Bodky’s lasting influence requires further research. While this thesis examines Bodky’s final twenty years in the United States, the thirty-seven years in Germany and five years spent in the Netherlands have yet to be examined critically. It would be worthwhile to examine the extent to which Bodky might have lent a helping hand to the development of historical performance in these European countries, like he did in the United States.

See Chapter 1.

The Cambridge Society for Early Music website incorrectly claims that it is “America's oldest organization for the promotion of music up to the early 19th century.” www.csem.org/history/history.html, accessed March 16, 2015. Organizations that predate the Society include the Society for Ancient Instruments and the Handel and Haydn Society. See Chapter 1. However, the Cambridge Society for Early Music is notable for its prominence and in that it predates most current organizations.
APPENDIX

SYLLABI

Old Keyboard-Music from 1500-1800

Units 1-3
“The comparative merits of harpsichord and clavichord. History of these instruments and history of the Pianoforte. How to decide the problem of the interpretation of Old Music on the right instrument by formal analysis”

Unit 4: The oldest documents of keyboard music
“The Robertsbridge Codex”
Conrad Paumann
Paumgartner
Hans Kotter
Leonard Kleber
Hans Neuslieder
Elias Ammerbach
August Normiger
Don Luis Milan
Antonio de Cabezon
anonymous composers in the Netherlands and France (Atteignant) [sic]
Clemens non Papa
Orlando di Lasso
Jan Pieterszon [sic] Sweelinck Variations “Unter der gruenen Linde”
“Mein junges Leben hat ein End”

Unit 5
Sweelinck Fantasia Chromatica
Anthony von Noordt Fantasia
Samuel Scheidt Variations “Ach Du Feiner Reiter”
William Byrd, John Bull, Giles Examples from The Fitzwilliam
Farnaby, Martin Peerson Virginal Book
Joh. Jac. Froberger Suite “Auf die Mayerin”

Unit 6
Froberger Tombeau
Anonymous Suite
Dutch Farmer’s Dances

203 Transcribed from the Bodky Papers, Longy School of Music.
Matthias Weckmann
Toccata
Johann Pachelbel
Variations
Chaconne
“Magnificat-Fugues”
Christian Ritter
Suite
Sonatina

Unit 7
Buxtehude
Choral-Phantasie “Wie schon leucht uns der Morgenstern”
Suite “Auf meinen lieben Gott”
Johann Christoph Bach
Praeludium and Fugue in E flat major
Variations
Sarabande with Variations
Georg Bohm
Choral-Variations [sic]
Suites in E flat major and c minor
Praeludium-Fugue-Postludium in g minor

Unit 8
Johann Kasper Ferdinand Fischer
Suite in F
Praeludium and Chaconne
Johann Kuhnau
Two Biblish Sonates [sic] (Davis and Saul, David and Goliath)
Praeludium in C
Echo
Alessandro Poglietti
Suite “The Hungarian Revolution”
“The Cock and the Hen”
Aria Allemagna with Variations

Unit 9: Old Italian Masters
Adrian Willaert-Verdelotto
Madrigal
Ricercar
Andrea Gabrielli
Fantasia Allegra
Girolamo Frescobaldi
Canzona
Bernado Pasquini
Sonata in G major
3 Arias
“The Cuckoo”
Variations “La Felia” [sic]
Alessandro Scarlatti
Toccata
Variations “La Folia”

Unit 10: Old French Masters
Anonymous dances
Denis Gaultier
Tombeau
Jacques Champion de Chambonnieres
- Allemande La Rare
- 3 Sarabandes
- Gigue La Madelinette
- Menuet
- Courante
- Rondeau
- Chaconne

Henri d’Anglebert
- Tombeau pour Mr. de Chambonnieres
- Sarabande
- Gavotte
- Variations “La Folia”
- Arrangements of compositions by Lully

Louis Couperin
- Passacaglia [in] g minor

Francois Couperin
- Les Moissonneurs
- Les Barricades
- Les Bergeries
- La Commers
- Les Ombres errantes
- Menuets croises
- Les Tricoteuses

Unit 11: Francois Couperin
Francois Couperin
- La Majestususe [sic]
- Les Folies francaises
- La fine Madelon
- La douce Janneton
- La Nanette
- Soeur Monique
- Le carillon de Cythere
- Les Fauvettes
- Le Petit Rien
- Le Rossignol
- En Amour
- La Musette de Taverny
- Le Dodo
- Les Bagatelles
- Les Graces Naturelles
- Le Tic-toc
- La Pantomime
- Les Fastes de la Grande Menestrandise

Unit 12
Henri [sic] Purcell
- 2 Suites in G and C major
Hornpipe
Trumpet-Tune
Air
A Ground
Twelve lessons from Musicks Handmaid
The “Aylesford Pieces”
Suite in f minor

Georg Friedrich Haendel

Unit 13. Haendel

Haendel

Suites in G, g, E, d
Chaconne in G major

Unit 14.

Johann Sebastian Bach

Fugue in e minor
Sonate in D major
“Abreise Capriccio”
Toccatata in e minor
Praeludium in a minor
Variations in a minor a la maniera Italiana
Praeludium and Fugue in a minor

Unit 15

J. S. Bach

Toccatas in d, c, D, a
small preludes
Music book for Anna Magdalena

Unit 16

J. S. Bach

English Suites in a, g, F
French Suites in G and E

Unit 17

J. S. Bach

15 inventions
English Suite in d minor
15 Sinfonias

Unit 18-19

J. S. Bach

“Das Wohltemperierte Klavier”, Volume I

Unit 20

67
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Pieces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td>J. S. Bach</td>
<td>Partitas II-VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>22-23</strong></td>
<td>J. S. Bach</td>
<td>“Das Wohltemperierte Klavier”, Volume II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td>J. S. Bach</td>
<td>Praeludium, Fugue and Allegro in E flat major, Adagio in G major, Ricercar from the “Musikalishes Opfer”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Georg Philipp Telemann</td>
<td>3 Fantasies, small pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domenico Scarlatti</td>
<td>6 Sonatas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td>Jean Philipp Rameau</td>
<td>Gigue en Rondeau, Le rappel des Oiseaux, Rigaudon, Musette en Rondeaux, Tanbourin, Les trois mains, Gavotte with Variations, La Fanfarinette, 2 Menuets, La Poule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domenico Scarlatti</td>
<td>6 Sonatas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td>Friedmann Bach, Philipp Emanuel Bach</td>
<td>Polonaises, Sonate in g minor, Character-pieces, Sonate in f minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Sonata “La Spinosa”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pietro Domenico Paradisi</td>
<td>Sonata in A major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Padre Martini</td>
<td>Gavotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Daniel Tuerk  “Hand-Stueke”
Gottlieb Muffat  3 Pieces
Friedrich Reichardt  “Sing and Spielstueke” [sic]
Christian Fasch  Arietta with Variations

Unit 28
Christian Bach  Sonate in G major
Joseph Haydn  Sonates in A, C, c
Philipp Emanuel Bach  Adagio in A flat major

Collegium Musicum Syllabus204

Unit 1
Hanslick’s book: “Vom Musikalis [sic] Schonen [sic]”
The elements of the language of Music: Melody, Harmony, Rhythm
Aesthetics of the Intervals

Unit 2
Phrases and Sentences, the simple forms

Unit 3: The Rondo
           Rondo Op. 51 no. 2
           Violin Sonate Op. 24
Mozart  Rondo in A minor (piano)
Schubert  Finale from Piano Sonate Op. 53

Unit 4-5: Sonata-Form
           Symphony no. 3
Brahms  Piano Sonate Op. 5
Chopin  Piano Sonate Op. 35

Unit 6-8: Improvisation and Free Fantasy
J. S. Bach  Organ Fantasy
           Chromatic Fantasy
Mozart  2 Fantasies in c minor
Beethoven  Fantasy Op. 77
           “Chor-Fantasy” Op. 80

204 Transcribed from the Bodky Papers, Longy School of Music.
C. P. E. Bach
Fantasies
Schubert
Wanderer Fantasie
2nd movement of Piano Sonata op. Posthumous in A major
Chopin
Polonaise-Fantasy
Schumann
Fantasy Op. 17
Debussy
Prelude No. 4
Schoenberg
Piano Pieces Op. 11

Elements of the Idea of Variation. Improvisation on “Swannee River.”
Mozart: 5 Variations of the same type:
Mozart
Ah vous dirai-je, maman
Unser dummer Poebel
Menuet de Duport

Unit 9-13: The Master-Pieces of the Art of Variation
Haendel
Aria in B flat major
Brahms
“Haendel Variations” Op. 24
Finale 4th symphony
J. S. Bach
Choral Preludes
Aria Variata
Choral Suite for Organ
The “Goldberg Variations”
Beethoven
The Diabelli Variations Op. 120 and the variations of other composers over the same theme.
Variations Op. 34
C minor variations
Haydn
Variations f minor
Handel
Ostinato from the Organ Concerto in F major
Chopin
Berceuse
Reger
Ostinato Op. 82
Bach-Variations
Teleman-Variations [sic]

Unit 14-15: The idea of the Character-Piece
Martin Peerson
The Fall of the Leafe
Farnaby
His Humor
Couperin
(Various)
La coquetterie
La gemissante
Dandrieu
La coquetterie
C.P.E. Bach
Character Pieces on Ladies of Berlin’s Society
Muffat
La coquetterie
Schumann
La coquetterie
Birds
Grieg
Birds
Tchaikovsky
Birds
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haydn</td>
<td><em>String Quartet over “the seven last words by Jesus Christ”</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beethoven</td>
<td><em>Coriolan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mendelssohn</td>
<td><em>Various</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chopin</td>
<td><em>Various</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Unit 16: Program Music**
- Liszt: *Legenden des Heiligen Franciscus*
- Kuhnau: *Biblish Sonates*
- J. S. Bach: “Abreise-Capriccio”
- R. Strauss: *Also Sprach Zarathustra*
- Smetna [sic]: “Macbeth and the Witches”
- Poulenc: *Promenades*

**Unit 17-18**
The characteristics of the keys, an unsolved problem.
Absolute points of views, relative relations between the keys.
Traces of characteristics of the keys in the compositions of Beethoven, Bach, Mozart, Wagner.

**Unit 19-28: The Great Forms in Music:**
Sonata and Sinfony.
Links between the different movements.
The problem of the “Finale”
The evolution of the Sinfonic idea from Beethoven to Bruckner.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bruckner</td>
<td>5th Sinfony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busoni</td>
<td>Fantasia contrapunctistica</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Sources

Abram L. Sachar, Brandeis University Presidential Papers, 1940-1990, n.d., Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections at Brandeis University.

Amherst College Catalog. Amherst College Digital Collections.

The Erwin Bodky Papers, 1897-1958. The M.E. Grenander Department of Special Collections & Archives at the State University of New York at Albany.

The Erwin Bodky Papers. The Longy School of Music.

General Catalogues of Brandeis University. Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections at Brandeis University.

Longy School of Music Course Catalogues. The Longy School of Music.


University of Washington Seattle General Catalog Archive.

Primary Sources


__________. Das Charakterstücke. Berlin: Vieweg, 1933.


__________. “New Contributions to the Problem of Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works.” Société international de musicology, Cinquième congrès, Utrecht, July 3-7, 1952. 73-78.


Secondary Sources

Adorno, Theodor W. “Questions on Intellectual Emigration.” Translated by Mark Kalbus. Social Text. 27, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 159-164.


Harris, Seymour E. “Faculty Salaries.” AAUP Bulletin 43, no. 4 (December 1957): 581-593.


__________. Teaching New Classicality: Ferruccio Busoni’s Master Class in Composition. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996.


Richardson, Nathan. “Our Correspondence from Germany.” Dwight’s Journal of Music, April 30, 1853.


