

Significant Effects of the Nazi Occupation (1940-1945) on Norwegian Art
Music and Musical Life.

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Abstract

Initial research indicated that literature about Norwegian music during the occupation of 1940-45 was scarce. There were two main studies, one authored in 1946 and one in 2007, and three pages in a music encyclopaedia. Since then, there has been more research has been undertaken. However, there is still much to understand as Professor Elef Nesheim, who authored the second study, stated. Michael Meyer claimed that the Nazis had a formula when occupying a nation. What became clear as the investigation progressed, is that the Nazis treated the Norwegians differently from other nations in all aspects of life, but particularly so in music. Indeed, it becomes clear that the Nazis invested financially in music in Norway. This is demonstrated by the sheer number of premieres that were performed during the occupation, and this is indicated in a chart that has been constructed.

Critically it can be debated about when Norway piqued Hitler's interest, and why it would be an important nation to be in control of. There were many reasons including geographically, the blonde-haired blue-eyed people, iron ore, heavy water, and the arts. Comparisons will be made with the special treatment of the Berlin, Vienna, and Oslo Philharmonic Orchestras. It would appear the more important the nation was the more lenient the Nazis were, and this was the case for Norway. The leniency included permitting Jews to remain in their positions and investing heavily financially as the war was drawing to a close.

Keywords. Norway, Occupation, World War II, Nazi, Germany, Orchestras, Oslo, Bergen.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	8
Part A: The Context	9
1.0 Introduction.	10
1.1 Establishing a Baseline in Knowledge: The Meeting with Elef Nesheim.	12
1.2 Beginning the Journey	12
1.3 The Research Commences	13
1.4 Positionality and other aspects of the research	15
1.5 Conclusion	21
2 Theoretical and Historical Context. The History of the Occupation	22
2.1 Introduction.	22
2.2 Cultural Connections between Norway and Germany.	25
2.3 Norway, Germany, and the Hanseatic League.	26
2.4 The Invasion of Norway.	27
2.5 The Altmark Incident.	28
2.6 The Geography of Norway and The Blucher.	30
2.7 Norway, Neutrality and Problems That Gave Quisling Impetus	32
2.8 Norway as a Strategic Pawn.	33
2.9 Vidkun Quisling and the <i>Nasjonal Samling</i> Party	36
2.9.1 A Context: The Problem of the Culture Council and Vidkun Quisling.	41
2.10 Norway, Denmark, and the Media	45
2.11 War Sailors, Jews, and Memory	47
2.12 The further from Berlin.	49
2.13 Nazi Policy for Music in Norway.	51
2.14 Orchestras.	53
2.15 Composers Active between 1900-1935.	56
2.15.1 Fartein Valen (1887-1952).	56
2.15. 2 Klaus Egge (1901-1985)	57
2.15.3. Geirr Tveitt (1908-1981).	58

2.15.4 Eivind Groven (1901-1977).	60
2.15.5 Sparre Olsen (1903-1984).	60
2.15.6 Ludwig Irgens-Jensen (1894-1969).	61
2.15.7 Harald Sæverud (1897-1992).	62
2.15.8 David Monrad Johansen (1888-1974).	63
2.16 Pre-war Compositions Chart.	63
2.17 Conclusion.	66
3 - Literature Review.	69
3.1 Introduction	69
3.2 Norwegian Text Literature Review.	70
3.3 More Recent Studies.	75
3.4 Anniversary Studies.	78
3.5 German Literature.	79
3.6 Expanding Literature Further.	80
3.7 A Review of Extant Studies of Norwegian Music During the Occupation.	81
3.7.1 Hans Jørgen Hurum: <i>Musikk under Okkupasjonen [Music under the Occupation]</i> , 1946.	82
3.7.2 Kristian Lange, <i>Norwegian Music - A Survey</i> , 1973.	85
3.7.3 Nils Grinde, <i>A History of Norwegian Music</i> , [English Translation; translators William H. Halvorsen & Leland B. Sateren] 1991.	87
3.7.4 Elef Nesheim, <i>Musikkliv i Krig [Music Life in the War]</i> (2007).	88
3.8 ADDITIONAL MATERIAL.	91
3.9 Conclusion.	99
4 - Research Questions.	100
5 – Methodology.	102
5.0 Introduction	102
5.1 Compositions Charts.	102
5.2 Interviews.	104
5.3 Oslo Archive, Nazi Archive (Berlin) and London Archive.	106
5.4 Unexpected Support.	108
5.5 Critical Framework.	108
5.6 Historical Aspects, Musicology and Historiography.	110
5.7 Limitations.	111
5.8 The Wall Chart.	112
5.9 Conclusion.	113

Part B – Findings.....	114
6. Active Composers and Musicians.	115
6.1 Introduction.	115
6. 2 The Construction of the Composer Chart.	115
6.3 Composers Who Were Active During the Occupation.....	118
6.3.1. The ‘Conservative’ Composers.....	120
6.4 The Golden Age.	121
6.4.1 The ‘Golden Age’ and Europe.	121
6.5. Grieg and Svendsen.	123
6.6 The Younger Conservative Composers.....	124
6.7 The Young Composers.....	127
6.8 A Brief Discussion of Behaviour.....	133
6.9. Conclusion.....	134
7. Analysis of Compositional Chart and Relevant Compositions.....	136
7.1 Introduction.	136
7.2 The Oslo Philharmonic and the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra.	137
7.3 The Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra Fundraises.	140
7.4 Jazz in Norway and the Nazis.....	141
7.5 Timeline of Compositions.....	144
7.6 Analysis of Compositions.	152
7.6.1 Klaus Egge – Fantasi i Halling op. 12a, Gukkoslåttten op. 12 b and Fantasi i Springar-rytme op.12c.....	152
7.6.2 Sparre Olsen Ver Sanctum op.30.	155
7.6.3 Fartein Valen Sonata no 2 Op.38 for piano.....	158
7.6.4 Harald Sæverud Slåtter og Stev fra Silustol.	159
7.7 Conclusion.....	161
8. A comparison of Norway, Austria, and Germany.	162
8.1 Introduction.	162
8.1.1 Use of Terminology.....	162
8.2 Background Information.	163
8.3 The Annexation of Austria.....	163
8.3.1 The Vienna Symphony.	170
8.4 The Berlin Philharmonic.....	174
8.4.1 An overview of the history of the orchestra.....	174

8.4.2 An unusual model.....	176
8.4.3 Ney, Furtwangler, and von Karajan.....	179
8.5 The Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra and the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra.	181
8.5.1 The Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra Background.....	181
8.6 Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra Background.....	183
8.7 Treatment of the Orchestras.....	184
8.8 Conclusion.....	186
9. Investigation of Other Occupied Nations.....	188
9. 1 Introduction.....	188
9.2 Limitations of the Research.....	188
9.3 Czechoslovakia.....	192
9.4 Austria.....	196
9.5 Poland.....	200
9.6 Denmark.....	202
9.7 Belgium.....	203
9.8 The Netherlands.....	204
9.9 France.....	208
9.10 Conclusion.....	211
10 Post-war Ramifications and Conclusion, Further Research.....	213
10.1 Introduction.....	213
10.2 Norwegian Life Returns to Normal.....	213
10.2.1 Hard Labour Camps.....	215
10.3 Composers.....	216
10.4 Further Research.....	222
10.5 Conclusion.....	222
Bibliography.....	226
Appendices.....	239
1 Part of the Norwegian Culture Council Contract Dated 1940. Accessed from Nazi Archive Berlin 27/11/18.....	239
2 The Nazis Invest 45,000 RM in Norwegian music life. Accessed in Nazi Archives Berlin 27/11/18.....	240
3 Article concerning 1946 Concert. Accessed in National Library, Oslo, 08/09/17.....	241
4 Article promoting Concert. Accessed in National Library, Oslo, 08/09/17.....	242
5 Article concerning folk music. Accessed National Library, Oslo, 08/09/17.....	243

6 Article Promoting Concert. Accessed in National Library, Oslo, 08/09/17.	244
7 Article promoting post war concert. Accessed in National Library 08/09/17.	245
8 Article promoting occupation concert. Accessed gained 08/09/17.	246
9 Article about post war concert. Accessed National Library Oslo. 08/09/17.	247
10. Article in which Saeverud states 'I fought the Nazis with my music'. Accessed National Library Oslo 08/09/17	248
11. Olav Kielland defends himself. Accessed national Library Oslo, 08/09/17.	249

List of Figures

Figure no.	Description	Page
Figure 1	Pages from Quisling's diary showing an appointment with Hitler. Photo accessed from Oslo National Archive 21/11/2018.	38
Figure 2	Bars 1-7 <i>Fantasi I Halling</i> . The two lines are independent of each other. Publisher Noreg-edition.	153
Figure 3	Bars 1-2 <i>Gukko-Slatten</i> . The melody is simplistic but has elements of dissonance. Publisher Edition Lyche.	154
Figure 4	Bars 1-4 <i>Fantasi i Springar</i> demonstrate fugue like elements. Publisher Edition Lyche.	154
Figure 5	Bars 12-14 <i>Ver Sanctum</i> . The four-note pattern is repeated three times. Publisher Noreg Edition.	157
Figure 6	Bars 1-8 <i>Kristi Blodsdraper</i> . The melody is contained. Publisher Musik Huset A/S Oslo.	160
Figure 7	The original score cover for Krenek's <i>Jonny spielt auf</i> , 1926. Taken from the composer's biography.	198
Figure 8	The Nazi version of the <i>Jonny spielt auf</i> picture. Sourced from the degenerate music website.	199

Part A: The Context

1.0 Introduction.

In 2010, the documented music history of the five-year period of the occupation of Norway was almost a blank page: there were two studies and five pages in a Norwegian music encyclopaedia. Due to the apparent sensitivity of the topic, it seemed that there had been little research carried out. However, I felt that new research was important because there needed to be a bridge to understand the music from 1940 and what occurred after 1945; for example, which composers would still be writing, if names disappeared from history and, what had happened to cause this. Additionally, if the development style of compositions were new, what had occurred to start this innovation. This chapter discusses how the idea for this thesis developed. It will also lead to the comprehension of how the critical framework was constructed. What became significant was that the research not only considered music, but also politics and nationalism. This led to my investigation of the importance of Norway to Adolf Hitler's (1889-1945) campaign. Additionally, this is the first time the idiosyncrasies of Nazi policy have been investigated using the framework of Norwegian musical life.

At the start of the investigation there were two studies available directly concerning this topic, namely Hans Jørgen Hurum's (1906-2001), *Musikk under Okkupasjonen* [*Music During the Occupation*] (1946) and Elef Nesheim's, *Musikkliv i Krig* [*Music Life in War*] (2007). Hurum's study was part of a trilogy, the others concerned the press and the church, and they were all directly related to the events during the occupation. Nesheim's study was authored accidentally, that is, it started as an anniversary book for the Barratt-Due Music Institute. It developed into its current format when he realised that there had not been any research on this topic and there were resources left undiscovered. However, Nesheim's study also uses a significant amount of information from Hurum's study, without investigating further. Hurum suggests a list of composers with perceived Nazi sympathy behaviours and Nesheim repeats the list. However, in some chapters Nesheim references composers that

cannot be located in any other Norwegian music studies, including the one that he wrote himself.

At this point a brief comparison of Hurum and Nesheim's studies revealed a fact that would become quite important as this research progressed: the importance of the need for impartiality. When carrying out an initial literature review, Norwegian musicologists Nils Grinde (1927-2012) and Kristian Lange (1908-89) had already taken opposing views. In his study, *A History of Norwegian Music* (1991). Grinde states that during the occupation nothing much had happened, and he deemed that discourse relating to the period to be unnecessary (Grinde, 1991:332). In contrast, in his study *Norwegian Music- A Survey* (1971), Lange stated that it had been a 'murky period' for music (Lange, 1971: 134). In his foreword, Hurum states that he would not 'point fingers' at anybody because of their behaviour. Nesheim, as Lange did, stated that he wanted to give a clearer picture of the events of the time by investigating resources which have remained untouched. The Norwegian encyclopaedia again brought the same information that had been in Hurum's and Nesheim's studies and created a discourse concerning the house concerts. In fact, the literature available, little as it is, does reference the underground nature of music life, which is relevant but does not add to the discourse of this thesis. In this case, the notion of underground means activities that were held surreptitiously such as the house concerts and secret composer competitions (Vollsnes, 2013).

The investigation of Norwegian music during the occupation seemed at first consideration a vast topic, with a sparse amount of literature available. What became apparent was the techniques that I would need are mixed methods. The reason for this was that preliminary investigations brought to light the limited number of primary resources available, and an apparent absence of theoretical debate and discussion on the subject.

Beyond the scope of the literature, the research meant accessing a number of archives. These are as listed: National Archives in London; National Archives in Oslo; the Nazi Archives in Berlin; and the personal archive of Hermann Grabner (1886-1969) in Bochum, Germany.

1.1 Establishing a Baseline in Knowledge: The Meeting with Elef Nesheim.

Early December in 2010, it was cold and had been snowing in Norway. After much investigative research of the small amount of literature available on the topic of Norwegian music and the Nazi occupation during the Second World War, it was with trepidation that I made an appointment to meet with one surviving author of the two studies published. My meeting was with Professor Elef Nesheim, who wrote the 2007 book *Musikkliv i Krig*, [*Music Life in War*], who was at that time of the meeting in 2010 employed by the Norwegian Academy of Music in Oslo but is now retired. This study was a valuable resource because, as mentioned, of the scarcity of sources available. In order to capture and incorporate this work into the investigation, I made the short journey on the Oslo underground to meet him. Nesheim was considerate, if somewhat surprised that a British music student would be so interested in Norwegian music and especially music of this era. As the private conversation progressed, he stated that there was a significant amount of investigation to be carried out on this topic as it was under-researched. Additionally, he claimed that he was the expert on this subject. This was a bold statement, which he did not attempt to justify. It was true, however, considering that there had been only one other music journalist who had published on this topic. This was Hurum whose study *Musikk under Okkupasjonen*, had been published sixty-one years earlier in 1946.

1.2 Beginning the Journey.

Nesheim actively encouraged me to investigate this topic and signposted four composers that he thought would be relevant. This list comprised Klaus Egge (1906-79), Olav Kjelland (1901-85), Ludvig Irgens-Jensen (1864-1969) and Eivind Groven (1901-1977). Preliminary research during my Master of Research degree had already led to a surface level of

understanding about the roles these had taken during the occupation, and this is developed further in Chapter 6.

Once the initial concept of the study had been considered, my preliminary investigations took place. This involved a literature search of both studies and journal articles. After a two-year period, it became apparent that Nesheim was correct that the occupation was a significantly under researched subject. My first thoughts were that this was due to the lack of archives and data available, which I found to be untrue. It has now appeared to be because even now, two generations later, the occupation is still a sensitive topic. In 2012, I organised a conference at the University of Manchester on the topic of occupied nations in World War II, and the general feeling was that this notion was not just restricted to Norway (Manchester University, 2012). In fact, the only country seemingly able to deal with this period is Germany, where it is a mandatory part of the education syllabus, thus demonstrating a collective self-analysis (Bosworth, 1994).

Another consideration for the research stems from a notion that historian Michael Meyer suggested that the Nazis had a formula when occupying a nation: they investigated the orchestras and removed the Jews, causing the companies to then be closed (Meyer, 1993), and will be discussed further in Chapters 8 and 9. My subsequent research suggests that in Norway this was not the case.

1.3 The Research Commences.

The thesis is based on qualitative research, with the main data deriving from archives and interviews as primary resources. As this topic is under researched the model was being created as the thesis progressed. The approach involved triangulation which assisted in assessing the validity of the data captured (Seale, 2012). Primary resources such as newspaper clippings of interviews and critics' reviews were considered, along with secondary resources such as key texts like the studies by Hurum, Lange, Grinde and

Nesheim which provided basic facts, and interviews with the families of those active at the time. This is a mixed method approach, which involved archive investigations and face-to-face interviews. The interviews were semi-structured, discursive interviews, during which, the subject was asked a question and then allowed to respond with little interruption, although sometimes it was necessary to gently remind the subject to stay on the topic. The subject was able to talk freely, as this was where the most significant information was to be gleaned.

It is acknowledged that the memory of others is important to this research, but after over 70 years it may have diminished, and events may be remembered significantly differently from how they happened. Those that were interviewed were also a generation removed from those I am researching. It was also to be expected that follow-up interviews would take place, which should aid clarification of the initial facts. Clear field notes have been taken and diarised to maintain a coherent understanding of where information will be stored and how it was found. Secondary resources have been studied to provide a basis.

Throughout this process I compiled two charts, one pre-war and the other during the occupation, of compositions, detailing the composer, premieres, which orchestra performed it, type of composition; this was to map which composers had the highest concentration of premieres to see if this indicates relationships with Nazis: I noted, for example, that as the war progressed choral compositions increased (see chapter 6).

As a visual aid I created a wall map as a contextualisation of what happened musically in Europe during the various occupations by the Nazis, to offer an underpinning for the situation in Norway. There were smaller maps showing how the Nazis moved across Europe, including the reasons why the countries were occupied. Initial investigations revealed that in Poland, musical life diminished, while France was held steady. Of course, this needed to be correlated against Jewish population figures for countries, and within the music scene to give a greater understanding.

Acknowledging the influence of Nesheim on my thesis, it is necessary to take his advice and consider the role, for example, Egge had in the occupation. A timeline of

compositions in Chapter 7 demonstrates that he had a significant compositional output in the five-year occupation period. Music history books consider that his compositions can be divided into three clear periods. The timeline this thesis is concerned with is the period when he incorporated folk melodies into his work. This will assist in answering one of the main research questions: that is, to what extent Norwegian music of the occupation moulded itself to fit the criteria of what the Nazis required to make it palatable. Furthermore, by carrying this out, whether a composer might have a more significant chance of being incorporated into the performing canon. A discussion of Egge's work in Chapter 7 will demonstrate an understanding of its place in the Nazi Norwegian performing canon, and what elements of his music made it acceptable to the Nazis, making an initial preliminary assumption that it was.

1.4 Positionality and other aspects of the research.

As the researched progressed, it became apparent that there would be several problems that would have to be faced. In the first instance was the language barrier. Nesheim had pointed out to me that it was not a necessity to speak Norwegian but to be able to read the language was imperative. This led me to seek out my Norwegian tutor, Thomas Royden, who would become a Swiss army knife to my studies. Not only was he fluent in Norwegian but could assist with translations in Swedish, German, and Danish. With this problem taken care of the next issue to be acknowledged was the sensitivity. It became apparent early on that the subject was highly sensitive. As an outsider, I felt that I could handle the research in a gentle manner, as I was not involved in it in the same way that a Norwegian or descendants of those involved in the occupation were. However, as an example of the sensitivity faced, I was told by a librarian in the national library in Oslo that if I wrote anything bad, they (they did not specify who 'they' were) would wonder why I was doing it. In the same library in Oslo, when I asked for a specific book, the same person told me that they did

not have anything like that. I eventually found it on a shelf on the second floor. I was always polite and could only assume that this was because the occupation was still a significant event rather than something consigned to their history. However, it is generally accepted by Norwegian historians and musicologists that there should be care taken when considering events: musicologist Sjur Haga Bringeland states when writing about Norwegian composer Geirr Tveitt (1908-1991) that the word 'probably' should often be used (Rupprecht, 2020). Since we do not have access to the people involved at this time, there can only be suppositions. Furthermore, of those who authored work close to the end of the war, Hurum, revisited his own work decades later and stated that with hindsight, it was written too close to the time.

In research, evidence led me to allude to certain interpretations of behaviour and events. However, I felt that I could only allude as I did not feel confident in relabelling people. A common narrative in post-war commentary, as referenced in Samet's study *Searching for the Good War* (2021), was that there was a post-war search for the hero a need to bring the good from the bad. In her criticism of the study, reviewer Szalai states that Samet suggests there was a need for America to join the war but that this necessity did not automatically mean it was good, which went against the notion of American national fantasy (Samlet, 2012). The notion was that in joining the war, the Americans could be the peacemakers and therefore the heroes of the time, in the same way that in the post war period the Norwegians were searching for their own heroes. In Norway's case it may be perceived that some including composers and musicians were not as heroic as others. Yet, whether they posited themselves as heroes consciously, or whether it was merely accidental, is another point I cannot define categorically. In a paper concerning Norwegian composer Harald Sæverud's (1897-1992) *Kjempeviseslått* as a typical resistance composition, musicologist Friedrich Geiger also could not give a definitive answer but queried 'How typical is this piece for this special genre of works that were written between 1933 and 1945 and took a clear stand against Hitler's dictatorship' (Geiger, 2019: 82). It is understandable that such a beloved Norwegian composer could not be considered a Nazi Sympathiser (Custodis & Mattes,

2019), but my research suggests he had a high number of premieres during the occupation, which adds a question mark to this notion. In comparison to Sæverud, for example, the Norwegian composer Irgens-Jensen went underground during the occupation and stayed away from performances and as instructed by the resistance did not permit his music to be performed (Vollsnes, 2013). After the war he did not mention the occupation or his behaviour in it. So, while labels are difficult to ascribe, tentative conclusions might be drawn from the diverse ways each man dealt with the occupation and their music during it.

In reference to her play concerning apartheid in South Africa, author Jane Taylor writes that, in modern times of vast informational overloading, it was difficult always to respond, as expected, 'with outrage, sympathy, or wonder, within a context that inculcates bewilderment and dislocation' (Taylor, 2007: v). In some ways this can be found to be true with regards to Norway. New research by Norwegian historians into the historical aspects of the occupation take the reader on a new journey as it is released. Personally, I have found myself veering from sympathy to wonder only: sympathy for Norwegian composers who, like Christian Sinding (1856-1941), let themselves be used by the Nazis as a form of propaganda and whose music is not now performed in Norway because of this. Consider the fact that at the time he had dementia and was lonely because he had lost his wife (Vollestad, 2005) and was therefore less a collaborator, more a vulnerable and ailing man.¹ But I also found myself in a state of wonder at the survival of the Jews who were permitted to keep their high-level positions in music life (Nesheim, 2007). Also, to reach a new level of understanding of the events of the time, I needed to consider Nazi ideology, notions for example of rules being broken by the Nazis themselves. The case in point is the blossoming of jazz culture (www.gypsyjazz.uk). Hindsight is easy: as an outsider it is difficult to pinpoint what should have happened, therefore it could not have been easy for the people living it.

The Afrikaans poet Antjie Krog, claimed in her study *Country of my Skull* (1999), that it was difficult to hear the testimonies of those that had been abused and that 'Every

¹ In a book review in volume 103, February 2022 of *Music and Letters*, Daniel M. Grimley states the 'fact' that Sinding sought closer engagement with the Nazi administration'.

discussion opens a new problem area (Krog, 1999:9). Similarly in Norway there were undoubtedly difficult points of Norwegian history at this time of occupation and the years after. For a pacifist nation as Norway was to reintroduce the death penalty for those who had committed treason at the end of the war meant that collectively as a nation they were hurting. Also, the post-war sentencing of the 84-year-old female composer Signe Lund (1868-1950) to a hard labour camp in unforgiving Northern Norway for being a fervent supporter of Hitler and composing music dedicated to him and his greatness, was also difficult to comprehend (Nesheim, 2007). However, it has to be accepted that this was how the Norwegians dealt with their collective pain. This would not have been classed as reparative justice as there has not appeared to have been any healing, even generations later, as suggested to me when carrying out my research. This is also why my positioning regarding this research is where it is; that I can neither criticize nor condone behaviour just merely present the facts as I find them.

A consideration of Nazi ideology will be made here as a demonstration of the importance to the Nazi campaign. The ideology that the Nazis wanted to enforce throughout Europe in the start and then potentially later throughout the world took many forms. In no order, these took the form of antisemitism, eugenics, racial hygiene, the master race and lebensraum (Hayes, 1971). It is here that we start to see the differences between Norway and other occupied nations. Consider Poland, where the Nazis removed the Jews from orchestras and sent them to concentration camps, in comparison with Norway where they were permitted to hold their high-ranking positions in public view. The Nazis targeted the Norwegians to provide them with a pure Aryan race constructing the most Lebensborn [Fount of Life] camps, which were homes where women could safely deliver children that were conceived from SS soldiers, more than were in Germany itself (Olsen, 2002). This would lead to an elevated level of 'racial hygiene' if they could control who was contributing to the birth rate (Olsen, 2002). They wanted to be acknowledged that they were the master race and in music this was always a given (Dennis, 2012). Germany had always been considered a cultural leader in music and compositions; in Norway there was a high number

of composers who studied in Germany using German masters as their mentors and for their exercises. All these ideologies contributed to the simple notion that the Nazis wanted a pure race to be living in Europe known as *lebensraum*. They would also go to any lengths to achieve this, meaning that any that did not fit their 'stereotype' would be starved to death or killed immediately (Althusser, 1968). However, in Norway there did not appear to be a 'subjection to the ruling ideology' (Althusser, 1968: 131): one of my research questions concerned how the rules relaxed the further away from Berlin the Nazis went. As previously mentioned, with regards to jazz it was a resounding yes: in Norway, a jazz club was opened in the centre of Oslo which was next door to a Nazi officer's club and the jazz guitarist Robert Normann (1916-1998) travelled easily around Norway. Furthermore, Althusser suggests that in occupied nations 'the rulers should be 'steeped' in the ideology to perform in their tasks conscientiously' (Althusser, 1968: 133). It could be argued that in comparison with other occupied nations this was not the case in Norway. In his study, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, Michael Meyer states that the formula for the Nazi occupation was that they would takeover, investigate the orchestra personnel, remove the Jews and this would then determine the potential longevity of the orchestra in question (Meyer, 1993). However, In Norway this was not the case. It can be claimed that rather than being just another occupied nation, Norway was important to the campaign in a different way. This can be seen by the flexibility used by the Nazis to deal with the Norwegians; in musical life, they attempted to encourage the populace to understand they were the same people. They did this by celebrating Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) and Sinding with concerts and celebratory dinners (Dennis, 2012). That is not to say that some Norwegians did not attempt to resist, by refusing to perform and compose. However, from the research presented in this thesis it may be acknowledged how important Norway was to the Nazis beyond its geographical position: the sheer level of financial investment they placed there is a case in point and is discussed in Chapter 8.

The next consideration to me was how nations deal with the past. In her article on the Stasi, Spinney states that Germany can sometimes seem like an open-air museum to

the horrors of Nazism (Guardian, 2022). What she alludes to is that Germany appears to be the only nation that has dealt with the aftereffects of the war. This is in comparison to Norway who only in recent years started examining the time collectively. The philosopher Walter Benjamin wanted the collective to explode the agreed historical narrative and peer into the chaos of competing interpretations beneath; only by doing that, he felt, 'could we keep the emotion raw and stop repeating the mistakes of the past' (Benjamin, 2022). However, when society is divided by perceived behaviours, as in Norway, it may be that this would do more harm than good and make the division wider. In fact, with regards to memory, Lucy Noakes and Juliette Pattinson opine in their study, that 'generations have acquired a learned historical memory informed by successive narratives conveyed in a range of media, thereby adopting the memories as their own' (Noakes & Pattinson, 2014: 20). About music life, my research suggests that this is where the problem lies concerning memories of the war in Norway; it is not so much a range of media but merely anecdotal stories that have been passed through the generations and a response to the testimony of the time, that is Hurum's 1946 study *Musikk Under Okkupasjonen*. Considering that this text is never challenged, even though Hurum himself said it was written too close to the time, perceptions remain in the memories of consequent generations. Furthermore, 'many nations have looked back to the war years in different contexts, as a touchstone for their 'sense of self' in the post war period' (Noakes & Pattinson, 2014: 21). In the first instance, in print, the topic of World War II in Norway was addressed in military studies, then resistance evidence and then finally in music. Perhaps the stories of the past were felt to be sufficient in Norway without being questioned or merely that the time was too sensitive to be re-examined. It would seem that the latter is true as there are still newspaper articles published that ask when families will have to stop atoning for previous generations perceived behaviour. As with most nations, the collective hurt caused in Norway meant that there was the constant search for heroes. The composer Sæverud exploited this notion to its full extent and barely an interview passed in post war years where he did not claim that he fought the Nazis with his music. However, it is not for me to judge if he made these claims this on purpose or if it

was encouraged by media sources. Additionally, there are those like the composer David Monrad Johansen (1888-1974) who paid reparation to society but the hurt that Norway felt meant that he was never rehabilitated into modern music life. The maintenance of notions of the past created challenges when researching in the present day.

1.5 Conclusion.

Whilst considering the notion for this thesis, my concern was that it was under researched because the information was simply not available. Upon discovering that this was not fact, I spent a significant amount of time wondering why it had not been written. In the meantime, I became a director of the Nordic Church and Cultural Centre in Liverpool, which in part gave me a greater understanding of the Nordic psyche. There was still a level of 'don't mention the war', as each nation struggle still to comprehend the behaviour of others and themselves. Having done preliminary research, I felt that there was more to say, which was confirmed to me by Professor Elef Nesheim.

2 Theoretical and Historical Context. The History of the Occupation.

2.1 Introduction.

The German occupation of Norway from 1940 to 1945 witnessed a remarkable building campaign to align this northern land with Hitler's New Order. From gleaming highways and ideal cities to maternity centres for a purified Nordic race, plans to remake Norway into an "Aryan" society fired the imagination of Nazi leaders.

Stratigakos, 2020, Time.

It is accepted by historians, and discussed in this chapter, that in World War II, Norway was strategically important to the Nazis especially geographically and socially. What follows in this chapter is the addressing of the factors that appeared to be the catalyst that triggered the occupation, thus ending dreams of Norway's neutrality. In addition to this there will be a contextual discourse about factors important to the occupation.

In agreement with Stratigakos, Citino opines that strategically Norway was important to the Nazis (Citino, 2015). There were several reasons for this, all equally important and this will be discussed later in the chapter. However, understanding how important it was for the Nazis to integrate themselves into society, will also reveal what they would gain from exploiting culture and especially music, to build bridges (Dennis, 2012) between the two nations.

In history books it has been documented that in World War II, with regards to Norway, there would be a peaceful occupation by Allied forces or, in the worst-case scenario, a forced Nazi occupation (Nilesh, 2012). The Norwegians had attempted to remain neutral, as they had successfully in World War I, but there are several reasons why Hitler thought Norway was a viable target for occupation. These reasons, in no order were, 'to protect iron ore supplies bound for the Ruhr, to seize the long coast as a staging area for U-

boat operations against Britain and to forestall an Allied invasion' (Citino, 2015: 32). This chapter helps comprehend the invasion of the 9 April 1940. There will be a brief discussion about the Hanseatic League. Although this concerns history from the 12th and 13th centuries, the Hanseatic League is relevant to the discourse about relationships between Norway and Germany. There is an argument that there has always been a bond between the two nations, and a brief consideration of the Hanseatic League will show this by demonstrating connections between Norway and Germany from an early time period. Although Norway has never been officially ruled by Germany, as it has by Sweden and Denmark, this section demonstrates how far back in time the German influence can be observed. This may then have given the impetus to Hitler and the Nazis to consider an invasion of Norway could as easy and straightforward, especially since Vidkun Quisling (1887-1945) prospective prime minister of Norway, was laying the groundwork from within the country for Nazi rule.

There is also discourse about Denmark and Norway to consider. In his study of the war, Davies states, 'the invasion of Norway and Denmark was a case of straightforward aggression' (Davies, 2006: 480). Both countries were invaded on the same evening but that is where the similarities end. The two nations experienced very different occupations: the Danish government and royal family, for example, remained in situ, whereas the Norwegian government and royal family escaped to Britain. This becomes important to the narrative, as although it is suggesting that similarities between Norway and Denmark in other ways are scarce, culturally there is an important similarity. The timing, planning and execution of Hitler's invasion of Norway has been called into question several times, by different historians. Here, in this chapter, there will be a brief discussion with regards to both the Altmark incident, certainly an event which brought the occupation closer in time, and of the Blucher incident in the Oslo fjord.

This chapter offers a contextual overview of pre-war Norway, from 1900 to 1939, followed by a brief outline account of the invasion itself. Included in this overview is an examination of some of the orchestras and composers who were active during this time. This will be useful in generating an understanding of how music life existed before and at the

commencement of the occupation. Also provided is a chart, detailing the types of compositions that were composed prior to the war, and which I call the Pre-War Compositions Chart, showing which compositional forms were the most relevant at the time, and which instruments were primarily used. This will provide an aid to understanding how Norwegian music was developing after the 'Golden Age,' generally defined by Grinde as 1860 to 1890. It will also support the discussion in Chapter 8 about what changes occurred during the occupation.

Finally, I consider the effects on Norwegian music life and what did the Nazis hoped to gain. The Nazis were keen to build a cultural bridge and were intent on coercing the Norwegians into their way of thinking by using music and indeed, culture. There is a brief consideration of the contract that artists had to sign to become a member of the Cultural Council. This rendered the committee to have no influence and to be essentially redundant. However, the investment financially that the Nazis brought to Norwegian culture demonstrates that Nazis were serious integrating themselves with the Norwegians.

This study will also require awareness of internecine cultural policy as a context for what then happened during the war. In her survey of cultural policy in Norway, Marit Bakke states that in between the wars, culture became an integral part of political mobilization among different social classes (Bakke, 2001: 14) and that in 1935, the labour movement broadened its perspective and included Norway's cultural heritage as a valuable supplement to working-class culture (ibid.). As a nation that had previously been under the rule of others (for example Sweden and Denmark), it became important for the Norwegians to establish a national cultural identity, and the arts and culture was one way for this to happen (Bakke, 2001: 17). The events of WWII reinforced how important culture was to the Norwegians, and indeed the Nazis: Bakke states further that during five years of struggle against the Nazi occupation people were united across class and political differences, and afterwards they were ready to move ahead in consensus (ibid: 15).

2.2 Cultural Connections between Norway and Germany.

Culturally, there had been a significant amount of support for the Germans. In the 19th century musically, this support came from Ole Bull (1810-1880) the 'grandfather' of Norwegian music, who encouraged the next generation of Norwegian composers of Grieg and Johan Svendsen's (1840-1911) generation to look towards Germany (Grinde, 1991). In literature, the author Knut Hamsun (1859-1952) is also an example of this. It is documented by historians that he was against the Allies and that his Nazi sympathies were deeply held (Vollestad, 2005). The support that Hamsun showed for Germany had been evident for a significant period: his novel *The Growth of the Soil* authored in 1920, is deemed by critics to fit the Nazi ideology entirely. German critic Ulrich Knigge suggested that this writing was 'A half poetic, half religious mystery that is the unattainable model of all romantic souls between the ages of ten and forty...' (Haugen, 1941: 18) and further, 'To the Germans, Scandinavia is a distant utopia, the garden of Eden, where racially pure maids and swains live a life which is just as heroic as it is vegetative, a place where life is at once primitively sensual and full of mystic, elevated symbols' (Haugen, 1941: 18). This clearly falls in line with Hitler's notion of creating an Aryan race and the placing of the largest number of *Lebensborn* camps in the country of Norway.

There is also a discourse which considers the lack of changes the Nazis made when they gained their foothold on Norway. This demonstrates how keenly the Nazis wanted the Norwegians to accept them. There are two possible reasons for this. Firstly, the fewer changes the Nazis made after the initial invasion the more clearly, they would have shown the Norwegians they wanted a peaceful union. Secondly, it may have been the case that the further away from Berlin the Nazis were, the more relaxed things became. If they were not under scrutiny by the leaders, there would be a certain amount of freedom. However, there were high level Nazi officers visiting Norway.

2.3 Norway, Germany, and the Hanseatic League.

The information provided in this section was taken from www.hanse.org which is a website which deals with the history of the Hanseatic League. Any other sources will be referenced specifically.

The occupation of Norway in 1940 was not the first time that the Germanic peoples had shown an interest in this nation. Long before German unification in 1871, in a somewhat peaceful situation, the Teutonic race in the Middle Ages, like the Nazis, were keen on developing trading points on the west coast of Norway, especially in the coastal towns such as Bergen and Stavanger. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the Hanseatic League, a medieval confederation of merchant guilds, had grown as the Teutonic states developed trading links on the west coast of Norway. This was the first time that the Germanic states recognised the importance of Norway as a strategic point due to its location.

The Hanseatic League developed during medieval times. Its purpose was to be a commercial and defensive confederation of merchants' guilds and market towns in central and northern Europe. It was an initiative of a select number of Northern German towns, and these are the places of its conception. This included Lubeck, which was rebuilt on the wealth of the Hanseatic League. As a member of the Hanseatic League, traders could expect duty free treatment, diplomatic privileges, and a common legal system, which would provide mutual defence and aid. At the peak of its power, between the 13th and 15th centuries, the Hanseatic League traders had a monopoly over maritime trade in the Baltic and the North Sea. The decline of the league appears to have started circa 1536, after a power struggle between Sweden and Denmark; finances were depleted, and it was regarded as an unwanted competitor by both nations. This is just one example of how a long-standing connection between Norway and Germany exists, potentially giving more support to the notion that the Nazis considered that the occupation of Norway would be straightforward.

2.4 The Invasion of Norway.

Norway was a strategic point for the Nazis for several reasons. Firstly, if the Nazis gained a foothold in Norway, they thought it would discourage an invasion from the Allied forces. Secondly, control of the west coast meant that there was control of the North Sea, and this would ultimately assist in further movement westwards (Davies, 2006). Additionally, the rich natural resources of Norway would have been an attractive proposition. In the early twentieth century, the Norwegians had a growing fear that,

our natural resources, waterfalls, forests, fishery and mining resources etc., which we needed to develop our country, could be taken over by foreign big business interests. This would undermine the country's new-found independence and the Norwegian would risk 'becoming a hired hand in his own state, employed by foreign masters.

(Berg, 2012: 48. Sæther, 2018:1).

For the Norwegians, the beginning of the battle for Norway commenced in the early hours of 9 April 1940. Simultaneously, Denmark was putting up its own resistance to the Nazi occupation. The difference between the two is that within two and a half hours Denmark had surrendered, whereas the battle for Norway lasted for two months. However, Denmark might be considered a steppingstone which paved the way to Norway.

Historian Nilesch agrees with Stratigakos and Citino that, 'despite Norway proclaiming neutrality, the country became of strategic importance during the early stages of the World War II' (Nilesch, 2012: 1118). However, Norway was not the first nation to be occupied, nor was it the last; therefore, there may have been other countries that were equally as important, although, since the invasion of Norway involved a sea crossing, other occupied nations may have been more straightforward to conquer, due to being on mainland Europe and in close proximity to Germany itself. Also, Nilesch states further that Norway's importance, in the main, was due to the movement of Swedish ore through this country. She acknowledges that Hitler became concerned that Britain would occupy Norway before they

did, so he ordered the invasion to take place on 27 January 1940 (Nilesh, 2012: 1119). However, this suggestion is debatable, due to Quisling courting Hitler from the 1930s, which could imply that the invasion of Norway had been planned a lot sooner. Hitler had been involved in military planning in World War I (Hayes, 1971) and would have seen the strategic benefits of occupying Norway, thus making the invasion imperative. In contrast to this, Sweden seemed to have less importance. It had also remained neutral in World War I. The problems here were caused when the Nazis transported Norwegian Jews and iron ore through Sweden. The Swedish response was that it was only one train and to remain neutral nothing should be said about it.² However, in reality it was not just one train, and it was also just the start of the Nazis taking advantage of Sweden's desire for neutrality. Therefore, with plans already in place for the Norwegian invasion, the attack on the Altmark gave Hitler the excuse he needed to launch his plans to invade Norway. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in her study, Nilesh concentrates on iron ore and does not consider other mitigating factors for the invasion. In military studies like Norman Davies' *Europe at War 1939-1945* (2006), the factors of the occupation are considered as not only iron ore but also the geographical location of the country, especially the west coast, which enabled the control of the North Sea. This provided the potential opportunity of invading other nations, including Great Britain from there.

2.5 The Altmark Incident.

Historian Doherty states that 'It was the British attack by HMS Cossack upon the Altmark in Norwegian territorial waters which provoked Hitler's invasion of Norway in April 1940' (Doherty, 2003: 187). However, as previously mentioned, Nilesh states that plans were in place to invade Norway in January of 1940, yet the Altmark incident occurred one month later. There are other historians who would claim that invasion plans were being put in place

² Information taken from archive documents in National Archive, Kew, London.

in the 1930s. The Altmark was a German support vessel which was accompanying a cruiser on its return to Germany and held three hundred British prisoners. It was alleged that it was trying to avoid discovery by British aircraft and ships (Simpson, 2005). These prisoners were sailors whose ships had been sunk in the battle with the German battleship Graf Spree in the southern Atlantic Ocean. The British Royal Navy cornered the ship in the Jøssingfjord and attempted to board the ship. Prior to this, two Norwegian gunboats were denied permission to board the ship; the neutrality guards had been on board the Altmark but allegedly found no prisoners (Haarr, 2013). The British ignored the Norwegian orders, boarded the Altmark and freed the 300 prisoners that they found. However, seven Germans were killed.

In the Nazis' eyes, the British had violated Norwegian neutrality, but so had the Germans - they should not have had prisoners of war in Norwegian waters. Therefore, this meant that both sides were sceptical about Norwegian neutrality and whether the Norwegians could enforce it. And each side feared that the other would strike first. The Norwegians had attempted to maintain neutrality, claiming that they had investigated the ship and that there were no prisoners on board; yet 'the Norwegians only had the power to confirm the ship was, what it was' (Doherty, 2003: 188). However, the Altmark was stopped three times by various Norwegian forces (Doherty, 2003). The Germans considered that this meant that the Norwegians could not be neutral and so was one of the mitigating factors for invasion (ibid.). However, it is thought by some historians like Nilesch, that Hitler had planned the invasion in the previous December, in that case the importance of the Altmark case would be negligible. In support of this it is well documented that Quisling had been encouraging Hitler to invade Norway from the mid-1930s (Hayes, 1971).

This event was of such significance that there is a view by historian Kathleen Stokke that it became responsible for the term *Jøssinger* – good Norwegian – coming into common language. There appear to be two explanations for this, firstly that it was due to the Altmark incident occurring in the Jøssingfjord and secondly, that it was coined by a Swedish Nazi newspaper *Sverige Fritt* [Swedish Free] and later in the Norwegian Nazi newspaper *Fritt*

Folk [Free People] in 1941 (Stokker, 1995). The *Nasjonal Samling* [Nazi Sympathiser] party claimed that everyone who went against them was a *jøssinger* but they embraced this term as a reaction to Quisling meaning traitor (elsterhanson wordpress.com). It was referred to in Quisling his own speeches often. It was created from an acronym for *Jeg Onsker Staten Styrt Ifølge Norges Grunnlov* [I want the state ruled according to Norway's constitution] (Stokker, 1995: 27).

Additionally, the entire Altmark incident was used to good effect as a propaganda machine by both the Germans and the British. Doherty states that 'the British propagandists also made good use of the Altmark episode to show what the English were capable of...' whereas the Nazis 'monopolised the incident for the next four or five days,' claiming that 'there was a brutal attack on unarmed and unnamed civilian crew' (Doherty, 2003: 193). This incident contributed to the legitimacy behind Hitler's decision to invade.

2.6 The Geography of Norway and The Blucher.

Geographically, Norway was a difficult country to invade with its long coastline. The coastline has a distance of 2650 kilometres, but this does not include fjords. If fjords and inlets are included, then the total distance is 21,110k. It varies in breadth and width: 430 kilometres in the south at its broadest, to a mere 6 kilometres just south of Narvik (Moen, 1998). As the Nazis started the ascent up the Skagerrak Sea towards the Oslo fjord, those who resided in the lower part of the country witnessed this happening and were able to get messages to the city of Oslo and therefore the government and royal family warning of the advance. Additionally, the Nazis were delayed by the sinking of the Blucher.

The Blucher was the crown in the Nazis maritime arsenal. It had been under construction since 1936 and was deemed to be seaworthy on the 5 April 1940 and this would be its maiden voyage. The construction meant that it was able to carry a significant number of arms and 800 soldiers, and its passengers also included a number of

administrators who would take control of Norway (Berg, 1997). To this end it led the invasion of Norway; however, being at the front of the flotilla it also meant that it was a target for the Norwegians.

It could be considered that actually it was not such an easy target. What made it a target was the procession of craft that was bringing up its rear. The Blucher itself moved stealthily up the fjord without any lights on and it made very little sound. However, it was seen as it progressed slowly up the Oslo fjord. As the Blucher passed the Oscarsborg fortress, it was fired on, successfully. The two cannons on the mainland caused enough damage to sink the Blucher in less than five minutes, with a significant loss of life (Lislegaard, Borte, 1975). This slowed the Nazi invasion down. In effect, due to the length of the country, the geographical situation of the capital, and the Blucher incident, the invasion took significantly longer than the Nazis had anticipated which gave the government and Royal family more time, and they all moved northwards, making their way to the Northwest coast and eventually escaping to the British Isles. In her study Nilesch suggests that King Haakon (1872-1957) did this as he did not want to support the Nazi regime (Nilesch, 2012:1120), however the official royal family webpage states that 'he would rather abdicate than appoint Quisling Prime Minister' (Royalcourt, 2007). It is well documented by historians that the King ruled from Britain and was a symbol of resistance for the Norwegian people with 'his broadcasts from London a source of inspiration (Royalcourt, 2007). Therefore, he had no intention of abdicating.

Hitler wanted this to be a peaceful occupation however he must have known that the odds were stacked against him. It is interesting to note, that two weeks before the invasion, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, the jewel in the cultural crown of the Nazi regime, had been sent to Norway (Aster, 2007). Now, as an act of war, a ship which was also considered to be the jewel in the crown of Naval war ships had also been sent to Norway. This notion makes it also appear that Norway was critical and important to Hitler and the Nazis plans.

2.7 Norway, Neutrality and Problems That Gave Quisling Impetus.

The Norwegians were unprepared for such an attack. Like all the Scandinavian countries they had hoped to remain neutral as they had done successfully in World War I. In the 1960s, historian Olav Riste first used the term 'The Neutral Ally' to describe Norway. On gaining independence from Sweden in 1905, Norwegian politicians decided that if there were to be a war, Norway should remain neutral, and a document was signed to enforce this. However, in the event of war, the proximity of the northern area to Russia would be a concern, so an ally and support could be found in the entente with Great Britain. In fact, throughout the early stages of World War I, Norway continued to supply fish to both the British and the Germans, thereby maintaining only a form of neutrality. This did not suit the Allies and they eventually forced the Norwegians to cease trading with the Germans. In retaliation, in 1916 the Germans sank over half of the Norwegian submarine base, and this led to strong anti-German feeling within Norway³.

Maintaining its status as a neutral country had taught Norway harsh lessons from World War I, and the after-effects were even worse. The similarities between Norway and Denmark in this period are again evident. In both countries, the cost of living went up significantly, the rich became richer, and the poor became poorer, due to the upswing in the financial markets. The level of unemployment was at a low point but the rise in the standard of living caused perversely a rise in the poverty level. There was a ban on the use of grain and potatoes for making alcohol, and in general the sale of alcohol was banned. Black markets became more prevalent for buying food; however, prices were still extortionate. In 1917, and, probably for the first time in history, the Norwegians started demonstrating about the lack of food and the affordability of what was available. Creative accounts by the finance minister did not help the recovery after the war. Financing the neutrality guard cost the Norwegians dearly. Thousands of men were deployed in this field for four years, causing an

³ Information taken from www.lifeinnorway.net

additional burden on the economy, a debt they were repaying long after World War I had finished. This is indicative of the problems that Norway was facing in the inter-war period and what Quisling tried to exploit for his own end. He did this by promoting Nazi policies which had been successful in Germany to the Norwegians (Hayes, 1971).

2.8 Norway as a Strategic Pawn.

Strategically, in the period before the war as well as during it, Norway was an important country for both the Nazis and Great Britain (Riste, 1984). World War I had taught the Germans that they had to 'gain control of the North Sea to gain better access to the Atlantic Ocean to disable British supply lines' (Riste, 1984: 146). However, this was easier said than done. Hitler considered the campaign for Norway so important that he is reported to have planned the invasion himself and, to this end it was a consistently determined six-week battle to take this nation. Due to the length of time this campaign took, some Nazi military leaders Field Marshall Walther Von Brauschitz (1881-1948) deemed that it demonstrated Hitler's weak leadership and even weaker military planning, as he would not take advice from them (Roland, 2018). Hitler had considered that 'it was important to prevent the English annexation of Norway' and that 'the German occupation of Norway was inevitable' (Nilesh 2012: 1118). However, in Great Britain, the defeat in Norway led to the removal of Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940) from his position as Prime Minister and opened the door for Winston Churchill (1874-1965) to take power, 'even though Churchill had planned the failed British attempt to take Norway' (Paschall, 2010).

In addition to this, the Nazis considered that Norway was important racially; it was here in the passage of time, that the Nazis would have the highest number of Lebensborn camps. The Lebensborn camps, were a Nazi led directive, where Norwegian women were encouraged to have relationships with German soldiers creating a new Aryan race. In Norway 12,000 Aryan children were born, in comparison with 8,000 in Germany itself

(Roland, 2018). The Norwegian people exhibited the blonde hair, blue eyed characteristics attractive to creating what the Nazis deemed to be the Aryan race. In Norway, 'German soldiers were urged to seduce women of 'Viking' blood' (Roland, 2018: 169). After the war these children were confined to mental asylums, as it was feared that they would 'contaminate Scandinavian blood and create a new generation of Nazi sympathisers' (ibid.).

Another indication of the importance of Norway to Hitler's plans, is that he had face-to-face meetings with Quisling throughout the war until at least 1944, even though it is documented by historian Hayes that Quisling's government was a puppet one, and the Nazis held the real power with Quisling as a mere figurehead (Hayes, 1971). It is unclear why Hitler should have given this special consideration to Quisling especially since the man at the helm of the government and the *Reichskommissariat* was Josef Terboven (1898-1945). In fact, as further proof of Hitler's tenacity with regard to Norway it is noted that on the 15 February 1944, it was reported to the German press that the construction of two new airports was taking place using the Norwegian labour scheme and Russian prisoners of war (Ostlund, 1997). One was at Eggmoen by Honefoss 27 miles north-northeast of the capital Oslo. This was to be used primarily as a refuelling base for German aircraft. The other was Haslemoen by Flisa, this would be a reserve airport for Gardermoen, which was the main airport for Oslo (National Archives, Oslo, accessed 2018).

The German invasion had been planned as a peaceful takeover, relying on surprise to nip any resistance in the bud (Riste, 1984: 145). In a gesture of goodwill to Norway by the Nazis the Berlin Philharmonic were sent with conductor Wilhelm Furtwangler (1886-1954) to perform in Oslo two weeks before the invasion took place, suggesting that the Nazis were attempting to start the cultural bridge building (Dennis, 2012) and permitting one of their orchestras that was the 'jewel in the crown' (Aster, 2012) to perform would have been a good gate opener to the Norwegians and lead to a friendly occupation. The critic and composer Pauline Hall (1890-1969) said of the visit:

Fürtwangler was warmly lauded yesterday, from the bottom of our hearts. He was witness to that, in our country, in times such as this, the sole consideration is art.

(Fidjestøl, 2019).

Additionally, the Nazis had taken the Berlin Philharmonic from the edge of financial ruin, via investment to become a thriving orchestra. If the Nazis had known the history of the Oslo Philharmonic, which had also previously faced financial ruin, it would have indicated what they could deliver to the Norwegians: the investment of success. However, If the Norwegians had considered the significance of this event, it might have given some indication as to what was to happen next: at this time, the Berlin Philharmonic were performing in Germany and were permitted to travel and perform in occupied nations as well. It was almost as if the Norwegians were looking in another direction, whilst trying to maintain the idea that they could remain as neutral as they had done in World War I, when the Norwegian prime minister of the time Gunnar Knudsen (1848-1928) declared that Europe was 'cloudless' (Karl Erik Haug, 1914-1918 online). Within days, of his announcing this to parliament, World War I commenced, and he had to return from holiday. However, neutrality in World War II was a notion that was not going to come to fruition. As Nilesh states 'even if he (Hitler) intended to respect the neutrality of Norway in the early days [...] occupation was inevitable' (Nilesh, 2012: 1118).

The weakness in Norway was in its military. Military historian Riste states that, 'as the occupation assault was occurring, the Norwegian army appeared to be ill-equipped and insufficiently trained' (Riste, 1984:145). However, it appears that this was only in Southern Norway. Riste contradicts himself by saying that the Norwegian army was not completely unprepared: in North Norway they were more ready, due to the fear that the Winter war between Finland and Russia might 'overspill onto Norwegian land' (Riste, 1984; 146). Yet it seems obvious that the soldiers that were prepared were in the wrong place to fight against the invasion.

By the time the occupation attack had started, the rest of Europe was seven months into the war. It is presumed that the Norwegians had no reason to expect an invasion by Nazi Germany: perhaps this is why they held on to the idea that they could remain neutral – they had after all achieved this in World War I.

In any case, British assistance in World War II ‘came too little, too late’ (Riste, 1984: 145). What Hitler demonstrated in this six-week battle was that air power was greater than sea power, as the Luftwaffe attacked the British Navy (Roland, 2018) and even with significant losses in personnel, Germany gained a strong advantage. In contrast with World War I, Nazi Germany was not interested blocking a gateway to the Baltic regions but gaining access to Britain via the North Sea. Even with all this activity, Norway maintained its neutral stance and believed that all other parties would respect that.

2.9 Vidkun Quisling and the *Nasjonal Samling* Party.

The occupation of 9 April 1940, when it came, was a surprise to the Norwegians (Beevor, 2012). Riste concurs that ‘Germany’s luck in achieving complete surprise, and the unpreparedness of Norway for a large-scale invasion of this kind, gave the German forces their initial success’ (Riste, 1984:145). Additionally, the lightning success of the German invasion delivered military and psychological blows and had a devastating impact (Petrow, 1974). The government’s hope of remaining neutral was dashed due in no small part to the interference of would-be post invasion ruler, Quisling, and his courting of Hitler (Hayes, 1971), something which was common knowledge to Norwegian society. A brief consideration of Quisling’s life informs an understanding of the political position of the Norwegians before the war, and the influence of Quisling on the events leading to the occupation. An understanding of what Quisling wanted to achieve in Norway, and how he saw the future of the country, gives insight into Germany’s invasion success.

The invasion was not the first takeover of a nation by the Nazis and was not deemed to be the final push of Hitler's plans to take over the world. Indeed, it may be that the Nazis thought that the planned invasion of Norway would be relatively straightforward and therefore was carried out on the same day as the assault on Denmark. However, this is where the similarities end, as Denmark surrendered quite quickly and was occupied within hours and more peacefully, whereas the battle for Norway lasted six weeks.

There is some indication from documents in the Nazi archives in Berlin that plans for occupation were being put into place by Hitler as early as 1935. Contracts for artists were already being drawn up. The Prime Minister during the occupation of Norway was Vidkun Quisling, an ambitious Norwegian military officer who, in 1933, had founded the Norwegian far-right group *Nasjonal Samling* [National Union]. It was always his plan was to be the Prime Minister of Norway, but his party had been marginal, failing to win seats in elections. After the Nazi invasion and occupation, of 1940, Quisling achieved his plan and in 1942 became the Prime Minister (Hayes, 1971; Dahl, 1999). This would contradict the notion that Quisling, on his own initiative, asked 'Hitler many times to invade Norway in the late 1930s' (Hayes, 1971) and therefore, that he was the instigator of the occupation.

At this time Quisling was a ruling member of the *Nasjonal Samling* party in Norway, that is the party for Nazi Sympathisers. Although, at this stage this party was not in power. He had gained Hitler's attention and courted potential power by using Nazi policies to address the problems the Norwegian's faced such as rising unemployment. This will be discussed further in this chapter. As can be seen in this diary entry dated 21.01.1944, Quisling had faith in Hitler, not only as the Nazi party was gaining power but throughout the war to the bitter end. He demonstrated this by maintaining regular contact with Berlin and having meetings with the Hitler throughout the war. Quisling's diary entry of 21 Jan 1944 suggests that this is his eighteenth meeting with Hitler.

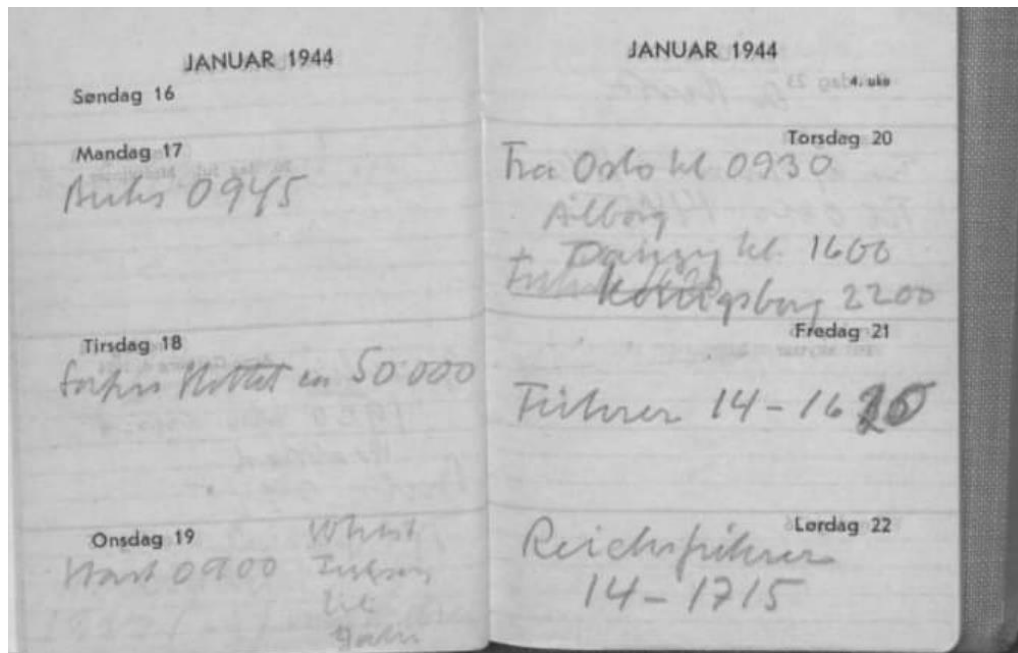


Figure 1 Pages from Quisling's diary showing an appointment with Hitler. Photo accessed from Oslo National Archive 21/11/2018.

Additionally, there is further evidence that Hitler had already considered Norway as a place of interest for the future as early as the mid-1930s: Germany had already started taking a keen interest in cultural events in Norway: in a letter dated 12 April 1935, a German delegation in Oslo wrote to the German Ministry of Education and Propaganda concerning a performance of *Boeddelen* [The Executioner] by the Swedish wordsmith Pär Lagerkvist (1891-1974). Lagerkvist was a poet who 'reacted to the time through his poetry and plays' and for this reason in 1951 he was awarded a Nobel Peace Prize (New York Times, 1974). During the first world war his poetry 'demonstrated the anxiety and despair of the time' (Lagerkvist biography, online: 1951). It is then reasonable to understand that in the '30s he would remonstrate 'against the rise of totalitarianism and fascism especially Nazism across Europe' (Lagerkvist biography, online: 1951). The background to the writing of the play *Boddelen* was as follows:

...under en resa genom Europa våren 1933 kunde Pär Lagerkvist bevittna fascismens och nazismens framfart. Vid hemkomsten till Sverige påbörjade han detta verk som skulle komma att bli ett omistligt inlägg i kampen mot våldet och nazismen. *Bödeln* är en betraktelse över människans förhållande till det onda.

[...during a trip through Europe in the spring of 1933, Pär Lagerkvist was able to witness the advance of fascism and Nazism. On his return to Sweden, he began this work which would become an indispensable contribution to the fight against violence and Nazism. The executioner is a contemplation of man's relationship to evil.]

(Aldus, 1976; trans. Royden, 2017).

The letter addresses the concern of having such a play performed in Oslo. It states that the play presents 'a morbidly degenerate picture of our intellectual and cultural life' and further that the writer 'was left with an incredibly depressing impression due to the reaction of the public' (Aldus, 1976: 12). The play was a 'prophetic denunciation of Nazi Barbarism' (Saxon, New York Times, 1974). However, the letter further states that 'Lagerkvist in an interview has suggested that the play is not an attack on Nazi ideology' (Aldus, 1976: 12). It is not unreasonable to consider that having witnessed Hitler's ideologies, Lagerkvist would have wanted to protect himself to deny the real meaning of the play. The fact that the Nazis were concerned with performances in Oslo, could be an indication of their overall interest.

Oblivious to the interest that Hitler was showing in Norway, Quisling inaugurated his *Nasjonal Samling* party [National Socialist party] on the 17 May 1933 (Dahl, 2008). It was created a few days prior to this but, in an effort to appeal to the Norwegians, it appeared respectable to claim this date, due to it being Constitution Day, the day that symbolises independence from Sweden in 1814 and therefore a day of celebration in Norway.

Quisling's N.S party studied Italian Fascism, and was becoming increasingly anti-Semitic (Hayes, 1971). In the early days of the party, support was gained from the Farmer's Union and also the Lutheran Church, maybe influenced by the fact that Quisling's father was a Lutheran minister. He was also supported by the author Ivar Sæter (1864-1945) who became the poet laureate for *Nasjonal Samling* in Norway (Eriksonas, 2004: 232). Indeed,

many of Sæter's poems became part of the *Nasjonal Samling* songbook. This songbook was used at NS meetings and gatherings and included acceptable songs. As time progressed the party became politically more extreme and by 1936 had lost the support of the two factions of farmer's union and Lutheran church (Dahl, 2008). In acknowledgement of Hitler's success in Germany, Quisling had a number of meetings with him and it is suggested that he actively encouraged the occupation of Norway (Hayes, 1971).

There were two reasons that Quisling wanted Hitler to occupy Norway. Firstly, many years earlier Quisling had predicted that communists would attempt to gain ground in Norway, after they had gained control of Finland (Hayes, 1971). In the light of the events in Germany and the tone of Hitler's propaganda machine (Shirer, 2004) the occupation of Norway by the Nazi regime provided a possible scenario whereby Hitler would help to prevent Norway from following the same path as Finland. Effectively this would form a protective barrier against communism. Secondly, the by-product would have been the success of Quisling's secret plot to be the *statsminister* [prime minister] and bring to power the *Nasjonal Samling* party when the German occupation was completed, and they had won the war (Dahl, 2008). In effect, the discussions with Hitler were to demonstrate his faith in the Nazi party and prove his invaluableness to the system (ibid.) and bring protection to him and his party (Hayes, 1971).

Significantly, Quisling and the party had put in place policies that, when they gained power, would assist in making them acceptable to the Norwegians. These policies that fed on the popular discontent with the existing political status quo. This was an approach commonly and effectively used by the Nazi propagandist Speer in supporting Hitler's securing and consolidation of power (Shirer, 2004). Quisling recognised that the Norwegians wanted to address the defects in their political system; they wanted a constitution revision to eliminate corruption, and a stronger defence (Hayes, 1971), although at this time it would be used against Britain and Finland (Dahl, 2008). Additionally, unemployment issues would be addressed, using the German model as a template (Hayes, 1971), and finally resolving the regional problems of the subsidising of agriculture (Hayes, 1971). At this time Nazi

employment policy was stringent in the fact that Jews were not permitted to work, and those Germans who did not have employment were labelled workshy and placed into concentration camps. The Nazis also reintroduced national service which brought down unemployment figures. As a demonstration of his perceived power, it was Quisling who made the coup d'état announcement of the impending invasion on the radio (ibid.).

The successful takeover by Quisling and his party from the Norwegian government resulted in what was essentially a puppet regime. They were figureheads controlled by the Nazis, and Terboven was appointed as the *Reichskommissar*, the chief civilian administrator. In line with the Nazi policy of surreptitious occupation, the Quisling faction and the German soldiers were under orders to treat the Norwegians well and to reach an understanding with the general population (Dahl, 2008).

In summary, in the years before the war, Norway and Germany were becoming increasingly politically connected. Quisling was a key player in this scenario, and courted Hitler and his policies and, simultaneously, the Norwegians with early Nazi policies.

2.9.1 A Context: The Problem of the Culture Council and Vidkun Quisling.

As both Hayes and Dahl note, the sudden arrival of Nazi forces in Norway in the early hours of April 9, 1940, demonstrated to the Norwegians exactly how unprepared they were for such an event (Hayes, 1971; Dahl, 1999).

Although many had recognised the ambition of Vidkun Quisling and his *Nasjonal Samling* party, the government had not considered him a threat, even though he had been in contact with Hitler prior to the invasion, this meant that they came under immense criticism when the German forces landed (Dahl, 1999). In contrast it must have been with immense joy that the news of the impending advancement of the Nazis along the Oslo fjord reached Quisling and his party. Since Quisling was a follower of National Socialism, it may be reasonable to consider that he would follow its policies to the end. Given that music was

important to the Nazis as a tool of propaganda and a way to ingratiate themselves in occupied territories (Meyer, 1991: 180) it then follows that music would be an important factor in Quisling's plans. To this end in 1942 he attempted to create a *Riksting*, which was an economic cultural body (Dahl, 1999). Hitler, however, refused the concept of this council, but this may have been a continuation of his aversion to giving full power to Quisling, and it is also likely that German administrator Terboven also objected, due to his dislike of Quisling (Kersaudy, 1987). Furthermore, even if the *Riksting* had been created it would almost certainly have had no real power. Quisling's was a puppet-government, however pro-Nazi its politics.

On the 23 September 1943 in the university *Aula* [concert hall in Oslo, Quisling finally installed the *Kulturting* [Culture Council] that he had desired since the occupation (Dahl, 1999). The role of the council was to be an advisory body and consultancy to the Ministry of Culture. Various members of different branches of cultural life were involved and all members had to have membership of Quisling's *Nasjonal Samling* party, or *N.S.* On paper, the role of the *Kulturting* seems to have a legitimate value: the agenda for the first meeting included the development of a music academy, a language academy and a new national organisation for conservation (Hurum, 1946 :90). They had most success with this last item and it led to the opening of Norway's first national park (ibid.). Apart from this, the lack of power the council had meant they only held two meetings, and then, one by one, each of the council members resigned (Hurum, 1946: 90). Members of this council included composer David Monrad Johansen, whose narrative will be discussed later.

Beyond this, Quisling had further planned at foundation level. Nazi policy had been introduced that included educating children in the way of the Third Reich from Kindergarten to University (Potter, 1998). This was incorporated into Norwegian life; whether this was the influence of the Nazis or not is unclear, but in effect, Quisling made it known that under his rule the state would support education for all in song and music, thus lending itself to the idea of singing village community or, as it became, the 'big city folk music' (Meyer, 1991: 62). Importantly, all youth had to be members of the *Nasjonal Samling* organisation from the

ages of ten to eighteen years. This was in line with Nazi policy and affected children in all parts of the country. In his study Meyer states that music and singing had three effects.

Firstly, it involved the nation and its youth in a collectivist music culture (Meyer, 1991: 63). As mentioned previously, to a certain extent this was already in existence in Norway: more often than not children were involved in marching bands and choirs as a matter of course. Indeed, significantly, what would most probably have changed is the songs that they would be singing. Secondly, singing propagated *volkisch* or 'folk' Nazi principles in an enthusiastic, pleasurable, accessible, and repetitive manner (Meyer, 1990: 63). From the outset of the war, two *Nasjonal Samling* (N.S), that is Nazi sympathiser songbooks were made readily available, both incorporating traditional Norwegian songs and those in celebration of N.S. principles. Thirdly, there were benefits to an activity that elevated the spirit and thus distracted from the political unpleasantness and the hardships of daily life (ibid.). When analysing the instrumentation of compositions that were premiered through the war in Norway, it becomes apparent from the compositional chart I have created, see page 138, as time progresses that the level of vocal/choral compositions increased significantly.

Additionally, a radio programme titled *Norsk Musik og Tyskland* [Norwegian Music and Germany] broadcast on the 23 August 1940, nearly five months after the occupation, reinforced the need for the bridge to be constructed between the two cultures (Hurum, 1946; Meyer, 1990). The programme discussed the problems that Norwegian composers were confronted by, without elaborating further. It was also stressed that contemporary German music was important, and that German masters had never relinquished their values. As a tool of propaganda, the unnamed presenter states that German romanticism contributed to the freeing up of Norwegian music and exploited its riches. Cultural theorist Raymond Williams suggests that we see in this that the dominant cultural nationalism remains at the forefront (Milner, 1994). While the Nazis suggested that Norwegian music was the most important, by mentioning German masters, the radio presenter suggests that German music is the dominant culture. Furthermore, the radio broadcast underlined to listeners that everyone must understand how important it was, at that time, to make a connection between

German and Norwegian music; 'this will lead to a fruitful spring, wonderful summer and rich autumn.'⁴ It should be noted that part of Nazi policy was to embark on a surreptitious amalgamation into the culture of occupied territories (Meyer, 1990), therefore, with regards to Norway, the least complex way to do this was to remind the Norwegians of past history and allude to the fact that Grieg, considered to be one of the foremost nationalistic romantic composers, was educated in Germany (Dennis, 2012). In addition, it is also noted that Norwegian music grew out of the folk tradition. The Nazis had long since claimed that Norwegian music had desirable Nordic traits such as the depiction of the pastoral landscape (Dennis, 2012), therefore, to integrate folk music and melodies which had passed through generations into new music would have been acceptable to the Nazis. This is especially the case as many of the early Norwegian folk melodies were based on the notes of the *lur* (Grinde, 1991), which was the same instrument used in traditional German folk music (Meyer, 1990).⁵ This means, however, that because there were many similarities between German and Norwegian music, in contrast with Williams' theory, the Nazis did favour the subordinate nationalism (Milner, 1994).

The production of this radio programme so early in the occupation meant that the Nazis were conscious that Norwegians were unhappy with the Nazi presence, therefore it was likely deemed imperative that propaganda was implemented almost immediately, but that is not to say that this radio programme was the first to be delivered. What it does demonstrate, however, is the level of importance in which music was held by the Nazis (Dennis, 2012). Some Norwegian composers reacted by reverting to Old Norwegian folk traditions, and it must be considered whether, by so doing, they unwittingly implemented Nazi policy rather than turning away from it towards what they might have considered more Norwegian and thus patriotic forms.

⁴ Information in this paragraph taken from the Radio programme *Norwegian music and Germany* accessed on 24 April 2016 *Nasjonal Biblioteket* website.

⁵ The *lur* was a wooden instrument used for herding. It took the shape of a pipe and is blown into as a trumpet. It can produce the notes of a major triad (Grinde, 1991).

2.10 Norway, Denmark, and the Media.

In his study '*The Bitter Years: The invasion of Denmark and Norway April 1940-May 1945*', American Journalism Professor Richard Petrow claims:

The German invasion of Norway and Denmark, which Adolf Hitler launched in April 1940, and which was executed by his military services with lightning success, delivered to the Scandinavian countries' military and psychological blows of devastating impact.

(Petrow, 1974: 1).

However, this statement is problematic. Realistically, it could be suggested that the only similarity between the invasion of Denmark and of Norway is that they both commenced on the same day. Bryld argues that 'The classification of countries which participated in the war followed the standard scheme with the Allies as victory state...the occupied countries in an in-between mode, depending on the level of collaboration or alliance with Germany' (Bryld, 2007:86-7). It is here then, that according to Bryld, that the comparisons between Norway and Denmark end. However, what can also be compared is how they have dealt with the occupation after 1945.

As mentioned, it is documented that in 2003 the Prime Minister of Denmark apologised for the collaborationist government. The occupation of Denmark was completed within a few hours, whereas the fight for Norway lasted several weeks. The occupation of Denmark had been "business as usual" for the Danish state, and widespread economic, political and cultural collaboration had taken place with Nazi Germany from 9 April 1940 until the breach with the Germans on 29 August 1943' (Bryld, 2007: 90). In contrast to this notion of the events in Denmark, Petrow acknowledges that 'Norwegian men knew their mountains and could survive where others would perish', and that 'it was only to be expected that German troops would face continuing guerrilla warfare' (Petrow, 1974: 8). It may be fair to suggest that if the Norwegians regrouped quite quickly then there would not be any

significant 'psychological blows' (Petrow, 1974: 8). However, to entice the reader to continue reading he suggests, quite mysteriously that 'all is not as it seems' (Petrow, 1974).

Additionally, Bryld opines that 'the positions held by respective countries during the period of war, is decreasingly judged from the interests of nation states and increasingly from a consideration for universal, ethical political criteria, such as human rights, tolerance and democracy' (Bryld, 2007: 87). Petrow's study is one that considers the military invasion but is sweeping in its generalisations. He suggests further that the invasion was assisted by secret agents that were already in situ in both nations (Petrow, 1974: 5). This is not new information, as it is an accepted fact that the Nazis made numerous reconnaissance visits to prospective nations that could be invaded.

A sizeable number of texts consider both Norway and Denmark together when writing about the occupation. This is since both nations were invaded in the same 24-hour period. It then seems appropriate to continue this in this chapter, because Denmark can be considered to be a model for comparison. However, these were two very different occupations. Denmark's was peaceful and acquiescent, and Norway's was more resistant. Both nations later struggled to confront the ghosts of this time, yet, recently Norway has become more receptive to addressing the period of the occupation. In Norway, in the last few years there have been a number of films that have been produced and released with regards to different aspects of the war and occupation. Also, there has been a television series titled *Occupation* which was set in modern times, and which dealt with the fictitious topic of Norway being occupied by Russia. As further proof of Norway dealing with the time, a game was made for release in schools which dealt with bullying (Campbell, 2018). The main character is a *Lebensborn* child, and the player of the game is their guardian. A series of decisions have to be made to ensure protection of the child against bullies.

In relation to World War II and the occupied nations, Danish history professor Claus Bryld has claimed that 'memories are changing all the time' and further, 'the reception of the past runs in phases that wend their way between appropriation and suppression, reconfiguration of the master narrative or yet the return of the war myths.' (Bryld, 2007:87).

Clarity of the situation in later years is difficult to ascertain. As time moves through generations of families, stories become legends and almost Chinese whispers, and even now, people are held accountable for the perceived behaviour of grandparents and great grandparents. In the past few years, in the daily newspapers in Norway the question is still being asked 'How long do we have to atone for what our grandparents did?'. Another issue that arises in considering historical discourse, is that authors often attempt to solve the problems of nations which are still going through their own therapy (Bryld, 2007). This may illustrate a perception that the Norwegians are still not in a place of forgiveness but will at least starting to address the period.

2.11 War Sailors, Jews, and Memory.

There were many perceived victims of the Norwegian occupation and there are stories that have been waiting for a long time to be told. These include those the war sailors, who accused the Norwegian government of abandoning them after the war. Their fight has been documented across the years and it took some time for them to achieve victory for their cause. Additionally, there have also been implications in recent years about the Norwegian Jews and their treatment by the resistance movement. Of course, there are always counter arguments. In creating a discourse with regards to these two groups, the plight of the Norwegian war sailors and the Norwegian Jews, it will then become clearer why the occupation during World War II is such a sensitive topic and it will give a frame of reference for its effects on music life.

One of the key issues from the occupation was the treatment of the war sailors. After the occupation of Norway, a fleet of Norwegian merchant navy ships were made available to the Allies. The number of vessels totalled at a conservative estimate one thousand and forty-one. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill stated that having access to this fleet was 'like having one million additional combat troops' (Berglund, 2021). Although here the

problems became apparent at the end of the war. The Norwegian government did not recognise the sailors in the war as having fought under the Norwegian flag and therefore did not accept responsibility for them. This meant they were not given wages or war pensions (Lawson, 2013). It is alleged that they were abandoned to deal with their own post-traumatic stress, which had been caused by the numerous dangerous scenarios they found themselves in, such as steering a petroleum tanker to maintain supplies for the Allies' aircraft. Thus followed a thirty-year battle for recognition, spearheaded by journalist and Norwegian author Jon Michelet (1944-2018). Although, in a comment in an online newspaper as a response to the war sailors' cause, it had been stated that every Christmas they would be encouraged to talk about their experiences on the radio, and later on when television became more popular and accessible to society there too, where allegedly 'tears could be seen running down their faces' (Lindsay, 2013).

If further proof is needed of what can only be deemed as uncomfortable truth being faced by the Norwegians, then it is the writing of Norwegian journalist Marte Michelet (Jon Michelet's daughter). Michelet authors articles and books and is a strong critic of the Norwegian resistance. She claims that they as a group disregarded the Norwegian Jews. Also, that the resistance had been told about the deportation of the Jews from Norway to the concentration camps, as had the government in exile, but they chose to ignore this information. Michelet states that an interview with Gunnar Sønsteby (1918-2012), a resistance hero, confirmed this. The interviewer, resistance fighter and journalist Ragnar Ulstein (1920-2019) claimed in retaliation to Michelet's claims that 'every decade someone crops up and thinks he knows more than what we knew, and with hindsight they ask why the resistance did not do this or that. I am tired of this, it is a pointless discussion' (Dagsavisen, 2018). In contrast, the Danes in recent years have seen 'the emergence of a more critical and reflecting attitude, which in less than a few years had radically transformed the interpretation of the occupation era (Bryld, 2007: 90). This would have been demonstrated

by the Prime Minister's apology in 2003. It is interesting to note how Norway and Denmark have dealt with the occupation in dramas.

In comparison to the number of films, television and media Norway has released, in Denmark few films on this topic have been released. Norway's films include *The King's Choice*, *Flame and Citron* and *Atlantic Crossing* (2020) amongst others. Denmark's films include *April 9th* (2015), *In the Darkness* (2021) and *Skyggen i mit Oye* [Shadow in my Eye] (2021). The film *In the Darkness* tells the story of a family torn apart by the Nazi invasion of Denmark. It does not make any suggestions of how Denmark recovered from the occupation and the retribution/reparation that took place. In fact, research into how Denmark recovered from the occupation is sparse. It is documented that in 2003, the Danish prime minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen, apologised for the collaboration with the Nazis. This was on the 60th anniversary of the dissolution of the collaborationist government. (DW Staff, 2005) It should be noted that he termed the occupation 'a collaboration', meaning potentially that to an extent the Danes embraced the Nazi occupiers.

2.12 The further from Berlin.

Once the occupation gained a foothold in Norway, it would be expected that circumstances would change, and that those changes would be felt and noticed immediately. However, the Nazis were seeking a peaceful occupation by integrating themselves with the Norwegians using music as a cultural bridge (Dennis, 2014). To this end, it might be argued that the further away from Berlin the Nazis were stationed, the more relaxed the rules became. If proof were needed of this, we should briefly consider the position of jazz in Norway.

The Nazis considered jazz to be a degenerate form of music. Therefore, it would be expected that there would be an outright ban on it in occupied nations. In his study, Grinde states that Norway had 'a slight delayed reaction' (Grinde, 1991: 351) in taking on the influence of American jazz. Interestingly, he also states that; 'during World War II jazz was

forbidden in Norway, so it withdrew to clandestine gatherings to survive' (Grinde, 1991: 351). This was not strictly true. In contrast to Grinde's statement it is documented that a jazz club opened in the next building to the office's German officers. It remained open until at least 1942. The significance of this date is that this is the point in time that Quisling's puppet government was installed and, given his close contact with Hitler- they had regular face to face meetings throughout the war-, if Nazi policy banned jazz, then it would stay prohibited. In addition to this, the jazz guitarist Robert Normann (1916-1998), was allowed to travel around Norway giving public performances, both as soloist and as a member of the band String Swing (Stendahl, 2009). Therefore, special considerations were given to those involved in the jazz scene which were against the orders of Berlin and the Nazi party.

Additionally, Meyer states that it was Nazi policy that when a nation was occupied, there would be a 'cleansing' of the orchestras. That is, the personnel of an orchestra were examined and those who were Jewish or of Jewish descent were removed, often resulting in the closing of the orchestra because of lack of performers. In Norway, this did not happen. Both Ernst Glaser (1904-1979) and Robert Levin (1912-1996) were allowed to maintain high level positions within the orchestra (Nesheim, 2007). Glaser was leader of the Oslo Philharmonic. Levin was still allowed to perform, but there were restrictions as to where he could perform and what he could perform, and he often received threats as well (Levin, 1983). Glaser was permitted to travel around Norway and perform as a soloist and as part of an orchestra. The infamous fight in the hall in Bergen was in response to Glaser performing on Ole Bull's violin (Nesheim, 2007). Again, here we have two Jews who break the rules and have prominent public profiles; this is in contrast with Nazi behaviours in other nations.

Apart from the announcement of the arrival of the Nazis, another key area where there could have been potential for change was radio broadcasting. Investigation of the radio schedules of the week before the 9 April 1940, and the week after this reveals no change in the programming. It may have been expected that from the outset the Nazis would have implemented the diet of Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner, but this was not the

case. The radio schedule continued as it had before the occupation. There may be various reasons for this. As previously mentioned, the Nazis wanted a peaceful takeover and saw the Norwegians as kindred folk. Since music was the 'cultural bridge' (Dennis, 2014) they wanted to utilise it to connect, by allowing the continuation of the schedule they would be promoting the kinship between the two nations.

2.13 Nazi Policy for Music in Norway.

According to Herresthal, Hitler allegedly said to Josef Terboven (1898-1945), '*Gewinn mir die Norweger*' that is 'win the Norwegians for me' (Herresthal, 2019). In this writing, Herresthal states that all events that happened with regards to music were just part of a significant propaganda campaign. In his study, Dennis agrees with this notion and states that the Nazis wanted to use music in the main, but other arts too, to build a 'cultural bridge' between themselves and occupied nations. In Norway, the Nazis invested in the arts, even down to the details of the furnishing of the theatres. It may be considered that if a nation was fighting a war on many fronts, using a significant amount of artillery, the decoration of a theatre in an occupied nation would be the last thing to be considered. Yet the creation of the *Deutsch's* theatre, that is the [German theatre], in Oslo had, in a time of war, thousands of Reichsmarks invested in it. This could have meant that the Nazis were so confident of success in Norway, that they were creating and investing in a permanent theatre. It was also a way for the Nazis to gain control over what cultural items were to be performed. Herresthal states that the Germans' entry in 1940 provided many opportunities for Norwegian musicians to get jobs. (Herresthal, 2019). In a document dated the 21 June 1941, plans were being put into place for a travelling state theatre. The reasoning was that in theatre loving Norway... there are examples of people travelling great distances to attend live performances (21/06/1941). The document also identifies that there are many amateur dramatic companies in Norway and that to create a such a theatre would fulfil the desire of

Norwegian writer Bjornstjerne Bjornson (1832-1910). This, therefore, makes a correlation between the past and present, and how the Nazis had identified what is needed. Also, it gives them validity as to how they, by investing in this, are implying a kinship between the two nations. Also, it would go a long way in helping the Nazis to 'win the Norwegians' (Herresthal, 2019) However, it appeared to become clearer that more control was needed over the cultural situation.

In his study, Meyer states that for the Nazis an important aspect of their policy was music education (Meyer, 1990: 63). As part of that education singing should be introduced. This would have three benefits: firstly, it would involve nation and youth, as would the use of the amateur dramatics in the theatres. Secondly, it would propagate 'Volkisch' [Folk] Nazi policies by pleasurable repetition. The term 'Volkisch' is defined as 'an ideology identified in Germany' (Tourlamaine, 2014: 3) and 'focused on definitions of Germany and the German people according to history, language, and most significantly, blood' (Tourlamaine, 2014: 3). This means the theatres could be used for propagandas, especially using the name of Bjornson. Thirdly, singing was an activity that elevated spirit. The Nazis had already identified that the Norwegians were avid theatre goers, so investing in theatres and the arts would make the Norwegians feel good and appreciate the 'alleged' idea that the Nazis were investing in them due to a kinship.

Quisling had been insistent that he had wanted to create a council of some sort to regulate cultural life. As previously mentioned, in the first instance he attempted to create a *riksting*, that is an economic cultural body (Hayes, 1971). Hitler disagreed with this idea. This demonstrated two notions; firstly, that Hitler himself was invested in Norway and secondly, that Hitler and Quisling had a close enough relationship that Hitler could undermine such ideals and that Hitler was showing special interest in Norway. However, on April 23, 1943, Quisling did achieve his goal, although it was slightly amended. It was on this date that the first meeting of the *Kulturting*/cultural council took place in the university aula/hall. It was designated as an advisory board to cultural life, but it was soon to be discovered to have little power. The council was made up of members of different arts, and music was

represented by Monrad Johansen. The first meeting appeared to be constructive with discussions ranging from the implementation of an academy of music to the creating a national park. These were its most successful projects. Nevertheless, after the first meeting each member resigned one by one (Hurum, 1946). This meant that there were only two official meetings. One of the reasons that Monrad Johansen stood trial at the end of the occupation was because of his membership of the council. He claimed that his reason for joining was to protect Norwegian music life. However, on further examination of the contract that he had to sign to join the council, it may be gleaned that there was no real power in the committee. Additionally, the council had been set up in 1943 but the contract is dated in 1940. The contract in essence is meaningless. It suggests that the members of the committee abide by Nazi policy rules and that Jewish art should be discouraged from being displayed.

2.14 Orchestras.

Grinde opines that the 'Golden Age' of Norwegian music also included a 'rich time of flowering' in literature at the same time (Grinde, 2007:181). This period, which ran from circa 1860 to circa 1890, saw the career development of many artists who became synonymous with Norwegian arts. Musicians such as Grieg, the father of Norwegian music, his peer Svendsen, and the lesser known, but still as important composer of the national anthem *Ja, vi elsker* [yes, we love], Rikaard Nordraak (1842-1866). These three composers had learnt their craft in Germany. Ole Bull (1810-1880), the grandfather of Norwegian music actively encouraged Grieg to study in Germany (Grinde, 1991) to assist in developing his own form of Norwegian nationalism (Lange, 1973). This was achieved; however, Grieg had struggled to integrate nationalistic folk melodies into large forms and therefore he only produced one piano concerto and mainly composed small form pieces. Nordraak died at an early age, and Svendsen never quite achieved the heights that were expected and spent most of his career

abroad in Denmark (Benestad, Schelderup-Ebbe, 1995). At this time, however, the music society in Oslo was founded, and in 1919 it became the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra.

After the 'Golden Age' of Norwegian music, Norwegian music life settled into a period of relative ordinariness (Grinde, 1991). The independence from Sweden was significant politically and mentally for the Norwegians but culturally there was little that this affected (Gudleiv, 2006). Norway had always maintained a cultural separation from those countries that it was ruled by namely, Denmark and Sweden (Gudleiv, 2006).

When considering music in the Nordic countries, it is not surprising that the most successful composers such as Grieg and Finnish Jean Sibelius (1865-1957) were renowned for honouring their homeland. Grieg through the use of folk music and Sibelius in praise of Finland with *Finlandia* (first version 1899, revision 1900). It is then fitting that the development of the main orchestra in Oslo should have resulted from a process of informal development.

Norwegian musicologist Nils Grinde considered the development of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra from the Oslo/Christiania music society to be a significant event. He stated that the Oslo Philharmonic Society was 'vital to the music life of the city' (Grinde 1991; 241). Over a period of circa 50 years the orchestra went from being a miscellaneous group of musicians who gathered from time-to-time to a solid orchestra with permanent members (Grinde, 1991). Composer and conductor Iver Holter (1850-1941) was responsible for this development and was able to obtain the orchestra municipal support, funding which enabled further development. Holter became the conductor of the Oslo music society, also known as the Christiania Music Society from 1886 until 1911 and it was in this period that the major development of the orchestra becoming the Oslo Philharmonic happened. He was aware of music developments in Europe and incorporated the German composers, such as Robert Wagner (1813-1883), Johannes Brahms (1833-1897), and the French Camille Saint-Saens (1835-1921), Danish Carl Nielsen (1865-1931), and Finnish Sibelius (Grinde, 1991) into the performing canon. In using the first two composers he would have demonstrated to the Norwegians the importance of German music thereby creating a bond between the two

nations. This would have only been an extension of the connection that Grieg had already made between the two nations. Holter had taken over the position of conductor of the Bergen Philharmonic from Grieg and it was from the Christiania music society that Grieg developed, that the Oslo Philharmonic came into being. However, he also maintained strong cultural links between Norway and the other Scandinavian countries by taking the musicians on tour to these nations. He was also a strong champion of Norwegian music and was eager to promote composers' music with new premieres; however, he did not include his own compositions. According to the performance chart, correlating to the years that Holter was in charge of the orchestra and the composers who had works premiered at this time, it is plain to see to what extent this happened. The chart contains compositions by composers who were developing a career. This includes works by Monrad Johansen, Irgens-Jensen and Saeverud. They were also considered to demonstrate the components of Norwegianness in their music.

In contrast to Grinde's opinion, Lange lessens the importance of Holter to Norwegian music: often with regards to events in Norwegian music life, Grinde and Lange take opposing stances. In commenting on the occupation of World War II and music life, Grinde opines that 'progress was weak' (Grinde, 1991: 286) whereas Lange states that it was a 'murky period' (Lange, 1973: 86) in Norwegian music life but that there were significant developments. As is known, the occupation divided society (Stokker, 1995) and it is not difficult to understand that the period brings challenges in the processing of it as a nation. In his study *Norwegian Music – A Survey*, Lange merely suggests that Holter composed a symphony, opera, violin concerto and chamber music which are not performed, and he is merely remembered as a conductor, teacher, and administrator (Lange, 1958: 44). However, to the Oslo Philharmonic he will be remembered as one of their forefathers. With regard to Holter's compositions, Grinde opines that they are solid but 'not of first – rank importance' and 'they deserved to be performed' (Grinde, 1991: 242). In contrast, Lange does not refer to his compositions at all, merely his job titles (Lange, 1973).

2.15 Composers Active between 1900-1935.

What follows is a general history of the composers who were active during 1900-1935. The list is not exhaustive. The composers who have been selected are those who also maintained a career throughout the occupation. This is in comparison with Nesheim's study *Musikkliv i Krig*, [Music Life in War] (2007), in which he lists active composers who never developed a career and about whom therefore, information is scarce and for the most part non-existent (Nesheim, 2007). I have constructed a chart – given below - detailing compositions in the pre-war period and what instruments they were written for. It demonstrates the level of activity for the composers in this pre-World War II period. When this chart is compared with the one in chapter 8. it will be noted that in some cases that there appears to be a reversal of fortune, especially with regard to Monrad Johansen and Sæverud. Apart from general biographical details, also included is where they learnt their craft. This is important because it demonstrates the level of influence Germany and the German masters had on Norwegian music life through education.

I will now consider composers who were active at the time of the invasion. My sources for the following information include studies by Grinde, Lange, Nesheim and further Den Store Leksikon, the online Norwegian encyclopaedia. Specific references to sources beyond these will be given in text.

2.15.1 Fartein Valen (1887-1952).

Valen (1887-1952) was born in Stavanger on the west coast of Norway. In 1906, at the age of 19, he entered the university of Oslo to study Norwegian language and literature. Whilst here he undertook music studies with Catharinus Elling (1858-1942). The importance of studying with Elling should be noted: in terms of Norwegian music history Elling was paramount. He became a government officer, collecting and documenting Norwegian folk

music, and travelled the length and breadth of Norway doing so. He was criticised by his teachers for incorporating folk music into sonata form as the Sonata for Violin and Piano opus 3, something that Grieg also did with great skill in *Solfager and Ormekongen* opus 17 n.12. Valen had already developed an interest in the work of Johan Sebastian Bach and Schoenberg, which led to him developing an atonal polyphonic style. In 1909, Valen studied piano, theory and composition under Max Bruch (1838-1920) in Berlin. After the death of his mother, he travelled to Paris and Rome, where his compositions became more controversial and consequently criticised harshly. Between the years of 1927 and 1936, whilst composing, he was employed as a music archivist at the university of Oslo.

2.15. 2 Klaus Egge (1901-1985).

Telemark county born Egge was known not only as a composer but also as a music critic and, in the early stages of his career, a teacher. On leaving school he studied at the Academy of Music in Oslo. Here he was tutored in the organ by Arild Sandvold (1895-1984) and for harmony skills by Gustav Fredrik Lange (1861-1939). Sandvold had studied under Karl Straube (1873-1950) in Leipzig and considered the work of Max Reger (1873-1916) to be his inspiration. Both Sandvold and Egge were tutored by Lange, who was a peer of Grieg. After this period of study, he became a teacher in a primary school in Porsgrunn, Telemark County. He did this whilst continuing his studies privately with Nils Larsen (1888-1937) and Composer Fartein Valen. Larsen was a great advocate of Norwegian piano music and in this period was seen as one of Norway's leading pianists. However, he spent four years studying in Germany.

In 1934, Egge made his debut as a composer in the University of Oslo. For two years from 1937-1938 he studied with Walter Gmeindel (1890-1958) in Berlin. Egge's compositional work is divided into three categories. The first concerns the interwar period; here he used folk music as a source of inspiration. The compositions in the chart are mainly

before his debut, however, and *Draumkvede*, a piano sonata he composed in 1933, is considered by Grinde to demonstrate a high standard of Norwegianness in essence. It uses traditional ballad melodies, and the final movement has motivic elements from *slått*, a traditional Norwegian dance tune (Grinde, 1991: 331). However, the use of traditional folk music would have appealed to the Nazis, as they were looking to the past for their music: furthermore, there would have been similarities between German and Norwegian folk music which would enable the Nazis to build the cultural bridge and make the occupation easier (Dennis, 2012). In terms of societal standards, although there was a music education in Germany, Egge could be a *Jøssinger*, that is, a good Norwegian, the reason being is that at this stage he adhered to the traditions of Norway.

2.15.3. Geirr Tveitt (1908-1981).

Tveitt was fortunate to live in the best of both Norwegian worlds, spending his formative years in the township of Drammen during the winter and the family farm in Kvam, Hardanger, in the summer. A fervent admirer of Norwegian nationalism, he became a prominent figure in the National Movement for Norwegian Culture in the 1930s (Emberland, 2003). Reinforcing this further, he was originally christened Nils but felt that this was not Norwegian enough and changed his name to Geirr, additionally adding the extra 't' in Tveitt and 'r' in Geirr to demonstrate how he wanted his name pronounced.

In 1928, he relocated to Leipzig, Germany where he studied with Hermann Grabner (1886-1969), pianist Otto Weinrich (1882-1947) and Leopold Wenninger. Little is known of Wenninger; however, Grabner is an interesting character: he features in the backstory of a number of Norwegian composers including Monrad Johansen. He was often sought out because he authored the harmony instruction manual in use in music colleges across Germany. The manual was called *Der Lineare Satz* (1930) and has been revised a number of times. After the war, he was accused by the Allies of being a Nazi sympathiser and was a

member of the party, which he had to defend, as exhibited in personal letters from his archive⁶. Returning to Tveitt and Grabner, the time frame of 1928 until 1932 (of the relationship between them meant that Nazism would have been in its early stage. Tveitt was accused by Norwegian society (Emberland, 2003) of anti-Semitism. The reason for this being that his years in Germany were marred by financial issues, and unfortunately, due to being refused loans by the often Jewish-controlled banks, he was vocal in his criticism of them.

In 1932, to further his studies, he relocated to Paris. Here he studied under Nadia Boulanger (1887-1979), Arthur Honegger (1892-1955) and Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959). Boulanger and Honegger were both Paris-educated, and via Villa-Lobos (Storaas, 2008). In the interest of fairness, it should be noted that Honegger, at the outset of the occupation of France by the Nazis, joined the French resistance (Storaas, 2008).

In later years, four fifths of Tveitt's life's work were destroyed in a fire at the family home (ibid.). Which meant there was little left to analyse in later years. Tveitt's compositions given in the chart below are thus mainly from the Paris years. This does not mean that he did not compose whilst in Germany, but that his more prolific work followed after this point. Although in his early work he demonstrated influences of Bach in compositions such as *Two-Part Inventions* (1930) (Grinde, 1991) he attempted to create a new Nordic technique comparing modal scales to old Scandinavian modes (Grinde, 1991), the five suites of the *Hundred Hardanger tunes op 151*. Also, he became a fervent promoter of Norwegian cultural life.

⁶ In her study of Valen, Tjøme states that Grabner made his Jewish students uncomfortable in lectures, due to anti-Semitic remarks. However, it is unclear why she should feel the need to address this, as it is not documented that Valen had any contact or relationship with Grabner.

2.15.4 Eivind Groven (1901-1977).

Groven was born and spent a significant part of his life in Vest Telemark. He was a composer and music theorist. His family were all musicians and most significantly his grandfather was Rikard Aslaksson Berge (1815-1902) who was known for preserving old folk tunes, dance songs and religious songs. Groven himself preserved and recorded 2000 folk tunes which he archived for *Norsk Rikskringkasting* (NRK) [Norwegian Broadcasting Company]. The melodies used traditional Norwegian instruments such as cither, a stringed instrument from medieval time, a *langeleik*, a droned cither, and willow flute, which is similar to a whistle. Unlike other composers he did not feel the need to travel abroad, and his studies were carried out at the Oslo Conservatory of music on a diet of Beethoven and Hector Berlioz. He was possibly one of the few composers who did not travel but still had his education around the German canon. His compositions were in a succinct sonata form using folk melodies. In 1931, he was employed by NRK for a broadcast of folk music for 30 minutes every week. It was not a popular programme, with Oslo residents calling the music 'barbaric' (Andersen, 2018). Compositionally he was dedicated to the use of Norwegian folk music, claiming in later years 'a satisfactory harmonic or polyphonic style requires much more than what one can derive from the folk music tradition' (Grinde, 1991: 326). His commitment to the use of folk idioms meant that he would have to establish his own harmonic structure, which was challenging, as instruments like the willow flute and *langeleik* did not provide a melodic structure for this.

2.15.5 Sparre Olsen (1903-1984).

Olsen was a violinist and a composer who was born in Stavanger. His music had a lyrical quality, with a strong grounding in Norwegian folk tunes, and he was heavily influenced by Grieg in works such as *Two Eddic Ballads opus 8*. In 1922 he studied violin with Herman

van der Vegt (1897-1928) the concertmaster of the Oslo Philharmonic. In 1923 he became a violinist in the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra, and he retained this position for 10 years. During this time, he spent four years studying with Valen, who we have already seen was a student of Elling, who in turn was the greatest proponent in Norwegian folk music collection. After this, in 1930, he studied in Berlin with Max Butting (1888-1976). Butting suffered the unfortunate fate of not being wanted by the Nazi party, potentially due to his participation of the Society for New music (Ross, 2010) and his career stalled, so he worked in his father's shop to earn a living. In 1940 he joined the N.S Party potentially as a means of survival. His musical influence was Max Reger.

Olsen had friendships with a number of Nynorsk poets. Nynorsk that is New Norwegian became an alternative to Bokmål. In Norwegian society 10-15% have Nynorsk as their official language. Grinde opines that this is the reason for much of his musical output being songs (Grinde,1991: 328). Grinde states:

His close friendship and cooperation with several Nynorsk poets... Also had a profound influence on him. This accounts for the fact that a large, and perhaps, the most important part of his music consists of vocal works (Grinde, 1991:328).

In his compositions, Grinde opines that he was the successor of Grieg, and was able to 'carry the Grieg tradition forward constructively' (Grinde, 1991:327). He used folk music open fifths, such as that produced by the Hardanger fiddle and sharp dissonances.

2.15.6 Ludwig Irgens-Jensen (1894-1969).

Irgens-Jensen had no formal music education apart from piano lessons with Nils Larsen. He studied scores and this is how he gained his knowledge of music. In 1920 he made his debut as a composer concentrating mainly on songs and vocal music. His composition *Heimford* was premiered in 1930 and was regarded as a work to be a 'National Monument' (Vollsnes, 2012 :145) by the committee that judged it. It praised Saint Olaf, and the text was written by

Olaf Gullvåg (1885-1961) the Norwegian playwright. It had many nationalistic traits such as being based on modal scales and was therefore considered Grinde to be important in the development of Norwegian music. There are polyphonic elements, and the style is akin to 'Norwegian impressionism' (Grinde, 1991: 316), which is to say that it was music based on mood and emotion.

2.15.7 Harald Sæverud (1897-1992).

Born in Bergen, Sæverud was educated here in the local conservatory which was funded by a stipend from the Norwegian government. Apart from brief sojourns abroad, this is the place where he remained until his death. He was recognised Norwegian musicologists as one of the leading talents of Norwegian music from an early age. His debut as a composer was in Oslo in 1920, and such was the success of this performance that he gained a further scholarship to study for two years in Berlin. Sæverud's tutor was Friedrich Koch (1862-1927). Koch was a German composer and cellist, and his style of composition was of the late Romantic which was based on German folk melodies. This may have had a strong influence on Sæverud, as in his compositional style he was inspired by Norwegian nature and folk music; however, he did not use folk melodies directly. Sæverud's time in Berlin was successful to the extent that his first symphony was premiered there in the 1921 by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and received great acclaim (Grinde, 1991). After the performance, the Danish composer Carl Nielsen (1865-1931) and stated that:

Your composition succeeded in retaining my interest from the first note to the last, a seldom occurrence.... I have great expectations for your future career (Reilly, 2000).

2.15.8 David Monrad Johansen (1888-1974).

Monrad Johansen commenced his studies at the Christiania (Oslo) conservatory, where he was tutored by Catharinus Elling and Iver Holter. The importance of these tutors is significant: Elling due to his folk music collection and Holter due to his development of the Oslo Philharmonic. In 1915, Monrad Johansen studied in Berlin for the first time, and this was, in effect, a turning point in his development. Before this he was influenced by Grieg, but after this he became interested in French impressionism. A trip to Paris in 1920 reinforced this interest, and the music of Stravinsky also caught his attention. Here he also met Valen for the first time. From 1925-1945 he was awarded an artist scholarship by the Norwegian government. He was a leading figure in the promotion of Norwegian nationalism. His compositions in this period were also nationalistic. He used Norske literature, lyrics, folk stories but not folk melodies. The compositions of *Voluspå* and *Nordland Trompet* exhibit nationalism. At this time, Monrad Johansen was the future of Norwegian music and would lead the way for the next generation of composers.

2.16 Pre-war Compositions Chart.

Composer	Composition	Instrument	Date
Klaus Egge	Dolce and Akvarell Op 1	Piano	1927
Klaus Egge	Violin Sonata Op 3	Violin	1932
Klaus Egge	Draumkvede Sonata Opus 4	Piano	1933
Klaus Egge	String Quartet Op 5	Strings	1935
David Monrad Johansen	Kvern Slått	Piano	1912
David Monrad Johansen	Violin Sonata	Violin	1913
David Monrad Johansen	Suite	Orchestra	1915

David Monrad Johansen	Syv Sanger	Vocal	1920
David Monrad Johansen	To Portretter	Piano	1921
David Monrad Johansen	Draumkvede	Male Choir	1921
David Monrad Johansen	Fra Gudbrandalen	Piano	1922
David Monrad Johansen	Gamle Noreg	Male Choir	1923
David Monrad Johansen	Voluspå	Soloists, Choir and Orchestra	1923 – 26
David Monrad Johansen	Prillar-Guri	Piano	1924
David Monrad Johansen	Nordlands Trompet	Voice and Piano	1925
David Monrad Johansen	Norlandsbuilder	Piano	1931
David Monrad Johansen	Ignis Ardens	Orchestra	1933
Harold Saeverud	Symphony No 2	Orchestra	1922
Harold Saeverud	Symphony No 3	Orchestra	1925 - 26
Harold Saeverud	Symphony No 2 – revised	Orchestra	1934
Tveitt	12 to-St Emmige Invesjoier		1930
Tveitt	6 Haves Konserter		1930
Tveitt	Concerto for String Quartet and Orchestra		1933
Tveitt	3 Strykelv Vartetter		1934
Tveitt	Fylgia Fier Fire Feleir		1935
Irgens-Jensen	38 Songs Op 1-6	Voice	1920
Irgens-Jensen	Japanischer Fruhling Op 2	Voice and Orchestra	1920
Irgens-Jensen	Skumring	Voice and Orchestra	1922
Irgens-Jensen	Das Madchen Auf Der Brucke	Voice	1923
Irgens-Jensen	Fabler og Barnerim – 1 and 2	Vocal	1924 and 1931
Irgens-Jensen	Violin Sonata	Violin	1924
Irgens-Jensen	Variasjosler Og Fuge	Orchestra	1925
Irgens-Jensen	Passacaglia	Orchestra	1926
Irgens-Jensen	Piano Kvintett	Piano and String Quartet	1926
Groven	Tnykte Publikasjoier Naturskalaen. Tonale Lover I Norsk Folkeniusikki Bunde Til Seljefloyte	Choir	1927
Groven	Til Sylvan	Male Choir	1932
Groven	Brudgommen – for Soloist Choir and Orchestra	Orchestra	1933
Groven	Mot Ballude – Choir and Orchestra Op 20	Orchestra	1933
Groven	Renanse – Symfonisk Dit – Op 24A	Orchestra	1935

Valen	Legende Op 1	Piano	1907 – 08
Valen	Sonata for Violin and Piano Op 3	Violin and Piano	1912 - 19
Valen	Nr 1 – Op 2	Piano	1912
Valen	Ave Maria – Soprano and Orchestra Op 4	Vocal	1914 - 21
Valen	Trio Violin, Cello and Piano Op 5	Violin, Cello and Piano	1917 – 24
Valen	Salme 121 – Soprano, Choir and Orchestra	Vocal	1921
Valen	String Quartet Nr 1 Op 10	String	1928 – 29
Valen	String Quartet Nr 1 Op 13	String	1930 – 31
Valen	2 Motets for Male Choir Op 14	Vocal	1931
Valen	2 Motets for Male Choir Op 15	Vocal	1931
Valen	2 Motets for Mixed Choir Op 16	Vocal	1931 – 32
Valen	Sonetto Di Michelangelo 17 Nr 1	Orchestra	1931 - 32
Valen	Canticodi Ringraziamento	Orchestra	1932 - 33
Valen	Nenia – 18 Nr1	Orchestra	1932 - 33
Valen	An Die Huffnumg 18 NZ	Orchestra	1933
Valen	La Cimetiere Marvin Kirkegardan Verd Hauet Op 20	Orchestra	1933 - 34
Valen	La Isla De Las Calmas Op 21	Orchestra	1934
Valen	4 Piano Works	Piano	1934 – 35
Sparre Olsen	Fire Aukrust – Salmar Op 4	Choir and Piano	1927 - 29
Sparre Olsen	Tri Aukrust – Songeir Op 3	Choir and Piano	1929
Sparre Olsen	Seks Gamle Bygdevisur Fra Lom Op 2	Piano	1929
Sparre Olsen	Variasjoiner Over Ein Norsk Folketoner Op 5		1932
Sparre Olsen	Fire Solrenningsdekt Op 11	Choir and Piano	1932
Sparre Olsen	Kleine Ouverture Fur Kleines Orchester Op 7	Orchestra	1932
Sparre Olsen	Annepå Torp Op 12	Scene Musikk	1933
Sparre Olsen	Davids 121 – Salme Op 19	Choir and Orchestra	1935

The chart reveals several things. A comparison between Monrad Johansen and Sæverud shows that in this period, Monrad Johansen was the favoured composer due to there being more compositions of his premiered. Valen was the most prolific and unrecognised of all the composers, even though Lange states that he 'had to fight for recognition all of his life' (Lange, 1973: 54, which is what the chart demonstrates. Irgens-Jensen also has a high

number of premieres. This is before *Heimferd*, [coming home] (1930) was composed and the recognition was gained from this.

There are a high number of premieres during this time: one might presume that as the occupation took hold, there would be significantly less premieres. While the above has shown the status quo musically in the time before and up to 1939, in later chapters I will consider the impact of the invasion and the subsequent occupation on musical life.

2.17 Conclusion.

With regards to World War II, there is often an acknowledgement of Norway being one of several occupied nations and that it received assistance from Great Britain during this time, but that is the end of the discourse. In 1940 Norway was not overlooked by the Nazi party but became a strategic country to occupy. During World War I, Norway attempted to remain neutral. In World War II, as they attempted to remain neutral the assault on Norway therefore took the Norwegians by surprise. The armed forces that they needed for their defence were otherwise engaged in Northern Norway, protecting the Russian border. It may have been impossible for the Norwegians to remain neutral in World War II as the country was strategically important. Geographically, it opened up the North Sea and would allow advancement for Hitler. From there he could attack Great Britain, move across to Iceland and then beyond.

It would appear that Hitler's plans for Norway were being plotted long before the war. Vidkun Quisling became a key player and obviously a figure of considerable importance since Hitler maintained regular face to face meetings with him both before and during the war. Quisling courted Hitler and promoted Norway as an extension to Germany. In turn, he indicated to the Norwegians that Germany's policies were working. Also, Norway suffered financially very heavily after World War I, even though they were technically neutral. They were still paying this price in the 1930s.

The Norwegians also fitted the ideal of the Aryan race. Norway had the highest number of Lebensborn camps of any country, so this obviously led to the highest number of Lebensborn children. Sadly, the development of the Nazi party in Germany and elsewhere was being watched by the rest of Europe, but they felt powerless to do anything about it: a playwright in a neutral country with no signs of war, had to justify his subject of a play after it was performed in Oslo.

Adhering to the idea that the Nazis wanted to build a cultural bridge between the two countries it would be necessary to look towards music. The Nazis already considered that they were the master race musically because of Bach, Beethoven and Wagner and considered the role of music important to their cause. Of the composers considered in this chapter only two remained in Norway for their studies. The others studied at least in part in Germany and Germany then France. This is not to suggest that Nazi ideology was being planted in the thoughts and music of these composers; however, incorporating Germanness in Norwegian music would, they hoped, assist the cultural bridge.

There were many benefits in occupying Norway, but historians cannot seem to agree as to exactly when the occupation was planned. The opinions range from those who consider it was in the 1930s just after Hitler came to power to January 1940. However, whenever the invasion was planned, it took place on the 9 April 1940. Norway had attempted to remain neutral in World War II as it had in World War I. In World War I this was only a hypothetical neutrality. Both Great Britain and Germany exerted pressure on the Norwegians to choose between them and surreptitiously they chose Great Britain. In World War II, the Norwegian's neutrality was infringed by the Altmark. The Altmark was a German warship which was sailing around the Norwegian fjords. It was claimed by the British that it had prisoners of war on board, which the Norwegians denied, as they had reportedly accessed it, and found nothing. A battle ensued, with both sides claiming the event for propaganda purposes. This may have been a clever ploy by the Nazis to involve the Norwegians in the war. It is possible that the Nazis may have created a scenario whereby

the Norwegians defended what was happening, thereby creating a bond between Norway and Germany.

The bond between Norway and Germany had existed for many centuries. Although officially ruled at various times by Denmark and Sweden, Norway's links with Germany went back to the Hanseatic trade. Here the Germans saw the value of the West Norwegian coastline, as a point of trade. From this point they would be able to move commodities across the North Sea and beyond. In the same way, the Nazis saw this coastline as a point from where they could swiftly move across the North Sea to attack Britain, Iceland and then beyond. In their eyes the Nazis would see no reason not to achieve this, after all they had had connections with Norway for centuries.

However, to get to Norway they would have to gain Denmark first. The occupation of Denmark occurred on the same day as Norway and because of this they are indelibly linked. With regards to music, very little research has taken place, as the Danish, like the Norwegians and other occupied nations, are reticent to deal with the era. However, in fact this is where the similarities end. Denmark was occupied within hours and had a collaborationist government, whereas the Norwegians put up resistance and the battle for Norway lasted about six weeks though both countries had active resistance movements.

Norwegian musicologists, in the past, have been reluctant to consider music during the era of World War II and will often claim that nothing remarkable happened. However, it could be argued that as the occupation took hold, a significant number of important events occurred. Jews were allowed to keep prominent positions, even though they faced a certain level of abuse. This meant that there was no cleansing of orchestras in Norway. Radio schedules did not alter, and the programming remained as it had been before the invasion. Jazz maintained a popularity, with jazz musicians able to travel around the country as before. Also, as the occupation progressed, the Nazis invested a significant amount of money in creating theatres for performances. They were keen to integrate amateur artists into programmes in the theatres, thereby delivering one of the key policies for Nazi culture: namely that everyone should be involved.

3 - Literature Review.

3.1 Introduction.

This chapter entails a detailed literature review of the Norwegian texts of this topic. In any such study, a survey of extant literature is necessary. In this instance, I have been finding for several years that while material is published, it often uses the same sources. The most prevalent of these are now discussed below.

What became clear is the importance of the four studies regarding the context of the research. Whereas Lange and Grinde's texts were relating to music history, both of their titles being *Norwegian music, A History/Survey*, both dealt only briefly with the war period. Concerning literature, which was exclusively about the topic, the first study to consider was Hurum's *Musikk Under Okkupasjonen*, [Music During the Occupation] authored in 1946 and Nesheim's, *Musikkliv i Krig* [Music Life in War] (2007).

For this topic, the preliminary investigation meant accessing general Norwegian music history books. The most prominent musicologists and authors of these studies were Nils Grinde and Kristian Lange. Both acknowledged the occupation, but in his study *A History of Norwegian Music* (1991), Grinde suggested that nothing remarkable happened during this time. It should be noted that even though the books were authored two decades apart, Grinde was possibly demonstrating some of the sensitivities that have caused this to be an under researched topic.

In regard to the occupation, significantly the first study was authored in 1946 by Hans Jorgen Hurum and the second in 2007 by Professor Elef Nesheim. Hurum, the author of the first study, claimed in an interview in the 1970s that it was written too close to the end of the occupation. Qualifying this statement, he had suggested in the foreword in 1946 that he would not 'point fingers' at people with regards to their behaviour. He did not achieve this. Per Reidarsson (1879-1954) and Edvard Sylou-Creutz (1881-1945) were labelled not only

as Nazi sympathisers but also 'things that crawl on the underbelly of insects' (Hurum, 1946; 67). The author of the second study, Professor Nesheim, claimed in a private conversation with me, that he wrote this when he discovered whilst researching for an anniversary book to celebrate the music school, the Barratt-Due institute, how under-researched the topic was. There was very little discrepancy between Hurum's and Nesheim's studies and this is due to the second book reiterating information of the first study with what seems to be little further investigation. The first gave opined views on who was considered to be Nazi sympathisers and who was not. Nesheim merely lists whom he considered to be Nazi sympathisers, without proffering any reason why. He also includes a small number of composers who cannot be traced in any history books as being relevant to Norwegian music at any time, which is an enigma. A third study, *Zur Kategorie des "Nordischen" in der norwegischen Musikgeschichte 1930-45*, [On the Category of 'Nordic in Norwegian Music History] by Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes was published in the middle of 2019, which provided further information but nothing of significant value. It was, however, more detailed than the first two studies, and of course the bibliography/reference section was invaluable to me. There would be an assumption that each study would be referenced in the bibliography of the next study; however, what was most concerning is how significantly Hurum's study is referenced in the subsequent studies. However, having discredited his own study in the 1970s, the fact that both books reference it, significantly demonstrates how little research has been carried out and why more research on this topic is necessary.

3.2 Norwegian Text Literature Review.

There are a scant number of studies with regards to Norwegian music life during the Nazi occupation of World War II. The secondary resources are limited to:

- *Musikk under Okkupasjonen* [Music during the Occupation] by Hans Jørgen Hurum (1946);
- *Musikliv i Krig*, [Music Life in War] by Elef Nesheim (2007).
- five pages in an updated version of the Norwegian encyclopaedia.
- *Zur Kategorie des "Nordischen" in der norwegischen Musikgeschichte 1930-45*, [On the category of 'Nordic' in Norwegian Music History] by Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes (2019).

As previously stated, the author of *Musikk under Okkupasjonen*, Hans Jørgen Hurum, suggested in an interview in the 1970s that his work was written too soon to the close of the occupation (Jenssen, 1976: 1). It is certainly clear that his desire to stay neutral is impossible to attain, and he himself recognised this:

Boken kom så tett etter krigen, og gir nok ikke et fullstendig bilde – De som fortsatte under Jorden har ikke blitt forsvart tilstrekkelig.

[The book came after the war, and probably does not give a complete picture - Those who continued underground have not been sufficiently defended.]

(Jenssen, 1976: 1, Royden, 2010).

The second work, *Musikliv i Krig* [Music in War] by Elef Nesheim, began life as a study celebrating the 80th anniversary of the founding of the Barratt-Due Institute. In this text, where Hurum alludes to attitude, Nesheim states:

Ved mitt arbeid med Barratt-Due Musikkinstutts historie ble jeg engasjert i instituttets virksomhet under krigen, bade som undervisningsinstitusjon og som konsertarrangør. Det arbeidet ble en viktig inspirasjon til å se nærmere på musikklivet i krigsårene.

[During my work with the history of the Barratt-Due music institute I became involved in the activity of the institute during the war, both as an educational institution and as a concert arranger. That work inspired me to look more closely at music life during the war years.]

(Nesheim, 2007:4, Royden, 2010).

Unlike Hurum, Nesheim includes pictorial evidence. For example, he includes a photo of a celebratory meal in honour of Christian Sinding attended by Gulbrand Lunde (Nesheim, 2012:71), offering indisputable evidence that such a meeting happened.

In 2012, there was a long overdue overhaul of the Norwegian music encyclopaedia, and this is where the first, albeit brief, entry in the encyclopaedia concerning the occupation is found. Previous editions had not included mention of the war. The entry considers 'house concerts', also documented by Hurum and Nesheim, to which Norwegian musicians turned in order to keep music life alive during the difficult occupation years.

Finally, *Zur Kategorise de "Nordischen" in der Norwegischen Musikgeschichte 1930-45*, [The Category for the 'Nordic' in Norwegian Music History] is a 2016 article for *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, [Archive for Musicology] authored by the German historian Michael Custodis and Norwegian musicologist Arnulf Mattes, but their work tends towards a rewrite of the Hurum information, and while referring to the house concerts and the Grieg Anniversary, which was celebrated by the Nazis in Oslo and Bergen in 1942 as an attempt to assimilate Norwegian music and Nazi ideals, the work offers few developments in thinking from previous commentators.

The problem with the literature is thus that while it might seem comprehensive, it is actually limited, and is problematic for two reasons: information initially provided in the 1946 Hurum study is constantly reiterated without challenge through subsequent literature and little advance is thus made; secondly, old opinions, formulated in Hurum's own admission, rather too close to the war, and which could also be re-evaluated, are being upheld without being updated.

Additionally, when I met Nesheim, he said that I would have to be able to read Norwegian as the archival material would be in this language. Throughout this process of translating documents, I have been assisted in the main by my Norwegian teacher, Thomas Stanley Royden and his Norwegian wife Anne Mette Royden. Thomas has also translated German, Swedish and Danish documents.

In the last decade there has been an upward trend in numbers of published biographies of Norwegian composers. These include:

- *Mot Fedrenes Fjell [My Father's Mountain]*, Roger Ivar Hansen (2012)
- *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen; The Life and Music of a Norwegian Composer*, Arvid Vollsnes (2012)
- *Trekfuglen, [Migratory Bird]* Berit Kvinge Tjøme (2012)

They were somewhat helpful as they often analysed compositions and placed them in a time period, but they also provided a greater understanding of a composer's interaction with other noteworthy characters. One prominent person as such is the influential German tutor Hermann Grabner (1886-1969), who, it may be considered, played a significant part in Norwegian music as tutor to around 98% of Norwegian composers (Tjøme, 2012).

Norwegian Composer David Monrad Johansen (1888-1974) is just such an example who, post-war, was convicted of treason due to his involvement with the Nazis. It may be considered, however, that had he been as close to the Nazis as is usually suggested, he would have been able to have a significantly larger number of works premiered at that time, instead of just the one. Further investigation for this study may suggest that he was less involved than first thought, and thus this study sought to know what is hidden in archives which may shed light on the exact nature of Monrad Johansen's politics.

Consideration of German studies such as Erik Levi's, *Music in the Third Reich* (1994) and M.H. Kater's, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich* (1997)

assisted in contextualising the Nazi occupation. Here, what Nazi policy meant for those who were occupied will be considered, and most especially what it was for the Norwegians. This is important since, from my initial investigations, as previously stated in Chapter 2, it would appear that the Nazis treated the Norwegians differently from other occupied nations (Meyer, 1991). Nazi policy was to investigate orchestra personnel for Jews, remove them and then have the performing bodies closed down. In Norway, the Jews were initially permitted to maintain high level positions until 1943, at which point they were informed that they were about to be arrested. This was so that they could attempt escape and legitimately be captured (Levin, 1983).

As has been previously noted, all Norwegian musicologists have an opinion of events of the occupation, and the Hurum study of 1946 is the one text that all others like to quote, but beyond this, little information is added to it. Unfortunately, potentially this means that the studies following it also radiate a level of bias. While some skirt the issue of Nazi affiliation, others broach the subject. In her study of Fartein Valen (1887-1952), Tjome spends many significant pages dealing with the occupation. Many of the details she offers, however, are not made relevant to Valen's life, and while she also seeks to create a discourse on who is to blame for the Nazi sympathies of Norwegian composers, and points to the German music tutor Grabner as the main instigator of this, it is not currently documented that Valen ever met him.

In his biography of Ludvig Irgens-Jensen, Vollsnes also delves into the period but again no new information is given. This means that Hurum's furious 1946 attitudes often remain unchallenged. If researchers are accessing new archives and indeed, known archives that have been in existence for a period, but they are still not utilising data captured, one needs to query why, and whether reluctance is because this is still a sensitive topic, one still within living memory, and one it seems that most modern-day Norwegian musicologists prefer not to approach.

3.3 More Recent Studies.

In more recent times there has been a collaborative project between Norway and Germany to research the area in greater depth. This has resulted in a conference and two studies published in 2019 and 2020 which will now be considered. However, as a starting point the first study which will be considered is the papers from a conference held in Sweden in 2007.

In 2011, the study *Nordic Narratives of the Second World War: National Historiographies Revisited* edited by Henrik Sterius, Mirja Osterberg and Johan Ostling was published. Although this study does not concern music it became relevant as a good source of background information. It highlighted in the first instance that most nations had struggled to come to terms with the war stating that 'France and Belgium of the 1980s had had heated discussions regarding collaborators' (Sterius, Osterberg, Ostling, 2011: 9). This was confirmed in the round table discussion of my conference in 2012. However, the cold war was blamed for bringing forgotten memories to the fore. In essence this may be true, but any war had the potential to construct this narrative. As the study progressed, with seemingly obvious suggestions. Mainly that there was a lack of Nordic similarities, and that the concentration should be on Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. Ten pages later, this is reinforced to the reader by being told that Denmark, Norway, and Finland were involved in the war whereas Sweden and Iceland were on the periphery. The study then dedicates a chapter to each Nordic country focussing on a certain aspect.

The Norwegian chapter concerns the post 1945 reaction and Norwegian culture history to the war. Corell, the author, makes the sweeping statement that 'throughout post-war era, there have been repeated predictions that the attention paid to these five years would decrease' (Sterius, Osterberg, Ostling, 2011: 101). However, in opposition to this statement, Norwegian music cultural life has had little reference or research, therefore leading to the understanding that it needs attention. Although helpful in creating a background understanding there appears to be too much emphasis on the cold war.

Furthermore, the narrative attempts, in similarity to other texts such as Tjøme study on the composer Fartein Valen, to solve a number of issues which need a greater time investment.

As a follow up to their article, musicologists Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes organised a conference in 2018 concerning '*The Nordic ingredient: European Nationalisms and Norwegian music since 1905*'. Selected papers from this conference were published in a single study in 2019. Not all the papers concern the war but tend to be about what constitutes Norwegian music. For example, Mattes discusses the afterlife of Grieg's reputation. He states clearly that Grieg's reputation came from 'his skill in positioning himself as an artist committed to cultural nation state building' (Mattes, 2018: 115). In the same way it could be considered that Saeverud also did this. He often stated in interviews that he fought the Nazis with his music, all whilst the Norwegian psyche was rebuilding itself (Dagbladet, 1970; Aftenposten, 1992). However, with regards to Mattes' original statement, it can be argued that whilst to a certain extent his statement that Grieg's reputation came from his skill in positioning himself as an artist, it should be remembered that Grieg was educated in the main in Germany, therefore bringing to his homeland many idiosyncrasies of German music.

Also, there is an almost mercenary feel to the idea that Grieg's reputation is built on his association with German music, when it could be assumed that Grieg may have just wanted to compose music, without any ulterior motive, but with the unconscious influence that education brings. Author Utne-Reitan states that Grieg expected to become an expert after studying in Leipzig but left with no more than knowledge than when he arrived (Grieg abroad, online: 2019). A significant amount of the conference, and the subsequent published proceedings, including Mattes' study, reference Grieg, (and my own study refers to Grieg because he widely acclaimed as the Father of Norwegian music (Grinde, 1991; Lange, 1973), it should be noted that the narrative has moved on to other composers and their importance. In their studies, Norwegian musicologists Nils Grinde and Kristian Lange give equal weighting to the present and future of music in Norway as they do to Grieg. Other chapters in Mattes' book deal with the concept of expressing Nordic greatness, manifesting

the national idea and monumentalism. Significantly, when discussing World War II, the papers continue the same discourse whilst not challenging a well-worn discourse.

Another study from conference proceedings about Norwegian music, held in Munster, Germany, is *Persecution, Collaboration, Resistance: Music in the Reichskommissariat Norwegen (1940-1945)* edited by Ina Rupprecht (2020). Many of the papers it contains are by the same researchers as in Mattes's book. The chapter that drew my attention concerned Geirr Tveitt, a Norwegian composer active from 1928 to 1970. In 'Sources Revisited. The Case of Geirr Tveitt' in Rupprecht (2020: 153), Sjur Haga Bringeland acknowledges that Tveitt is a delicate subject, and when writing about him often uses the word 'probably' and acknowledges that others do too: everyone who deals with Tveitt today knows that the word 'probably' must be frequently used (Ruppercht, 2020: 153). Then Bringeland brings information which is generally known about Tveitt to the reader's attention: significant mention is given to biography of Tveitt by Reidar Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie* (2008). But Bringeland also notes that narratives will not move forward for two reasons. They are noted as the fire at Tveitt's home where sources were lost, and what remains is in the control of the Tveitt family and currently they do not permit open access. Also, the legends created around Tveitt, by Tveitt himself, still exist (ibid). All in all, it is not clear why the family are not permitting access to the remaining archive. It is also unclear what notion the author is creating in this paper; however, it is well written. Throughout the rest of the study there is some thought-provoking material, especially regarding the Norwegian concentration camp, Grini from which there was a significant amount of Norwegian music produced during the war as Custodis states 'music in concentration and prison camps, singing, performing and communication via music was an essential part of everyday life' (Rupprecht, 2020: 49). At the time of writing this has become the most topical aspect of the occupation: both Custodis and Mattes are writing about this, and a trio called *Gutta Paa Skauen*, [Boys in the Wood] have released a CD and are performing concerts to showcase the music from the camp. The vocalist of this group, Per Vollestad, is also the author of a Sinding biography which resulted from his Doctorate studies.

3.4 Anniversary Studies.

Widening the scope of the literature meant that research of the 'anniversary' books was necessary. A notion that it would seem particular to the Norwegians and Germans, is the celebratory birthday books. When a composer reaches a significant age such as seventy or eighty, a study is compiled and published which examines their music, or whether they have been a critic, or their writings on their own music, other composers or other composers' music. For example in 1968 David Monrad Johansen's *i Skrift og Tale. Til Åttiarsdagen*, (utgitt av Øystein Gaukstad og O.M.Sandvik), *In writing and speech to the eighty years old birthday* 8 November 1968 (edited by Øystein Gaukstad and O.M. Sandvik). Monrad Johansen was tried and found guilty by the Norwegian judicial system as being a Nazi sympathiser but his own commentary in both pre- and post-war times demonstrated a positive light about those who were rejected by the Nazis as being degenerate composers. This text in 1968, included writings of some of the composers who had been rejected by the Nazis. Additionally, although Monrad Johansen had been shunned by Norwegian music society and society in general since a public trial at the end of the war found him guilty of treason, in a twist of fortune he was permitted to have an anniversary book. It should be considered whether this was indicative of the Norwegians mellowing when considering behaviour of the occupation. In later years, this would not seem to be true. In Oslo, there were plans for a week-long festival of his work to celebrate his birthday, which in the end, did not come to fruition seemingly because as a composer he had not been accepted back into the performing canon. Instead, there was a solitary concert in Mosjoen, Northern Norway organised and curated by Ivar Roger Hansen his biographer.

3.5 German Literature.

Further widening of secondary sources led to the investigation of German literature concerning World War II. Research demonstrated that Germany has dealt with their own history, and most of the research carried out on this era has been with regards to Germany. Although, with regards to Norway there was little evidence in the German literature; it addressed the events that occurred within Germany itself but merely referred to the occupied nations generally. Realistically, it was practically impossible to discover literature about the occupied countries.

In 2012, I organised a conference concerning the occupied nations. What became evident in the round table discussion on the final day was that the main problem seemed to be societies' inability to process what had happened in World War II. This was not just confined to Norway but others as well. As an example of this, Denmark should be considered: occupied on the same day and for the same length of time as Norway, the history of music during the occupation was confined to three pages in a Danish music encyclopaedia, but in a private conversation with Peder Kaj Pedersen, a retired Danish music lecturer and musicologist, it came to light that a significant amount of money had been awarded by the Danish government to study this period, but nobody was willing to carry out the research. One of the few studies that makes reference to Norway was Michael Meyer's study *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (1993) and *Inhumanities* by David B. Dennis (2012).

With regards to Norway, Meyer in *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (1993) considers briefly its occupation and how the Nazis used composer Christian Sinding's situation as a propaganda tool. Dennis in *Inhumanities* (2012) analyses the use of Grieg by the Nazis and how they used the concept of nationalism to assist in their plans (Dennis, 2012). Other studies which mentioned Norway, such as Levi's, *Music in the Third Reich* (1994) do so almost in passing, and also focus on the Nazi use of Grieg as propaganda.

A comparison model was created from Meyer's study. His research regarding Nazi policy and the treatment of orchestras in occupied nations was used as a comparison model and formed the basis of two chapters. An important factor of the Nazi occupation of Norway was the role that the orchestras played, and this is not discussed in any of the studies. Seemingly, in the initial stages of research it appeared that the Nazi leaders treated the Norwegians differently from other occupied countries. This became one of my most important research questions. Studies such as Dennis' *Inhumanities* explain at great length how the Nazis recognised a strong sense of kith and kin between the two cultures of Norway and Germany. Furthermore, by permitting Norwegian music life to flourish to a degree they hoped to promote good relations between the two countries.

3.6 Expanding Literature Further.

Further contextual information was gained through studies such as Michael Haas' *Forbidden Music* (2013). This study referred to the great Nazi exhibition of 19 July to 30 November 1937, which demonstrated what the Nazis did not want in their performing canon and most obviously the qualification of how they were redefining music that was appropriate to be heard. With relation to Norway, it was then interesting to note how quickly the performing canon on the radio changed and again, with regards to the orchestra, what it would be allowed to perform. This was achieved by investigating the newspaper listings in the newspaper *Aftenposten* for the week leading up to the occupation date of 9 April 1940 and the week after. Additionally, this would assist in answering another of the prospective research questions: did the occupation change the way they composed to enable their music to be heard? As previously stated, it is interesting to note that after the invasion, it took five days for the radio programming to alter: this may have been the effect of what may have been a softly, softly approach that the Nazis took to make the occupation more palatable to the Norwegians. I accessed the newspaper radio programming using a microfiche system in

the war archive in Berlin. Although some of the resources held here were also held in *Nasjonal Biblioteket*, the National Library in Oslo. The consultation of concert programmes was necessary to evaluate how quickly the changes took place (concert programmes were also held in *Nasjonal Biblioteket*).

The significance of the concert programmes was twofold: firstly, it would be possible to identify the change in the performing canon, and secondly, it would demonstrate which Norwegian composers were having compositions performed on a regular basis. Additionally, critics' reviews of both the concerts and of the compositions themselves would assist in identifying trends in styles of music. This in turn demonstrated the effectiveness of implementation of Nazi policy in music life.

3.7 A Review of Extant Studies of Norwegian Music During the Occupation.

I discovered little has been written about Norwegian music during the German occupation while authoring a Masters dissertation on the effects of German Romanticism on Norwegian Nationalism (Bolland, unpublished dissertation, 2005). At this time, during a private conversation in 2010, Professor Elef Nesheim, author of the second study to be published, *Musikkliv i Krig* (2007), suggested that this was due to the sensitivity of the topic: he deemed Norwegian society's behaviour to be complex during the Occupation, and, in his opinion this meant that Norwegian researchers have since been unwilling to fully investigate this area, because there is a certain level of discomfort in discovering whether family, friends and neighbours had been *Jøssinger*, *Striped* or *Nasjonal Samling*, terms which will be referred to in later chapters and which I will now parse.

Jøssinger is an acronym which stands for *Jeg Ønsker Staten Styrt Ifølge Norges Grunnlov* and is translated as: *I want the state ruled according to Norway's Constitution*. The term was first used by Swedish Nazis in February 1940 and would denote those Norwegians who supported the English and remained resistant to the Occupation (Stokker, 1995: 27). It

is interesting to note that for a secret music competition in 1942, the judges had to be *Jøssinger* (Vollsnes, 2012 :220). *Jøssinger* was also used as an antithesis of *Quisling*, a term derived from Vidkun Quisling who many deemed to be anti-Norway due to his ingratiation with the Nazi party.

Someone termed *Striped* was deemed to be ambivalent towards both the Nazis and Norwegians, and opportunistically took advantage of both sides. (Stokker, 1995: 75).

Nasjonal Samling, N.S., were classed as Nazi Sympathisers (Stokker, 1995). Up until recently, newspapers such as *Aftenposten* have printed articles by families of those who have been previously designated N.S., querying how long descendants have to atone for the views of their grandparents and generations who have long gone (*Aftenposten*, 2012). This means that those who were labelled as being N.S. still remain so to this day. This classification may well have ruined lives at the time, and, at the very least, careers, and judging by recent newspaper articles seem to still blight the lives of their descendants. This is why the study in this thesis is so important: it seeks to rescue reputations where possible and rehabilitate forgotten music. This study will seek to maintain a neutral stance, but where concrete evidence emerges to reassess reputations, it will do so. If data is uncovered that is sensitive in nature, care will be taken to deliver it into the public arena in a fair and just manner.

3.7.1 Hans Jørgen Hurum: *Musikk under Okkupasjonen [Music under the Occupation]*, 1946.

As previously noted, the first of the post-war studies authored was *Musikk under Okkupasjonen* in 1946 by Hans Jørgen Hurum and which, according to Hurum, was intended to provide clarity as to the effects on Norwegian musical life of World War II. He wrote that it needed to be written as soon after the war as possible to explain what happened during the war while it was fresh in people's minds (Hurum, 1946: 5). Hurum was a journalist who experienced the Occupation first hand, and up until 1942, worked in Oslo for *Norges Handels-og Sjøfartstidende*, the prominent newspaper of the day and formerly known as *Dagens*

Næringsliv. Noticeably, he disappears from the paper during the occupation, and it is unknown whether this was unemployment or whether such unemployment was voluntary (*Den Store Leksikon*). He did, however, have a non-fiction study published in 1942 entitled 'French Days', but this would account for the time at the beginning of the Occupation, but not the end. On this evidence, it can be suggested that since he was able to publish at a time of restrictions, the occupation was not necessarily a wholly negative time for him. There is no current evidence of his whereabouts between 1942 and 1946, after which he re-emerged in Oslo and published *Music under the Occupation*. This text was part of a trilogy commissioned by the publishing house Aschehoug & Co. examining life during the Occupation in Norway in three areas, the other two being the church, and press and literature.

In his foreword, Hurum states that he wishes to provide an unbiased account of the time and not 'point fingers' (Hurum, 1946: 5), this undoubtedly proved challenging due to his closeness to the topic. His information is often not referenced to source and relies too heavily on hearsay: it is also worth repeating that, in an interview in the 1970s, Hurum stated that on reflection he considered the book had been written too close to the end of the occupation, and therefore exhibited too many sensitivities (Jenssen, 1976: 37). As previously noted, a prime example of this is his reference to composers and critics Per Reidarsson (1874 - 1959) and Edvard Sylou-Creutz (1881 – 1945) whom he describes as, 'things that crawl on the underbellies of insects' (Hurum, 1946: 36). Hurum is also quick to label those he considers to be Nazi Sympathisers and who, in his opinion, acted in bad judgement. One such example is composer David Monrad Johansen (1888 – 1974), who was arrested after the war by the Norwegian police as a quisling or N.S. and sentenced to hard labour. But judgement of his actions was based on his having joined the Nazi-instigated *Kulturting*/Cultural Council in Oslo in 1942 (Hurum, 1946: 77). However, as he notes in his biography of Monrad Johansen, Roger Ivar Hansen states that Monrad Johansen claimed he joined the council to protect Norwegian music life (Hansen, 2015: 456):

Fra tid til annen kunne han bli konfrontert med stemplet landssviker. Egian. Monrad Johansen kunne vel aldri akseptere at hand idealistiske holdning under okkupasjonen var å betrakte som landssvik.

[From time to time he was confronted with the label traitor. Monrad Johansen could only say he was trying to protect his country.]

(Hansen, 1995: 40, Royden, 2016)

Such tactics, as Hansen claims, may have been self-preservation (Hansen, 1995). Hurum certainly proffers no consideration or reasoning for what he considers to be Monrad Johansen's inappropriate ideas, and it is not clear in Hurum's text that there was ever a conversation between them in which Monrad Johansen was able to explain or defend himself. Hurum's treatment of Christian Sinding is also noteworthy: Hurum states that Sinding's 'new friends' the Nazis, hung a painting in his home of his new friend, Joseph Goebbels (Hurum, 1946: 90). But Hurum does not say he ever actually saw the painting, nor how he knows this happened. These are some of the grey areas in the post-war reputations of composers that I wanted to investigate.

Hurum's survey concentrates on the actions of mainstream Western art music composers and critics, but a glaring omission is the role of Jazz in Occupied Norway. Jazz first hit Norway in 1920s (Jazzarkiv.no), and rapidly gained in popularity, and at the start of the war was entering what was termed the 'Golden Age' (jazzbasen.no). During the Occupation at which time, it was performed in the public arena, in a pub in central Oslo renamed the Lowenbrau, and which was the Nazi Club for officers (ibid.). In 1944, Heinz Wehner, a German Jazz orchestra leader, was brought over from Berlin to perform in the club (ibid). Elsewhere in Europe, jazz was suppressed as a degenerate form performed by Black people (Haas, 2013). This omission in Hurum's text is surprising.

Other topics that he avoids include the position of Jewish musicians and the complexities of what happened to them during the occupation. He also fails to look at the Occupation's impact on orchestras. It is unfortunate that other studies that follow Hurum's

also do not investigate further; they merely regurgitate his information: Hurum's study is thus assumed to be the authoritative handbook for this time, but by his own admission, it was written too close to events. He should not be criticised for this, as he lived through the time, and it could very well have been difficult for him to remain dispassionate. But although his study has its limitations, it does give an overview of the time and provides therefore a basic starting point for further research but has never been challenged by modern musicologists.

Other sources of information regarding Norwegian music life in the war period deal with pre-war and post-war Norwegian music but scarcely address the war years, and they contradict each other. On the one hand, in his encyclopaedia *A History of Norwegian Music* Grinde states that nothing relevant happened at this time (Grinde, 1991: 286), and on the other, in *Norwegian Music – A Survey*, Lange (his peer and fellow musicologist) states that a significant amount happened but often with unfortunate results (Lange, 1971: 134). Lange does not, however, develop this line further but there is, at the very least, an acknowledgement of the relevance of the period. Interestingly, apart from Lange, such writing as there is tends to ignore events during the war. Even Bakke's 2001 survey of cultural policy in Norway skips from pre-war to post-war years in two sentences (Bakke, 2001: 14-15): what lies in between is silent. She details the 1935 labour movement and then moves swiftly to the post-WWII period.

3.7.2 Kristian Lange, *Norwegian Music - A Survey*, 1973.

Kristian Lange (1908 – 1989) suggests that the stance of musicians and composers at the time of the Occupation was 'unfortunate' (Lange, 1982: 134) and that many suffered because of it (*ibid.*), and this is true. The study, *Norwegian Music – A Survey*, was first authored by Lange in 1958 and then revised in 1971 and again in 1982. This is mentioned in the first instance because it is important to note that although there are some additions, especially to the final chapter, they only refer briefly to the war, or Norwegian music life at

this time. The book itself is a conundrum; the composer Christian Sinding (1856 – 1941) is referred to in the present tense as if his death seventeen years previously had never happened, and Monrad Johansen's career, which in actuality came to an abrupt halt at the end of the war because of his alleged ingratiation with the Nazis, is reported in glowing terms (Lange, 1982: 60): he fails to mention that since the war, Monrad Johansen's works have rarely been performed at all.

Additionally, in the 1973 edition, the composer Johan Kvandal (1919 – 1999) is included, yet in the 1982 version he has been removed, and it is unclear why this is so. What is known is that Kvandal, who was the son of David Monrad Johansen, joined the Nazi party before his father (Hansen, 2013: 488). Also, he was awarded a stipend and spent the war period abroad in Vienna, but it is unclear which governing body awarded the stipend, be it the Government in exile or the Norwegian Composers' Society. In spite of this, and in comparison, with his father, his career flourished in the post-war period, something which demonstrates the unevenness or irregularities of the post-war finger pointing.

As the book progresses, Lange does not shy away from mentioning whether or not composers were musically active during the Occupation but demonstrates an apparent blindness as to what happened during the Occupation. The addition of a sixth chapter on the 1971 edition sees two paragraphs given to the war period; Lange also opines that the German Occupation in 1940, 'completely lamed' musical activities in public for 5 years (Lange, 2012: 134). However, as the chart I give in Chapter 7 of this thesis demonstrates, there was a high number of compositions premiered during the Occupation. The musical activities which are 'lamed' might depend on a point of view; the Nazis only lamed the activities they did not want: orchestras, for example, often went from being part time to full time organisations (*ibid.*), something upon which Lange does not comment. But like Hurum, he does recognise that banned music survived in a form that was less public and more private, as house performances, in which musicians from orchestras went to people's front rooms and privately performed music suppressed in public by the Nazis (Hurum, 1946).

The desire to acquire music skills was certainly not 'lamed', but flourished, as is evidenced in the photograph, which shows a large queue of people waiting for a music instrument shop to open in Haugesund in 1942. As with Hurum, Lange refers to the jazz scene, but only to the post-war years and without comment to the way it flourished under the Occupation: In the last ten years the jazz milieu in Norway has flourished and the jazz festivals attract a steadily growing public (Lange, 1971: 147). Details such as these tend to undermine the authority of Lange's work, and therefore, for a book that has had three updates and is supposed to provide examples of Norwegian music, it seems to present misleading facts.

3.7.3 Nils Grinde, *A History of Norwegian Music*, [English Translation; translators William H. Halvorsen & Leland B. Sateren] 1991.

Late twentieth century Norwegian musicologist Nils Grinde's position differs from Lange. He notes in his 1991 encyclopaedia entry that there are divisions in Norwegian opinion concerning the effects of the occupation on musicians and composers and their attitudes and views during this time. He suggests that the Occupation caused Norwegian cultural life to come to an almost complete standstill (Grinde, 2012: 286). He also states that the German Occupation strengthened national solidarity and sentiment (*ibid*) but also suggests that this had been demonstrated in compositions leading up to the war: Norwegian music had displayed a fairly strong national and conservative character throughout the first half of the twentieth century (*ibid.*). He claims that in the pre-war period many composers were not affected as such by events on the continent and consciously tried to build a national style. This is not strictly true, as Fartein Valen (1887 – 1952) was an advocate of serialism (Tjøme, 2013: 142).

Grinde discusses Monrad Johansen's activities during the occupation, stating that he joined the cultural council and supported Quisling's government. He proffers no explanation

for this, but states that it left Monrad Johansen in the musical wilderness. Beyond this, he is complimentary about Monrad Johansen's work.

Both Grinde and Lange's studies demonstrate attitudes that were still prevalent 50 years after the occupation: whilst acknowledging that the occupation was influential on Norwegian music life, the two musicologists both suggest it had not been a great influence. In this respect, this demonstrates how attitudes have largely remained unchanged. Norwegian society will acknowledge that the war occurred but does not appear to want to dig too far into history; perceived suppositions concerning people's positions towards the invading Nazis remain unchallenged. The studies do not provide any significant new information, but demonstrate attitudes which are relevant, as they gave this researcher a contextual understanding of present-day Norwegian society's perceptions.

3.7.4 Elef Nesheim, *Musikkliv i Krig* [Music Life in the War] (2007).

Hurum's position is reaffirmed by Elef Nesheim whose study was published in 2007, as Nesheim largely uses the Hurum study as a basis for his own. But Nesheim is much more direct than Hurum, and in *Musikkliv i Krig* (2007), he presents the reader with a series of lists outlining individuals' actions and war time affiliations, in effect producing the same information as Hurum, as to whether Norwegians were Jøssinger, Striped or N.S., but in much starker form and with very little additional archival research. The difference between the two studies is that, unlike Hurum, Nesheim includes examples of concert programmes and advertising posters, but does not delve further in order to fully comprehend significant events of the time: the reader is left unclear as to why certain concert programmes are selected and what their relevance might be to his study. However, it should be noted that this study was formed as an anniversary book for the music school the Barratt-Due institute (founded 1927) in Oslo (Nesheim, 2007). It was not intended to be a war study and as is noted in Norwegian literature,

milestones in composers' lives are often celebrated by specially compiled anniversary books usually to celebrate birthdays over the age of 75 years.

In the previously mentioned conversation I had with him, Nesheim stated that there is little research on music during the Occupation but considering that this study was written to celebrate the institute's role in music life, there is still a significant gap concerning the war years in his work, and Nesheim gives us this gap without providing a clear investigation as to why and how his list of affiliations exists. In the opinion of this researcher, Nesheim is still repeating the paradigms that exist within the Norwegian music world and general society from the immediate post-Occupation period. This is problematic. It may be suggested that this is again a causal effect of a highly emotional time, and, instead of quelling these feelings, Nesheim avoids them by simply repeating earlier material, therefore reinforcing stigmas and perceptions which could be challenged.

Nesheim claims that the Nazi regime considered one of the best ways to demonstrate an empathetic relationship with the Norwegians was to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Edvard Grieg (1843 – 1907) (Nesheim, 2007; Hurum, 1946). By doing so, it would they supposed, exhibit the kinship between Norwegian and German cultures, and assist in building the 'cultural bridge' they desired (Dennis, 2012). However, as documented by Hurum, the event the Nazis held went virtually unattended, whereas the event in the local park arranged by the music society was attended by thousands of people even though it was raining (Hurum, 1946). The only new evidence that Nesheim provides is a photo of the concert hall hosting the event in 1942 decorated in flowers and Swastika flags.

In the same private conversation with myself, Nesheim reiterated that the topic of the Occupation was vast and there was much research to be done. Furthermore, he pinpointed three composers which he considered to be under-researched, including Klaus Egge (1906 – 1979). He did not clarify why he selected these composers, but it is interesting to note that Egge had an almost parallel career to David Monrad Johansen. They were both on cultural councils and active composers leading up to the Occupation (Grinde, 1991); both were hailed as the future of Norwegian music (Lange, 1971); unfortunately, this is where the life-

paths head in different directions. As previously noted, Monrad Johansen, 'a reluctant Nazi Sympathiser' (Hansen, 2012), has a career that is condemned, whereas Egge continued on an upward trajectory (Grinde, 1991). This again speaks to the unevenness of the post-war reckonings.

Whilst reiterating a significant amount of information that Hurum provides, the Nesheim study does clarify one issue: that there is other information to be found. For example: I had considered that other primary resources may not be in existence because no one was expounding beyond what was given, and this was why the subject was under researched. In fact, the concert programmes that Nesheim himself utilises proved otherwise, and further investigations prior to the commencement of this study proved that there is a wealth of data ready to be captured in hitherto untouched and privately owned archives.

As with the Hurum study, Nesheim's provides a basic overview of the time, whilst suggesting that there is more to research and more perceived notions to be challenged. This also includes the classifications of *Jøssinger*, *Striped* and *Nasjonal Samling*, and where and how musicians and composers fit into these categories, which were, of course, not just significant with regards to music, but to all walks of life. The complexity and sensitivity of the situation means that incorrect reporting often occurred and has gone unchallenged, and those who were labelled as *Nasjonal Samling* have been condemned to the wastelands of music life: in many cases it may be unjustly so. This will be addressed further in the thesis. Consequently, the topic needs to be addressed with a thorough investigation of the hitherto unexplored information, including that of the fairly recently opened government archive, the *Riksarkivet*.

3.8 ADDITIONAL MATERIAL.

Arvid Vollsnes was one of the lead editors of five pages in the updated Norwegian music encyclopaedia in 2012. In this, the general information that Hurum provided, is again brought to the audience. There is reference to house concerts, and the behaviour and attitudes of western art music composers who have already been referred to in texts that were published earlier. Disappointingly, there is no evidence of further research: that is reference to newspaper articles and concert programmes that are available in the National library in Oslo.

There have been various biographies published concerning composers who experienced the occupation. For the purposes of this study, I will look at Christian Sinding. The first biography of Sinding was by Norwegian Gunnar Rugstad, who was head of music in NRK Television from 1974 – 1988 and was published from his doctoral thesis of 1977. Christian Sinding (1856-1941) was coming to the end of his life as the occupation occurred. In the interwar period he had gained a high level of prestige as a composer (Rugstad, 1979; 122). But, as the war commenced, Sinding was suffering from dementia and deafness and therefore, according to Rugstad, it is unlikely he was composing at this time (ibid: 123). Rugstad claims that in 1936 Sinding was already exhibiting sympathies towards Nazi Germany and that even as early as 1934 he was part of a newly formed Nazi club (ibid) referenced in a letter from Norwegian novelist Ronald Fangen (1895 - 1946) to fellow author Sigurd Hoel (1890 – 1960).

Har du sett, at Hamsun, Duun, Sinding osv har dannet nazi-klubb? Det er nesten ikke til å tro.

[Have you seen that Hamsun, Duun, Sinding and others have formed a Nazi club? It is almost unbelievable.]

(Vollestad, 2005:212. Royden, 2018).

It was in 1940, with the occupation taking hold, that Sinding's music was finally blacklisted by the Norwegians (Ibid).

Whilst providing a comprehensive look at Sinding's life, the end of his life is dealt with in a matter-of-fact way. He is written about in Norwegian music history books often with sadness. In agreement with each other, Grinde, Lange, Rugstad and Vollestad address the notion of his greatness as a composer being ruined by his perceived Nazi sympathies. Sinding's Nazi sympathies are referred to and consideration is given as to why they exist, but this is dealt with very briefly. On Sinding's 85th birthday, a special concert was held in Bergen. This is interesting because although the fight is well documented in history books like Hurum and Nesheim, the reason for the concert is never mentioned. The celebratory concert had the Jew Ernst Glaser playing Ole Bull's violin. Bull is said to be the grandfather of Norwegian music and encouraged Edvard Grieg to look to Germany for inspiration. There was an objection by the young Nasjonal Samling to Glaser playing said violin, and a physical scuffle ensued. With reference to Sinding's thoughts on the altercation, Rugstad documents a letter sent to Harald Heide, conductor of the Bergen Orchestra from Sinding stating that it was disgusting how Glaser had been treated (Rugstad, 1979; 125). This leads to two queries which are unanswered. If Sinding was so ingratiated into Nazi ideology, why did he sympathise with Glaser's predicament. It was also unclear why Sinding who was living in Oslo at the end of his life, had a concert to celebrate his life 478 Km away in Bergen with the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra.

Rugstad does not attempt to deal with Sinding's reputation after the occupation and merely mentions in passing that Monrad Johansen suffered the same fate. As a response to his Rugstad's thoughts of the situation he quotes a telegram sent by Sibelius.

I den djupa sorg musik världen känner vid Norges stora son Christian Sinding
bortgång deltar jag af he mitt hjarta och sender min beundrade genial vannen en
sista halsing.

[In the deep sadness of music, I felt at Norway's great son Christian Sinding's descent, I participate in my heart and send my admired glorious water one last throat.]

(Rugstad, 1979:126. Royden, 2018).

There is no attempt to rehabilitate him in the eyes of the public but suggests that once he was considered a great composer. Throughout the small chapter of the war, Rugstad does not attempt to create a discourse about Sinding's music, and it seems a very poignant end to the book.

In his biography about Christian Sinding (2005) Per Vollestad concurs with Rugstad, Vollestad's book, was also published from his doctoral dissertation (2005), and he maintains a sympathetic stance to an old senile man at the end of his life. He also agrees with Rugstad in stating that Sinding joined the party in 1934 and allowed himself to be used as a propaganda tool for the Nazis. As noted in a letter from Sinding to his friend Edvard Munch,

Så meget mer som den blir fremsat fra Tysk side.

So much better that it comes from the Germans.

(Vollestad, 2005: 213, Royden 2017).

Vollestad, as does Rugstad, notes a taint to Sinding's post-war reputation: his symphonic poem, *The Rustle of Spring* (1896), in the Germanic form, reflects Norwegian Nationalism at the time of its composition. But it is interesting to note that *Rustle of Spring's* title, *Frühlingsrauschen*, is in German, not Norwegian. This would not be unusual as Sinding was living and working in Germany at its time of composition. Although it should be noted it is rarely performed in Norway today.

In accordance with Rugstad's work the chapters are set out in the same way but labelled slightly differently in a more contentious way. Rugstad deals with 1934- 1941 as

does Vollestad but the latter adds the sub-heading the Nazi club. This study is more comprehensive than Rugstad. Whereas Rugstad mentions the letter between Fangen and Hoel, Vollestad quotes from it and provides significant quotations from other letters. Vollestad claims that on the morning after the occupation on April 10, 1940, Nrk played the *Rustle of Spring*, and this was the last time that Sinding would be heard. The radio programme then moved on towards Grieg, Svendsen, Kjerulf and Halvorsen (Vollestad, 2005:231). Vollestad does not elaborate about the Sinding's 85th birthday concert in Bergen except to say that it happened.

With reference to the aftereffects of the war, Vollestad retells how Sinding has been evaluated in Norwegian history books and articles, and how he is classed with the others like Monrad Johansen and Geirr Tveitt (1908 - 81) as a Quisling. Tveitt had already been accused of anti-Semitism due to his outspokenness towards the Jews. Vollestad suggests that the modernism that occurred after the war was not in line with Sinding's compositions and he would have been removed from the performing canon any way. He also completes his study on the sad note that Sinding was a great composer who has fallen by the wayside.

Selvfølgelig levde ikke Sinding som et alminnelig menneske.

Of course, Sinding did not live with common sense.

(Vollestad, 2005: 253, Royden 2017).

On a recent Radio 4 programme there was a debate concerning Wagner's music (*Front Row* September 12, 2018). Wagner has been played on Israeli radio, to which some listeners took offence and complained. The argument is: should a man and his music be considered as one? Jonathan Livni, the founder of Wagner in Israel Society, argued that there are on/off buttons and people who do not want to listen do not have to. Further, that his father, who was a Holocaust survivor, introduced him to Wagner saying that he was a terrible man, but his music was sublime. This was countered by musician Yael Cherniavsky,

who argued that people should not have been subjected to music which brings back bad memories, the counter argument to this being that Wagner was not performed in the death camps, and that although he may have had anti-Semitic tendencies, this is not reflected in his music. Seventy years after the end of the Holocaust, this debate grew heated, and tempers were lost. Meanwhile, both Monrad Johansen and Sinding, once classed Norwegian musicologists as the future of Norwegian music, are no longer part of the current canon, and their music has all but been lost (Meyer, 1991). The debate as to whether we should ever rehabilitate composers, and if so, how long should we wait before doing so, continues; and while composers such as Wagner survive their reputations, Monrad Johansen, convicted of treason and imprisoned, composed none of his music in praise of the Nazis.

In his overview of Nazi music policy in, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (1991), Michael Meyer looks briefly at Sinding and states that: 'the Nazis used Sinding as a tool for propaganda' (Meyer, 1991:162). They did this by awarding him medals and courting him whilst he still lived and worked in Germany. Sinding had received the Goethe medal, an award honouring contribution to life of non-Germans, through personal recommendations of *Reichsleiter* (second highest military rank) Rosenberg (ibid.). This meant that ultimately Sinding supported the Nazi regime as he felt Britain and Norway had not supported him in any way.

Noe slikt har hverken England gjort for meg
Nothing has been done for me from England.

(Hurum, 1946: 89, Royden, 2010).

Berit Kvinge Tjøme's biography of Norwegian composer Fartein Valen (1887 - 1952) came out in 2012. As a Norwegian music researcher and journalist, Tjøme has achieved a biography which also attempts to set the record straight regarding the occupation. According to Tjøme, Valen secured a stipend in 1935 from the Norwegian government for living costs as a composer, in accord with the Norwegian Cultural Policy outlined by Bakke (2001: 15).

He then returned to his homestead in Sunnhordland, a rural district in the west of Norway, and 470 kilometres from Oslo, just before the occupation started in 1940. He remained there for the duration of the war, a move which Tjøme considers probably enabled him to continue with his experiments in serialism (Tjøme, 2012: 355), which, as Leon Botstein notes, became the music of cultural resistance (Botstein, 1995: 229). Owing to the Nazi embrace of a neoromantic and neoclassic aesthetic that was explicitly cast in opposition to modernism, an unexpected link was forged between serialism and progressive politics, and radical modernism became the morally superior language, the voice of rebellion against fascism (Haas, 2013). The Nazis, however, disliked the atonal language within it. As the high-ranking military official Alfred Rosenberg stated, the whole atonal movement in music is contradictory to the rhythm of blood and soul to the German nation (Levi, 1991: 17).

Refreshingly, Tjøme deals with the occupation in depth over several chapters and bases her claim that David Monrad Johansen was a Nazi sympathiser on his having been taught by German composer and teacher, Herman Grabner (1886 - 1969), who taught a vast number of other Norwegian composers at the Conservatoire of Music in Leipzig, Germany. Grabner was the composer of "*Fackelträger*", *Lieder des neuen Reiches* [*Torchbearers: Songs of the New Reich*]. At the end of the war, Johansen was found guilty of treason by the Norwegian courts in the Legal Purge and sentenced to four years of hard labour (Hurum, 1946, Hansen, 2015). Valen was not tried. Although Valen never met Grabner, he did meet Monrad Johansen (Tjøme, 2012: 107) but this does not necessarily mean he is guilty by association. However, it is unclear why so much of Valen's biography is devoted to Johansen, and whether Tjøme is insinuating that Valen was also therefore a sympathiser.

Tjøme reiterates a well-documented fact that Valen retreated to an internal exile. He remained on the family farm in Sunnhordland until his death and had barely any contact with the outside world. His embrace of modernistic techniques is almost accidental as he did not have access to radio or any technique of keeping up to date with the progressions in European music (Tjøme, 2012: 336). It is difficult to understand Tjøme's viewpoint as much

of her writing concerns other subjects which are given more importance than the life of Valen.

Ivar Roger Hansen's 2013 biography of Monrad Johansen, *Mot Fedrenes Fjell* [*Against the Mountains of the Father*], deals with Johansen's stance as regards the Nazis in a chapter: 'De Mørke årene' [*The Dark Years*]. But Hansen, being a friend of the Monrad Johansen family might be less than neutral in his assessment of events and actions. In his Preface he states that he will discuss both Monrad Johansen's role in music in the 1920s – 30s, and his time during the occupation as they are often a prerequisite for each other (Hansen, 2013: 13). Hansen retells the story of Monrad Johansen's arrest as a matter of fact. He also tells how the Nordic *Gesellschaft*, that is the Nordic society-maintained links between Norway and Germany by holding joint concerts. Although the study does not provide any new information, it is clear that Hansen would be unwilling to say anything to cause concern for the family. This is due to them providing a significant amount of material for the book.

Arvid O. Vollsnes's biography, *Ludwig Irgens-Jensen: The Life and Music of a Norwegian Composer*, came out to great acclaim in 2013. According to Vollsnes, (who cites Tveitt, another Norwegian composer), Irgens-Jensen was modest but with greatness in his inner being (Vollsnes, 2013: 10). Vollsnes also notes that Irgens-Jensen continued composing during the occupation but managed to avoid writing for the Nazis (Vollsnes, 2013: 208), and distributed patriotic texts and choral songs to the resistance (ibid.). Vollsnes writes of a secret competition during the occupation, which Irgens-Jensen won with a two-movement symphony, *Symphonie No 2 in D minor*, the second prize being awarded to Klaus Egge. There was no public announcement of the competition. The jury was selected by the Norwegian Composer's Society, according to their classification of *Jøssinger*, and no composers considered *Striped* were permitted to enter, and this made the competition patriotic and less able to be appropriated for propaganda by the Nazis. The jury members were Arne Eggen, Odd Gruner Hegge and Karl Andersen (Vollsnes, 2012: 220). Later in this thesis, I will address whether later archive research agrees that these composers were

Jøssinger. Instead of performing the winning compositions at a concert, they were presented at a special liberation concert at the end of the war.

Another patriotic composition by Robert Levin (1912-1996) was the *Kirkenes Marsj*, [*Kirkenes March*]. This was significant as it was one of the main compositions of the time and is important in history as it portrays the struggle of the Norwegian people and army (Levin, 83: 101).

An important biography is certainly *Med Livet i Hendene* [*My Life in their hands*] (1983) authored by Mona Levin. This is the earliest and perhaps the most important of the biographies and covers the life of the Jewish pianist Robert Levin (1912-1996), but a significant amount of the book also concerns the occupation of Norway, and it offers detailed information with regards to the events of the time. Levin was a Jewish composer and musician who maintained a life and career in occupied Oslo until 1943, when the Nazis indicated that he would be arrested, at which point he escaped into Sweden with his family.

In exile, he composed the *Kirkenes Marsj*, [*Kirkenes March*] (1944), significant because it was one of the main compositions of the time and portrays the struggle of the Norwegian people and the Norwegian army against fascism. The author is journalist Mona Levin, who is also Robert's daughter. She was less than a year old at the time of the occupation and so, lived it with little memory, but her account is a compelling read, and there is in her writing a strong sense of the research for it having been a long conversation between a father and daughter who have a good relationship. The benefit of this is the trust between author and subject that means the subject may be more willing to open up and provide information that may otherwise be withheld. However, as with Hansen's biography of Johansen, Mona Levin, as a family member, is not a dispassionate observer and may have been sensitive to her father's wishes. Not all of her account is relevant to this study, but the book gives a human element to the topic, whilst providing significant information. It should be considered though, that as well as a biography, it is a memoir and, that after a period of thirty-eight years, Robert Levin's memory may have dimmed considerably, and events remembered differently.

3.9 Conclusion.

Norwegian music life during the occupation of World War II still has a number of unanswered questions. It was not always so simple in those war years to be able to identify those who were acting in the occupiers' interests – an uncertainty which tainted all of musical life (Vollsnes, 2012; 211). This is reflected in the literature of the time, there are constant reflections of what might have been with a number of composers. In effect, Norwegian music history has attempted to remove some composers whilst gazing wistfully into the past of others. Opinions which were created at a time when there were heightened emotions and have remained unchallenged.

Research will give a better understanding of attitudes of composers at this time, including a new insight into their involvement with the Nazi ruling party. As shown by the list of composers active at the time, it would appear that the Nazis could have made significant strides into Norwegian musical life if they had considered how many of the Norwegian composers had studied in Germany. A comparison of orchestras in occupied nations which help glean whether said groups were more successful at continuing because of the attitudes of their chief personnel.

4 - Research Questions.

At the start of the research, the only research question that existed was why there was such a significant gap in research. It appeared that the five-year occupation period had completely erased from music history. The main consideration at this stage was whether there was sufficient information available in archives and studies to make research of this area viable. When further research demonstrated that there were the primary resources available for study, further research questions started to formulate. However, in the beginning they were fluid, but as the research progressed, they began to come together.

Firstly, was the consideration of why there was no discourse. A meeting with Elef Nesheim did not shed any light on this. He acknowledged that the area was under-researched but did not proffer an explanation why. He merely stated that he himself, had come to the topic accidentally but that there was much to be written. The research question at this stage was what actually happened in music during the occupation. I studied the two key texts at this stage, by Nils Grinde and Kristian Lange, which have been covered in more depth in the literature review.

Then it became more nuanced. It appeared that Norwegian society had constructed three positional stances, *Jossinger*, *Striped* and *Nasjonal Samling* and this is where musicians and composers were placed according to their perceived behaviour. Created at time when sensitivities were heightened, could these be challenged with the benefit of decades distance. Composition and premiere charts were created to assist with this research.

The next consideration I queried was how strict or relaxed the Nazis were in the occupied nations, and whether this relaxation compared with the distance from Berlin. As previously noted jazz, which was against Nazi ideals, flourished in Norway during the occupation, so much so, that a jazz club was opened in the centre of Oslo adjacent to Nazi offices, where it thrived. Additionally, jazz musicians were permitted to travel around the country fairly freely. Furthermore, it was becoming more evident that this question could

also be applied to Jews. In occupied nations Jews were removed from orchestras, forcing them often to close down. By comparison, in Norway, the Jews were permitted to remain in their roles. To assist this part of the research, a wall map was created which demonstrated the level of activity in orchestras as the occupation took hold in that particular country. It also identified if the top personnel of the orchestra contributed to this. This is discussed further in chapters 7 and 8.

Finally, it could be suggested that Norway was an integral part to Hitler's plan. In history, Norway had seemed to have little importance. However, in several ways Norway was important to the Nazis, from the creation of an Aryan race, heavy water for bombs and not least of all, potentially a coast which would assist in invading Britain and Iceland. Following on from this there would appear to be the notion that the Nazis would use music and musical life to gain a peaceful occupation and as such an annexing of Norway as it had done with Austria. To assist this section of the research, compositions were analysed to ascertain if they were Nazi friendly. This will be discussed further in chapter 7.

5 – Methodology.

5.0 Introduction

Budd notes that ‘Historians have long recognised that their subjective judgements influence the historical narratives they create’ (Budd, 2009: 4). In contrast to this notion, I have attempted to remain objective throughout the gathering of the data: I had no personal attachments to the topic, only a genuine interest. With regards to the data gathered I have attempted to collate it as facts supported by evidence in archives.

What follows is a consideration of the research methods of the thesis. As little was written concerning the time, I created the methodology as the piece progressed. This took the form of visiting archives, to glean information, primary studies, and unstructured interviews. There was creation of charts and maps which would be displayed in the Graduate Teaching Assistant office which people I encouraged to visit and pass their opinions on.

5.1 Compositions Charts.

A means of reproducing the information necessary to understand the changes in Norwegian music life was the construction of two composition charts. The first compiled all the premiered compositions in the years of 1900-1930. This period was selected due to several factors. The final year is just prior to Hitler’s coming to power and the start of the rise of National Socialism. Furthermore, these are the years when most Norwegian composers had based themselves in the main in Germany, but also in other foreign nations like France and Great Britain for their education. This demonstrated which composers had a favourable output for audiences in the years leading up to the rise of Hitler in Germany. The second chart represented those compositions that were premiered during the occupation. Both

charts included the year of premiere, the instruments used in performance and the location of the premiere. This information was gleaned from Norwegian music encyclopaedias, biographies of composers and critics' reviews in newspapers of the time. There were significant data trends that could be shown from the charts. In brief, firstly, to note the fortunes of composers; those who became more popular and those who suffered a reversal of fortune. In the next instance, it was the use of instrumentation. It would be expected that since the premise of a large part of Nazi policy was singing, that through the occupation more vocal compositions would come to the fore.

The selection of the composers for the charts was relatively straightforward in their studies. Both Hurum and Nesheim had alluded to composers who were accepted during these periods. Some less significant composers were included but their output was minimal at best. Other lesser-known composers referred to by Nesheim as being Nazi sympathisers, could not be traced in other Norwegian music history books, including his own and were therefore disregarded. Due to meeting Nesheim before reading his 2007 study, there was an inability to query how he had discovered these composers, and what led him to believe that they were Nazi sympathisers. After reading his study, it was discovered in private conversation with Norwegian musicologist Arvid Vollsnes that Nesheim had retired to the south of France and was uncontactable.

The compositions that were analysed were selected due to the relevance of the composer's output at the time of the occupation and if they demonstrated any musical references pertaining to agreed Nazi criteria. The scores had been gathered over several years and were from my own personal collection. This was one of the important factors in deciding which compositions to analyse. It was difficult to gather other scores from this period, especially separate songs. There were other songs which had the potential to be inflammatory such as *They Burned our Homes* (1945), and therefore were not accessible or could not be found. This could also be deemed to reinforce the sensitivity of the topic. The compositions analysed were of the time. This means that they were indicative of how the composer was writing at the time and, where the composition was placed in the composers'

canon. Furthermore, the analysis attempted to demonstrate both Nazi and Norwegian aspect of the music which would make a clear correlation to the notion of the Nazis using music to build a bridge between them and the Norwegians. It has been well documented and already noted before that the Nazis encouraged familiarity between themselves and the Norwegians by using the name of Grieg and feting Sinding. Therefore, it needed to be considered whether the Norwegians implemented music devices that would lend themselves to being Nazi 'friendly' and keep their careers and music in the public eye. The composers selected are the most prominent in Norwegian music history writings. Saeverud, was a composer whose career developed consistently as a Norwegian 'son'. A significant number of interviews from the end of the war until his death saw him refer to writing music to fight against the Nazis. Valen, as Saeverud, retreated to his family farm but in contrast kept a low profile. Olsen and Egge maintained careers after the war, being seen as the future of Norwegian music. The findings analysis are situated in Chapter 7.

5.2 Interviews.

Due to the age of the data being captured, interviews which captured eye-witness accounts were impossible to carry out. This meant therefore that knowledge gained was least a generation away from actual events. There were some difficulties obtaining interviewees. What was frustrating was that in some cases, prospective interviewees concluded that anything that they would tell me would be irrelevant, and therefore it was of no great use to speak to me. This was demonstrated by Amalie Christie's daughter.

Christie's daughter was contacted by a third party on my behalf. I understood that there was already a biography in existence, but since this dealt mainly with her career, I knew that my semi-structured questions had not been covered by the book. Christie had a very strong presence during the occupation, in that she protested the removal of the Jews from Norway and had also been a performing pianist. Christie's daughter, after an interview

was requested, returned with several reasons for not doing this which included working (she is a nurse), not knowing anything about her mother during the occupation and that she did not speak English very well but was fluent in German. Some would be eager to speak, but then on further consideration would back-track. Then there would be others that were keen, like Andreas Diesen, who stated that he loved English people. Diesen's parents owned Chat Noir the nightclub in Oslo, during the occupation. This showed the attitudes in Norway; some were accepting of the time and others wanted to leave it be. On reflection, with the division of Norwegian society due to behaviour of the time, this is reasonable but demonstrates the need for further clarity of the period.

Chat Noir was a revue club in Oslo, Norway. Opened in 1912, it was based on the cabaret and revue club in Paris, France. During the occupation up to 1942 it was owned and managed by Ernst Diesen, the father of Andreas. In 1942, Ernst Diesen was instrumental in opening the Edderkoppen Theatre in Oslo, which again provided cabaret and musical entertainment. During investigative research on this topic, I noted that Andreas Diesen had never been interviewed. This also meant that the information that he would provide would be an original contribution to knowledge. The relevance of his parent's behaviour during the occupation was paramount; considering that they had come under the censorship order was important. They were able to pass messages to the resistance blatantly in front of the Nazis by incorporating them into songs and skits (Nesheim, 2007). When I emailed Andreas, to ask if he would meet with me and be interviewed, he responded almost instantly, saying he would be glad to meet up and I should come and visit him now! I wrote back and explained that I was in the U.K. To which he responded that he loved the English and that I should contact him when I was in Oslo. The relevance of the information provided by Diesen meant that it was possible to identify another situation where music was permitted to flourish. The notion that the Nazis allowed Chat Noir to continue and allowed the incorporation of a new theatre beyond their own Deutsche theatre demonstrates how the Nazis invested in the cultural bridge they were attempting to build. However, the information did not assist the discourse but was plentiful and will therefore be used in another study.

Overall, when carrying out interviews I had decided from an early stage to make them semi-structured. The notion was that an initial question, if asked in the correct manner, would solicit a fount of information and it was best to let the interviewee speak freely. But monitoring what was being said meant that a faltering in information could be stopped by key words. Care would also be taken to bring the interviewee gently back to the topic, if they were digressing.

5.3 Oslo Archive, Nazi Archive (Berlin) and London Archive.

Ramsey et al note that, 'Archival research, I would emphasise, is not passive recording of objective data, but a reader's constructive, subjective ordering and making meaning out of what he or she chooses to examine' (Ramsey, Sharer, L'Eplattaneir, Mastrangelo, 2009: 157). On starting the archival research, I considered that I would gather information from the occupation and the years immediately before and after. This would give me a greater understanding of the changes that took place as the occupation progressed and how things returned to 'normal'.

Information regarding the Deutsche theatre came to light when I visited the Nazi archive in Berlin. I had read about the existence of this archive but was unsure if I would be able to access information from it. This was due to the protection around information which I had met so far. On arrival at the archive, I went through the formal registration procedure, and upon enquiry was directed to several books which would detail the documents that were held about Norway. The first book suggested that when the Nazis knew of their impending defeat, they burnt a lot of the Norwegian paperwork, but that there was still 900 metres of shelving remaining. It then stated that some of the paperwork had been sent back to Norway to the *Riksarkivet* [state archives] in Oslo. With this in mind, I requested a number of files pertaining to the occupation and Norway. Within this paperwork I discovered a copy of the contract which was presented for signature to the members of the Cultural Council. This was

a significant find and an original contribution to knowledge. Additionally, there were many documents, including bills and equipment lists relating to the Deutsche Theatre in Oslo. This seemed to suggest that the Nazis were going to great lengths to invest in the arts scene in Norway.

This led to a visit to the National Archive in Oslo. At this stage there did not appear to be a catalogue of the information that was held there. However, the assistant was very helpful, and it was here I accessed the 1945 arrest files of the composers David Monrad Johansen and Signe Lund.

A few months later I visited the National Archives in London. Here I was able to glean more information about this period; however, it did not pertain to the arts. It did give an overview of the time such as, to be expected, including the information that the Norwegian government in exile were struggling to settle in England. The information gleaned from these three archives was translated and collated into a specially created personal database.

Bastian states that 'Rejection, indignation, speculation and even amusement have characterized the reactions of archivists' (Bastian, 2016: 3): this is in reference to archives they have accessed. Personally, I felt only interest. The archives that I accessed were well ordered and information could be selected with ease. But a pre-arranged visit to the personal archive of German music tutor Hermann Grabner would bring out about initial frustration and indignation. Having been in contact with the archivist, who insisted that there would be nothing of any interest to me within the archive, I found in the first file a handwritten letter from David Monrad Johansen to Grabner. This letter was significant as it discussed their friendship and connection, whilst Monrad Johansen sympathised with Grabner's predicament of wanting to return home. Bastian further states that 'Archivists may complain because scholars of the archive do not consult them' (Bastian, 2016:13). Without deliberating this discourse further, it should be noted that in this scenario I was correct to go with my instincts and access this archive.

5.4 Unexpected Support.

It is important to acknowledge unexpected assistance that came from Norwegians who heard of the project. In the primary stages of investigation, I contacted the Jewish Museum in Oslo. This contact was managed by Sidsel Levin, whose father was the Norwegian Jew Robert Levin (1912-1996), who had been a concert pianist. He was one of the Jewish musicians who had been permitted to keep his prominent position in Norwegian music life successfully for a significant amount of the occupation (Levin, 1983). In truth, as the project was in its preliminary stages, it was unclear as to what information would be required. Sidsel was understanding about this. After a flurry of emails, a mail by a different author dropped into my inbox, from Mona Levin, journalist and sibling of Sidsel. Sidsel had told her of the project, and she was interested in it, she recommended that I start by visiting a museum in Værnes, which I duly did. I considered interviewing Mona Levin for the project but decided against it. The reason for this was that in 1983 a book had been published, *Med Livet i Hendene* that is [*With Life in Hands*] written by Mona; in 2015 this was followed by a biography of her mother's life. The subject of the first study was Robert Levin, her father. In her questioning of him, she appears to be comprehensive. As this project continued, she also authored another biography, this time it concerning her mother, Solveig, *Mors Historie: En Familiesaga*, [*Mother's history: a Family story*] (2015).

5.5 Critical Framework.

This is an under researched topic, therefore the critical framework was under construction as research for the thesis was ongoing. Hurum is the key text and provides a basic level of information for the thesis and demonstrates that further research is needed on the topic. This is not robust enough to be a complete framework, as the study contains a significant amount of opinion rather than tangible facts. An example of this is how Hurum describes

others' standpoints. This becomes problematic because he was involved in the time although he does not have a media presence, as he appears to stop working. Furthermore, to a certain extent Hurum discredited his own book in a 1970s study, where he stated that the book had been written too soon and some individuals had not been adequately defended.

The primary and secondary research should be placed in context. It is relevant to have chapters which discuss the state of Norwegian music life before and after the period. In the pre-war period, the Norwegian nationalist school was gaining strength, albeit with elements of modern European music. The consideration that the Germans thought their branch of Nationalism was akin to Norwegian nationalism means that the Germans saw music as a cultural bridge. It should be queried if, after the war, the Norwegians then rejected nationalism favouring more modernist trends. This will be placed in context using primary resources of newspaper clippings and secondary resources of biographies of composers. These will inform my perception of the trends that composers were following, and who their influences were.

The politics of the time is also relevant. Nazi policy was 'supposed' to be followed in occupied nations (Meyer, 1991). Currently, from my research to date, it would seem that the further away from the epicentre of Berlin the country was, the more flexible the Nazis became, to make this assertion, I would have to assess what I could find in the archives. As previously stated, in Norway, it appears that the Nazis initially treated the Norwegian orchestras and their personnel differently from other occupied countries. Historian Michael Meyer states that Nazi modus operandi was to occupy a country and then remove the Jews, causing orchestras to close down for lack of musical personnel (Meyer, 1991). My hypothesis is that it seems to have been different in Norway: Jews were initially able to keep significant positions in orchestras for at least twelve months after the occupation before persecution started in 1941, and consequently no orchestras closed; but again, this had to be more closely examined. It may even be fair to say that the Nazis invested in music in Norway: there were a significant number of premieres of new compositions at this time.

5.6 Historical Aspects, Musicology and Historiography.

A three-pronged approach was also taken with this research. The musicology encompassed analysis of scores, ethnomusicology because of the existence of folk music and music history. It was necessary to understand the performing canon before, during and after the occupation. When considering scores to be selected for analysis, those that were chosen were regarded as pertinent to the style of the composer at that time. For example, Egge had three periods of compositional style, in which the first two were slightly blurred. Therefore, it was necessary to consider which score/composition represented that period appropriately. Therefore, I selected compositions that firstly demonstrated Norwegian characteristics and then the elements of Germanic music which the Nazis would have found attractive.

In the next instance, there needed to be an understanding of music trends that were developing across Europe and the historical aspects of the war. Examples of this included the conductor Wilhelm Furtwangler (1886-1954), who was the Nazis' favoured conductor but has a discourse still continuing as to whether he was a Nazi sympathiser or not. I selected Valen's composition to reflect the development of serialism. However, it is noted that Valen's serialism was of his own development.

A consideration of the historiography of the war was also necessary. It is clear that Hurum's study, when it was first authored, took the orthodox viewpoint that a significant number of Norwegian composers considered that the German state was one of supremacy (Hurum, 1946: 52). This is shown in regard to the composer Christian Sinding who considered that Norway and England had not given him anything (Vollestad, 2005). When Hurum openly criticises his own study in the 1970s, he aligns himself with the revisionist consideration that this was a war, but there had been hypersensitivities towards behaviours. However, in stating information about others' behaviour in 1946 he had taken the stance that the blame for the events in Norway should not only be directed at Hitler but also the Norwegians themselves.

There has also been evidence of post-war common themes as suggested by Johan Ostling. There is the jubilation of the victory over Nazi regime, and then euphoria which then leads to domestic efforts being praised. There is a sense of national unity; however, here the war sailors found themselves being cast aside by the Norwegian government and the population because they were often in foreign waters (Michelet, 2018). A statue on the main thoroughfare in Oslo of a resistance member Gunnar Sønsteby demonstrates the glorification of the resistance movement. Finally, heroization, which took many forms. Although, some potentially identified it as a concept to use. Take for example composer Harald Sæverud, who claimed in many interviews after the war that he fought the Nazis with his music.

5.7 Limitations.

Early in the research process, I discovered that there was a database held in the library of the Western town of Stavanger, Norway: and that it held information of concerts from 1800 – 1970. It is unknown why these dates were significant but, it was a comprehensive list of all the concerts that had taken place in the Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland. I considered then that this could hold significant information about the concerts of the time of the occupation. Further investigation found there to be several problems. Unfortunately, the compiler and owner of the database had passed away some eight years previously and the family had donated the data collection to the library. Additionally, the library seemed to be unable to open the database, as it was password-protected, and this had not been made available to the family or the library. Having made further enquiries about the data at the National Library of Oslo, I found that they appeared to be unhappy that the programme had not been donated to them. They suggested that they would have the wherewithal to remedy the situation but had not been given the opportunity.

Up to the time of writing the data is still held in Stavanger and up to present day is still inaccessible.

When approaching people to access archives, I would be frustrated to find that there were decisions being made for me. For example, when I contacted Grabner's archivist he said that I would find no relevant information there. However, on opening a file of documents, one of the first items located was a letter from David Monrad Johansen. If I had not been persistent, I would not have found this.

Additionally, although being generally supportive, there were those who would attempt to thwart me. However, this was understandable because of the very sensitive nature of the topic, and I did not know all family histories.

5.8 The Wall Chart.

As a visual aid, I created a wall chart which was continually added to. It began as a map of present-day Europe. Above it I added a pre-war Europe map and two further maps as the occupations occurred. This would enable me to see the path that Hitler took across the continent. At the side of the map, I placed a list of the research questions and the alleged reasons why each nation was occupied. This gave me source of reference. Then I methodically worked through each nation looking at active orchestras and the personnel involved. Additionally, the number of Jews pre-war and after occupation. From this I could ascertain which countries were more successful in keeping public music life alive and those like Poland who did not.

5.9 Conclusion.

In carrying out this research, I have investigated studies and archives. The amount of Norwegian literature pertaining to this subject was limited. This had positive and negative connotations. It was positive in the fact that I knew that this study would be an original contribution to knowledge and on the downside, there was limited discourse to continue with. However, at the time of writing there has been a greater interest in the war period for the Norwegians. Furthermore, Norwegian society is beginning to address painful issues of the past. This may or may not be due to the assault on Utøya in 2012, which forced them to look introspectively.

There is still a vast amount of data out there to be collected in relation to this period. As this was relatively new research, a framework had to be created as the investigations progressed. Several visual aids were devised to enable me to process the information that had been gleaned. Archive material was translated and collated into a data base that I had created specifically for this purpose. This study has also created further research questions which will be acknowledged in the conclusion.

Part B – Findings.

6. Active Composers and Musicians.

6.1 Introduction.

This chapter considers composers who were active during the occupation. I offer a chart that shows how composers were active. In addition to this, there is reference to where they were educated. This will help examine the links between the Norwegians and Germany and the level of influence with education. A brief discourse of the 'Golden Age' is placed here, as Grinde suggests this was one of the most important periods for Norwegian music. Following on from this is a brief discussion concerning Grieg and Svendsen. Such is their importance to Norwegian music, that no study would be complete without an acknowledgement.

6.2 The Construction of the Composer Chart.

The starting point for the information in this chapter is derived mainly from the studies by Hurum (1946), Nesheim (2007) and Vollsnes (2012). As previously mentioned, the connection between these studies is that Nesheim often retells the information that Hurum provides. In addition to this, both the Hurum and Nesheim studies, whilst providing an ideal starting point, have flaws; on his own admittance referenced in an interview in the 1970s, Hurum's was authored too close to the time and unintentionally exhibit bias (Hansen, 1995). In his study, Nesheim seems to have carried out little original research. However, this may be because his study was originally intended to be an anniversary book about the Barratt-Due music school. As previously referred to in an informal conversation with me, he said he then realised how under-researched this topic was and the study became about music during the occupation. Further resources are drawn from Arvid Vollsnes' study on Ludvig Irgens-Jensen. Here, information is drawn from a list he has created concerning composers who were active at this time. The list includes composers who did not maintain careers after

the occupation. In comparison to this, Nesheim also creates a list of composers who were active during this time. In his list there are composers of whom there is no record. Research into Norwegian music encyclopaedias, both online and physical copies, and music history books, including Nesheim's own, has simply, for one reason or another, eradicated them from history. Vollsnes' study, which does not reflect stances that were taken during the occupation, demonstrated who was active at the time without being judgmental. Instead, composers are placed in categories according to their compositional styles, which is whether they were judged by musicologists to be conservative or modernist. The 'conservative' refers to those composers who used traditional forms and tonal harmonies, whereas the 'modern' are those that composed music that was freer in style and atonal. Vollsnes however notes that his list of composers is also categorised according to age (Vollsnes, 2012: 108). Vollsnes' list is not exhaustive, as demonstrated by the omission of composers like Odd Gruner Hegge (1899 - 1973). Hegge was considered by some to be a good friend of Irgens-Jensen and was active as a composer during the occupation. He had lost his position as the conductor of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra to Olav Kielland (1901 – 1985). If he were such a good friend of Irgens-Jensen, it is unclear why he is disregarded. However, it may be that Vollsnes may have attempted to do what other authors have failed to do: to acknowledge the occupation in a single chapter. Unlike Berit Kvinge Tjøme, who authored the Valen biography, he does not attempt to address any issues from the occupation, whereas she, in her study of Valen, created a discourse about Grabner (Tjøme, 2012). This is irrelevant when it is not documented that Grabner and Valen had ever met or had some form of working relationship.

The classifications of *Jøssinger*, *Striped* or *Nazi Sympathiser* that were incorporated in the war period as stated in chapter 3 are reaffirmed by Nesheim in his study. Hurum, who authored the initial study of the occupation, does not refer to these classifications in his book when considering the conduct of musicians. This may be because he was attempting to remain neutral. Vollsnes also does not refer to the three classifications of attitude in his list

and provides no additional musings on his list, except to state that the composers named were also active in the inter-war period (Vollsnes, 2012: 108).

Although it does not demonstrate attitudes to the occupation, the list Vollsnes compiled does have relevance to this topic: the party line for the Nazis was that music should be used as a tool for a peaceful occupation (Dennis, 2012). Additionally, Goebbels is quoted as saying that:

We see in art the highest creative expression of a community of blood. The purer the blood of the community of the Volk, the greater its art will be. A feeling for art that is not degenerate but rather true to its essence must be instilled in the Volk and in the creative artist.

(Kater and Riethmuller, 2003: 65).

In previous times, music was considered to be the most German of the arts (Dennis, 2012: 198). This was due to the prominence it held in music history, and for many composers this is where their education began. For Norway in particular, it was believed that music should be used as a cultural bridge, and as previously noted this was based on the notion of the kinship of Norwegian and German nationalism (Dennis, 2012). It was believed that this would assist the Germans in promoting a natural union between the two countries (ibid.). As an addition to Vollsnes' list, I have included references as to where the composers gained their education. This will demonstrate how long the German influence had been affecting Norwegian music. The notion is that by studying elsewhere would make the influences apparent due to the differences, in this case, of melodic and harmonic idioms, or the scale of composition. An example of this is Grieg, who, whilst studying in Germany, attempted to emulate the large-scale form of concertos, but found a more consistent voice in small scale forms which were more suitable to his use of Norwegian folk music (Bolland, unpublished master dissertation: 2005).

6.3 Composers Who Were Active During the Occupation.

The following is not a replica of Vollsnes' list, as I have removed those who were deceased by the time of the occupation. The list is divided into two columns: the first is Vollsnes' list of active composers at this time, the second column is my addition and includes the education and fate of the composers during the occupation and their age at the start of the occupation.

The 'Conservative' composers; the 'Old':

Arvid Vollsnes	Age at Start of occupation.	Joanne Bolland
Iver Holter (1850-1941)	90 years old.	no record of activity during the occupation. Educated in Norway and Germany
Christian Sinding (1856-1941)	85 years old.	Used by Nazis as propaganda, suffering from deafness and dementia. Educated in Germany
Halfdan Cleve (1879-1951)	61 years old.	Piano tutor in Oslo Conservatory; no compositions for a decade. Educated in Norway and Germany.

The 'Younger Old' composers:

Per Reidarson (1879-1954)	61 years old.	Accused of Nazi sympathies, music critic and composer. Education.
Arne Eggen (1881-1955)	59 years old.	Composer and Organist; educated in Norway and
Trygve Torjussen (1885–1977)	55 years old.	Music critic; educated in Norway, Italy and Germany. Investigated for treason.

M.M. Ulfrstad (1890-1968)	50 years old.	Composer; educated in Norway. Investigated for treason.
Sverre Jordan (1889-1972)	51 years old.	Jøssinger; No music performed during the occupation. But no evidence of his life at this time.

The 'Young' composers:

Alf Hurum (1882-1972)	58 years old.	Relocated to Honolulu before the occupation; educated in Germany
Fartein Valen (1887-1952)	53 years old.	Returned to family homestead. educated in Norway and Germany
David Monrad Johansen (1888-1974)	52 years old.	One premiere during the occupation Member of cultural council. Investigated for treason; educated in Norway and Germany.
Pauline Hall (1890-1969)	50 years old.	Composer and music critic; educated in Norway and France.
Ludvig Irgens-Jensen (1894-1969)	46 years old.	Composed for the resistance; No formal music training.
Bjarne Brustad (1895-1978)	45 years old.	Viola soloist with Oslo Philharmonic; Allowed to travel. educated in Norway, Germany and France.
Harald Sæverud (1897-1992)	.43 years old.	Lived in family homestead, A number of premieres; studied in Norway
Eivind Groven (1901-1977)	.39 years old.	Weekly folk music radio show; educated in Norway
Olav Kielland (1901 – 1985)	39 years old.	Conductor of Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra. Member of cultural council. Accused of treason;

		educated in Norway and Germany.
Harald Lie (1902-1942)	38 years old.	Died during the second year of the occupation; little information known otherwise.
Karl Andersen (1903-1970)	37 years old.	Little information known.
C.G. Sparre Olsen (1903 – 1984)	37 years old.	Little information known; educated in Norway and England.
Klaus Egge (1906-1969)	34 years old.	Teacher in a high school; educated in Norway and Germany
Geirr Tveitt (1908- 1981)	32 years old.	Assisted Jewish peers, accused of treason; educated in Norway and Germany.
Conrad Baden (1908-1989)	32 years old.	Little information known; educated in Norway and France.

6.3.1. The ‘Conservative’ Composers.

Considering the chart, the initial grouping of the ‘conservative’ composers can be removed, mainly due to the age of the gentlemen involved. Their time in Norwegian music life was coming to an end due to illness or old age. Holter was 90 years old at the time of the occupation. Sinding was briefly used as a tool by the Nazis to increase their credibility (Nesheim, 2007). They feted him with dinners and he in turn openly praised the Germans, although his increasing deafness and dementia left him isolated from Norwegian society and in reality, he was of no significant use to the party (Vollestad, 2010). Cleve worked as piano tutor in the Conservatory in Oslo and had not composed for a decade. He seemed to have lived an unremarkable life, and there are scant references to him in Norwegian music encyclopaedias, except to say that he composed in a romantic ‘turn of the century style’ (Lange, 1982; Grinde, 1991). Holter commenced his music studies with Johan Svendsen (1840 – 1911) but then relocated to Leipzig and then to Berlin. Sinding furthered his studies

in Leipzig. Finally, Cleve first studied with his organist father which included a strict diet of Johan Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) and then later studied in Berlin. In his study, Lange observes that these three composers were part of the 1870 generation. This period commenced circa 1860 and ended circa 1890 and is termed by Grinde as the Golden Age of Norwegian music (Grinde, 1991:181).

6.4 The Golden Age.

Here there is a brief discourse concerning the importance of the Norwegian Golden Age. Grinde explained that the Golden Age 1860 to 1890 saw a 'rich flowering in literature and music' (Grinde, 1991: 181). He noted that Norwegian composers were beginning to play a bigger part in European music, and Norway's cultural status was being enhanced. Additionally, the Music Society in Oslo had been founded in 1879 by Grieg and Svendsen, laid the basis for the future Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra. On paper it may be perceived that Norwegian music life was on an upward trajectory, but on reflection there could be reasons for revisiting Grinde's suggestion. To this day, there are few Norwegian composers who are recognised from this time, apart from Grieg. Although Grinde refers to composers Svendsen and Rikard Nordraak (1842-66), very little is known of these two outside Norway, as they were indeed overshadowed by Grieg. As evidence of this, there have been a number of studies concerning Grieg and only one about Svendsen; *Johan Svendsen: The Man, the Maestro, the Music*, authored in 1995 by musicologists Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe.

6.4.1 The 'Golden Age' and Europe.

It is unknown as to what extent Norwegian music influenced the European landscape, and it is virtually impossible to read a general music history book and discover that someone has

been influenced by Norwegian music. In fact, in his study, musicologist Bo Wallner, suggests that Scandinavian music has long walked on crutches (Wallner, 1965: 126). He clarifies his position by stating that the Scandinavians rely on each other for support and influence, but also that the greatest influence on Scandinavian music is Sweden. Cuttingly, with reference to Norway he articulates that there are few composers to give inspiration to the new generations coming through (Wallner, 1965). This is why they look towards Sweden (Lang and Broder, 1965). In contrast to this, in his study, Rapoport argues that there are two reasons why Norway and countries like it have been neglected in music history. Firstly, the historical, political and economic reasons for the assigning of periphery status to these countries in musical matters have affected the potential for their composers for becoming known internationally (Rapoport, 1978:14) and the language barrier is another restrictive factor (Rapoport, 1978: 14). He considers that the Scandinavian languages are not well known to Britain and Germany, and this hinders research into the lives and influences of the composers. With regards to the historical, political, and economic reasons, it is fair to say that Norway was influenced by other Scandinavian nations. After it gained independence in 1814 from Denmark, it became important for the nation to build its own identity.

However, this does not mean that Norwegian music has no historical relevance. What may be understood is how the Norwegian musicians themselves looked towards Europe for their development. Svendsen is important to Norwegian musicians however, as he excelled in writing large- scale orchestral works, in contrast to Grieg who generally composed using small scale instrumentation (Horton, 1976). Nordraak is best known as the composer of the national anthem *Ja, Vi Elsker Dette Landet* translated as [Yes, We Love This Land]. He might have achieved more, but his life was cut short through illness, and he died of tuberculosis. Even so he was able to produce forty compositions most of which were published posthumously (Grinde, 1971). It could be argued that there was not only one golden age of Norwegian music because as, with most things, it was cyclical, and that these special times were created by individuals. At this particular point Grieg, with the encouragement of Ole Bull, was the instigator (Grinde, 1971). In later years the person who

impelled Norwegian music forward would be Pauline Hall. She would do this by instigating membership of the *Ny Musikk*, that is New Music Society into the ISCM that is the International Society of Contemporary Music. The *Ny Musikk* society was founded in Norway by Hall in 1938, to support the development of experimental music (Kvalbein, 2013). The ISCM is a worldwide network and, it supports the development of contemporary music.

6.5. Grieg and Svendsen.

Grieg and Svendsen were paramount to the development of Norwegian music. In modern day when asked to name a Norwegian composer, people will usually answer Grieg. These two composers were the start of the influx of composers who studied music in Germany, and they were encouraged to do this by Ole Bull (1810 – 1880) (Grinde, 2012). Grieg is the father of Norwegian music and Bull's encouragement of him led to Bull being considered the grandfather of Norwegian music. Bull had considered Oslo to be too restrictive for his musical development, and that it was necessary to be in the centre of European music (Grinde, 2012: 138). The year 1829 was the start of a significant period of travel for Bull which included Copenhagen, Denmark; Kassel, Germany; Paris, France; Switzerland; Italy; England; Russia; Sweden and finally America (Grinde, 2012). Therefore, the connection with Germany commenced before the Golden Age of Norwegian music, but the Nazis attempted to exploit it further throughout the occupation, including unsuccessfully using the Grieg Jubilee as a cultural twinning event. The concert they organised in the hall for the anniversary of Grieg was poorly attended, whereas thousands attended a concert in the local park in the rain (Nesheim, 2007). But by using Cleve, Holter and Sinding the Nazis may have thought they would have a significantly better chance of creating a more successful cultural bridge. This may have been because there were composers of the older generation, they would have composed in a style more suited to Nazi diktat and had been educated in Germany. This is also shown by Sinding's opinion that he felt he had a greater affinity with

Germany than with Norway and France, countries which he felt had done little for him (Vollestad, 2005). It is unclear why Sinding included France here, as it may be assumed that since the occupation of France and Norway had occurred, he was expressing general unconcern for how the Nazis were behaving. However, on a personal level Sinding found that he was abandoned by his friends and colleagues as a consequence of his developing relationship and opinions of the occupying Nazis (Vollestad, 2005). This in turn left him more isolated and vulnerable to abuse.

The idea of 'degenerate' music would not have appealed to the traditional composer who had returned to the ways of the 'Volk'. Degenerate music will be discussed later in Chapter 7. What the Nazis appreciated in the Norwegians was the expression of Nordic character, Nordic Landscape, and a Nordic world view (Dennis, 2012: 245). In Sinding they found all this: a Nordic world view that accepted and promoted Germany as the fatherland, and in compositions such as *Rustle of Spring* Op.32 no 3., a musical pictorial depiction of the landscape (Vollestad, 2005).

6.6 The Younger Conservative Composers.

The second list is of the younger age composers who were also conservative in style. It is at this point that the correlation between Vollsnes' list and Nesheim's list of those who were Nazi sympathisers gains momentum. In his study, Hurum accused Per Reidarson of being a Nazi, and as previously noted went as far as to call him 'something that crawls on the underbelly of insects' (Hurum, 1946: 60). Reidarson was a music critic, working for the newspapers *Tidens Tegn* and *Arbeiderbladet* and during the occupation he wrote for the Norwegian pro-Nazi newspaper *Fritt Folk* (Dahl, 2010). *Tidens Tegn* was founded in 1910 (Henrikson, 2010). It had a difficult history as it published several articles by Quisling and, in the 1930s, fascist pieces. The owner did not want to encourage the Nazi occupation and the newspaper ceased printing in 1941. Other news outlets at the time include, *Arbeiderbladet*

was founded in 1884 and was the newspaper for the labour party (Bjornsen, 1986). In 1940 this newspaper ceased to print and *Fritt Folk* moved into its premises. *Fritt Folk* was the newspaper for the *Nasjonal Samling* party (Dahl, 2010). It was first published in 1936 and then finally in 1945 (Kildal, 1946). During the occupation Norwegian businessmen were forced to advertise in it to invest in the economy. As expected, its main investment came from Nazi Germany.

Nesheim observes that at the end of the war Reidarsson was one of the composers who was removed from the *Norsk Komponistforening* due to his views (Nesheim, 2007). The *Norsk Komponistforening* was created in 1917 to promote good relations between composers and performers. It is unknown who his compositional tutors were and indeed where he studied (Grinde, 1991). It leads me to suggest that he has been 'removed' from Norwegian music history, as he does not feature in either Grinde's or Lange's studies and he has only a brief mention in Nesheim's book.

Arne Eggen was a composer and organist. It is not documented why he was investigated for treason after the war. Due to this, more discourse about his education is referenced. His first tutor was Catherinus Elling (1858-1942) and he later studied in Leipzig. Catharinus Elling, along with L. M. Lindeman (1812-1987), gained recognition as a collector of Norwegian folk music and Lange states that this is 'the greatest debt Norwegian music owes' (Lange, 1971: 44). There can be no doubt about the importance of Elling to Norwegian music, but he was removed from the conservative list by myself due to his age at the start of the occupation, 82 years old and also because he died relatively early on in the occupation. He had also completed collecting folk tunes by this point. He studied in Leipzig and on the advice of Grieg obtained a grant to study in Berlin (Grinde, 1991). Brief reference should be made to the undocumented fate of Elling during the occupation. Neither Hurum, nor any of the other authors, refer to the fate of Elling; but it may be that after uncomfortably witnessing the Sinding situation, he felt best to keep a low profile.

Marius Moaritz Ulfstad was educated only in Kristiania, which was the original name for Oslo, but again has been largely written out of music history. Eggen and Ulfstad were both

investigated for treason after the occupation. It is unknown what the result of the investigation was with regards to Eggen, but Ulfrstad was banned from Norwegian music life for a decade. Similarly, Haldor Bonner and Oskar Gustavson should be briefly mentioned. Although in his study, Nesheim lists these two composers' information, he is otherwise non-existent. Sources I accessed to locate data include Nesheim's Norwegian music history study and *Den Store Leksikon* the on-line Norwegian Encyclopaedia. Only scant information can only be located about Gustavson, and this is from his daughter's biography, the contralto Eva (1917-2009) in *Den Store Leksikon*. He was said to have been conductor of both the National Theatre and Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra, the dates of which are unknown and both of which, it would seem, have had him erased from their history.

Another aspect which may be relevant to the research is that during the occupation Eva was able to secure a government stipend, and in the early stages of WWII began to study in neutral Sweden. Johan Kvandal (1919-99), the son of Monrad Johansen, was also able to secure a stipend and study in Vienna during the occupation. The relevance of this is that Kvandal was a member of the Nazi party and was a more fervent Nazi sympathiser than his father, who had been a member of various cultural councils. Therefore, the children of two composers who were accused of treason were both able to study abroad on government money, at a time when Norway was occupied. Importantly, the offspring had successful careers after the occupation whereas the parents did not. As the Norwegian government was in exile in Great Britain, it is unclear who was arranging the stipends, and from which purse the money was coming. Additionally, the question arises as to whether there were loopholes in the system to enable some to get more funding than others.

Trygve Torjussen (1885-1977) was educated in Norway, Italy and Germany. Nesheim states that Torjussen was in 1945 investigated for treason. This was based on the flimsy notion that he replaced Pauline Hall as music critic for *Aftenposten* (Nesheim, 2007). Beyond this, no other information is known about him. He is yet another character written out of Norwegian music history without a full explanation of why.

In addition to this, 'heroic' figures have been omitted from the historical performing canon. This is unusual as Ostling considers that part of the response to the war is the identifying of heroes (Ostling, 2008). This is the fate of Sverre Jordan. Both Lange and Grinde are complimentary about him when he is mentioned but have very little to say. During the first part of his career, he was a radical, but soon settled into a romantic, lyrical style which demonstrated elements of Norwegian folk music (Lange, 1971: 77). His classification would be deemed to be *Jøssinger*, but this is only due to the scant information available about him during the occupation. This might be due to the fact that he did not publish any compositions throughout the war period. In his study of Irgens-Jensen, Vollsnes suggests that some composers attempted to avoid publishing work by saying either compositions were not completed or that they were being rewritten (Vollsnes, 2012). Little is known about Jordan's main career path during the occupation.

6.7 The Young Composers.

This leads us to what Vollsnes terms as the 'young'. Considering that he refers to those composers who would be more open to modern techniques, it would follow that they would struggle to find themselves heard at a time when Nazis were in control; the main reason for this being that the Nazis favoured more traditional compositional techniques. The first composer to be considered is David Monrad Johansen.

Monrad Johansen actively sought out the tutor Hermann Grabner in Germany. Grabner was an Austrian composer who became a tutor from 1938-1946 at Berlin *Musikhochschule*. He is also the author of a music theory and harmony workbook which is still used in Germany to this day. Monrad Johansen did so because he wanted to enhance his compositional style, and Geirr Tveitt had recommended Grabner as the tutor to assist him in doing this (Hansen, 2012). The author of Valen's biography, Tjøme, places the blame

for the anti-Semitic thoughts of Monrad Johansen and Geirr Tveitt at the feet of Grabner (Tjøme, 2012). With regards to Monrad Johansen she states:

I ettertid er det mye som taler for at den Norske Komponisten kan ha blitt inspirert i mer enn komposisjonsteknikk.

Later there is much to suggest that the Norwegian composer may have been inspired in more than composing technique.

(Tjøme, 2012: 318, Royden, 2015)

Tjøme also notes that Grabner brought these opinions into the classroom and upset Jewish students such as Herman Berlinski (Tjøme, 2012). In contrast to this notion, it is documented that both Monrad Johansen and Tveitt attempted to assist their Jewish friends Robert Levin and Ernst Glaser in keeping their positions in the orchestras and therefore they had exhibited some sympathy with the Jews (Levin, 1983). Grabner is often represented by musicologists as being responsible for promoting the anti-Jewish feeling among Norwegian musicians. This should not be accepted as fact and further investigation is warranted.

Geirr Tveitt was also active during this time. It was easy to label Tveitt as anti-Semitic as he had been the most vocal against the Jews. Whilst studying in Germany, he had become bankrupt, and this meant that he had to cease his music studies. He applied to each of the different banks in Germany for funding via loans and he was rejected by all of them: he then became anti-Jewish and was vocal about it to anyone who would listen at any time. The problem was that the banks were owned by Jews, and he had taken a personal affront. But, as previously mentioned, during the initial stages of the occupation, he successfully assisted Glaser, who was Jewish in keeping his role as lead violinist of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra. Despite this, at the end of the war, Tveitt was accused of being a Nazi sympathiser due to his consultancy role on the Nazi-led Cultural Council (Nesheim, 2007).

In 2008, Norwegian journalist Terje Emberland published an article in *Aftenposten* stating that Tveitt had been stigmatised: he defended him, citing a number of reasons why Tveitt was innocent of treason. Firstly, he wrote, Tveitt did not make any financial gain during the war and was not taken to trial afterwards. Secondly, he also assisted the resistance operation by hiding their members in his home in Hardanger. Thirdly he fought to keep Russian and Jewish music in the Norwegian performing canon (Emberland, online, 2008). Tveitt's one downfall was becoming a member of the *Kultuting/Cultural council*. It should be noted that his reasoning for this, as with Monrad Johansen, was that he wanted to keep Norwegian music life, alive. A letter located in Grabner's archive written by him to Dr. Werner Schultzer in 1955 also used this same reason for his joining the party. Grabner states that he himself was not comfortable with it but, it was for the benefit of the music.

Eric Solem (1877 – 1949) was a member of the resistance and a barrister who also played a key role in the treason trials at the end of the occupation in Norway. In 1947, he maintained that Tveitt was an innocent man, and that enough was enough. But in an updated version of Emberland's article in 2011, Tveitt is still stigmatised. Tjøme implies that Grabner is responsible for Tveitt's anti-Semitism, but, according to Solem and Emberland this attitude was non-existent. Therefore, the consideration is that Tjøme apportions blame where there is none to be found.

In contrast to this, Fartein Valen returned to his family homestead during the occupation, where he was able to live in a comfortable manner thanks to a government stipend award in 1935 (Tjøme, 2012). He had originally studied in Germany under Max Bruch and travelled to both Rome and Paris before returning to Norway, following harsh criticism of his compositions (Grinde, 1991). However, he in turn was critical of the teaching in Berlin, stating that he thought he had come to a temple of art, but it was only a seminary for musicians (Rapoport, 1978: 136). His main objection was that music theory was only taught by considering traditional forms of music. He continued to compose during the occupation, although his music would not have been approved by the Nazis, given the atonal serialism style he began to develop.

In the same vein, in 1940, Harald Sæverud also returned to his family farm on the outskirts of Bergen. However, it should be noted that he studied at the Bergen school of music and did not travel into Europe for studies or otherwise. He is often quoted as saying that he fought the Nazis with his music (VerdensGang, 1990) and that his wartime compositions were the results of seeing the Nazis training in the fjord near his home. His compositional output was significant at this time, and he had a strong relationship with the Bergen Philharmonic, where his works were premiered between 1940 and 1945.

Alf Hurum is included in the Vollsnes' list. Only a brief reference will be made here to him, as long before the occupation had begun, he had moved to Honolulu with his wife. Both Lange and Grinde agreed that had he remained in Norway, he could have made an impact on Norwegian music, but it was not to be. He is included here because he studied in Berlin under the composer Max Bruch. His body of work is representative of impressionism but he himself commented that 'this style did not make a great mark on him' (Lange, 1982: 51).

As previously mentioned, music critic and journalist Pauline Hall had played an integral part in the development of Norwegian music. In her early years she studied with Johan Backer Lunde (1874-1958) and Catharinus Elling, exponents of folk music and folk music collection (Grinde, 1991). After this, she studied in Paris. She then became a music critic for *Dagbladet* up until 1942, championing new music (Lange, 1973). Hall founded the *Ny Musikk* society in 1938 which was incorporated into the International Society of Contemporary Musicians (ISCM) and remained head of this council until 1961. She also embraced the avant-garde of the French music scene and was highly critical of those who composed with a forced Nationalistic sound, 'reacting against the traditions of Norwegian music' (Lange, 1982: 88). It is not documented in primary studies because she left her position in 1942, but it can only be suspected that, since being an advocate for contemporary music, she came under pressure from the Nazis to renounce it.

There is also a question mark over the behaviour of Bjarne Brustad. Brustad was viola soloist with the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra from 1928 – 43 (Grinde, 1991). In the

early years of his studies he travelled to Paris, Munich and Berlin to gain inspiration from musicians and composers. Uppermost in his thoughts was that he wanted to be both Norwegian and European in his compositions but wanting to 'demonstrate both nationalistic and modernist elements' (Lange, 1983: 69) and was influenced by Darius Milhaud (1892-1974) and Arthur Honegger (1892-1955) (Lange, 1983). World War II was a quiet time for him compositionally, but in 1943 he travelled to Budapest and met with Béla Bartók (1881-1945) (Grinde, 1991). This leads to the question as to whether Brustad had special permission to travel, and how did the Nazis decide who could travel and who could not? There are many unanswered questions. Eva Gustavson and Johan Kvandal were also permitted to travel, both their fathers were accused of treason at the end of the war. This leads to the suggestion that Brustad possibly had a greater involvement with the ruling party than is documented.

The composers Harald Lie, Karl Andersen, Conrad Baden and Sparre Olsen, have not been completely ignored, but have very little written about them. Lie had a very short life and died within two years of the occupation. A newspaper clipping from 1941, mentions a performance of Andersons, Trio. Egge states that it is a 'strong musical work and of a consistent form (Egge, Aftenposten, 1941). This composition was also performed at Norwegian music week in September 1945. After this Anderson seems to fade into the background. Baden studied with Brustad and then in Paris with Honegger and Rivier (1896-1987). He became a composer of church music with a style that reverted to Palestrina. Olsen was a nationalist composer who adapted Norwegian melodies for his music. He studied in Berlin and London. Also considered a nationalist was Eivind Groven (Grinde, 1991), and an extreme one at that. He had decided early in his career that music should be based on Norwegian idioms. He was born in Telemark into a folk music tradition and refused to leave and study abroad. In 1931, he was given a half hour programme every week on the *Norsk Rikskringkasting* (NRK), which is the government owned television and radio company. He resigned in 1940 after a chance encounter with Joseph Goebbels in the radio station (Nesheim, 2007).

The final two composers on Vollsnes' list are Kielland and Irgens-Jensen. Kielland may have been a victim of circumstance. He trained in Leipzig and had been awarded a position at the outbreak of war with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra but was unable to travel to take up the position (Nesheim, 2007). Instead, he was the choice of the Nazis to conduct the Oslo Philharmonic, due to his sympathies with a traditional style of composition (Grinde, 1991). He was also a member of the *Kulturting*, which was the Nazi-led cultural council. It was because of this that he was accused of treason and banned from taking part in any other committees. He was acquitted of treason, but still faced accusations of Nazism as late as 1962 (Nesheim, 2007). However, for Irgens-Jensen, the war was different. He had had no formal music training and therefore had never visited Germany for tutelage. Vollsnes states that he often insisted that compositions were not ready or were being rewritten to stop the Nazis from gaining work by him. He also released music underground for the resistance, and a symphony that was completed in 1942 won first prize in the Norwegian Composers League 25th anniversary competition in 1943 (Vollsnes, 2014).

There are a number of significant composers who are not on this list, for instance Signe Lund (1868-1950). She was a female composer, who studied in Berlin and Paris. After taking up residence in the United States of America she received the order of St. Olav for promoting good relations between the two countries. She visited Germany and the degenerate art exhibition and felt 'overcome by it' (Lund, 2012). She fervently supported Hitler and at the end of the occupation was found guilty of treason and sentenced to time in a hard labour camp in Northern Norway. Her archives are being held at the National Library of Oslo but, possibly due to her Nazi sympathies, they have been sealed by her family. However, her two-volume autobiography was published posthumously in 2012. After many years of being excluded from the Norwegian music world her rehabilitation began in 2010 with the Lund – *dagene* [Lund days] festival in Farsund, Southern Norway. In private conversation in 2011 with myself, the organiser of the festival said that she thought that the music of Signe Lund should be remembered in Norway. As an aside, whilst attending the

second such conference I noted, how the Norwegians did not refer to Lund's stance during the war, but merely focussed on her music in earlier years.

6.8 A Brief Discussion of Behaviour.

The following is a list constructed with regards to the attitude of those involved in Norwegian music life and is a summation of what has been discussed above. It represents the stance of musicologist Elef Nesheim and, since he reinforces a significant amount of information from Hurum, it may be bold to suggest it was also the viewpoint of the latter.

<i>Jossinger</i> -Good Norwegian	Striped – Neither	Nasjonal Samling- Nazi Sympathiser
Holter	Brustad?	Sinding
Cleve		Reidarson
Jordan		Eggen
Valen		Ulfrstad
Saeverud		Torjussen
Irgens-Jensen		Bonner
Hall		Gustavson
Groven		Kvandal
Lie		Monrad Johansen
Olsen		Tveitt
Baden		Kielland
Egge		

As can be seen, very few can be considered *striped*. Also, the other two categories are problematic. In the first instance they are constructed from facts gathered at a time when people were still traumatised and hypersensitive. It may be suspected that there was also a significant amount of hearsay involved. There are those who attempted to defend themselves, such as Monrad Johansen, who said he behaved as he did because he wanted to protect Norwegian music life. If this is true, surely, he would be relocated from the *N.S.* category to at the very least *striped*. Sæverud suggested many times after the occupation that he fought the Nazis with his music. Yet he was still able to have his music premiered

during the war, and it would seem quite regularly. In addition to this, he only labelled his compositions when the war had ended.

The next chapter shows a chart of all the compositions that were premiered during the occupation. This will demonstrate which composer had the highest level of new works performed and which orchestra was part of this. In turn, this may provide a clearer picture of involvement with the Nazis. Analysis of scores will demonstrate whether composers altered compositional style to fit within Nazi criteria, as it is assumed this would make them more likely to be performed.

6.9. Conclusion.

There is still a significant amount of sensitivity to this topic. Anecdotally, a Norwegian friend related to me how their neighbour stood in the town square and apologised for supporting the Nazis, but his wife did not. Another anecdote was, that my friend was tutoring in a music lesson to a town boy in 1999. He wanted to learn a specific piece of music. When he was told what the music signified, he was quite pleased and proud to inform my friend that his grandfather had fought with the Nazis against the Russians. My friend, the music teacher was significantly upset by this, and persuaded the boy to learn another composition. With a high level of sensitivity enduring after this length of time, it would be difficult for the Norwegians to broach this topic without bringing emotion and bias. The Norwegians have found this period of history generally difficult. The divisive elements of society and not knowing who to trust made life unbearable. The original plan had been to remain neutral as they had in World War I, so it was with great surprise that they found themselves occupied. Due to the harrowing nature of the effects of the war, they also attempted to look for heroes amongst themselves. A newspaper article published in 2017 in *Aftenposten* told the story of two gentlemen who were aiding Jews to reach the Swedish border. After assisting a significant number to escapees, on what seemed to be whim, they killed two Jews, robbing

them of money and jewellery, leaving their bodies in a river. Both were of course captured and when presented at court, no-one was quite sure what to do with them. Yes, they had committed murder, but they had also helped large numbers of Jews to escape. The only decision the court could arrive at was to give them a one-month prison sentence. This demonstrates the conflicting and complex emotion then and now.

My investigations in the Nazi archives in Berlin brought significant information that assisted in gleaning what the Nazi plans for Norway were. In the main, it was clear that they were investing a large amount of money in Norwegian culture. As has been observed a significant number of Norwegian composers had studied in Germany, which meant they would have already had a level of empathy for the 'mistakes of the past'. From a distance they would have also observed the Weimar republic and the conditions that people were living under. Added to this were the promises that were made to them and how the 'new' Germany was blossoming under Adolf Hitler. In reality it would have been easy to be swept along, as Sinding had been, and this would have been especially true about anyone who was being courted by the Nazis.

7. Analysis of Compositional Chart and Relevant Compositions.

7.1 Introduction.

This chapter contains a compositional chart representing music that was written and premiered during the occupation. In some cases, there have been problems locating the premiere dates but in investigating the composers and their opus numbers it became apparent they were composed at this time. The construction of the composition chart in this chapter will demonstrate the level of investment by the Nazis in musical life. It contains details of the names of composers, dates written, titles and where premiered. Initial indications, led to the consideration that there are a significant number of premieres, especially in Bergen. What follows is an analysis of selected compositions, which will ascertain if music was being created to fulfil Nazi criteria, thus enabling them to be performed. The Nazis invested financially in Norwegian music life and therefore the sheer volume of compositions as the occupation progresses will also support this notion of financial investment. However, there can be no suggestion about the level of involvement with the Nazis that each composer had, as there is no evidence to support this. There are composers whose relationship with the Nazis is unclear and potentially not transparent. For example, the composer Harald Sæverud was guest conductor of his own compositions in Bergen, and in this period, he seemed to be quite prolific. However, in peacetime interviews he claimed that: 'I felt that my work had to become a personal hand to hand fight against Germany' (Grinde, 322). It is unclear how his works would do this or at the very least how he had achieved this. Yet, he was convinced of this and reiterated the claim in many interviews for the rest of his life.

In his study, Nesheim suggested that concert programmes would often consist of works by Bach, Beethoven and Grieg, to appeal to the Norwegian audience (Nesheim, 2007). Significantly, in the last decade a Norwegian researcher, name unknown had been

capturing information of concert programmes in all the Nordic countries from the 1800s onwards. It is not known why this date was chosen. Sadly, they passed away before the database was completed, and it was donated to a library in Stavanger where they have had little success in opening it. This is the archive mentioned earlier that the national library of Oslo felt should have been donated to them since they would have been able to make it accessible. Using the resources in the public library in Oslo, it has been possible to reconstruct the data. Understanding what the Nazis were permitting to be performed, will exhibit clearly what was acceptable. Therefore, there can be an analysis of works composed at this time to see any recurring patterns.

7.2 The Oslo Philharmonic and the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra.

In his study musicologist Lange stated that, 'Norway is still so young as a free, independent nation. We are still in a period of self-assertion, and what happened during and after World War II has further emphasised this trend in Norwegian music' (Lange, 1982: 57). What he refers to is the nationalist romantic trend, whereby composers looked to their roots for their compositions and therefore folk music. To an extent this had developed further with Grieg. Controversially, this contrasts with what Grinde opined, namely that during World War II nothing happened in music in Norway. It may be fair to say that under Nazi occupation, Norwegian music life actually flourished, and this is clearly demonstrated in the day-to-day running of the two major orchestra, the Oslo, and Bergen Philharmonics. When Hitler accessed power in 1933, music was made 'part of the totalitarian Nazi system' (Freyman, 1942:188); this meant that for the Norwegians music life flourished, because it was encouraged and financed by the Nazis. This meant that 'grants were awarded, and cultural organisations were state- subsidised' (Freyman, 1942: 189). Throughout the occupation there were two main orchestras active in Norway, the Oslo Philharmonic, and the Bergen Philharmonic, and each of them had an interesting history. The Nazis invested financially in

the Oslo Philharmonic and during the occupation, for the first time, it became a body that employed its musicians full-time. However, this meant that they had to continue to play for NRK the state radio station even though the Nazis had confiscated people's radio sets (Fidjestol, 2019).

The Oslo Philharmonic was founded in 1879 by the composers Grieg and Svendsen (Grinde, 1991), who had decided that the capital needed an orchestra of its own. The original title was *Christiania Musikerforening/Christiania Music Association* (Grinde, 1991). In the time leading up to the beginning of the war there were two conductors, Odd Gruner Hegge and Olav Kielland, both of whom were also composers. When the Nazi occupation took place, Kielland was given a full-time position as the leader of the orchestra. It seemed that in the two conductors there was a difference in musical outlook; Kielland favoured more traditional compositions whereas Gruner Hegge was a radical modernist. With reference to Vollsnes' list in the previous chapter, Kielland is placed in the 'young' category, which is age-related rather than in regard to his compositional style. It is not known why Vollsnes has omitted Gruner Hegge from the list of composers, even though it is claimed by musicologists that he and Irgens Jensen, who the study concerns, were great childhood friends. Kielland was a member of the Nazi-led *Kulturting* [culture council] which was discussed in Chapter 4. There are a number of areas of research that develop from this scenario. In the first instance, whether Kielland was a Nazi sympathiser. This is something that he had to disprove until the 1960s (Grinde, 2012), when the Prosecutor who tried him was compelled to release a statement saying that he had been found to be innocent and that further speculation should cease. Kielland himself, found that his music after the war had been boycotted as he stated in an interview with Reidar Storaas in the newspaper *Bergens Tidende* in 1956.

When considering other orchestras in occupied nations, there seems to be a correlation between the success of the orchestra and the political ideologies of its conductor. This is an area that will lend itself to further investigation in Chapter 8. It should be noted that during the occupation, Kielland had a significant amount of

travelling freedom; for example, there are newspaper cuttings which review concerts from Sweden. In fact, his ability to travel freely began early in the occupation, where it is noted from a newspaper clipping from *Aftenposten* dated 2/9/40, that Kielland states in December of that year he will travel to Stockholm to conduct his prize-winning suite.

The treatment of other orchestra personnel is also relevant. The violinist Ernst Glaser was permitted to remain in his role as leader of the Orchestra until 1943, even though he was a Jew (Levin, 1983). As has been well documented, Nazi policy had been to investigate the personnel of orchestras for their religious persuasion or ethnicity and to remove the Jews (Meyer, 1991). As previously noted, the resulting lack of musicians would often force the closure of organisations due to lack of personnel. However, In Norway, the Nazis did not appear to behave in this manner: Glaser was one of a number who were allowed to remain in their position. However, they lived in fear of persecution, and in accordance with Nazi rules, had restrictions placed on where they could perform (Levin, 1983). Why the Nazis should treat the Norwegian Jews who were involved in orchestras and Norwegian musical life differently, is an intriguing question. Furthermore, a comparison will be made in this chapter between the Nazi attitude to musicians in Germany and Austria with regard to Norway. It could be said, that if the Nazis saw that one's country had a significant importance to their plan there was a certain level of flexibility that would be allowed. There would be no doubt that the Nazis considered Norway to be part of their bigger plan, including the creation of the new Aryan race. Chapter 8 considers the decimation of music life in other occupied nations. From this, it could be claimed that Norway's distance from the epicentre in Berlin contributed to the diktats becoming more fluid. Also, that as the war progressed, the Nazi diktat became less stringent.

Both the Oslo and Bergen Philharmonic Orchestras have had anniversary books written about them. The Bergen Philharmonic study, titled *Spill Orkester, Spill, [Play Orchestra, play]* was authored by Lorentz Reitan in 1990 to celebrate the 225th anniversary of the orchestra. The difference between the two is that the Oslo study has addressed the

occupation and the Bergen book has not: the latter merely refers to a 'dark period' in their history (Reitan & Storaas, 1990: 53), which Harald Heide (1876-1956), the director of the Bergen Philharmonic, guided them through. But the study fails to recognise the importance of the orchestra during the occupation. However, it was written when the Norwegians were less open to investigating this period. Nowadays they are still not completely comfortable with the issue, but there has been interest shown into research. In 1940, there was an infamous altercation in the concert hall during a Bergen Philharmonic event: Glaser had been due to play Ole Bull's violin, but before the concert could begin, there were protests. The protest were concerning a Jew performing using Bull's violin. As the concert commenced, a fight broke out. This demonstrates how determined the Norwegians were not to be ruled by anybody but themselves. More protests were carried out in 1943 when the Nazis attempted to use the orchestra for the Grieg centenary. The orchestra gave five concerts to celebrate this event. The Nazi event was celebrated in the concert hall, with a very poor attendance. The unofficial concert was held in the park, in the rain and was attended by thousands (Nesheim, 2007).

7.3 The Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra Fundraises.

Like the Berlin Philharmonic, the Bergen Philharmonic was the only orchestra in an occupied country permitted to fundraise. The Berlin Philharmonic raised money for soldiers and hospital supplies (Aster, 2010). The Bergen Philharmonic were permitted to perform to raise money for the victims of Laksevåg: this information is gleaned from the Norwegian newspaper *Bergens Tidende*. Laksevåg was a village near Bergen which was targeted by the Allies because a German submarine base was located there. Three attempts were made by the Allies to bomb the U-boat station there, which had become more strategically important since the Nazis withdrew from France and relocated their flotilla there. The price paid for this was a significant number of civilian deaths and barely any damage to the

bunker. However, the Nazis it appears, had been strategic in the building of the station. It was built in a civilian area to protect it from raids. Such raids killed one hundred and ninety-three, injured one hundred and eighty, and seven hundred people were made homeless. In the school that was hit two teachers died along with sixty-one children and sixteen men. This would of course, be a great source of propaganda for the Nazis. The horror of the school being bombed meant that the Nazis had to create a defence: they claimed that they had asked the Nazi led government for the school to be converted into a training base for sailors, a request that had been denied. However, it should be further noted that the government they had made the request to, was a Nazi government, so it seems unlikely that it would be rejected.

7.4 Jazz in Norway and the Nazis.

A significant area of Norwegian music life which is under-researched is jazz. The occupation seemed disastrous for jazz musicians as they had been about to enter a jazz Golden Age (Grinde, 1991). The term 'Golden Age' is a phrase that Grinde often uses to demonstrate the importance of events he thinks are significant. However, it may appear he overuses it because Norwegian music is always approaching a 'Golden Age' instead of acknowledging that all events in Norwegian music life are important in their own right.

The significance of the emerging jazz movement in Europe during the period requires a particular consideration of jazz and its importance to the pre-war period and its treatment under the occupation. In 2019, music lecturer Harald Herresthal claims in an article that in the pre-war period 'jazz was also responsible for the decline in ticket sales for the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra' (Ballade, 2019). In developing an understanding of how jazz gained a strong foothold in Norway, and if this was the same as in other countries, it will enable the research to explore how important the role of jazz was to the Norwegians and

whether any conclusions can be drawn regarding the similarities or differences in the treatment of the Norwegians by the Nazis.

In this period of time, however, jazz was in its fledgling stage in Norway. It was heard on the cruise ships between Oslo and America. There was sufficient interest in it that both Louis Armstrong (1901-1971) and Jimmy Lunceford (1902-1947) made appearances in Oslo after the war in 1949. Grinde states that in the 1930s a number of jazz bands were formed and successfully toured Norway until the start of the occupation (Grinde, 1991).

Thus, until the occupation, jazz and swing had been gaining in popularity then after the initial lull due to the aftereffects of Nazi takeover, the autumn of 1940 saw a rise in activity once more. The number of swing clubs rose and in 1941 numbered twenty-five in Oslo alone (Stendahl, 2009). People wanted to read about this kind of music, which led to the publication of new magazines *Musikknytt* and *Rytme*. But the end of 1941 brought new problems: text was censored and societies had to be formally registered to be allowed to continue to exist. There was, though, a simple solution to this: suddenly a greater number of jazz clubs masquerading as sewing clubs were registered with the authorities (Nesheim, 2007). Debates about jazz appeared in newspapers such as *Aftenposten*, and other newspapers had to cancel the readers' letters sections to stop similar discussions (Stendahl, 2009).

In 1942, the Nazis confiscated all radios from non-members of the *Nasjonal Samling* [Nazi Sympathisers]. Undeterred by this, jazz musicians continued to give live performances in clubs. With interest in swing waning, jazz bands were becoming greater in number. At this point the Nazis then began to tighten their grip on Norwegian life in general, which meant that it became dangerous to be a jazz musician, Jew, Bolshevik or Plutocrat. This led to the rise in house concerts and gradually jazz moved underground. American vinyl records with jazz recordings were filtered through to the Norwegians via the illegal market.⁷

⁷ Information taken from jazzarchive.no, accessed 14 July 2018.

The number of jazz musicians increased steadily, and their demographic was that they were young, barely out of their teens and had feelings of apathy towards the war. Musicians of this time included guitarist Robert Normann (1916-98), trumpeter Rowland Greenberg (1920-94), saxophonist Arvid Gram Paulsen (1922-63) and pianist Lulle Kristoffersen (dates unknown). In his study, Grinde claims (as he did with Western art music) that due to the occupation, jazz went underground and nothing much occurred beyond that (Grinde, 1991). In his study, Lange refers only to the jazz of the 1960s. These attitudes can once again be disputed. The fact is that the Nazis allowed jazz to survive in the public arena for a significant amount of time. One of the most open jazz clubs was the Lowenbrau. This was located next door to the Nazi soldiers' offices. The query should then be reiterated, as to whether the further away from Berlin the invading army travelled the more the diktat relaxed. Another supposition is that it is possible that the Nazis were playing an underhand game of propaganda. It is well documented that swing and jazz were forbidden, it is known that the Nazis were not averse to using something that was banned to give their cause momentum, Charlie and his Orchestra are an example: Charlie and his Orchestra was a Joseph Goebbels initiative. Understanding that Swing was popular in Allied nations, Goebbels placed propaganda messages in popular songs translated texts such as *Bye Bye Blackbird*. The songs would be played on long wave radio, and it was hoped they would generate unrest by saying how poorly England was faring in the war and how much better the German army was doing. Vinyl records were also distributed amongst prisoners of war, with the same messages.

This would also explain why they brought the jazz orchestra of Heinz Wehner (1908-45) to Norway from Germany to perform in 1944. The information for this paragraph was gleaned from discogs.com. At this point it is generally accepted that Germany was losing the war. It may be that, to gain favour with the Norwegians, they were making a last-ditch attempt to create an amicable unification between the two countries. However, jazz orchestra leader Wehner had often been condemned in SS reports for the music that he played (Kater, 1995), and although the Nazis acknowledged that light entertainment music

was more uplifting than jazz, this was in Wehner's repertoire. After a period of time in Norway, Wehner was sent to Czechoslovakia, and it was here that it was reported that he had died on a battlefield. Again, there seems to be no consistency from the Nazis. If jazz was banned and not to be heard, there is the unanswered question as to why the Nazis would send a jazz band into occupied territories. This is a discourse for further research.

At this point, brief reference will be made to Chat Noir. Chat Noir was a revue club which operated in downtown Oslo. It was founded in 1912 and based on the famous Chat Noir in Paris. It remained open during the occupation but was heavily censored. Even so, members of the resistance were still able to pass messages between themselves using songs and skits. For the first part of the occupation, the club was managed by Ernst Diesen (1913-70) and his wife, singer and actress Kari (1914-87).

7.5 Timeline of Compositions.

The following is not a definitive list of all the compositions that were written during the occupation but merely those which could be considered to be the most significant. They are representative of the different classifications of composers' suggested involvement in the occupation, ranging from Monrad Johansen who was accused of treason (Nesheim, 2007) to Sæverud, who fought the Nazis with his music (Grinde, 1991). It is not suggested that other composers who are not included are less relevant, but that their roles at this time were less visible. In an interview in 2016, Sigurd Sandmo, who was the director of the Bergen composer museums, stated that:

The Germans wanted a national music, and that is where the excitement lies. The Norwegian music scene and the old Norwegian music are treated with enormous respect. The tradition after Grieg swarmed for the Norse, if not pronounced Germanic, and this musical universe shared much with the German tradition.

(Sandmo, 2015).

As can be seen from the chart, where Grieg had struggled with large form works, having only written one piano concerto (Horton, 1976), the composers that came after were more at ease with this: composers like Sæverud and Valen were comfortable with large form works, whereas others like Egge mainly composed using small forms and songs. What is evident is that songs were acceptable to the Nazis, as they often promoted singing as a tool to spread joy (Meyer, 1991). Therefore, songs that were composed at this time were potentially more likely to be premiered. Also, if they were of an 'innocent' nature, and this would make them appealing to the Nazis. The Nazis had rejected material of a salacious nature in other nations and in Norway this subject matter was not a consideration. In addition to this, in the music they deemed acceptable, there was a suggestion that it should express the German 'volk', that is the spirit of the German people (Schoeps, 2004). In aligning themselves with Norwegian traditions and referring to Norwegian music traditions, the Norwegian composers were expressing their 'volk' ideology. However, since the majority of those composers had actively studied in Germany before the war there was an identifiable Germanic influence on Norwegian music which the Nazis could exploit. This notion gives credence to Sandmo's statement that there were shared traits between German and Norwegian music. It can be understood that Norwegian composers and therefore their music became introspective, as this was occurring in Europe at that point in time. As further proof of this, up to the war Groven had a folk music radio show on NRK which was the subject of many complaints as the Oslo community found it to be too provincial. However, as soon as the occupation took hold, the radio show became more popular, possibly as the Norwegians attempted to remain a community (Nesheim, 2007). What can be seen from the chart is that as the occupation progresses, the compositions develop a stronger connection to Norwegian traditions. An example of this is Egge, who in 1944 composed *fantasi i springar, fantasi i halling and gukkoslatten* – [Goat Horn Dance]. These compositions will be examined and analysed further in this chapter.

Year of Composition	Composer	Title	Instrumentation	Date and place of Premiere
1939	Monrad Johansen	<i>Die Dunkle Nacht der Seele</i>	Soprano/Orchestra	1940
1939	Sæverud	<i>Il formaglio rusticana Op 14a no 2</i>	Orchestra	27/05/43 Bergen
1940	Egge	<i>Sveinung-Vrem Op 11</i>	Chorus/Orchestra	12/41 Oslo
1940	Egge	<i>Trio Op 14</i>	Piano, cello, violin	08/02/41 Oslo
1940	Kielland	<i>Suite per Orchestra op.5</i>	Orchestra	1940 Bergen
1940	Sæverud	<i>Barcola d'una notte d'estate Op 14 no 6</i>	Orchestra	27/05/43
1940	Sæverud	<i>Easy pieces</i>		1940
1940	Tveitt	<i>Opera Dragaredokko (fragments)</i>		1940
1939-40	Kielland	<i>Concerto for violin and orchestra Op 7</i>	Violin/Orchestra	06/03/43 Stockholm
1939-40	Valen	<i>Intermezzo for Klaver</i>	Piano	1940
1940-1	Valen	<i>Piano Sonata no 2 Op 38</i>	Piano	1940
1940	Valen	<i>Violin Concerto Op 37</i>	Violin/Orchestra	1940
1941	Egge	<i>Fjell Norig Op 15</i>	Soprano/Orchestra	10/45
1941	Egge	<i>I Hårfagres tanke</i>	Mixed Choir	1941
1941	Egge	<i>Samles skal Norge</i>	Choir	1941
1941	Egge	<i>So leng ei tid</i>	Choir	1941
1941	Egge	<i>Her er landet</i>	Choir	1941
1941	Egge	<i>Norego-Songen (renamed)</i>		1952
1941	Egge	<i>Song of Norway</i>	Choir/Orchestra	1941
1941	Groven	<i>Oh So Sandy</i>	Voice	1941

1941	Irgens-Jensen	<i>Altar</i>	Voice /Strings	Stockholm
1941	Irgens-Jensen	<i>Leaning on Fence</i>	Voice/Small	Stockholm
1941	Irgens-Jensen	<i>Sinfonia</i>	Orchestra	Stockholm 01/10/45
1941	Irgens-Jensen	<i>Rondo Marziale</i>	Orchestra	1945 Oslo
1941	Kielland	<i>5 short pieces for piano Op 10</i>	Piano	
1941	Olsen	<i>Krokann Songs Op 28</i>		Oslo
1941	Olsen	<i>Nidarosdomen Op 29</i>		Oslo
1941	Sæverud	<i>Divertimento Op 13</i>		1941 Bergen
1941	Sæverud	<i>Pastorella Variata for Orchestra Op 5</i>	Orchestra	06/03/41 Bergen
1941	Sæverud	<i>Rondo Amoroso Op 14</i>	Piano	1941 Bergen
1941	Sæverud	<i>Shepherds Tunes, Variations</i>		1941 Bergen
1941	Sæverud	<i>Symphony no 5. Op 16</i>	Orchestra	1941 Bergen
1941	Valen	<i>Zwei Lieder</i>	Soprano/Piano	
1942	Egge	<i>Elske Hugsvede Op 19</i>	Mezzo Soprano/ Strings	Oslo
1941-2	Egge	<i>Symphony no 1. Op 17</i>	Orchestra	04/10/45
1942	Groven	<i>Nesland Church</i>		
1942	Groven	<i>Sign of Cross</i>		
1942	Kielland	<i>Concerto. Op 7</i>	Violin/Orchestra	
1942-3	Olsen	<i>Ver Sanctum</i>		
1942	Sæverud	<i>Easy Pieces</i>	Piano	

1942	Sæverud	<i>Festa Campestrne (Danza Sinfonica)</i>		
1942	Sæverud	<i>Galdreslåttene: danza sinfonica con passacaglia per orkester Op 20</i>	Orchestra	27/05/43
1942	Sæverud	<i>Romanza</i>	Violin/Orchestra	
1942	Sæverud	<i>Silju Slått</i>	Piano	
1942	Sæverud	<i>Tunes and Dances from Siljustol Suite. No 1</i>	Piano	
1943	Egge	<i>Dark Cloud</i>		
1943	Egge	<i>Drallmar i Stjernesno</i>	Soprano/Orchestra	
1943	Egge	<i>Hovden Psalms</i>		
1943	Kielland	<i>Marcia Nostrale. Op 11</i>		
1943	Monrad Johansen	<i>Balladesk Suite. Op 24</i>	Cello/Piano	
1943	Sæverud	<i>Her last cradle song Op 22a</i>	Strings	31/01/46
1943	Sæverud	<i>Kjempeviseslåttene, Siljussisten</i>		
1943	Sæverud	<i>Siljustol</i>		March 1943
1943	Sæverud	<i>Sinfonia Dolorosa</i>		
1943	Sæverud	<i>The Bride's Heirloom Brooch</i>		
1943	Sæverud	<i>The Witch Crafter. Op 20</i>		
1943	Sæverud	<i>Tunes and Dances from Siljustol Suite No 2</i>		
1943-45	Sæverud	<i>Tunes and Dances from Siljustol 5 volumes.</i>		1943-45
1944	Egge	<i>Christmas song</i>	Choir A capella	

1944	Egge	<i>Day will never come</i>	Choir A capella	
1944	Egge	<i>Fantasi i Halling Op 12a</i>	Piano	
1944	Egge	<i>Fantasi i Springar Op 12b</i>	Piano	
1944	Egge	<i>Gukkoslåtten</i>	Piano	
1944	Egge	<i>Love songs. Op 19</i>		
1944	Egge	<i>Piano Concerto No 2 Op 21</i>	Piano/Orchestra	Dec 1946
1944-45	Sæverud	<i>Symphony no 7</i>	Chorus/Orchestra	
1944	Sæverud	<i>Tunes and Dances from Siljustol Suite no 3</i>		
1941-44	Valen	<i>Symphony no 2</i>	Orchestra	1957
1945	Egge	<i>Moutainous Norway(Symphony of thanks)</i>	Orchestra	
1945	Egge	<i>Symphony no 1</i>	Orchestra	
1945	Irgens-Jensen	<i>Symphony in D minor</i>		
1945	Irgens-Jensen	<i>They Burned our homes</i>	Voice-Small Orchestra	
1945	Irgens-Jensen	<i>To the King</i>	Voice/Small Orchestra	
1945	Olsen	<i>Telemark Suite Op 31 no 1</i>		
1945	Olsen	<i>Telemark Suite Op 31 no 2</i>		
1945	Sæverud	<i>Ballad of Revolt/ Kjempeviseslåtten</i>		
1945	Sæverud	<i>Psalm Symphony. Op 27</i>		01/09/45
1944-46	Valen	<i>Symphony no 3.</i>	Orchestra	1951

The list of compositions encompasses all of 1945, this is because the occupation did not end until May 1945 and it is unclear when in this year compositions were written. The table below shows compositions that can be confidently placed within the occupation but are undated. This often concerns the opus number that the composition has. For example, the fact that Klaus Egge's *Sveinung Vreim* Op. 11 is dated in 1941 and his *Love songs* Op.19 1944, would suggest that the woodwind quartet Op 13 and trio Op 14 were composed around 1941/2. *Fanitullen* could therefore have been composed just as the occupation ended or even in the following year.

	Egge	<i>Woodwind Quartet Op 13</i>	Woodwind	
Feb 1941	Egge	<i>Trio Op 14</i>	Piano, Violin, Cello	Oslo
	Egge	<i>Fanitullen Op 24</i>	Orchestra	
	Sæverud	<i>50 small variations</i>		

Although Irgens Jensen is included in the compositional chart, he appears at the beginning and at the end in 1945. The reason for this is that during the occupation he decided that he would have no compositions performed (Volsnes, 2012): this would be his form of resistance. The Nazis requested compositions from him, but he claimed that there

were none in any condition to be performed (Volsnes, 2011). However, at the end of the occupation there were a significant number ready to be premiered. As a further indication of Irgens Jensen's mindset during the occupation, he set to music texts which were used as resistance songs, especially those by Norwegian playwright and poet, Inger Hagerup (1905-1985). The most famous text is *De brandt vare gardar*, [They Burnt Our Homes]. The lyrics are poignant and refer to Nazi-led incidences and retaliations for Allied attacks (Grinde, 1991). The first lines are:

De brandt vare gardar
de drepte vare menn
la vare hjerter hamre det om og om igjen

Translated as:

[They burnt our homes
they killed our men
let our hearts pound it over and over again.] (Royden, 2021)

It can be seen just from the lyrics how inflammatory the time was. As a reminder of what the resistance and the Jøssinger were fighting for, the songs do serve a purpose and put a message across. The only other evidence of Irgens Jensen's activity during the war, and this was not a public display, is that he won a secret Norwegian composers' society competition (Volsnes, 2012).

The chart also begins with two compositions from 1939, one by Monrad Johansen and the other by Sæverud. This demonstrates that both were active in 1939. In comparison with the chart in Chapter 2, what can be seen is the start of the reversal of fortune of the two composers: Monrad Johansen, who in the pre-War period was considered the future of Norwegian music (Grinde, 1991), only appears again in this chart in 1943. It would be expected that a composer who was involved with the Nazis and a member of the cultural council, would have had more premieres at this time. In the same way, Kielland, who is the chief conductor of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra, also has very few premieres, and those

compositions that are premiered are generally done so in Stockholm, Sweden. In contrast to this, Sæverud, whose premieres were few before the occupation, steadily achieves more success.

Furthermore, what becomes apparent is the significant number of compositions which relate to more traditional themes. There is more prevalent use of folk dances, and tunes by Egge and Sæverud. This also includes songs that appear to be patriotic in some way, such as *Norway Song*, *Nesland Church* and *Nidarosdømen*, the cathedral in Trondheim.

7.6 Analysis of Compositions.

The following compositions were selected as compositions that were written, and in some cases, premiered during the occupation. They will demonstrate the extent of Norwegian and Nazi influences. This will assist in ascertaining if more of a Nazi influence made a composition more likely to be performed. A basic analysis has been carried out, to demonstrate the norms that either a Nazi or Norwegian would expect, 'that is what a listener would expect to hear' (Cook, 1987: 70). This means that both 'Germanness' and 'Norwegianness' will be observed in all of the compositions.

7.6.1 Klaus Egge – Fantasi i Halling op. 12a, Gukkoslåttén op. 12 b and Fantasi i Springar-rytme op.12c.

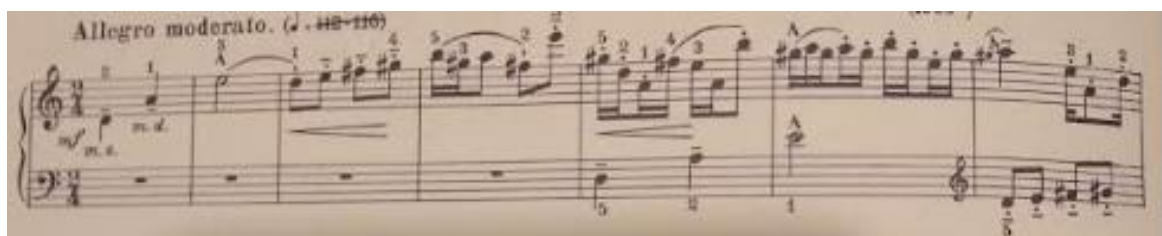
This set of compositions were selected due to the use of Norwegian folk elements. In the first instance the Norwegianness will be considered.

Composed in 1944, this set of three pieces can be performed as a group or separately.

Egge's compositional output can be divided into three clear sections. In this, he uses folk

music as an inspiration. Lange opines that ‘the use of Norwegian texts underlines the will to create Norwegian music, as do the folk-dance models for his piano pieces’ (Lange, 1983: 77) and we see this here. He further notes that these compositions are his most ‘elaborate’. It is unclear why, as they are simplistic in form, harmonic and melodic structure. The titles of two of the compositions are traditional Norwegian dances. A *springar* is a dance with an uneven 3/4 rhythm. A *halling* is a dance performed by young men in duple time either 6/8 or 2/4. Both are performed in rural settings. *Halling* can be said to be half the dance and the other half is the *springar*. In adding the goat horn tune, Egge has created a suite of music, using traditional elements throughout. In his study Grinde states that ‘the structure is consistently polyphonic’ (Grinde, 1991: 332), and that ‘the two lines are independent of each other both rhythmically and melodically’ (Grinde, 1991: 332) as shown in figure 2. In creating this polyphony, what then results are dissonances, which can be harsh in sound.

Figure 2.



Bars 1-7 *Fantasi i Halling*. The two lines are independent of each other. Publisher Noreg-edition.

Grinde further states that the melody is the early form of Egge’s twelve tone material (ibid.) In relation to the Nazi ideals of music, the form, and the historical aspect of composition, for example, the *halling* dance and the elements of time signature and rhythms, would have appealed to them. However, the dissonances and the potential use of twelve-tone music would not have done so, and this was one of the reasons that Schoenberg’s music was considered degenerate. *Gukkoslåtten* is based on a goat horn tune, and it keeps to a traditional time signature of triple time. In contrast with *Fantasi i Halling*, *Gukkoslåtten* is a

single melody based around a short, repeated motif. The melody itself is simplistic and this is to be expected if it is to emulate the simple horn of the goat herder as shown in figure 3.

Figure 3.

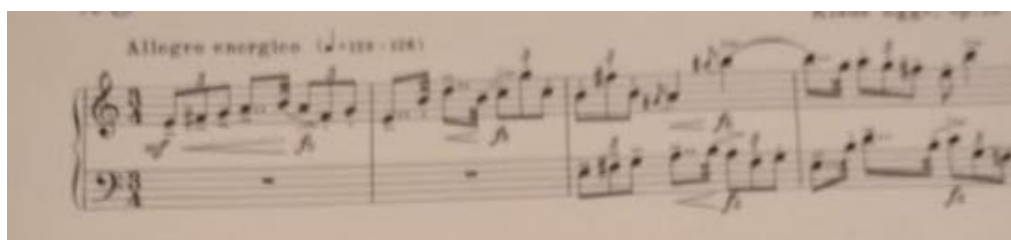


Bars 1-2 *Gukko-Slatten*. The melody is simplistic but has elements of dissonance. Publisher Edition Lyche.

It is based on the diatonic scale, which means there is less evidence of dissonances, thus making it more pleasing to the ear. It has a construction of ternary form. As it followed a more traditional form, this would have made it more appealing to the Nazis.

The final piece in the trilogy is the *springar*. This composition is similar in nature to the *halling*; however, as they are usually connected, this is to be expected. Remaining with the triple time from *gukkoslåtten*, there is no clear connection rhythmically between the *halling* and the *springar*, as the latter is based around triplets. However, there is interplay between the two clefs and the treatment of these in the first four bars' hints at almost fugue-like elements as shown in figure 4.

Figure 4.



Bars 1-4 *Fantasi i Springar* demonstrate fugue like elements. Publisher Edition Lyche.

The element that binds the *halling* and *springar* together is the scope of the instrument that is used. Egge is not afraid to use all octaves of the piano. Furthermore, the dynamic level is also extreme. In two bars there can be a sudden change from pianissimo moving to ffz, forcing the tone. This would not have been acceptable to the Nazis, as it often occurs on a dissonance. However, it derives from Egge's music characteristic of 'aggressive display of strength' (Lange, 78).

There are elements that would have been appealing to the Nazis, for example the use of traditional form and the emulation of 'folk' ideals. However, the problem would have occurred with the experimental use of twelve-tone music and often-heard dissonances. As previously considered, the Nazis were more lenient in their treatment of the Norwegians and went to great lengths to invest in Norwegian music life. Therefore, it may be thought that since the compositions were acceptable in the most part, they were permitted to be performed. In addition to this, Grieg had also composed goat herder melodies and *halling/springar* melodies. Another comparison between Grieg and Egge is that in this period, for his piano concerto no 2-op.21, the latter used thematic material from *Solfager og Ormegen*, that is *Solfager* and the Snake King. This was set out in a theme and variation style as Grieg had done many years earlier. The Nazis had made significant efforts to celebrate Grieg. Therefore, to have a composer emulating his style would have been a positive notion for the Nazis.

7.6.2 Sparre Olsen Ver Sanctum op.30.

This composition was selected due to Olsen's comparison with Grieg and involvement with the nationalists of the time,

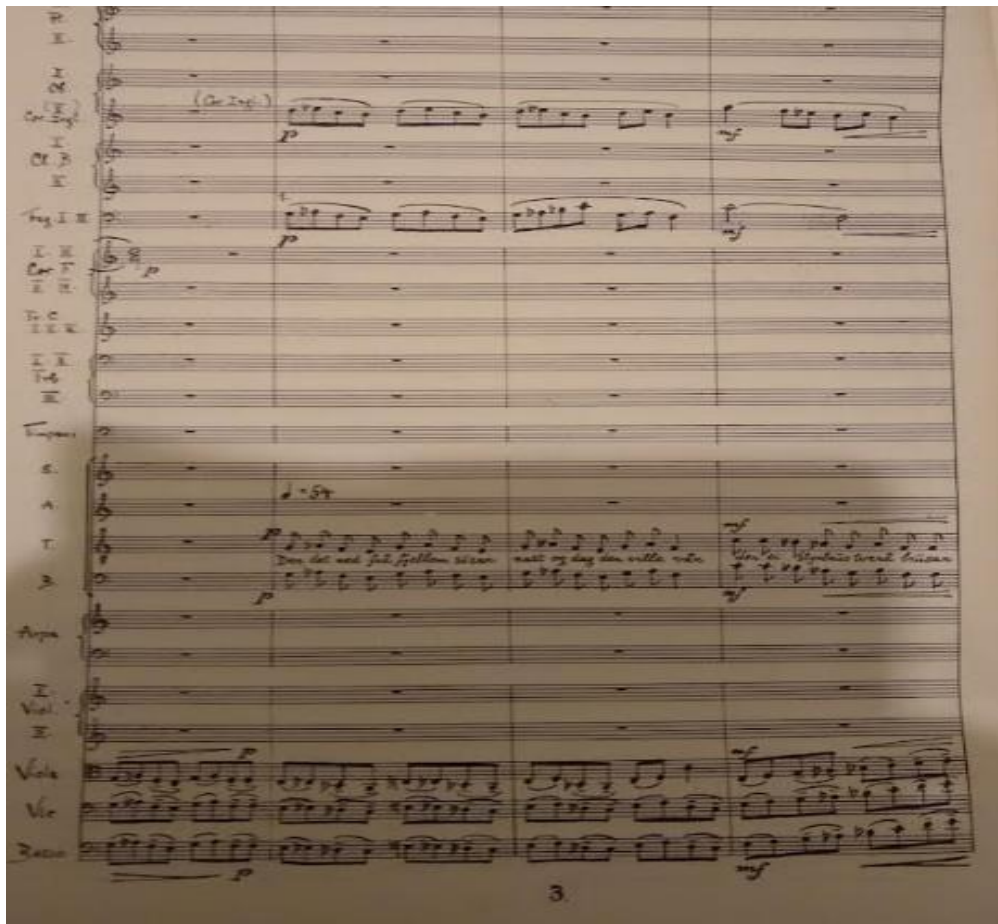
Grinde states that:

The Grieg tradition undoubtedly had been a burden for many composers. For all practical purposes the only one who managed to carry it forward in a constructive manner was Sparre Olsen. (Grinde 327).

This is praise indeed. However, since Grieg was so important to Norwegian music, far from being a burden, and to be considered as the person who developed the tradition demonstrates how important Olsen also was. Lange adds to this notion by stating 'although some of his chord combinations point back to Grieg, they have a much sterner and modern quality' (Lange, 62). Olsen was fortunate that his education was also European. He studied in Norway with Valen and Brustad, in Berlin and later in Vienna and London, the latter was with Percy Grainger (1882-1961). Olsen reached his 'artistic maturity' (Grinde 327) at the peak of the nationalistic period. He immersed himself in folk melodies and the poetry of Inge Krokann (1893-1962), Tor Jonsson (1916-1951) and Olav Aukrust (1883-1929) whose lyrics were used for *Ver Sanctum*. Here, in this composition and in other choral works, his melodies were based on folk tunes which were fortified with his own material.

The simplicity of this music can be seen in bars 12 -14 in the tenor and bass parts. The four-note motif is repeated three times with a difference in the fourth time, which is typical of a Hardanger fiddle theme this is shown in figure 5.

Figure 5..



Bars 12-14 *Ver Sanctum*. The four-note pattern is repeated three times. Publisher Noreg Edition.

This pattern is repeated in all of the voices, and the use of the tones means that there are very few dissonances; those that do occur are rectified quickly and with the use of chromaticism. This is in contrast to Lange's observation that Olsen is slow to rectify dissonances (Lange, 1983.) Often what can be seen is the dissonance being rectified in the time of a crotchet, whilst the other voices move at a slower pace around it.

Another element of folk music is the parallel fifths that can be often found, especially in bars 12-14. This can be reminiscent of the tuning of the Hardanger fiddle. The Hardanger fiddle is a violin-like instrument, the difference between the two being that the Hardanger fiddle has four sympathetic drone strings underneath the four main strings. They are sympathetic as they resonate to the strings that are above them. The Hardanger fiddle has different tunings depending on where it is being played. In most areas the upper three

strings are tuned to fifths. The use of traditional elements and the lack of modernist techniques within this composition, again would have appeased the Nazis as they preferred music that demonstrated a link to the past.

7.6.3 Fartein Valen Sonata no 2 Op.38 for piano.

This composition was selected due to it being indicative of Valen's own style of serialism which, the Nazis would not have approved.

In his study, Lange refers to Valen as 'having a unique place in the development of creative Norwegian music' (Lange, 1971: 53) and being the 'great revolutionary [...] forcing himself through and away from the bonds of tradition' (Lange, 1971: 59). What this appears to reflect is that the majority of Valen's compositions involved a raw form of serialism, a technique yet undiscovered by other Norwegian composers. I have termed this 'raw' due to, as Grinde notes, the fact that Valen seemed to develop this style 'independently' from Schoenberg (Grinde, 1991: 295). This is because to a large extent he was isolated himself from the rest of the music community, both at home and abroad. Even when studying in Berlin, he was solitary in his studies (Grinde, 1991: 295). However, in disagreement with this in January 1953 *the Times Weekly Review* noted that:

It was while in Berlin that he first heard the music of Schoenberg; a performance of the composer's second-string quartet could be said to have been the turning point in the formation of own personal style as a composer.

This is in opposition to the thoughts of Grinde and Lange, who claimed Valen had not heard Schoenberg's work.

Valen had embraced the concept of serialism, and from 1940 used atonal dissonant polyphony in sonata form, which could be problematic (Lange, 1971: 57). 'He was moving away from chromatic tonality towards a contrapuntal atonality whose pitch relations were

not unlike Schoenberg's pre-serial atonal music' (Rapoport, 1978: 137). However, one of the problems that Lange refers to is that Norwegian compositions were relying heavily on folk music elements, which Valen was subconsciously rejecting. Therefore, it would seem that he had no place in Norwegian music history and Lange would state that it was only in 1947 that Valen received international recognition, and then gained the respect of his peers (Lange, 1982). However, in contrast to Schoenberg, his music was different in the way it treated themes, rhythm, and emotional contrasts.

The Piano Sonata op. 38, is often omitted from historical music texts and it is unclear why this is so. However, the work written immediately before it, the Violin Concerto op.37, is considered to be the work that started his final period of composition and is therefore considered the most important. Following from this, there is barely any time between the composing of the violin concerto and the piano sonata. It therefore can be taken that the styles of the two are similar. In the piano sonata he demonstrates his use of atonality in sonata form. It has the standard three movements of a sonata, which demonstrates that he is able to use traditional form. However, the expertise of placing twelve tone atonality in it is also a skill. It is difficult to see where the development and recapitulation sections are located. There is no clear return to the main theme, such as it is. Schoenberg had been banned as *entartete* or degenerate music, because of his use of serialism, therefore Valen emulating him would have been seen as a rejection of Nazi music ideology. However, as it was premiered in 1940, the exact date of this work is unknown, and it may have been composed and premiered before the occupation of 9 April and the influence of the Nazis.

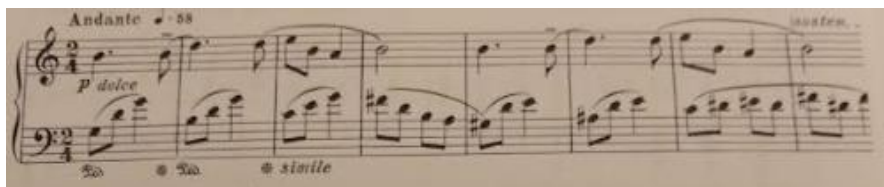
7.6.4 Harald Sæverud Slåtter og Stev fra Silustol.

There were 5 volumes of these small melodies, and they were composed between 1941 and 1944. Silustol was the family home where Sæverud spent the occupation, watching the Nazis train from his window. Grinde states that Sæverud was 'extremely productive during

the years of the German occupation' (Grinde, 1991: 322). This is also evidenced by the chart earlier in the chapter. What can also be noted is that they were premiered quite quickly in relation to the time they were composed. Grinde also references that Sæverud often commented that 'he fought the Nazis with his music' (Grinde, 1991: 322) and that the nationalistic music of this period was given a greater emphasis in his compositions. However, Sæverud stated that he never wanted to use folk music and music written from the heart would automatically be Norwegian (Lange, 1983). Also, that he never used traditional folk melodies, as he created his own (Lange, 1983).

In these volumes he demonstrated how he was able to use small form compositions and there was one very important composition – *Kjempeviseslått* – [The Ballad of the Revolt], dedicated to the men and women of the resistance movement. The compositions are very much in the classical style, often with two-part counterpoint. Sæverud himself wrote that his music of this time emulated the 'scenery of Western Norway, so fraught with rugged temperament which makes intensifying rubato necessary' (Lange, 1982: 74). Furthermore, 'the tunes should be allowed to run amok and underline rhythm and character' (Lange, 1982: 74). However, in *Kristi Blodsdraper*, this is not evident. The melody is held in a four-bar pattern which is repeated, with the bass clef providing an accompaniment rather than two-part harmony as shown in figure 6.

Figure 6.



Bars 1-8 *Kristi Blodsdraper*. The melody is contained. Publisher Musik Huset A/S Oslo.

There are, however, many changes in tempo, but the melody does not 'run amok'. Sæverud claims that he also rejected traditional harmony but that he did not want his music to be

atonal. However, it is not apparent in this composition. What can be gleaned from the music is that this composition is traditional, with no atonality present.

7.7 Conclusion.

The Nazis invested in music life in Norway. Both the Oslo and Bergen Philharmonics thrived albeit uneasily. Further, as the Berlin Philharmonic, the Bergen Philharmonic was also permitted to fundraise. However, this would have been a propaganda exercise, the Nazis rectifying the damage that the Allies had created.

Sandmo states that the Nazis were seeking a national music. Potentially in the Norwegians this is what they were presented with. Throughout the occupation there can be seen composers looking introspectively with their compositions, if only to find a common unity. In his revisionist writings Ostling states that this was something nations identified after the occupation, however the Norwegians were seemingly attempting to find this using folk idioms in their compositions in the occupation. Composers were using folk-like melodies, folk dance forms and subjects of national importance such as Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim. Some composers such as Sæverud, composed in large form symphonies, but there is also evidence of small form works too.

8. A comparison of Norway, Austria, and Germany.

8.1 Introduction.

This chapter is an examination of the Oslo Philharmonic, Vienna Philharmonic, and the Berlin Philharmonic. These are the three prominent orchestras in Norway, Austria and Germany. What follows is an investigation into the treatment of the three. The Vienna Philharmonic was selected due to its prominence in Austria the first country of annexation, the Berlin Philharmonic because it was the 'jewel in the crown' for the Nazis (Aster, 2010: 6). This will be useful in establishing a starting point for the next chapter where the music life of other occupied nations is considered. Also, the personnel connected with the orchestras are investigated and are part of the discourse. This is to ascertain if there was a connection between behaviours and longevity of the orchestra. There is a discourse about the annexation of Austria as this provides a comparison for the socio-political conditions in Norway in the same time.

8.1.1 Use of Terminology.

Throughout this chapter there are several terms which appear to be interchangeable. They are briefly defined here to assist the reader to navigate the chapter. With regards to Austria there are two terms in use, Anschluss, and annexation. The term Anschluss is used to describe the annexation of Austria by Germany and is applied specifically to this scenario. Annexation is where a state proclaims its sovereignty over another nation. It is a unilateral act made effective by actual possession and legitimized by general recognition. The terms Symphony and Philharmonic in relation to orchestras are, in effect, one and the same. This becomes significant when discussing the Vienna Orchestra. It becomes apparent that

sometimes it is called the Vienna Symphony Orchestra and at other times, the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, but they are one and the same organisation.

8.2 Background Information.

In his study *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, Michael Meyer states that when occupying countries, the Nazis had a formula that they followed. The formula was that they investigated the personnel in the orchestras and removed those who had Jewish or other 'unacceptable' ancestry. The list was long: those designated as gypsies, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, black communities, physically and mentally disabled, political opponents of the Nazis, including Communists and Social Democrats, dissenting clergy, resistance fighters, prisoners of war, Slavic peoples, and many individuals from the artistic communities whose opinions and works Hitler condemned (Friedman, 1990). This frequently led to the orchestra closing due to lack of performers. Further investigations made demonstrate that there are some exceptions to this rule: my research revealed that potentially Norway, was one of these countries. There, the Jews were treated in a very different manner: which will be discussed later in the chapter. Additionally, it seems that the orchestras that were most likely to survive were in those countries that were more compliant during the occupation. Also, those that had conductors/managers who were Nazi sympathisers were more likely to survive. However, in some cases this meant that there was a significant chance that such an orchestra would be used for propaganda purposes.

8.3 The Annexation of Austria.

Austria is important in the grand scheme of the occupied countries. The reason is that, although it was not occupied, it was annexed in a peaceful manner, which is what the Nazis had hoped for in regard to Norway (Luza, 1984). For research purposes, the actions of the

Nazis in Austria show that there should be an amendment to Meyer's suggestions for Nazi behaviour that after occupying a nation they removed the Jews from orchestras. What becomes apparent is, that although the Jews were removed as per the formula, the rise of Nazism within the orchestra was significant and had happened at an earlier time. However, as with all World War II discourse, things are never straightforward. In essence the treatment of the orchestras of Austria may have inadvertently been a blueprint for the treatment of the orchestras in Norway, in that, they were used for propaganda, and different rules applied. It is important to consider how Austria found itself annexed by Germany and how Germany felt a kinship, as it did with Norway, with this nation.

After the cessation of World War I, Europe was in a state of crisis and flux. Many high-profile Austrians favoured a unification with Germany; however, this was forbidden by the 1919 peace treaties, specifically, by the Treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain.

Historians acknowledge that: -

The Treaty of Versailles is one of the most controversial armistice treaties in history. The treaty's so-called "war guilt" clause forced Germany and other Central Powers to take all the blame for World War I. This meant a loss of territories, reduction in military forces, and reparation payments to Allied powers.

(Marks, 2013: 52)

This suggests that Germany was a weakened state. It had paid a heavy price for the war. To regain its power the first thing to do was to regain territory. In essence, Austria was the first step in doing this, itself a weakened state with no real strong leadership.

Furthermore:

Some historians think the Treaty of Versailles was, in the words of British economist John Maynard Keynes, 'one of the most serious acts of political unwisdom for which our statesmen have ever been responsible.' They say it contributed to German economic and political instability that allowed for the formation of the National Socialists (Nazis) just a year later.

(Crooks, 2022).

It could be argued that the weakness had enabled Hitler to promise a new Germany: if the old Germany was starving and had no direction, then Hitler's promises would be attractive. It also becomes more evident that, since Hitler was a son of Austria, he gained a type of legendary status with promises of a strong nation. In addition to this, the Treaty of Saint-Germain dissected the Austro-Hungarian territories and Austria suffered many losses (Beller, 2007). Additionally, the chancellor of Austria found himself frozen out of negotiations during the drawing up of the treaty. The removal of power in this way would have lent itself to the Austrians wanting to create a bond with another nation and the natural choice would have been with Germany. The creation of the bond between Germany and Austria was further strengthened by Austria's economic struggles and loss of land which also left it considerably weakened (Beller, 2007). It could also be suggested, that by encouraging Hitler to occupy Norway, Vidkun Quisling demonstrated blatantly where Norway's weaknesses were if it were not common knowledge.

As a small open economy Norway suffered as much as the rest of Europe after World War I. In fact, the international post-war recession that hit in the 1920s hurt Norway the most. What made them the most vulnerable is that the U.K and Sweden, who were their strongest economic and trading partners, were damaged financially by the war. Also, there were the heavy losses that the Germans inflicted on the Norwegian navy, when they declared war on those who were deemed to be supporting the allies. Norway had attempted to remain neutral, but there was some evidence that they supported Britain, as discussed in chapter 4. In the 20s and 30s, there were bankruptcies, unemployment, and a huge financial crisis. There was a success in whaling, but it never quite hit the boom that was needed. The standard of living was poor.⁸ Also, in correlation with Austria in the early 1930s, unemployment was at a record high with a third of the working population out of work (Bernbaum, 1972).

In his 1925 book *Mein Kampf*, Adolf Hitler wrote of Austria, his country of birth:

⁸ Information taken from eh.net/encyclopaedia/the-economic-history-of-norway/

German-Austria must return to the great German motherland, and not because of economic considerations of any sort. No, no: even if from the economic point of view this union were unimportant, indeed, if it were harmful, it ought nevertheless to be brought about.

(Hitler, 1925,)

He was determined that the two nations would be reunited even before he gained power in the 1930s.

Common blood belongs in a common Reich. As long as the German nation is unable even to band together its own children in one common State, it has no moral right to think of colonization as one of its political aims.

(Hitler, 1925)

Although not mentioned by name, it is documented by historians that the blonde hair, blue eyed Nordics appealed to Hitler to develop his Aryan perfect race. Therefore, he is possibly suggesting that the unification of Austria was only his first step to making his programme stronger.

Only when the boundaries of the Reich include even the last German, only when it is no longer possible to assure him of daily bread inside them, does there arise, out of the distress of the nation, the moral right to acquire foreign soil and territory.

(Hitler, 1925).

Historian and Professor Emeritus University of Arkansas, Evan Burr Bukey suggests four reasons 'for the euphoria with which most Austrians greeted the loss of their country's independence' (Bukey, 2020: 97). The first reason being that 'there can be no doubt that the initial enthusiasm [of the people of Austria] was both genuine and spontaneous.'

. . . Second, the populace was profoundly relieved that bloodshed had been avoided . . . The sight of well-equipped Landsers [German soldiers] marching through the country revived memories of wartime solidarity and evoked a sense of satisfaction that the humiliations of 1918 had at last been overcome.

(Bukey, 2020).

After experiencing World War I, it is understandable that nations would want to avoid more conflict. If a nation has good reason to believe that another would, in effect, be its saviour, having it arrive in triumph would only have brought a sense of relief. It has been documented that the Austrians greeted Hitler's speeches in Vienna and Salzburg with cheers and celebration (Meyer, 2013).

Third, nearly all hoped for a dramatic improvement in the material conditions of everyday life; most Austrians were aware of Hitler's economic achievements and had good reason to believe that their expectations would soon be fulfilled.

Again, any kind of hope for the future would be better than none at all. The promises and ideologies that Hitler brought in his persuasive speeches would have brought such hope. The research of historian Oliver Rathkolb determined that Austria had played the victim card 'politically, and diplomatically, and this soon dominated the image of themselves' (Trumpf, 2013). It may also be acknowledged that anti-Semitism was on the rise in Austria and by this time – 1938- Hitler had already made his feelings known about the Jews: as Bukey suggests the fourth reason is:

there can be little doubt that millions of people welcomed the Anschluss as a chance to put an end to the so-called Jewish Question. The antisemitic violence that followed . . . was perpetrated by the Austrian Nazis and their accomplices, not by the German invaders. That the new regime openly sanctioned persecution and Aryanization, in other words, could only enhance its popularity.

As stated previously, this implies that anti-Semitism was already rife in Austria, and this may have been part of Hitler's appeal. Bukey suggests that up to 1914 there was no 'Jewish question', but with the end of World War I certain factions of Austrian society started to blame the Jews for the loss of territory. At this point the rise in attacks on the Jews started

to gain pace. However, leading up to 1934, the Jews accounted for 10.1% of the population in Austria (Yahil, 1990: 38), but numbers after this point started to decline rapidly. This was exacerbated by the continuous destruction of synagogues and the enforcement of Nazi policy in the cultural sector, which led to many Jews fleeing from Austria.

It has been noted by musicologists that the German composer Hans Pfitzner (1869-1949) had in 1933 declined to take part in a Salzburg Festival 'because Austria had assumed an anti-German attitude by outlawing the Nazi party' (Meyer, 1993:142). Clearly, as Hitler was gaining momentum in Germany, in Austria they were still a nation divided. It is unlikely that in 1925 Hitler would consider cultural life as a gateway to appeasing countries that were occupied, but in later years, when he was the leader of the new Third Reich, matters changed significantly. Meyer stated: 'Stability was due to some degree to the Nazis' desire and the need to appear respectable to the outside world' (Meyer, 1993: 143). This suggests that to gain control and appear to be 'confident', the Nazis would have needed something to assist them with this. As Meyer indicates in his study:

Music has traditionally enhanced Germany's reputation. The whole world resounded to German music. German performers were welcomed the world over and Germany in turn attracted the musical world.

(Meyer, 1993: 142).

The Norwegians have also had an uneasy history with Jewish people. Up until 1851 Jews were banned from Norway and there are still attacks on synagogues at the present time. This would also be true regarding Norway, Grieg having been the first to encourage the Norwegians to look to Germany for their education, recognising the importance of the old masters. A significant number of Norwegian composers followed this lead. As if to reinforce this notion, the German composer Richard Strauss (1864-1949) on the opening of the *Reichsmusikkammer* [Reich's music chamber] stated:

German music, especially that of the nineteenth century, celebrated the greatest victories in the whole world; it was this branch of the arts that secured the exemplary international reputation of German art and German artists in a way that no branch of the arts did.

(Gilman, 2013: 256).

There is no doubt that many others had considered that Germany was the master race in music and therefore it would make 'good foreign relations [...] while Germany was weak', and as Meyer acknowledges, 'music played an important role in the public relations effort' (Meyer, 1993:143). There was also a need to give credibility. Goebbels is quoted as stating; 'Art is no mere peacetime amusement, but a sharp spiritual weapon of war' (Dennis, 2012: 46). In his article on religion with the arts, Mark Ludwig states 'for victim and oppressor, music played several significant roles during the National Socialist Regime. For the oppressor, the Nazis used music in the indoctrination and implementation of ideological and racial policies as well as censorship' (Ludwig, 2000: 96). The Vienna Philharmonic was used in this way with the instigation of the New Year's Day concert in 1939. This demonstrated to the outside world that the Nazis were 'a bastion of culture' (Dennis, 2012: 82). As an aside, this concert is still in place today. The Third Reich decreed that 'Austrian music institutions had to 'contribute to the rise of the people through their art' (Meyer, 1993: 172). Goebbels had already complained that Austria had become a nation with no traditional music (Meyer, 2013). The obvious plan was to bring Austrian culture back to basics, thereby eliminating the group they held as responsible for the tainted society. In countries that held a significant value for the Nazis, culture did become a weapon in war, take for example the Grieg anniversary in Norway. As previously noted, the Nazis, determined to exploit an event which celebrated the father of Norwegian music, held their own poorly attended concert in Bergen. Meanwhile the people of Bergen attended in droves a celebration in the local park in the rain. Whilst there are no records of this type of behaviour in Austria, there are correlations between orchestras in Germany, Norway and Austria. In these countries only, orchestras were allowed to be used for propaganda and for fundraising by the Nazis.

This creates a special relationship between these countries, and perhaps demonstrates the esteem that the Nazis held Norway in, and their importance to the overall plan. With regards to the orchestras at this time of the Austrian annexation there were three in operation, namely *Wiener Concertverein* [Vienna Symphony], the Tonkünstler [sound artist] orchestra and the Mozarteum Orchestra in Salzburg. I will now deal with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra and the Tonkünstler will be discussed in Chapter 9.

8.3.1 The Vienna Symphony.

The Vienna Symphony was founded in 1900 by Ferdinand Lowe (1865-1925). Lowe based his career between Munich, Germany and Vienna, Austria, strengthening the connection between both countries. In 1938, as the annexation of Austria took hold, the orchestra was incorporated into the German Culture Orchestras, again probably assisted by the Lowe connection (Trumpi, 2013). This meant from this point on, that it was purposely used for propaganda. It closed on the 1 September 1944 due to lack of performances and its personnel were absorbed into munition factories. Some explanation of its survival, apart from its use for propaganda, may lie in the personnel and leadership during the war years, and those before (Trumpi, 2013).

When the annexation of Austria occurred, the leader of the Vienna Symphony orchestra was Oswald Kabasta (1896-1946). He continued this role until 1938, when he joined the Munich Philharmonic. As the leader of the Vienna Symphony, he was held in high esteem across Europe. In 1938 the English conductor Adrian Boult (1889-1993) is quoted as saying:

The present high reputation of the Vienna Symphony Orchestra is due to Professor Kabasta who, with Sir Henry Wood and Dr Mengleberg, commands our admiration by virtue of sheer mastery in the business of conducting. Quite apart from their merits as musicians and artists, they are superb craftsmen.

(Wood, 1938: 37).

The case of Dr Mengleberg will be investigated in the next chapter. Kabasta, was an enthusiastic supporter of the Nazis and was quick to join the party and after the annexation of Austria signed all his letters with 'Heil Hitler' (Monod, 2005). After the war he was investigated by the British as part of the denazification process and found guilty. Although he claimed to be innocent and, in his defence, suggested that inwardly he was anti-Nazi, his membership number was found and indicated that he had joined the party six years earlier in Austria (Monod, 2005). The Munich philharmonic was ordered to stop his income and in reaction to this and his redeployment to working as a labourer alongside a ban on performing, he committed suicide, a tragic end to a career and life that held so much promise. This was to be the Vienna Philharmonic's first brush with Nazism – but by no means its last.

The departure of Kabasta in 1938 led to the appointment of Hans Weisbach (1885-1961) as conductor. Weisbach had until 1933 been the resident conductor for the Dusseldorf Symphony Orchestra (Holmes, 1982). His career took him to the Leipzig Radio Symphony Orchestra, and in 1939 he moved to Austria to begin the next stage of his career with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra. This is where the fate of the orchestra took an interesting turn. Weisbach had been a member of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* [National Socialist German Worker's Party] in short, NSDAP since 1937, and he used his skills to develop the orchestra into one that could be used for propaganda and fundraising (Holmes, 1982). My research concerning the German Culture Orchestras and what membership meant of this group has proven to be fruitless, however, it may be reasonable to conclude that this meant that the orchestra was used for Third Reich purposes. An example of this would be the *Kraft Durch Freude* concerts. The NS Society *Kraft Durch Freude* 'brings cheer and pleasure to workplaces through concerts and art exhibits' (Kruger, 1999: 72). The orchestra was readily available for Reichsrundfunk, the Reich's radio station, and the Viennese concert series. Weisbach stayed with the orchestra until it closed in 1944.

At a round table discussion at my conference in Manchester, it became apparent, not only did countries struggle to deal with processing the war period, apparently so did the officials, including those of the Vienna Symphony Orchestra and this lasted for a long time: in 2013, Fritz Trumpi revealed that initial investigations of the Vienna Philharmonic saw he himself being 'rebuffed by management' (Trumpi, 2013). Indeed, Trumpi was not the only the researcher who got this response. In fact, it was not until 1991 did that the events of their 'murky past' (Lange,1983) were revealed and dealt with. In their article, also written in 2013, Luke Harding and Louise Osborne claim that on the 75th anniversary of the Anschluss the 'world's most famous orchestra is revealing some of its dark secrets' (Harding and Osborne, 2013). Trumpi claims in its defence, that the Vienna Philharmonic had, in 1991, permitted a chapter about its dark period to be written, but beyond this the subject was taboo (Trumpi, 2013). Of course, in 2013, Trumpi was merely addressing the situation in the past to promote the publishing of his own study concerning the Berlin and Vienna Philharmonics and to acknowledge the inclusion of his research in the Vienna Philharmonic website. To counteract Harding and Osborne's idea that the managers of the orchestra only addressed this issue in later years, the 90s research that Trumpi carried out was placed on the Vienna Philharmonic's website for all to see. It states that in 1938:

The N.S. removed all Jewish personnel from the orchestra, except for two 'half Jews' and 'closely related' who were saved by Furtwangler stepping in. Five members died in concentration camps and two others died in the process of deportation, despite the Nazi manager of the orchestra trying to assist.

(Trumpi, 2013)

The detail of this information demonstrates that the managers were not hiding from the past, and that this information was gleaned at least two generations after the fact. Considering the sensitivity of the war period, it might be concluded that subsequent managerial generations of the orchestra were considering the right moment to make public their past. Nevertheless, there may be some significance in suggesting that in the cases of members who were tried

because they were Jewish, they were supported by a Nazi sympathiser manager and Furtwangler, about whom the debate still rages in musicological circles as to whether he was a Nazi Sympathiser or not. I found reading the facts of the levels of party membership to be quite surprising at first. Rathkolb, one of the three researchers, expressed his surprise at the 'high rate of Nazification' (Harding and Osborne, 2013):

... in the years before 1938 when the 'party' was banned, illegally 20% of the orchestra had N.S. membership. In 1942, 60 of the 123 members of the orchestra had become party members.

(Trumpi, 2013)

In addition, Trumpi states in a separate article that in 1945 almost 50% of the orchestra were card carrying members of the party compared with 20% of the Berlin Philharmonic (Trumpi, 2013). It is claimed that there was a rivalry between the Berlin and Vienna Philharmonics and that the Austrians may have joined the party to further their careers (Harding and Osborne, 2013). There is no evidence to support this claim. It took until the 1960s for the orchestra to rid themselves of Nazi party members, for example Helmut Wobisch (1912-1980), who held the high-profile position of director until 1953 (Trumpi, 2013). Wobisch joined the orchestra as trumpeter in 1933. A confirmed Nazi, He took part in a failed coup that tried to overthrow the Austrian government in 1934. He then returned his focus back to the orchestra and became an informant for the S.S, indicating to them members who were or had Jewish connections (Trumpi, 2013). However, this was a desperation that did not exist in Norway as the Nazis permitted Jewish musicians to hold prominent roles in orchestras: an example of this is Ernst Glaser, a Jew who remained leader of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra. What is more disturbing is the ruthlessness with which Wobisch succeeded in protecting himself during the de-Nazification process. Musicologist Pamela Potter claimed that this was a persistent happening throughout this time (Potter, 1998). He enlisted the assistance of Jewish conductor Leonard Bernstein to give him credibility and reinforce the claim that he was not a Nazi, and this was achieved

(Potter, 1998). Trumpi states that rivalry between the Berlin and Vienna Philharmonics is the reason for the cover up (Trumpi, 2013). It is well documented that anti-Semitism was on the rise in Austria from quite soon after World War I, so to see that just half of the members of the orchestra were party members as time progressed, may be reasonable. As further proof of the lack of 'hiding' from what happened, there is a part of the Vienna Philharmonic website which is comprehensive and has sections titled 'Expulsion and Murder of the Philharmonic members.' The three researchers Prof. DDr. Oliver Rathkolb (Director), Mag.a Bernadette Mayrhofer and Dr. Fritz Trümpi, have carried out comprehensive research, leaving no stone unturned.

8.4 The Berlin Philharmonic.

8.4.1 An overview of the history of the orchestra.

Founded in 1882, it originally used the name Frühere Bilsesche Kapelle [Bilse's band] (Verena, 2007). In some ways the orchestra was ground-breaking, one of these being that in 1887, the English pianist Mary Wurm (1860-1938) was the first female conductor of the orchestra (Verna, 2007). Hans Von Bulow helped to develop the reputation of the orchestra and notably it had been conducted by Johannes Brahms and Edvard Grieg. Indeed, Grieg conducted his final concerts with the orchestra, delivering a two-week concert programme just a few months before his death in 1843.

Misha Aster states that his own writing is 'the first comprehensive study of the relationship between Hitler's regime and its musical crown jewel' (Aster, 2010: iii) which is the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. Whereas the Vienna Philharmonic have been accused of hiding from their past, this cannot be said to be true regarding the Berlin Philharmonic. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the only country that seemed to deal with World War II properly was in fact Germany. As proof of this, and further justification that the Berlin

Philharmonic Orchestra has gone some way to address its past, a seven-date concert tour of Israel took place in 1990, culminating in a joint concert with the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra. This is seemingly to make amends and offer the hand of friendship. There were mixed responses to this in Israel: Chanoch Ron music critic of the newspaper *Yediot Ahronot*, wrote 'Twenty years ago this visit would not have been possible. But people now have the courage to separate between what happened during World War II and the high standards of this orchestra' (Laub, 1990). In contrast, however, the speaker of Israel's parliament and a survivor of the Dachau concentration camp stated 'I'm very sorry that we are receiving the orchestra of Berlin. It doesn't have a place here. The shame of Germany will not be erased in a thousand years' (Laub, 2017). Seemingly it did not go far enough. Therefore, it is hard to comprehend that elsewhere it took 65 years to consider the role of this orchestra in the Nazi regime. Significantly, the name of the Berlin Philharmonic is indelibly linked with the Nazis, if only as an aside to the careers of conductors Wilhelm Furtwangler (1886-1954) and Herbert von Karajan (1908-1989). Yet it was only in 2006 that the Berlin Philharmonic administration themselves felt that the time was now right. This decades-long delay may have been because of the post-war rehabilitation of the reputation of the orchestra. Also with the perceived anti-Semitism of Von Karajan it could not be navigated until his death. A Socialist commentator Nees, stated in her article that Conductor Sir Simon Rattle claimed that it was the younger members of the orchestra who had demanded an account for the 'Nazi' years (Nees, 2007). However, this claim cannot be substantiated. It has been suggested that due to his fervent National Socialism, and still being involved with the orchestra, the 'Nazi' period could only be investigated after his death. Whilst he was still conductor, applications to perform in Israel were also rejected. Notably, musicologist Abby Anderton states that 'the philharmonic's survival was a success for American re-education efforts, the orchestra's own role in National Socialism goes unmentioned' (Anderton 2013:10). Added to this, seemingly the Berlin Philharmonic did a good job of 'cleansing' themselves. They removed six party members and chose conductor Leo Borchard (1899-1945) to lead their first concert in 1945. Borchard had been persecuted

by the Nazi regime and he and his partner were part of the resistance, assisting Jews to escape. This was the start of the rehabilitation of the Berlin Philharmonic.

A significant amount of musical discourse has been spent on continuing the argument about whether Furtwangler the conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic during this period, was a Nazi sympathiser or not. As mentioned in the introduction, members of the orchestra and administration will be considered and Furtwangler, although an interesting subject for discourse, will be considered only briefly in this chapter.

8.4.2 An unusual model.

From its inception, the Berlin Philharmonic was an 'independent, self-governing musical association' (Aster, 2013). The musicians were the shareholders and to this day they vote on the appointed conductors who work with them. The orchestra's finances survived from the early days on subscription concerts, concerts for workers, foreign tours, and matinees. Aster states that, like Europe as a whole, WWI destroyed the business model which had worked well for the orchestra in the past, and it became economically unstable (Aster, 2013). As with Norway and Austria, the need for a financial input saw the members of the Berlin Philharmonic asking Hitler's government for assistance. Due to the international reputation of the orchestra and the draw of Furtwangler as a conductor, Goebbels understood how ownership of the orchestra would benefit the Nazi party: the next day the musicians sold their shares to the German state and became part of Goebbels' *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* [Reich ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda]. 'By the time Joseph Goebbels transformed the Berlin Philharmonic into a state company in early 1934, much of the groundwork for subordination had already been built during the Weimar era. it is not desired by the researcher to develop the argument further' (Robinson, 2017). Seemingly, when Robinson refers to the subordination, he means that financially the Weimar era left two orchestras in such dire straits that they were willing to take aid from

anywhere. They had already approached the Berlin, Prussian and Reich German governments for assistance and been refused (Anderton, 2013). This put them in a weakened position. Benno states that, it would be clear to all that gaining control of the Berlin Philharmonic would have given credibility to the Nazi cause, 'Today it may be said that Hitler's success in using these prominent cultural figures has decisively contributed to the prestige of the Nazi Regime' (Benno, 1947). In the post-war years, Rich Hartmann (1920-2020) a double bassist in the orchestra, states in his memoir that the orchestra 'belonged to the privileged in the Nazi era though it was never a Nazi orchestra' (Hartmann, 2018: 49-50). Additionally, he commented 'We did our work. We made music with joy; we had a marvellous conductor and did not think about politics.' (Nees, 2007). An admirable statement, however, Hartmann joined the orchestra in November 1943, so it would be difficult to claim that he was not aware of the politics of the orchestra. The Berlin Philharmonic members were treated differently from the members of other orchestras, such as the *Staatsoper* and *Deutsche Oper* [State Opera and German Opera] (Verena, 2007). Unlike their members were not permitted to enter into conflict and go to war. They were paid the highest salary and their living accommodation was better than most. In the middle of war, they were also able to travel to the likes of Portugal and Spain, precariously but with a good level of comfort.

A significant number of Vienna Philharmonic members joined the party quite quickly; the same could not be said for the Berlin Philharmonic and the Norwegian orchestras: as the war progressed, it is claimed by Aster that at most the number of party members in Berlin was around 15-20 (Aster, 2010); this was in comparison with the Vienna Philharmonic, which had a 42% membership level (Nees, 2007). However, since 1935 Aryanization cards had existed, which prompted a small number of Jewish members of the Berlin Philharmonic to leave Germany. Although it is claimed that some members were proud of their membership, with for example the violinist Hans Woywoth turning up for practice in his SA

uniform.⁹ Musicologist Huebel tells us that the history of the Berlin Philharmonic orchestra constitutes a unique paradox: it freely agreed to relinquish its independence to the Nazis, while it simultaneously remained remarkably apolitical and resistant to Nazi pressure (Huebel, 2007: 51). Surprisingly, as with other institutions where party membership was essential, Goebbels did not insist that orchestra members join. This almost set a precedent. In fact, the Nazis were able to ignore information that got in the way of their achievements: further examples of this include the fact that in occupied nations Jews and those of Jewish descent were removed from orchestras, whereas in Berlin, if only one parent was Jewish this was an acceptable situation.

Performances of Beethoven had caused them some issues in the past, not only because of his political stances, but also his physical makeup: his skin had a darkened tinge to it, and his eyes and hair were brown. Nazi scientists could not identify a German racial characteristic at all, which prompted them to look to his genealogy. They were proud to announce that his grandfather was a court painter and of most definite Germanic origin. In addition to this, Richard Eichenauer, a Nazi member decided to give more credibility to the Beethoven argument by suggesting that if he was from a lower race, then he had done exceptionally well and demonstrated a warrior spirit by building himself up to the level he did. The Nazis had discovered this problem with several composers; sometimes it was as simple as the spelling of a name. The spelling was easier to change than to justify racial characteristics. In the next section it will be seen how the Nazis ignored the events in Norway as in Berlin.

⁹ The SA full title was the Sturmabteilung. Also known as the brownshirts due to their uniform, they revelled in causing terror wherever they went. They disrupted political meetings and Hitler had to put them under major reforms.

8.4.3 Ney, Furtwangler, and von Karajan.

It is important to consider the influence of others on the Berlin Philharmonic. Concert pianist Elly Ney, and conductors Wilhelm Furtwangler and Herbert von Karajan are the most noted of this group, because of their importance, and to a certain extent, the level of National Socialism they brought to the orchestra. Ney and Karajan were deemed by historians and musicologists to be fervent National Socialists, whereas with Furtwangler the debate continues to this day.

Elly Ney was a concert pianist who specialised in Beethoven sonatas. Evidently someone - it is unclear who - termed her the 'Reich piano auntie' (Meyer, 1993; 191). As early as 1933, she demonstrated anti-Semitic views: in a performance in Hamburg, she was due to replace the Jewish performer Rudolf Serkin (1903-1991) but she refused to perform because of his religion. She joined the Nazi party in 1937 and participated in cultural education, offering performances and masterclasses (Meyer, 1993). Ney was an active member of concert tours with the Berlin Philharmonic to raise funds for the Wehrmacht (Trumpf, 2016: 207). She was given the honorary membership of the League of German Girls, the female side of the Nazi youth. At her performances of Beethoven, she quoted Hitler between compositions and greeted a bust of the composer with the Hitler salute. Her protests were very often vocal and loud. She objected in part to the work of composer Carl Orff due to his use of 'Low Latin lyrics and rhythmic ostinato' (Meyer, 199: 1993). After the war she was banned from performing on stage by the dignitaries of Bonn, Germany, Beethoven's birthplace: one can only assume that the city distanced itself from links with National Socialism. She did try to get the ban lifted, but the city refused, claiming the reason as her evidently clear stance on the Nazi party. It took seven years after the war for her to finally renounce Hitler. She was given honorary citizenship of Tutzing, Germany where she is buried, but this was removed after her death, as it was claimed that her Nazi links were

too embarrassing. However, it is unclear whether she still embraced Nazi ideology after she renounced Hitler.

A further influence on the orchestra was Wilhelm Furtwangler, however, determining the level and types of influence is problematic. As Allen noted 'in few classical musicians is the gap between sublime work and shameful actions greater than the conductor Wilhelm Furtwangler' (Allen, 2021). Criticisms were levelled at him professionally due to the negotiations he carried out with Goebbels, which assisted in making the Berlin Philharmonic a Nazi propaganda machine. Yet he had, as previously mentioned, attempted to negotiate with several agencies for sponsorship so this may have been expediency. For, in response to the censorship of the orchestra Furtwangler resigned in protest when music by Hindemith, Mendelssohn, Mahler and Schoenberg were effectively eliminated from the repertoire. However, it was not long before he was back conducting the orchestra (Aster, 2007). He was a personal favourite of Hitler and by default became the conductor of the Third Reich. Additionally, he conducted concerts on Hitler's birthday, the opening of the 1936 Olympics, and special concerts when the Nazis occupied a nation. However, he never joined the Nazi party and he refused to conduct the Berlin Philharmonic in occupied countries. It is documented that Furtwangler conducted the Berlin Philharmonic in Oslo two weeks before the invasion in 1940. The Berlin Philharmonic also performed during the occupation but were under the leadership of Hans Knappertsbusch not Furtwangler. However, having the orchestra perform before the invasion possibly demonstrated the confidence Hitler had that he would be able to occupy Norway. On his return to the orchestra, Furtwangler refused a position of power, and although he held a long tenure with the orchestra, he was one of a number of conductors and therefore held no position of control.

However, he was a champion of Jewish musicians, writing letters in support of them but Goebbels still said that 'he was still worth the trouble'. For some champions of Jewish musicians this meant nothing, conductor Bruno Walter (1876-1962), who was born a Jewish German, asked him 'of what significance is your assistance to a few isolated cases of Jews' (Allen, 2021). Fred Prieberg (1928-2010), who authored a significant text on the Nazis and

music, claimed that he was a 'double agent' (Allen, 2021) but Sam Shirakawa, a biographer of Furtwangler, stated 'that he did more to thwart the Nazis with a baton than anyone' (ibid.).

Aster suggests that the long overdue examination of the Nazi period and the Berlin Philharmonic is actually because of conductor von Karajan (Aster, 2007). As previously noted, he was a party member, and joined on two separate occasions 1933 and 1938 to ensure membership. His debut as a conductor of the orchestra was in April 1938. I concur with Potter, it could be said that von Karajan's behaviour during the Nazi years was protected, and that although he did not undergo any substantial de-Nazification, 'his political convictions were vague enough to allow the post-war musical world to look the other way' (Potter, 2019). At one stage von Karajan had been amongst Hitler's favourites, and there was a rivalry between him and Furtwangler. However, two things went wrong for Karajan: firstly, he delivered a particularly bad performance of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* to Hitler, which he never forgave him for, and secondly, he married a lady with a Jewish grandfather. Robinson alleged that he used this as a form of protest to de-Nazification (Robinson, 1975). It is unclear how he would expect to achieve this. In a film made about the orchestra and the Third Reich, he is omitted, but then Furtwangler is also barely mentioned. However, Aster states, that there are not many orchestras who, in the aftermath of Nazism would be 'permitted to select a former Nazi party member as principal conductor without being damaged' (Aster, 2007: 344). This is the aftermath.

8.5 The Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra and the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra.

8.5.1 The Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra Background.

This section will outline where the orchestra came from and the main influences. This is important because the Nazi reaction to the Oslo and Bergen orchestras was different from those in other occupied countries, including their own.

The Oslo Philharmonic developed through three phases: in the initial phase, it was formed in 1847 as the *Det Philharmoniske Selskab* [The Philharmonic Society] (Fidjestol, 2019). The second phase was in 1871 when Edvard Grieg and Johan Svendsen developed it into the *Christiania Musikerforenin* [Christiania Musical Society] (Fidjestol, 2019), Christiania, later spelt Kristiania, was the original name for the city of Oslo. In its third phase of development the orchestra merged with the Christiania Theatre Orchestra. This orchestra offered performances at festivals, concerts and theatres and gained municipal support and in 1899 it became part of the National Theatre, and its conductor was Johan Halvorsen. In this role it provided music for the theatre, but also concerts for the music society. In the 20s and 30s the Oslo Philharmonic had begun to struggle financially, due to recorded music and jazz becoming more popular (Herresthal, 2019). Receipts from this time show the amount of money that was moving between Germany and Norway, and this would pay for visiting artists, equipment, and the investment in the Deutsche Theater in Oslo. In a letter dated 7 October 1942, to a Mr Muller, it is confirmed that 'artists should not be enlisted for active duty' which was in line with protocol for the Berlin Philharmonic and that the German Culture council would invest 50,000 RM for refurbishment of a theatre in Oslo. Additionally, even as late as the 8 October 1944, the Nazis were still maintaining hold of Norwegian cultural life. In a letter of this date to the Leader of the Culture department, it was stated that:

In discussions with the Quisling government... should work towards the Norwegian cultural institute coming more into line with German cultural life.

(8.10.44)

As with the Berlin Philharmonic, finances became scarce, so in response to this in 1919 the orchestra was reformed into the *Filharmonisk Selskaps Orkester*, [Orchestra of the Philharmonic Company] (ibid). It was owned by private shareholders. Through time, the

Oslo Philharmonic gained strength. Control of it would have been important, because of its connection to Grieg and Svendsen who were pivotal in the development of Norwegian music. Additionally, Grieg is performed often within concert repertoires whilst Svendsen is less so. German author Wolfgang Delhaes reported the connection when discussing German music in Norway. Much is made of the Grieg anniversary concert in Bergen in 1943, yet the Nazis considered Svendsen also important enough to erect a statue of him in September 1940 outside the concert hall in Oslo, in celebration of the centenary year of his birth. Svendsen is also alleged to have had close friendship with Wagner, a favourite composer of Hitler's. A newspaper report in *Aftenposten*, the Oslo newspaper, stated that the chairman of the Oslo Philharmonic committee had declared 'it was important to honour the musician (Svendsen) more than ever as he was one of our greatest assets' (*Aftenposten*, 30.09.1941). Furthermore, in his speech at the same ceremony about the composer, David Monrad Johansen stated:

In these new times where conflicts arise to make the transition difficult, Johan Svendsen came and with the force of genius and conviction he brought to life the valuable new music for us.

(*Aftenposten*; 30.09.1941).

8.6 Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra Background.

My research suggests that the Bergen Philharmonic was also treated differently from other orchestras by the Nazi party. It was formed using the name *Det Musicalske Selskab* [The Music Society] later changing its name to the Bergen *Harmonien*. Grieg was its artistic director from 1880-1882 and kept close ties to it through the rest of his life; this would have been because he was born in Bergen, and he bequeathed some of his estate to maintaining the orchestra, thus continuing his influence (Reitan & Storaas, 1995).

8.7 Treatment of the Orchestras.

For the Nazis both the Oslo and Bergen orchestras would have been important culturally and been considered as prime targets for 'building a cultural bridge' (Dennis, 2012; 12), and this is possibly why they were treated differently in comparison with other occupied nations: the formula that Meyer notes the Nazis had for occupied nations, was not followed in Norway: in the first instance, they permitted two Jewish members of the Oslo orchestra to maintain prominent roles, whereas in other nations they would have been removed almost immediately. At the occupation, the violinist Ernst Glaser, a Jewish man, was the leader of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra, and he remained in this role until 1942, just before a point in time where there was a significant change in the war. Hitler had been defeated on the Eastern Front and 'During World War II's "forgotten" year of victory, the Allies wrested the strategic initiative from the enemy and held it for the rest of the war' (Roland, 2018: 53)

In 1942, Glaser, in 1942 was warned of impending arrest and advised to consider attempting to escape (Nesheim, 2007). This was, of course to give the Nazis a 'legitimate' reason to capture him. Prior to this, however, after the occupation had started on the 30 September 1940, he led the orchestra in the anniversary concert celebration of Johan Svendsen (Kortsen, 2009). Not only was he allowed to remain in his position, but he was also able to travel around Norway to perform. When he travelled to Bergen there was an infamous fight in the concert hall: he was scheduled to perform on Ole Bull's violin, which was in itself an honour. Whereas Grieg is the father of Norwegian music, Bull was considered the grandfather of Norwegian music and it was him who had encouraged Grieg to study in Germany, the home of the great masters. However, on this night as Glaser prepared to perform, the Nazi youth stormed the concert hall as they objected to Glaser using Bull's violin in the performance. A letter, written at the time by an audience member, details how the audience were offended by this outbreak of what could only be termed

thuggery and they were proud of themselves that they managed to clout one of the instigators with their umbrella.

During the occupation years there were two potential conductors for the Oslo Philharmonic: Olav Kielland and Odd Gruner Hegge. Seemingly, the Nazis, having taken control of the orchestra, deemed that Kielland was more suitable for the role of conductor. The difference between the two composers was that Groven promoted modern music and Kielland was a traditionalist. In an article entitled 'German Music in Norway', an unknown German writer documented that Olav Kielland was 'a promoter of German music in Oslo' and 'he is an enthusiastic proponent, who always puts his heart and soul into the German cause in the field of music' (German promoter, 1938). Furthermore, they add that 'German music is performed annually' and 'well known soloists and conductors from the Reich often take part as guests.' However, Kielland fitted the Nazi profile in other ways too: he had studied in Leipzig, and as German author Delhaes notes, his concert programmes always included Norwegian and German works. Due to his profile position with the orchestra, Kielland did undergo a trial after the war to ascertain whether he was a Nazi sympathiser or not. He was found not guilty, but even as late as the 1970s he was still being questioned about it, which led the judge that tried him to defend him once again.

In contrast to this is the case of Bergen Philharmonic. Little is written of the occupation period but in the orchestra's anniversary book, *Spill Orkester Spill* [Play Orchestra Play] (1990), Heide said that it was 'a dark period'. Nevertheless, the orchestra went from strength to strength, having a significant number of premieres during the occupation. In fact, one of the most productive composers of this period was Harald Saeverud, who claimed in many interviews, that 'he fought the Nazis with his music'. It is unclear how he did this. His works were left untitled until the end of the occupation. He did have all of his premieres during the occupation with the Bergen orchestra.

8.8 Conclusion.

In this chapter I have demonstrated correlations between the Vienna Symphony Orchestra, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, with the two Norwegian orchestras namely the Oslo Philharmonic and the Bergen Philharmonic orchestra. Although the first two were not officially in occupied nations, the treatment of the orchestras by the Nazis was significant enough that it offers a blueprint for the treatment of the Norwegian orchestras. In comparison to this, in other occupied nations, the Nazis investigated an orchestra's personnel, resulting in the removal of Jews. However, in the three nations in this chapter they were flexible with the rules. Whilst in Vienna, Jews were removed from orchestras, in Berlin they were allowed to have a family member who was a Jew, and in Oslo the Jews kept high profile positions until the midway point of the war. Beyond this, although the Vienna Philharmonic personnel were fervent in the membership of the party, seemingly in both Berlin and Norway the requirement for membership was more relaxed.

The Nazis also invested in Norwegian cultural life. They moved vast amounts of money across to Norway to create a theatre to display their own cultural life. Even in the final moments of the war, they were still intent on aligning the cultural life of their own with Norway, such was the kinship that they deeply felt. Also, they permitted high profile Jews to travel around Norway, and artists from Germany to perform. They selected the personnel of the orchestras and in Kielland, the conductor of the Oslo Philharmonic whilst not convicted of being a *Nasjonal Samling* member, they found someone who was at the very least, sympathetic to the cause. In him the Nazis had someone who was an advocate of German music and was willing to promote it. In correlation to this, Furtwangler may or may not have been a Nazi, but he believed in the power of the music of the German masters and promoted this, although he championed the work of composers the Nazis wanted to censor.

This started as an investigation into the effects on orchestras of occupied nations. However, it soon became apparent to me that the Nazis would justify the transgressions of

their own rules; also, that there were some orchestras whose treatment stood out. It would not be justified to say that Norway has been completely disregarded in the study of music during World War II as it is referred to in some texts but it became clear to me that the importance of Norway came to the fore and is greater than previously thought: this was due to its different treatment and investment; the Nazis did not do this with most of the other nations they occupied, thus setting Norway apart from other occupied nations.

This chapter has shown how important Norway was to the Nazis in their campaign, not only strategically but also geographically and as a culture to build a bridge between the two nations, meaning that the occupation of Norway should have been straightforward. The Germans had invested a considerable amount of effort to compare itself culturally with Norway and to develop a kinship, developing that which was there in essence potentially due to the great number of Norwegians who studied music in Germany.

9. Investigation of Other Occupied Nations.

9.1 Introduction.

In order to fully comprehend the potential leniency and the way in which, the Nazis encouraged in music life in Norway, further discourse should reference the treatment of orchestras and personnel in other nations. It has been established that the Nazis had a formula they would follow when occupying a territory: This would entail taking control of the prominent orchestras, removing the Jews and those that they deemed to be of suspect origins, such as gypsies. This would seem to have had the effect of forcing the orchestra to close for lack of appropriate personnel. Having discussed the similarities between the Berlin and Vienna orchestras and the Norwegian orchestras, this chapter will consider other occupied nations, which will demonstrate the differences between these orchestras and what happened in Norway. The nations will be considered in the order that they were occupied. Also, as with the previous chapter personnel of the orchestra will be considered to understand if there is a correlation between the Nazis actions and the continuation of the orchestra.

In the main the information about orchestras has been taken from their websites. Further information will be referenced accordingly.

9.2 Limitations of the Research.

At times this research was limited, but it was expected to be so. Many orchestras have changed their titles a number of times, which can be confusing, others had ceased to exist. As with Norway, which gave the impetus for this research, some merely glossed over the war period. A roundtable discussion in a conference that I held in 2015, also suggested that information would be hard to locate. The general opinion was that occupied nations had felt

it was difficult to process this time and therefore avoided addressing it. This led to the supposition that, as for Norway, this was still considered to be a sensitive topic. In some cases, it may be possible that the people in charge of the orchestras were Nazi sympathisers, which enabled the orchestra or music company to maintain a level of survival. However, the lack of available evidence of what people did and their motivation prevents a detailed assessment or informed judgement at this point.

Also, with regards to the occupied nations, in some cases they were difficult to compare due to the sheer numbers of music societies/orchestras: for example, Poland had three orchestras that were closed almost immediately, and none had survived by the end of the war, whereas France had a significant number of orchestras that were able to remain active. The first consideration was that, as time progressed, it may have been that music became less important, or that the numbers of Jewish personnel differed from country to country. Also, since Poland was the second to be occupied, not just annexed as Austria was, the Nazis were more ruthless in their approach to the occupation. France was one of the last countries to be occupied, along with Belgium and the Netherlands, so the Nazis had manpower in a number of places; therefore, they may have been more relaxed in their music outlook.

As mentioned, the most straightforward way to organise the chapter seems to be to address each country with regards to when they were occupied. However, it should be noted that the Viennese Philharmonic Orchestra in Austria has been considered in the previous chapter. This was due to the Nazis appearing to give special attention to this orchestra. However, a discourse concerning another Austrian orchestra will follow in this chapter, to reinforce my points about the effects of the Nazi annexation. This will also make it possible to understand what happens in a nation where they are not the favoured orchestra/music society, and whether this affects the chances of survival.

In this chapter the countries considered will include Denmark. In most studies Norway and Denmark are grouped together in discourse. The reason is that the occupation of both countries commenced on the same day, on 9 April 1940. However, as previously

discussed in an earlier chapter, it is here the similarities end. Greece and Yugoslavia have however been omitted due to the multi-national nature of their occupation: the Greek government, like the Norwegian government, went into exile after the German forces gained control which was a three-pronged effort. The lead of this situation had been given by Italy which had tried to take Greece several times, but it was only with the addition of German forces that were they successful (Stathis, 2008). When Germany took control, Greece was divided into three sections, with Italy and Bulgaria being given an equal share of control. In a similar vein Yugoslavia's occupation entailed being ruled by a number of other nations including, first Germany, then Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria (Tomasevich, 1975). Additionally, the Channel Islands have also not been addressed as they were part of Britain and warrant further investigation elsewhere. The countries that will be discussed in this chapter were occupied by Germany only.

The orchestras and music societies that have been considered seem to be the most prominent ones in each country at the time. It has not been possible to trace all personnel as they have been effectively omitted from history through an absence of documentation.

Some reference has been made to the *Entartete Musik* exhibition. In the 1930s the Nazis went to some lengths to start 'cleansing' music of undesirables. This culminated on 24 May, 1938, with the creation of an *Entartete Musik* exhibition, that is degenerate music (Haas, 2013). In essence, it was deemed that music that was harmful and could be considered decadent, was often of a racial origin. Composers such as Mendelssohn and Mahler were no longer considered to be appropriate since these composers were Jewish and therefore considered anti-German (Dennis, 2012), although when questioned, Goebbels, chief of Reich Ministry of Propaganda, could not say what 'German' was and what had a Jewish influence (Potter, 2019). In the 1930s, whilst the Nazis were trying to exert an influence on music, jazz was regulated. This meant that there would be no solos, drum breaks or scat, (a term given to improvised jazz singing, where the voice imitates an instrument). There was also a degree that there should not be 'Negroid excesses in tempo or Jewish gloomy lyrics' (Levi, 1996). The exhibition was created by Hans Severus Ziegler

(1893-1978), a German publicist, theatre manager, teacher and official of the Nazi party, where his role was to be a censor and cultural co-ordinator (Haas, 2013). Ziegler had been involved in the Nazi party since 1925 and his membership number of 1317 reflects this. In his opening speech Ziegler reflected that what had been collected 'represented an effigy of wickedness and an effigy of arrogant Jewish impudence and complete spiritual insipidness' (Haas, 2013: 52). The exhibition had audio snippets in sound booths, pictures and accompanying texts. According to Haas (2013) It was divided into seven sections and included:

- 1 Influence of Judaism
- 2 Arnold Schoenberg
- 3 Kurt Weill and Ernst Krenek
- 4 Minor Bolsheviks
- 5 Leo Kestenberg
- 6 Hindemith operas and oratorios
- 7 Igor Stravinsky.

The composers mentioned were all considered to be mentally ill, and all found their works to have been removed from the performing canon, and by the same token had difficulty in obtaining work. It would appear in the main that the composers were vilified for being Jewish, however, often their style of music was also a factor: Schoenberg had developed an atonal style which was too modernistic for the Nazis (Friedrich, 1986); in addition to being Jewish, Weill wrote music addressing Jewish themes and was influenced by Mahler, Schoenberg and Stravinsky; Stravinsky was considered a Modernist and in 1938 at the time of the exhibition, the newspaper *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* stated that 'Stravinsky and Arnold Schoenberg are leaders of the decadent bolshevist tendencies in art today'. Leo Kestenberg (1882-1962) was a Jewish cultural politician and educator: he worked for the government and was engaged in modernising the music education system. However, on the

1 December 1932 he found himself unemployed, for political reasons. The other composers on the list who have not been referenced at this point will be discussed later in the chapter.¹⁰ The Norwegian composer Signe Lund, who was later found guilty of being a Nazi sympathiser, attended the exhibition and wrote that it made her feel ill, but that after watching a Wagner performance she felt much better. The exhibition toured briefly until the outbreak of war stopped this (Lund, 1944).

The treatment of orchestras and personnel in nations demonstrated inconsistencies in the application of Nazi ideology. There is no clear directive apart from discrimination against Jews. Although, as mentioned in chapter 8 this could be dependent on their place within the Nazi idea: for example, von Karajan the conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic, married the granddaughter of a Jewish businessman, but still maintained a successful career during the war because his status and musicianship was useful to Nazi ideology (Robinson, 1975).

9.3 Czechoslovakia.

There are differences of opinion as to whether the Nazi's invasion of Czechoslovakia was an annexation or an occupation, (it has the same meaning except occupation is defined as taking control by military force). It was, however, in 1939 the first country that Germany took control of. According to the War History Online website, there were two reasons why Hitler selected this nation in the first instance: firstly, he wanted to unite the German-speaking people of this land with Germany; and secondly, he wanted to test how far other nations would go to defend Czechoslovakia – the answer to this was basically that they would not at all (Roland, 2018). Seemingly, like several other countries such as Belgium, Norway and The Netherlands, the Czech government, did not want to be in a war and thought it would be easier to concede to Germany, but they were unable to remain neutral. Sweden had also

¹⁰ Information taken from Internationale Leo-Kestenberg Gesellschaft.

maintained that they wanted to remain neutral, and, in some eyes, they achieved this. However, this is debateable as in the interest of staying neutral, they permitted the Nazis to move trains of Norwegians Jews through their land. Documents written by the British government that I accessed in the National Archive in London, claimed that the first train was permitted through to appease the Nazis. It was felt by the Swedes that one train could not do too much damage. However, it was the first one of many, which put the Swedes in a difficult position: they could not address this without being catapulted into a war.

The Prague Symphony Orchestra was founded in 1934 and funded by Rudolf Pekarek (1900-1974), and he became the chief conductor from 1934-1942. As an orchestra it gave employment to many out-of-work musicians and in the 1930s primarily provided scores for Czech films, and radio programmes. This led to the orchestra being known as the FOK orchestra: that was Film – Opera – Konzert or the FOK Salon Orchestra or Pekarek's Salon Orchestra. An early promoter of the orchestra was Vaclav Smetacek, who became the Orchestra's chief conductor in 1942 and held the post for the next 30 years.

Pekarek was Jewish. He was allowed, like Norwegian Jews Robert Levin and Ernst Glaser, to continue to hold his high-profile position until 1942 when he was imprisoned, transported to Auschwitz, and worked in the mines. He escaped in 1944 and joined the Czech army of liberation and survived the war.

Vaclav Smetacek (1906-1986) was a Czech conductor. From 1934-43 he was a radio conductor and editor. He widened the scope of the repertoire of FOK, and it eventually became the Prague Symphony Orchestra. However, it is unclear why his position was not maintained, and his next role started in 1945. This meant he had two years of unemployment; however, he had worked steadily as a conductor through the four years before this.

The official website for the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra does not hide away from the fact that the orchestra held performances in Nazi occupied Czechoslovakia. It states, 'the Czech Philharmonic could not shy from giving concerts directly from the ruling regime'. They also highlight that the symphonic poem *Ma Vlast*, [My Country], composed by Bedrich

Smetana (1824-84), was performed regularly throughout this period. This six-song symphonic poem was written about aspects of Bohemia's countryside, history and legends. The most significant poem in this cycle was *Vltava*, [The Moldau]. It depicts one of the greatest rivers in Czechoslovakia from its beginning to end. The melody is used a number of times in various countries. In Italy it is an adaptation of *La Mantovana*, the Romanian form is the basis for the Israeli national anthem, but the melody was not used until 1948. It is originally from a Czech folk song *The Cat Crawls through the Hole* and finally Stan Getz the American Jazz Saxophonist used it as the melody for *Dear Old Stockholm*. Smetana himself was politically motivated in his music, including writing compositions for the Prague uprising in 1848. Therefore, *Ma Vlast* encouraged thoughts of national manifestations, so much so that the cycle in its entirety was banned by the Nazis. On a performance tour of Berlin and Dresden in 1941, Vaclav Talich (1883-1961), inserted the cycle on the programme. The performance of which Goebbels appreciated, and it re-emerged in the performing canon.

Barber states in his writings that between 1933 and 1941 Talich was the chief conductor of the orchestra. He had been a concertmaster of the Berlin Philharmonic from 1903-04, which meant that he already had a strong connection with Germany. In 1935 he was appointed chief opera administrator at the National Theatre in Prague. In 1944 he was dismissed from his position and the National Theatre was closed down by the Nazi regime. After the war he was arrested by communists and accused of collaborating with the Nazis. This was refuted and he resumed his career and created the Czech Chamber Orchestra in 1946. Three years later the orchestra was ordered, presumably by the communists, to disband or select a new leader. Such was the orchestra's faith in Talich, they chose to disband.

Rafael Kubelik (1914-96) took over the conducting baton from Talich in 1942. Biographical notes suggest that he was able to maintain a career despite being an anti-Nazi. In 1939, he had been a music director of the Brno Opera, until the Nazis closed it down. When this happened, he moved to the Czech Philharmonic, which he had conducted for the first time at the age of 19. His programs contained works that he thought would bring hope

to the Czech people including *Ma Vlast*. He refused to do the Nazi salute and conduct any performances of Wagner's works: it was advised that he should go undercover in the forests for some time to evade the SS (Scharf, 2006).

The Prague symphony radio orchestra was founded in 1926 and by 1939 had seventy-three members. Although its programming was inspired by patriotism, strict censorship affected its repertoire. However, there were several premieres that were, if not for the want of a better word, achieved. They managed to broadcast the first performance of *Fantasia* composed by their war period's conductor Otakar Jeremias (1892-1962). This was based on the Hussite hymn *Go not in fear of this Great Lord*. The Hussites followed the teaching of Jan Hus and attempted to instigate a Bohemian Reformation. Also, Vitezlav Novak's (1870-1949) works concerning the victims of Nazi repression were also premiered. In particular, *Die Profundis* op 67, composed for orchestra and organ, was an allegorical cry against the Nazis. On the day of the premiere, Novak commented:

In Brno, where Czech citizens were shot and hanged by the Germans for fun, the latter went to the executions en masse, just like the Romans in the time of Nero, when the Christians were thrown to wild animals. Just on the day of the concert, the president of the country, Dr. Mezník, was shot dead while jumping out of the window, voluntarily.

(Hoflich, 2021)

It was unclear if that premiere would take place due to the shooting of Dr. Meznik.

Little is known of the conductor Jeremias. He did increase the orchestra's personnel up to 1945 and this was achieved by good salaries, negotiation, and charisma. In 1943 he wrote and had published an article on conducting, stating that 'My ideal is a creative orchestra. Members create collaboratively during the performance' (Hoflich, 2021).

9.4 Austria.

The events in Austria, and what appeared to be an acceptance of National Socialism relatively early on, have been documented in the previous chapter, and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra was used as a comparison model between the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra and Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra. This chapter will deal with the Tonkünstler Orchestra, who were also based in Vienna. It is unclear why the Vienna Philharmonic gained more fame. However, for the purposes of this research the history of the Tonkünstler Orchestra will be considered to be just as important.

Information concerning this orchestra has been taken from the official website www.tonkuenstler.at. The Tonkünstler Orchestra was founded in 1907. It was, and still is, based in Vienna, Austria. In the mid-1930s, the conductor Leopold Reichwein (1878-1945) took control, or has been suggested by musicologists that he 'founded the orchestra anew' (Kater, 1997: 327). The *Tonkünstler Orkester* was renamed the *NS Wiener Tonkünstlerorkester* after Austria was annexed by Germany. In 1939 it was renamed once more to become *Gausymphonieorchester*. Finally, it was named in 1945 to *Landessymphonieorchester Niederösterreich*. This was most likely to remove the association with Reichwein and National Socialism. The orchestra performed concerts throughout World War II; this was mainly carried out through the *Kraft durch Freude* [Strength Through Joy] organisation and in support of the Wehrmacht. However, little is written about the two conductors through the war years, namely Bert Costa, who was active with the orchestra between 1939 and 1943, and Friedrich Jung, 1944-1945. More relevant is the behaviour of Reichwein.

Reichwein's career had been on an upward trajectory throughout the 1930s. However, when considering research on this period, the NS Tonkünstler orchestra that is in full, the National Socialist Tonkünstler Orchestra, does not achieve the same level of

importance as the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. It is interesting to note that this occurs, and even when the orchestra carries the title N.S., it can be given second place to another. It is unclear if the Tonkünstler orchestra was a Nazi orchestra, yet evidence suggests that by the National Socialist title and the fact that it remained active throughout the war and in 1945 changed its name, it was. However, on the official Tonkünstler website in 2022, it states that during the war, the orchestra was active both under Nazism and Austrofacism. These are both contrasting concepts, as Austrofacism is defined as concerning the fight for independence from Germany, without implementing racial ideology. It may also be a way of lessening the historical 'murky' past of an orchestra that is still functioning.

Although not strictly aligned with the events in Norway, the maintenance of the NS Tonkunst orchestra is important. There is little research on the orchestra, this may mean it is considered not to have been as relevant as the Vienna Philharmonic. Both orchestras were active in the same geographical area. However, having been 'renewed' by a prominent Nazi party member, who had already demonstrated a leaning towards the Nazi performing canon and having omitted certain 'degenerate composers', it may have been felt that the orchestra was fulfilling its duty. In comparison the Bergen Philharmonic in Norway would have been the equivalent. It was not the primary orchestra in Norway, as the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra would have been that because they were based in the capital. This does not mean however, they were any less important as shown by the number of premieres held by them as shown in the chart in chapter 6.

Leopold Reichwein was a fervent National Socialist (Kater, 1997). His life ended in April 1945 when he committed suicide. He joined the party in 1932 and his membership number was 1.009.765, which suggests that at this early stage there were a significant number of party members and supporters of the Nazi party (Prieberg, 2007). Between 1924 and 1938, he was in charge of the Bochum Symphonia. Here he favoured classical/romantic music, and composers such as Hindemith, Krenek, Schulhoff and Webern faded into the background. The composer Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) was problematic for the Nazis: he was looked upon favourably due to his use of folk music and the fact that his music was

tonal. He was included in the degenerate music exhibition in Dusseldorf in 1938 due to his sexually charged early operas (Haas, 2013). Ernst Krenek (1900-91) was also included in the degenerate music exhibition. Krenek wrote a jazz opera called *Jonny spielt auf*. In this the main character was a Black jazz musician who was a womaniser and was seen stealing a priceless violin (Maurer Zenck, 2006). It fulfilled the Nazi criteria of Black = degenerate, but there would have been several problems with this opera: firstly, it included jazz; secondly, it involved a Black person who, behaved inappropriately by womanising and stealing. The promotional material for the opera (figure 7), was taken by the Nazis, repurposed and used to promote the degenerate exhibition as shown in figure 8. The Black musician was turned into a monkey and in his lapel instead of a flower was the star of David.

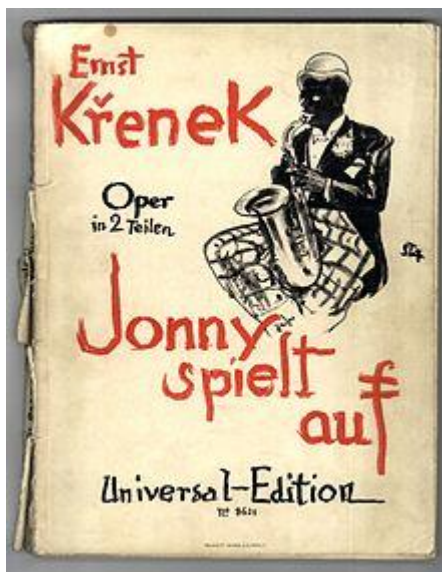


Figure 7. The original score cover for Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf*, 1926. Taken from the composer's biography.



Figure 8 the Nazi version of the *Jonny spielt auf* picture. Taken from the degenerate music website.

Information about Erwin Schulhoff (1894-1942) is taken from Deutsches Bibliographie. Schulhoff had his career marred by the Nazis and struggled to revive his career, so his music is not performed to this day. Schulhoff was also labelled a degenerate due to his Jewish descent. In reaction to fighting in World War I, his political views also became more extreme, and it became clear that he had embraced communism. The music he composed after this period was aligned with jazz and he was a fervent exponent of Dadaism. Another composer Anton Webern (1883-1945) increasingly struggled to have music performed and published in the 1930s. The Nazis deemed his work to be culturally bolshevist and degenerate (Haas, 2013). He himself had a difficult relationship with Nazism, where he would remonstrate against it, saying that 'it had little coherence' and helping the Jewish children of his friends and then fawning about Hitler creating a new world. Therefore, Reichwein was supporting the Nazi party culturally by removing these composers from the performing canon. Reichwein's writing was also published in the magazine *Volkischer Beobachter*, the daily newspaper of the Nazis. One particular piece was based on Richard Wagner's anti-Semitic pamphlet *Judaism in Music* and was titled *Die Juden in der deutschen Musik*, [The Jew in German Music]. Further pieces were written including an article against the Jewish composer Felix Mendohlsohn (1809-1847), who he claimed wanted money more than music. During World War II, Reichwein conducted the Vienna state opera and was

employed as a conducting teacher by the State Academy of Music. In 1938 Hitler awarded him the position of General Music Director and made him a member of the Reich Music Chamber.

A brief mention of the Mozarteum Orchestra Salzburg is made to acknowledge its existence through the war. It was established in 1341 and therefore had already achieved longevity. From 1939-1944 its chief conductor was Willem Van Hoogstaten. He is significant not only for his behaviour at this time but also his relationship with Elly Ney, who as previously noted has been called by some the Nazi's piano Auntie (Meyer, 1975). There was a certain level of investment in the concert hall where the orchestra held its performances. In 1941 the small concert organ was rebuilt with a new console and neo baroque modifications, thus proving once more that the Nazis were willing to invest in music, especially if it would be to their advantage. That was something that they also did in Norway even as the tide was turning against them in combat.

9.5 Poland.

Poland was the second country to be occupied by Nazi Germany and as previously mentioned, suffered the most losses with regards to music life. In the pre-war period there were three orchestras active that will be considered. These were the Warsaw National Philharmonic, the Lodz Philharmonic, and the Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestras. The initial stages of research were problematic, as information about the three orchestras were scarce. In many instances, the orchestra's official website provides basic information. When considering the history of the war, it appears that like the Norwegians the Poles had issues with processing the war period. However, in other areas they did not appear to have any issues, for instance, a visit to Krakow can entail a visit to Auschwitz death camp, Schindler's factory, and the Jewish ghetto, which have all been preserved. However, there is a way to deal with situations by museumising them.

Information about the Warsaw Philharmonic is taken from their own website. The Warsaw National Philharmonic was founded in 1901. It appears that in this first instance it was the orchestra itself which decided to suspend its own activities on the outbreak of the war. However, in the early stages of the occupation, it lost half of its members due to death by the hands of the Nazis and the concert hall where performances were held was subsequently destroyed. After the war, the ensemble was reassembled in time to perform during the 1947-48 season. The second orchestra, Lodz Philharmonic, was founded in 1915 and was active until 1934. It recommenced its activities in 1938. However, it ceased activities during World War II. It is unclear if this was Nazi led or if it was of its own volition. Finally, the Polish National Radio Symphony was created in 1935 and had a short existence. It ceased to exist in 1939 at the outbreak of the war. Up to this point it was led and created by Grzegorz Fitelberg (1879-1953). Again, it is unclear whether it was the decision of the Nazis to close the orchestra or the personnel themselves. Meyer argues that the orchestra's conductor Fitelberg, reflects the Nazis party's ideology (Meyer, 1993).

Information taken from www.pwm.com.pl states that Fitelberg was born into a Jewish family, who all died in the holocaust. During the course of his career, he had conducted the Warsaw Philharmonic and the Vienna State Opera. It is documented that with the Nazi occupation of Poland, up to 350,000 Jews fled to the Soviet Union (Piotrowski, 1997). He was born in the Russian Empire, so it is feasible that this is where he relocated to. However, it is documented that in 1940-41 he conducted in *Teatro Colon Opera House* in Buenos Aires. His second wife was killed in a bombing of Poniatowski Bridge where their home was. He was around the age of sixty when the occupation would have occurred and losing his wife, his home and knowing that, despite his eminence in Polish music life he was still in danger, he may have made the decision to leave. Therefore, his departure could have been the catalyst of the pause in performances by the Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestra.

With this information we can comprehend the first, and one of the main differences between Norway and Poland: in Poland, from the outset of the occupation, Jews were

removed, whereas in Norway, although Jews were being transported away from the country. It was with no sense of urgency. As previously noted, this meant that Norwegian Jews like Ernst Glaser could remain in high profile positions for a significant amount of the occupation period.

9.6 Denmark.

As documented in Chapter 2, music and music life research concerning Denmark during the occupation is scarce. What specifically links all the occupied nations is their inability after the war to deal with the events of the time. It would not be true to say that any nation felt this time period harder to process than any other. However, Danish music Professor Peder Kaj Pedersen stated in conversation with me, that he had attempted many times to instigate research into music and music life of this time by applying for funding and grants, but to no avail. This means that when considering Denmark information is lacking.

There were several orchestras that maintained an existence through the occupation. The Danish National Symphony orchestra was founded in 1925. Launy Grondahl (1925-1957) had a position with the orchestra from the outset, although his title of conductor was unofficial. The Danish Radio Conductor affiliated with the orchestra in the war period was Erik Turen (1936-1957). The Danish National Chamber orchestra was founded in 1921. From 1939 it existed as part of the Danish Broadcasting Corporation. It became an orchestra that presented programmes of radio light entertainment with a popular repertoire. In 1943, Teddy Petersen (1892-1991) took control of the orchestra. He was a band leader and violinist who trained in Copenhagen. Between 1940-45, the occupation years, he made nine films and was popular nationwide. Also active was the Copenhagen Philharmonic Orchestra, which was founded in 1843, the Royal Danish Orchestra, and Aarhus Symphony Orchestras. Here, yet again there is little information about the orchestras and the active personnel. In addition to these, the Aalborg Symphony Orchestra was created in 1943. It was founded by

Jens Schroder (1909-1991). Again, there is scant information about the orchestra and the conductor and There are many questions that remain unanswered: what was the driving force to create an orchestra in an occupied nation? How involved were the Nazis in the orchestra? This highlights additional research is needed to develop a deeper understanding of events.

The initial assault on Denmark occurred on 9 April 1940, the same day as the Norwegian invasion. There the similarities end. The occupation of Denmark occurred within hours, whereas in Norway it took weeks. Since the Nazis had control of Denmark from the outset, this may have led to a certain leniency towards music life. The difference would also be that the Aalborg Symphony Orchestra performed in public. In Norway, by contrast, some music life went underground and as mentioned in the previous chapter, rather than creating new musical organisations, the Norwegians were being told by the resistance to cease taking part in music life. It is claimed that new music societies in Belgium were created to capture the interest of music lovers, and this may have been the initiative in Denmark (Derom, 2015). Therefore, some form of investment was being made in music life in Denmark as it was in Norway.

9.7 Belgium.

As with many other countries, at the first signs of war Belgian declared that it would remain neutral. The Nazis had other ideas and made a swift and surprising invasion. The Belgian government escaped to France and then to the United Kingdom, ruling in exile, as was the Norwegian government. Belgium was then ruled by a Nazi military administration and under direct control of the Wehrmacht. The Belgian civil service assisted the Nazis, on the understanding that the more help they provided the more lenient the rulers would be (Cook, 2002). However, the Belgian fascist parties collaborated to a larger extent. In 1942, the ruling people became more oppressive, and the situation became worse. They deported

Belgians to Germany to work in factories and in this period over forty thousand Belgians were killed, half of them Jewish (Yapou, 2006).

The National Orchestra of Belgium was founded in 1931 by Desire Defauw (1885-1960) and later in 1936 reorganised into its present form. Defauw had been a refugee in London during the First World War and left Belgium to go to America in 1940. The Brussels Philharmonic Orchestra was founded in 1935 by the Belgian Public Broadcaster. It carried the name of the Groot Symfonie-Orkest [Symphony Orchestra]. Little research after this appears to have been carried out.

9.8 The Netherlands.

It might initially appear from this section of the chapter that The Netherlands had the highest number of surviving orchestras during the occupation. However, Michael Haas, who is considered to be the leading component of writings on forbidden music, states in a blog that 'Nothing prepared me for the devastation of Dutch musical life' (Haas, 2015). However, it would appear that this relates to the composers' lives rather than orchestras. Haas also notes that due to its proximity to Germany, that in the years leading up to the war, The Netherlands was the country where most German refugees went. On the outbreak of war, The Netherlands, like Norway, declared itself neutral, and was subsequently invaded and placed in occupation. It was discovered in 2008 that the Germans had paid the Dutch police and authorities to locate Jewish people. This resulted in the deaths of 70 per cent of the Jewish population (Hirschfield, 1998). Throughout the first part of the occupation up until 1943, the Nazis operated a 'velvet glove' approach to the Dutch, who were consequently placed in a mild occupation. From 1943, the Nazis determined that these nations should give more financially to Nazi Germany (Van der Seer, 1998). This was not a consideration in Norway.

The first orchestra to address is the Royal Concertgebouw, although the Royal title was added in 1988, one hundred years after the orchestra was founded in Amsterdam. It was named Concertgebouw after the hall where it performed. The chief conductor throughout the occupation, and for many years before this, was Willem Mengleberg (1871-1951). In the years leading up to the occupation, he was a champion of Mahler. In fact, it is recorded that he befriended Mahler and the orchestra became renowned for its Mahler performances and a festival that Mengleberg initiated. This is where Mengleberg's story becomes a mystery. It is said that on hearing that the Nazis had invaded the Netherlands, he raised a glass of champagne (Geissmar, 1944). In an interview with the newspaper *Volkischer Beobachter*, he talked about the existing bond between Germany and the Netherlands. He was often seen in the company of Nazis and throughout the war he conducted in Germany and German-occupied nations (Geissmar, 1944). After the war, he was banned from conducting in the Netherlands for six years and lived in exile in Switzerland. He died two months before the ban expired (Crichton, 1980). It is difficult to understand how he reacted to the Nazis when he had championed Mahler in earlier decades: he would have understood from previous experience that Mahler was seen as degenerate by the Nazis. However, politics had not always been a factor.

Also active in Amsterdam was the *Symfonisch Blaasorkestret*, [Symphony Brass Orchestra]. This orchestra was founded in 1906 and it was considered to be the corporate fanfare of the Amsterdam municipal tram company and was used as a tool for relaxation after work. The members were paid fifteen cents a week for rehearsals and performances. As the occupation progressed, life became difficult for this orchestra. They had refused to join the N.A.F which was the Dutch National Socialist trade union centre, which was founded on April 30, 1942, by a decree of the Reich Commissioner Arthur Seyss-Inquart. The role of the N.A.F was:

Het Nederlandsche Arbeidsfront heeft tot taak alle Nederlanders die door eigen arbeid geheel of gedeeltelijk in hun levensonderhoud voorzien, samen te brengen, te verzorgen, hen op te voeden tot wederzijdsch begrip voor hun economische belangen, alsmede voor hun sociale en cultureele behoeften en bij de bevrediging van deze behoeften medewerking te verleen.

(tramharmonie.nl)

That is:

The task of the Netherlands Labor Front is to bring together, to care for and to educate all Dutch nationals who earn their livelihood wholly or partially through their own work, and to educate them to a mutual understanding of their economic interests, as well as of their social and cultural needs and the satisfaction to cooperate with these needs.

It seems from this mission statement that there would have been no obvious benefits in joining the N.A.F for the members of the orchestra, except that it would allow the Reich to monitor them, maintaining observation of the people in the orchestra and performances that they would have given. Finally, the decision was taken that they should hide their instruments and hold concerts in secret, presumably working for the resistance. This is aligned with Norway, where the resistance encouraged musicians to not take part in public performances and performances went underground.

The Limburgs *Symfonie Orkest* as it is now known, was founded in 1883 and was until 1955 called the Maastrichts *Stredelijk Orkest*, that is the Maastricht Municipal Orchestra. It was active during the occupation and retained the same conductor, Henri Hermans from 1915 until his death in 1947. Little is known of his allegiances, but there was an agreement with the Nazis about which orchestras could broadcast the most concerts. It is unsurprising to find very little information about this orchestra and Henri Hermans. Similarly, little is known about the wartime *Residentie Orkest*, now known as the Hague Philharmonic, which was founded in 1904. The conductor throughout this time from 1938 to

1949, was Fritz Schuurman (1898-1972). Schuurman was a Dutch conductor and composer. Beyond this scant information little is known about him. This is addressed by Decca on a sleeve note for a small number of performances that have been captured on record where it is stated that:

It is difficult to find information about this conductor, even though he was the conductor of the *Residentie Orkest* for quite some time. Even in the commemorative book of the *Residentie Orkest* on its 100th anniversary (*Risico en vertrouwen*, by Sytze Smit, 2004) Frits Schuurman is very poorly represented. Schuurman had his problems, not only with the *Residentie Orkest*, but especially with the press, who were very much against him. His predecessor, Peter van Anrooy, is also hardly mentioned in this book: a missed opportunity.

(Decca, 2004).

Van Anrooy had been imprisoned in Theresienstadt camp but returned to his former position briefly after the war. Also, Schuurman was in the situation from 1938 before The Netherlands was actually invaded. It is intriguing that Schuurman had problems with the orchestra and the press. It could be supposed that the orchestra objected to his choice of programming if this was Nazified. The press had been taken over in 1940, and immediately became propaganda driven. As with most nations, underground newspapers were more trustworthy. So, it is unclear if the press had taken against him meant the underground press or the Nazi driven media; however, the fact that Schuurman has been almost completely removed from the orchestra's history is probably quite telling.

The Nord Nederlands *Orkest* was founded in 1862 and is now known as the Groninger *Orkest* Vereeniging. The chief conductor from 1910-1945 was Kornelius Jacobus Kuiler (1877-1951). He was a Dutch composer and conductor who preferred the classical romantic repertoire. In a career move similar to the one by Norwegian conductor Olav Kielland, in 1942 he became a member of the regional advisory Council of the Dutch Chamber of Culture. This was created by the Nazis to exercise control over cultural life. Potentially, it was also like the Norwegian cultural council and had no power, but it would

have been a means to keep a position and an income. However, like Kielland, there was no reprisal for Kuiler after the war, neither through war trials nor citizen lynching.

Founded in 1921, the Netherlands Bach Society continued throughout the occupation. Even from the title of the orchestra, it would be clear that there would be a high chance of survival. The Nazis did of course believe in a musical diet of Bach. The conductor in charge was Anthon van der Horst (1899-1965) who was also a composer and organist. He was a Bach connoisseur and directed from original scores. Van der Horst was in continual work throughout the occupation including, up until 1941, playing the organ for the English reformed church in Amsterdam (Oost, 1992). This is in comparison with Eduard Flipse (1896-1973) who remained in position as the conductor of the Rotterdam Philharmonic. Whereas van der Horst championed Bach, Flipse was concerned with the promotion of contemporary composers and Dutch composers like Johan Wagenaar (1862-1941) and Willem Pijper (1894-1947) who was a student of Wagenaar. Wagenaar was influenced by Berlioz, Strauss and Pijper (Bentham, 2021) He conducted the first Dutch performance of Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* and Alban Berg's *Violin Concerto*. Both of which were considered degenerate music by the Nazis.

The *Cultuurkamer* [culture committee], as in Norway, was an organisation created by the Nazis which regulated the arts in The Netherlands. As a council it was restricting and discriminating. To maintain a career, membership was essential. Within this organisation Jewish composers were banned and also music from countries that Germany was at war with. The performance of German music in England was similarly banned.

9.9 France.

The occupation of France was the causal effect of a long running dispute with Germany that had commenced over a century earlier. According to historians a military agreement that had been signed in 1921 with Poland was also a factor (Roland, 2018). Although this

chapter concerns the orchestras of the time, the Paris Conservatoire will be considered briefly, as it demonstrates the conflict that can occur within establishments.

Fancourt states that it is considered that the Paris Conservatoire swung between collaboration and resistance (Fancourt, date unknown) and in the first instance, collaboration. As soon as Paris was occupied, the director of the conservatoire, Henri Rabaud (1873-1949), wrote to the Nazis of his own volition: Rabaud was concerned that the conservatoire would close, due to the number of Jews working and studying there. He also suggested that he would assist the Nazis in their cleansing (Girardot, 1997). He carried out investigations and discovered that 24 out of 580 students were full Jews. It should be noted that he personally made the final decision as to who was Jewish and who was not. The acts of true resistance could be seen by Claude Devincourt (1888-1954) the director who replaced the retired Rabaud in 1941. Devincourt's issue became that Rabaud had catalogued those students too well, which meant they were an easier target for the Nazis. In these cases, he hid students in orchestras, produced false identity cards and gave money for passage (Demuth, 1994). Also, he arranged for secret lessons so students would be able to re-join the conservatoire upon liberation this meant that the conservatoire could remain open. He bravely argued with the Nazis to keep 3% of Jewish students, as other higher education establishments had. The support that Devincourt provided can be compared to Tveitt and Monrad Johansen who, amongst others, wrote letters of support to the Nazis to enable the Norwegian Jewish musicians to retain their jobs. There were a significant number of orchestras still operating in Nazi occupied France, which may have been due to its geographical size.

The Orchestra National Bordeaux Aquitaine was founded in 1853 and carried out performances in the Grand Theatre de Bordeaux. In 1940 it merged with the Association des *Professeurs* of the Conservatoire. This was arranged by Gaston Poulet (1892-1974) who was the director of the Conservatoire (Paris, 1995). During the war it was permitted to travel to Geneva and Buenos Aires to hold concerts. Poulet left his position in 1944 to take up the role of Professor of Chamber Music at the Paris Conservatoire. Information about

Poulet is scarce, as most of his actions during the war are erased from history. However, the supposition by some historians is that he either maintained a low-key life or was a Nazi sympathiser. This is based on evidence that due to his ability to travel with the orchestra and his moving to the conservatoire, there appears to be some favouring by the Nazis, and supposed trust that he and the orchestra would return to occupied France (Paris, 1995). In comparison with Norway, where conductors like Kielland were permitted to move around but orchestras weren't, this seems to mean that the Nazis in France were more lenient.

The *Orchestre de la Societe des Concerts du Conservatoire* was founded in 1828, for the primary purpose of bringing Beethoven symphonies to the masses. The chief conductor through the occupation and years surrounding was Charles Munch (1891-1968). Munch was a French conductor and violinist and a champion of Berlioz (Cooper, 2001). He remained in France and as conductor of the orchestra to maintain the morale of the French. He refused to conduct in Germany and to have contemporary German works in his programmes. In addition to this, he protected members of the orchestra from the Gestapo and gave his income to the French resistance. The Norwegians never really made this kind of commitment to their resistance, but as noted they did protect Jewish members of the orchestra, and composers such as Irgens-Jensen thwarted the use of their own music, by making excuses to the Nazis as to why it was not ready to be performed.

The Orchestra National de France was founded in 1934. In 1939, the city of Paris bombings forced it to be disband, and half of the musicians of the orchestra were mobilised into the French Army, whilst the others settled in Rennes 191 miles away. The Vichy government reinstated the orchestra in Marseilles without Jewish personnel, but in 1943 it returned to Paris. The conductor through this period was Desire-Emile Inghelbrecht (1880-1965), a French composer, conductor, and writer. In 1943, he had planned the 1000th performance of the orchestra, co-incidentally the 25th anniversary of Debussy's death. However, he refused to conduct a programme devoted to music of German occupying forces and was then suspended (Hoeree, Kaye, 1997).

The *Orchestre Philharmonique* de Strasbourg had an interesting history. Founded in 1855, in two periods of its existence it became a German orchestra: that is 1871-1917 and 1940-44. For most of the occupation Hans Rosbaud (1895-1962) was the chief conductor. In this position he kept a low profile, deliberately not making any active political statements: this was due to his brother being a member of the resistance and a spy for the allies (Kaye, 1997).

9.10 Conclusion.

As indicated at the beginning of the chapter, there were some issues with the research. In the first-place orchestras had merged and therefore changed their name: also, as was noted from the conference I held in 2012, several nations still had not processed their occupations, and information about societies and personnel was sketchy at the very least. In some cases, such as Denmark, there had been attempts to instigate research through funding, but these efforts failed partly because of potential national shame; society became so divided that it is difficult to resurrect the topic. Norway had also not dealt with the occupation and societies' behaviours. When I first considered the topic, it was thought it had not been investigated due to the lack of information which was not the case; there was a wealth of information seemingly not used because of the sensitivity of the topic.

At the outset of the research for this chapter, it was considered that it might be that the further away from Berlin and the heart of Nazism the country was, the more lenient the Nazis were. However, this was not true. It may appear that the more flexible the Nazis were, would depend on the top personnel, for example, the conductor of the orchestra and their actions. There were some nations that would be automatically treated differently. Czechoslovakia, which was the first nation to be annexed/occupied, like Norway, who had Jews that were permitted to keep their roles long into the war. Additionally, Austria was a most willing collaborator with Nazi ideology and therefore was treated differently to most

other nations. This was due to the common language and the fact that Nazism was deeply ingrained in the country from the early 1930s.

Austria also demonstrated that there was no strict ruling on Nazi ideology, which could be adapted to suit any situation. Consider for example the two Viennese orchestras, the NS Tonkünstler and the Viennese Philharmonic. It may have been considered that the NS Tonkünstler would have been the favourite orchestra due to it being titled NS; however, it would appear that the Nazis favoured the other orchestra. In Norway there was no such favouritism as there was only two main orchestras. Furthermore, Orchestras seemingly had a better chance of survival if the personnel involved with the orchestras were more acceptable to the Nazi's ways. However, conductors like Munch in France managed to do this and were also protective of the personnel of the orchestra. In Oslo, Kielland conducted programmes that the Nazis would appreciate, such as more traditional compositions, and he was permitted to travel as a conductor and carry out performances.

Seemingly, in Norway the only composer who did make outwardly political statements was Christian Sinding. He was courted by the Nazis, who praised and lauded him, holding special birthday dinners. He in turn praised them. However, it should be noted that Sinding was deaf, was suffering from dementia and was a lonely man who had just lost his wife. He found himself increasingly isolated and abandoned by his friends, due to his political stance (Vollestad, 2010). Michael Meyer suggested that the Nazis closed a number of orchestras, due to the removal of Jews. This would not have been the case in Norway, as there were not many Jews in the orchestras. In Poland, it is unclear whether they ceased due to their own decisions or by Nazi order. In the latter scenario, the Paris conservatoire was the clearest in their understanding of what might occur and decided to approach the Nazis to negotiate their survival.

Seemingly, The Netherlands and France had the most surviving orchestras. This might have also been the case for Norway, but it is a nation of fewer people and therefore fewer orchestras. Orchestras from France were permitted to travel, as they were from Germany and Austria, but the Norwegians were not afforded this luxury.

10 Post-war Ramifications and Conclusion, Further Research.

10.1 Introduction.

This chapter includes background information about how Norwegian society dealt with the aftereffects of World War II. This will give a baseline for understanding the influence on Norwegian music life in the post-war period. Also, the post-war fate of composers will be considered and to offer an understanding of how music life recovered.

10.2 Norwegian Life Returns to Normal.

This study would be incomplete without considering what happened after World War II and the effect it had had on Norwegian music life. It is debatable when World War II finished in Norway: officially, the end date of the occupation was 8 May 1945; however, most Norwegians consider the 7 June 1945 to be the relevant day, as that was the day the royal family and especially the King returned from exile (Royalcourt, 2007). Initially, the concern was that Germany would not retreat from Norway (Roland, 2018) and there would be another battle. This was always a possibility due to the heavy build-up of soldiers, arms and naval ships that had been situated in Norway during the occupation, but this did not happen (Roland, 2018). In fact, the endgame was tame with the arrest of Quisling and Nazi offices.

The end of the war had ramifications across the whole of society, and it was dealt with in several ways. Society had created three terms to describe behaviour during the occupation: *Jøssinger*, *Striped* and *Nasjonal Samling*. As previously stated, *Jøssinger* meant good Norwegian, *Striped* meant neither one nor the other and *Nasjonal Samling* were Nazi Sympathisers. These terms were created by Swedish newspapers but used by Norwegian society according to perceived behaviours of individuals and could therefore create a significant amount of distress. They were titles that were markers of behaviour and once

given by Norwegian society were never taken away. As an example of this, a report from a newspaper during the occupation stated that there were two individuals who were assisting Jews to escape to Sweden. At this first report, they fell into the category of Jøssinger, however, after assisting many Jews, one day, in the heat of the moment, they murdered and stole the personal effects of a couple they were helping. Potentially, they had then moved from the category of Jøssinger to Nasjonal Samling, but there had been other people that they had saved before (Aftenposten, 1943). This was problematic for the Norwegians, because as Ostling note, these people had displayed heroic behaviour befitting the post war unity of the nation but had then become criminals. But, people do not always display clear cut and consistent behaviour: in fact, in this case the Norwegians in the judicial system struggled with how they should respond to this situation and what would be the punishment. As it was they were given a one month suspended sentence (Aftenposten, 1943). There were many who were brought to justice unofficially by society, through lynch mobs and vigilantes, and those that were dealt with by the authorities, ranging from females who fraternised with German soldiers to those who supported the Nazis by informing on Norwegians.

The women who had relationships with the Nazi soldiers became known by the nickname the "German Girls" and were targeted for reprisals in Norway when the war ended - standing accused of betraying the country.

(BBC News, 2018)

These girls had their heads shaved and were sent to live in Germany with their children. The government in exile commenced putting laws in place from 1941, and the reaction of the Norwegians to treason was stern: they reintroduced capital punishment and one of the first sentenced to death was, of course, Vidkun Quisling (Hayes, 1971). Monetary punishments were high, and a new law was introduced called *tap av almenn tillit* [loss of public confidence]; which removed civil privileges (Andeneas, 1966). Several thousands were tried

in court cases and found to be guilty. Also, hard labour camps for the guilty were created in Northern Norway where the prisoners would have to be hardy to survive.

10.2.1 Hard Labour Camps.



Figure 8. Entrance to Falstad Hard Labour Camp. Picture taken from Helgesand Museum.

One of these camps was Falstad, north of Trondheim. It was originally built as a boarding school for wayward teenagers. However, the Nazis identified it as a possible Lebensborn camp, but on inspection found it unsuitable, but it was deemed suitable for Nazi prisoners of war of different nations (Lykke, 1995). The Nazis also used it as part of the transport route for Norwegian Jews. The first inmates were 170 Danes who had agreed to fight with the Nazis and then reneged. Their task was to build a wire fence and the watchtowers that became synonymous with Nazi camps. The local forest was used as a place for firing

squads and to this day bodies are still being recovered (VG, 1992). In 1945, after liberation Falstad became a forced labour camp to incarcerate those who had supported the Nazis.

That its inmates should work was important because:

The authorities wanted the prisoners to contribute both to the income of the camp and to rebuild the nation. It was considered important to use forced labour as a means of both punishment and employment.

(Lykke, 1995).

The prisoners were mainly male. Inside the camp the roles included cleaning, administration, kitchen work and chopping wood. Outside roles included construction work. Lykke believes that at a conservative estimate, 3,000 people were found guilty of treason and passed through Falstad (Lykke, 1995). Although this appears to be a small number, it must be remembered that Norway is not a populous country.

In some cases, especially with regards to composers, there was a reversal of fortune: this includes the careers of composers, orchestras and indeed personnel. In his study, *Musikk under Okkupasjonen*, Hans Jorgen Hurum states that he 'does not want to point fingers' when portraying his version of events during this period (Hurum, vi). In the same way, I am also not attempting to point fingers, however, unbiased, and objective facts will be provided as far as possible.

10.3 Composers.

Due to the sensitivity after the war, the transition into normal life became difficult and many of the suspicions of the war years remained. This was not less so for composers: some were left with ruined careers, whilst others were confident enough to build on the events of the war. In the first instance the career of David Monrad Johansen will be examined.

In the pre-war period, Monrad Johansen was considered by his peers to be the future of Norwegian music: his music was pushing the boundaries and it was fully expected by Norwegian music society that he would be the one to demonstrate to the outside world the importance of Norway in the field of music (Grinde, 1991). This was not only as a composer, but as a critic too. However, during the war he wrote two articles in support of Nazi music (Nesheim, 2007) and joined a cultural council that had no significant power. Before the war he had authored many articles in support of those composers like Stravinsky who would later be banned by the Nazis. Furthermore, he sought his musical education in Germany, which meant he had a great respect for German music although it must be remembered that up to the war this had been the case in many other nations. He then became a member of the Nazi party, yet this was quite late on in the war, for which he was punished post-war. But the inconsistencies with how people were treated are exemplified in how Monrad Johansen was treated compared with his son Johan Kvandal. Kvandal had joined the Nazi party much earlier than Monrad Johansen. Kvandal had demonstrated significant Nazi sympathies from early on, and in fact, was sent to Vienna on a stipend/composer's grant during the occupation. Yet, Kvandal's career continued to progress after the war, and there was never a consideration of his Nazism, and he was never requested to discuss it. In comparison, Monrad Johansen went from having a significant number of premieres before the occupation to one or two during it and after the end of the war he was tried for treason. His arrest file considers the two articles that he authored and joining the Cultural Council as significant. In his defence, he claimed that he had joined the culture council to protect Norwegian music life. He was found guilty, and at the the age of 57 served four years of hard labour in Falstad.

The Cultural Council was implemented in 1942. By then the Nazis had been in control for two years. It is clear from the outset that the Nazis were going to invest financially in music life, an investment that was maintained up until the final throws of the war, which again gave the Allies no reason to believe that they were going to leave Norway easily. Perhaps this gave Monrad Johansen the signal that he had no option to join the party to

save Norwegian music. Up to this date of writing, Monrad Johansen's music is still not performed. There have been attempts to rehabilitate him into music life by his biographer, but with no real success. For the anniversary of his birth, I was told that there would be a weeklong celebration of his life and work in Oslo. This would entail performances and lectures. In reality, there was a half day celebration on 6 November in Mosjoen, Northern Norway organised by his biographer, Roger Ivar Hansen. When it came to reparation, the Norwegians were strident. And memories are long.

Another case which demonstrates this is that of the composer, Signe Lund. As a composer from Farsund, Norway she was an advocate for Norwegian music. In 1900, she relocated to America, however she always promoted Norway. This meant that in the 1920s/30s she received a King's medal of merit from the King of Norway for encouraging good relations between the two nations. This was later removed from her due to her fraternisation with the Nazis as was her American visa. It was in America that she developed Socialist allegiances, becoming a member of the North Dakota Socialism League. On returning to Norway, she was caught up in Nazism and was interviewed many times in the press, expressing her love for Nazi ideals. However, although she had been an accomplished composer in the pre-war period, she did not seek to have premieres during the occupation. This was potentially due to her role as an activist and speaker for Nazi Germany. However, she was still outspoken about her ideas of women in Nazism and her love for the Fuhrer (Hurum, 1946). She also composed songs for Hitler. She had attended the *Entartete Musik* exhibition in Munich which left her feeling disturbed. At the end of the war, she was also arrested and found guilty of treason. At the age of 77, her punishment was the same as Monrad Johansen's, four years in a hard labour camp in Central Norway. Her family have sealed her archives which are held in the National Library of Oslo. As a means of rehabilitation, there have been the *Lund dagene* [Lund days] held in Farsund where she was born. The days include lectures, performances, and tours of the town. The organiser of the festival told me she holds Signe Lund in high esteem and does not consider the composer's Nazi ideals. In conversation, I was told that the organiser's father had been

a messenger for the resistance and was shot dead by the Nazis. And although she was a young child when this happened, they would have been old enough to understand the loss of a parent. This ability to consider a musical legacy beyond the political affiliations is interesting: does it indicate a sea-change in Norway?

A brief mention of Christian Sinding is made here. Sinding died in 1941 very early in the occupation, however, as has been established in chapter 5, his Nazi sympathies were not hidden; he was feted by them on his birthday with special dinners and they used him as a political pawn (Vollestad, 2005). Again, a charitable viewpoint is that he was lonely, his wife had just died, he was deaf and according to Vollestad was suffering from dementia (Vollestad, 2005), although he had been vocal in stating that the new Germany held more for him than Norway, but he had spent a large amount of his career in Germany. There have been biographies written about him by Gunnar Rugstad (1977) and Per Vollestad (2005), who do not attempt to rehabilitate him and his work is still not performed. Seemingly he has been erased from Norwegian music history.

These are unfortunate consequences of the war, but there are some that musically survived the occupation. The composer Harald Sæverud retreated to his family home. In the years preceding the war, he had a small number of compositions premiered with the Bergen Philharmonic. During the war, the number of premieres greatly increased, and he developed a working relationship with the Bergen Philharmonic, conducting many of his own works. After the war ended, he gave many interviews stating that 'I fought the Nazis with my music' (Dagbladet, 1989). This claim is doubtful. He may have been angered by the fact that he could see the gathering of Nazis from his home, however, the symphonies that premiered during the war were only labelled after the war. The titles they were given became dedications to the resistance and other anti-Nazi organisations. But they were not given these titles during the occupation and were still performed. There is, however, no doubt that the music composed at this time was more Norwegian than his previous output in that it relied heavily on Norwegian folk rhythms and melodies. This is apart from *Kjempeviseslatten*, which uses the same motif as the opening of Beethoven's *Symphony no*

5, a favourite of the Nazis. However, in an interview in September 1945, he declared that the war had left its mark on Norwegian music (Dagbladet, 28/09/1945) and further stated, '*Vi måtte skape så mye and som mulig som en motvekt mot voldsveider*' [We had to create as much spirit as possible as a counterweight to the rule by force] (Royden, 2016).

This interview was in regard to Norwegian music week in the September of 1945. A new initiative, it was to celebrate Norwegian music in the post war recovery. However, in an article from Aftenposten dated 9/10/45, Egge states that '*Dette er bare begynnelsen*' [it is only the beginning]. He also states that Norwegian composers were making connections with the Russians and would be performing Norwegian music there.

Olav Kielland, who had conducted the Oslo Philharmonic during the occupation and had been able to travel abroad, was investigated for treason. Like Monrad Johansen he had been a member of the Culture Council, albeit a temporary one. However, he had also been found not guilty. While this nevertheless affected his career, such as giving less concerts in Norway (Grinde, 1997) but he still appeared as a guest conductor in different countries. In Norway he was approached by the Trondheim Symphony Orchestra to take the helm. Following this in 1948 he became chief conductor for the Bergen Philharmonic orchestra. As a composer, he never achieved the potential that was demonstrated early in his career and before the occupation. It is difficult to consider why this was, but in later decades after the war, despite having never been found guilty, he was still having to answer critics about whether he was a Nazi sympathiser or not. This culminated in the 1970s, when the judge who had tried him released a statement, saying that all questions regarding Kielland should cease, he had been found to be innocent. In an interview in 1986, Kielland stated that the war years had affected his career and it is noted by the interviewer Storaas that in 1980, Kielland commissioned the London Philharmonic Orchestra to record one of his main works (Bergens Tidende, 29/07/86) rather than a Norwegian orchestra.

For other composers, the post war years became unremarkable. Whether it was age or the aftershock of what had happened, the majority seemed to have reached their peak as to compositional outputs. Some, like Fartein Valen, gained notoriety in Europe. Klaus Egge

and Irgens Jensen composed less. Eivind Groven chose to edit a seven-volume study on Hardanger fiddle melodies. Geirr Tveitt lost a significant number of compositions through a house fire. Debate still rages about where his loyalties lay, and this tends to overshadow his music.

Additionally, there still seems to be an acceptance of the limitations of German music caused by the war. In an article about folk music published on the 19/10/45, Groven a prominent Norwegian musicologist, indicated that there should be an acceptance of modern German music stating that this should be, '*Vi må tenke på dette når vi hører det tekniske storslegge apparetet i mer modern tysk kunstmusikk som begynte med Richard Strauss*', [when we hear the musical sledgehammer in more modern German classical music which started with Richard Strauss] but adds '*Fra denne tid kan vi også regne at livskimmtalt dode ut i tysk musikk*' [from this time we can also reckon that the life giving seed in practice died out in German music] (Royden, 2018). It appears Groven is suggesting that the Nazis ended the influence of German music. What appears also is that folk music in Norwegian music gains an importance in compositions: another news article states that '*Det er lange siden vi har hørt til Norske musikk*' [It has been a long time since we have heard Norwegian music] (Abrahamsen, 1946, Royden, 2018).

In the winter of 2016, Sigurd Sandmo, at that time, the director of the Bergen museums, delivered a series of concerts where Lund and Monrad Johansen were performed with 'degenerate' composers, such was the Nazi term for composers who were composed disagreeable music. Sandmo uses the term 'honor settlement' as the reason why Lund is not played in the decades after the war. He even goes on to suggest that Monrad Johansen has regained his place in Norwegian music history because he was male but that Lund has not because she had left her family and husband for Nazi ideology. However, it is not clear that Monrad Johansen did reclaim his place and furthermore Lund died one year after her sentence finished which realistically did not give her the time to fight to regain her place in Norwegian music society.

10.4 Further Research.

As this is an under researched topic, the scope for new investigations is endless. Further investigation will be carried out into the workings of the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra at this time. The archive of Andreas Diesen's parents concerning the nightclub Chat Noir will also be investigated. Additionally, research into the many composers who were active during the occupation who have not been covered in this thesis would also give a greater picture of the time.

10.5 Conclusion.

The legacy of World War II echoes even in modern times and there are signs that Norway can look again at the past. The bodies of those killed in the Nazi's camps in Northern Norway are still being found. The war sailors who fought for recognition for decades, now have it, but many have died before receiving the acknowledgement. At the end of May 2022 Bjorn Mortensen Kristofferson, received a premiere of his war requiem. It was dedicated to the sailors, who served during the war and included text from some of their diaries and for whom recognition of what they did and suffered has also been slow coming. This was not the first composition in memoriam of this time; in 2001 Norwegian composer Ståle Kleiberg (1958-), his war requiem – for victims of Nazi persecution, which had been commissioned by Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim which demonstrates a willingness of the next generation to consider the war. Written for three soloists and orchestras, it contains special sections dedicated to Jews, homosexuals, and gypsies. Kleiberg states that:

The memory of the Holocaust was kept alive while I was growing up, and when the term ethnic cleansing surfaced again in Europe during the Balkan conflict in the early -90s, I was deeply shocked. The crossroads of past and present resulted in these three works.

(Van der Vloed, 2003)

In October 2018, Erna Solberg the Norwegian prime minister issued apologies to the 'German girls', those women who were considered to have fraternized with German soldiers and/or gave birth to children as a result of these liaisons, and who, post-war were summarily punished, tarred and feathered stating:

Our conclusion is that Norwegian authorities violated the rule fundamental principle that no citizen can be punished without trial or sentenced without law.

(BBC News, 2018)

The apology came too late for most of these women, many of whom had already died, but it is reported further that their children were grateful for this acknowledgement.

I understood from the outset that this would be a challenging study. This was because in the first instance, there was very little literature on the topic and that what was in existence relied heavily on the Hurum monograph authored in 1946, which he himself then discredited in the 1970s. I knew that, potentially, unpublished material in archives would be key, so I undertook an intensive course in Norwegian. Then, when investigating archives, it became apparent that the topic was not under-researched due to lack of information, but ultimately due to sensitivities. I decided that there was a lack of examination of attitudes and behaviours during the war, with old memories accepted without being challenged. When dissecting archival information what became apparent was the Nazis had treated Norway differently: they invested financially very heavily from the outset and encouraged the Norwegians to continue music life. In addition to this the Nazis behaviour to individuals, such as allowing the Jews to keep prominent positions with orchestras until later in the war, demonstrates a different agenda to other occupied nations. This contradicts what Meyer states was the Nazi system in occupied nations (Meyer, 1991) as referenced in chapters 8 and 9, the Nazis only treated those nations differently if they had special importance to them, such as Austria - the place of Hitler's birth and for the most part Norway. Whether the

importance of Norway came from iron ore reserves, or its geographical position as a strategic steppingstone, or as cultural kin the Norwegians were considered better than most.

I did find that there were nations about which evidence was inconclusive such as Poland. Initial research about Poland suggested that as Meyer states orchestras did not close due to lack of personnel as a result of the purge of Jews from their ranks, yet there was a different line of thinking that I considered that they had ceased trading simply because they were invaded. This became apparent when constructing my map of orchestras during the occupation. Often it appeared that orchestras were more likely to survive due to high-ranking personnel being Nazi sympathisers or at least demonstrating some form of allegiance (see chapters 5.8 and 9). In Norway this was not the case.

The compositional charts I have constructed show a change in fortune for some composers, most significantly Saeverud and Monrad Johansen. In the pre-war time, Monrad Johansen was considered by Norwegian musicologists to be the future of Norway, however, due to his wartime activity his career post-war ceased. It should be noted that for a man who was found guilty of being a Nazi sympathiser, he only had one premiere during the war. However, Saeverud who had a small number of premieres pre-war, found his career on an upward trajectory and was not investigated for treason.

An important consideration is also the compositions themselves. It appears that Norwegian composers looked towards their homeland and traditions for compositional sources during the occupation. It may have been coincidental that there is a correlation between Norwegian and German folk music, and this made some compositions more appealing to Nazi policy, despite any anti-German intentions of their composers. Furthermore, the Nazis potentially already had a significant foothold in Norwegian music as a significant number of Norwegian composers were pre-war, educated in Germany. Whether or not Norwegian composers used this dynamic to their advantage will never be known.

A brief mention of jazz has been included in this thesis. This is also an under-researched area and ripe for further investigation but did offer some indication of Nazi

attitudes to Norway. For a genre that was outlawed by them, a jazz club next to Nazi offices thrived and jazz musicians were permitted to travel around Norway. At one stage, a jazz band leader from Germany was drafted in to entertain the Norwegians. This led me to the thesis that the further away from Berlin the Nazis were, the more their rules were relaxed. However, high level Nazi leaders were often to be found in and around Oslo (Hurum, 1946).

Finally, this investigation began with an interview with Professor Elef Nesheim, and ultimately, I concur with him that this topic is still under-researched, and this investigation has led to answers, but also more questions. There has been a brief mention of how the Paris Conservatoire was affected under occupation (see chapter 9.9) but what of Norwegian Institutes? Also, the revue club Chat Noir holds significant interest since it was used by the resistance. Further research is also needed regarding the other occupied nations and their orchestras. This matters because orthodox views of what happened at the time need to be challenged and updated with relevant information.

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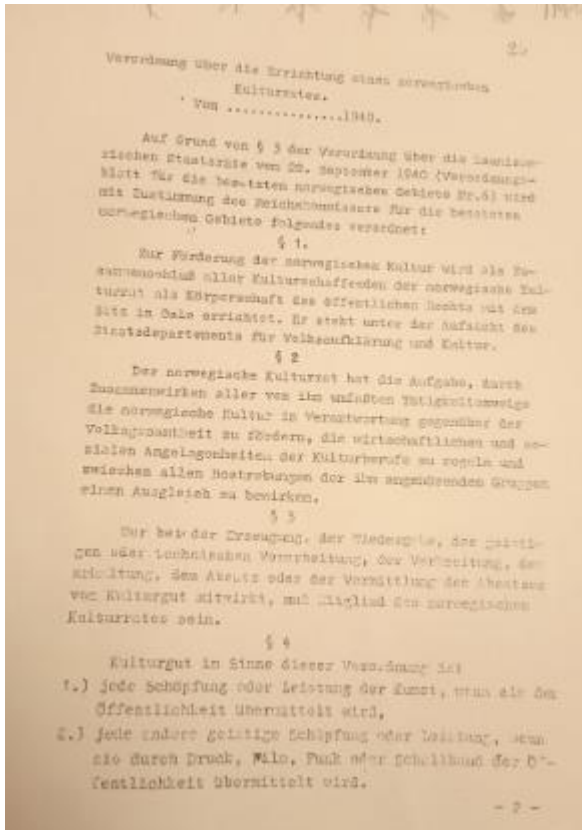
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Appendices

1 Part of the Norwegian Culture Council Contract Dated 1940. Accessed from Nazi Archive Berlin 27/11/18.



2 The Nazis Invest 45,000 RM in Norwegian music life. Accessed in Nazi Archives Berlin 27/11/18.

Gr. Trommel erstmalig angeschafft werden mussten. Ausserdem sind Kosten veranschlagt für Leihgebühren, die dem Deutschen Theater in Oslo für die Stellung von Klavieren und Flügel aus Zusage von Einstudierung notwendigerweise entstehen.

Zu A 31 Erläuterungen 5)
Der aussergewöhnlich veranschlagte Betrag von 45.000,— RM wird durch die Notwendigkeit der Transporte von Material für die Ausstattungen von Deutschland nach Oslo und zurück begründet.

Zu A 31 Erläuterungen 6)
Der veranschlagte Ausserst knapp bemessene Betrag ist für repräsentative Verpflichtungen des Theaters bestimmt (Presseempfang, Matinéen, gesellschaftlichen Veranstaltungen des Reichskommissars in Foyer des Deutschen Theater). Er ist unbedingt für die Stellung notwendig, die das Theater im gesamten Kulturleben in Norwegen einnimmt, und, beurteilt allein nach den Verhältnissen in Oslo, zweckentsprechend und angemessen.

Heil Hitler!
K. Lindemann F. D.







Norsk Torsdags- Koncert

De fire store norske Værker, som udføres ved Selskabs Koncert i Aften i Anledning af den norske Skolekants, gav Listerne et klart Indtryk af nyere Tidens norske Tonkunst. Især Johannes "Pansengilde" er velkendt blandt os, og i det samme Stykke, den herbetale afsluttes sin Vækkelse med sine store Helser og Variationer, hvor af den stærke og storslåede i dens rytme og melodiske Slængninger, og med den overraskende, næsten surrealistiske skærsnit, der gik en smuk Melodi aftrouder det vilde Værk i den rytmiske Erik Tuomas med fremføres det med sikker og smilende Hånd af den norske Dirigent Ole Grønner-Hagge, og valde berøttiget Billed.

Sparre-Odens Komposition "Hellig Værk" havde mange fine og interessante Enhedheder, især i Sæmspillet mellem Korstem og Orkesterstem, og i sine ofte saa smukke melodiske Indfald. Harmonien var præfaldende med sin kompositionelle Udtryksform af Stemme og Parallellisme, der til Tider virkede tungt. Digt og Musik skildrer en Dyst mellem Død og Liv, den unge, forsvarede Pige søger Afkald med Livet, mens den Forsvarede søger Karakteristika for den norske norske Musik fra Trærne og fra til sine Dage og den ikke vensydige, men ligesom franske Indstilling, som Sparre-Odens Musik er præget af den dyreste Tone og i alle Enhedheder især melodiske, melodiske og dramatiske, selv i den statiske Fremførelse af Livets Lyde af en kængende Tunge. Radikaler og Orkestret gav under John Frandsens udmærkede Ledelse det overraskende Værk en Udførelse, der ikke kunde undgaa at gøre Indtryk.


I Træd med Sparre-Odens "Korværk" fuldt indholdsmæssigt Klare Egen Symfoni, der er blot for Koncert med en Lyd og Melodi — alt et Mærke, men Mærket har her sin særlige Betydning. Symfonien er tilsvaret de norske Befolk og viet det smertefulde Minde om en af dem, der blev derude i den vilde Kamp. De herlige dramatiske Motiver, den tunge skænske Sang i dunkelt sløvede Samtale virkede stærkt. Symfonien er en fin gennemarbejdet Udførelse under Lauritz Grandahls Direktion.

Det er længe siden vi har hørt til norsk Musik. Det kan ikke nægtes, at Indtrykket i Gaar ikke var næsten alle deponerende på en Danse, hvilket blandt Dyb mellem disse norske Sangers Toner og det danske, som musikantiske Sind.

ERIK ABRAHAMSEN

«Dette er bare begynnelsen.»
Store resultater av Komponistforeningens musikkuke.
En del av konsertene gjentas. — Russene vil lage norske
konsserter i Moskva.
Gunvor Mjelva og Eva Knardahl engasjert til København
og Stockholm.

Vi spør Klaus Ruge om han er fornøyd med musiklivet.
— Det er et svært uttrykk, sier Komponistforeningens formann. Ikke for det, vi hadde ventet sukkes. Det var jo et mere enn ålminstelig fint oppgjør av en norsk musikk, så sukkesen var gitt på forhånd. Men dette er bare begynnelsen. De må ikke tro at vi har tenkt å stanse med dette. Vi har bare satt i gang.
Vi gjenlir førstede noen av konsertene for at de to russiske gjestene som på grunn av reiseforholdene kom så sent, kan få bare blant annet symfoniene. Irgens-Jenens symfoni får de høre i Filharmonien, så den gjenlir vi ikke. Men lørdag ettermiddag gir vi en konsert hvor Sverrethug symfoniske ting og rike symfoni kommer til oppførelse. Det blir adgang for publikum.
Så vil vi gjenta endel av kammermusikken for at russerne skal få høre den, og da har vi berettigelse med oss flere nye verker som vi ikke fikk plass til i musikken. Det gjelder bare om vi får lokale. Det er et nesten håpløst spørsmål.
— Men den merkelige konserten «En fiktetone til kunstmusikk» — skal dere ikke gjenta den?
— Jo, det er naturlig. Russene er meget interessert. De vil høre norske konsserter i Moskva.
— Ikke bare med norsk program, men også med norske kunstnere?
— Ja, det er høyst sannsynlig. Men først må ikke bygd på en dag. Allikevel tror jeg at for våre russiske gjester vender tilbake til Moskva, er vel saken nærliggende i orden ikke bare med henrykk til musikken som skal oppføres, men også hvilke kunstnere det kan bli tale om.
— De har tidligere i dette øyeblikk hatt en lang konferanse med russerne. Vi kommer til å bli å oppføre den utrolig store symfoniskomponisten Schönberg som de er svært selv berente komponist. De har tidligere gjennomgått diskusjon av Sverrethug symfonien og programmet Sverrethug store symfoniske verker.
— Blir det noen resultater av de danske og svenske gjestens tilfredset med musikken?
— Ja, det gjør det. Både Gunvor Mjelva og Eva Knardahl er allerede engasjert til København og Stockholm. Sverrethug så til, så at det kunne bli oppdrives en bedre sangertone til å synges den symfoniske hørsongen min. Fjell-Nørg, er Mjelva. Og Eva Knardahl var de også helt betatt av.
— Symfonien Deres?
— Jo, de likte både den og Irgens-Jenens og Sverrethug ting. Kammermusikken har også gjort et sterkt inntrykk på dem, for eksempel Kjellshug kvartett og Karl Andersens trio. Dessuten har de merke i de klavertingene Riefing spille.
— Noe av det aller gledeligste er at Statens er begynt å interessere seg for oss, sier Klaus Ruge. Den har nok funnet ut selv at det er gunstig å gjøre litt for musikken også, av den grunn at musikken nok kan gjøre sterkt reklame for landet.



Klaus Ruge.

Krigen har satt preg på den nye norske musikken

Vi måtte skape så nye ånd som mulig som en motvekt mot voldsveldet, sier Harald Sæverud

Harald Sæverud på scena i konserten

Igens Jensen syntes d-moll er bygget over komponistens dikt Dragsug.



Den store Musikklubben korrigerer seg med sin egen musikk. Bredde er gitt av komposisjonen i Paganini-koncerten, og det betyr det at i August med komposisjonen på scenen er nye norske verkene blitt utvalgt. Musikklubben har utvalgt de beste av Paganini-koncerten, og de beste av Chopin i Klavertrompeten. Det betyr at de beste av de beste er utvalgt. Det betyr at de beste av de beste er utvalgt.



Igesund Jensen

Arbeidet med den nye musikken er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid.

Harald Sæverud sier at den nye musikken er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid.

Igesund Jensen syntes d-moll er bygget over komponistens dikt Dragsug. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid.

— Jeg har skrevet tre symfonier og tre operer. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid.

— Det er en utstilling som er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid.

— Vi har skrevet tre symfonier og tre operer. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid.

— Jeg vet ikke om det er riktig å snakke om dette. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid. Det betyr at det er et stort arbeid.

28/4/45
Dragsug

10. Article in which Saeverud states 'I fought the Nazis with my music'. Accessed National Library Oslo 08/09/17.





