



Ina Rupprecht (ed.)

# Persecution, Collaboration, Resistance

Music in the ›Reichskommissariat Norwegen‹  
(1940–45)

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Edited by  
Michael Custodis

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## Preface

When dealing with the complex matters of music and politics, including questions of persecution, propaganda, collaboration and resistance, one should not forget that we are still dealing with people, with individual fates and collective opinions, nor forget about music itself amidst all the political issues. A second lesson to learn is to be precise about facts and the sources one is generating interpretation from. How much do we know, how far can our assumptions reach, and what do we have to leave open, maybe to find an answer some other day?

Norway and Germany can look back on centuries of friendship, interaction and the exchange of goods, thoughts and mutual admiration. But also, in the field of music, it took only five years from 1940 to 1945, for relations to change fundamentally. Besides the political, military, social and personal consequences the megalomania of Adolf Hitler's regime and Vidkun Quisling's followers also contaminated language and memory. In consequence, it took decades, that thanks to the credibility of the former resistance fighter and Norwegian citizen Willy Brandt during his years as mayor of Berlin, foreign minister and Bundeskanzler trust in Western Germany began to grow again in the 1960s. From the rivaling Eastern German point of view, where the ties towards Norway were based on mutual experiences as anti-fascist states and members of the Baltic rim, the German-Norwegian connection instead never had to witness discontinuity, while the continuity of a German dictatorship reaching out for an ideological capture of Norwegian culture has not been questioned as it seems.

Conferences are an established instrument for academic exchange. At the same time, it was not as normal as it might seem to gather in Münster on 26 to 27 March 2019 for the conference *Persecution – Collaboration – Resistance. Music in the 'Reichskommissariat Norwegen' (1940–45)*, to present new insights, compare examples from different national and political contexts, and especially to discuss with each other. Strikingly, it was the first conference ever to feature the Norwegian music life during the years of occupation by Hitler-Germany, to take into account the thematic breadth of persecution, collaboration and resistance, and to bring scholars from Norway, Germany and Austria, as well as from different disciplinary standpoints together for debate and exchange.

Our questions and case studies were challenging. We, as the organisers have to admit that certain topics had to be left untouched for the moment, especially concerning the ideological content of folk music; unfortunately, none of the addressed experts was willing to take up this topic here. Nevertheless, we are sure to have unveiled many other important issues together. Examining structures, institutions, careers, strategies and artistic works in Norway, and comparing them to similar matters in Germany, has a long tradition in itself. One only has to think of Henrik Ibsen, Edvard Grieg or Edvard Munch. Furthermore, such comparisons might help us to understand which aspects of the conference topics could be classified as Nordic exceptionalism, or how strong the impact of peripheries and remoteness might have been on opinions to resist the Ger-

man occupiers – in geographic and cultural terms, as well as relating civil to military contexts.

In a list of other initiatives, this was the second major conference of our research project *Nordic Music Politics* and we were proud and grateful to present the proceedings from our first conference, *The Nordic Ingredient* (held on 20 to 21 March 2018 in Bergen), only one year later in Münster. How both conferences and their proceedings are closely linked to each other can hopefully be experienced when treating them as literary siblings. While the first *Nordic Ingredient* volume offers historical overviews of a century of European nationalisms mirrored in Norway's music life (so that the war time is only one chapter among others), the second *Reichskommissariat Norwegen* volume explores the details of the decisive five years that changed Norwegian-German relations so fundamentally.

Naturally, two volumes cannot capture the dynamics of a pair of conferences, neither did every contribution in Bergen and Münster find its way into the books, while other essays were added to broaden and balance the topics. Accordingly, these proceedings about the turbulent, difficult and momentous years, 1940 to 1945, are not meant to represent terminal facts, but instead are contributions to existing and lacking knowledge; how intermediate results can summarise a state of research, and at the same time can show what further chapters need to be written. Therefore, our project has already undertaken the next steps, focusing on even stronger questions of persecution and resilience by means of the German-Norwegian network 'Cultures of Resistance' in partnership with Kristiansand's Arkivet Peace and Human Rights Centre.

Looking back at the conference we are grateful to numerous colleagues, participants, helpers and guests for their support and critical remarks: Our historical advisors from Norway Christhard Hoffmann, Rolf Hobson and Tom Kristiansen; and Martin Moll from Graz, who was one of the first to examine the structures, protagonists and strategies of the 'Reichskommissariat Norwegen' decades ago, and even took the chance to speak to several of the involved historical figures. For knowledge concerning Norwegian music history we have to thank Ivar Roger Hansen, Harald Herresthal, and once more Arvid Vollsnes, as well as Sophie Fetthauer, Friedrich Geiger and Albrecht Riethmüller for their competence regarding aspects of persecution and exile, as well as many details on Music and Nazism in general.

Looking back on the conference, my colleagues and I are grateful and have to thank various people and institutions: Gerhard Jaksch, representing the town of Münster, for his warm welcome and our colleague Jürgen Heidrich, speaking on behalf of our faculty and university, our partner Arnulf Mattes and the Grieg-Research Centre Bergen for his creative and considerate input to our project, to Waxmann publishers for their constant and reliable cooperation, to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for their funding and to our colleagues and friends in the department of musicology at the University of Münster for their patience, support and help, especially our secretaries Natalie Klein and Monika Zimmermann, and our student assistants Hakiem Rabat, Adele Jakumeit, Michael Werthmann and Valerie Wismann. Finally, I personally want to thank Ina Rupprecht for taking on the responsibility to edit this conference volume. At best, we as experienced scholars can advise and inspire younger colleagues. But what is also important is the trust in the next generation of academics, that they will live up to the



challenges, such as editing these proceedings, that they would ask for support as needed, and at the same time take the liberty to make their own decisions. I am pleased and proud to say that I fully appreciate the results.

Münster, May 2020

Michael Custodis, project leader of *Nordic Music Politics*



## Introduction

Music in the Reichskommissariat Norwegen (1940–1945) still is a relatively blank space, both in Norwegian and international music historiography, even 75 years after the end of the Second World War. The reasons for this are as manifold as they are difficult to break down. However, some main developments of historiography can be noted.

First, historians in every country were confronted with the challenge of recapitulating, describing, and assessing the Second World War. With their own national backgrounds, these endeavours were, on the one hand, taken up to gain back control over the historiography of a liberated country, as for example Norway, and to help define a future narrative of the war. On the other hand, historiography was also forced upon historians by both social and legal processes, attempting to keep or regain interpretational sovereignty over the proceedings of the war, and furthermore preserve the integrity of the discipline. Nevertheless, music and culture, if touched upon at all, were only looked on as side issues, due to the seemingly more important topics of the social, economic and political kind. The possibility of a new war after 1945, and the resulting Cold War, fuelled the process of a quick resolution of the most urgent post-war issues in order to build new and strong alliances. Furthermore, historians in general rarely strived towards musicological and music historical topics, staying within their own area of expertise. Working to define the fundamental structures and protagonists, as well as events and ideologies, they also pay tribute to the victims of persecution and effacement.

After the war, German musicology understood a collective silence as a way to convey the idea of a sharp distinction between music and politics, and therefore preventing people from asking questions. The Norwegian musicology as an independent academic discipline, on the other hand, as one could argue, graced with the 'mercy of late birth', had no apparent need to re-evaluate their own or music's position during the occupation. Still, the reappraisal of music figures and institutions happened. In Germany, artists and other professionals who wanted to continue their career had to undergo a De-Nazification process, designed by the Allied Military Government for Occupied Territories, to determine the degree of involvement – a system that would prove insufficient for artists and musicology, because with the argument of art as an unpolitical matter, and the possibility of equipping each other with clean bills of character, the circles stayed mostly intact. In Norway, the artists' organisations had their own system of handling an artist's involvement with either the occupation force or the Norwegian National Socialist party. Special courts of honour evaluated the artists' cases, and could put an end to their careers, in addition to the trials and investigations held by the Norwegian justice system. However, for both countries, only the cases of influential (predominantly male) composers or famous artists inspired public debates, while most of the De-Nazification processes and trials went unregarded by the public. And even those cases that aroused greater public interest were settled in Norway with a gene-

ral amnesty issued by the Norwegian Parliament, and in Germany when other matters, such as the Nazi war crimes trials, re-emerged into the public focus.

Secondly, the post war debates are complex. The part music in general played in the war, and especially in the National Socialist War, were to be identified and evaluated. Furthermore, the standing of artists under the swastika and their attitude towards the system are multifarious and difficult to grasp. Every country's historiography is different and, above all, takes place on different levels – e.g. legal, ethical, artistic – which effect the perception of individual cases, depending on which level attracts the most public interest. In addition, the view of historiographers still tends to focus on geographical areas of high population density, for example the capitals of occupied countries, special festivities celebrated to a large extent, or great names. This means that both the periphery, the everyday life, and lesser known artists remained unnoticed. To complicate matters, the narratives of how music and music life are looked upon often clung to the aesthetics and ideals of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, making a timely analysis of the war and post-war structures of the music life intricate.

But, thirdly, the generational changes foster dynamic effects on historiography. Every new generation reconsiders the measures taken by the previous one, and their standards. In most cases, these standards have become stricter, and dealing with the past has become more sensitive to a widened focus, making an effort to apply more objective measures and to establish greater reflection on the discipline's as well as personal subjectivity. These changes led, and still lead, to a critical examination of the previous generations, their truths, and a questioning of their rules of secrecy. Since the late 1990s, a critical assessment of Nazi-historiography can be found as a widespread phenomenon, which relates to another change of generation, a general opening of social discourse and, maybe most importantly, the successive opening of the archives containing material about the 1930s and 40s. The last point especially plays an important role in the new interpretations of National Socialism. It does however foster a widening gap between older research, that would often have to rely on eyewitness testimony but had limited access to archival sources, and newer research that has no longer direct access to eyewitnesses, but can assess the time based on the archived documents.

For the case of Norwegian musicology, the chapter on music under German occupation in *Norges Musikkhistorie* (ed. by Arvid O. Vollsnes, Oslo 2000) can be regarded as the beginning of a new and critical standpoint of music during the occupation. In recent years various debates touching cultural and musical life, beyond a handful of established male composers, have been launched. Often, however, the corresponding impulses to those debates were presented by non-musicologists, the newest example being the history of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra for their centenary in 2019 *Lyden av Oslo. Oslo Filharmonien 1919–2019* by Alfred Fidjestøl, who had already presented a history of *Det norske teatret* in 2013, including chapters about the time under occupation. In late 2018, the book *Hva visste hjemmefronten? Holocaust i Norge: Varslene, unnvikelsene, hemmeligholdet [What did the Homefront know? Holocaust in Norway: Warnings, Evasions, Secrecy]* by Marte Michelet came like a thunderbolt to both academia and the public. Even though her publication is not related to cultural or musical questions, it paved the way for other critical studies to come. Her evalua-

tions opened up a new chapter of questioning the conventional modes of historiography and the role the writers play in this context. While some focused on academic precision and the consideration of archival sources, others asked for moral consequences and former ethical standards when a collective tolerance against Anti-Semitism, even within the Norwegian resistance movement, had never been questioned. The debates about academic integrity, selection criteria of material, methods, and interpretation of documents concern every research discipline, and should therefore also concern musicological research.

When the conference *Persecution – Collaboration – Resistance. Music in the Reichskommissariat Norwegen 1940–45* was held in March 2019 in Münster it set out to embrace the challenges of music historiography on the topic, and give the first results on the possibilities of research topics in this field, taking a closer look at Norwegian music life under German occupation from an international research background, and thereby filling in some of the numerous gaps in knowledge.

This conference was the first of its kind. We, as members of the DFG-funded research project ‘Nordic Music Politics’, at the department of musicology at the University of Münster, were especially proud to have researchers of international reputation from fields of history and musicology present, from Norway, Germany and Austria. Since these proceedings, as with the conference itself, can only present a small exemplary insight into the vast field of topics, the three main issues, Persecution – Collaboration – Resistance, were set for orientation. Along these terms, the wrestling of musical life in the ‘Reichskommissariat Norwegen 1940–45’ between forced and self-imposed upheavals, constants and developments was to be examined. This spotlighting served two purposes: the topics the organisers of the conference thought to be the most important were ensured to be covered, and at the same time the invited speakers had the freedom to find their specific interests within these spotlights.

Editing the articles made it apparent how different generations of contributing researchers individually addressed the issues at hand. This led to thought-provoking interpretations, and it is the firm belief of the editor that the debate on all topics relating to National Socialism, especially any form of music during the years 1933 to 1945, is far from being finally discussed, and still requires further examination. Particularly through the successive opening of the archive holdings, and different generations searching for their own approach evaluating these crucial years of global history, certain processes could be examined even more closely.

The distance to the events today’s generation of researchers have, in combination with a greater variety of source material, could offer the chances to a deepened and more complete evaluation of musical careers during National Socialism, without having to risk being out-manoeuvred by the lasting alliances and loyalties that kept many things swept under the carpet, to cover themselves, and understandably be protective of direct descendants of important protagonists. Furthermore, the focus shifting towards close examination and cross referencing of sources as well as looking at seemingly small figures, such as peripheral countries or small institutions or yet unconsidered persons, might offer many new insights into the multi-faceted realities of music during National Socialism.

The five years of the German occupation of Norway are a dark chapter in the history of both countries, which until then shared a longstanding friendly relationship, shaped by trade and educational exchanges. The profound consequences of the years 1940–45 have had until today an impact on the relationship between both nations. The history of Norway is unique, the National Socialist concept of the Reichskommissariat in contrast was not. As it was transferred and adapted to other countries occupied by Hitler-Germany, including the extensive measures to control musical life, Norway offers an invaluable example for comparison and in-depth study of persecution, collaboration and resistance in the field of music during the period 1940–45.

Future endeavours can build on these findings, in comparison to other countries' experiences with occupation through the National Socialist regime. In addition, the transnational terminology will gain clarity and homogeneity from intensified cross-national research, and thereby reduce misunderstandings (and misinterpretations). Furthermore, today's discussions about neo-Nazi culture and the role music and art play therein can be supported and enhanced by these findings. There are already many international publications which present an overview on music as a political instrument (though hardly studying the Nordic countries), however many biographies and myths are still to be decluttered with detailed work on persons, institutions, or processes. Hence every piece of information added to the multi-faceted history of National Socialism, whether on the German-Norwegian relations or in general, whether in the field of music or in a broader understanding of cultural relations, helps to understand and prevent the recurrence of history.

These conference proceedings are closely linked to the proceedings of March 2018's conference in Bergen *The Nordic Ingredient*. It can be viewed as the continuation of the discussions started there about European nationalisms and their counterpart in the Norwegian music in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, now focusing on the five years that disrupted and irrevocably changed the German-Norwegian connection. As both proceedings only capture moments of current research, they are to be viewed as documentation of work in progress.

This book is divided into two main segments: the German implications on the occupation of Norway, and the dealings of the Norwegian composers and musicians with these inflictions. However, every article stands for itself, but the readers are encouraged to draw their own conclusions from the different angles of the articles, as they, in the following line-up, also complement each other. The opening article by Andreas Bußmann introduces the administrative and ideological settings of music censorship in Norway, and presents examples of the discrepancies between theoretical guidelines and daily practice of music censorship during Gulbrand Lunde's administration and afterwards. Manfred Heidler focuses on 'music in uniform' which is German military music in Norway during the occupation, and depicts the integration of these musicians and their music into the Norwegian music life. Ina Rupperecht examines musical aspects in German troop entertainment, focusing on cellist Ludwig Hoelscher's concert tour through the south of Norway in 1942. Michael Custodis' article on music in concentration and prison camps in Norway, though printed in an earlier version in Norwegian in the Agder Vitenskapsakademi, Yearbook 2018, is included here to remind us of the numerous, often nameless victims among musicians of the German occupation

in Norway. The second segment, opened by Arvid O. Vollsnes, presents an overview over the challenges the Norsk Komponistforening (Norwegian Society of Composers) faced during the occupation, and its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1942, with participating composers and works. Arnulf Mattes focuses on composer Anne-Marie Ørbeck, her education in Germany and ties to the country, as well as her compositions and classification in Norwegian music life as well as the canon of works composed by Norwegians during the war. Michael Custodis presents a view from Sweden, as he outlines measures and modes of musical resistance of Norwegian musicians in their Swedish exile. In the final article, Sjur Haga Bringeland addresses the aftermath of composer Geirr Tveitt's involvement during the occupation, and the difficulties sources can provide.

All articles reflect their authors' own opinions, and they were highly appreciated to retain the many-faceted and broad picture the conference presented. Even though the lively discussions of the conference could not be captured here, and not every contribution could be included in this volume, all texts in their own way reflect the discussions at the conference.

In conclusion, the editor would like to thank all contributors for their texts, and their patience with her finding her way around editing these conference proceedings. Furthermore, she would like to thank Jean Kavanagh for her critical proofreading of the English manuscripts, Melanie Völker and Melissa Hauschild at Waxmann Publishers for helping out with all questions around editing, and Adele Jakumeit for her assistance with the odds and ends that such an edition can throw up. Last but not least, the editor would like to thank Michael Custodis for the great opportunity to edit these conference proceedings, and the guidance he provided.

Münster, June 2020

Ina Rupprecht





## Music Censorship in the Reichskommissariat Norwegen

Censoring culture is an inherent element of repressive regimes, whether they be historic or contemporary. When Hitler-Germany invaded Norway in 1940, the Reichskommissariat Norwegen was installed immediately. This was not merely a military operation, to secure economic or tactical advantages for the Third Reich, within the first months of Hitler's aggressive expansion throughout Europe.<sup>1</sup> The transformation of the military occupation of Norway into a civil administration involved a long-term ideological strategy. Under the control of Hitler's newly appointed Reichskommissar, Josef Terboven,<sup>2</sup> the integration of the Norwegian people into a 'racially pure' and 'culturally homogenous' utopian 'New Europe', led by Nazi Germany once the war had ended, was the general objective.

In the Third Reich, the process of censoring music had begun to gradually radicalise in the course of the Gleichschaltung, starting in 1933. Defaming and persecuting numerous composers and musicians, who did not fit into the political-ideological, racial or aesthetic profile of the Nazis, was on a bureaucratic level realised with the creation of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (RMVP) in March 1933,<sup>3</sup> and the subsequent foundation of the Reichskulturkammer and the Reichsmusikkammer in September and November 1933.<sup>4</sup>

With the invasion of the Eastern European territories in autumn 1939, as well as the occupation of Denmark and Norway in April 1940, Nazi foreign cultural policies cleaved into an East-North-divide. In the Eastern European occupied territories, people and their cultures were demonised as 'inferior' and 'threatening' to German culture, and consequently had to suffer the agony of ghettoisation, and ultimately mass extinction. In the case of Warsaw, Naliwajek pointed out that censoring music meant to 'secure a suitably low artistic level of the repertoire played by Poles for Poles and reinforce its compliance to the rules of the day divesting music of grand ideas and links to any Polish identity.'<sup>5</sup> Norway, on the other hand, was regarded as the Brudervolk that had shared a long-term cultural relationship with Germany, and thus needed to be reunited with its long-lost sibling. At least this was the Nazis' ideological outline. After

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1 Cf. in general, Robert Bohn, *Reichskommissariat Norwegen: 'Nationalsozialistische Neuordnung' und Kriegswirtschaft*, (= *Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte* 54), München 2000; as well as Martin Moll, *Das Neue Europa. Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Auslandspropaganda in Europa 1939–1945. Die Geschichte eines Fehlschlages*, Graz 1986.

2 Josef Terboven was born 1898 in Essen, joined the NSDAP in 1923 and participated in the Hitler-Ludendorff coup d'état in München. With the decree dated 24 April 1940, he was appointed to the position of Reich commissioner for the occupied Norwegian territories and remained so until his suicide on 8 May 1945, cf. Bohn, *Reichskommissariat Norwegen*, p. 8.

3 Reichsministerium des Innern (ed.), *Reichsgesetzblatt Teil I Jahrgang 1933*, Berlin 1933, pp. 661ff.

4 For further in-depth analyses of the *Reichsmusikkammer* refer to Albrecht Riethmüller and Michael Custodis (eds.), *Die Reichsmusikkammer. Kunst im Bann der Nazi-Diktatur*, Köln 2015, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7788/9783412217822>.

5 Katarzyna Naliwajek-Mazurek, 'Nazi censorship in music, Warsaw 1941', in: Erik Levi (ed.), *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music*, Vienna et al. 2014, pp. 153–176, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7767/boehlau.9783205792925.153>.

the invasion of Norway, music was deemed a propagandistic measure used to tighten the bond between both countries, and to promote a shared cultural history.<sup>6</sup> To ensure this goal and to keep ‘disintegrating elements’ out of the occupied territory as well, music censorship in Norway played an important role for the Nazis. However, there are few detailed accounts of the mechanisms of music censorship during the occupation. This study’s aim is to provide the first general overview to close this gap, although due to limited archival sources or previous research, the focus has to be on the policies carried out by the Reichskommissariat.

As music censorship in Nazi-occupied Norway has not yet been the focus of a singular study,<sup>7</sup> the following exposition will not offer an all-encompassing analysis, but rather take a kaleidoscopic approach.

## I. Administrative and Ideological Settings

Terboven’s main administration in Oslo included three main sub departments, one of them being the Hauptabteilung für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (HAVP), which was led by Goebbels’ ‘personal protégé’<sup>8</sup> and close confidant, SS-Oberführer Georg Wilhelm (G.W.) Müller.<sup>9</sup> He structured his HAVP after the model of the RMVP in Berlin, and could therefore rely on staff who were mostly sent from the RMVP. After eliminating his rival counterparts, the Auswärtiges Amt and the circles around Rosenberg’s Nordische Gesellschaft, Goebbels had free reign with his own satellite ministry for propaganda in Norway. Although Müller’s department was integrated into Terboven’s administration, he kept close contact with Goebbels, which gave the department a sort of hybrid position. But more importantly, this influence of Goebbels on Norway had an immense impact on how the Norwegian fascists’ party and their

6 Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes, ‘Zur Kategorie des “Nordischen” in der norwegischen Musikgeschichte 1930–45’, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 73 (2016), Stuttgart 2016, pp. 166–184; For further information on fraternising cultural politics in the field of music refer to Andreas Bußmann, ‘Zur Rezeption Richard Wagners in Norwegen bis 1945’, in: *Wagnerspectrum* (2019), Vol. 2, pp. 175–193.

7 There have been brief mentions of censorship in Norway’s music life, for example by Harald Herresthal, *Propaganda og Motstand. Musikklivet i Oslo 1940–1945*, Oslo 2019, pp. 90–96. See also Arvid Vollsnes’ chapter in his history of Norwegian music: Arvid O. Vollsnes (ed.), *Norges Musikkhistorie. 1914–1950. Inn i Mediealderen*, (= *Norges Musikkhistorie* 4), Oslo 2000, pp. 329–345.

8 Michael Custodis, ‘Master or Puppet? Cultural Politics in Occupied Norway under GW Müller, Gulbrand Lunde and Rolf Fuglesang’, in: Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes (eds.), *The Nordic Ingredient. European Nationalisms and Norwegian Music since 1905*, Münster 2019, pp. 68–80, here p. 70.

9 Georg Wilhelm Müller was born in 1909 in Königshütte located in Upper Silesia. After his school education, he studied law at the University of Frankfurt am Main, became a member of the NSDAP in 1928, and also joined the SA and SS. As an NS-Studentenbundführer he organised boycotts against Jewish professors and book burnings of blacklisted authors. He became Goebbels’ second adjutant in 1937 and was sent to Oslo along with Terboven to conduct Goebbels’ orders within Terboven’s civil administration. For further information about Müller, refer to Petra Bonavita, ‘Die Karriere des Frankfurter NS-Studentenführers Georg-Wilhelm Müller’, in: *Nassauische Annalen. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung* 115 (2004), pp. 441–460; see also Robert Bohn, *Reichskommissariat Norwegen*, p. 63, and Michael Custodis, ‘Master or Puppet?’, p. 70.

bureaucratic institutions were modelled.<sup>10</sup> Immediately after the exiled king declined to cooperate with the German occupants, Terboven ordered the Nazification (euphemistically called 'Nyordning') of all Norwegian institutions. Endowed with full autonomy by Hitler, he could utilise the already existing bureaucratic structures. After all other political parties had been banned, Nasjonal Samling's (NS) head, Vidkun Quisling, emerged as the political leader, which resulted in his appointment as prime minister of a puppet regime in 1942. In addition, Terboven appointed several new state councillors<sup>11</sup> ('Staatsräte'), one of them being the young chemist, Dr. Gulbrand Lunde,<sup>12</sup> the new minister for propaganda. Equipped with a strong affinity for culture, he was the ideal candidate to realise what, amongst other things, was stated in the NS-statutes proclaimed in 1934: 'Presse, teater, kringkasting, film og andre kulturformidlere skal fremme nasjonens interesser.'<sup>13</sup>

With respect to the historical idealisation of Norway's once great ancient history and its unique cultural achievements,<sup>14</sup> Lunde regarded the contemporary situation of his country as being in a time of decline. Having been under foreign rule for hundreds of years, he considered Norwegian culture to have become massively compromised by internationalism and liberalist Marxist-Jewish ideas, consequently weakening the nation's cultural heritage. A prominent element in reversing this process was his idea of forming a unity of people ('nasjonale felleskap'<sup>15</sup>) in a racial and cultural sense. A strong national Norwegian culture should be reborn by cleansing it from Marxist-Bolshevist or Jewish elements<sup>16</sup> and re-strengthening the nation's soul under the strong leadership of a powerful leader. The template of a Marxist-Bolshevist conspiracy, disrupting Norwegian culture, was also adapted to music. In September 1941 Lunde wrote:

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10 The Einsatzstab Wegener was responsible for advising Nasjonal Samling in terms of organisational administrative structuring, and Müller kept in close contact with Einsatzstabelleiter Hans Hendrik Naumann, probably giving orders to adhere to the German RMVP organisation while the Nazification was in progress, further information about the Einsatzstab cf. Bohn, *Reichskommissariat Norwegen*, pp. 114–120.

11 Like Lunde, the majority of the board of state councillors consisted of Nasjonal Samling party members: Axel Stang (1904–1974, forced labour), Ragnar Skancke (1890–1948, Church and education department), Jonas Lie (1899–1945, head of police), Sverre Riisnæs (1897–1988, justice department), Albert Viljam Hagelin (1881–1946, internal affairs), Tormod Hustad (1889–1973, labour department), Birger Meidell (1882–1958, social affairs).

12 Gulbrand Lunde, born in 1901, as the son of a musical mother received a PhD in chemistry at the age of 24. His strong nationalistic attitude made him join the Norwegian fascist party, Nasjonal Samling, at the age of 31, to become the party's chief of propaganda in 1935, cf. Jan Magne Arntsen and Thor Geir Harestad, *Triumf og Tragedie. Historien om NS-minister Gulbrand Lunde*, Sandnes 2012, p. 10.

13 Nasjonal Samling (ed.), *Orden, Rettferd og Fred. Program for Nasjonal Samling (NS)*, 1934, (<https://nsd.no/polsys/data/filer/parti/10285.rtf>, last access 12 January 2020). Translation: 'Press, theatre, broadcasting, film and other forms of culture have to foster the nation's interests.'

14 Gulbrand Lunde, *Kampen for Norge III*, 1943, p. 33.

15 Ibid.

16 The synonymous revilement of modern music as 'international', 'atonal', 'bolshevistic' or 'Jewish' was a phenomenon already existing in the 1920s. Cf. Eckhard John, *Musikbolschewismus. Die Politisierung der Musik in Deutschland 1918–1938*, [dissertation 1993], Stuttgart et al. 1994.

I musikken finner vi noen lignende. Villige sjeler hjelper marxistene med å latterliggjøre vår nasjonale musikk, og det faller så meget lettere for dem, fordi vi i byene allerede har fjernet oss så langt fra den. Derimot forherliges internasjonal 'frigjort' med motiver hentet fra erotiske negerdanser og andre fremmede kilder.<sup>17</sup>

With this ideological conglomerate of anti-Semitism, racism, anti-Marxism/Bolshevism and strong tendencies for isolationism, Lunde was appointed minister of propaganda and took office as president of the newly established Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet (Ministry of Culture and Enlightenment) on 25 September 1940. This position gave him great control over cultural affairs, hence the focus on his ideological positions. Originally the Department for Church and Education, the ministry's main personnel were now exchanged with party-loyal officials. In this way, it soon evolved into the Norwegian equivalent to the German RMVP.

Within the Kultur- og Folkeopplysningsdepartementet, the hierarchical concept of the Führerprinzip became a predominant characteristic. Several subordinated departments were installed, each with a chief or director who in turn had several assistants. With this new bureaucratic institution and other assisting instances like the 'Konsultative Råd i kunstneriske Spørsmål' ('the consultative council for artistic questions'), decrees and regulations concerning music were developed over the course of the following months in 1941. They were supposed to assure and help gain constant control over public music life in order to attain the general ideological goals. One of these first restrictions was realised with an Aryan paragraph that was included in the statutes of the Norsk komponistforening (Norwegian Composer's Society),<sup>18</sup> copying the German example of a complete exclusion of Jews from all public services and institutions.

In addition to this racial segregation, which was directed at one specific musical organisation in June 1941, the Kulturråd had worked out a detailed plan for forming a Norwegian chamber of culture as an umbrella organisation to gain even more control over all existing associations related to cultural professions. The blueprint for this organisation was taken directly from Goebbels' Reichskulturkammer. In 1937, Hans Hinkel,<sup>19</sup> who was Goebbels' leading henchman in executing the systematic 'de-Judaisation' of German cultural life, had written a handbook explaining the function of this insti-

17 Gulbrand Lunde, *Kampen for Norge II*, 1942, p. 214, originally published by Lunde in the *Ideologisk månedshefte for hirden*, September 1941. Translation: 'In music we find something similar. Willing souls help Marxists to ridicule our national music, and it is so much easier for them, because in the cities we have already removed ourselves so far from it. On the other hand, international "liberated" glorifies with motifs drawn from erotic negro dances and other foreign sources.'

18 Custodis/Mattes, 'Zur Kategorie des "Nordischen"', p. 172.

19 Hans Hinkel (1901–1960), from 1935 onwards was one of the most influential cultural politicians in Nazi Germany. Goebbels had installed Hinkel as the head of a special department (Sonderreferat Hinkel) which was concerned with the systematic oppression of Jews in Germany's cultural life. Cf. Ernst Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, pp. 249–250; see further Friedrich Geiger, 'Im Schatten der Diktaturen von Hitler, Stalin und Mussolini', in: Albrecht Riethmüller (ed.), *Geschichte der Musik im 20. Jahrhundert: 1925–1945 (= Handbuch der Musik im 20. Jahrhundert, Vol. 2)*, Laaber 2006, pp. 217–242, here p. 221.

tution.<sup>20</sup> The entire preface to this publication was adapted word for word by Kulturrådet's chairman, Wilhelm K. Essendrop,<sup>21</sup> and presented to Lunde with the concluding remark: 'Rådet vil foreslå at herr statsråden snarest mulig oppnevner en dygtig organisator, som med den størst mulige myndighet og direkte under Dem får I oppdrag å organisere Rikskulturkammeret.'<sup>22</sup> This document represents the clear will of Nasjonal Samling to copy the German administration in every detail.

Lunde died suddenly in October 1942, shortly after the first Kulturting was held, and his position as minister of propaganda became vacant. Whether a nationwide chamber of culture, as proposed by the Kulturrådet, was discussed and implemented, cannot as yet be verified. After several months in search of a successor, Rolf Jørgen Fuglesang<sup>23</sup> was appointed to the position of propaganda minister, against a strong German opposition from GW Müller's HAVP, who had preferred another candidate.<sup>24</sup> Fuglesang was only mildly interested in propaganda and culture, which is why music censorship can be seen as the signature of Lunde's administration in the early years of his duty. Hence, the following chapter is focused on the years 1941–1942.

## II. Music Censorship between Theoretical Guidelines and Daily Practice

Music censorship emerged as a result of the infamous strike starting in May 1941, involving several Norwegian theatres in Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim. Actors who had refused to perform for the Nazified Norwegian Broadcasting (NRK) were revoked their work permits which led to a five-week strike in return. Furthermore, the resistance movement – predominantly in Oslo, led by Hans Jacob Ustvedt, Ole Jacob Malm, Kåre Norum and Arne Okkenhaug<sup>25</sup> – ordered the entire boycott of propagandistic

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20 Hans Hinkel (ed.), *Handbuch der Reichskulturkammer*, Berlin 1937. Cf. also Friedrich Geiger, "Einer unter Hunderttausend": Hans Hinkel und die NS-Kulturbürokratie', in: Matthias Hermann and Hanns-Werner Heister (eds.), *Dresden und die avancierte Musik im 20. Jahrhundert, Teil II: 1933–66*, (= *Musik in Dresden* 5), Laaber 2002, pp. 47–61.

21 Frederik Wilhelm Krause Essendrop (1893–1971), the architect who designed Quisling's 'Villa Grande' on the island Bygdøy in the Oslo fjord, and more importantly a member of the 1942 initiated Kulturtinget.

22 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6010/E/Ea/L0016. Translation: "The council will propose that the Minister of State as soon as possible appoints a competent organiser who, with the greatest possible authority and directly under you, will be commissioned to organise the National Chamber of Culture."

23 Rolf Jørgen Fuglesang (1909–1988), lawyer and politician of Nasjonal Samling since 1933–1945. He was Nasjonal Samling's general secretary and daily confidant of Quisling. After Lunde's death he succeeded to the position of minister for cultural affairs, and as head of Kultur- og Folkeopplysningsdepartementet. For further information see Hans Fredrik Dahl, article 'Rolf Jørgen Fuglesang', in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, ([https://nbl.snl.no/Rolf\\_J%C3%B8rgen\\_Fuglesang](https://nbl.snl.no/Rolf_J%C3%B8rgen_Fuglesang), last update 13 February 2009, last access 28 February 2020).

24 Moll states that the candidate nominated by the HAVP was the editor Flood from the newspaper *Aftenposten*, cf. Moll, *Das Neue Europa*, pp. 457–458. Müller and others had accused Fuglesang to be one of the opponents of German political influence in Norway.

25 For further information on Ustvedt and Malm see Michael Custodis, 'Remote Resistance. Norwegian Musicians in Swedish Exile', in this volume.

Til

Sjefen for Kultur- og Folkeopplysningsdepartementet,  
Herr kst. Statsråd Gulbrand Lunde,

O s l o.

I henhold til det av herr statsråden meddelte mandat frem-  
legger Det midlertidige konsultative Råd for Departementet i kunst-  
neriske Spørsmål herved sin innstilling til opprettelse og organisa-  
sjon av Norsk Rikskulturkammer.

1.

Nyordningen og utformingen av det nasjonale kulturliv un-  
der statens ledelse har ikke bare sin organiske sammenheng med den  
nye tids ideologi, den måtte samtidig sees som en logisk konsekvens  
av en tidsepoke i folkets liv som med sine oppløsningstendenser før  
eller senere måtte finne en utløsning. Erkjennelsen herav ligger i  
selve utviklingen gjennom de to siste mannsaldre, det marxistiske  
ferment i den fremadstormende sosialisme førte frem i dagslyset en  
stadig økende skare elementer, som målbevisst og under de frieste for-  
mer arbeidet på den nasjonale kulturs utslettelse og med resultater  
som idag finner sitt uttrykk i massens innstilling til den nye tid.  
- Men erkjennelsen av nyordningen i det nasjonale kulturliv under  
statens beskyttelse ligger derhos i dets forhold til staten under den  
tidligere demokratiske statsform. Den tidligere gjeldende oppfatning  
hevdet kulturen som et begrep som i størst mulig utstrekning skulde  
være unndradd statens påvirkning. Når denne overhodet befattet sig  
med kulturspørsmål skjedde dette i desentraliserte former og med den  
største reservasjon. Årsaksforholdet må utvilsomt søkes i en viss  
hevdelse av individualismen i kulturlivet, man betraktet kulturen

Pic. 1: A classified dossier including a plan for a *Norsk Rikskulturkammer*  
(Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6010/E/Ea/L0016)

engagements with the Nazi authorities. During the strike, the Nazi authorities made it clear to those involved that such insubordination would not be tolerated. In consequence, the Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Enlightenment took control of cultural life in its entirety. Within Lunde's Ministry of Culture, the department Statens teaterdirektoratet, which officially took up its work on 1 July 1941, was in charge of music. Interestingly, no special department for music was installed. The intermediate phase between Terboven's proclamation of the Nazification in September 1940 and the official commencement of proceedings might have been due to delays in building bureaucratic structures and acquiring adequate personnel. As Thrun pointed out regarding the Berlin ministry, the individual departments over time varied in number, and were characterised by a fluctuation of staff.<sup>26</sup> One main protagonist, who actively took part in the process of building the Norwegian bureaucratic structures, was the young author and playwright Finn Halvorsen.<sup>27</sup> Halvorsen pressed ahead in February 1941, by submitting a draft to propaganda minister Lunde, dealing with the reshaping of Norway's theatrical scene in compliance with the *Nyordning* ordered by Terboven.<sup>28</sup> In his draft to Lunde, Halvorsen – who up to this point in early 1941 was already Nasjonal Samling's consultant for theatrical affairs – pleaded for the immediate set-up of a separate department dealing with all matters affiliated with theatrical performances:

Det er nødvendig [sic] straks å opprette et teaterdirektorat. De oppgaver som ligger og venter på et slikt direktorat, er nemlig for mange og betydelige til at de kan bli løst [sic] bare ved hjelp av en teaterkonsulent i departementet. Hensikten med direktoratet er jo dessuten, at staten får den fulle kunstneriske kontroll med hele vårt teaterliv.<sup>29</sup>

Halvorsen de facto wrote this as a proposal for his own forthcoming within the regimes cultural administration – voting in his own favour to become the new head director of this theatrical department with a lush compensation of 18.000 NOK per season. Five months later, on 1 July 1941, the directorate officially took up its work with Halvorsen as the theatre department's director. From this moment on, his main concern was the monitoring and pre-censoring of all theatrical, lyrical and musical performances throughout the country. This put him in an equivalent position to Rainer Schlösser<sup>30</sup> who, in the Berlin ministry of propaganda department for theatre, music

26 Martin Thrun, 'Führung und Verwaltung. Heinz Drewes als Leiter der Musikabteilung des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (1937–1944)'; in: Albrecht Riethmüller and Michael Custodis (eds.): *Die Reichsmusikkammer. Kunst im Bann der Nazi-Diktatur*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 2015, pp. 101–145, here pp. 104–108, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7788/9783412217822-007>.

27 Finn Halvorsen (1893–1960), author, lyricist and critic. Cf. Tom Lotherington, article 'Finn Halvorsen', in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* ([https://nbl.snl.no/Finn\\_Halvorsen](https://nbl.snl.no/Finn_Halvorsen), last update 17 March 2011, last access 28 February 2020).

28 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6010/E/E/L0015.

29 Ibid. The initial cover letter to Lunde is dated 27 February 1941. Translation: 'It is necessary to immediately create a theatre directorate. The tasks that await such a directorate are too many and significant that they can be solved only with the help of a theatre consultant in the ministry. The purpose of the directorate is, moreover, that the state gets the full artistic control of our entire theatre life.'

30 Rainer Schlösser was responsible for monitoring and censoring all details concerning theatrical performances by German stages. Cf. Thrun, 'Führung und Verwaltung. Heinz Drewes', p. 106. See for further information about Schlösser: Boris von Haken, *Der 'Reichsdramaturg'. Rainer Schlösser*

and art, was also responsible for controlling German theatre stages and was largely able to impose censorial measures.<sup>31</sup>

A first official account of restrictions in Norway occurred in 1942, when Nasjonal Samling published a pamphlet titled *Håndboken for propaganda*. It contains a practical approach for all party propaganda officials of the country's NS-subsidiaries. Therein, the chapter *Om teatersensur* presents the censorial guidelines and technical procedures of censorship: 'Teaterdirektoratet stiller alltid som vilkår for tillatelse til å arrangere forestillinger som kommer in under forordning av 30. mai 1941, om teaterforestillinger m. v., at alle tekster som skal anvendes i programmet, må forelegges propagandalederen på stedet.'<sup>32</sup>

These 'theatre performances' were further specified as 'general theatre performances, revue and cabaret, as well as readings or vocal concerts, tivoli amusement ventures or circus performances.'<sup>33</sup> The process of censorship was to become a standardised procedure: First, if a person or organisation wanted to host a musical event, the applicant had to contact the statens teaterdirektoratet in Oslo. Secondly, a local propaganda leader of NS had the obligation to request all manuscripts that contained the texts, lyrics, and so on, used for this specific performance, several weeks in advance. After inspection, the local propaganda leader submitted his decision to the applicant.

This meant that the applicant had to first have a general preliminary approval, which was pending until the decision by the propaganda leader was made, which also had to be sent to Oslo before the actual concert took place. This became a major problem, as it increased the bureaucratic effort on both sides. Numerous touring artists or revue collectives were constantly performing in different cities throughout the season. The directorate in Oslo demanded that for each performance an official application had to be filed (in other cases this was extended to three performances in a row<sup>34</sup>) and be approved by local censorship. Consequently, confusion was part of many letters directed towards the central department in Oslo by local propaganda directors. They were confronted with artists whose programmes had already been approved by propaganda directors from other cities, but were obliged to repeat this procedure for every concert on their tour.<sup>35</sup>

One question of vital importance for artists was which aesthetic or moral guidelines were applied during the process of censorial inspection. Even though Nazi ideology in general tended to be quite unspecific and contradictory, several aspects can be determined.

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*und die Musiktheater-Politik in der NS-Zeit*, [dissertation 2005], Hamburg 2007; and Stefan Hüpping, *Rainer Schlösser (1899–1945). Der 'Reichsdramaturg'*, [dissertation 2011], Bielefeld 2012.

31 Thrun, 'Führung und Verwaltung. Heinz Drewes', p. 138.

32 Nasjonal Samling (ed.), *Håndboken for Propaganda*, Oslo 1942, p. 19, (including all following citations). Translation: 'The Directorate of Theatre always stipulates as conditions for permission to arrange performances that come under the regulation of 30 May 1941, on theatre performances, etc., that all texts to be used in the programme must be submitted to the propaganda director on the spot.'

33 Ibid.

34 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0035, Letter from Statens teaterdirektorat to F.J. Eriksen, dated 16 October 1942.

35 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0041, Letter from propagandaleder A. Ruud to statens teaterdirektoratet, dated 25 October 1943.



Firstly, censorship was aimed at ‘[...] stryke eller fjerne alle scener, ord eller fakter som kritiserer, håner eller latterliggjør tyskerne eller Tyskland, NS, partiets Fører eller ledende menn i partiet.’<sup>36</sup> Secondly, every indication of ‘[...] stoff som fører tankene hen på krigen i dag eller den negative side av tidens politikk [...]’.<sup>37</sup>

For instance, in October 1942 the Arbeidernes Mannskor from Strømmen applied for a concert. The repertoire list sent in contained the song *Jan Hinnerk* also known as *Herr Lammers ut de Lammerstraat*, a satirical song which originated as a protest against the French occupation of Hamburg under Napoleon’s rule. The song incorporates semantic allusions with dialects and certain symbols that were, at first glance, not identified as oppositional statements against the unlawful ruler. However, the mere allusion to any kind of resistance against a ruling force had to be suppressed at all costs, so the directorate eliminated the song from the list but still gave the approval for the concert.<sup>38</sup> This serves as an example of how the censorship was applied. If a repertoire contained ideologically problematic pieces, the applicant usually was not denied in general, but was granted permission to perform the rest of the programme.

Another example: In an opera performance, the song *Vi vill oss et land* by Christian Sinding (op. 38, no. 1, composed 1896) was supposed to be performed in 1942. Sinding had died a year earlier and a few months before his death had become a member of Nasjonal Samling. This might have been sufficient for approval, but the immediate context of the song tells another story. It was already a famous song of the Norwegian communist party, and in the course of occupation it became the name of one of the first anti-Nazi newspapers, and consequently was crossed off the list.<sup>39</sup>

Nasjonal Samling’s self-conception revolved around seeking legitimacy in the past. Conjuring a direct historical connection by stylising Quisling as the movement’s *fører* being a predecessor of a glorious Norse cultural heritage of the Viking era,<sup>40</sup> as depicted in the Old Norse Sagas of Snorri Sturluson, elevated the movement into a realm of sacrosanct historical continuity. Ridiculing this honourable line of ancestral tradition the new leaders now allegedly stood in was evidently frowned upon by authority. This was the case when, in the aftermath of a performance by Norwegian popular music singer and revue artist Jens Book-Jenssen<sup>41</sup> (who had performed a satirical song about the old Norwegian sagas), the local NS-propaganda director A. Grønli wrote to Oslo: ‘Vil gjøre Teaterdirektoratet merksam på at den parodien over “Snorre” etter mitt

36 Nasjonal Samling, *Propaganda-Håndboken*, p. 19. Translation: ‘[...] striking and eliminating all scenes, words or facts that criticise, humiliate or ridicule Germans or Germany, Nasjonal Samling, its leader and other high-ranking party officials.’

37 Ibid. Translation: ‘Content that direct thoughts towards war or negative aspects of contemporary politics.’

38 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0035, Letter from statens teaterdirektoratet to NS propagandaleder in Strømmen, dated 19 October 1942.

39 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0035, Letter from statens teaterdirektoratet to opera singer Karl Johansen, dated 15 September 1942.

40 Lunde regarded Quisling as a modern Viking in the tradition of King Olav. For further information refer to Gunhild Laland Mohn, *Ideologi og estetikk. Kampen for Norge – en analyse av Gulbrand Lundes tekster*, [master thesis], Oslo 2005, pp. 45–56.

41 Jens (Peter) Book-Jensen (1910–1999) was a popular singer, writer and revue director, cf. Svend Erik Løken Larsen, article ‘Jens Book Jenssen’, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* ([https://nbl.snl.no/Jens\\_Book\\_Jenssen](https://nbl.snl.no/Jens_Book_Jenssen), last update 13 February 2009, last access 28 February 2020).

forstand på sakene ikke burde vært godtkjent. “Snorre” er jo vår annen “Bibel” om jeg kan uttrykke det slik. Og mot latterliggjørelse av vår saga nedlegger jeg protest.<sup>42</sup>

This, however, raises the question of jurisdiction. Judging from the *Håndboken for propaganda* it would have been Grønli's obligation to inspect the material and decide on its performance. This suggests that this procedure was not always adhered to, and the Statens teaterdirektorat in Oslo had sometimes given approval of the material itself. Grønli received the following answer from Oslo's head office, disclaiming any form of accountability in this matter: ‘Når det gjelder Book Kenssens [sic] turné, kan en ikke se at det er godkjent noe nummer som inneholder en Snorre-parodi.’<sup>43</sup>

The public performance of music by composers of English, Russian, French, or Swedish nationalities was prohibited but, in several cases, this was not as consistent as the regulation proposed.<sup>44</sup> In December 1943 the propaganda director from Horten complained about having heard several pieces of Charles Gounod, or Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky on the radio or in cinema showings while referring to the party's own *Propagandahåndboken* which stipulated ‘[...] at framføring av engelsk, fransk og svensk tekst og musikk for tiden ikke er tillatt. Det samme gjelder russisk musikk [...]’<sup>45</sup> An answer from the Oslo-based head office does not exist.

Concerning Jewish composers, the *Håndboken for propaganda* does not state any prohibitions, although a suggestion was made by Hird kapellmeister Jim Johannessen<sup>46</sup> (also a member in Lunde's Kulturråd) in a letter to the minister dated 9 February 1942. Johannessen's letter contained several names of explicitly Jewish composers that were to be boycotted immediately.<sup>47</sup> In a letter to Lunde as well, the state music consultant

42 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0041, Letter by Fylkespropagandalederen A. Grønli to statens teaterdirektorat, dated 30 October 1943. Translation: ‘I would like to make the Directorate of Theatre aware that the parody of “Snorre” in my opinion on the matter should not have been approved. “Snorre” is our second “bible”, if I may say so. And against the ridicule of our saga, I protest.’

43 Ibid., letter from statens teaterdirektorat to A. Grønli, dated 2 November 1943. Translation: ‘When it comes to Book Kenssens's [sic] tour, one cannot see that any number containing a Snorre parody has been approved.’

44 See for further details about the contradictory ways of how the ban of Swedish music was handled and communicated the chapter ‘Remote Resistance’ by Michael Custodis in this volume.

45 Nasjonal Samling, *Håndboken for Propaganda*, p. 19. Translation: ‘The performance of English, French and Swedish lyrics and music is currently not allowed. The same goes for Russian music.’

46 Jim Johannessen was a violinist and conductor of the Hird music brigade (Hird = paramilitary party organisation, similar to German SA), who was a member of the advisory board called *Kulturråd i kunstneriske spørsmål*. Cf. Custodis/Mattes, ‘Zur Kategorie des “Nordischen”’, p. 173.

47 Cf. Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6013/L0005/0004, Liste over jødiske komponister, dated 10 February 1942. The list shows the category *Konsert*, which gives the following names: Paul Abraham (1892–1960), Gustav Amberg (1844–1921), Leo Ascher (1880–1942), Jacob Meyer Beer [Giacomo Meyerbeer] (1791–1864), Edmund Eysler (1874–1949), Leo Fall (1873–1925), Louis Grossmann (1835–1915), Wilhelm Grosz (1894–1939), Stefan Heller, Louis Herold, Viktor Holländer (1860–1940), Leon Jessel (1871–1942), Emmerich Kálmán (1882–1953), Fritz Kreisler (1875–1962), Johannes Mayer [Hans May] (1886–1958), Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809–1847), Jacques Offenbach (1819–1880), Heinrich Reinhardt (1865–1922), Anton Rubinstein (1829–1894), Oscar Strauss (1870–1954), Sigfried Translateur (1875–1944, died in Theresienstadt Ghetto), Émile Waldteufel (1837–1915), and Moritz Moszkowski (1854–1925). Under the category *Schlager* composers like Baer, Israel Balines [Irving Berlin], Werner Heymann, Guy Lombardo and Benny Goodman.

Geirr Tveitt<sup>48</sup> (*statens musikkonsulent*) however objected that the list submitted by Johannessen lacked a substantial number of important Jewish composers:

Men for det første er Herr Johannessens forslag uantagelig, ikke bare fordi det er ubegrunnet, men også fordi hans liste over jødiske komponister mangler såpass mange av de betydeligste navn i jødisk musikk at man ikke blir klok på enten det er mangel på kjennskap til det behandlede stoff eller om han mener å gjøre undtagelser for visse jøder [...].<sup>49</sup>

Whether this was just a mocking remark Tveitt made against Johannessen's authority, or an expression of a rigid anti-Semitism is not clear. However, Tveitt was ambiguous in his positions. On the one hand, he vindicated the musical achievements of Jewish composers like Mahler, on the other hand he radically defamed any form of Jazz.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, Johannessen pleaded for a decree to prohibit 'parodisering'<sup>51</sup> of well-known classical works such as Edvard Grieg's *Åses død* or others in the popular styles like the foxtrot. Although the regulations in the *Propagandahåndbok* state that certain kinds of swing melodies were forbidden, it is not further specified which melodies exactly were meant. In addition, jazz was allowed to be performed as 'rhythm-music' as long as no classical works would be arranged for jazz bands, as it would violate copyright laws.<sup>52</sup> This dry mercantile explanation was however dropped, when pieces by composers that were regarded sacrosanct were rearranged. Bergen's Rytmeorkester got into trouble when they performed Wagner's *Tannhäuser* 'in another form',<sup>53</sup> and had to apologise to Lunde and promise to refrain from repeating this.

It has to be noted that, in contrast to vocal music, instrumental music was completely unaffected by censorship, as long as it did not openly transport political allusions or meanings that were in any way ideologically disapproved of by the leaders. These concerts had to be applied for as well at the local propaganda office, but did not need approval of the head department in Oslo. The incapability of musically untrained propaganda personnel allowed pieces like Mendelssohn's *Hebriden Ouverture* (op. 26) to be played at a concert of the Stavanger's city orchestra.<sup>54</sup> This of course constituted a

48 For further information on Geirr Tveitt's role in music politics during the German occupation of Norway refer to Sjur Haga Bringeland's article 'Sources Revisited. The Case of Geirr Tveitt' in this volume.

49 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6013/D/Da/L0005/0004, Tveitt's letter to Gulbrand Lunde, dated 26 March 1942. Translation: 'Mr. Johannessen's suggestion is unacceptable, not only because it is unfounded, but also because his list of Jewish composers lacks so many of the most important names in Jewish music that one does not become wise whether there is a lack of knowledge of the treated substance or whether he thinks to make exceptions for certain Jews [...].'

50 Cf. Custodis/Mattes, 'Zur Kategorie des "Nordischen"', p. 174.

51 Ibid.

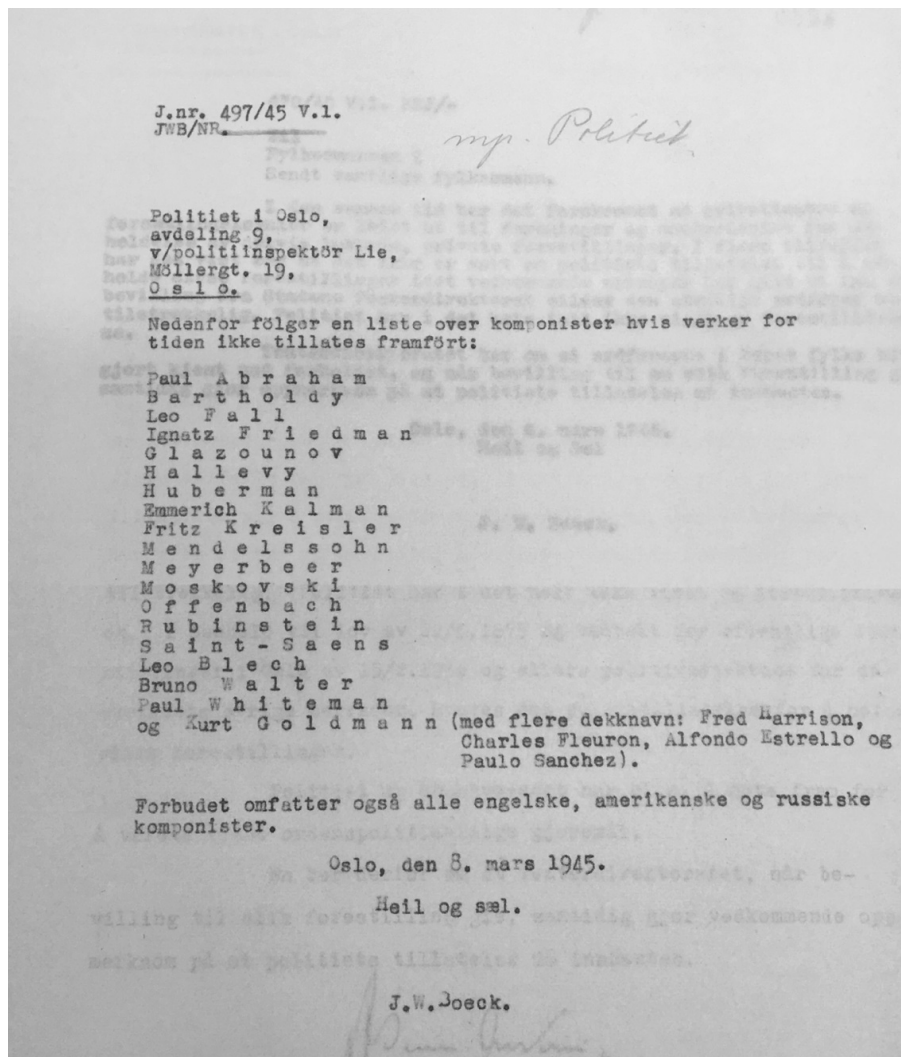
52 Ibid.; See also for greater context: Bjørn Stendahl and Johs Bergh, *Sigarett Stomp: Jazz i Norge, 1940–1950*, Oslo 1991.

53 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6013/D/Da/L0005/0004, Letter from Bergens Rytmeorkester to Gulbrand Lunde, dated 20 October 1942.

54 Stavanger Byarkiv, PA-0092, Z-L0001, Stavanger Byorkester, Serie Z, Referansmateriale (arkivlister, instruksjer, avisutklipp, etc.), Konsert 1944–45.

loophole for the musical resistance movement that had formed steadily during the increasing pressure of censorial practice.<sup>55</sup>

It also shows the lack of musical experience and failing communication among the NS-propaganda leaders and their respective superiors in Oslo. The confusion about what kind of music was allowed to be played prevailed until the last days of German occupation, when even in March 1945 the police chief of Oslo had to be sent a list of forbidden composers:



Pic. 2: List of composers whose works were restricted from being performed (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA-6129/D/Da/L0078)

<sup>55</sup> For further details regarding instrumental music as a means of musical resistance refer to Michael Custodis, 'Mit Bach gegen Hitler. Kirchenkonzerte in Norwegen während der deutschen Besatzungszeit (1940–45)', in: Dominik Höink (ed.), *Religiöse Friedensmusik von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, (= *Folkwang Studien*), Hildesheim et al. [in preparation].

### III. Conclusion

During the German occupation of Norway (1940–45), music censorship was institutionalised within the process of Nazification starting in September 1940. Although initiated and controlled by Terboven's administration, the new ministry of propaganda led by Gulbrand Lunde (and later Fuglesang) was a domain of the Norwegian fascists.

The ministry maintained a department called Statens teaterdirektoratet which functioned as an inspection authority for all performances revolving around theatre performances, revue, cabaret and, of course, music performances. Despite the promulgated censorial guidelines officially issued by Nasjonal Samling, everyday proceedings soon became a bureaucratic exertion as all music that involved lyrics had to be approved weeks in advance of the performance, either by a local propaganda administrator or the head department in Oslo. In addition, the use of mostly musically untrained personnel as censors (Halvorsen as chief of teaterdirektoratet was a writer and dramatist, not a composer or musician), often created loopholes within censorial day-to-day practice. Especially, as instrumental music remained completely unaffected by censorship, (unless the composer was of a certain origin that represented ideological enemies like French, British, or Russian), censorship was oftentimes less effective than it was contemplated in theory.

These first impressions of administrative structures and insights into the daily practice of music censorship in occupied Norway, however, have to be dealt with in further detail, concerning questions regarding specific genres, greater in-depth analysis of the administrative protagonists and their rivalling counterparts, as well as, of course, the persecution by the Gestapo in case of severe violations of discussed censorial guidelines.



Manfred Heidler

## 'Music in Uniform'

### The German Apparatus of Repression and its Acoustic Symbolism

Auf keinem Gebiet der Künste fanden die spezifischen Mittel der Macht des Dritten Reiches – Expansion und Selbstvergötzung – eine so gute Grundlage, solche Voraussetzung für die eigenen Auffassungen und überhaupt die ganze Einstellung vor wie gerade bei der Musik.<sup>1</sup>

This observation from Joseph Wulf also accounts for 'music in uniform' regarding the different branches of Wehrmacht, Waffen-SS and the German police. It can also be applied to various uniformed bands of the Nazi Party and its formations, which were presumably involved in maintaining the morale of the troops during the German occupation of Norway.<sup>2</sup> Military music in the Wehrmacht<sup>3</sup> was characterised by the fact that the bands were under the administrative control of the individual units or their commanders, and under the technical control of three military music directors (Obermusikinspizienten)<sup>4</sup> of equal rank: for the Army – professor Hermann Schmidt<sup>5</sup> (1885–

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1 Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation* (= *Kultur im Dritten Reich* 5), Frankfurt 1989, p. 5. Translation: 'In no other area of art did the specific means of power of the Third Reich – territorial expansion and self-idolatry – find such a good foundation, such fertile ground for the views and indeed the whole attitude of the regime as in music.'

2 See for further details Michael Custodis, 'Between Tradition and Politics. Military Music in Occupied Norway (1940–45)', in: *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 44 (2018), No. 1, pp. 11–41, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1504-2960-2018-01-03>.

3 The status of the military musicians (here of the Army) in the Wehrmacht had to be reconsidered due to the lack of sensitivity of the military commanders with regard to their assignment. See also BArch, RH 15/445: *Oberkommando des Heeres 24 b Allg H IVc., Berlin, W 35, 25 August 1936. Betr.: Ausbildung des Musikkorps. Im Auftrage gez. Heinrici* [Gotthard Heinrici, later Colonel General, 1886–1971]. There it says: 'The (bugler) bands are often under the disciplinary control of the communications platoon. According to Army Regulation (HDv) 32 Para. 27 (5), however, the bandmaster is directly subordinate to the major unit commander. While the band is therefore under the command and control of the leader of the communications platoon or the commander of another company level unit, the bandmaster is an exception to this rule. The same is ordered for directors who direct bands autonomously.' It appears that, at that time, the musicians were employed at the whim of their military superiors, for example, for various labour services, or constant 'attendance services' for the senior officers. This, however, was detrimental to their actual music training. Moreover, some of the musicians also lacked the special training required for performing these duties. Because of the 'training in string music and orchestral mastery as well as the music practice off-duty' required from the musicians, the commanders were therefore asked 'to take measures that would put an end to the inappropriate interference with the obligations and rights of the bandmaster etc. and the proper professional training of the musicians.' As a result, the unit commanders had to allocate about six to seven hours per day to musical activities in addition to the general military duties.

4 Translator's note: rank equivalent to lieutenant colonel.

5 Hermann Schmidt, \* 9 March 1885 in Gera, † 5 October 1950 in Berlin (Mariendorf). On 1 April 1903, he joined the music corps of the 83<sup>rd</sup> in Kassel and completed the Musikmeister (bandmaster) course in Berlin. Promoted to bandmaster on 15 February 1915, he participated in World War I with the Fusilier Regiment 38. Transferred to the Reichswehr, he was among other things Musikmeister for the Training Bataillon of the Infantry Regiment 14 in Donaueschingen (1926) and Obermusikmeister (junior bandmaster) of the III./Infantry Regiment 10 in Dresden. Hans

1950), the Air Force – professor Hans Felix Husadel<sup>6</sup> (1889–1964),<sup>7</sup> and the Navy – professor Karl Flick<sup>8</sup> (1877–1949). With Police Lieutenant Colonel Wilhelm Schierhorn

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Felix Husadel, who later became organiser and first military music director of the Luftwaffe, was to succeed Schmidt in Donaueschingen. Schmidt played the solo clarinet of his music corps, conducted by Hermann Scherchen and Heinrich Burkhard at the premieres of original wind instrument compositions inspired by Hindemith at the Donaueschingen chamber music performances 1926. From 6 December 1929 on, he succeeded the late Oskar Hackenberger as teacher at the StAHfM (Staatlich Akademische Hochschule für Musik) in Berlin and on 15 December 1933 he was promoted to professor. On 1 October 1938, he was promoted to Obermusikinspizient des Heeres (junior military music director of the army), a position he kept until the end of the war 1945. The term ‘Panzermusik’ (‘tank music’) presumably traces back to Hermann Schmidt, as he, for the tank forces of the Wehrmacht, experimented with special brass orchestrations for parades and march-pasts. He was also connected to the ‘De-Judification’ of German Art, due to his early efforts to ‘Aryanise the military music’ (Heidler) in the Army. As Heeresmusikinspizient he issued a corresponding directive at the 9<sup>th</sup> Military Music Director conference on 24 November 1937 in Berlin. Cf. Georg Kandler, ‘Deutsche Militärmusik im Kriege’, in: *Deutsche Militär-Musiker-Zeitung. Einziges Musik-Fachblatt für die deutsche Wehrmacht* 63 (1941), No. 1, 4 January 1941 [Hereinafter: *DMMZ*]; SS-Personalhauptamt (ed.), *Dienstaltersliste der Schutzstaffel der NSDAP. (SS-Obergruppenführer und SS-Standartenführer). Stand vom 1. Oktober 1944*, Berlin 1944, [Reprint] Vaduz 1985.

- 6 Hans-Felix Husadel, \* 18 May 1897 in Prenzlau/Uckermark, † 25 July 1964 in Aulendorf. He participated in World War I as member of the Leibgrenadier Regiment No. 8 (Frankfurt/Oder) in the east and the west. Afterwards, he studied at the Sternsche Coservatory and the StHfM in Berlin, where he took piano and composition amongst others with Franz Schreker, Paul Hindemith and Leo Schratzenholz. On 1 January 1923, he joined the Reichswehr (Armed Forces of the Weimar Republic) as a musician and was in 1925 commandeered to Berlin for bandmaster training at the university, which he graduated from on 31 July 1928. Afterwards, he took over the Training Bataillon of the Infantry Regiment 14 (Donaueschingen). There, he was also active in the field of amateur music. As Obermusikmeister he was appointed on 1 April 1935 to the StAHfM in Berlin for training of bandmasters of the Airforce, and appointed professor on 14 July 1935. At the same time, he was assigned to take over the administrative and music related supervision over the restructuring of the Air Force music corps. As professor, he was responsible for the education of future Air Force Musikmeister. In 1941, he got rank and title of Obermusikinspizient. After World War II, he worked as musical director of theatres in Berlin and Stendal. He became involved in the South German amateur wind music and its wind music associations, after moving to Ravensburg in 1953. He died unexpectedly while conducting the overture of *Il Guarany* of Carlos Gomes at the district music festival in Aulendorf.
- 7 Husadel was responsible for setting up the so-called Air Force music service, as a new musical-artistic organisational element. Cf. Manfred Heidler, ‘“Symphonie am Himmel” – Die deutsche Luftwaffenmusik. Anmerkungen zu einem vergessenen Kapitel deutscher Militärmusikgeschichte’, in: Bernhard Habla (ed.), *Kongressbericht Oberwölz/Steiermark 2004 (= Alta Musica 25)*, Tutzing 2006, pp. 151–192.
- 8 Karl Flick, \* 2 June 1877 in Berlin, † 1949 (presumably in Berlin). He was educated as trumpeter and violinist at a private military music preschool with music director Gertler in Stendal. From 11 November 1895 he did his military service at the Infantry Regiment No. 132 in Strasbourg. On 1 October 1897, he was transferred to the I. Sailor Division in Kiel. Afterwards, he served as oboist at the Cruiser Squadron in East Asia, then another year at the I. Sailor Division in Kiel. After which he led the music corps of the Cruiser Squadron in East Asia. As musician of the I. Sailor Division’s music corps in Kiel he served under military conductor Ernst Pott as second trumpeter and was from 1903–1906 commandeered to Berlin for a bandmaster education. He was appointed Musikmeister on 1 February 1907 and Obermusikmeister on 21 December 1915 (as Stabshoboist he took over the music corps of the III. Sailor Artillery Division in Bremerhaven until 1921). He stayed in the IV. Naval Artillery Division in Cuxhaven until 1932 as leader of the music corps. He was an active participant of the Boxer Rebellion in China 1900–1901 and war participant in 1914–1918. From 1932 to 1934, he was Chief of the Music Corps at the Commander of the Liner Ships and in 1938 was deployed to the II. Naval Artillery Division in Wilhelmshaven. He was appointed Musikinspizient der Kriegsmarine (Music Inspector of the



(1886–1968), the regular police<sup>9</sup> (Ordnungspolizei) had a music director of its own. Sturmabführer<sup>10</sup> Leander Hauck (1901–1945) had a similar function for the bands of the Waffen-SS. Due to its complexity and as the research on this topic is still rudimentary, the music organisation of the NSDAP<sup>11</sup> or its formations is not dealt with here.

One feature of the Nazi state was the constant competition between various partisan and governmental organisations concerned with music, its organisation and control. This is also reflected in the organisation and presentation of music within an overlapping troop morale, welfare and recreational support service,<sup>12</sup> in addition to live

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War Navy) on 1 December 1937 and therein confirmed on 1 April 1938. On 1 December 1937 he took over the education for the bandmasters to be of the Navy at the StAHfM in Berlin. He was appointed the title of service ‘Professor’ on 30 August 1938.

- 9 The music director of the regular German police Polizeioberstleutnant (Police Lieutenant Colonel) and Obersturmbannführer der SS (SS Senior Assault Unit Leader – battalion sized unit) Wilhelm Schierhorn was assigned to the Central Command Office of the police (Berlin) in 1938. For the (Waffen-)SS, Sturmabführer (SS Assault Unit Leader) Leander Hauck was assigned to the same function with the same designation at the Command Department of the Waffen-SS of the SS Leadership Main Office in Berlin in 1938.
  - 10 Translator’s note: rank equivalent to major.
  - 11 Rainer Sieb, *Der Zugriff der NSDAP auf die Musik. Zum Aufbau von Organisationsstrukturen für die Musikkarbeit in den Gliederungen der Partei*, [dissertation], Osnabrück 2007, (<https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:gbv:700-2007091013>, last access 14 May 2020).
  - 12 Paul Winter, ‘Musikpflege in der Wehrmacht’, in: Hellmuth von Hase (ed.), *Jahrbuch der deutschen Musik 1943*. Leipzig 1943, p. 57, ‘[...] Bei den Veranstaltungen der Truppenbetreuung im Kriegs- und Heimatgebiet ist der Musik ein großer Raum gewährt. Sänger und Instrumentalisten, Kammermusik-vereinigungen Orchester- und Opernbühnen des Reiches (im Auftrag des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht durch „Kraft durch Freude“ eingesetzt) vermitteln – keine Anstrengungen und Gefahr scheuend – unseren Soldaten von Murmansk bis Afrika, von der Atlantikküste bis tief in den Osten, in Stunden der Entspannung und der Sammlung den ganzen Reichtum der Musik. Entscheidend sind hier nicht die klingenden Namen der ausführenden Künstler, die sich erfreulich zahlreich in den Dienst der Sache stellen, entscheidend ist allein das kulturelle Gesamtergebnis: Unzählige deutsche Soldaten aus allen Berufs- und Bildungsschichten gewinnen auf diese Weise eine erstmalige oder eine neue Beziehung zu dem edelsten Kulturgut der Musik. Der Kontakt zwischen Hörer und Künstler ist fern der Heimat enger, namentlich wenn ein verbindendes Wort die Brücke zum Kunstwerk schlägt. Im behelfsmäßig hergerichteten Raum, auf entlegener Insel oder an Bord eines Schiffes lauscht man gesammelter als im konventionellen Konzertsaal.’ Translation: ‘[...] At the events of troop entertainment at the war and home area music is given great space. Singers and instrumentalists, chamber music associations, orchestras and opera stages of the Reich (commissioned by the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht through “Kraft durch Freude”) convey – not sparing effort and danger – to our soldiers from Murmansk to Africa, from the Atlantic Coast till deep in the East, in hours of relaxation and consolidation the whole wealth of music. It is not the impressive names of the performing artists who put themselves in the service of the cause, paramount alone is the cultural overall result: In this way, countless German soldiers from all professional and educational backgrounds gain a first-time or new relationship with the most noble cultural asset of music. The contact between listener and artist is closer far from home, especially when a connecting word builds a bridge to the work of art. In a makeshift room, on a remote island or on board a ship, one listens more collectively than in a conventional concert hall.’
- Maria Ottich, ‘Die Musikkarbeit der NS-Gemeinschaft “Kraft durch Freude”’, in: Hellmuth von Hase (ed.), *Jahrbuch der deutschen Musik 1943*, Leipzig 1943, p. 63, ‘Während des Krieges gilt die besondere Fürsorge der NS-Gemeinschaft „Kraft durch Freude“ der Wehrmacht. Unzählige Theaterspielgruppen, Kammermusikvereinigungen und Solistengruppen werden hinausgeschickt, um die Verbindung zwischen Front und Heimat rege zu gestalten und die Soldaten am deutschen Kulturgut teilhaben zu lassen. Bühne und Podium werden vertauscht mit allen möglichen Räumen militärischer Unterkünfte. Bis dicht hinter der Front gehen diese Gruppen, musizieren zu Wasser und zu Lande, tragen ihre Kunst in die Lazarette hinein und geben den Soldaten nicht

performances by the bands of the Wehrmacht, Waffen-SS and regular police. The chief of the regular police in charge of the occupied Norwegian territories with headquarters in Oslo, for example, was assigned with a Stabsmusikkorps (Wehrmacht band). The bands of the Wehrmacht (or Waffen-SS), on the other hand, were organised in accordance with their service-specific requirements of the Army, Navy and Air Force, and thereby rivalling each other. Of particular note were the Air Force bands, which included saxophone musicians, among other things, and consciously set themselves apart from the other military wind ensembles in German uniform in cultivating a modern and ideologically provocative style.<sup>13</sup>

## Preliminary Remarks

Hanns-Werner Heister identifies occupation as part, and the pursuit of world domination as keystone of the National Socialist strategy, in which music, in accordance with politics, ranged between appeasement and terror, respectively musical material oscillating between smashing and soothing sounds, both in domestic and foreign strategies. The idea of extreme domination, servicing individual interest, results in both fields.<sup>14</sup> With that, he presents a striking outline of the aggressive Nazi music programme, not only of aspects played by music in uniform, but also of a broader concept which could be called ‘music in military contexts’. Music was thus adapted to fit the political-ideological processes and scenarios resulting from German domination. It became ubiquitous as a resounding symbol of power (with or without uniform); this approach was also taken during the occupation of Norway.

Military bands were an organisational element of the German Wehrmacht in all conquered territories, and this presentation is presumably the first one aimed at analysing their significance as an integral part of Germany’s occupation policy, using Norway as an example. As military bands accompanied the combat units to the front lines,

selten Anregung zu eigener musikalischer Betätigung.’ Translation: ‘During the war, the special care of the Nazi community „Kraft durch Freude“ (Strength through Joy) is given to the Wehrmacht. Innumerable theatre play groups, chamber music associations and soloist groups are sent out in order to create a lively connection between the front and the homeland and to allow the soldiers to share in the German cultural heritage. Stage and podium are exchanged with all kinds of rooms of military accommodation. These groups go as far away as the front, play music on land and water, carry their art into the military hospitals and often give the soldiers inspiration for their own musical activities.’

- 13 Winter, ‘Musikpflege in der Wehrmacht’, p. 57, ‘Auch der konzertanten Blasmusik bringt die Wehrmacht erhöhtes Interesse entgegen. Durch Wettbewerbe und Aufträge fördert sie die Komposition originaler Blasmusik. Besonderen Anreiz bieten hierbei offenbar das erweiterte Instrumentarium der Luftwaffenmusik (Einführung des Saxophons, hoher und tiefer Klarinetten und Posaunen).’ Translation: ‘The Wehrmacht is also showing increased interest in concert wind music. It promotes the composition of original brass music through competitions and commissions. The expanded range of instruments used in Luftwaffe music (introduction of the saxophone, high and low clarinets and trombones) seems to offer a special incentive.’; Manfred Heidler, “Symphonie am Himmel”
- 14 Hanns-Werner Heister, ‘Zwischen Anheizen und Ablenken. Zu Wirkungen und Funktionen von Musik in der nazistischen Besatzungspolitik’, in: Sarah Zalfen and Sven Oliver Müller (eds.), *Besatzungsmacht Musik. Zur Musik- und Emotionsgeschichte im Zeitalter der Weltkriege (1914–1949)*, Bielefeld 2012, pp. 159–186, here p. 160, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14361/transcript.9783839419120.159>.

the military music they performed during and after combat operations had an immediate effect, as opposed to the manifold cultural measures taken by the new German 'rulers', which took some time to take effect. While several publications exist on the topic of occupying powers and their systematic use of musical presence,<sup>15</sup> none of them offer any relevant information on the actions and effects of military music. At this point, it would seem appropriate to refer to 'war as the father of all things', in order to shed some light on this hitherto often neglected topic. A statement in this context from 1941 reads:

Ein altes griechisches Sprichwort behauptet, der Krieg sei der Vater aller Dinge. Wieweit das im allgemeinen [sic!] zutrifft, kann uns gleichgültig sein. Auf jeden Fall ist die Militärmusik ein Geschöpf des Kriegswesens, und daraus ergibt sich, daß sie ihre Daseinsberechtigung letzten Endes immer erst im Kriege unwiderleglich erweisen kann. Ihre Aufgaben im Rahmen des militärischen Lebens haben schon manche Wandlung durchgemacht, aber – ob sie nun als Signalmusik, Marschmusik oder Konzertmusik auftritt – entscheidend bleibt, daß sie der Wehrkraft des Volkes dient.

Will man nun die Beobachtungen dieses – auch für die Zukunft der Militärmusik richtungsweisenden – Krieges zusammenfassen, dann drängt sich der Eindruck zweier Tatsachenreihen auf. Zunächst kann als erwiesen angesehen werden, daß auch die Militärmusiker an den so ungewöhnlich erfolgreichen militärischen Operationen einen ihrer Verwendung angemessenen Anteil hatten. Auf der anderen Seite zeigt es sich, daß ihre künstlerische Betätigung gerade auch im Kriege wertvolle Beiträge wehrgeistigen Gepräges vermittelt, deren man dringend bedarf.<sup>16</sup>

15 Cf. Zalfen/Müller, *Besatzungsmacht Musik*; Andreas Wehrmeyer (ed.), *Musik im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren (1939–1945). Fakten – Hintergründe – Historisches Umfeld* (= Veröffentlichungen des Sudetendeutschen Musikinstituts, Berichte 6), Munich 2008. NB: Not only do both publications lack any pertinent articles on military music and 'its involvement' in the occupation; there is not even any mention of the subject to be found. This shows that the authors were, or are, not aware of this special type of 'musical presence' in uniform, reducing the interpretation of actions and effects of music to stereotypical patterns of art music practiced by the 'occupiers'. The introduction of the publication *Musik im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren* (p. 9) pithily states: 'It must be noted that music primarily means concert or what is termed performance music; light entertainment or popular music, which altogether deserves to be subject of a special study, will only briefly be dealt with.'

16 Kandler, 'Deutsche Militärmusik im Kriege', in: *DMMZ* 63 (1941), No. 1, 4 January 1941. Translation: 'There is an old Greek saying that claims that war is the father of all things. It does not matter to us whether this generally holds true. However, it is certainly true that war is the father of military music and therefore military music can only irrefutably justify its right to exist during war. Its functions in military life have undergone many a change – whether it is performed as signal music, military marches or concert music –, but its most important function has always been to strengthen the military morale of the people. Anyone trying to summarise the observations made in this war – which also pointed the way ahead for military music – will be struck by two sets of facts. Firstly, it can be taken as a fact that military bands have also made an appropriate contribution to the exceptional success of military operations. Secondly, it has become clear that their performances, particularly in times of war, have made a valuable contribution to the conveyance of an urgently required militaristic ideology.' The author did not adapt the orthography to today's rules. All mistakes in spelling etc. are in the original text. This applies also to all further quotes. The *Deut-*

It is true that military bands were, first of all, intended to bring their military psychology effects to bear on their fellow Germans and troops, but the changes in the circumstances and the offer of an opportunity to the Wehrmacht military bands must not be underestimated, and have also to be focused on. It allowed the band members, who accompanied their units 'to the front lines' in the new territories, to convey this militaristic ideology in a different way. Georg Kandler<sup>17</sup> states that the victories of the Wehrmacht offered its bands the new opportunity to perform in foreign countries, an opportunity only granted to the well-travelled Navy bands before. It cast a new light on all military music – as music always accompanied the conquering troops and played public concerts as a display of German power.<sup>18</sup>

## Music in German Uniforms in Norway

In keeping with the *Heim ins Reich* slogan (Home into the Reich), the emphasis placed by Georg Kandler underlines that many of the victorious Wehrmacht campaigns between 1939 and 1941 were nothing but 'the liberation of former Reich territories or the reintegration of previously oppressed ethnic Germans'<sup>19</sup> into the Reich. For Norway, SS commander Heinrich Himmler's pronounced predilection for all things 'Nordic' is significant, documented by his strong idealisation of its pantheon, runes and Germandom. This prominent tendency is underlined by the establishment of the 11

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*sche-Militär-Musiker-Zeitung* (DMMZ) was the only professional journal of German military music until 1945. It was in line with the National Socialist propaganda, hence its statements are to be critically evaluated. This holds true also for all cited articles of DMMZ in this text.

- 17 Dr. Georg Kandler, \* 12 February 1902 in St. Petersburg, † 26 April 1973 in Bonn. After graduating from high school in his hometown, he studied national economics, which he completed with a degree in economics. Initially writing about economic issues, he was able to deepen his knowledge of German military music as a freelancer of the DMMZ and develop a career that suited his musical inclinations. From the mid-1930s on, he was the main editor of the DMMZ, deepened his research on military music and wrote most of the articles and reviews that appeared there. During the Second World War, he was called up to serve in the Wehrmacht and worked as a lecturer for the military music of the Kriegsmarine. After the war, he worked as a lecturer for Russian language and culture at the University of Bonn and held courses at the Bildungswerk Bonn for over two decades. As a connoisseur of Russian military music, the former Inspector General of the Bundeswehr, Foertsch, spoke of him as 'the founder of historical and systematic military musicology'. He was a valued speaker and welcome guest at the conferences of the music officers of the German Armed Forces. His articles on military music in the Wehrmacht, which he wrote as the chief editor of the DMMZ, are clearly ideologically coloured, which suggests a personal affinity to the Nazi system.
- 18 Kandler, 'Deutsche Militärmusik im Kriege', DMMZ 63 (1941), No. 1, 4 January 1941, p. 2. This however, ignores the practical 'field trials' of military music previously conducted during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71 and in the course of World War I, resulting in German military bands performing in the areas of the Western and Eastern Fronts, i. e. staging 'occupation music' for German service members and the local population in the territories near the fronts. Cf. August Ganzer, *Dreiunddreißig Jahre aus dem Leben eines Militärkapellmeisters in Krieg und Frieden, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Feldzüge 1864–66–70/71*, Hamburg 1906. In Norway a Luftwaffenmusikerkorps performed concerts for the general public two days after the occupation on 12 April in front of the Nationaltheater and the Storting in Oslo.
- 19 Kandler, 'Deutsche Militärmusik im Kriege', in: DMMZ 63 (1941), No. 1, 4 January 1941, p. 2.

(Germanic) SS Volunteer Mechanised Infantry Division Nordland in 1943, and its attached 23 Waffen-SS Regiment Norge.<sup>20</sup>

In accordance with these aspects, Kandler elaborates that performances by German military bands had become a common sight in Norway, first and foremost in Oslo, attesting the expulsion of all British. Furthermore, he points out that the band of the mountain infantry in Narvik was presumably the northernmost stake of Germany’s power.<sup>21</sup>

Narvik and the combat operations of all Wehrmacht units deployed were glorified by the NS propaganda and focus was mainly on the ‘victor of Narvik’, General Eduard Dietl<sup>22</sup> (1890–1944). Soon, Josef Schweiger<sup>23</sup> honoured Dietl, a convinced National Socialist, for this victory with the *General Dietl Marsch*.<sup>24</sup> In a different article, the musical work of the (Austrian) military musicians in Narvik once again received special recognition:

Von Zeit zu Zeit sind uns Berichte aus Norwegen zugegangen, die einen Einblick von der Wirksamkeit deutscher Militärmusiker im nördlichsten Lande

- 
- 20 The efforts to recruit Norwegians for the Waffen-SS did not prove to be very successful. In 1944, less than 4,000 men served in their ranks.
- 21 Kandler, ‘Deutsche Militärmusik im Kriege’, in: *DMMZ* 63 (1941), No. 1, 4 January 1941, p. 2. The Wehrmacht’s occupation of Norway started with the Operation Weserübung on 9 April 1940 and ended on 8 May 1945. Josef Terboven, former Gauleiter (regional party leader) in Essen, became Reichskommissar (Reich Commissioner). In 1942, Norwegian Vidkun Quisling was appointed head of government. About 300,000 Wehrmacht troops were stationed in Norway, serving in the Army, Air Force and the Navy. Unfortunately, the exact number of military bands in Norway is unknown, and there is almost no other relevant information on this topic.
- 22 Eduard Dietl, \* in Bad Aibling, † 23 June 1944 in a plane crash. He joined the Bavarian army in 1909. 1911 promoted to lieutenant; platoon leader of a machine gun company in the First World War. 1918 Captain and transfer to the Reichswehr; company commander in the III. (Mountain Fighter) Battalion 19<sup>th</sup> Bavarian. Infantry Regiment. 1923 contact with Adolf Hitler. Various service positions in the Reichswehr. 1935 Regimental Commander Mountain Troops Regiment 99; 1938 Major General and Commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Mountain Division. After taking part in the Polish campaign, he embarked with his division for Narvik as part of the ‘Weserübung’ and succeeded in holding Narvik in the most difficult battles against allied units. Subsequently Commanding General Mountain Corps Norway. During the retreat from Finland and Norway, Dietl consistently applied the ‘scorched earth policy’, which caused additional severe suffering to the population. Cf. <http://www.lexikon-der-wehrmacht.de/Personenregister/D/DietlE-R.htm> (last access 29 March 2020).
- 23 Josef Schweiger \* 1888, † 1955, collaborator in the field of folk music at the Reichssender in Munich (1934–1945) and composer; served in the Wehrmacht during the war (further dates unknown). Composer of the march *Unser General Dietl*, which was published as Gebirgsjägermarsch (for hunter music/brass music with saxophone voices) by H. Schirmer in 1941. Dedication composition, for General Eduard Dietl (see above). Cf. Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, CD-ROM Kiel 2004, pp. 6504–6505; Josef Schweiger (composer) and Hans Schirmer (arranger), ‘Unser General Dietl’, in: Alexander Hanson and Forsvaret musikkorps Nord-Norge, *Battle of Narvik – General Fleischer, til ære!* [CD], EAN: 9788280892294, 2016. In the booklet of the CD is an entry that Schweiger’s composition was written in 1938 for Dietl’s promotion to general. This is an error, which is proven by the publication in the *DMMZ* and also by the entry in Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*.
- 24 *DMMZ* 63 (1941), No. 6, 8 February 1941, p. 67. There it says, for example: ‘For different reasons, it is a very appropriate composition for a mountain infantryman. First of all, the new military march in honour of the victor of Narvik integrates elements of the down-to-earth folk song and in a secondary solo part even of yodel music. Secondly, the march tempo, which by itself already varies strongly between North and South, is that of the popular Styrian marksmen marches in this case.’

Europas vermittelten. [...] Die Zeit der Heeresmusiker ist voll und ganz mit musikalischer Tätigkeit ausgefüllt. Das Musikkorps hat Gelegenheit in jeder Woche ein Konzert mit Blasmusik für den Rundfunk darzubieten. Ob die norwegische Bevölkerung jenes nördlichsten Gebietes, die früher lange Zeit von der englischen Lügenpropaganda bearbeitet worden ist, den Klängen deutscher Soldaten im Radio lauscht, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis. Für die deutschen Kameraden ist ein solches Konzert stets eine besondere Freude. Einmal wurde sogar ein Wunschkonzert veranstaltet, das eine Summe von 5042 Kronen einbrachte. Es ist daraufhin der Wunsch laut geworden, ein weiteres Wunschkonzert mit Uebertragung auf alle deutschen Sender zu veranstalten. Jedenfalls wäre es ein besonderes Erlebnis, wenn ein solches Heereskonzert des nördlichsten deutschen Musikkorps überall in der Heimat gehört werden würde.<sup>25</sup>

Further accounts of the musical activities of the ‘Ostmärker’ can be found at the end of the article:

Es gibt hier sogar ein Konzert-Kaffee. Dort spielen täglich ein älterer Herr und eine jüngere Dame, vielleicht Vater und Tochter, Geige und Klavier, -- beide die Ruhe selbst. Sie versuchen mit Schlagern und Wiener Walzern Stimmung in die deutschen und norwegischen Gäste hineinzubringen, was aber infolge des allzu ruhigen Spiels nicht recht gelingt. Der Donnerstag ist ihr freier Tag, und um diese Lücke auszufüllen, wurde an einem solchen freien Tag eine aus dem Musikkorps der ostmärkischen Gebirgsjäger ausgesonderte „Salonkapelle“ zur Verfügung gestellt. Die Folge war, daß die deutschen Militärmusiker auch an den weiteren Donnerstagen spielen konnten, wobei das Lokal bis auf den letzten Platz gefüllt war.<sup>26</sup>

This is an interesting view of the relationship between occupiers and the occupied. It shows that musical interaction blurred the lines between foreign military musicians on the one hand and local artists on the other. This reflects the problems that could be

25 ‘Deutsche Militärmusik in Norwegen. Das nördlichste Musikkorps der großdeutschen Wehrmacht’, in: *DMMZ* 63 (1941), No. 14, 4 April 1941. Translation: ‘From time to time, we have received reports from Norway offering a glimpse at the effectiveness of German military musicians in Europe’s northernmost country. [...] The time of the Army musicians is entirely filled with musical activities. Every week, the band has the opportunity to present a wind concert for a radio broadcast. We do not know whether the Norwegian population of this northernmost territory, who has long been subjected to mendacious British propaganda, is listening to the sound of German service members on the radio. For the German fellow service members, such a concert is always a special pleasure. A musical request concert was even organised once, raising a total of 5,042 Kroner. After that, there were calls to stage another musical request concert to be broadcast by all German radio stations. It would certainly be a special occasion if such an Army concert by the northernmost German military band could be enjoyed all over the homeland.’

26 Ibid. Translation: ‘They even have a concert café. An elderly gentleman and a young lady, they may be father and daughter, play violin and piano there every day – both of them as composed as can be. They play the latest hits and Viennese Waltzes to liven up the German and Norwegian guests – a futile attempt in view of their all too tranquil performance. Thursday is their day off, and to fill this gap, the Ostmark mountain infantry provided a “salon orchestra” composed of members of their band to play on one of these days off. As a result, the German military musicians could also play on the following thursdays, with the café full to the brim.’

labelled as ‘artistic collaboration’ (Heidler) resulting from the necessities of daily life during an ‘unusual time’. These circumstances should be borne in mind.

Soon after combat action had ended, military bands did not only give open-air concerts for the German service members in these areas, but also for the local people. The uniforms, flags and exaggerated pathos of the Nazis corresponded well with German music, which the local people presumably heard, quite often, for the first time. German military marches were performed in combination with the ‘high art’ of Wagner, Strauss, Bruckner, Beethoven and many others to prove the ‘superiority of Germany’s musical culture’. These ‘internationally renowned German compositions’ clearly drowned out the contributions of local folklore and Norwegian national music of that time; the military bands of the occupying forces had ‘moved into position’ and in this way dominated the cultural activities of all the occupied territories. Numerous concerts were performed for Germany’s troops in Poland, France, Denmark, Norway and Finland, and later also in Greece, North Africa and the invaded parts of Russian territory.

These are hallmarks of a radical change in culture and music, aimed at heralding ‘racially pure’ German music, while censoring all other types of music, for reasons of the Nazi racist ideology. Keeping in mind the strict suppression of competing events and groups, the following report on the reactions on public Wehrmacht concerts in Oslo conveys the impression the German musicians were able to make on their audience:

In den Nachmittagsstunden ist der Platz vor der Universität und dem Nationaltheater in Oslo schwarz vor Menschen. Aus der Menge leuchtet das Blau der deutschen Matrosen hervor, und die Uniformen der Infanterie und der Flieger haben sich von den helleren Tönen der Frühjahrskleidung der Zivilisten ab. Auf dem kleinen Musikpavillon hat eine Kapelle der deutschen Wehrmacht Aufstellung genommen und veranstaltet ein Platzkonzert. Frauen mit Kindern auf dem Arm lauschen den Klängen. Die Osloer Jugend steht in der Sonne [...] und lacht und schwatzt wie an anderen Tagen, als hier eine norwegische Militärkapelle konzertierte. Dort, wo sich gestern deutsches Militär und norwegische Bevölkerung schweigend gegenüberstanden, hat sich heute bereits eine Unterhaltung ergeben, und wie der deutsche Soldat dem Norweger behilflich ist, so gibt es viele [...], die unseren Blauen Jungen, Fliegern und Infanteristen behilflich sind, wenn sprachliche Schwierigkeiten die Unterhaltung ins Stocken geraten lassen. Die zündenden Marschweisen [...] rufen sogar ein dankbares Echo hervor, und als das Lied von der “Erika” erschallt, summt man auch die in Norwegen bekannte Melodie leise mit.

Abgesehen davon, daß die einmarschierenden Truppen gehörig bestaunt wurden, gibt es für die Bevölkerung von Oslo noch einen zweiten, in wenigen Tagen sehr beliebt gewordenen Treffpunkt: das Standkonzert, das vom Musikkorps eines Infanterie-Regiments fast täglich im Zentrum der Stadt gegeben wird. Am ersten Tag hörten die Norweger schweigend zu.

Am zweiten Tag gab es schon wiederholt lebhaften Beifall, und am dritten Tag wurde bereits stürmisch “E r i k a” verlangt.

Ein Teil der Bevölkerung verhält sich recht reserviert. Diese Zahl ist aber bei weitem in der Minderheit. [...] Auf eine höfliche Frage bekommt man überall ebenso höflich Antworten, wobei fast regelmäßig die Verschiedenheit der Sprache heitere Szenen heraufbeschwört. [...] Zur dritten Art der Norweger zählen jene, die die deutschen Truppen mit Begeisterung empfangen haben. Schon seit den allerersten Tagen häufen sich bei allen Kommandostellen die Besuche hauptsächlich junger Menschen, die ihre Dienste anbieten. [...] Sehr schwer fällt es dann [...] allerdings, den Begeisterten beizubringen, daß Deutschland den Schutz Norwegens vor den Uebergriffen der Westmächte übernommen, aber nicht die Absicht hat, die Unterstützung auch nur eines Norwegers [...] in Anspruch zu nehmen [...].<sup>27</sup>

Another article in the *Deutsche Militär-Musiker Zeitung* highlighted the relevance of military music for the illustration of the Wehrmacht's victories, as they played in many German-occupied European capitals. Furthermore, the dual function as primarily members of the fighting troops, and then musicians, is emphasised.<sup>28</sup>

This regular status as service members and combatants was a typical characteristic of German military musicians. In this way, these special band performances in the new periphery of the ‘Großdeutsches Reich’ took on a double meaning for the occupied on the one hand, and the occupants on the other. The frequent use of uniformed wind and string orchestras as practiced by the bands of Wehrmacht, the regular po-

27 ‘Platzmusiken deutscher Soldaten in Norwegens Hauptstadt’, in: *DMMZ* 62 (1940), No. 17, 27 April 1940. Translation: ‘In the afternoon, the square in front of the university and the national theatre in Oslo is all black with people. Out of the crowd, the blue of the German sailors shines brightly, and the uniforms of the infantry and the aviators stand out against the lighter shades of the civilian spring clothes. A German Wehrmacht band has lined up on the small bandstand to give a public open-air concert. Women with children on their arms listen to the music. Young city folk are standing in the sun laughing and chattering just like any other day when a Norwegian military band would perform here. German troops and Norwegians busily engage in conversation where, only yesterday, they faced each other in silence, and if language barriers hinder conversation, there are many who help our bluejackets, aviators and infantrymen, as German service members help Norwegians. The catchy marching tunes even fall on welcoming ears, and when the theme of “Erika” rings out, one can hear the audience softly hum to this song, which is also popular in Norway. [...] Apart from the fact that the troops marching into town were met with sheer amazement, there is a second venue for Oslo’s population that has become very popular within a matter of days: It is the public open – air concert given by the band of an infantry regiment in the centre of the city almost daily. On the first day, the Norwegians were listening in silence. On the second day, the musicians won several hearty rounds of applause, and finally, on the third day, there were enthusiastic cheers for “Erika”. Part of the population takes a rather reserved attitude, but they are only a small minority [...]. Everywhere, a polite question will evoke an equally polite answer, almost regularly ending up in funny situations caused by the difference between languages [...]. The third type of Norwegians are those who welcomed the German troops with open arms. Since the very first days, mainly young people have flocked into the command offices to offer their service [...]. However, it is a very difficult task [...] to tell the enthusiasts that Germany provides Norway with protection against the incursions by the Western Powers, but does not intend [...] to accept the support of even a single Norwegian [...]’; ‘Erika’ is the title of a popular composition by Ferdinand Friedrich Hermann Nielebock (1888–1954), known as Herms Niel, who was, among other things, *Hauptmusikzugführer* (band leader) of the Reich Labor Service.

28 ‘Deutsche Militärmusik kündigt von den Siegen der Großdeutschen Wehrmacht’ in: *DMMZ* 62 (1940), No. 35, 31 August 1940.



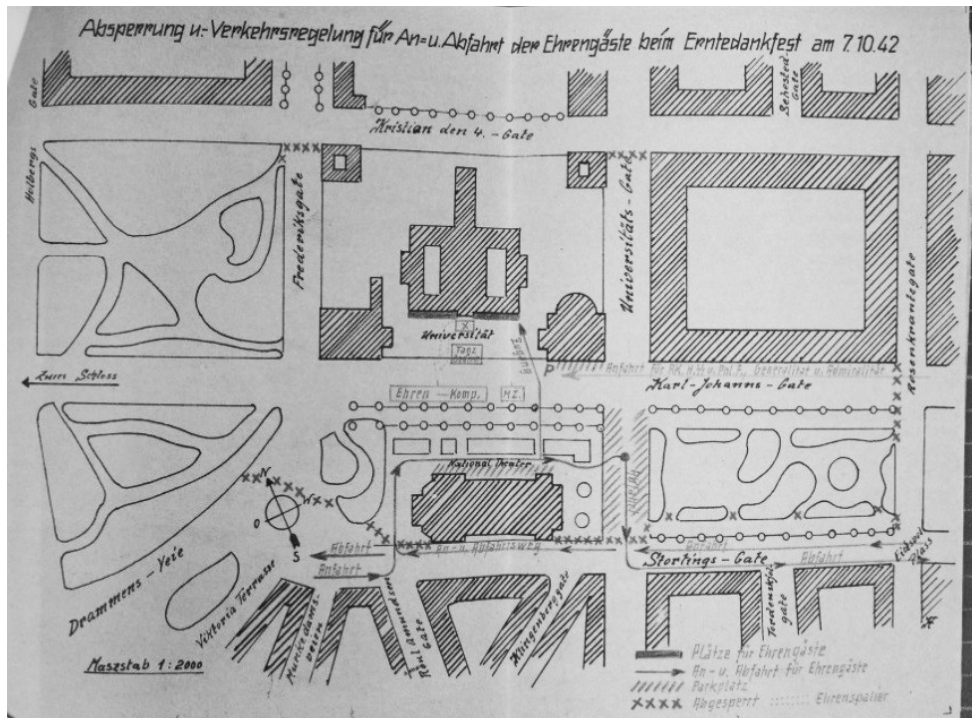
P r o g r a m m .	
- - - - -	
Ab 13,00 Uhr	Platzkonzert
13,30 "	Eintreffen des Reichskommissars und des Gauleiters Bohle.
	Sobald RK durch das Spalier der Ordnungs- polizei die Freitreppe erreicht hat, spielen die vereinigten Musikzüge einen F a n f a r e n m a r s c h , <i>2 1/2 Min.</i>
	E r n t e s p r u c h , (Überreichung eines Feldblumenstraußes an den RK)
	T a n z des Balletts des Dt. Theaters <i>2 Min.</i>
	<del>S o l d a t e n c h o r</del> <i>Kaval. Ehrenformation Lanfr.</i>
	T a n z des Balletts des Dt. Theaters
	M a r s c h , <i>Reinigungsmacht Hörst. und Hirsfeld</i>
	B e g r ü ß u n g des Reichskommissars (Sprecher ist zu bestimmen)
	Es spricht Gauleiter B o h l e (Verabschiedung von Landesgruppen- leiter Spanaus und Einführung des neuen Landesgruppenleiters, A n s p r a c h e )
	S i e g - H e i l auf den Führer, (Sprecher wie bei der Begrüßung)
	L i e d e r der Nation
	M a r s c h - M u s i k (Die Musikzüge spielen noch etwa 1/4 Stunde)
	Falls RK Front der Ehrenformation nochmals abschreitet bzw. sich nochmals melden läßt, spielt Musik- und Spielmanszug der Ehrenformation, in dieser Zeit schweigt der Musikzug auf dem Platz.

Fig. 1: Programme for the Thanksgiving celebration in Oslo in 1942; Department for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda of the Reich Commissariat for the Occupied Norwegian Territories, Oslo, 19 September 1942 (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103)

lice, Waffen-SS and other party organisations (Reich Labour Service, Hitler Youth, and so on) once more underlines the significance of music in uniform, and adds to the important role in German cultural policy music had at the time. It functioned as part of a musical culture established by the new governing power under different terms; the intention was to profoundly and permanently transfer the nationally shaped musical landscape of occupied territories into a German-centric cultural landscape.

Music in its specific form of wind music, and performed by uniformed ensembles of all shades, was a significant characteristic of how the Nazi state<sup>29</sup> presented itself, whether in the former German heartland or in the conquered and occupied territories.

29 An interesting fact is that large concerts performed by bands of the Wehrmacht and other formations were still held in 1944 although the overall war situation deteriorated day by day and, most probably, a certain public weariness about this kind of self-representation by the Nazi regime and its by far largest pillar – the Wehrmacht – had started to grow; PrArchMH.



Pic. 2: Site map for the Thanksgiving celebration in 1942 (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103)

For example, on 7 October 1942, the Thanksgiving<sup>30</sup> celebration was held in Oslo on the square of the university, and can serve as a striking example. It was organised by the Higher SS and Police Leader (Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer – HSSPF), who had been installed by order of Reichskommissar Josef Terboven on 3 October 1942. Three bands, one from the Air Force and one each from the Navy and the police participated, performing together with the ballet of the German theatre. Stabsmusikmeister Kröning, Air Force, was responsible for coordinating the 150 musicians. At one o'clock, the three bands opened the festivities with a public concert. When the Reichskommissar arrived, they played a fanfare march, followed by the obligatory Thanksgiving verse, a dance performance by the German theatre ballet, a march, speeches, a “Sieg Heil to the Führer”, Lieder der Nation’ (Songs of the Nation), and finally, more march music. Of course, the minutes also noted the participation of the fife and drum band and the guard of honour (provided by the chief of the regular police). The Oslo garrison band (Army), however, did not participate since they were on leave.

Thanksgiving celebrations are known to date back to pre-Christian times, to be integrated later into the religious canon of Christianity. They were instrumentalised again during the Third Reich and immediately after his election in 1933, Hitler ordered Thanksgiving to be centrally celebrated on the first Sunday of October. The law con-

30 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103; my sincere thanks go to Mr. Niels Persen, Oslo, for providing his documents.

cerning holidays (announced on 27 February 1934; calendar of ceremonies and festivities of the ‘new Germany’) made Thanksgiving Day a statutory holiday to be celebrated on the first Sunday after 29 September (Michaelmas).<sup>31</sup> Given the vital role assigned to the peasantry as an essential part of the Reichsnährstand (Reich Food Estate) and according to the general ‘Blut und Boden’ rhetorics, Thanksgiving became considerably charged with state ideology, culminating in a ‘Reich Thanksgiving Celebration’, organised by the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, and generating offshoot celebrations in the occupied territories, such as in Oslo.

Over time, the population started appreciating the Wehrmacht bands and the music performances they gave at their individual garrisons, which is reflected in an article published in the German military music journal *Deutsche-Militär-Musiker-Zeitung*:

Fünfzehn Wochen sind bereits vergangen, seit wir Lillehammer in Norwegen verlassen haben. Unser Abschied aus diesem uns so vertrauten Städtchen war nicht so leicht, sind doch viele Freunde und treue Menschen gekommen, uns am Bahnhof den letzten Händedruck zu geben. Mit Herzlichkeit hat man der “Besatzungstruppe” dieses Geleit gegeben. Es war der Antritt einer langen Reise, die ins Ungewisse führte.<sup>32</sup>

The scene underlying this wistful wail was a military band that had to deploy from the calm and peaceful Lillehammer in Norway to Finland near the Arctic Circle.

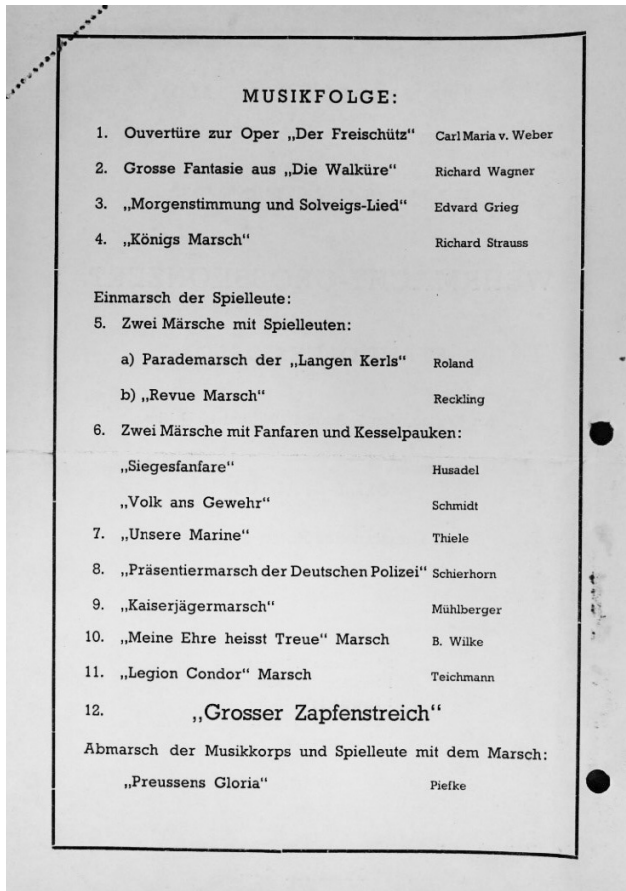
On the order of the military governor of Oslo, a large Wehrmacht concert was performed in the Bislet Stadium on 7 August 1942. For this purpose, two bands of the Army, one each of the Air Force and the Navy, as well as bands of the regular police and the Waffen-SS were placed at his disposal, so that approximately 350 musicians were available for this charity event in support of the Red Cross (see picture 3, p. 44).

Stabsmusikmeister Kröning and Stabsmusikmeister Glied conducted the three-part concert. As shown in picture 3 (p. 44), they started with arrangements of popular compositions by renowned German composers and Grieg.<sup>33</sup> Edvard Grieg’s renowned compositions *Morgenstemning* and *Solveigs Sang* were performed to pay special homage to Norway. An assemblage of renowned marches ‘conforming to the era of time’ was next, probably involving a performance by fife and drum musicians. The concert ended with a *Grosser Zapfenstreich* and as the soldiers were marching home to the barracks, *Preussens Gloria* closed the event, both musical numbers emphasising the German claim of a glorious military history and present.

31 Cf. [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feiertage\\_im\\_Deutschen\\_Reich\\_1933%E2%80%931945](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feiertage_im_Deutschen_Reich_1933%E2%80%931945) (last access 2 April 2020).

32 ‘In der “grünen Hölle von Karelien”. Erlebnisse eines Musikkorps im Felde’, in: *DMMZ* 64 (1942), No. 12, 20 June 1942. For reasons of confidentiality, there was no reference made to any of the names or identity codes of the military bands mentioned in the articles. Translation: ‘Fifteen weeks have passed since we left Lillehammer in Norway. It was not all that easy for us to bid farewell to this little town we had grown so fond of. Many a friend and faithful people turned up for a final handshake at the train station. Receiving these warm goodbyes, the “occupation force” was wished well for the future. This marked the beginning of a long journey towards the unknown.’

33 This programme reflects a popular repertoire of German military music. Presumably, the *Valkyrie* was rearranged by Arthur Seidl, and Richard Strauss’s *King’s March* (originally composed as a festive military march for symphony orchestra in 1906) was rearranged by Franz Peltz. For the original programme sheet see Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103.



Pic. 3: Concert programme for the large Wehrmacht concert in Bislet Stadium in Oslo on 7 August 1942 (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103)

On 20 April, Adolf Hitler's birthday, the German forces in Norway contributed celebrations involving military music performances. Propagandistic praise, excessive glorification and the festive and iconic (wind) music performances typical on such occasions were staged as the programme unfolded (see picture 4, p. 46).

During the official celebration, scheduled for the Heroes' Commemoration Day (Heldengedenktag) in Drontheim (sic!) on 15 March 1942, a Nazi Party member named Sauerteig ridiculed the event. He told the Reich Commissariat Propaganda Division that, while just one Wehrmacht officer had held a speech, there had been neither a party, nor a Reich Commissariat representative present to address the audience. The commander on the ground, General Brand, dismissed the accusation with the remark that, the punctual beginning of the church service [! M.H.] in the cathedral would not have been ensured if additional speeches had been held. Left speechless and obviously annoyed, the civilian Nazi representatives could only seize the opportunity to place their wreaths, too, while, yet again, a military band was playing *Ich hatt'*

*einen Kameraden*, as well as the *Deutschlandlied* and the *Horst Wessel-Lied*.<sup>34</sup> The Norwegians, for their part, overtly rejected this familiar narcissistic presentation the rulers gave of themselves. The leader of the Norwegian police responsible for the security service on that day, for instance, was arrested by the German Sicherheitspolizei because he had called the celebrations for the Heroe’s Commemoration Day a ‘Kasperletheater’ (Punch-and-Judy show).<sup>35</sup>

There were more events, such as the Reich Commissariat’s second anniversary, that were celebrated and accompanied by military music performances. In April 1942, (presumably civilian) dance bands were primarily involved, as the programme depicts. The pertinent reports by the SS Intelligence Service (Sicherheitsdienst – SD) summarise that the celebrations on 9 April 1941, the anniversary of the German invasion of Norway, passed off without critical riots, demonstrations or strikes. The ‘better than expected’ course of the day was ascribed to the warnings and comprehensive preventive measures by the Reich Commissioner and to the fear of the Norwegian resistance of resolute German countermeasures.<sup>36</sup>

Despite all other official pronouncements on this issue, these reports demonstrate Norway’s overt resistance to the Reich Commissariat and its forced administration.<sup>37</sup> The band referred to as ‘Kapelle Wehner’ in the programme (see picture 5, p. 46), however, is an orchestral instrumentation used for broadcasts by the Oslo military radio station,<sup>38</sup> which again mainly included members of the Wehrmacht.

The Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF)<sup>39</sup> in Oslo also seized this opportunity to stage a special concert with light music. The band of the replacement battalion of the

34 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103.

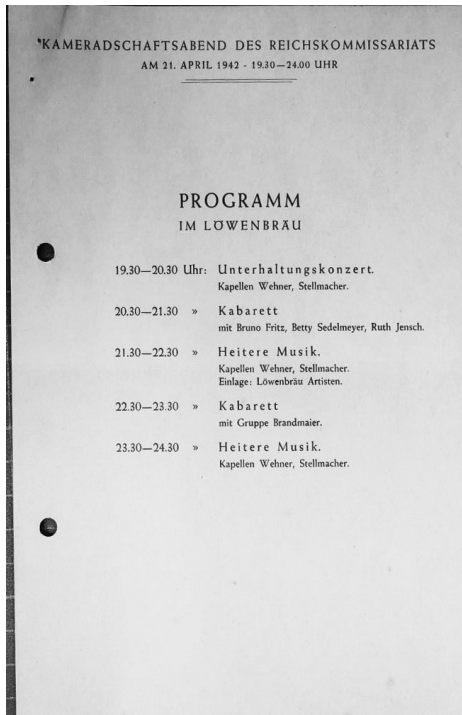
35 Stein Ugelvik Larsen, *Meldungen aus Norwegen 1940–1945. Die geheimen Lageberichte des Befehlshabers der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in Norwegen*, Vol. 1 (= *Texte und Materialien zur Zeitgeschichte* 6), Munich 2008, pp. 225–226, here p. 226.

36 Larsen, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, pp. 246–247, here p. 246. Information on the Norwegian resistance is available on [www.nordicmusicpolitics.net/media: Songs to Survive. Gunnar Kjeldaa's 'Fangesongar frå Kirkenes'](http://www.nordicmusicpolitics.net/media: Songs to Survive. Gunnar Kjeldaa's 'Fangesongar frå Kirkenes').

37 In this context, see also the other essays contained in this volume that deal with resistance in all its facets.

38 The orchestra and the dance band performed under the directorship of Heinz (a. k. a. Heinz Heinrich) Wehner (\* 21 May 1908 in Obsthfeld in Westphalia, presumably † January 1945 near Landsberg an der Warthe). He was a renowned German jazz musician, the bandmaster of the Telefunken Swing Orchestra, and an arranger. From 1941, Heinz Wehner and his orchestra worked with the Oslo broadcasting station as an integral element of the troop morale, welfare, and recreational support service. He accompanied Lale Andersen and other singers and performed for swing recordings until the end of the war. In this context Heinz Wehner and his big band also performed for special recordings in Norway as directed by the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Norwegian Territories (*Sonderaufnahmen im Auftrage des Reichskommissars für die besetzten norwegischen Gebiete*). To compensate for ‘jazz gigs too hot’ that had caused him to fall out of favour he was reassigned to a penal battalion in late 1944 to render particularly brave service at the front. He was killed in action in January 1945. PrArchMH; special thanks are extended to Mr. Karsten Lehl from the Musicology Faculty of the Robert Schumann University of Music and Media in Düsseldorf, Germany, for this photo document, see picture 5.

39 Friedrich Wilhelm Otto Redieß (also spelled Rediess, \* 10 October 1900 in Heinsberg, † 8 May 1945 in Skaugum near Oslo) was a SS-Obergruppenführer (SS Senior Group Leader, rank equivalent to a full general) and General der Polizei (Police General) (1941). From 1940 to 1945, Redieß acted as the Higher SS and Police Leader North (HSSPF Nord) installed in Norway with headquarters in Oslo; (in 1944, he was promoted to the rank of a General in the Waffen-SS). His area of responsibility comprised the afore-mentioned military band. Cf. SS-Personalhauptamt, *Dienstaltersliste der Schutzstaffel*, p. 8.



Pic. 4: Programme for a social gathering in an Oslo restaurant called Löwenbräu (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103)



Pic. 5: Propaganda leaflet featuring Heinz Wehner and his Telefunken Swing Orchestra (Robert Schumann University of Music and Media Düsseldorf)

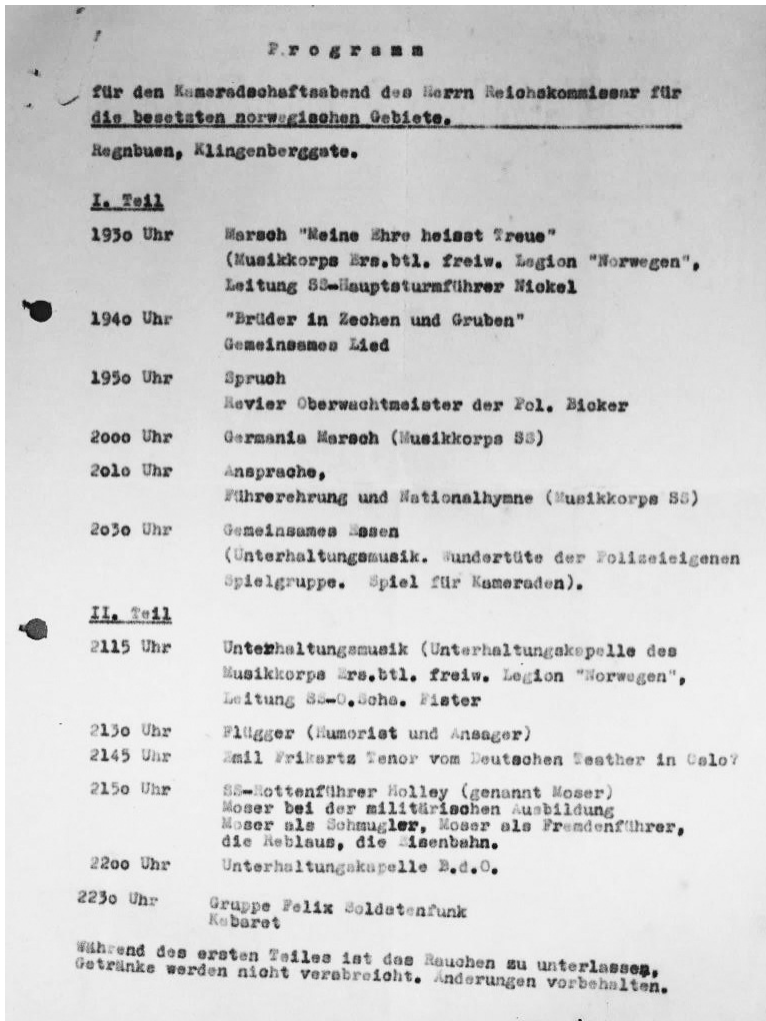
Norwegian Legion (Legion Norwegen), a unit formed by volunteers, provided the ‘entertainment band’ for the evening (see picture 6). In addition, the German theatre established at the Oslo Nationalteatret hosted a ceremony on this occasion. Presumably, military musicians were temporarily detached to its orchestra to support the usual ensemble.

As shown by the broadcasting records held in the archives of the Reichskommissariat, these temporary duty detachments are carefully documented (see pictures 7, p. 48 and 8, p. 49). Most of these orchestral musicians were Norwegians and therefore

Emil Höring (\* 1 December 1890 in Westheim, † 6 February 1976 in Würzburg) counted among the chiefs of the regular police to whom an organic police band was assigned. Höring concluded his career as a Generalleutnant der Polizei (Lieutenant General of the Police) and SS-Gruppenführer (SS Group Leader, rank equivalent to lieutenant general). From January 1942 to May 1943, he was the chief of the regular police installed with the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Norwegian Territories with headquarters in Oslo.

Cf. [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emil\\_H%C3%B6ring](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emil_H%C3%B6ring). (last access 16 September 2019; SS-Personalhauptamt, *Dienstaltersliste der Schutzstaffel*, p. 12.

By way of directive dated 4 February 1945, all extant military bands which had been assigned to the regular police until then, including the band assigned to the chief of the regular police headquartered in Oslo, were disbanded, and the musicians assigned to combat units. Cf. Erwin B. Boldt and Martin Graf (eds.), *Leben und musikalisches Werk von Wilhelm Schierhorn. Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte der deutschen Polizei (= Deutsche Gesellschaft für Polizeigeschichte. Schriftenreihe der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Polizeigeschichte e.V. 10)*, Frankfurt/Main 2010, p. 82.



Pic. 6: Programme for the social evening gathering held by the Reich Commissariat involving performances by the band of the (Waffen-)SS and the 'entertainment band' made available to the chief of the regular police in Oslo (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103)

employed and paid by the Reichskommissariat. The Wehrmacht provided considerable support to the orchestras, ranging from the transport of instruments to temporary duty detachments of military musicians. The Reich Commissariat was again responsible for financing such services.<sup>40</sup>

Until shortly before the end of the war, the Oslo military broadcasting station operated smoothly, as pertinent examples show. The guard platoon of the (band) company of I Naval Replacement Battalion (Wachzug der Marine-Ersatz-Abteilung I Kompanie (Musik))<sup>41</sup> and the band of the Wehrmacht Armed Forces Commander, Norway

40 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103.

41 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed; broadcasting records held in the archives of the Reich Commissariat for the Occupied Norwegian Territories.

25. April 1945

Den Les Personalisten haben wir folgende Aufstellung über denutete  
 Musiker und Bekorzen.  
 März 1945.

III/Rafk/gie-

Wehrmachtpropagandagruppe  
 V i n d e r e n - Schule

Der Wachzug M.E.A., I.Kompanie (Musik) führte für die "Deutsche  
 Sendung in Norwegen" bzw. für den Norwegischen Rundfunk folgende  
 Sendungen durch:

6.4.45	17.00-18.00 Uhr	Nachmittagskonzert	1:60 und 1 Solist
6.4.45	8 <sup>9</sup> 22.00-23.00 Uhr	Frühkonzert	1:58 und 3 Solisten
7.4.45	16.00-19.00 Uhr	Nachmittagskonzert	1:59 und 1 Solist
10.4.45	14.00-14.30 Uhr	Mittagskonzert	1:59
10.4.45	17.00-18.00 Uhr	Nachmittagskonzert	1:59 und 1 Solist
10.4.45	Tonbandaufnahme		1:59
13.4.45	8.00- 9.00 Uhr	Frühkonzert	1:60 und 1 Solist
13.4.45	17.00-18.00 Uhr	Nachmittagskonzert	1:59 und 2 Solisten
17.4.45	17.00-18.00 Uhr	Nachmittagskonzert	1:58 und 1 Solist
20.4.45	14.00-14.50 Uhr	Mittagskonzert	1:59 und 1 Solist
23.4.45	0.00- 1.30 Uhr	Nachtkonzert	1:60 und 1 Solist
10.4.45	Tonbandaufnahme	6 Mann Decker, Bleß, Nitsch, Dreesen, Mannsfeld Kornatz.	

f.d.R. Giese

In Auftrag:  
gez.: Dr.Habersbrunner

Pic. 7: Documentation of temporary duty detachments to the orchestra (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed)

(Musikkorps Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Norwegen), among other bands, provided the musicians. The military musicians were temporarily detached to the broadcasting station's band, the entertainment orchestra or the symphonic orchestra, frequently performing for the series 'Deutsche Sendung in Norwegen'.

Military musicians, including the bandmasters, tend to be sensitive service members. In wartime, these military musicians each discovered their own access to music and their audiences in the unknown environment of the occupied area. Serving as a chronological musical paraphrase of campaign history, many marches bear witness to this portion of military music. Popular folk songs from these places were another source of inspiration to be used as a basis for more ample compositions. There are indications that this was also the case in Norway. Franz Josef Breuer (presumably a junior bandmaster or a military musician), for example, composed a *Fantasie über Nor-*



- 2 -

<u>11. November 1944</u>	Rundfunkorchester (Bjørneviksaal)
I. Horn	Stbs. Gefr. Graff
II. Horn	Ob. Maat Decker
Flöte	" " Wanzke
Fagott	" " Windheim
Oboe	Maat Steikert
Posaune	" Nitsch
Schlagzeug	Ob. Maat Reinhardt
Bass	" Walther
Violine	Hpt. Gefr. Frömelt
Violine	Ob. Gefr. Kellert
Celesta	Matr. Blohorn
	Rundfunkkapelle (Bjørneviksaal)
Violine	Ob. Gefr. Krejci
"	" " Kaulicke
"	Hpt. Gefr. Müller
Flöte	Ob. Maat Wanzke
<u>12. November 1944</u>	Rundfunk-Symphonie-Orchester (National-Theater)
I. Horn	Stbs. Gefr. Graff
II. Horn	Ob. Maat Decker
Flöte	" " Wanzke
Klarinette	" " Gromann
Oboe	Maat Steikert
Posaune	" Nitsch
Schlagzeug	Ob. Maat Reinhardt
Violine	Ob. Gefr. Noack
"	Gefr. Fährmann
Cello	Feldw. Scherenberger
<u>13. November 1944</u>	Rundfunk-Symphonie-Orchester (National-Theater)
Violine	Ob. Gefr. Krejci
"	" " Kellert
"	" " Kaulicke
"	Gefr. Fährmann
Viola	Hpt. Gefr. Frömelt
"	Maat Martini
Bass	Ob. Gefr. Noack
Cello	Feldw. Buchholz
Fagott	" Scherenberger
I. Horn	Ob. Maat Windheim
II. Horn	Stbs. Gefr. Graff
III. Horn	Ob. Maat Decker
IV. Horn	" " Espenhain
Flöte	Maat Dudda
	Rundfunkkapelle (Funkhaus)
Violine	Ob. Gefr. Krejci
"	" " Noack
I. Horn	Hpt. Gefr. Frömelt
II. Horn	" " Müller
Schlagzeug	" " Reinhardt
Violine	Gefr. Fährmann

Pic. 8: List of temporary duty detachments to various orchestras in Oslo in November 1944 (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103)

wegische Volkslieder<sup>42</sup> for wind ensemble and organ. Currently, extant inventories of musical scores and other documents give proof of the following uniformed bands in Norway:

Musikkorps Kommandant von Oslo (band assigned to the military governor of Oslo); (directorship: Stabsmusikmeister Oskar Glied<sup>43</sup>); also listed under the name

42 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103. The set of all instrumental parts pertaining to this work is held in the sheet music; music archive of the Oslo Military Museum. Unfortunately, the pertinent score is missing.

43 Oskar Glied (violin) underwent his bandmaster (Army) training at the Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik (StAHfM) in Berlin (ser. no. 384) from 12 April 1927 until 31 March 1930. On 1 March 1941, he was promoted to the rank of Stabsmusikmeister (senior bandmaster, equivalent to the rank of bandmaster captain) and assigned to the Panzer-Aufklärungs-Lehrabteilung beim III. Armeekorps (Armored Reconnaissance Demonstration Battalion of III Army Corps). Not much more is known about his life to date. Cf. StAHfM, Berlin, here: PrArchMH, *Namentli-*

Musikkorps der Stadtkommandantur Oslo (band assigned to the Oslo Military Governor Headquarters); Army.

Stabsmusikkorps Luftgaukommando Norwegen (band of the territorial ground command of the Air Force formed for the German campaign in Norway)<sup>44</sup>, Oslo; (directorship: Stabsmusikmeister Kröning, Air Force). Probably, military bands were also stationed at the different air base headquarters in Norway (such as Trondheim, Kirkenes, and so on).

Musikkorps der Flakgruppe Mittelnorwegen (band of anti-aircraft group deployed to Central Norway); (directorship: Musikmeister Meyer).<sup>45</sup>

Musikkorps I. Marine Artillerie Abteilung (band of I Naval Artillery Battalion), which was possibly also listed under the name Stabsmusikkorps der Deutschen Kriegsmarine Norwegen (band of the Navy in Norway, directorship: presumably Obermusikmeister Metzkau).<sup>46</sup>

Musikkorps Kreuzer Karlsruhe (Cruiser Karlsruhe Band); also known as Musikkorps Admiral Norwegische Westküste (Admiral Norwegian West Coast Band).

(Marine-)Musikkorps Admiral Norwegische Nordküste (Admiral Norwegian North Coast Band (Navy)).

Musikkorps Marine Artillerie Abteilung 117 (Band of 117 Naval Artillery Battalion).<sup>47</sup>

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*ches Verzeichnis der zur staatlichen akademischen Hochschule kommandierten Militärmusiker begonnen 1888 geschlossen im Mai 1944* (list of the names of the military musicians detached for music training to the StAHfM in the period from 1888 to May 1944).

44 Presumably, this refers to the Musikkorps der Seefliegerabteilung Kiel-Holtenau (band of the Kiel-Holtenau Naval Air Wing), which performed under the name 'Stabsmusikkorps Luftgaukommando Norwegen.' This military band was at least temporarily deployed to Norway (Oslo); cf. Personal photo album of Karl-Heinz Breide (see annex). Private Archive Niels Persen. I am indebted to Mr. Niels Persen who meanwhile owns these photo documents and made them available to me.

45 Presumably, this refers to Berthold Meyer (\* 1911, † 1986 in Bremen) who joined the Reichswehr on 1 June 1931 and was assigned as flautist to the band of 1 Battalion/16 Infantry Regiment in Bremen. As an Air Force member, Meyer underwent a bandmaster training at the StAHfM in Berlin under the direction of Professor Hans Felix Husadel from 1935 to 1938; in 1938, he passed his final examination to become a Musikmeister (junior bandmaster, equivalent to the rank of bandmaster second lieutenant). He was then assigned as bandmaster to the 22 Anti-Aircraft Regiment band and later reassigned to the 26 Anti-Aircraft Regiment band, stationed in Bremen. In 1943, he was promoted to the rank of Obermusikmeister (junior bandmaster, equivalent to the rank of bandmaster first lieutenant) and, upon the mobilisation of the military musicians for service at the front, he served as aide-de-camp and company commander until 1944; he was confined as a prisoner of war in France until 1947. Having been released from captivity, Berthold Meyer performed as a flautist at the theatre in Bremen; upon the shutdown of the theatre, he became the bandmaster of a wind ensemble and took over various other functions. As early as in 1956, he joined the Bundeswehr and, as one of the former Air Force bandmasters, he was appointed bandmaster of the newly established Air Force Band in Münster. From 22 October 1956 until 31 March 1976, he then served as the bandmaster of Air Force Band 2 in Karlsruhe. On 29 September 1968, Berthold Meyer was promoted to the rank of major and on 27 May 1971 to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1972 he retired; PrArchMH.

46 From 10 April 1939 until March 1942, Thomas Metzkau (or Motzkau?) successfully participated in a bandmaster training at the StAHfM Berlin (ser. no. 721) as a drummer to the War Navy Battalion under the direction of Professor Karl Flick; in 1939 he successfully completed this bandmaster training. Cf. StAHfM, Berlin, *Namentliches Verzeichnis*.

47 The musical scores of this navy band are held in the Tirpitz Archives, Steinkjer, Norway.

Musikkorps Infanterie-Regiment 307 (Band of 307 Infantry Regiment), which was on board the heavy cruiser *Blücher* that sunk in the Oslo Fjord on 9 April 1940.

Bordmusikkorps Schwerer Kreuzer *Blücher* (onboard band of the Heavy Cruiser *Blücher*)<sup>48</sup> and Bordmusikkorps Schlachtschiff *Tirpitz* (onboard band of the *Tirpitz* Battleship) (there are no additional facts known to date).

Stabmusikkorps beim Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei Oslo (band assigned to the chief of the regular police in charge of the occupied Norwegian territories with headquarters in Oslo).

Musikkorps beim HSSPF Norwegen (band assigned to the Higher SS and Police Leader installed in Norway), Oslo (presumably also listed under the name Musikkorps Waffen-SS Regiment Nordland (band of Waffen-SS Regiment Nordland, directorship: Hauptsturmführer August Nickel<sup>49</sup>)).

48 Cf. <https://www.oz-online.de/-news/artikel/148666/Bluecher-Untergang-heute-vor-75-Jahren> (last access 17 October 2019); The heavy cruiser *Blücher* was built by the German shipbuilding company Deutsche Werke in Kiel and put into service on 20 September 1939 under Captain (Navy) Heinrich Woldag as Commanding Officer, although its sea trial had not yet been completed. The following description is from this documentation on the sinking of the *Blücher*: ‘Many of the 1,400 crew members and the 800 embarked Army soldiers struggled for their lives, swimming in the icy water to make it to the shore with their last ounce of strength. The sinking of the *Blücher* exactly 75 years ago today, on 9 April 1940, was a tragedy, in which nearly 1,000 service members were killed in action within just 50 minutes, one of the survivors, engineman apprentice Alexander Dietsch from Emden, Germany, later reported remembering the bloody combat. [...] Passengers aboard included military musicians, as well as railroad and postal experts and *Gestapo* officers.’ The numbers of casualties vary, making it impossible to exactly determine them. It may be assumed, however, that at least 830 crew members and Army soldiers of the landing party lost their lives. See also Hans-Martin Ottmer, ‘*Weserübung*’. *Der deutsche Angriff auf Dänemark und Norwegen im April 1940*, (= Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (ed.), *Operationen des Zweiten Weltkrieges* 1), Munich 1994, pp. 115f., which reads ‘The troops were composed of the advance squadron of the Group XXI headquarters, elements of the 163 Infantry Division headquarters, including the Division Commander, Major General Engelbrecht, the headquarters, communications platoon and band of 307 Infantry Regiment, two battalions of the latter regiment and a naval artillery company.’ This document gives a brief, however, detailed account of the sinking of the *Blücher*. Tragically, many of the life jackets had either been burnt during the attack by the Norwegians or not been issued for reasons of concealment. Members of the Army and the crew ended up in the sea at a water temperature of +2.8 degrees Celsius. At the direction of the commanding officer of the *Blücher*, some crew members had to hand over their life jackets to non-swimmers of the Army to enable them to reach the dry land at a distance of 400 m.

49 August Nickel (\* 15 February 1912 in Neumünster, † 1963 in Korbach) had been assigned as a musician to the marching band of the special SS unit SS-Standarte 2 Germania in Hamburg-Veddel (Nazi party member no. 1 113 103; SS no. 35 875) since 15 February 1932. In August 1934, Nickel became the bandmaster of the Musikkorps I./SS Germania (band of Sturmbann (Battalion) I of SS-Standarte 2 Germania) in Hamburg-Veddel, later in Arolsen/Waldeck. In 1940, when he held the rank of Hauptsturmführer (SS-Head Assault Leader (company sized subunit)), Nickel was tasked to establish the new Musikkorps SS-Artillerie Regiment 5 (band of 5 SS Artillery Regiment) in Lüdinghausen/Westphalia. The newly established band was composed of musicians from Musikkorps II./SS Germania (band of Sturmbann II of SS-Standarte 2 Germania) stationed in Arolsen, the Deutschland Band stationed in Ellwangen, and the SS Engineer Battalion band stationed in Dresden. Nickel participated in the Battle of France, when he was assigned to this unit. The band was later deployed to Amersfoort, Netherlands, where it gave performances to maintain the morale of the troops. In February 1942, the unit had to deploy to Oslo to be integrated into the SS Regiment Nordland. See also Fritz Bunge, *Musik in der Waffen-SS. Ein Blick zurück auf die Entwicklung deutscher Militärmusik*, Osnabrück 1975. There are some inconsistencies in this context, as Willy Winkler, who, too, had been assigned as a musician to the Waffen-SS and later became the second in command of the band, got to know Hauptsturmführer Nickel when the band of 6 Mountain Division ‘Nord’ was established in Trautenau in 1942. According to Willy Win-



Pic. 9: Band assigned to the chief of the regular police in charge of the occupied Norwegian territories in Oslo 1943, in the centre Emil Höring, Police major (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103)

Unfortunately, it has not been possible yet to ascertain the identity codes and members of the bands of the Army, Air Force and Navy of the Wehrmacht or their home stations and deployment areas, which means that neither their numbers or personnel strengths, nor their musical impact can be retraced at the moment.

During the period of occupation, various Oslo orchestras (for example, of the broadcasting station, German theatre, and so on) mainly performed with the local workforce, that is, Norwegian musicians, who were remunerated by the Reichskommissariat. As mentioned before, this relationship specifically reflects the musical-artistic collaboration between occupiers and the occupied. Werner Heister is right when, in this context, he mentions that there had been some ‘implizierte Kollaboration auch längst vor 1939, vor den eigentlichen, militärisch vermittelten Besetzungen im Krieg.’<sup>50</sup>

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kler, the band remained deployed to Finland under the directorship of Nickel. This Waffen-SS division retreated from Finland to Hessen. Nickel was confined as a prisoner of war in April 1945 and brought to France. As he had been a member of the SS, Nickel was severely mistreated in the prisoner of war camp. I am indebted to Professor Dr. Friedhelm Brusniak, who made available to me Willy Winkler’s personal notes, which serve as reference here. For additional information on August Nickel cf. BArch, R 9361-III/545484 and R 9361-III/140632.

<sup>50</sup> Zalfen/Müller, *Besatzungsmacht Musik*, p. 161. Translation: ‘[... there had been some] implicit collaboration way before 1939, that is, prior to the actual military occupation based on the state of war.’ These circumstances apply to the Norwegian writer Knut Hamsun, who was born as Knud Pedersen in Garmo/Garmostrædet near Lom, or in Vågå, Fylke Oppland, Norway, on 4 August

## Conclusion

As the example of Norway shows, the omnipresence of German military and wind music was a distinguishing feature of the way the Nazi regime presented itself, as part of an offensive cultural occupation policy, aimed at conquering an audience strange to it at first. As its repertoire, which was mostly in conformity with the Nazi regime, included a considerable number of scores that served homage and ceremonial purposes, it was obviously used for propaganda purposes, and helped to convey, consciously or subconsciously, the Nazi ideology to a large variety of ideologically uncommitted audiences in the territories occupied by Germany.

In the occupied areas, the bands of the Wehrmacht, the bands of the regular police and the Waffen-SS as well as the bands of Nazi Party formations (such as the Hitler Youth and the Reich Labour Service, and so on) enriched the cultural activities. Their members were considered 'active propagandists' and meant to 'win the hearts and minds of the people in the occupied territories'.<sup>51</sup>

Under National Socialist rule<sup>52</sup> military and wind music were politically hijacked and 'tailored' to meet governmental objectives. This kind of music was ideologised, placed in the service of both the 'Volksgemeinschaft' (people's community) and competing Nazi Party organisations, and symbolised the sound of the Nazi Cult.<sup>53</sup> In consequence, the image of military music was badly damaged on a long-term basis. The

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1859 and died in Nørholm near Grimstad on 19 February 1952. He was one of the most important Norwegian writers of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1920 to honour his work 'Growth of the Soil', which was originally published in Norway under the title *Markens Grøde* in 1917. Knut Hamsun's national and international fame as a writer is overshadowed by his open support of the Nazi regime. After World War II, he was convicted for collaboration with the German occupants and sentenced to pay a high fine.

51 Boldt/Graf, *Leben und musikalisches Werk von Wilhelm Schierhorn*, p. 65.

52 'Aviation or Air Force orchestras' constituted a new type of military music that was geared towards art. Under the direction of Hans-Felix Husadel, these orchestras started to form in 1935 and were the musical component of the newly established German Air Force. They were able to mix a special 'aviation' flavour with the possibilities of a modern military wind ensemble because the Reich Air Ministry entrusted them with writing musical compositions and because they conveyed their concept of music and art to large parts of the general public. Thus, the Air Force developed a bold concept of music that prevailed in the competition with traditions of military music continued in the Army and the Navy of the Wehrmacht. The various music programmes run by party elements, which also commissioned works in order to support a renewal of wind music as a whole, were part of the state's sponsorship of wind music under the 'direction of the swastika'. However, here one can see that these programmes were used to enhance the reputation of the Nazi regime that was always eager to promote itself. For more information on this, see also Helmut Majewski, 'Blasmusik auf neuen Grundlagen', in: *Musik in der Hitler-Jugend. Zeitschrift für Musik*, Issue 10/October 1938, pp. 1087–1088; Manfred Heidler, 'Militärkapelle, italienische Banda und Fliegermusiken. Anmerkungen zur Blasmusikentwicklung in Deutschland und Italien nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg unter Einbeziehung der Donaueschinger Kammermusik-Aufführungen 1926' and Manfred Heidler, 'Hans Felix Husadel als Lehrer an der Staatlichen Akademischen Hochschule für Musik in Berlin und seine Auswirkungen auf die Musikmeistersausbildung', both in: Michael Schramm (ed.), *Hans Felix Husadel. Werk, Wirken, Wirkung. Dokumentationsband zum gleichnamigen Symposium vom 20. bis 22. Oktober 2004 in Bonn*, (= *Militärmusik im Diskurs* 1), Bonn 2006.

53 For further details, cf. Hans-Jochen Gamm (ed.), *Führung und Verführung. Pädagogik des Nationalsozialismus*, Munich <sup>3</sup>1990. The translation of this article was kindly provided by the department SMD 11 Bonn; Sprachendienst beim Streitkräfteamt.

aspects of this issue, which are still only roughly outlined, require further in-depth research.<sup>54</sup>

## Annex



Pic. 10: Public open-air concert, presumably performed by the Oslo Military Governor Headquarters Band (Musikkorps der Stadtkommandantur Oslo), 1940 (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0103)

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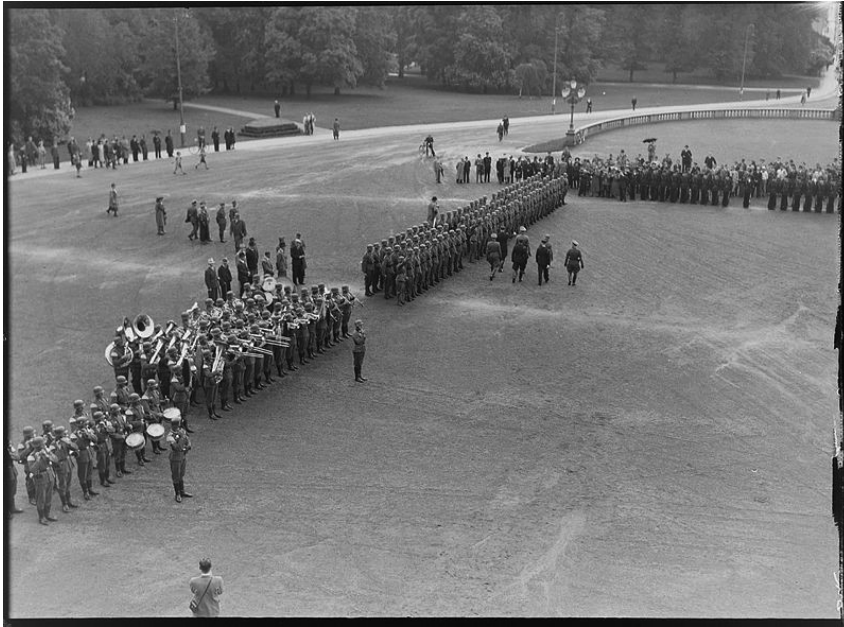
54 I have the impression that a broader debate on this difficult topic, which has only been briefly outlined here, is slowly starting to take place also in Norway, as understandably many aspects of this specific chapter of Norwegian (music) history have been left out of the discussion in the past. Let us hope that, as time goes by, a younger generation will begin to ask also uncomfortable questions and seek answers. This is a process far from being conducted with sufficient openness in Germany, which has had to sustain massive consecutive system discontinuities – let alone the fact that this process has not been concluded yet.



Pic. 11: Rehearsal for the large Wehrmacht concert held in Bislet Stadium, Oslo 1942; Army, Air Force and Waffen-SS bands (Private Archive Niels Persen: Karl-Heinz Breide, personal collection)



Pic. 12:  
Saxophone line-up of Stabs-  
musikkorps Luftgaukmando  
Norwegen (Private Archive  
Nils Persen: Karl-Heinz Breide,  
personal collection)



Pic. 13: Fife and drum band, Oslo Military Governor Headquarters band (It can be presumed that the sousaphones on this picture were captured instruments!) and the Honour Guard of the Oslo Military Governor Headquarters outside Oslo Castle, 1940 (Riksarkivet, Oslo)



Pic. 14:  
Bandmaster Thomas Metzkau (Private Archive Niels Persen: Karl-Heinz Breide, personal collection)



*Ina Rupprecht*

## **Art versus Leisure**

### **German Troop Entertainment in Occupied Norway**

#### **Troop Entertainment – Organisation, Requirements, Challenges**

The term troop entertainment comprises a widespread area of assignments, collecting all forms of cultural entertainment into one term. In theory, troop entertainment was either organised and administrated by one leading organisation, or demanded close cooperation between different organisations. In reality, however, as characteristic for National Socialism, several authorities competed against each other. Relevant for troop entertainment in Norway were the following three institutions: the ‘Sonderreferat Truppenbetreuung’, the ‘KdF-Verbindungsamt zu Wehrmacht-Reichsarbeitsdienst’, and the department ‘Wehrgeistige Führung der Truppe’,<sup>1</sup> all subdivisions of influential and powerful institutions within the Third Reich.

The ‘Sonderreferat Truppenbetreuung’, established in late 1939, was integrated into the department for ‘Besondere Kulturaufgaben in the Reichskulturkammer’ in July 1940, which was administered by Hans Hinkel<sup>2</sup> in Joseph Goebbels’ ‘Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda’ (RMVP).<sup>3</sup> The Wehrmacht maintained a separate department for troop entertainment, which caused a greater rivalry for exclusive responsibility between Hinkel’s administration and the ‘Oberkommando der Wehrmacht’ (OKW). This dispute was settled in 1938, one year before the specialised ‘Sonderreferat Truppenbetreuung in the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda’ had even been installed. In 1940, the Wehrmacht again saw its responsibility for troop entertainment challenged. But propaganda was acknowledged to be as important as arms, granting the Wehrmacht control of the propaganda companies, which appeased the OKW. Their troop entertainment should be organised by the department ‘Wehrmachtpropaganda’ and Hasso von Wedel,<sup>4</sup> and therein the office for

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1 The German names for the different departments and offices in National Socialist bureaucracy are very difficult to translate into English properly, without the risk of losing the implemented subtext. Hence, the German names will be used throughout the text.

2 Hans Hinkel, \* 22 June 1901 in Worms, † 8 February 1960 in Göttingen, since 1921 NSDAP-member, since 1931 SS member, since 1933 responsible for the de-Jewification of all cultural life, since 1940 Ministerialdirigent responsible for troop entertainment. For further information on him see article ‘Hans Hinkel’ in: *Beamte nationalsozialistischer Reichsministerien* (<https://ns-reichsministerien.de/2019/03/29/hans-hinkel-2/>, last access 7 January 2020).

3 Studies on troop entertainment are both rare and cover a widespread content. However, a thorough examination combining all angles of troop entertainment, including in Norway, could not be found yet. Alexander Hirt, *‘Die Heimat reicht der Front die Hand’. Kulturelle Truppenbetreuung im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Ein deutsch-englischer Vergleich*, [dissertation], Göttingen 2006, p. 20. This dissertation presents a general overview over the organisation and structures of German troop entertainment, which is why the book will be used as a main reference for structural information on troop entertainment.

4 Hasso von Wedel, \* 20 November 1898 in Stargard, † 3 January 1961 in Gehrden, since 1914 in military service (1914 cadet–1943 major general), since 1937 in the Reich Ministry of War, since April 1939 leader of department for Wehrmacht propaganda, since 1942 leader of the office

‘Wehrgeistige Führung der Truppe’ which took account for political and ideological as well as cultural propaganda in the Wehrmacht. To ensure a close contact with the Ministry of Propaganda, a ‘Wehrmachtverbindungsoffizier’ warranted the constant exchange between both organisations. Additionally, the department for ‘Wehrmachtpropaganda’ kept companies at all frontlines to supervise the utilisation of propaganda and entertainment materials, the distribution of artists and the documentation of public morale, counter-propaganda, attitudes and changes in ideological stability among the soldiers, in close association with the units for military intelligence, so called ‘Ic units’<sup>5</sup> situated within every command. Another Wehrmacht department, the ‘Abteilung Inland’, recruited artists and organised entertainment material of all sorts.<sup>6</sup> Even though the ‘Wehrmachtpropaganda’ was responsible for both political-ideological and cultural entertainment, its ideologists tried to keep both segments separated.<sup>7</sup> For the majority of German officers, cultural troop entertainment seemed unnecessary, as long as one victory followed another. It was not until after 1942/43 that they acknowledged the necessity of full entertainment at both the frontlines and at base.<sup>8</sup>

The third organisation engaged in troop entertainment was the department ‘KdF-Verbindungsamt zu Wehrmacht-Reichsarbeitsdienst’. As part of the ‘Deutsche Arbeitsfront Kraft durch Freude’, popularly abbreviated as KdF, it was a very influential player. Due to the community’s enormous dimensions, including many volunteers, under the administration of Bodo Lafferentz,<sup>9</sup> a larger budget than the RMVP’s was generated. In the 1930s, before the war started, troop entertainment was organised by both ‘Amt Feierabend’, responsible for the entertainment and support of all workers, and ‘Amt Wehrmachtheime’, responsible for the soldiers. Shortly before the war, ‘Amt Wehrmachtheime’ was enlarged into ‘KdF-Verbindungsamt zu Wehrmacht-Reichsarbeitsdienst’ to ensure the close cooperation between KdF, Wehrmacht and Reichsarbeitsdienst in matters of cultural entertainment for war personnel. But first, in 1943, the cultural entertainment of soldiers and armament workers became KdF’s sole focus. The departments ‘Amt Feierabend’ and ‘KdF-Verbindungsamt’ were fused and integrated into ‘KdF-Truppenbetreuung’ and ‘KdF-Betreuung der Werkschaffenden’.<sup>10</sup> Despite all changes in the different departments responsible for troop entertainment in Germany, the organisational procedures remained stable overall throughout the war. Military units would send their requests for cultural entertainment to the ‘OKW, Abteilung Inland’, which then, in cooperation with the ‘Sonderreferat Truppenbetreuung’

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group for Wehrmacht propaganda in the OKW, author of several military related publications, for further information on him cf. article ‘von Wedel, Hasso’ in: *Lexikon der Wehrmacht* (<http://www.lexikon-der-wehrmacht.de/Personenregister/W/WedelHassovon.htm>, last access 7 January 2020).

5 These units were, as part of the divisions headquarters personnel, primarily responsible for the surveillance of the enemy situation and Abwehr. Cf. Jörg Wurdack (ed.), article ‘Divisionsstab (Infanterie-Division)’, in: *Lexikon der Wehrmacht* (<http://www.lexikon-der-wehrmacht.de/Zusatz/Heer/DivisionsstabID-R.htm>, last access 1 April 2020).

6 Hirt, *Die Heimat reicht der Front die Hand*, pp. 24–27, 68.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

9 Bodo Lafferentz, \*27 July 1897 in Kiel, †17 January 1975 in Überlingen, since 1933 leader of Kraft durch Freude, since 1938 manager of Volkswagen, organiser of the Wagner festival in Bayreuth during the war, for further information on him cf. article ‘Lafferentz, Bodo’ in: *Katalog der deutschen Nationalbibliothek* (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/128426950>, last access 7 January 2020).

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 21–23.

and 'KdF-Verbindungsamt Wehrmacht-Reichsarbeitsdienst', decided on the request. If judged favourably, the political reliability of appropriate artists was evaluated.<sup>11</sup> The case of Sergiu Celibidache,<sup>12</sup> who became a world-renowned conductor after the war and was never under high scrutiny from the public, presents a striking example for the evaluation of political reliability: He was supposed to accompany the Berlin a-cappella choir to Norway. The positive evaluation Celibidache received from KdF<sup>13</sup> contrasts with a comment on his membership card of the 'Reichskulturkammer', which strongly advocated his dismissal from troop entertainment.<sup>14</sup> However, the available material does not confirm whether Celibidache was sent to Norway with the Berlin a-cappella-choir or not.

In general, after a positive result from all involved offices, the artists were registered and equipped with papers to legitimise them as a Wehrmacht entourage, listing the reason, destination and duration of their deployment. At their final destination, 'Betreuungsoffiziere' took care of every aspect of the tour, and were obliged to inform all Wehrmacht-, Organisation Todt-, and DRK-units in the area. Despite the plurality of departments involved in the process of troop entertainment, its execution was handled by KdF.<sup>15</sup> However, KdF did not always play by the rules when artists were sent out to frontlines or bases. Sometimes artists were engaged and tours organised without informing the RMVP, which consequently led to disputes.<sup>16</sup> Even after Goebbels cancelled all cultural events in the German main territories by 1 September 1944, to concentrate all resources on the war, both the Wehrmacht and KdF continued to organise cultural events for soldiers. The Reich ministry of propaganda too was not content with that, especially the involvement of artists from military and police units, outside the ministry's reach. Nevertheless, they also continued to hire artists to perform in radio shows or military hospitals.<sup>17</sup>

In spring 1943, Goebbels changed the recruitment process for artists. Previously, the recruitment was organised through job centres, but now a 'Künstler-Einsatzstelle' – directly situated in the Reichskulturkammer – was interposed to weaken KdF. All available personnel, especially freelance artists, should be registered there and then dispensed to 'Sonderreferat Truppenbetreuung' and 'Kraft durch Freude'. Nevertheless, KdF often ignored this protocol and consequently kept organising their own artists.<sup>18</sup>

11 Ibid., p. 29.

12 Sergiu Celibidache, \* 11 July 1912 in Roman (Romania), † 14 August 1996 near Paris, conductor and composer, from 1936 on he studied in Berlin with several renowned teachers and became the assistant of Fritz Stein, the director of the music conservatory in Berlin, for the last semesters before 1945, in addition to his studies at the conservatory. After the war, he was interim conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra until the succession of Wilhelm Furtwängler was decided upon, and Herbert von Karajan took over. Cf. Matthias Thiemel, article 'Celibidache, Sergiu', in: Laurenz Lütteken (ed.), *MGG Online*, article first published 2000 (<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/14400>, last access 26 March 2020); Landesarchiv Berlin, C Rep. 031-01-02 Nr. 71, first quoted in Michael Custodis, 'Bürokratie vs. Ideologie? Nachkriegsperspektiven zur Reichsmusikkammer am Beispiel von Fritz Stein', in: Albrecht Riethmüller and Michael Custodis (eds.), *Die Reichsmusikkammer. Kunst im Bann der Nazi-Diktatur*, Cologne et al. 2015, pp. 221–238.

13 BArch, RW 6/176.

14 BArch, RMK-Karte Sergiu Celibidache.

15 Hirt, 'Die Heimat reicht der Front die Hand', pp. 129–131.

16 Ibid., pp. 28f.

17 Ibid., p. 32.

18 Ibid., pp. 106–113, 244.

All three organisations shared a constant discontent about the uneven balance of artistic quality, the distribution of KdF-groups and the extremely high wages paid to the artists.<sup>19</sup> Still, artists could not be conscripted to troop entertainment, and until Goebbels stopped all cultural events in 1944,<sup>20</sup> they did not necessarily need such engagements to perform in front of soldiers. Therefore, the organisers tried to recruit artists appealing to their community spirit, to bring joy to the soldiers. Another attractive factor for artists might have been the possibility to leave the increasingly destroyed German mainland and the option to buy products that were no longer available in the Reich, even though they were not allowed to. Furthermore, the ministry of propaganda and 'Kraft durch Freude' paid high fees, and for some musicians it seemed easier to participate in cultural entertainment for soldiers than to ignore the offer. Some might have even considered troop entertainment career enhancing.<sup>21</sup>

After making rapid progression on foreign territories, large quantities of the Wehrmacht became an occupation force with lots of 'free' time and inactivity. For such periods, entertainment was important to fight the emptiness soldiers might experience, to keep up the mood and to stabilise their confidence in the 'Endsieg'.<sup>22</sup> The longing for loved ones at home should be soothed by bringing the 'Heimat' to the frontlines, and demonstrating that the 'Volksgemeinschaft' still cared about them.<sup>23</sup> This demand contradicted the approach from 1941, where entertainment for soldiers should remind them as little as possible of home. While the 'Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda' preferred more in-depth entertainment (e.g. classical chamber music), KdF favoured a more lightweight approach (e.g. variety shows). During the course of the war, Goebbels' pragmatic approach to promote the 'Endsieg' by all cultural means led to a change in the ministry's directive: now light entertainment, such as comedies and popular music, was considered to be best suited to ease the troops' minds.

The Wehrmacht's strategists believed that both high class and light entertainment were needed instead. For emotional support they preferred artsy stage plays and classical music, and for pure entertainment, sports, movies and cabaret. Nevertheless, the focus was on concerts and theatre rather than cabaret. However, most of the official propaganda and intelligence reports show that the soldiers were most satisfied with light entertainment of cabaret, variety and the so called 'Bunte Abende' ('motley evenings'), a mixture of music, dance, sketches and cabaret, also hosted by groups of soldiers. Another important factor for success was the gender composition of the artist groups. Whereas the soldiers in general preferred groups with women over those with only men, officers disagreed, with reference to the possible loss of troop discipline.<sup>24</sup>

The soldiers welcomed troop entertainment as a variation of their daily routine. Artists appreciated them as well. Although such commitment was exhausting and demanding, the artists were often treated with the same respect and comfort as officers, and to no surprise their memoirs about these travels sometimes resemble holiday sto-

19 Ibid., p. 146.

20 Ibid., p. 223.

21 Ibid., pp. 220, 222–223, 234.

22 Ibid., pp. 70, 296.

23 BArch, NS 5 VI/1146.

24 Hirt, *Die Heimat reicht der Front die Hand*, pp. 73–74, 70, 240–241, 68–69, 306, 249–250.

ries rather than reports from a war zone, something the musicians were not so keen on following up on after the war.<sup>25</sup> But, as much as troop entertainment was welcomed by the soldiers, it also brought about safety concerns, as espionage was a great problem. Therefore, for security reasons, the artists were not even allowed to have a tour diary. Fortunately for historiography, not all of them abided by the rules.<sup>26</sup>

## KdF Groups, and Reconstructing Cultural Troop Entertainment in Norway

Reconstructing cultural troop entertainment in Norway is a complex matter, and in large parts unconsidered so far by international research.<sup>27</sup> The main archive that could have provided an overview over cultural troop entertainment, not only in Norway but also for the Third Reich in general, was destroyed towards the end of the war, and only a few files survived. Without these files from 'Kraft durch Freude', one has to rely on other sources to identify artists and reconstruct their deployment to Norway.

Though the 'Wehrmacht-Tätigkeitsberichte' are incomplete, they nevertheless provide valuable additional insights on what kind of troop entertainment was arranged, and what role cultural entertainment played in Norway.<sup>28</sup> In contrast to the mentioned rivalries concerning 'Truppenbetreuung', it was not treated as a high priority according to the 'Tätigkeitsberichte'. The Wehrmacht, being responsible for these bulletins, mainly focused on military aspects to be reported home. Nevertheless, special officers for 'geistige Betreuung' handled all cultural entertainment. Even though the actual reports differ from unit to unit, their authors seem to have compiled their intel along a template. Usually it contains the actual report (which is basically an overview), and attachments which give more detailed information about travel routes and schedules.

Apart from the above mentioned 'Tätigkeitsberichte', a vital but rare source for musical troop entertainment are tour diaries written by the artists or their companions during the tours. They provide, in contrast to the 'Tätigkeitsberichte', which represent the official internal military view, the personal perspective and experience of the respective artist. A striking example of this is a tour diary the wife of well-known cellist, Ludwig Hoelscher, wrote.

25 Ibid., p. 266.

26 Ibid., p. 141.

27 Hirt's *Die Heimat reicht der Front die Hand. Kulturelle Truppenbetreuung im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Ein deutsch-englischer Vergleich*, even though incorporating all relevant literature on German troop entertainment in WWII, provides only a few examples for troop entertainment in Norway, as its focus is the comparison of German and British entertainment.

28 For an example of troop entertainment in Norway not organised by KdF or one of the other institutions but internally by a Wehrmacht-division, see Ina Rupprecht, 'Truppenbetreuung aus den eigenen Reihen. Soldatisches Musizieren in Norwegen 1940–45', in: Manfred Heidler (ed.), *Militärmusik als kultureller Botschafter (= Militärmusik im Diskurs, Band 15)*, (in preparation).

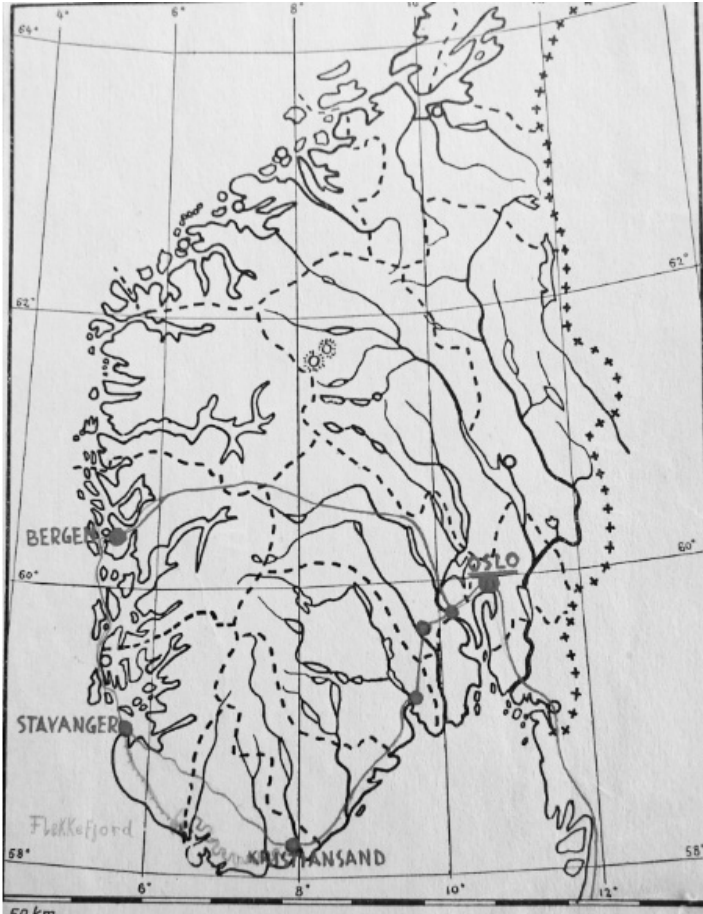
## Ludwig Hoelscher

The cellist Ludwig Hoelscher was born in 1907 in Solingen. After studying in Cologne, Berlin and Leipzig, he received the ‘Mendelssohn-Preis für ausübende Tonkünstler’, one of the highest honours for artists at the time. In 1931, he celebrated his debut with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. His career took off when he became acquainted with famous pianist Elly Ney<sup>29</sup> and played the cello in her well-established trio.<sup>30</sup> According to his denazification file,<sup>31</sup> Hoelscher joined the NSDAP in May 1937, in retrospect excusing it as a precaution for his new position as teacher at Berlin’s conservatory, which he held until 1939, when he was appointed professor at the Mozarteum in Salzburg. Besides his teaching, Hoelscher was very busy giving concerts with the Elly-Ney-Trio, as member of the Strub-Quartett,<sup>32</sup> and as soloist with different orchestras and accompanists. He performed lunchtime concerts for workers, organised by ‘Kraft durch Freude’ and was invited by the ‘Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur’. In the 1940s, he completed several concert tours for troop entertainment and on behalf of the German ‘Auslandspropaganda’ in occupied countries, among them one to Norway.<sup>33</sup> A little later he also premiered David Monrad Johansen’s<sup>34</sup> *Cello Suite op. 24* in Oslo’s University auditorium, accompanied by the composer, an occasion so far only the newspaper coverage bears witness to.<sup>35</sup>

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- 29 Elly Ney, \* 27 September 1882 in Düsseldorf, † 31 March 1968 in Tutzing, pianist, studied in Cologne and Vienna, great Beethoven enthusiast/patron, fanatic National Socialist, professor for piano at Mozarteum Salzburg 1938–45, KVK II 1943, eager supporter of troop entertainment, after 1945 blacklisted by US Military Government, later again piano virtuoso and still questioned in her beliefs. Cf. Martin Kapeller, article ‘Ney, Elly’, in: Laurenz Lütteken (ed.), *MGG Online*, article first published 2004 (<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/15404>, last access 27 March 2020); Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, CD-ROM Kiel 2004, pp. 4852–4866; Michael Custodis, ‘Elly Ney als Kunstikone in der jungen BRD’, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 75 (2018), No. 2, pp. 117–134.
- 30 Cf. Arnold Jacobshagen, article ‘Hoelscher, Ludwig’, in: Laurenz Lütteken (ed.), *MGG Online*, article first published 2003 (<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/26688>, last access 27 March 2020); Stadtarchiv Tutzing, Nachlass Hoelscher NLH II/4.
- 31 Staatsarchiv München, SpkA K 4590: Hoelscher, Ludwig.
- 32 Named after its primus Max Strub \* 28 September 1900 in Mainz, † 23 March 1966 in Detmold, violinist, 1928–34 1<sup>st</sup> concertmaster at Staatsoper Berlin, from 1933 professor at the music conservatory Berlin, from 1936 primarius of the Strub-quartet, before member of the Elly Ney-trio. Cf. Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, p. 7073.
- 33 Stadtarchiv Tutzing, Nachlass Hoelscher NLH III/06 and NLH III/08.
- 34 David Monrad Johansen, \* 8 November 1888 in Vefsn, † 20 February 1974 in Baerum, composer, pianist and music critic. He studied with Iver Holter, Engelbert Humperdinck, Fartein Valen and Hermann Grabner. Monrad Johansen was president of TONO from 1929–1945 and represented music interests in the cultural council from 1942–45. After 1945 he lost his state stipend, was convicted for his involvement. For further information cf. Ivar Rogar Hansen, *Mot fedrenes fjell. Komponisten David Monrad Johansen og hans samtid*, Oslo 2013; Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes, ‘Die Gratulanten kommen. Der Kampf um Griegs Erbe 1943’, in: Helmut Loos and Patrick Dinslage (eds.), *Edvard Grieg, sein Umfeld, seine Nachfolge – Neue Forschungen*, Leipzig 2018, pp. 340–358; Arnulf Mattes, ‘“Monumentalism” in Norway’s Music 1930–1945’, in: Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes (eds.), *The Nordic Ingredient*, Münster and New York 2019, pp. 55–68.
- 35 ‘Ny komposisjon av Monrad Johansen. Framføres for første gang av Cellisten Ludwig Hoelscher, hvem komposisjonen er tilegnet’, in: *Aftenposten*, 17 October 1941; Alfred Wien, ‘Meisterliche Kammermusik. Cello-Abend Professor Ludwig Hoelscher’, in: *Deutsche Zeitung in Norwegen*, 9 October 1943; Hansen, *Mot fedrenes fjell*, pp. 444–446.

## Hoelscher in Norway 1942

In January 1942 Ludwig Hoelscher, his wife Marion and the pianist Emmeran von Lerchenfeld<sup>36</sup> went on a concert tour through southern Norway. Marion Hoelscher kept a diary,<sup>37</sup> for whatever reason written in the third person, which presents a unique insight into the conditions of touring life. Their scheduled travels included stops in Oslo and Kristiansand, Stavanger and Bergen.



Pic. 1: Travel route from the tour diary

36 Emmeran Graf von und zu Lerchenfeld-Köfering, \* 1914, † 1978. The tour diary is the only source so far mentioning him and his involvement in German troop entertainment, without further information about his education, social circles and life in general. For his life dates compare article 'Lerchenfeld-Köfering, Emmeran Graf von und zu', in: *Deutsche Biographie* (<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd136658067.html>, last access 2 April 2020).

37 Privatarchiv Familie Hoelscher, *Konzertreise Norwegen. 22.1.-31.1.1942 mit Marion u. Graf Lerchenfeld. Foto Album*. The album is not signed, but Ludwig Hoelscher's son identified his mother's handwriting. As to why she might have written the diary in third person, he could not provide answers. My many thanks to Andreas Hoelscher for helping me get access to the material at Stadtarchiv Tutzing and sharing private stories and material on his parents and Elly Ney.

Though several pages are missing, the diary vividly depicts Marion Hoelscher's thoughts on life on tour and the events in Norway. In a way, it does not differ much from any travel report. She noted the available food and weather conditions exactly: The small travel group could indulge in mandarins, real coffee, butter, beans, whale meat, fish, fish pudding and lobster to eat and drink. On the one hand, this assortment of food represents the Scandinavian dietary habits, with a great variety of sea food. On the other hand, one has to keep in mind that the general population in Norway did not have access to this quantity or variety of food, due to strict food rationing for the Norwegian people, in order to ensure the sustenance for both the Germans stationed in the country and the German people on the continent.<sup>38</sup> This great assortment of food was deemed one of the privileges of troop entertainment, and since the Wehrmacht took care of the artists, they often had access to produce that was no longer available on the German market. Accordingly, the destinations for troop entertainment that offered the most indulgence were described with empurpled words. If those attributions were fully correct or derived from the bliss of being able to eat better than at home, is not easy to determine.

So it is no surprise that Belgium became 'the land of milk and honey', in Poland one could find buffets with 'long lost indulgence', Denmark provided real coffee and pastries, Greece had a flourishing black market and in Norway artists would get lobster in abundance.<sup>39</sup> However, Marion Hoelscher's descriptions illustrate that the small travel group worried about the impressions other people would have of them, being so occupied with exclusive delicacies on the ferry ride from Germany to Sweden. But despite her awareness of appearances – when it came to an 'international' public on the ferry and what they might derive about the German public from their impression of the group around Ludwig Hoelscher – she did not hesitate to accept a pound of butter from German officers to take home, in spite of the strict regulations and her experience of being searched for smuggled goods on the way to Norway.

Nevertheless, the underlying hostility of the Norwegians towards them as Germans was troubling her. How deep her fear of any hostile encounter with Norwegians was can be found in her description of a stopover in Haugesund on the way to Bergen. She noted that their pianist Emmeran von Lerchenfeld went looking for a barber, and she worried that he would get himself killed, as the Norwegians were so hostile towards them. For this fear to build, she or the whole group must have had some frightening experiences with Norwegians, or been told stories about them acting out. Whatever it was, it made a lasting impression on Marion Hoelscher, one that would not necessarily have been welcomed by the German authorities, that tried hard to persuade the world of a good and friendly relationship with the Norwegians.<sup>40</sup>

Ludwig and Marion Hoelscher, as well as Emmeran von Lerchenfeld were, with the exception of public transport, always accompanied by a 'Betreuungsoffizier' or other Wehrmacht officers, who made sure they followed their schedules, that everything was

38 Cf. Robert Bohn, *Reichskommissariat Norwegen: 'Nationalsozialistische Neuordnung' und Kriegswirtschaft* [= *Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte* 54], München 2000, pp. 221–224, cf. especially footnote 275.

39 Hirt, 'Die Heimat reicht der Front die Hand', p. 227.

40 Cf. Bohn, *Reichskommissariat Norwegen*, p. 65; 'Die Neuordnung in Norwegen' in: *Polarkreis Echo*, 27 September 1940.



prepared for them, and that they had some free time between travelling and the concerts. In Stavanger they were entertained at the 'Deutsches Haus', and in Bergen they visited Grieg's famous estate Troldhaugen, described as a depressing but emphatic visit, accompanied by press photographers. In addition to Grieg's home, they saw Fantoft stave church and went up on Bergen's Mount Fløyen. Their evenings were filled with dinner invitations from German officers.

An episode Marion Hoelscher describes in detail, but does not come back to, is on meeting other 'entertainment personnel' on the boat from Stavanger to Bergen. She notes: '[...] man beäugt sich misstrauisch. Die stellen fest: ein Trio, wahrscheinlich Sänger oder sowas. Ziemlich hochnäsigt. Wir stellen fest: eine Horde leicht verwahrloster Varietémenschen, bestimmt fünftklassig in jeder Beziehung, aber gutmütig. Unsere Vermutung wird später bestätigt.'<sup>41</sup> It seems that rivalries (whether serious or friendly) were part of the experience, and that the clichés associated with different entertainment professions were something one was rather proud of.

For the concerts Ludwig Hoelscher and Emmeran von Lerchenfeld played, Marion Hoelscher thoroughly noted the atmosphere, mood and reactions of the audience as well as their own. In Kristiansand, she reports that the theatre was a tiny wooden building, which apparently had no insulation and was the same temperature as outside, around 30 degrees minus. Still, the soldiers and DRK nurses waited excitedly for the concert. Marion mentions that the officers showed the utmost kindness, and were happy to get a chance to listen to good German music in their cold monotony. In Stavanger, she concludes that even though the officers attending might not have understood too much of what they had heard, they were very open minded, receptive and full of honest admiration. Furthermore, she attributes it to them having very little entertainment, as most German artists travel to Oslo and Bergen, but dread the strain of travel to other areas. This seems rather odd since the south and south-west were, as gathered from the divisions report, regularly frequented by entertainment personnel, especially the towns with larger quantities of Wehrmacht personnel.

In Bergen, Ludwig Hoelscher and Emmeran von Lerchenfeld played an afternoon concert, which, according to Marion Hoelscher, took place at a military hospital. She notes that the audience's positive and grateful reaction made them happy. The newspaper *Bergens Tidene* reviewed very positively another musical performance in Bergen's Konsertpaleet, and additionally printed the programme for the event. If the concert Marion Hoelscher and *Bergens Tidende* refer to are in fact the same, and the Konsertpaleet was used as a military hospital at the time, or if they discuss different events, cannot yet be clarified.

According to *Bergens Tidene* the programme was supposed to contain Giuseppe Valentini's *Concert Suite* in E major, Carl Maria von Weber's *Sicilienne and Variations*, Robert Schumann's *Träumerei*, an *Allegretto* by Franz Schubert and a *Rondo* by Luigi Boccherini.

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41 Translation: '[...] one watches one another suspiciously and they conclude: a trio, probably singers or something similar, quite arrogant. We note: a crowd of variety people, probably fifth rate in every way, but good-natured. Our suspicions are confirmed later.'

**Tysklands mestercellist i Bergen**  
Torsdag oplever Bergen professor  
Hoelschers gjestespill.

På spørsmålet om vår tids mest betyd-  
fulle cellist gis det bare et svar:  
Det er uten tvil professor Ludwig  
Hoelscher, som folk tidlig talte meget  
om og som for tiden virker som tysk  
mestercellist i inn- og utland for den



*Professor Hoelscher.*

tyiske kunst. Arevis har han feiret  
de største triumfer i alle Europas  
ledende musikbyer og hører til tross  
for sin ungdom allerede til Stor-  
Tysklands mest bemerkelsesverdige  
kunstnerpersonligheter. For den som  
det er blitt fornøt å lytte til hans  
spill, i ham vil erindringsene klinge  
lege etter som noget av det reneste  
og mest lykksaliggjørende. Båret av  
den dypeste åndighet er hans spill et  
lysende eksempel på overrunnet »bare

virtuositet« og en musikalsk ånds  
eneste triumf.

Ludwig Hoelscher hadde den lykke  
fra sin tidligste barndom å bli oppdratt  
i den klassiske musikk i sitt høit  
musikalske hjem. Allerede tidlig blev  
man opmerksom på den unge kunstner  
gjennom utmerkelsene og hans kallelse  
til Elly Ney-trioen som i mellomtiden  
var blitt verdensberømt, og denne still-  
ing førte ham i løpet av få år til den  
første stilling i hans fag. Ennu ikke  
29 år gammel blev han utnevnt til  
professor, og i dag gjelder han for en  
av nutidens største cellister.

På Reichskommissars innbydelse be-  
finner professor Hoelscher seg for  
sieblikket på en konsertreise i Norge  
og besøker også da den musikk-  
begeistrede by Bergen, som i kunstens  
og kulturens pleie alltid har innehatt  
en særstilling i Norge og hvis musikk-  
elskende mennesker særlig vet å skatte  
betydningen av dette kunstnerbesøk.

Torsdag ettermiddag gir professor  
Hoelscher den første konsert for de  
tyske soldater i Konsertpalæet. Han  
spiller ved denne anledning først en  
konsertsuite i E-dur for cello og klaver  
(Grace, Allegro, Allegro (Tempo di  
Gavotta), Largo og Allegro) av Valen-  
tini, så »Sizilienne og Variationen« av  
Weber, dertil »Traumerei« av Schu-  
mann, »Allegretto« av Schubert og til  
slutt »Rondo« av Boccherini.

Professor Hoelschers aftenkonsert  
for innbudne tyske og norske gjester  
begynner likeledes med Konsertsuite E  
av Valentini. Så følger Beethovens  
»12 variasjoner i f-dur for cello og  
klaver av Zauberflöte av Mozart«. Til  
avslutning av den første del følger  
»Adagio« av Mozart, »Allegretto« av  
Schubert og »Sizilienne og Varia-  
tionene« av Weber.

Pic. 2: 'Germany's master cellist in Bergen', concert announcement in Bergen's newspaper (Bergens Tidende, 27 January 1942)

Both the reactions to the concerts that Marion Hoelscher noted and the reports in the newspapers praised Hoelscher's and von Lerchenfeld's performance. Apart from the afternoon concert in Bergen, they played Valentini's *Cello Sonata* in E major, Ludwig van Beethoven's *12 variations* in F major on Mozart's *Magic Flute* op. 66, as well as an unspecified *Adagio* from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. After a break, they continued with Johann Sebastian Bach's *Cello Suite* no. 5 in C minor, and concluded with Pietro Locatelli's *Adagio and Variations*. These pieces combine what the soldiers supposedly wanted to hear and could comprehend in classical music. Despite some compositions from Bach and Beethoven, most of the pieces can be categorised as rather popular and easily accessible. This is attributed to the idea that the common soldier should be en-

couraged to listen to ‘classical music’, but not be intimidated by supposedly advanced harmonics or complicated structures. The compositions chosen by Hoelscher and von Lerchenfeld range from the late baroque era to the early romantic music, focusing on the well-known composers. Interestingly, for Beethoven they choose variations of *Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen* from one of Mozart’s most famous operas. On the one hand, this piece could have appealed to the current situation of the German audience away from their families and their longing for their loved ones at home. On the other hand, it might have just been a coincidence, as Hoelscher played the composition frequently at all sorts of entertainment concerts during the years of the Nazi regime.<sup>42</sup>

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As hinted at in Marion Hoelscher’s tour diary, and identifiable with the help of the ‘Tätigkeitsberichte’, the entertainment groups sent through Norway were unevenly distributed, which caused two different problems. First, the military units in the south, being closer to the infrastructure of larger cities, had many opportunities to attend shows and concerts. Second, all units in the north and in remote areas had to expect irregular and less frequent entertainment. For this insufficient deployment of KdF groups to the far north, infrastructural difficulties, such as transport problems, were held responsible.<sup>43</sup> Due to the many small scattered military camps, some units based in the North marched up to 30 km to experience a performance.<sup>44</sup>

Aside from criticism about the uneven distribution of entertainment groups, the quality of the programmes and their presenters gave constant cause for complaints. In January 1941, the ‘Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Norwegen’ informed the AOK in Berlin that the troops were fed up with music programmes, especially chamber music, which led to a decrease in the number of visitors of KdF arrangements. Thus, chamber music groups were only supposed to be sent on demand.<sup>45</sup> Yet, in 1942, Ludwig Hoelscher and Emmeran von Lerchenfeld came to Norway to entertain the soldiers with chamber music. Furthermore, a report from 1942 notes that only shows with a popular programme were successful, and that the soldiers did not look for contemplation but distraction.<sup>46</sup>

In March 1942, the ‘AOK Norwegen’ mentions complaints about unwanted dirty jokes by female artists, and that the artists bragged about their high fees, which were not corresponding to the quality of the shows.<sup>47</sup> A general point of criticism was that the groups often seemed not to be well attuned. From all the complaints and requests derived a censor’s office in Berlin. It was specifically created to vet all groups and their programmes scheduled for Norway. Only if approved would they be deployed. Later the censor’s office was moved to Norway, which led to KdF groups being sent back to the Reich when they or their programmes did not pass the evaluation. Interesting-

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42 Cf. Stadtarchiv Tutzing, Nachlass Ludwig Hoelscher, NLH III/06 and NLH III/08.

43 Hirt, ‘Die Heimat reicht der Front die Hand’, p. 154.

44 Ibid., p. 322.

45 BArch, RW 39/14.

46 BArch, RH 26-169/15.

47 BArch, RW 39/31.

ly, this process was only applied to KdF groups for Norway.<sup>48</sup> In the case where exact locations or cities are given in the schedule, some tours can be reconstructed easily. However, in the itineraries of groups touring near the Russian frontlines, cities are rarely named as destinations, but rather the units receiving troop entertainment.

Altogether, reading Marion Hoelscher's report and comparing it to the other descriptions, it seems as if the 'Betreuungsoffiziere' were not only a liaison to ensure that everything went as smoothly as possible, as the intelligence reports suggest, but were also some kind of chaperones who – with the help of tight free time schedules – made sure that the artists only witnessed what they were supposed to. Furthermore, it appears that the musicians travelling through Norway were not only the bearers of cultural propaganda, but were also subject to it themselves. Showing Ludwig and Marion Hoelscher and Emmeran von Lerchenfeld Edvard Grieg's house Troldhaugen, and Fantoft stave church, can very well be understood as an effort by the German authorities to foster the ideal of a German-Norwegian connection, and offer a tourist service of continental standards. Her notes on domestic hostility stand in contrast, not only to the image of Norway the officials were trying to present to the artists, but also to the official Wehrmacht reports that were eager to portray a somewhat friendly coexistence between Norwegians and Germans. This raises the question of how far the Wehrmacht reports can be used as a trustworthy source when it comes to evaluations. The reactions towards the music described by Marion Hoelscher are, on the other hand, congruent with those in the Wehrmacht reports. Interestingly, she only speaks of officers in the audience, so either the audiences were only filled with higher ranks or she could not identify the common soldiers. But in combination with the other reports, one can recognise hierarchies in troop entertainment: popular music for the soldiers, and art music for the officers and higher ranks. However, art music programmes did not consist exclusively of complex and sophisticated music. Instead, most programmes offered a mixture of classical composers with popular melodies and light tunes to meet the different background knowledge various audiences incorporated, and tried to include everyone. This was a widespread linchpin of concert programmes during the Nazi regime.

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48 Hirt, 'Die Heimat reicht der Front die Hand', p. 246.

Michael Custodis

## Solace, Compulsion, Resistance

### Music in Prison and Concentration Camps in Norway 1940–45

#### Settings

To enforce the predominance of the “Nordic master race”, the terror against people who were considered inferior formed the centre of the Third Reich. No other institution incorporated this ideology more drastically and comprehensively than the concentration camp.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, it is an extreme example for intersections of music and politics, combining research about National Socialism with aspects of occupation, resistance and Holocaust history. As unreal or insensitive it might seem to focus on music in concentration and prison camps, singing, performing and communication via music was an essential part of everyday life in an inhuman environment. It is meanwhile a well-documented topic in the international scientific community. Nevertheless, a few preliminary remarks about the nature of these camps might be necessary, in order to learn about the survival strategies of inmates as well as about the brutal conditions they had to face.

- **Change and Singularity.** The system of NS-concentration camps was established only two months after Adolf Hitler’s Machtübernahme, when the first camp for political enemies was opened in Dachau near Munich in March 1933.<sup>2</sup> Despite its integration into the general NS-administration, each camp presents as a singular case. Though all prisoners shared the experience of incarceration, their individual fate depended on many factors of local preconditions, such as the character and number of guards and comrades at a certain time, the inmate’s individual ranking in the camp’s hierarchy, the nature of one’s incarceration, and the overall purpose, size and time of existence of each camp.
- **Subordination and Survival.** The primary goal of all camps was to force an individual to comply to the rules of a collective. Hence, the extreme conditions prisoners had to face for years made survival their priority.<sup>3</sup> Outside of the collective of fellows in misery, it was impossible to fight hunger, sickness, exhausting work-

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1 In his major study, based on impressive archival research, Nikolaus Wachsmann offers a general approach to concentration camps as the scene of systematic terror and annihilation. Nikolaus Wachsmann, *KL. Die Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, Munich [2016]. As he considered and summarised the enormous amount of recent and older publications systematically, only special literature regarding Norwegian camps and their music life will be quoted explicitly.

2 In accordance with the majority of historical debates, and based on his archival facts, Wachsmann is right to argue that the National Socialist idea of concentration camps neither shares similarities with other forms that had been established during the European colonial wars, as well as during and after World War I, nor with the Soviet Gulag, see Wachsmann, *Die Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, pp. 14–16.

3 Falk Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft. Widerstand, Selbstbehauptung und Vernichtung im Konzentrationslager (= Historische Perspektiven 12)*, Hamburg 1978, p. 152.

loads and the guards' cruelty. Accordingly, the deformation of one's personality was a threat that had to be met with constantly.

- **Racial Profiling and Cultural Privileges.** Most Norwegians did not ask for the cynical favour to be placed first in the National socialist's race hierarchy. As prisoners, however, they were treated with higher respect, close to native Germans. Between these two circles of guards and inmates, privileged prisoners (the so-called *Kapos*) had to organise the functioning of the different rooms, barracks and blocks. Another important factor was the prisoners' personal background, such as age, sex, religious and political beliefs, profession, or other talents. Furthermore, their supply of valuable goods, that were sent from their relatives and could be traded among other prisoners or to be used to bribe guards, was relevant for their status.

## Locations and Numbers

During the twelve years of Nazi dictatorship, 27 main camps were opened all across Europe with more than 1,100 dependent regional camps. Approximately 2.3 million men, women and children were incarcerated over the years, and the majority of them – 1.7 million – lost their lives.<sup>4</sup> The first camp in Norway, 'Ulven', 30 km south of Bergen, was established on 1 June 1940, only two months after the Wehrmacht had set foot on Norwegian soil. At the same time, the German Sicherheitspolizei opened several provisional prisons under the control of Gestapo headquarters in Oslo, Bergen, Kristiansand and Trondheim.<sup>5</sup> The increasing imprisonment of Norwegians raised the need for more capacity, so Norwegians were deported to Germany until new Norwegian concentration camps were set up and staffed. Until the liberation, approximately 9,000–10,000 people were transferred from Norway into German camps,<sup>6</sup> many of them so-called 'Nacht-und-Nebel-Häftlinge', who seemed to have vanished from their homes, and had to suffer brutal conditions, for example in the KZ Natzweiler-Struthof, 100 km west of Strasbourg, in occupied Alsace-Lorraine.

After 'Åneby' and 'Grini' outside of Oslo, and 'Falstad' outside of Trondheim, had been opened in 1941, 'Espeland' outside of Bergen, 'Sydspissen' near Tromsø, one in Kirkenes as well as 'Stavern' and 'Berg' in the very south were installed the following year.<sup>7</sup> The two largest camps, 'Grini' and 'Falstad', served as a kind of model for most of the other camps.<sup>8</sup> Many of them had only provisional characters to host the increasing

4 Wachsmann, *Die Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, p. 11.

5 Kristian Ottosen, 'Arbeits- und Konzentrationslager in Norwegen 1940–1945', in: Robert Bohn, Jürgen Elvert, Hain Rebas and Michael Salewski (eds.), *Neutralität und totalitäre Aggression. Nordeuropa und die Großmächte im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Stuttgart 1991, pp. 355–368, here p. 356.

6 Jon Reitan, 'Strafgefangenenlager Falstad 1941–45', in: Jon Reitan and Trond Risto Nilssen (eds.), *Falstad. Nazileir og landssvikfengsel*, Trondheim 2008, pp. 13–205, here p. 13.

7 Camp names in Norway sometimes changed and included terms such as 'Häftlingslager', 'Polizeistraflager' or 'SS-Straflager'. Nevertheless, West German authorities after 1945 considered them to have been concentration camps. See for example the official responses to restitutional claims of former inmates in camps that were run in Nazi-occupied Norway (1956–1961): Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, department Duisburg, Sig. BR 2172 Nr. 18; Erik Lørdahl, *Polizeihäftlingslager Grini 1941–1945 and the Prisoner Mail*, Tårnåsen 2004, p. 6.

8 Dirk Riedel, 'Norwegen', in: Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (eds.), *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, Vol. 9, Munich 2009, p. 433.

numbers of Soviet and Yugoslavian prisoners of war, as well as the partisans that were deported to Norway for slave labour, to build roads and railway tracks for the 'Organisation Todt' and to work in the weapons industry.<sup>9</sup> Approximately 120,000 men had to suffer this fate, more than 100,000 of them Soviet POWs, with a very high mortality rate.<sup>10</sup>

Approximately 44,000 Norwegian inhabitants faced imprisonment during the occupation years. In the winter of 1942/43, Norwegian and German authorities began to arrest Jews in Norway, after a longer period of harassment and social exclusion. Of approximately 776, only 39 survived their deportation, with another 24 persons of unclear fate.<sup>11</sup> Only about a dozen Jews, who were married to non-Jewish partners, were expelled, and ten of them spent their days, until the Liberation Day on 8 May 1945, in Grini,<sup>12</sup> while a few – such as Jakob Lankelinsky from Trondheim – could escape into exile, in his case to Sweden due to the Swedish citizenship of his parents.<sup>13</sup> Although death penalties, severe punishment and torture were witnessed in camps in Norway too, they served as a preliminary stage, in contrast to the concentration and annihilation camps that the SS had erected in Germany and Eastern Europe. Accordingly, every case in which the SS considered ruthless punishment necessary was transferred from Norway to the continent.<sup>14</sup>

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- 9 Slave labour was also an important income for the Reichskommissariat, cf. Arne Sandem, *Den siste SS-leiren. SS-Sonderlager Mysen*, [1990], p. 70. While research about Soviet prisoners of war in Norway has reconstructed many details already, information about musical and cultural aspects in the related camps is still rare. See for a historical overview Marianne Neerland Solheim, 'Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge under andre verdenskrig', in: *Fortid* No. 2 (2007), p. 48–54 ([https://www.fortid.no/tidsskrift/fortid\\_0702.pdf](https://www.fortid.no/tidsskrift/fortid_0702.pdf), last access 12 May 2020); Solheim, *Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge 1941–1945. Antal, organisering og repatriering*, Oslo 2009; Fredrik Mathiassen-Hafstad, *Fangeleirene i Nordland under andre verdenskrig. En undersøkelse av dødstallene for de sovjetiske krigsfangene i leirene Tømmerneset, Elvkroken, Kalvik og Megården fra 1942 til 1945*, [master thesis], Tromsø 2018.
- 10 Ottosen, 'Arbeits- und Konzentrationslager in Norwegen 1940–1945', p. 358; Reitan, 'Strafgefängenenlager Falstad', p. 24.
- 11 As Bjarte Bruland mentions, these numbers can only be estimated according to existing registers and files, and need to be corrected when further evidence and information are discovered. Cf. Bjarte Bruland, *Holocaust i Norge. Registrering, deportasjon, tilintetgjørelse*, Oslo 2017, pp. 99–100, pp. 206–391 as well as pp. 674–701; and Ottosen, 'Arbeits- und Konzentrationslager in Norwegen', pp. 355–368.
- 12 Riedel, 'Norwegen', p. 434–435.
- 13 See for further information the article about the Lankelinsky family at <https://www.jodiskefotspor.no/artikkel/familien-lankelinsky> (last access 4 November 2019). Thanks to Tine Komissar at the Jewish Museum in Trondheim for advice and support.
- 14 Guido Fackler, 'Lied und Gesang im KZ', in: *Lied und populäre Kultur* 46 (2001), pp. 141–198, DOI: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/849512>; Juliane Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen* (= *Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten: Schriftenreihe der Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten* 25), [dissertation 2007], Berlin 2009; Eckhard John, 'Musik und Konzentrationslager. Eine Annäherung', in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 48 (1991), No. 1, pp. 1–36, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/930869>; Gabriele Knapp, "'Befohlene Musik". Musik und Musikmißbrauch im Frauenlager von Auschwitz-Birkenau', in: *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996), Vol. 2, pp. 149–166, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/932775>; Shirli Gilbert, 'Songs Confront the Past. Music in KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1945', in: *Contemporary European History* 13 (2004), No. 3 August, pp. 281–304, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777304001730>; Friedrich Geiger, 'Deutsche Musik und deutsche Gewalt: Zweiter Weltkrieg und Holocaust', in: Albrecht Riethmüller (ed.), *Geschichte der Musik im 20. Jahrhundert*, Vol. 2 1925–1945, Laaber 2006, pp. 243–268; Sophie Fetthauer, 'Musik im

## Music in Camps in Norway

The music life in any of the Nazi-run prisons and concentration camps in Norway has not yet been described systematically.<sup>15</sup> A valid overview that covers all aspects and names is neither possible. Therefore, the dimensions of this topic are sketched along exemplary cases: 1) exceptional causes for detention, 2) clandestine songbooks, 3) acts of musical resistance, 4) enforced performing, and 5) songs from a camp in Northern Norway.

### I. Causes for Detention

One major challenge is to find out why musicians were arrested. The three most important publications that collected information about prisoners in Norwegian camps – *Norsk fangeleksikon: Grinifangene* (1946),<sup>16</sup> *Quislings hønsegård: Berg interneringsleir* (1948)<sup>17</sup> and *Nordmenn i fangenskap 1940–1945* (1995)<sup>18</sup> – are very profound but only rarely cover such detail. Nevertheless, such inquiries are important to understand the risks for politically active musicians during the occupation years and the complexity of music in camps. Based on file cards from the main camps in Norway and the Gestapo prison at Møllergata 19, indemnification files from 1956 until 1961, and the original register books from the camp administration in Grini and Falstad, causes for detention could be reconstructed for nearly half the musicians and other prisoners that were arrested for musical activities. Here are a few examples.

Einar Lorang Sakarias Andresen: born 28 January 1904; Oslo; music lieutenant; arrested as member of Milorg and brought to Møllergata 19 on 14 November 1944; brought to Grini on 27 January 1945 (# 17341); released on 30 January 1945 (perhaps for medical

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DP-Camp Bergen-Belsen und ihre Rolle bei der Identitätsfindung der jüdischen Displaced Persons', in: Beatrix Borchard and Heidy Zimmermann (eds.), *Musikwelten – Lebenswelten. Jüdische Identitätssuche in der deutschen Musikkultur*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 2009, pp. 365–379.

15 Only for the late phase of camp Grini was some information published, beginning directly after Norway's liberation, and concerning music it mainly focussed on cabaret programmes and humorous songs. Otto Nielsen was one of the most prominent musicians in Grini. Born in Trondheim in 1909, during his studies in architecture he was an active cabaret artist in the early 1930s. Together with his sister Gerd he became a radio celebrity, thanks to the breakthrough of this media in Norway. In consequence he responded to the high hopes of his inmates when he entered Grini in November 1943, and was happy to contribute with his abilities to keep up good spirits there. The various publications that cover the prisoners' life in Grini mention Nielsen extensively, and some even show him performing for his comrades in photographs. Memoirs from former prisoners tell of songs and sketches he prepared in Grini, and some were printed after the war; his tune *Kjære lille Toril* even became a hit on record and in print. The most catching ones were edited by his friends under the title *Rom 8 sanger* and combined with anecdotes about and from Otto Nielsen. Cf. Alf Rønning, Leif Blichfeldt and Bjarne Thorud (eds.), Grini, Oslo; Ragnvald Jørgensen, *Med Blyant På Grini. De Siste 8 Måneder*, Bergen 1946, pp. 89–91 and 107; Grini museum, *Rom 8 sanger*. Thanks to Celilie Øien, Kari Amundsen and Camilla Hedvig Maartmann at Grini Museum for supporting this research.

16 Børre R. Giertsen (ed.), *Norsk fangeleksikon: Grinifangene*, Oslo 1946.

17 Sverre J. Herstad and Carl Haave, *Quislings hønsegård: Berg interneringsleir*, Oslo 1948.

18 Kristian Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap 1940–1945*, Oslo 1995.



treatment), finally released on 8 May 1945; permanently handicapped due to a heart attack.<sup>19</sup>

Ingrid Bergesen: born 25 February 1923 in Stavanger; a school pupil on Bygdøy; brought to Grini (# 8565) on 11 November 1943 for singing a 'jössingsang'; released on 2 February 1944; arrested again on 27 April 1945 and sent to Møllergata 19 on 28 April 1945; released on Liberation Day.<sup>20</sup>

Leopold Lars Bild: born 10 October 1910 in Oslo and lived in Ås from 1921 on; orchestra musician (clarinet, saxophone and cello); arrested for the first time on 23 June 1941 and sent to Grini (# 238); released on 5 July 1941; arrested for the second time on 27 October 1942 and imprisoned in Bredtveit; sent to Berg on 26 November 1942 and deported to Germany with the steam boat 'Donau' as a persecuted Jew; died in Auschwitz on 1 February 1943.<sup>21</sup>

Wallace Buchanan: born 4 March 1894 in California; singer; American citizen; arrested on 8 February 1941 and imprisoned in Aa (Åkebergveien) (# 1895) for insulting the Germans and NS ('Fornærmed tyskerne og NS');<sup>22</sup> arrested again on 27 March 1941 for insulting Nasjonal Samling; retained possessions at Møllergata 19: 1 coat, 1 hat, 1 tie, 1 collar, 1 fountain pen, 1 pencil, 1 bunch of keys, 1 notebook, 1 briefcase with contents, 1 watch, braces ('Hosentræger'), garters, 1 wallet; change: 3,10 NOK; released on 28 June 1941.<sup>23</sup>

Astrid Fossane: born 9 August 1904 in Bremanger, Sweden; arrested for having played the king's anthem on a church organ ('Spilt kongesangen på orgel.') and sent to Grini (# 6184) on 30 January 1943; released on 2 October 1943<sup>24</sup> (see picture 1, p. 74).

William Kurt Hammersmark: born on 27 March 1918 in Kristiansand; musician; arrested on 3 February 1944 in Kristiansand; released on 17 March 1944.<sup>25</sup>

Henry Ingebretsen: born 22 August 1910 in Oslo; machine worker; arrested for singing a German-critical song and brought to Grini (# 9522) on 20 January 1944; sent to Sachsenhausen (# 86923) on 6 July 1944; released on Liberation Day.<sup>26</sup>

Gunnar Kjeldaas: born 1 October 1890 in Inderøy; teacher, church musician and composer; arrested on 20 March 1942; sent to Grini (# 1849) until 31 March; sent to Jørstadmoen 1 April until 11 April; sent to Trondheim 12 April until 15 April; sent to Bodø 16 April to 21 April; sent to Harstad 22 April to 23 April; sent to Tromsø 23 April to 25 April; sent to Hammerfest 25 April to 27 April; sent to Kirkenes 28 April to 29 April; sent to Elvenes 27 April to 18 May; released on 20 November 1942.<sup>27</sup>

Gunnar Knudsen: born 30 July 1907 in Drammen; violinist and conductor; arrested on 10 November 1944 in Stavanger; causes for detention were spreading illegal news, delivering radio material to a broadcasting unit, hiding and other support of refugees ('Nyhetstjeneste, fremskaffelse av radiomateriell til sendere, dekning og annen flyktningshjelp');

19 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0011; RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0004; RA/RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0001; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 94.

20 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 119.

21 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0009; RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0002; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 124; Bruland, *Holocaust i Norge*, p. 676. See information about his 'Stolperstein' at <https://www.snublestein.no/Leopold-Lars-Bild-1910-1943/p=500/> (last access 6 January 2020).

22 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0011.

23 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0002; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 148.

24 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0004; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 210.

25 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0028; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 255.

26 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 315.

27 Private papers, preserved by Anna-Ma Kjeldaas; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 365. See additionally the documentary 'Songs to Survive. Gunnar Kjeldaas' "Fangesongar frå Kirkenes" at [www.nordicmusicpolitics.net/media](http://www.nordicmusicpolitics.net/media) (last access 1 February 2020).

Lfd. Nr.	Navn og Venner til Barnet Ved fødsel og andere viktige begivenheter	Gedingsnr.	Fødselsnr.	Fødselsst.	Religionsf.	Barnetsnr.	Grund der inløsningsnr.	at Aufnahmeverfügung Hilfsliste und (Hilfsliste, Daten, Abrechnungen) in einliefernde Stelle		Inløsningsnr.	Bemerkninger der Hilfsliste		Grund der Hilfslistengang	Anmerkungen zur Hilfsliste	Abgelaufene Gelder und Wochenlohn	Bemerkungen zur Hilfsliste nach 19. September 1944 insbesondere nach der Gefangenen-	Hilfs- tag	Dokument- nummer	
								Vor- name	Stamm- nr.		Vor- name	Stamm- nr.							
618	Beitve Oskar	30.6.	99	Bragrumen	V.	P.				22.1.43.127	8	15			3831				
	Dahl Leiker	25.11			V.	P.					18. JAN 1944			38					
	Larsen Larsen	4.2.			V.	P.					15	45			33				
	Fossane Astrid	9.8.		Bremanger	L.	P.				32.1.43.85-2	11.42.104			34					
	Mygster Astrid	29.10		Mygster	L.	P.					22.5.43.13	I		35					
	Visted Bergen	23.1.		Bergen	V.	P.					29.7.43	I		36					
	Land Fischer	11.3.			L.	P.					15.2.43.10	I		37					
	Halsøy Halsøy	1.2.		Austvoll	V.	P.					32.2.43.11	I		38					
	Halsøy Halsøy	6.5.		Austvoll	V.	P.						I		39					
619	Halsøy Halsøy	29.10		Austvoll	V.	P.						I		3840					

Pic. 1: Detail about Astrid Fossane (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0004)

in a solitary Gestapo cell in Stavanger for a month;<sup>28</sup> sent to Grini (# 15638-3) on 11 November 1944 where he founded a string orchestra; released on Liberation Day<sup>29</sup> (see picture 2).

Wassily Kvetzinsky: born 7 September 1898; 'spillelærer' and 'konsulent' in the ministry of culture ('Kulturdepartementet'); arrested and brought to Møllergata 19 on 15 March 1941; brought to Grini on 10 July 1941 (# 343), released on 2 February 1942; sketched the beginning of the second movement of a symphonic poem in Magne Molvik's *Minnebok fra Grini 1941*.<sup>30</sup>

Jakob Lankelinsky: born 7 February 1892 in Trondheim; musician; arrested on 7 October 1942 and imprisoned in Falstad as a persecuted Jew ('Jødeaksjonen'); sent to Trondheim (Vollan) on 26 November 1942; sent to Bredtveit and released on 2 March 1943; escaped into Swedish exile<sup>31</sup> (see picture 3, p. 76).

Arpad Lehner: born 25 May 1896 in Budapest; living in Vollen i Asker; pianist; arrested on 30 October 1942, sent to Bredtveit and imprisoned in Berg on 10 December 1942; released on 21 January 1943;<sup>32</sup> arrested again on 20 April 1943 and sent to Bredtveit; sent

28 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0046. This information does not correspond to the Grini register RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0019.

29 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0046; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 372.

30 Giertsen, *Norsk fangeleksikon*, p. 13; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 391.

31 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0050; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 397; NRW-Landesarchiv, Duisburg, BR 3002-616072; <https://www.jodisfotspor.no/artikkel/musiker-jakob-lankelinsky> (last access 4 November 2019).

32 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0052; Herstad/Haave, *Quislings Hønsegård*, p. 243; NRW-Landesarchiv, Duisburg, BR 3002-705656.

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## ANTRAG (Erstatningskrav.)

auf Grund des Bundesergänzungsgesetzes zur Entschädigung für  
Opfer der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung (BEG) vom 18. 9. 1953.

Opplysninger om den politisk forfulgte: Gunnar Knudsen

Fullt navn: .....

Fødselsdag og sted: ..30. Juli 1907 i Drammen.....

Bopel: ..Wilhelm Færdens vei 4 A., Oslo.....

Forsorgelsesbyrde ved arrestasjonen: ..Kone r. stortingareferent Judith ..

..... Knudsen, som hadde trukket seg tilbake fra sin ..

..... stilling i staten ..

Yrke: ..Vedlindst. - kapellmester i Stavanger Byørkester og N.R.K. ..

Arrestert når og hvor: ..Ska 10. oktober 1944 i Stavanger.....

.....

Fangesteder og fangetid: ..Restapokjelleren i Stavanger i enesalle ..

..... i 1 måned, deretter Grini-til-frigjøringen som fange ..

..... uten brav, pakkar og besøk ..

Skader med men: .....

Hvis den forfulgte er død, - når og hvor: .....

Dødsrsak: .....

Opplysninger om etterlatte:

Fullt navn: .....

Fødselsdag og -sted: .....

Bopel: .....

Slektskapsforhold til den forfulgte: .....

12787

Oslo, 11. oktober 1956 *Gunnar Knudsen*  
(sted) (datum) (underskrift)

Vi bekrefter herved at foranstående opplysninger og innholdet av bilagene medfører  
riktighet.

*[Signature]* (off. tjenestemann) .....

Stortingets kontor (off. tjenestemann)

Se nedenfor:

Bilag: Kort beskrivelse av arrestasjonsgrunnlag (eller erklæring fra politiet om politisk  
fangenskap) og eventuelt kort redegjørelse for skadetilfellet i fangetiden.

P.S. Mitt erstatningskrav blir innlevert i denne form, da formularer ikke er å få for  
vedtagelsen av endringsforslag til erstatningsloven, ifølge brev av 15 des. 1955 fra den  
tyske Forbundsrepublikks ambassade i Oslo.

Nyhetstjeneste, fremskaffelse av radiomateriell til sendere,  
dekning og annen flyktningehjelp.

Pic. 2: Gunnar Knudsen's indemnification file (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0046)

to Grini (# 7552) on 8 May 1943; sent to Berg 16 February 1944; released on Liberation Day; permanently handicapped with frozen fingers.<sup>33</sup>

Jacob Maliniak (also Jac or Jack): born 31 October 1883 in Warsaw; arrested on 23 June 1941 in Trondheim and imprisoned in Vollan during the German attack against the Soviet Union ('Angrepet på Sovjetsamveldet'); released on 3 July 1941;<sup>34</sup> arrested again during the persecution of Jews ('Jødeaksjonen') on 7 October 1942 and imprisoned in Falstad on 9 October 1942; sent to Bredtveit from 26 November 1942 to 24 February 1943; deported with the steam ship 'Gotenland' on 25 February 1943 and imprisoned via Berlin in Auschwitz; murdered on 3 March 1943<sup>35</sup> (see picture 4, p. 76).

33 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0004; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 407.

34 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0055.

35 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0008; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 433; Bruland, *Holocaust i Norge*, p. 694. Maliniak had an impressive career, for example he played in the Warsaw Symphony Orchestra when Edvard Grieg came to conduct in 1902; in Leipzig he was

KUNGL. SOCIALSTYRELSEN  
UTLÄNNINGSBYRÅN  
Husok Jans 7000 5  
Pensjons Box 2008 Stockholm 2  
741. Annanvar. Socialstyrelsen  
Tjänstensvarning, a. ut-vid  
kl. 10-11

8899

Till (An - To - A) KUNGL. SOCIALSTYRELSEN

Ansådan om värfning för (Utläns i två exemplar). Visa application for (To be completed in duplicate).  
Gesuch um Visa für (In zwei Exemplaren abzugeben). Demande de visa pour (A remplir en double).

1. tillnamn - Familienname surname - nom de famille	Lankelinsky
2. samliga förnamn - stämliche Vornamen Christen namn in full - tous les prenom	Jacob
3. Födelsdatum - geboren am date of birth - né(e) le	7.2.1892
4. Födelseort och land - Geburtsort und Staat place of birth and country - lieu de naissance et pays	Koulikham, Norge
5. nationalitet - Statsangehörighet nationality - nationalité	Norsk
6. religion	Ursakisk
7. yrke (titel) - Beroft (Titel) Occupation (title) - profession (titre)	Ed. violonceller i H. H. Musikskola
8. gift med (samliga namn, födelsdatum) verheiratet mit (stämliche Namen, Geburtsdag) married to (names in full, date of birth) marité(e) avec (tous les noms, date de naissance)	
9. barn (föddnamn, födelsdatum) children (names, date of birth) enfants (noms, date de naissance)	
10. Var vittas f. n. make (maka) och barn? We haben sich a. Z. Mesa (Frau) und Kinder auf? Séjour actuel de vous (de la femme) et des enfants?	
11. Referenser i Sverige (namn, adress) Referenzen in Schweden (Name, Adresse) References in Sweden (names, address) Références en Suède (noms, adresse)	tre försorg af honom Arbillerigatan 55 Stockholm
12. Vistat i Sverige sedan den - Eingereist in Schweden am Arrived in Sweden on - Séjourné en Suède depuis le	2.13.1943
13. Passet, som behövs till den - Der Pass, der benötigt ist gültig bis zum The validity of the passport expires on - La validité du passeport équivaut à	31.10.1945

Påsegländans anteckningar. - Respassier Pass. For official use. - Place reserved.

852387

14. Upphållsvisering sökes för tiden  
Aufenthaltsvisa wird nachgefragt für  
Residence visa is required for  
Visa de séjour est demandé pour

25.11.1943 - 21.12.1944

15. Syftet med vistelsen  
Zweck des Aufenthalts  
Purpose of stay  
But de séjour

Musikstudier i Stockholm

16. Arbetsvisering sökes för tiden  
Arbeitsverlaub wird nachgefragt für  
Labour permit is required for  
Permis de travail est demandé pour

17. för anställning såsom - sur Anstellung als  
for employment as - pour emploi comme

18. i (ort) - in (Ort)  
at (place) - à (lieu)

19. hns (företagets namn och adress)  
bei (Name und Adresse des Arbeitgebers)  
at (employer's name and address)  
chez (nom et adresse de l'employeur)

20. lönevillkor - Gehalt  
conditions of employment (salary etc.)  
appointements

konst (år, cash, comptant) Kr. per (pro, par)  
in natura (in kind, en nature):

21. Närmare motivering (event. i bilaga) - Nähere Begründung (event. in Anlage)  
Further supporting particulars (if necessary in supplement). - Renseignements complémentaires (évent. en supplément)

KONTROLL  
TITEL  
Lelle min familje i Stockholm  
Svenska förärg till min skilsmä av 12ma  
1943.  
Upphållsvisering er tidigare beviljad  
for Liben refs - 1943 - 25/11 - 1943.  
nr. 11 31445.

Stockholm den (the, le) 14/11-1943

Egenhändig namnteckning:  
Eigenhändige Unterschrift:  
Applicant's signature:  
Signature du demandeur:

Jacob Lankelinsky  
Arbillerigatan 55

Bostadsadress och telefon under upphåll i Sverige:  
Privatadresse und Telefon während des Aufenthalts in Schweden:  
Domicile privé et téléphone pendant le séjour en Suède:

Obs! Passet kommer att återställas per post under den utgivna adressen. Under ansökan behandlad inlämnade  
adressförändringar tonde omedeligen anmälas till Socialstyrelsens Utlänningsbyrå, Box 2008, Stockholm 2.  
Zur Beachtung! Der Pass wird unter der angegebenen Adresse per Post zurückgesandt. Während der Antragstellung  
eintreffende Adressänderungen sind sofort zu melden an Socialstyrelsens Utlänningsbyrå, Box 2008, Stockholm 2.  
Note! The passport will be returned by mail to the address indicated. While the application is being examined, pending  
change of address has to be reported immediately to Socialstyrelsens Utlänningsbyrå, Box 2008, Stockholm 2.  
N. B! Le passeport sera retourné par la poste sous l'adresse indiquée. Post changement d'adresse survenu pendant  
que la demande sera examinée devra être communiqué à Socialstyrelsens Utlänningsbyrå, Box 2008, Stockholm 2.

Pic. 3: Details from Jacob Lankelinsky's papers about his Swedish exile (Riksarkivet, Stockholm, SUK-FIABA-2259)



Pic. 4: Jac Maliniak together with his daughter Maryla Daasvatn (1910–2005), probably in the mid-1930s (Jewish Museum Oslo, JMO-0182)

- Attilio Aurelio Georgio von Moos: born 31 August 1898 in Napoli; instrument maker ('Instrumentenmacher'/fiolinbygger); Italian citizen; arrested on 8 January 1943 and sent to Møllergata 19; sent to Grini (# 7848) on 28 May 1943; released on 6 September 1943.<sup>36</sup>
- Inger Olsen: born 8 December 1921 in Bergen; music teacher; arrested on 12 December 1944 for illegal activities and resistance against the Wehrmacht; imprisoned in Espeland (# 4264) until 1 February 1945.<sup>37</sup>
- Willie Albert Prytz: born 6 February 1908 in Oslo; pianist; arrested for pulling down posters ('Plakatabreisser') on 23 July 1941; sent to Grini on 31 July 1941.<sup>38</sup>
- Ottar Ramfjord: born 29 July 1901 in Kristiansand; singing teacher; arrested as hostage and imprisoned in Kretsfengsel Kristiansand; released on 14 July 1943.<sup>39</sup>
- Bernhard Ramm: born 23 June 1895 in Oslo; arrested on 26 October 1942 as a persecuted Jew and imprisoned in Bredtveit; sent to Berg 28 October 1942; sent to Aa on 28 April 1943; sterilised on 29 April 1943; released after medical round of Dr. Hans Eng on 4 May 1943.<sup>40</sup>
- Herman Sachnowitz: born 13 June 1921 in Stokke; arrested on 26 October 1942 as a persecuted Jew; sent to Berg and then to Auschwitz (# 79235) on 26 November 1942 on the steam boat 'Donau'; sent to Buna/Monowitz where he joined the 'Lagerkapelle' as a trumpet player in August 1943; participant of the 'Todesmarsch' in January 1945 to Mittelbau-Dora where he (nearly starving to death) also joined the 'Lagerkapelle'; sent to Bergen-Belsen in April 1945; liberated on 15 April 1945.<sup>41</sup>

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designated to play the violin part in Arnold Schönberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* which Schönberg refers to in a letter to Hans Kindler on August 31, 1940; and especially during his years in Trondheim since 1917, Maliniak built himself an outstanding reputation as a violinist and orchestra leader. While his wife Mathilde was also murdered in 1943, their daughter Maryla Daasvatn (a violinist and pupil of Ernst Glaser) managed to escape to Sweden while her husband Gunnar Daasvatn was arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen via Grini. See for further details Maryla's daughter Liv Daasvatn's article about her parents and grandparents at <http://scandinavianjewish.blogspot.com/2015/01/kapellmester-jakob-maliniak-og.html>, <https://www.jodiskefotspor.no/artikkel/maryla-flykter-til-sverige> and [http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/search\\_show\\_letter.php?ID\\_Number=3278](http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=3278) (last access 19 November 2019). See also information about Jac Maliniak's 'Stolperstein' at <https://www.snublestein.no/Jacob-Maliniak/p=53/> (last access 1 January 2020) and his wife's (Mathilde Dorothea Maliniak, née Halpern) 'Stolperstein' at <https://www.snublestein.no/Mathilde-Dorothea-Maliniak-f-Halpern/p=66/> (last access 6 January 2020). Jac Maliniak's and Maryla Daasvatn's musical careers will be featured at length in the forthcoming book by Michael Custodis, *Music and Resistance. Cultural Defense during the German Occupation of Norway 1940–1945* (in preparation).

- 36 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0007; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 454.
- 37 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0065; RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fb/L0003; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 496.
- 38 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0008; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 524.
- 39 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0069; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 527.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 551; see Herman Sachnowitz, *Det angår også deg*, documented by Arnold Jacoby, Oslo 1976; a few musical notes from his brother Martin Sachnowitz (basics of music theory and sketched melodies, mostly with Jazz influences) as well as many scores and some arrangements from Herman Sachnowitz are preserved in the archives of the Jewish Museum Oslo, JMO G00522 and JMO G00410. [https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en&s\\_lastName=Sachnowitz&s\\_firstName=&s\\_place=Norway&s\\_dateOfBirth=&cluster=true](https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en&s_lastName=Sachnowitz&s_firstName=&s_place=Norway&s_dateOfBirth=&cluster=true) (last access 19 November 2019). These details will be featured in the forthcoming book by Custodis *Music and Resistance*. Thanks to Dag Kopperud for his advice and support.

Sigurd Johannes Sigurdson: born 8 July 1899 in Iceland; opera singer; arrested for starting to sing an allegedly German-critical song ('Ansingens eines Liedes') and brought to Grini (# 9828) on 12 February 1944; released on 14 February 1944.<sup>42</sup>

John Thorleif Strand: born 1 December 1905 in Hamar; listed as barber trainee ('Friseurgeselle') and 'broom'; arrested for singing a German-critical song at his wedding ('tysk-fiendlig sang') and brought to Grini on 19 January 1944 (# 9511).<sup>43</sup>

Leif (Leiba) Wolfberg: born on 10 October 1914 in Siaulai (Lithuania); violinist; unmarried; arrested on 3 April 1942 for molesting a German and sent to Grini (# 3285) on 19 June 1942; arrested again on 3 October 1942 due to persecution of Jews and deported with the ship 'Monte Rosa' on 26 November 1942 to Auschwitz via Aarhus, Hamburg, Berlin and Breslau; survivor ('overlevet')<sup>44</sup> (see picture 5).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Name: (bei Frauen auch Geburtsname)							
Wolfberg							
Vorname: Leiba							
Geburtsdag und -ort: 10.10.14 Lithauen							
Beruf: Musikiker							
Familienstand: led.							
Staatsangehörigkeit: norw.							
Bild m. 12814 12814-7-1-42 OSLO 125							
Name: Adresse: Oslo Hvitfeldtgt. 36/2							
Politische Einstellung: Glaubensbekenntnis: Jude 119							
Datum der Auftragung: 3.4.42 1.45 Uhr							
Sachverhalt: Belästigung eines Deutschen. Grini 3285							
Staatspolizei-stelle Gefährtszeichen: 2816 Dauerdienst Bieber							
6. St. Nr. 33							

Pic. 5: Leif Wolfberg's 'Haftkarte' from the Gestapo prison at Møllergata 19 (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0010)

42 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 566.

43 Ibid.

44 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0090; RA/RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0010; RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0003; Ottosen, *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 665; Bruland, *Holocaust i Norge*, pp. 78, 222, 341, 596 and 698.

## II. Clandestine Songbooks

Music reflects the extreme living conditions inside a concentration camp. On one hand, guards and camp leaders used songs in the most brutal, humiliating ways. For example, prisoners were forced to sing lyrics in German or with a cynical meaning. In addition, extreme marching was combined with exhausting singing, and when the victims finally grew completely hoarse, they were punished for having unrecognisable voices. On the other hand, songs could become an important means to maintain a mutual identity inside the barracks,<sup>45</sup> to keep memories alive, defend the remains of dignity and hope, to seek collective and individual solace, to communicate clandestine political messages, or to find distraction and forget about everything around oneself, at least for a moment. The compact form of songs is a characteristic that could become essential to staying sane under extreme conditions such as months of incarceration in a solitary cell. Even when no other distractions were available, tunes could be sung from memory, even without using words, just by humming, or by singing a melody just in mind.<sup>46</sup>

A very special focus is provided by the documents on Grini prisoner Anne-Margrete Olden.<sup>47</sup> Her private papers are preserved in Stavanger's Byarkiv and contain a rare and rich collection of memorabilia from her days in Grini.<sup>48</sup> Anne-Margrete Olden was a skilled art teacher ('tegnelærerinn'), born 20 September 1912 in Stavanger and a member of the Quaker congregation.<sup>49</sup> In her short memoirs from Grini (published in 1985) she mentioned her membership in two resistance groups that collected information about German ships on the Norwegian coast, and distributed illegal information as well.<sup>50</sup> In the autumn of 1943, she and her comrades got notice that the Gestapo knew about her activities. She was arrested at a meeting with Helga Stene, Åsta Stene, Lie Stene, Erling Jansen, some Sandvik (who was not arrested), Birger Vormestrand, Eldrid Mehus, Karl Karlsen, Ingeborg Figved, and Joronn Houskon at her aunt Liv Godal's place, who was arrested, too, on 11 November 1943. In retrospect, Anne-Margrete Olden captured her arrest, the interrogations and imprisonment by the Gestapo as well as central scenes from the women's section in Grini with impressive images, collages and pencil drawings.<sup>51</sup> After she had recovered from an infection in June 1944 she was housed in cell 91.

Moreover, the story of Anne-Margrete Olden's release from Grini is an exceptional case, because she was amnestied by the chief of the Norwegian SS, Heinrich Fehlis, personally. Together with her mother, a school principal, and her sister Ingeborg,

45 Wachsmann, *Die Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, p. 576.

46 Wherever Norwegians were imprisoned, singing was always an important issue. Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 277.

47 Email from Stavanger Byarkiv, 30 July 2018 with details to Olden and Liv Godal. See additionally a newspaper article (20 August 2004) and her necrolog (26 August 2005) in *Stavanger Aftenblad* as well as Anne-Margrete Olden's memoirs *Slik var det for Grini-fange Nr. 9000*, Ås 1985. Cordial thanks to Hans Eirik Aarek for supporting these inquiries.

48 Stavanger Byarkiv, PA-212.

49 Thanks to Bente Gro Olsen at Stavanger Byarkiv for supporting this research.

50 Anne-Margrete Olden, *Slik var det for Grini-fange*, p. 5.

51 All these details are listed in her private papers in Stavanger Byarkiv, see additionally Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0012.

she had taken care of German castaways whose Kraft durch Freude-boat 'Dresden' had sunk in 1934 near Karmøy, a little north of Stavanger. Cordial letters from the German Gesandtschaft, dated 25 January 1935, expressed the German authorities' thankfulness, and even invited them to visit Germany in return. As paper clips from Kaiserslautern in the south-west of Germany tell, Anne-Margrete's mother and sister accepted the invitation in the summer of 1935. Additionally, it could be credited for her and her aunt Liv Godal that Anne-Margrete's father had been very active in supporting undernourished German children after WWI. In addition, he was the founder, and for seven years the first chairman, of the German-Norwegian society in Stavanger, and he had initiated and organised an exchange between German and Norwegian pupils for several years. In the summer of 1944, when Anne-Margrete had been imprisoned for seven months, her mother intensified attempts to free her, writing directly to the Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in Oslo, and asking the president of the Norwegian Red Cross, Fridtjof Heyerdahl, to support her case. On 3 March 1945 Heinrich Fehlis ordered the release of Anne-Margrete Olden from Grini, in recognition of her merits during the rescue of the 'Dresden' castaways, and she was free again three days later on 6 March.<sup>52</sup>

The women's section of Grini, where Olden spent most of the 16 months of her imprisonment, accommodated approximately 600 women, and was supervised by only six German guards ('Aufseherinnen') under the management of a 'Gefängnisoberwachtmeisterin'. Accordingly, it was possible to develop clandestine structures, and stay in touch with the male inmates through the fence that separated their areas. Even parties with both male and female prisoners should have taken place in the camp, as Erik Løhrdal reports.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, the risk of room inspections was high, and unpermitted items could be confiscated at all times. Besides little presents and memorabilia from other prisoners, Anne-Margrete Olden's personal papers in Stavanger's Byarkiv include two song collections. They must have meant a lot to her, since she had managed to hold on to them during all her days in Grini. These collections were written on toilet paper, apparently the only paper available to her. The first one is folded in half and bound with a blue thread, to form a tiny book entitled *Grinisanger og dikt*. Written with a soft pencil, it contains seven tunes, some of them credited to other prisoners. The second collection is written on a longer chain of toilet paper leaves that were taped together. Besides song lyrics, it also includes birthday greetings and notes (see pictures 6 and 7).

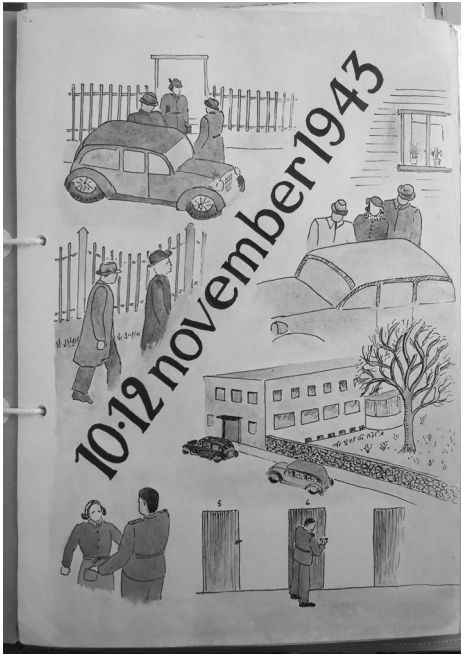
### III. Acts of Musical Resistance

It might seem contradictory, or at least difficult, to think of resistance in concentration camps. The whole meaning of any Konzentrationslager was focused on the subordination of individuals under the rule of the SS, to dehumanise the prisoners according to Nazi race ideology. Opposition and reluctance were met with severe punishment. Prisoners could not fight the Wehrmacht as partisans did. Neither could they attack prom-

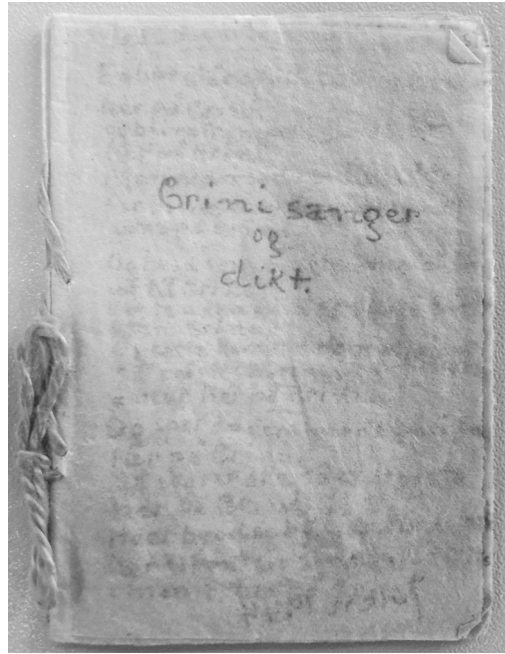
<sup>52</sup> Stavanger Byarkiv, PA-212.

<sup>53</sup> Erik Lørdahl, *Polizeihäftlingslager Grini*, p. 16.





Pic. 6: Picture from Anna-Margrete Olden's series of drawings on her imprisonment (Stavanger Byarkiv, PA-212)



Pic. 7: Songbook from her days in Grini (Stavanger Byarkiv, PA-212).

inent figures of the regime, nor commit acts of sabotage to cause severe damage, nor arouse huge publicity.<sup>54</sup> In consequence, acts of musical resistance do not seem to apply to such high standards. But matching musical statements by prisoners with the situation in Norway outside the camps helps to clarify the matter. In general, the impact of the civil resistance movement cannot be told along the lines of spectacular events or heroic, para-military specialists. Instead, its many supporters used non-military means to keep up the public morale, epitomised in the telling Norwegian word 'holdningskamp'.

Just like their comrades in the military section, all members of the civil resistance movement acted in total awareness of the danger for oneself, one's relatives and combatants. They used all means for public and clandestine impact, demonstrating opposition, demolishing the legitimacy of the German occupants, contradicting and ridiculing the official propaganda as well as stabilising and raising the moral strength of their fellow countrymen in Norway and abroad. The examples above of reasons for detention prove that this resistance work could get as risky as the support of the military resistance, dangerous enough to be incarcerated by the Gestapo and imprisoned in concentration camps.

Even in the concentration camps in Norway, musicians sometimes could rely on the popular belief of art as an apolitical matter, depending on skills and tools which

54 Wachsmann, *Die Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, pp. 575 and 607.



Pic. 8: A guitar probably manufactured by Torleif Corneliusen (Grini Museum)

were inscrutable to outsiders. Reading scores and writing notes could become valuable proficiencies, and biographical, political, social and geographical meaning could be embedded in melodies if such special knowledge was at one's disposal. Unpolitical pieces could be charged with implicit political meaning and gain symbolic presence. Non-musicians such as the average SS-guard could not censor the open semantics of this music. The following description however considers certain methodological limits: Although some extraordinary sources and examples are preserved, their contemporary symbolic context is lost. In consequence, these cases leave space open for interpretation, but are strong enough to demonstrate the range of possibilities.

Several music manuscripts discovered in the Grini Museum bear strange titles. Probably the scores were either kept a secret or at least their titles were not announced when the pieces were performed. It might be possible that the handwritten piano part for the Norwegian Royal anthem *Gud sign vår Konge god* was written for festivities after the liberation of Grini. But as it is sung to the melody of the English national anthem (the version in Grini bears no lyrics or any hint of when it was performed), it is also possible that this piece was a hidden greeting to England, where the royal family was residing and supporting the resistance movement. In consequence, a performance of this anthem nevertheless might have taken place before May 1945. The same applies for a tune called *Dansk Sabotør Sangen* which is conserved both with different instrumental voices and in a setting for piano without lyrics. In cases where the melody was familiar to the prisoners, a performance must have had a huge symbolic impact. Nevertheless, even if only the musicians had known about its ironic, bare-faced nature, a performance in the presence of the German occupational forces must have been a subversive joy. Another example from Grini is special, and was probably an insider's joke among the musicians. On a sheet for Otto Nielsen's *Grini-marsj*, arranged by Kjell Ruud for Gunnar Knudsen's string orchestra, one finds a short note

on the bottom of the page (see picture 9). In ink letters, the writer of this sheet gave a warning to the violinists and other authorised readers, which speaks for itself: 'Obs! Dette er skrevet med tysk penn! Bruk allierte varer!!'<sup>55</sup> At any rate, the Norwegians who wrote this note and took care of the score must have been confident to keep it a secret from the guards.

Violin 1. <sup>I</sup> *Grini-marsj* Arr. for Grini Strykeorkester  
Kjell Ruud

Whistling (uten a)  
ev. flag.

Obs! Dette er skrevet med tysk penn!  
Bruk allierte varer!!

Pic. 9: Violin part from Otto Nielsen's *Grini-marsj*, arranged by Kjell Ruud for Gunnar Knudsen's string orchestra (Grini Museum)

55 Translation: 'Nota bene! This is written with a German pen! Use allied goods!!'

Two years earlier, London radio, broadcasting from England across the North Sea into Norway, included a very special tune in its news bulletin on 11 December 1942, under the headline *Songs from a Concentration Camp 'The Grini March'* (see picture 10):

The underground Norwegian newspaper, Free Trade Unionism, publishes a letter from a Norwegian patriot at Grini, Norway's principal concentration camp. In the letter are given the words of 'The Grini March', a song composed by one of the prisoners: Here are the sons of Norway, [...]. As the letter-writer remarks: 'One thing the Germans cannot take away, the faith that before long we shall regain our freedom and our Norwegian rights.' Grini concentration camp is being extended to make room for 3,000 more prisoners. At present there are about 1,000 men and 100 women.<sup>56</sup>

The Royal Norwegian Government

**INFORMATION OFFICE**

KINGSTON HOUSE,  
PRINCES GATE,  
LONDON, S.W.7.  
KENsington 9441

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**PRESS BULLETIN (NORWAY)**

(No permission is required for reprinting this material)

WNW/IB

11th December, 1942.

SONGS FROM A CONCENTRATION CAMP

"THE GRINI MARCH"

The underground Norwegian newspaper, Free Trade Unionism, publishes a letter from a Norwegian patriot at Grini, Norway's principal concentration camp. In the letter are given the words of "The Grini March", a song composed by one of the prisoners:

Here are the sons of Norway,  
The fishermen, workers, and peasants too,  
The doctors, professors,  
Shipowners, teachers,  
From rich man's house and ancient hovel...  
All of them share the same old saga root,  
With the same blood,  
And the same faith,  
The same clear, certain faith.  
We are Norsemen, but here we are just ciphers.  
Here are no big men, but no small ones either...  
Let us sing of Norway,  
Sing, everyone,  
Sing of our freedom,  
Our spirit, our life,  
Sing of the good and the right.

As the letter-writer remarks: "One thing the Germans cannot take away, the faith that before long we shall regain our freedom and our Norwegian rights."

Grini concentration camp is being extended to make room for 3,000 more prisoners. At present there are about 1,000 men and 100 women.

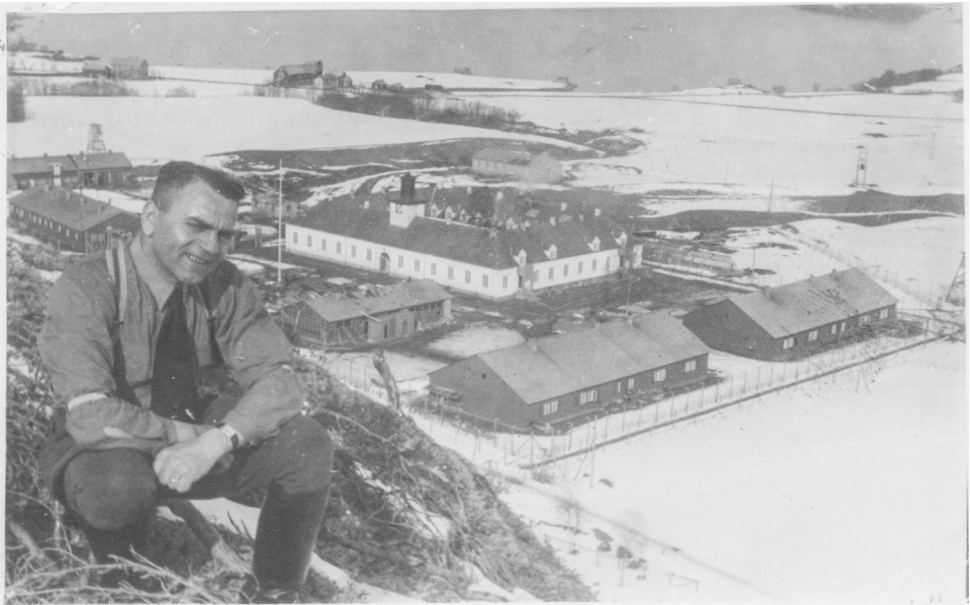
Pic. 10: Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-2057/1/Da

<sup>56</sup> Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-2057/1/Da; As Otto Nielsen came to Grini ten months later one must consider two different pieces bearing the same descriptive title *Grini-marsj*.

Two years later the prisoners' brass band ('janitsjarorkester') in Grini turned a commanded performance into an act of opposition. After they had answered the Lagerkommandant's demand to play *Alte Kameraden* they continued, to the pride of all inmates, with Otto Nielsen's *Grini-Marsj*.<sup>57</sup> It is unclear if the SS knew about the political message of this melody, or was aware of the explicit oppositional meaning of the lyrics. Anyhow, all Norwegians understood the gesture very well.

#### IV. Enforced Performing

As mentioned above, forced singing was a regular phenomenon, with little space for individuality. As notes from Falstad inmate Arnold Aures, who had written the lyrics to a *Falstadmarsjen*, suggest, some prisoners could not stand singing German tunes any longer while they had to walk in a circle on the mustering ground. Therefore, they composed their own march and even got the permission to sing it instead of the German songs.<sup>58</sup>



Pic. 11: SS-Strafgefangenenlager Falstad, early in 1944. The sanitary barrack is under construction, the commander's residence (in the background) is newly built. The man in the foreground (German) is unknown. (Falstadsenteret, FSM foto 0800616)

<sup>57</sup> Ragnvald Jørgensen, *Med Blyant På Grini*, p. 100.

<sup>58</sup> Falstadsenteret, Y-00001-001-011, Falstadmarsjen.



Pic. 12: Falstad seen from the western guard tower, probably just after Liberation in May 1945. Above the gate it says 'Strafgefangenenlager', but 'SS' has been removed. The building to the left is the guards' barracks. By the gate, parts of the rail track through the camp area can be seen. (Falstadsenteret, FSM foto 0700073)

Nevertheless, Jewish inmates constantly had to suffer an atmosphere of pain and brutality. The Jewish prisoner and Holocaust survivor, Julius Paltiel, told a story from Falstad where music was the explicit reason for severe punishment, caused by the singing of the Jewish Kantor Josef Grabowski.<sup>59</sup> Born in Posen on 11 May 1911, Grabowski had later moved to Gleiwitz, where he was arrested during the events of 9 November 1938, when synagogues were burnt down and secular Jewish facilities were attacked all over Germany in the 'Reichskristallnacht'. After three weeks of imprisonment in KZ Buchenwald, Grabowski left for Norway in early 1939, where he was accepted as an immigrant, but not approved as a political refugee. He settled in Trondheim, where the small Jewish community offered him the position as cantor. He soon became an important representative for the local music life and founded a choir, which also was very active in liturgical ceremonies. His personal situation deteriorated when his proposal to extend his residence permit was turned down by the new Norwegian NS authorities on 25 January 1941. After the Wannsee conference in January 1942 had decided upon the extermination of all Jews, the Reichskommissariat Norwegen systematically began to persecute and incarcerate Jewish inhabitants in Norway, while Trondheim's synagogue had already been confiscated in spring 1941. Grabowski was sent to Falstad on 9 October 1942 and stayed there for six weeks. On 25 November 1942 he was sent

<sup>59</sup> Falstadsenteret, Paltiel, Julius Nr. 226, undated Interview II (probably in connection to Interview I, dated 2 March 1997). See for some biographical facts <http://falstadsenteret.no/wp-content/uploads/prisoner-number-424.pdf> (last access 19 December 2017).



Pic. 13: Prisoners at Falstad, circa 1944 (Falstadsenteret, FSM foto 0800673)

abroad and died in Auschwitz-Birkenau as a consequence of compulsory hard labour on 3 March 1943.<sup>60</sup>

When the guards of Falstad learned that Grabowski could sing in German, they forced him to perform in public. On a November night in 1942 he stood in front of all the prisoners and watchmen that had gathered outside in the inner court of the main building (see picture 12). He sang for about 15 minutes, during which an impressive silence spread, uniting all listeners as one audience, so that (according to Paltiel) everybody felt just human in that moment. After Grabowski had ended, the beauty of the moment was broken by a howling watchdog and the guards blamed the Jewish prisoners as usual. Immediately they had to stand still, take the last leaves off from the tree nearby, and pile them up. Then they had to lay down and clear the ground by taking one leaf at a time between their lips from this pile and creep for a distance of 70–80 meters to pile them up again without using their hands.<sup>61</sup>

Although the German troops incorporated music units in all segments of Wehrmacht, Luftwaffe, Marine, SS and police troops, only important units, events and locations in Norway had access to professional brass bands or orchestras.<sup>62</sup> The average

60 <https://yvng.yadvashem.org/nameDetails.html?language=en&itemId=4101363&ind=8> and <https://deportation.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en&itemId=5092741> (last access 20 October 2019).

61 Falstadsenteret, Paltiel, Julius Nr. 226, undated Interview II. Additionally, see *Interview with Julius Paltiel*, 22 February 1998, Shoah Foundation, Visual History Archive, #39292, tape 3.

62 Michael Custodis, 'Between Tradition and Politics. Military Music in Occupied Norway (1940–45)', in: *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 44 (2018), No. 1, pp. 11–41. ([https://www.idunn.no/smn/2018/01/between\\_tradition\\_and\\_politics\\_military\\_music\\_in\\_occupied\\_?](https://www.idunn.no/smn/2018/01/between_tradition_and_politics_military_music_in_occupied_?), last access 5 May 2020), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1504-2960-2018-01-03>.

SS troops in camps across Norway could not expect to be staffed with their own military musicians. Due to the desire for musical representation and entertainment, as well as the treatment of prisoners with enforced military drills, the SS therefore formed marching bands with skilled musicians among the inmates; a phenomenon common to all of the larger camps across Europe. Furthermore, a facade of normality was supposed to be kept up, in contrast to the conditions of hunger, fear, sickness, death, despair and hard, monotonous work. In practical terms, the SS in turn could not prevent activities the prisoners organised in their spare time, the camps were just too large and the number of guards too small to control any corner or barrack all the time. In consequence, they had to allow a moderate amount of cultural and leisure initiatives, while trying to maintain their dominance over all aspects of camp life.<sup>63</sup>

Grini's famous Janitsjarkorps can be traced back to a direct command. In mid-January 1945, an order was given via the camp loudspeakers to found a string orchestra and a military brass band. The obvious connections to the military sector came through its co-founder and conductor Einar Lorang Andresen, a board member of Oslo's musicians' league, oboist and member of the military resistance Milorg. Andresen was imprisoned in autumn 1944 and sent to Grini in January 1945. On the day of his arrival, he got to know Rolf Letting Olsen (1916–1992), who was a long term member of the famous left-wing *Kampen Janitsjarkorkester* and a Grini prisoner since 9 November 1943.<sup>64</sup> Together with at least seven friends from his former brass orchestra, he had unsuccessfully tried to establish a cabaret band and a Janitsjarkorps for Christmas events in Grini. Nevertheless, he gathered a group of 30 like-minded musicians, who wrote home for instruments and scores, and was even allowed to leave the camp to collect the necessary scores.<sup>65</sup> Additional material was provided clandestinely by Oslo's Musikerforening through Carl M. Iversen and William Farre (1874–1950). Soon they started practising, and could give their first open-air concert a month later on the parade grounds, to the huge joy of their comrades. Alf Rønning and Leif Blichfeldt had taken clandestine pictures in Grini, which were published in 1946. One of the photographs shows the musikkorps marching and rehearsing, although it cannot be determined whether they were acting by the command of the guards or voluntarily.<sup>66</sup> The biggest success was soon to come, when the band had the honour of accompanying the official liberation celebrations in Grini, and headed the march of Grini's prisoners on Oslo's Karl Johan on 11 May 1945.<sup>67</sup>

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63 Pingel, *Häftlinge under SS-Herrschaft*, p. 168.

64 Pingel, *Häftlinge under SS-Herrschaft*, p. 501.

65 Grete Letting and Terje Knudsen, *Fra Kampen til New Orleans. Kampen Janitsjarorkester gjennom 75 år*, Oslo 2004, pp. 45–47.

66 Rønning/Blichfeldt/Thorud, *Grini*.

67 The liberation and solemn way the prisoners left Grini was documented on film, including scenes from the string orchestra, cf. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=merU-MBlaQI> (last access 21 December 2017). Gunnar Bratlie, 'Det har vie'. *Griniskisser*, Oslo [ ], p. 318.



## V. Songs from Elvenes

In 1942, the composer and teacher Gunnar Kjeldaas (1890–1963) refused to join the Norwegian Nazi teachers' union, with approximately 12,000–14,000 of other like-minded teachers. This resulted in a temporary nationwide breakdown of the schooling system.<sup>68</sup> The response of Quisling's administration came quickly and ruthlessly. During the next weeks, 1,300 teachers were arrested and imprisoned for compulsory labour. Kjeldaas was one of them, and had to endure eight months of imprisonment. An impressive testimonial of this odyssey through nine different prisons and concentration camps in the south, middle and north of Norway is his tin bowl, preserved by his relatives, on which he engraved all the places of his journey: After he had been arrested on 20 March 1942 he first was sent to Grini until 31 March.<sup>69</sup> From there he and his colleagues were brought to Lysaker station and cooped into freight wagons. Against their fear of being deported to Germany, the train headed north to Jørstadmoen where they stayed from 1 to 11 April. Despite heavy compulsory labour, most of them did not give in to Quisling's demands and their trip continued further north.<sup>70</sup> Via Trondheim (12 to 15 April), Bodø (16 to 21 April), Harstad (22 to 23 April), Tromsø (23 to 25 April), and Hammerfest (25 to 27 April), they reached Kirkenes by boat on 29 April. The final stop was Elvenes, a tiny village near Kirkenes, until he was released on 20 November 1942.

In the camp in Elvenes, Kjeldaas arranged and composed music, and asked his comrade John Molden for a poem about the landscape in front of the barracks, which was set as the song *Betula*, and in later years was performed by Oslo's Håndverkeres sangforening with Fridtjof Spalder (1896–1985) conducting. His fellow inmates began to call him 'Kirkenes-komponisten', an appreciation of his talent to set their daily impressions as well as their longings, hopes and sorrows to music. They asked for more material and Kjeldaas in turn asked for more song lyrics. However, the creative conditions were anything but ideal. Andreas Aarlie, for example, wrote his poem *Bøn* during his lunch break in a room called 'Apotheke'. The music was kept simple regarding melodic range and harmonic accompaniment, so that both trained and amateur singers could join in, even after exhausting shifts or with sore throats due to hostile weather conditions. It became a favourite evening activity to sing these songs when everybody had returned to the camp after a long day of hard work.<sup>71</sup> Soon after the war, seven of the ten *Fangesongar frå Kirkenes* were published by Musikkhuset in Oslo, and performed in a radio concert with Trond Moshus singing, Gunnar Kjeldaas' son Arnljot's piano accompaniment, and himself speaking a few introductory words. With impressive woodcuts by Gustav Adolf Hagerup (1892–1977), the final collection included

68 Ola Hegerberg, 'Teltlægregret "Pappenheim"', in: Sverre S. Amundsen et al. (eds.), *Kirkenesferda 1942*, Oslo 1946, pp. 221–235; Torleiv Austad, 'Church Resistance against Nazism in Norway, 1940–1945', in: *Neue Fragen und Sichtweisen auf den Widerstand. Kirche und Gesellschaft in Skandinavien und auf dem europäischen Festland* (= *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 28, Vol. 2) 2015, pp. 278–293, here p. 281.

69 Gunnar Kjeldaas' memoirs, written in retrospect after WW II, are preserved by his family and contain a detailed chapter about his time in camp Elvenes, entitled *Fange hos tyskerne*, p. 165.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 169.

71 *Ibid.*

(with the name of the poets in brackets): *Å leva* (Anders Vassbotn), *Bøn*, salme (Andreas Aarlie), *Elvenes* (Andreas Dyrhaug), *Heimlengt* (Andreas Barsnes), *Til deg* (Johs. N. Bjørgo), *Septemberkveld* (Olav Nordnes) and *Barnesmil* (Anders By), with an additional epilogue by Olav Kvalheim (1901–1978, secretary of Norsk Lærerlag). After his release, Gunnar Kjeldaas returned to his teaching duties in spring 1943 without further political complications.<sup>72</sup>

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Several aspects of music in prisons, concentration and labour camps in Norway demand further research and ask for a critical comment. Strikingly, this topic still is rather uncharted territory after more than seven decades. Although such an approach has to touch sensitive, controversial and tragic chapters, it is necessary and rewarding. Many unknown biographies as well as brave or tragic incidents are to be discovered, compositions to be evaluated, fates to be saved from oblivion, and the general impact of music, art, and culture in camps in Norway to be considered. Furthermore, two examples from the years after Norway's liberation might demonstrate the dimensions for further inquiries: Shortly after the war, many camps were used to imprison war criminals, collaborators and arrested German troops, but also to accommodate released compulsory labourers and former Prisoners of War who were waiting for their return home. Some of these communities developed their own life of arts, culture and entertainment. For instance, photographs in Oslo's National Archives (see pictures 14 and 15) document music and theatre activities from liberated Russian prisoners. Unfortunately, neither the location of these camps, nor information about the portrayed, their repertoire, their contact with local Norwegians or their fates in general are described yet.

Additionally, some stories of former Prisoners of War and their fate in postwar times might even reach into Norwegian music history: As documented by Arne Sandem, former Polish slave laborers in camp *Mysen* founded a popular orchestra.<sup>73</sup> There, the Polish foreman and his Norwegian wife expected their first baby, Jan Gabarek, who became one of Norway's most famous jazz musicians.

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>73</sup> Sandem, *Den siste SS-leiren*, pp. 125–129.



Pic. 14: Liberated Russian prisoners of war arranged theatre performances outdoors. The banner above the stage reads 'Hail to the Great Stalin' (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-0276-U/L0001/0001)



Pic. 15: Liberated Russian prisoner of war in Norway (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-0276-U/L0001/0001)



Arvid O. Vollsnes

## 'Speak low'

### The Norwegian Society of Composers' 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary in 1942 – Some Aspects on their Music Competition

In 1942 Kurt Weill, a refugee from Nazi Germany, composed 'Speak low' for a Broadway musical, a song of love and tomorrow. In 1942 the Norwegian Society of Composers (NSC) arranged a low-profile 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration in an occupied country. They had collectively composed their 'Speak low' two years earlier, and they kept on humming variations of their love tune until the end of the war.

A closer look into this Society will hopefully throw some light on a few aspects that may tell about the event, the times, and also about the process of how to work with material like this. The main focus will be on their music competition, announced in 1942, and the winning orchestral compositions. Orchestral works carried the highest status, which is also manifest in the amount of the prize money. The NSC's archives are now available at Oslo's Riksarkivet (The National Archives of Norway), and pertinent new documents have been surveyed.<sup>1</sup>

## Norsk komponistforening in General

The NSC was founded in 1917. Ten years later, the Society was still a small group, but struggling for leadership. A group of conservative members had manipulated a meeting and a report to give an older member, Per Reidarson (1879–1954), a scholarship originally intended for the young composer Harald Saeverud (1897–1992). Several internal clarification meetings were held, culminating in a fierce public newspaper debate. In addition, the dispute led to a fist fight between Reidarson and the journalist Paul Gjersdahl in the aisle of the University Aula concert hall during a concert in September 1927, and finally in a court case.<sup>2</sup>

As a consequence, Arne Eggen (1882–1952) was elected as the new chairman. He reformed the Society, and succeeded in inviting young composers to join as members. As a result, the NSC grew into a strong and professional society. Between 1940 and 1945 it consisted of 70 members. Only those considered serious music composers, with a clear aesthetic connection to 'classical' music, were accepted. The society apparently intended to keep a clear front against more popular musical genres. It was heavi-

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1 The signature Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1446/D/Da/L0004, 1928–1939 [!] includes material concerning the NSC also from the '40s, such as annual reports, information/letters to members, announcements of scholarships, support and publishing possibilities. Collected are also some documents on the internal competition 1942–43 and some documents concerning the 1945 purging and exclusion of members after the war. However, reports and minutes from board meetings, correspondences, budgets and annual accounts et cetera are lacking.

2 An English version of this incident is found in Arvid O. Vollsnes, *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen: The life and music of a Norwegian composer*, London 2014, p. 110.

ly Oslo dominated, and consisted mostly of men. The annual meetings in Oslo usually gathered 14 to 19 members.

During the years 1940–45, the board was re-elected every year with chairman Arne Eggen, vice-chairman Odd Grüner-Hegge (1899–1973), board members Thomas Beck (1899–1963), Eivind Groven (1901–1977), Erling Kjellsby (1901–1976), and deputies Klaus Egge (1906–1979), and Karl Andersen (1903–1970). At the election on 7 September 1945, Arne Eggen resigned after 18 years of continuous service, and Klaus Egge was elected the new chairman. The rest of the board was re-elected, and supplemented with Pauline Hall (1890–1969) as a new deputy. It is interesting to observe that all board members were living and working in or around Oslo, and, with the exception of Groven, had at least some of their education from Leipzig or Berlin.

The NSC intended to promote and improve the economic side of being a composer, the legal aspects of the profession, and act as an advisor to the government departments (Culture/Education) in musical questions, and in general on culture, including state and parliament scholarships and grants. However, the Society's premier task was to ensure the payment of fees to the members for their performed music. Arne Eggen had paved the way by forming TONO. In 1927 and 1928, the NSC established this international concert bureau in order to have an agency acting on behalf of Norwegian copyright holders in music towards international users of their music, and reciprocally, as an agency for international copyright holders in Norway. Through international (and national) laws and a network of agreements with other national bureaus, TONO grew into a major 'clearing house'. All dance halls, restaurants with music, radio and performing organisations had to pay a fee to TONO, and every piece of music played was logged. The international music was estimated through these logs. Then, the net income was divided according to these records, and sent to the various collaborating organisations.

TONO and the NSC were closely intertwined. TONO's chairman and most of the board came from the NSC. Both organisations were located in the same offices, and TONO provided NSC with various services. Some of TONO's income had to be used to run both organisations, and according to international agreements, some of the money could be allocated in funds used for national propaganda projects. These funds provided the money for scholarships for young composers and a variety of special projects initiated by the NSC. As most of TONO's income came from dance music and popular music, some of the copyright holders outside the NSC started to grumble. They started new professional societies for composers of popular music, for film music and text authors in music. Finally, these groups were admitted to the board of TONO and could voice their opinions.<sup>3</sup>

The Norsk Komponistforening also provided publishing help to all members. They could receive free transparency sheets of note staves to copy their notated music in ink to these sheets and have them 'blue copied' like a set of drawings from an architect. If a work was premiered by a major orchestra, a member could apply to the NSC for a refund of the costs of writing out and copying the instrumental parts. In 1942, a history of the NSC, written by Klaus Egge, was published, commemorating the Soci-

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3 Grom Bækkelund, *TONO. Vern om musikkverk i 50 år: 1928–1978*, Oslo 1978, p. 66.

ety's silver jubilee.<sup>4</sup> From 1943 on, NSC published *Norsk musikkliv* in clandestine collaboration with *Norges sangerforbund* (Norwegian Choral Association), which could no longer afford the continuation of their monthly magazine as the choral singing went 'underground'. The publication of this magazine ended in 1949. These expensive projects were possible, as the NSC was a financially sound organisation before the war.

With all their projects and support, the NSC was eager to gain influence in all aspects of the 'official' Norwegian musical life through collaborations and informal or formal networks. In 1940, Norges Kunstnerråd (Norwegian Council of the Arts) held an important position in Norwegian cultural life. But this Council and its work were repressed in 1941. It was, however, important again from May 1945 onward concerning the 'Landssvikoppgjøret' (The Legal Purge) following the end of World War II.

The income of TONO dropped dramatically when the war started,<sup>5</sup> as can be derived from the comparison between the NSC's yearly reports. However, the amassed funds were adequate to keep up most of the normal activities in the NSC, and in addition, to pay for celebrations around the 25-year anniversary in 1942/43.

The NSC had to adjust to the changing policy from the new authorities after April 1940. New laws and regulations had to be read and understood, as would the changing practice of some of the old laws. The new censorship affected both freedom of speech and publishing, but also the planning of concerts, as any text used in the concert needed the approval of the censors (Teaterdirektoratet).<sup>6</sup>

The internal communiqués of the Society would reach members with a very broad spectrum of political beliefs. It was well known, even before the war, that some members were close to Nasjonal Samling (Norway's Nazi party) and had strong pro-German sympathies. Would their loyalty and solidarity with fellow composers remain unchanged through the turbulent times? And would any bulletin end in up some hands and minds – German or Norwegian – that were not in tune with the NSC and willingly or unwillingly misunderstand the information?

In addition, from the Norwegian resistance Hjemmefronten (The Home Front) and Koordinasjonskomiteen (Coordination committee) came a string of 'paroles' demanding a moral stance against the occupants and the oppressors. Therefore, during the war, the Society had to manoeuvre between these two reefs and hope that in the end, and in posterity, their journey looked like a dedicated one. However, reading the preserved documents from the NSC, it is hard to pinpoint any substantial change in style or wording. But change is apparent in subjects and in some carefully chosen, vague terms. This is obvious also in comparison to bulletins from after May 1945. And it is also interesting to see how the NSC reported the events and consequences to the Society's members. Accordingly, one can find a string of non-controversial decisions and information from the board. However, heated discussions on State salaries dedicated to two composers in 1941 and 1942<sup>7</sup> were, without further explanation, not reported in the preserved documents. But these are well documented in the secondary literature.

4 Klaus Egge, *Norsk komponistforening gjennom 25 år*, Oslo 1942.

5 Bækkelund, *TONO. Vern om musikkverk i 50 år*, p. 72.

6 See also Andreas Bußmann's article on censorship in this issue.

7 To Geirr Tveitt (1908–1981) and Signe Lund Skabo (1868–1950), decisions by the Nazi authorities that were revoked in May 1945, when David Monrad Johansen (1888–1974) and Per Reidarson also were deprived of their honorary grants.

Some information was intended for a broader public, and this was labelled ‘propaganda’, not promotion, probably due to TONO’s rules and funds. One may even find examples of the opposite, reluctance of promotion, avoiding collaboration, for example, in the yearly report of 1941. The header reads ‘Exchanging music abroad’, referring to a proposal from an unidentified member that was unanimously adopted:

The members meeting gives the board its approval to resume the music exchange with Germany. In accordance with this recommendation, the Board sent such a bulletin to its members. It turned out, however, that the material that was submitted to the board was quite insufficient to put representative programmes together. The board has therefore been forced to notify ‘Gemeinschaft junger Musiker’ that the Berliner concerts must be postponed.<sup>8</sup>

In this way the board found a phrasing and a solution that was a fulfilment of the demand from the actual members and the Nazi and German authorities for more contact, and the avoidance of the final sounding result.<sup>9</sup>

Hurum refers to similar attitudes: ‘[The Composers’ Society] has conducted its silent struggle with greater consequence than most other musicians. Even before the demand [for cultural boycotts] came in 1943, many felt it was their moral duty to keep their works back.’<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, Hurum adds: ‘In the last few seasons of the Philharmonic Society, virtually no Norwegian premiered performances took place, and it was difficult enough to get the scores to older works – most of the composers were happy to recreate their old works so that they could not be played “just now”.’<sup>11</sup> Smaller actions were also taken by individual composers, like Ludvig Irgens-Jensen’s recomposing of his violin sonata.<sup>12</sup> Both the NSC and the individual composer had a kind of boycott in the directions the clergy and the teachers conducted on a larger scale. It became a silent, quiet resistance, a kind of hidden sabotage to annoy the stressed Nazi bureaucracy.

A more closed musical scene was established outside the reach of the authorities: ‘During the occupation, it was difficult for the board to maintain an effective propaganda for Norwegian music both at home and abroad. Naturally, the activities had

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8 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1446/D/Da/L0004, Yearly Report, 1941, p. 2; The complete text: ‘Medlemsmøtet foreslo videre at det ble sendt rundskriv til medlemmene i forbindelse med de påtenkte utvekslingskonserter med “Gemeinschaft junger Musiker” i Berlin, med oppfordring til komponistene om å innsende eller foreslå verker til oppsetting av programmene. Styret sendte overensstemmende med henstillingen et slikt rundskriv til medlemmene. Det viste seg imidlertid at det materiale som ble sendt inn til styret på langt nær var tilstrekkelig til å få satt sammen representative programmer. Styret har derfor sett seg tvunget til å meddele “Gemeinschaft junger Musiker” at Berliner-konsertene må utsettes.’

9 Hans Jørgen Hurum, *Musikken under okkupasjonen 1940–1945*, Oslo 1946, p. 44, mentions only two submissions, from Per Reidarson and Signe Lund, both prominent Nazi members.

10 Hurum, *Musikken under okkupasjonen*, p. 199. Original text: ‘[Komponistforeningen] har ført sin tause kamp med større konsekvens enn de fleste andre musikere. Allerede før parolen kom i 1943 hadde mange følt det som en moralsk plikt å holde sine verk tilbake.’

11 Ibid., p. 199. Original text: ‘I Filharmonisk Selskaps siste sesonger fant så godt som ingen norske uroppførelser sted, og det var vanskelig nok å få utlevert notene til eldre verk – de fleste komponistene satt gjerne og omarbeidet sine gamle ting så de ikke kunne spilles “nettopp nå”.’

12 Vollsnes, *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen*, p. 205.



to be limited to performances of selected works to closed member meetings.<sup>13</sup> But there was always hope for a better future. In his history of the NSC (1942), Klaus Egge writes about regarding propaganda measures both at home and abroad: 'If only the war is over, the Society's propaganda office will take the form of a permanent institution with its own leader.'<sup>14</sup>

## The Competition

The Composer's Competition of 1942/43 was considered to be a special and important event on a par with the musical success at the national 'Vi kan'-utstillingen ('We can'-exhibition) in Oslo in 1938. In the NSC Bulletin of 22 May 1942 the announcement was made:

On the occasion of the Society's 25th anniversary, which can be celebrated this autumn, the board has decided to invite the Society's members to an internal composition competition, which will therefore not be announced or discussed in the press before the anniversary.<sup>15</sup>

The latter might have felt like a strangling of what could have been an opportunity to have some new Norwegian music promoted. Anyhow, the composers had to think 'Eventually, when the times are changed ...'. The intention of the board might also have been to strengthen the internal morale of the members, give them a feeling of importance in times when the ruling authorities promoted 'normality' while the Norwegian resistance wanted exceptions and silence from the artists.

The invitation comprised four categories of music: A. large-scale orchestral music, B. chamber music, C. church music, D. concert music in smaller form. For the two latter categories, the deadline was October. The end of the year was chosen as the deadline for the submission of works in A and B, later extended to 1 March 1943. For practical and musical reasons, the categories were subdivided later. All submissions had to be anonymous, identified by a 'motto', and the composer's name in a sealed envelope.

The board chose the following juries:

Group A: Arne Eggen, Odd Grüner-Hegge, Karl Andersen

Group B: Ludvig Irgens-Jensen, Sverre Hagerup-Bull (1892–1976), Odd Grüner-Hegge

Group C: Arne Eggen, Arild Sandvold (1895–1984), Frithjof Spalder (1896–1985)

Group D: Pauline Hall, Leif Halvorsen (1887–1959), Ludvig Irgens-Jensen

13 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1446/D/Da/L0004, annual meeting 15 May 1945, p. 2. Original text: 'Under okkupasjonen var det vanskelig for styret å drive en effektiv propaganda for norsk musikk så vel innen- som utenlands. Arbeidet måtte av naturlige grunne innskrenkes til å gjelde fremførelser av verker på lukkede medlemsmøter.'

14 Egge, *Norsk komponistforening*, p. 69. Original Text: 'Bare krigen er slutt, vil propaganda-kontoret til foreningen få form av en fast institusjon med egen sjef.'

15 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1446/D/Da/L0004, NSC bulletin, 22 May 1942. Original text: 'I anledning av foreningens 25 års jubileum, som kan feires til høsten, har styret besluttet å innby foreningens medlemmer til en intern komposisjonskonkurranse som derfor ikke vil bli kunngjort eller omtalt i pressen før jubileet.'

Til  
Norsk Komponistforenings medlemmer,

Komposisjonskonkurranse.

I anledning av foreningens 25 års-jubileum, som kan feires til høsten, har styret besluttet å innby foreningens medlemmer til en intern komposisjonskonkurranse som derfor ikke vil bli kunngjort eller omtalt i pressen før jubileet.

Konkurransen omfatter følgende 4 grupper:

A. Orkesterverker i større form.

Orkesterverker, verker for ett eller flere soloinstrumenter med orkester, samt kirkelige og verdslige korverker med orkester.

B. Kammermusikk.

Verker i større form for kammerbesetning, inntil oktett.

C. Kirkemusikk.

- 1) Orgelverker i større form og større vokalverker med orgel.
- 2) Instrumental- og vokalverker i mindre form.

D. Konsertmusikk i mindre form.

- 1) Instrumentalverker, herunder også mindre orkesterstykker.
- 2) Romanser med klaver, ансамbler eller orkester.
- 3) Korsanger a capella eller med instrumentalledsagelse.

Pristelømminger.

Der er stillet til disposisjon et beløp på kr. 10.000- som vil bli fordelt med kr. 5.000-, kr. 2.000-, kr. 1.500-, og ~~kr. 1.500-~~ til premier henholdsvis i gruppe A - B - C - D.

Det vil bli overlatt bedømmelseskomiteene å bestemme premienes antall og størrelse innen hver gruppe.

Betingelser og innleveringsfrist.

Verkene, som ikke tidligere må være offentlig framført eller kringkastet, innsendes anonymt med navneseddel i lukket konvolutt påført motto, adressert til Norsk Komponistforening, Klingenbergsgaten 5 - VIII. Norsk Komponistforening forbeholder seg retten til uroppføring av de premierte verker.

Verker i gruppe A og B må være innsendt innen årets utgang.  
For verker i gruppe C og D er fristen 1. oktober d.å.

OSLO den 22. mai 1942.

STYRET.

*Utsatt till. mars*

Pic. 1: The NSC invitation for the Composition Competition, Bulletin sent to all members, dated 22 May 1942 (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1446/D/Da/L0004)

The jury for category A consisted of the same persons who were in the Society’s committee for publishing and propaganda before the war.<sup>16</sup> The juries evaluated the anonymous scores, and wrote their evaluations of the suggested prize winner as a recommendation to the board. The total prize money was initially limited to NOK 10,000 and later expanded to 17,000. The first prize in the orchestral music was NOK 4,000, a considerable sum, more than a year’s salary for a schoolteacher at the time.

The sources do not contain a complete list of all the submissions, but the works mentioned and commented on, the prize winners, are as follows:

<u>Group A 1, large-scale orchestral works</u>		[submitted: 9]
MOTTO	WORK/COMPOSER	PRIZE
Dragsug	Symphony, [Maelstrom], Ludvig Irgens-Jensen	1 <sup>st</sup> prize, NOK 4000
Lagnadstoner	Symphony no 1, [Tones of Destiny], Klaus Egge	2 <sup>nd</sup> prize, NOK 3000
Midnattstimen	Symphony in three movements [Symphony no. 2], [Midnighthour], Eivind Groven	honourably mentioned, NOK 1000
<u>Group A 2, shorter orchestral works</u>		
MOTTO	WORK/COMPOSER	PRIZE
Non parceque mais quoiue	Tragic Ouverture, [Not because but though], Olav Kielland (1901–1985)	1 <sup>st</sup> prize, NOK 1500
Fjellnorig	symphonic dramatic song, [Mountain Norway], Klaus Egge	2 <sup>nd</sup> prize, NOK 1000
Scherzo	Symphonic ‘Scherzo’, [Eyvind Hesselberg (1898–1986) ?]	2 <sup>nd</sup> prize, NOK 1000 <sup>17</sup>
Høgfjell	Orchestral suite ‘Høgfjell’, [Highlands], [Knut Nystedt]	honourably mentioned, NOK 700
<u>Group B, Chamber music</u>		[submitted: 4]
MOTTO	WORK/COMPOSER	PRIZE
Trods alt	Piano sonata, [In spite of all], Erling Kjellsby	honourably mentioned, NOK 500
I begyndelsen var rytmen	String quartet, [In the beginning there was rhythm], Conrad Baden	honourably mentioned, NOK 500
<u>Group C, Church music</u>		[submitted: 8]
MOTTO	WORK/COMPOSER	PRIZE
Bach-fløyte 4’	Introduction and passacaglia, [Bach-flute 4’], Knut Nystedt	1 <sup>st</sup> prize, NOK 1000
N.N.	Prelude and fugue in c minor, John Thorkildsen	1 <sup>st</sup> prize, NOK 1000
Op, hvis Herrens egen røst <sup>18</sup>	11 choral preludes, [Get up, If the Lords own Voice], Arnljot Kjeldaas (1916–1997)	honourably mentioned, NOK 500 <sup>19</sup>

16 Egge, *Norsk Komponistfoening*, p. 70.

17 This prize was recommended by the jury, but this work was not on the official list from the board.

18 This title refers to the call in Henrik Wergeland’s *Jødinden* (1844). Cf. Marianne Zibrandtsen: Henrik article ‘Henrik Wergeland’, in: *Den Store Danske* (<http://denstoredanske.dk/index.php?sideId=182311>, last access 23 March 2020).

19 This prize was recommended by the jury, but this work was not on the official list from the board.

Group D, Concert music in smaller scale		[submitted: 25]
MOTTO	WORK/COMPOSER	PRIZE
Dei sullar sin låt	Lieder collection, [They hum their song], Conrad Baden (1908–1989)	2 <sup>nd</sup> prize
Optimisten	Lieder collection, [The Optimist], Anne-Marie Ørbeck <sup>20</sup> (1911–1996)	2 <sup>nd</sup> prize
Noreg	Lieder, [Norge], Knut Nystedt	honourably mentioned
Strid og tro	Lieder, [Battle and Faith], Thomas Beck	honourably mentioned
Op, hvis Herrens egen røst	Lieder, Arnljot Kjeldaa	honourably mentioned
Tonika	Choir, Einar Ellgen	honourably mentioned
Norske folkeviser	Choir, [Norwegian folk melodies], Thomas Beck	honourably mentioned

The board was very happy with the outcome of the competition:

From the evaluation committees' [juries'] recommendations, it appeared that the outcome of the competition was in general very successful. Information on the ranked and rewarded compositions has previously been announced to our members through our bulletin. Due to the circumstances, [underlining AOV] the performances of the prize-winning orchestral works are currently suspended. Some of the works from the other groups are performed at the Society's music evenings.<sup>21</sup>

One might speculate that there was an agreement among the jurors not to choose composers who sympathised with the Nazi movement. But as the lists are incomplete and without any composer's name, one cannot determine if any Nazi-connected composer had submitted any work. This was an internal event at that time, but the rumours about the orchestral top works flourished. On the one hand, the NSC could have profited from this competition and its outcome in the Norwegian public eye. The newspaper *Aftenposten* published a short note on the competition results on 15 June 1943. On the other hand, the premier of the orchestral works was delayed until after the war.

## Irgens-Jensen's Symphony

Ludvig Irgens-Jensen was awarded the first prize for his Symphony. At this point of his career, he was already a famous composer in Norway, well known to the members of the jury. It is hard to believe that the jury did not recognize his musical style and

20 For further information on Anne-Marie Ørbeck and the competition see Arnulf Mattes' article in this issue.

21 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1446/D/Da/L0004, Yearly report 1943, p. 2. Original text: 'Av bedømmelseskomiteens innstillinger fremgikk det at resultatet av konkurransen stort sett var meget vellykket. Meddelelse om de premierte og belønnede komposisjoner er tidligere lunngjort for medlemmene i rundskriv. På grunn av forholdene er fremføring av de premierte orkesterverker foreløpig stillet i bero. En del av verkene i de andre grupper er fremført ved foreningens musikkvelder.'

his calligraphic pen. His former prizewinning large-scale orchestral work, *Passacaglia* (1928), was frequently performed both in Norway and abroad. In 1930 his 'dramatic symphony' *Heimferd* was awarded the grand prize in connection with the celebrations of 900 years of Christianity following the Battle of Stiklestad and the saint-king Olav's death. *Heimferd* has a text by Olav Gullvåg, scored for soloists, choir and orchestra, and often called 'Olav Oratorio'. During the war, in 1941, the new Nazi 'Directorate for Cultural and Adult-Education Affairs' (commonly called the Theatre Directorate) refused a planned performance as the mood of the Norwegian people 'for the time being is so agitated that one cannot take the responsibility for the consequences a performance of this sort could have.'<sup>22</sup>

Irgens-Jensen generally kept a low profile during the war. Nevertheless, he was hiding people in his home, waiting for an opportunity to cross the border to Sweden. He also composed songs with patriotic texts. One of these songs was *Natten og stjernene* (The Night and The Stars), words and music by Paul Jerndal (two of Irgens-Jensen's middle names). The song was taken on and used by various choirs. They knew the fake text by Irgens-Jensen/Paul Jerndal should be substituted with Arnulf Øverland's poem *Til Kongen* (To the King). The score was smuggled to Sweden, recorded and played on the BBC radio on King Haakon's birthday – of course without any composer or poet being mentioned. In addition, the song was performed on the King's return to Norway in June 1945.<sup>23</sup>

TIL KONGEN  
NATTEN OG STJERNENE.

( Paul Jerndal )      L. IRGENS JENSEN  
A. ØVERLAND

Al da gens gle - de sluk-net. det skumrer på vår jord. Nu  
DITT LØFTE, "ALT FOR NORGE", DET HAR DU TROFAST HOLDT. OM

Pic. 2: *Natten og stjernene* was produced and distributed under an alias during the war. Several choirs used this sheet, but the singers had copied Øverland's forbidden text under the printed text: 'Ditt løfte, "Alt for Norge" det har du trofast holdt. Om' ('Your promise, "All for Norway" you have faithfully kept. Whether'). In May 1945 a new 'free' version, revealing Irgens-Jensen as composer and Øverland as author, was mimeographed and distributed throughout the country.

22 Cit. after Hurum, *Musikken under okkupasjonen*, p. 106, in: Vollsnes, *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen*, p. 204.

23 Vollsnes, *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen*, p. 210.

The jury of the competition wrote on the *Symphony*:

One feels everywhere in this work a rich compositional talent with a superior technical and formal ability. This emerges in the deliberate disposition of the three powerful movements, in the imaginative utilization of the musical elements and, not least, in the vivid lines of the contrapuntal sections, which effectively builds up the great symphonic fluctuations. And all combined in a skilled colour-saturated instrumentation. Perhaps some sections may feel a little too stretched, but this creates no disruption in the organic context, is rather a gift to it. One faces a significant and profound work of monumental character, rich in content and grandly designed. The committee unanimously recommends this work to the 1st prize.<sup>24</sup>

After the war, Ludvig Irgens-Jensen gave one of his few interviews and was reluctantly telling about the symphony:

I worked a lot during the war', he says, 'but I must say that from time to time it was difficult to concentrate. [...] When the plan [of the symphony] occurred to me, I scribbled down a few lines I called "Dragsug" ["Maelstrom"] and which give the content of the symphony. It has therefore become something of a superstition with me that there is an inner relationship between the symphony and the poem. That was how it was for me. But in that case it is a relationship, which lies mostly in the atmosphere, less in the details. One should not try to make the notes cover the words or vice versa – it is not intended like that.<sup>25</sup>

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24 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1446/D/Da/L0004. Original text: 'En merker overalt i dette verk en rik kompositorisk begavelse med en overlegen teknisk og formell evne. Det kommer frem i den veloverveiede disposisjon av de tre mektige satser, i den fantasifulle utnyttelse av stoffet og ikke minst i det levende kontrapunktiske linjespill som virkningsfullt bygger opp de store symfonisk svingninger. Og alt i en sikker färvemettet instrumentasjon. Kanskje enkelte partier kan föles litt for langt utspunnet, men noe brudd i den organiske sammenheng er det ikke, snarere et offer til den. En står her overfor et betydelig og dyptloddende verk av monumental karakter, rikt på innhold og storslätt utformet. Komiteen innstiller enstemmig dette verk til 1ste premie.'

25 *Dagbladet*, 28. September 1945, cit. after Vollsnes, *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen*, p. 218. Original text: 'Jeg har arbeidet meget under krigen, sier ham, men jeg må jo si at det av og til var vanskelig å konsentrere seg. Symfonien min er egentlig planlagt før krigen. Da planen slo ned i meg, rablet jeg ned noen linjer jeg kalte "Dragsug" og som gir innholdet i symfonien. Det er derfor blitt noe av en overtro hos meg at det er en indre sammenheng mellom symfonien og diktet. Slik står det for meg. Men det er i så fall en sammenheng som ligger mest i stemningen, minst i detaljene. Man skal ikke slite med å få tonene til å dekke ordene eller omvendt – slik er det ikke ment.'

The beginning of his poem:<sup>26</sup>

<p>Dragsug I. Glimt av skavler langt der ute skumdrev i lange flak. Du går i fjæren – og foten trår i rester av gamle vrak.</p> <p>Flom fra fjellene, skred mot dalene – ondt er alt som skjer. Her lå en grend og søkte ly – du finner den aldri mer.</p>	<p>Maelstrom I. Glimpses of breakers in the distance, Foam driven in the wind. You walk on the beach – and your foot treads in the remains of old wrecks.</p> <p>Floods from the mountains, avalanches to the valleys – everything that happens is evil. Here was a farm seeking shelter – you will never find it again.</p>
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The symphony was premiered in the 'Norwegian Music Week' in October 1945, with Odd Grüner-Hegge conducting the Oslo Philharmonic, and the critic Dag Winding-Sørensen characterised the music:

Ludvig Irgens Jensen's Symphony in D minor is a mighty work, both extensively – it lasted 54 minutes – and of content. The main theme, rhythmically distinctive and energetic, gave substance to a lively and tightly motivic interplay that also seemed to give motion to the whole symphony. The clear contrast between two main themes found among the Classicists' was here extended to two major theme groups, and these two meet in a gigantic crash. The second movement is initiated by an andante of sacred character and dark colour. In another section, it turns into an effect of illustrative stage music, agitated and enraged, with the brass situated behind the podium's walls. The organic context is not entirely clear to me. The gravity of this movement is found in the grandiose fugue, built over a magnificent theme. Perhaps the whole movement would be more profiled if the initial andante were shorter – it evolved quite dramatically compared to the forceful first movement. The third movement was also an excellent piece of orchestral music, rhythmic and aggressive. Again the music expanded from an introductory andante-lugubre, – quite *lugubre* [repellent], and after a triumphant fanfare-like music it fades away into a solemn ending. It was a work of swelling form, broad in its elaboration, orchestrally felt and characteristically instrumented. The coherent counter-punctual voice leading is always harmoniously anchored with clear tonality.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Vollsnes, *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen*, p. 218.

<sup>27</sup> Dag Winding-Sørensen, 'Musikkukens 2. konsert', in: *Aftenposten*, 2 October 1945. Original text: 'Ludvig Irgens Jensens Symfoni i d-moll er et veldig verk, både av utstrekning – det tok 54 minutter – og av innhold. Hovedtemaet, rytmisk markant og energisk, ga stoff til et lebendig og tett motivisk arbeid, det syntes også å gi bevegelse ut gjennom hele symfonien. Klassikernes klare kontrast mellom to hovedtemaer var her utvidet til to store temagrupper, og de to tørner sammen i gigantisk møte. Annen sats innledes av en andante av sakral karakter og mørk farge. I en periode slår den over i en virkning av illustrerende scenemusikk, hissig oppjaget, med messingblåserne plassert ute bak podieveggene. Den organiske sammenheng er meg ikke helt klar. Satsens tyngde ligger i den grandiose fuga, bygget over et storartet tema. Kanskje ville satsen stå mer meislet om den innledende andante var kortere, – den utviklet seg lovlig dramatisk etter den

The symphony was performed several times in the first years after the war. The conductor Odd Grüner-Hegge suggested that the last movement should be dropped at one performance, and this two-movement version became, in 1952, the 'authorised' version for years. The third movement was, in 1972, presented and performed as a separate work named *Rondo marziale* by Irgens-Jensen's son. However, younger conductors have in the last years performed and recorded the original three-movement version.<sup>28</sup>



Pic. 3: Private photo from Klaus Egge's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in his home 19 July 1956. From the left the two laureates from 1942, composers Ludvig Irgens-Jensen, Egge, and the conductor who premiered their symphonies in 1945, Odd Grüner-Hegge

## Egge: Symphony No. 1

Klaus Egge was awarded the second prize for his Symphony No 1. He was a well-known figure in Norwegian musical life, as a composer, a writer and editor and as an organiser. He was first educated as a teacher but went on to study music in Oslo and Berlin. In the 1930s he also studied with the Norwegian atonalist Fartein Valen (1887–1952), which led to changes in Egge's music – a rougher tone on the border of tonality.<sup>29</sup>

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kraftige første sats. Tredje sats var også et glimrende stykke orkestermusikk, rytmisk og aggressiv. Den bygde seg igjen opp over en innledende andante lugubre, – temmelig *luguber*, og toner etter en triumferende fanfareaktig musikk ut i en høytidelig avslutning. Det var et verk av svulmende form, bred i utarbeidelsen, orkestralt følt og karakterfullt instrumentert. Den utpregede kontrapunktiske stemmebevegelse er alltid harmonisk forankret med klar tonalitet.'

28 Vollsnes, *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen*, pp. 222f.

29 Most information on Egge is found in Hampus Huldt-Nystrøm (ed.), *Klaus Egge – de store formenes komponist*, Drammen [1976].



During the war, Egge earned his living as a teacher, but he also devoted much time and energy to the NSC. He was elected chairman of the Norsk Komponistforening in September 1945, a position he held until 1972. During these years, he was a prominent figure in European musical collaborations and in Norwegian musical life both as a strategist and politician, in a broad sense, and as a critic.

The symphony he submitted to the NSC's competition, carried the motto 'Lagnadstoner' (Fate Tones/Songs). The jury's evaluation in 1943 states:

[...] In a bold and passionate tone language, the composer treats his distinctive material with some characteristic and well-contrasting motives. These ferment and storm on with a harsh utilization of gritty dissonant voice leading and bold polyphonic clashes that in the long run may seem somewhat monotonous. But still one senses a certain taste, a reliable style, which leaves no doubt that the composer stands by every tone he writes.<sup>30</sup>

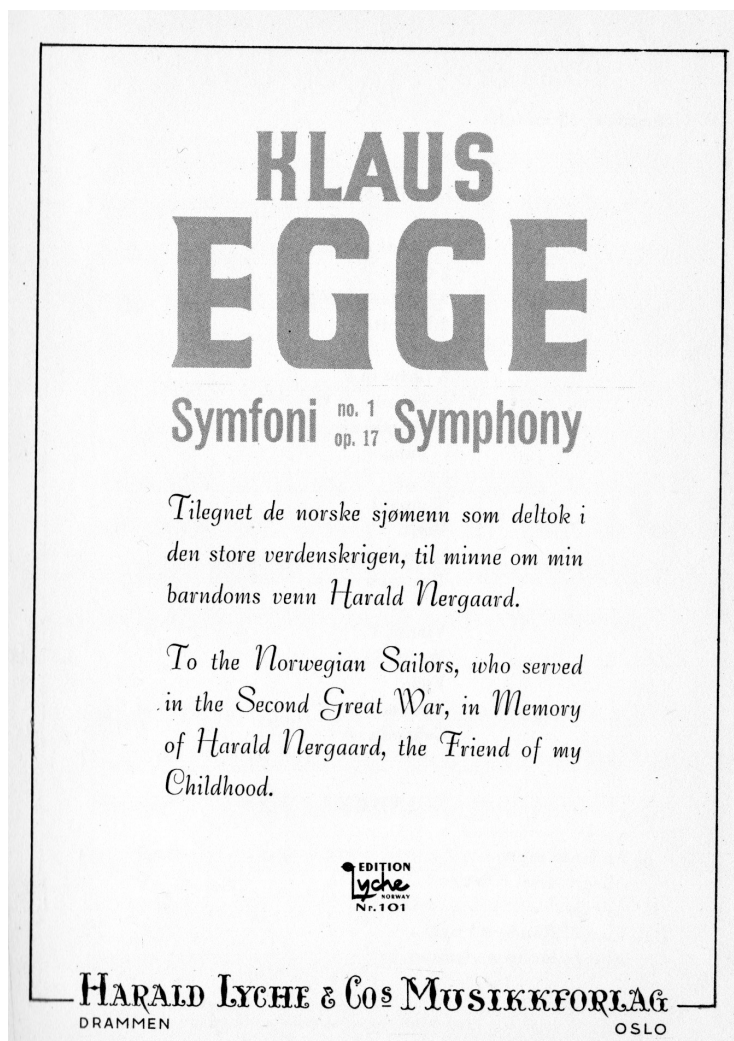
Egge's symphony was premiered during the 'Norwegian Music Week' in 1945 with Odd Grüner-Hegge conducting the Oslo Philharmonic. Olav Gurvin, who earlier had written an interesting theoretical article on Egge's tonality, wrote a review in *Verdens Gang* 6 October 1945:

Klaus Egge shows in his symphony that he is a symphonist of rank. He is able to instigate and organically develop the inner forces and tensions of a musical substance, and he has the symphonic breadth that moves great power shifts. He accordingly avoids the episodic structure, the great pitfall of the symphonists [...] There is never a standstill in his symphony, here is a compositional skill and progress that is rare. Besides, he is original in his tone language. [...] His symphony made a strong impression and was received with enthusiasm. The evening was a great victory for the composer.<sup>31</sup>

Klaus Egge elaborated some of his thoughts about his symphony in the form of an analysis in the appendix to the published study score. From this analysis can be deduced that Egge had a form of a Romantic approach to the symphonic genre. Furthermore, his implicit bond to the dissonant counterpoint he may have learnt from Fartein Valen can be read.

30 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1446/D/Da/L0004. Original text: '[...] I et djervt og lidenskapelig tonesprog behandler komponisten sitt særpregede stoff med de karakteristiske og godt kontrasterende motiver. Det gjærer og stormer på med en hårdhendt anvendelse av grellt dissonerende stemmeførsler og dristige polyfone sammenstøt som nok i det lange løp kan virke noe ensidig. Men en fornemmer allikevel en bestemt smag, en sikker stilsans, som ikke lar en i tvil om at komponisten går inn for hver tone han skriver.'

31 Olav Gurvin, 'Musikkukens 2. orkesteronsert', in: *Verdens Gang*, 6 October 1945. Original text: 'Klaus Egge viser i sin symfoni at han er en symfoniker av format. Han evner å sette i gang og organisk utvikle de indre krefter og spenninger i et musikalsk stoff, og han har den symfoniske bredden som setter store kraftutviklinger i bevegelse. Han unngår derfor den episodiske oppbygning, den store fallgraven for symfonikerne. Han har også oversikten og skaper virkningsfulle men likevel logiske kontraster. Det blir aldri stillstand i hans symfoni, her er en kompositorisk ferdighet og framdrift som er sjelden. Dessuten er han original i sitt tonespråk. [...] Hans symfoni gjorde et sterkt inntrykk og ble mottatt med begeistring. Kvelden var en stor seier for komponisten. [O.G. = Olav Gurvin].'



Pic. 4: Title page of the study score of Egge's Symphony No 1 (©1946). Dedication: 'To the Norwegian Sailors who served in the Second Great War, in Memory of Harald Nergaard, the Friend of my Childhood.'

The symphony is dedicated to the Norwegian sailors and their dangerous lives in war times,<sup>32</sup> and in memory of his friend Harald Nergaard (1906–1941) who died when his ship was torpedoed on 12 February 1941. The scholar Hampus Huld-Nystrøm (1917–1995), in his study of Egge's musical style, writes about this appendix:

32 During the summer of 1940 the Norwegian exile government in London obtained the command and control of most Norwegian vessels outside Norwegian waters. This vast fleet often served in the war convoys of the Atlantic Ocean and in the Arctic waters to the Soviet Union. During the five war years Norway lost 1300 vessels and 6000 sailors died in service.

And the analysis that the composer has written for the study score further gives a clear message about the inner being of the music; of the forces that live in it and which are the shaping forces of the work. Expressions such as the 'theme fight', 'the top tension', 'the movement's thematic apotheosis', 'struggles up towards', 'whips up against' – in all these metaphors about the musical course of events, Klaus Egge's art mentality [aesthetics] comes into view.<sup>33</sup>

## Intermezzo – Purge and Exclusions

The end of war in May 1945 brought forth a wave of joy all over the country. However, especially in the North, the few remaining people who had survived 'Operation Nordlicht'<sup>34</sup> felt sorrow and hopelessness for the devastation and loss of their homes and infrastructure.

During the last two years of the war, the Home Front had issued a string of 'paroles', leaflets often with demands for a certain behaviour or action. Some Norwegians were fed up with too much interference in their lives and wanted a total freedom, and hence applied pragmatic views on these instructions. Furthermore, the Home Front, nudged by the exiled government in London, had to some extent discussed and also planned for a peaceful future, how chaos could be avoided and how public order could be restored. This also included replacing certain civil servants with loyal Norwegians, and 'restarting' civilian societies and organisations. In 1945, members of the Home Front were instrumental in restarting Norsk Kunstnerråd (Norwegian Council of the Arts), and this umbrella organisation summoned representatives from the NSC to a meeting.

This event and much of this process is documented and discussed in Dag Solhjell's and Hans Fredrik Dahl's book<sup>35</sup> about the purges and trials in artists' organisations after the war, giving an interesting presentation of the legal, moral and organisational aspects. Under normal circumstances, the Society's statutes had been sufficient. But the report of the yearly meeting in Oslo of 15 May 1945 depicts the new situation:

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33 Huldt-Nystrøm, *Klaus Egge*, p. 103. Original text: 'Og den analysen som komponisten har skrevet til studiepartituret, gir videre en tydelig beskjed om musikkens indre vesen, om de krefter som lever i den og som er de formende drivkrefter i verket. Uttrykk som "temakampen", "toppspenningen", "satsens tematiske apoteose", "kjemper seg opp mot", "pisker opp mot" – i alle disse metaforer om det musikalske hendelsesforløp kommer Klaus Egges kunstmentalitet til syne.'

34 For further information on this operation see for example Armin Lang, "Operation Nordlicht". Die Zerstörung Nordnorwegens durch deutsche Truppen beim Rückzug aus Finnland im Spätjahr 1944', in: Robert Bohn and Jürgen Elvert (eds.), *Kriegsende im Norden: vom heißen zum kalten Krieg*, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 25–42.

35 Hans Fredrik Dahl and Dag Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren. Oppgjøret blant kunstnere etter 1945*, Oslo 2013.

Measures against members who have shown an unnational attitude during the occupation

Immediately after 7 May this year [end of occupation], a representative from the Norwegian Composers' Society was summoned to a meeting in the Norwegian Arts Council where the Home Front's cultural group was present. This meeting discussed and decided on the principles that should be followed in removing from the Society's membership lists any person who, by direct cooperation with the occupying power or Nazis, had betrayed Norway's case. Likewise, an agreement was reached on the common measures that were to be taken with regard to the people who, through [showing] limited national attitude, had weakened the respect for the Norwegian front. A proposal for a declaration by the artists' organisations on these guidelines and a wish that the Societies declared themselves being in solidarity with the line of struggle that had been implemented by the cultural group, were set up. These documents will be sent to the boards of the organisations represented at the meeting. The board of the Norwegian Composers' Society reviewed the various points of the Declaration on 14<sup>th</sup> May this year, and the members unanimously made a decision to sign it.<sup>36</sup>

The rules given by the Home Front were titled 'Åtgjerder', a word from the *nynorsk* (New Norwegian) language, probably introduced by Olav Midttun (1883–1972), the former and then reinstated head of the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation. 'Åtgjerder' is an all-inclusive word, containing all actions mentioned, but also implicitly any future actions and thoughts and ideas that may be pertinent. In addition to information on the steps taken by the Norsk Kunstnerråd, the NSC report also describes the Society's situation:

According to this declaration, the board reviewed – during a number of meetings – the Society's member lists. The following members who had been a member of NS [Norwegian Nazi Party] were decided to be deleted from the membership list: Haldor Bouner [1883–1959], Fridthjof Kristoffersen [1894–1962], Johan Kvandal [1919–1999], Signe Lund, David Monrad Johansen [1888–1974], Gudrun Nordraak Feyling [1896–1984] and Per Reidarson [1879–1954]. The following members who had directly cooperated with the Nazis were also deleted from the membership list: Oscar Gustavson

36 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1446/D/Da/L0004, report 15 May 1945, pp. 2–3, underlining in the original. Original text: Åtgjerder mot medlemmer som har vist unasjonalt holdning under okkupasjonen. Straks etter 7. mai i år blev en representant fra Norsk Komponistforening innkalt til et møte i Norges Kunstnerråd hvor hjemmefrontens kulturgruppe var tilstede. På dette møte blev drøftet og truffet beslutning om de prinsipper som skulle følges for å slette av foreningens medlemslister enhver person som ved direkte samarbeid med okkupasjonsmakt eller nazister hadde forrått[!] Norges sak. Likeledes blev en enig om de felles åtgjerder som skulle tas overfor de personer som ved lite nasjonal holdning hadde svekket respekten for den norske front. Et forslag til erklæring fra kunstnerorganisasjonene om disse retningslinjer og om at foreningene erklærte seg solidarisk med den kamplinje som hadde vært gjennomført av kulturgruppen, blev satt opp og besluttet oversendt til de organisasjoners styrer som var representert ved møtet. På styremøtet 14. mai d.å. gjennomgikk Norsk Komponistforenings styre erklæringens forskjellige punkter og fattet et enstemmig vedtak om å undertegne den.

[1877–1959], who had made himself available as a conductor at the Akershus State Act on February 1, 1942. Geirr Tveitt, who had served as the State Music Consultant appointed by the Nazi Ministry of Culture from the fall of 1940 to the end of the year 1941. Trygve Torjussen [1885–1977], who at the Ministry of Culture's request, had been hired as a music critic in *Dagbladet* after Pauline Hall had been dismissed from the post by the ministry's intervention. Furthermore, it was decided to deprive Olav Kielland [1901–1985] of membership rights for a year, because he had received the appointment and served as a member of the Ministry of Culture's consultative council from 1940 to spring 1941.<sup>37</sup>

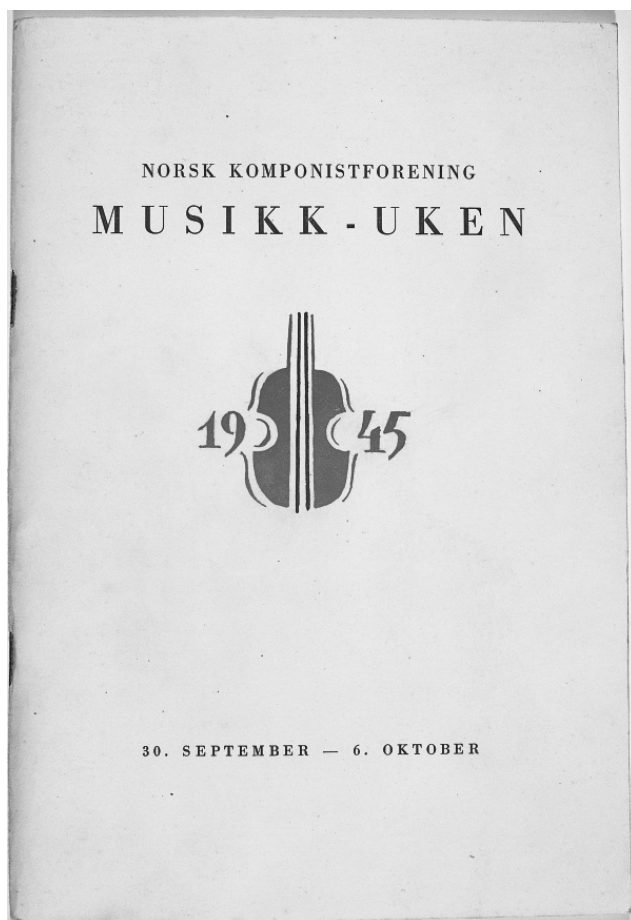
Eleven members were mentioned in this report; some of them very well known names who even received the *Statens Kunstnerlønn* (State Artist Honorary Salary). These exclusions were not the victorious group's revenge on their former suppressors. It seems like the board of the NSC abided very strictly to the rules handed down by the Home Front, and there appears to be no case of unjust decision on grounds of 'infection by association'. At the same time, the sources do not contain any critical questions about the legitimacy or wisdom of this *ad hoc* 'court of honour'.

These NSC actions were not legal verdicts for crimes committed, but rather internal measures for moral aspects and breach of NSC rules and solidarity. In fact, the process of reconciliation started quite early. The suspension of Kielland was contested and quickly recalled, and several of the evicted members were readmitted to the Society.<sup>38</sup> But echoes of these actions were strong as late as 1953/54, and even lately there have been reruns of aspects of this conflict. On the other hand, for years the music of Christian Sinding (1856–1941) and David Monrad Johansen, and partly of Geirr Tveitt's, was subjected to an unorganised boycott, as we see from lack of performances. This served as a 'social punishment', with both artistic and economic consequences for these composers.

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37 *Ibid.*, p. 2. Original text: 'I henhold til denne erklæring gjennomgikk styret på en rekke møter foreningens medlemslister. Følgende medlemmer som hadde vært medlem av NS ble besluttet strøket av medlemslisten: Haldor Bouner, Fridthjof Kristoffersen, Johan Kvandal, Signe Lund, David Monrad Johansen, Gudrun Nordraak Feyling og Per Reidarson. Følgende medlemmer som hadde hatt direkte samarbeid med nazister ble også strøket av medlemslisten: Oscar Gustavson som hadde stilt seg til disposisjon som dirigent ved statsakten på Akershus 1. februar 1942. Geirr Tveitt, som hadde fungert som statens musikkonsulent oppnevnt av det nazistiske kulturdepartementet fra høsten 1940 til slutten av året 1941. Trygve Torjussen, som på kulturdepartementets foranledning var blitt ansatt som musikkannemelder i *Dagbladet* etter at Pauline Hall ved departementets inngripen var blitt avsatt fra stillingen. Videre ble besluttet å frata Olav Kielland medlemsrettigheter for et år, fordi han hadde mottatt oppnevneelse og! fungert som medlem av kulturdepartementets konsultative råd fra 1940 til våren 1941.' [Edvard Sylou-Creutz (1881–1945) was not on the list as he died on 11 May, before the meeting].

38 The most prominent, like Tveitt, Kvandal and Monrad Johansen, were readmitted 1946, 1947/48 and 1949, respectively.



Pic. 5: Front of the programme to 'Musikk-ukene' (Music Week) 1945, which carried the motto 'Tell it in music'. This was a modern multi-city festival presenting serious composers and their contemporary music, mainly composed during the war. The event was a participation in the national idea of rebuilding the nation both physically and in culture.

## The Norwegian Music Week

The composer competition of 1942/43 ought to have been a special and important event, but the conditions for performances were not ideal. When peace was established in 1945, the composers wanted to celebrate the musical freedom of speech. Therefore, the NSC joined forces with musicians to make a statement with music and performers that had been suppressed. The slogan for The Norwegian Music Week was formulated as *Tell it in music*. 'Norwegian Society of Composers celebrates the peace and freedom one whole week through 7 concerts and an overwhelming number of new compositions created in secrecy during the war years.' The first plans considered only Oslo as a venue, but with the economic help of the authorities the event was expanded to

be a national event lasting for more than one week and comprising cities like Bergen, Trondheim, Stavanger, Haugesund, Drammen and Fredrikstad.

The two orchestral concerts were met with the greatest interest from the public and the press. The performed works at these concerts were:

Thomas Beck (1899–1963): 'Battle of Stiklestad' from his oratorio *Arnlfjot Gelline* (1937),

Klaus Egge (1906–1979): *Symphony no. 1* (1942), and *Fjell-Norig* (1941),

Arne Eggen (1881–1955): Aria from his opera *Olav Liljekrans* (1939),

Ludvig Irgens-Jensen (1894–1969): *Symphony* (1941–42),

Harald Sæverud (1897–1992): *Sinfonia dolorosa* (1943?), and *Kjempeviseslått* (1943, (Ballad of Revolt)).

Both prize-winning orchestral works from the competition 1942/43 had their premiere performance. Eivind Groven's Symphony, however, was not premiered until 1946 in Trondheim.

According to the critics, all works were met with enthusiasm, and especially Sæverud's *Kjempeviseslått*<sup>39</sup> and Irgens-Jensen's Symphony. The critic Pauline Hall called for a repeat performance of the Symphony in the newspaper *Dagbladet*, which was evidently supported by its enthusiastic reception by the public. The Oslo Philharmonic programmed the Symphony again at an ordinary subscription concert on 9 October 1945, only a week after its premiere.

utveksling av musikk. I den anledning hadde den norske delegasjon med en rekke norske verker, dels trykt dels i manuskript. Spesielt var svensk radio-tjenst interessert i det medbragte materiale. Formålet med disse konferanser var også å søke et samarbeid med svensk kringkasting ved den forestående norske musikkfest i oktober d.å.

#### Åtgjerder mot medlemmer som har vist unasjonal holdning under okkupasjonen

Straks etter 7. mai i år blev en representant fra Norsk Komponistforening innkalt til et møte i Norges Kunstnerråd hvor hjemmefrontens kulturgruppe var tilstede. På dette møte blev drøftet og truffet beslutning om de prinsipper som skulle følges for å slette av foreningens medlemslister enhver person som ved direkte samarbeid med okkupasjonsmakt eller nazister hadde forrått Norges sak. Likeledes blev en enig om de felles åtgjerder som skulle tas overfor de personer som ved lite nasjonal holdning hadde svekket respekten for den norske front. Et forslag til erklæring fra kunstnerorganisasjonene om disse retningslinjer og om at foreningene erklærte seg solidarisk med den kamplinj som hadde vært gjennomført av kulturgruppen, blev satt opp og

Pic. 6: Beginning of 'Åtgjerder ...' (Measures against members who have shown an unnational attitude during the occupation) (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1446/D/Da/L0004, NSC Årsberetning 1944/45 (Yearly Report 1944–45), p. 2)

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39 For further information on the resistance aspects of this work, cf. Friedrich Geiger, 'Harald Sæverud's *Kjempeviseslått* – A Typical Resistance Composition?' in: Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes (eds.), *The Nordic Ingredient. European Nationalisms and Norwegian Music since 1905*, Münster 2019, pp. 81–92.

The stories around the composers' competition illustrate some of the challenges a Norwegian professional organisation faced during the war years. The NSC had a collective responsibility for all 'serious' composers, both as their helper in practical and professional matters, but also as an advocate for their rights and status in the society. To fulfil this obligation, the board had to search for calm weather and few waves while manoeuvring their fragile ship with a limited engine – and pre-war steering devices – among uncharted reefs and a score of mines floating around. A united and stable continued collegium of persons with integrity might be the best captain, with a strong urge to leave old aesthetical quarrels concerning modern vs. national music at rest.

In the climate of distrust and uncertainty, of clandestine surveillance and censorship, all individuals were wary and had to suppress their frankness and direct speech. The Society was even more careful. Any verbal utterances, internal and external, had to be analysed and tested before publishing. They had to avoid confrontations, which could have escalated to be of public interest. The NSC recognised its obligation as well as a wish and necessity to be visible in the cultural life on behalf of their members, and the freedom of music in general. This was fundamental for their existence as a professional organisation. Therefore, it offended both chairman and board when they were commanded to participate in the Nazi-programmed memorial following Christian Sinding's death and burial.

Among the Society's members, none were arrested for their role as 'composer', but a few musicians were arrested. Some (like the composers Sverre Hagerup Bull and Gunnar Sønstevold) had to flee to Sweden due to their involvement in work for the resistance. The members and the NSC also had responsibilities towards any musical utterances, as they were not easily understandable to any outsider or 'adversaries' like words. However, indications on ideas and thinking might be found in choices of genre, aesthetics, style and expression.

It might also be symptomatic that the three prize-winning orchestral works are labelled 'Symphony'. The title at that time was ambiguous, a symphony belonged to a long classical tradition, but it also was used by the more modern or classical composers, the unsorted bag of 'neo-classicists', of whom a fair number wanted to write music that was 'entarted' and anti-Nazi German. At the Norwegian Music Week, it became clear that both performed symphonies had a three-movement structure, which belong to the 'neo' side, and both were inspired by events from the war – conceived and formed as music against war and struggle. They sound different in their expression, but apart from some Norwegian folk music elements in Egge's, they might both have been presented in the broad mainstream European concert repertoire, even in Germany, in those years. As could several of the other works from the competition. There was not that great a distance from Norway to some of the contemporary German composers, like Hindemith, Egk and Distler.

All these documents give us, 75 years later, an impression of a successful and united strategy which could soften the former and rather heated Norwegian discussions on aesthetic (and political) aspects in music from the early 1930s. The known sources, at least most of them in sum, indicate that the trusted board of the NSC held an anti-Nazi/anti-German and pro-national (but not nationalistic in the modern sense of the word) line in the case of the anniversary and the competition – and also in most



actions through the purge after May 1945. The Society's collective silent resistance and self-imposed limitation of 'freedom of speech' through music, too, in their closed concerts gave them leeway to go through terror and turbulence in the war years. The board and most of the Society's members were no cowards, nor soft, but in the given conditions 'Speak low', Norwegian style, or 'Who is listening?', hummed from the NSC offices in Klingenberggaten, Oslo, just a block away from the horrors of the Gestapo in Viktoria Terrasse, was as successful as on Broadway. Their music and actions were love songs to the musical arts and artistic and social freedom, combined with protest against oppression of any kind.



*Arnulf Christian Mattes*

## **Nordic, Female, Composer**

### **On Anne-Marie Ørbeck's War-Time Compositions**

Anne-Marie Ørbeck (1911–1996) was part of a very small group of female composers, who were active members of the Norsk Komponistforening (Norwegian Society of Composers), celebrating its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1942.<sup>1</sup> Her most prominent female peers were Pauline Hall (1890–1969)<sup>2</sup> and Signe Lund (1868–1950),<sup>3</sup> who both were well established figures in Norwegian musical life at this time. They represented two diverging currents in terms of their musical-stylistic orientation and, as was revealed with the German occupation, also in terms of their commitment to oppositional political ideologies. Lund became infamous for her unrestrained support for Vidkun Quisling and Adolf Hitler. A member of the Norwegian Nazi party, Nasjonal samling, since 1935, she became a leading figure in the Nazified Norwegian musical life, disappointed as she was by the other political parties' lack of support for music and culture.<sup>4</sup> She was generously sponsored by state funds, staged as guest of honour at official 'Staatsakte', frequent participant in 'Kraft durch Freude' activities in Norway, and contributed to the regime's propaganda both as composer and author of patriotic essays.<sup>5</sup> Hall, be-

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- 1 When Ørbeck became a member in 1938, besides Hall and Lund, only six other women had been enlisted: Borghild Holmsen (1865–1938) became a member in 1927, Signe Lindemann (1895–1974) in 1936, Olga Bjelke Andersen (1857–1940) in 1918, Erika Bodom (1861–1942) in 1917, Inga Lærum Liebich (1864–1936) in 1917, and Hannah Løvenskjold (1860–1930) in 1920. Bodom, Liebich, and Bjelke Andersen are not mentioned in Egge (1942). Cf. Klaus Egge, *Norsk komponistforening gjennom 25 år*, Oslo 1942, p. 82; Kristian Lange, *Norsk komponistforening gjennom 50 år*, Oslo 1967, pp. 137–139. Cf. also Arvid O. Vollsnes' article on the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Komponistforening in this volume.
  - 2 Cf. Rune J. Andersen, article 'Hall, Pauline', in: *Grove Music Online*, 2001, (<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000012234>, last access 11 March 2020), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.12233>.
  - 3 Cf. Kari Michelsen, article 'Lund, Signe', in: *Grove Music Online*, 2004 (<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000054045>, last access 11 March 2020) DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.54045>.
  - 4 Bodil Stenseth, article 'Lund, Signe', in Hans Fredrik Dahl et al. (eds.), *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940–1945*, Oslo 1995, p. 257.
  - 5 Ibid.; Lund became infamous for her (now lost) string quartet 'Føreren kaller', composed in 1943 to mark the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Norwegian Nazi party. As a pioneer of Women's Rights, she contributed also with propaganda articles in newspapers and to publications of the Norwegian Nazi party (Nasjonal samling) with essays such as 'Kunsten skal tjene nasjonens interesser', cf. Ragna Prag Magnelsen (ed.), *Også vi når det blir krevet: innlegg av norske kvinner om den moralske, nasjonale og politiske gjenfødelsen i Norges skjebnetime*, Oslo 1942, pp. 189–198. See also on Lund as guest of honour at the Grieg celebrations in 1943, Hans Jørgen Hurum, *Musikken under okkupasjonen 1940–45*, Oslo 1946, p. 126. Lund wrote an autobiography *Sol gjennom skyer* in two volumes, with the first published in December 1944. The second volume contains several remarks on her experiences during the occupation, such as her involvement with Kraft durch Freude. To be accused of being a traitor after the war, despite her well documented, lifelong patriotic commitment to her native country, remained incomprehensible to her. Cf. Signe Lund, *Sol gjennom skyer*, Vol. 2, Halden 2013.

longing to a younger generation of composers, in many ways represented the opposite position to Lund, with her strong commitment to modernist European currents, such as impressionism, neo-classicism, and the politically inclined avantgarde movements in Germany.

Considerably younger than Lund and Hall, Anne-Marie Ørbeck debuted on the concert scene in the late 1930s, returning to Norway in 1938 after several stays in Berlin, where she studied piano and composition. With Signe Lund, she had in common the background and education both as a concert pianist and composer. And, like Lund, her point of departure as a composer was the romantic, tonal tradition. Ørbeck was far from expressing any affinities for the German avantgarde, which Pauline Hall was a harbinger of in Norway, as arranger of the Norwegian first performances of works such as the *Threepenny Opera* of Kurt Weill in Oslo in 1930.<sup>6</sup> After the German occupation, Hall cautiously kept her distance from the 'Norwegianist', nativist musical mainstream dominating musical life since the late 1920s, and kept a low profile during the occupation, after being ousted from her position as music critic at *Dagbladet* in 1942.<sup>7</sup> She avoided persecution or imprisonment, unlike many Norwegian musicians, who were arrested for everything from 'unpatriotic' misdemeanours to serious charges for active involvement in the resistance movement, and were sent to prison camps such as Grini or Falstad.<sup>8</sup> On the other side of the spectrum, Lund openly confessed her enthusiasm for the new regime, and became actively engaged in the Nazi propaganda. For this, she was convicted as a collaborator after the war, excluded from the Norwegian Society of Composers for life, and forbidden to proceed in her career as a composer.<sup>9</sup>

Between these two diverging positions, Ørbeck's way can be seen as a middle position, which might be representative for many of her male peers composing in a tonal, 'national' idiom during the occupation. Neither was she openly politically engaged, nor political naive in private. Moreover, in terms of her compositional style, she was neither a fanatic classicist, nor a revolutionary modernist.<sup>10</sup> This might be one of the reasons, why she, in retrospect, has drawn lesser attention from musicians and historiographers than her male peers.

However, a closer look at her agency as a composer of a more generic, native style of music and as a female member of the Norwegian Society of Composers during the occupation is necessary. Her career and artistic choices from the 1930s until 1945 might shed light on the latitude of the silent majority of Norwegian composers, who survived the Nazi regime by withdrawing into inner emigration, and navigating within the narrow scope left for self-expression by the Nazi regime's system of censorship

6 Cf. Arvid O. Vollsnes, 'Brecht/Weill: 'Dreigroschenoper' i Oslo. Et antinasjonalt innlegg fra Pauline Hall', in: Anne Jensen et al. (eds.), *Musikvidenskabelige kompositioner. Festskrift til Niels Krabbe*, Copenhagen 2006, pp. 625–645.

7 Hurum, *Musikken under okkupasjonen 1940–45*, p. 108.

8 Cf. Michael Custodis, 'Sorg-Tvang-Motstand. Musikk i leirene i Norge 1940–45', in: *Agder Vitenskapsakademi Årbok*, Oslo 2018, pp. 75–95.

9 Hans Fredrik Dahl and Dag Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren. Oppgjøret blant kunstnerne etter 1945*, Oslo 2013, p. 67. The other members excluded from the Norwegian Society of Composers were David Monrad Johansen, Per Reidarson, Geirr Tveitt, Fridtjof Kristoffersen, Johan Kvandal, Gudrun Nordraak Feyling, Oscar Gustavson, and Haldor Bouner.

10 See interview with Ørbeck in: Kjell Bloch Sandved and Sverre Hagerup Bull (eds.), *Musikkens verden*, Oslo 1951, pp. 2231–2232.

and their general suspicion of patriotic activities. How did Ørbeck, as a young, female pianist and composer starting her career, cope with this dramatically changed German-Norwegian relationship?

Ørbeck was 29 years old when the Germans occupied Norway in April 1940. After her return from her studies in Berlin, she first settled in Oslo in 1939, and moved to Bergen the year after.<sup>11</sup> Like many of her peers, she belonged to the large community of Norwegians educated in Berlin. The main, cross-generational reason for studying in Germany was to earn a degree at one of the universities or technical colleges. They went to study engineering, architecture, composition, or music performance. If they could afford it, many of them prolonged their stay after earning their degree. The vibrant urban life of the European metropolis was all too attractive, which made it quite difficult to leave the city for a more tedious life at the continent's periphery. However, at some point, most of them chose to move back and settle in their home country, hoping to contribute to their young native country's continuous efforts of nation state building, either as engineers, architects, artists or composers.<sup>12</sup>

## A Norwegian in Berlin: 1930–1938

During her first stay in Berlin from 1930 to 1938, Ørbeck studied piano for two and a half years with Sandra Droucker (1875–1944).<sup>13</sup> Ørbeck and Droucker developed a profound friendship, lasting until Droucker's death in 1944.<sup>14</sup> Droucker, whose father was a German with a Jewish background, and whose mother was a Russian aristocrat, was born in St. Petersburg, where she later studied with Anton Rubinstein at the conservatory. In 1896, she gave her debut in Berlin, and became a successful performer and sought-after teacher in Berlin.<sup>15</sup> In 1933, she was driven into exile and left Berlin for Oslo, where she even earned Norwegian citizenship. However, she struggled with maintaining both her career and health until her death in 1944.<sup>16</sup>

11 Einar Offerdahl, article 'Anne-Marie Ørbeck', in: *Komponister i Bergens musikkliv*, Bergen 2017, (<https://bergenbibliotek.no/musikkogfilm/musikk/komponistportretter/komponister-i-bergen-musikkliv/anne-marie-orbeck>, last access 14 March 2020).

12 Cf. Sverre Jervell, *Nordmenn i Berlin*, Oslo 2007.

13 Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck collection, unpublished manuscript.

14 Cf. Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck collection, correspondence between Ørbeck and Droucker.

15 Cf. Kadja Grönke, article 'Droucker, Drouker, Drucker, Droucher, Drucker-Galston, Galston-Droucker, Sandra, Alexandra', in: Sophie Drinker Institut für musikwissenschaftliche Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung (ed.), *Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Bremen 2011 and 2018 (<https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/droucker-sandra>, last access 5 May 2020).

16 Sophie Stabell, *Sandra Droucker. Et blad av Oslos musikkhistorie*, Oslo 1945, pp. 8–9. Stabell describes Droucker's difficult situation in Norwegian exile, and refers to a 'smear campaign' against Droucker in *Aftenposten*, initiated by Norwegian musicians. Eventually, the Norwegian prime minister Mowinckel 'resolutely' resolved the situation and granted Droucker Norwegian citizenship in 1938. According to the letters kept in the Ørbeck collection, Ørbeck and Droucker maintained their friendship until Droucker's death in 1944. However, with Ørbeck living in Bergen and Droucker in Oslo, they had very few occasions to meet due to economic reasons and difficult travel conditions during the war.

Besides her piano lessons, Ørbeck was keen to develop her talent as a composer. However, she never officially applied at a music academy for the composition class. Instead, she took private lessons. On the advice of Sandra Droucker, who had a considerable network in Berlin, her focus during her stay was on searching for available teachers who could help her to propel her compositional ambitions. Whilst living in Berlin, Ørbeck observed the political development and the rise of the Nazi movement, at least from the position of a bystander. According to a letter from Berlin, dated 4 November 1936, she obviously enjoyed good working conditions, looking forward to composition studies with Paul Höffer, although expressing a certain disappointment about the decreasing appearance of international stars in the concert season 'because of the Nazi'.<sup>17</sup>

Her first teacher in Berlin was Mark Lothar (1902–1985). A student of Franz Schreker at the State Academy of Music in Berlin, Lothar worked in the 1930s and 40s in Berlin as a conductor and pianist. As a composer, he chose Albert Lortzing and Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari as frequent stylistic models for operas and theatre music, and for his song cycles his compositional guides were Franz Schubert and Hugo Wolf.<sup>18</sup> From 1934 to 1944 he led the Preussische Staatstheater in Berlin. In addition, he also taught at the State Academy of Music during these years. He was commissioned to compose works for the Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen during the NS regime, and in 1944, he was chosen for the list of the Gottbegnadeten Künstler.<sup>19</sup>

According to Ørbeck, Lothar appreciated the 'Nordic surge' [nordiske draget] in her music, when she was presenting her works to him at their first meeting. Apparently unaware of the ideological aspects of the term 'Nordic' in the context of the rise of völkische ideologies during the 1930s, Ørbeck credits Lothar for the lasting impact on her stylistic development. After the war, she explicitly mentions him in a lexicon article, as an important inspiration, encouraging her in her quest for a personal style drawing on a mixture of classicist ideals and Norwegian folk melodies:

I min første komposisjonstime hos Mark Lothar spilte han interessert gjennom et par av mine ting idet han gjentagne ganger utbrøt: 'Det klinger så nordisk'. Til slutt reiste han seg, så inntrengende på meg og sa: 'Det nordiske draget i Deres musikk må De ta godt vare på, glem aldri det!' Disse ordene ble en veiviser for meg. Jeg mener at det 'nordiske', som så helt umiddelbart kom til uttrykk i mine første småstykker, er arv fra mine foreldre, som begge gjennom generasjoner er av norsk bondeætt. Mormor er født og oppvokst i Hjartdal (Telemark), av spillemannsætt, og med folkevisen i blodet.<sup>20</sup>

17 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-0413/E, Ørbeck in letter to Hans Henrik Holm, 4 November 1936.

18 Badenhausen, Rolf, article 'Lothar, Mark', in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 15 (1987), (<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118729179.html#ndbcontent>, last access 5 May 2020).

19 Ernst Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945*, Frankfurt/Main 2007, p. 343.

20 Translation: 'In my first composition class with mark Lothar he played through a couple of my pieces and repeatedly exclaimed "This sounds so Nordic". Eventually, he rose, regarded me intently, and said: "The Nordic surge in your music you must take care of, never forget that!" These words became a guide for me, I think the "Nordic", as it is expressed in my early pieces, is inherited from my parents, who both are of folk musician lineage through generations. My grandmother is born and raised in Hjartdal (Telemark), also from traditional musician lineage, and with the folk tune in her blood.' Cf. entry on Ørbeck, Anne-Marie, in: Sandved/Bull, *Musikkens verden*, pp. 2231–2232.

Paul Höffer (1895–1949) was Ørbeck's second teacher in composition and instrumentation. With Lothar and Höffer, Ørbeck found advisors writing in the moderately modernised, tonal style of composition she preferred. In the case of Höffer, she also met a teacher, who, like her, was fond of the folk song tradition.<sup>21</sup>

When applying for funding in 1937, in order to return to Berlin for further studies, her former teachers in unison acknowledged Ørbeck's exceptional talent, energy, and diligence.<sup>22</sup> In Ørbeck's papers, references to the dramatically changed political situation in Germany since her first stay, are rare. A letter to Hans Henrik Holm (1896–1980),<sup>23</sup> dated 21 December 1936, contains short remarks on the 'highly politicised atmosphere' at this time; further on in the letter she describes the controversial Nobel Peace Prize, given to Carl von Ossietzky in 1936, as a 'slap in the face' of the anti-Nazi movement to an utterly 'indignant Nazi Germany':

A propos fredsprisen, så har selvfølgelig hele det nazistiske Tyskland vært forbitret over utdelelsen, norske blir sett litt mer skjevt til (jeg hører andre har sine små opplevelser). Men med hensyn til utvisning av norske – som det har stått i utenlandske aviser – så er det sån overdrivelse. Antinazister fryder seg, ikke fordi de mener at mannen er verdig til prisen, men fordi nazi har fått en liten fik. Det vesentlige burde vel være om han er kvalifisert. Men nu går det jo dessverre politikk i allting.<sup>24</sup>

According to their correspondence, it seems as if both Ørbeck and her mentor and friend Sandra Droucker were more than busy with building their careers, teaching, and planning concerts. However, for Droucker the pressure became unbearable from 1933 on, to an extent that led to her decision to leave Germany for exile in Norway. The State Academy, as any other German public institution and organisation, was going through a process of 'cleansing', where all teachers with a Jewish background or be-

21 Werner Bollert, article 'Höffer, Paul', in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 9 (1972) (<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116924659.html#ndbcontent>, last access 5 May 2020).

22 Eventually, Ørbeck succeeded with her application for Statens komponiststipend 1938–39. See letter of confirmation from 14 June 1938 by the Royal Department of Education and Culture; see also Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck collection, letters of recommendation by Droucker and Höffer.

23 Hans Henrik Holm, born 1896 in Oslo, was a Norwegian poet and folklorist. His debut work *Jonsoknatt* was based on his extensive studies of local folk poetry, conducted in rural areas of Setesdal during the 1920s. During the war he was engaged in civil resistance, after the war, he continued to write monumental works of folk poetry, written in his highly idiosyncratic language. From 1961, he received the state's artist fund [Statens kunstnerlønn].

24 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-0413/F, Ørbeck in letter to Hans Henrik Holm, 21 December 1936. Translation: 'A propos Peace Prize, so was of course the whole Nazi Germany expressing bitterness over the awarding; Norwegians are being met with scepticism (I hear from that others had their small encounters). However, regarding the expulsion of Norwegians – as written in foreign newspapers – this is a big exaggeration. Anti-Nazis rejoice, yet, not because they consider the man being worthy the prize, but because the Nazi got a little slap in the face. What should be more essential is that he is qualified. Alas now everything turns into politics.'

longing to the category of ‘entartete’ music, were purged. Those who remained had to pledge loyalty to the Nazi system and to ‘German music.’<sup>25</sup>

As for Ørbeck’s former teachers in composition, the situation was quite different compared to Droucker’s. Both seem to have adapted to the new situation quite well. Lothar, according to his own testimony, was among those ‘who did not belong to the persecuted’, nor did he suffer under the Nazis’ performance ban.<sup>26</sup> As for Höffer, he was even appointed as professor at the State Academy of Music in 1933, teaching composition and music theory. Little is known about his political activities, besides some involvement with the Reichsmusikprüfstelle, and that he was blacklisted by the US military government after 1945, despite the fact that he was never a member of the NSDAP.<sup>27</sup> However, in 1948 he could proceed in his career as director of the Berlin Music academy.

### 1938: Breakthrough in Berlin with ‘Nordic Music’

After returning to Norway in the autumn of 1933, Ørbeck pursued her career as a concert pianist with considerable success. She gave her debut concert with the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra under Olav Kielland at the University Aula in Oslo on 2 November 1933, with Haydn’s piano concerto in D major (with Ørbeck’s own cadenzas), Beethoven’s C minor piano concerto and Richard Strauss’s *Burlesque* in D minor.<sup>28</sup> In the following years, her concerts in Oslo were given attention by critics from the leading newspapers, who mostly praised her for her musicality and temperament. Moreover, she promoted the music of composers such as Sergei Prokofiev and Aleksandr Skrjabin, which made her a pioneer for new music in Norway, according to the critics. Pauline Hall, though, indicates potential for further development of her skills, mentioning passages of ‘unmotivated rubato distorting the sense for linearity.’<sup>29</sup>

Besides giving piano recitals Ørbeck, inspired by her studies in Berlin, worked on her first composition for orchestra, which would become her debut. The work, entitled *Concertino for piano and orchestra*, was finished in the autumn of 1937. It consists of four movements: The first, a quite short one, is called *Alla marcia animato*, followed by a *Presto*, *Lento*, and *Allegro vivace*.

25 Albrecht Dümling, ‘On the Road to the “Peoples’ Community” [Volksgemeinschaft]: The Forced Conformity of the Berlin Academy of Music under Fascism’, in: *The Musical Quarterly* 77 (1993), No. 3, pp. 459–483, here p. 478, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/mq/77.3.459>.

26 Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker, 1933–1945*, CD-ROM, Kiel 2014, pp. 4337–4338.

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 3144–3155.

28 Ørbeck’s debut recital as soloist with orchestra was, as it was the custom at such occasions, covered by the national newspapers, all of them issued 4 November, such as *Dagbladet*, *Nationen*, *Norges Handels- og Sjøfartstidende*, *Tidens Tegn* and *Arbeiderbladet* (cf. the digital Newspaper archive at Nasjonalbiblioteket Norway). The critics’ feedback was positive. They acknowledged in unison her adequate technical skills. The response to Beethoven’s concerto was more mixed, some praised her mature conception of the work (Arne van Erpekum Sem in *Tidens Tegn*), others missed a certain weight and mastery in her take on this work (Hans Jørgen Hurum in *Norges Handels- og Sjøfartstidende*).

29 Pauline Hall, [review of Ørbeck’s piano recital 23 February 1935] in: *Dagbladet*.



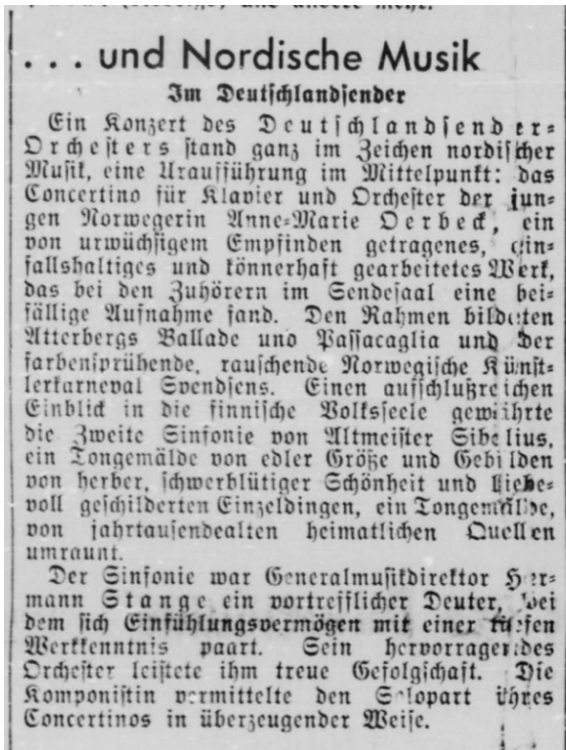
Fig. 1: Anne Marie-Ørbeck, *Concertino*, Opening of first movement (Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck collection, unpublished autograph)

At the same time, Ørbeck looked for an opportunity to promote her first major opus, not just in Norway, but also to the German audience. Obviously, a presentation of herself as soloist of her own work in Germany, even at the very ‘centre of the musical world’, Berlin, would boost her standing also in her home country. On 27 January 1938 she achieved her ambitious goal: The first performance in Germany of her *Concertino* with the Grosses Orchester des Deutschlandfunks conducted by Herman Stange (1884–1953), produced as a radio broadcast in the studio of the Deutschlandsender Berlin, lasting from 20.15 to 21.00.<sup>30</sup> The programme post was labelled ‘Nordische Musik’, and Ørbeck’s work was the first piece of a programme consisting of Kurt Atterberg’s *Ballade und Passacaglia*, Johan Svendsen’s *Norwegischer Künstlerkarneval*, and

<sup>30</sup> Hermann Stange, born in Kiel, worked as Generalmusikdirektor at the Bulgarian National Opera (1930–32), before settling in Berlin. After shorter engagements as guest conductor in Berlin, among them with the Berlin Philharmonics, he was chief conductor of the Grosses Orchester des Deutschlandsenders from 1935 to 1941. Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, p. 6775.

Jean Sibelius' *Second Symphony*.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, recordings of Ørbeck's broadcasts made for the Deutschlandsender do not exist, since they were either aired live, or recorded intermittently on so-called 'Direktschnittplatten', which were not archived.<sup>32</sup>

In German newspapers and journals, such as in the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* and *Signale für die musikalische Welt* in Leipzig, the broadcasted concert was mentioned in positive terms.<sup>33</sup> Even the *Völkischer Beobachter* took notice of Ørbeck as a new champion of Nordic music.<sup>34</sup> According to the reviewer, the work of the young Norwegian was at the centre of the event, dedicated to Nordic music. Ørbeck's work is celebrated in the typical clichéd jargon of the time, as a 'solidly crafted and imaginative piece', elevated by the composer's 'natural, earthy artistic feeling' ('urwüchsiges Empfinden'):



Pic. 2: Excerpt from *Völkischer Beobachter*, 8 February 1938

For the Norwegian community in Berlin, it was a huge event, too, and Norwegians, according to Ørbeck, made up a considerable part of the one thousand who attended the

31 Cf. the programme announcement in *Der Deutsche Rundfunk* 16 (1938), No. 4, 23 January 1938, p. 28. All of the other composers were considered representatives of a truly Nordic sound.

32 This information was given by Jörg Wyrchow, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv Berlin by request of the author in March 2019.

33 Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck collection, compilation of the reviews.

34 'Berliner Kunstbeobachter - Rundfunk - Verdis "Othello" aus Mailand ... und Nordische Musik im Deutschlandsender', in: *Völkischer Beobachter. Kampfblatt der national-sozialistischen Bewegung Großdeutschlands. Berliner Ausgabe* (1938), No. 39, 8 February 1938, p. 6.

concert.<sup>35</sup> Something that remains unclear is how Ørbeck came into contact with music director Herman Stange the first place. In an interview given to *Morgenbladet* on 8 January 1938, she dates her first encounter with Stange to summer 1937, when she was engaged the first time for recording the piano works of Claude Debussy, Maurice Ravel, and Aleksandr Skrjabin for the Deutschlandsender.<sup>36</sup>

On this occasion, she seized the opportunity, and approached Stange to listen to her recently finished work, the *Concertino*. Stange, who liked what he heard, invited her to return and perform it with his orchestra the next season. In Ørbeck's papers there are only very few traces to be found that could shed light on the circumstances of how the relationship with Stange came about. Apparently, Ørbeck involved her mentor Sandra Droucker in the negotiations with Stange. Droucker writes about meetings she had with him during the summer of 1937, regarding the formalities of Ørbeck's engagement. This sheds light on the relationship between Ørbeck and Stange, but also between Droucker and the German conductor. At this time, Droucker had already settled in Norway, driven into exile as a 'Halb-Jude'. This did not seem to hinder her from occasionally returning to Germany and Berlin as a pianist. At the same time, Stange seemed to have had no resentments regarding Droucker's background, and even visited her at her temporary residence in Berlin in 1937.<sup>37</sup> In neither Droucker's nor Ørbeck's correspondence appear any further comments on Stange's political background. Even after the war, Ørbeck credits Stange in interviews for encouraging her to compose a symphonic work in 1935:

Den som tente gnisten var den tyske dirigenten Hermann Stange. Under forberedelsen til en av hans konserter, der han skulle dirigere en av de store symfonier, husker jeg at han sa: 'Noe slikt bør De også skrive – i denne store form.'<sup>38</sup>

Stange, a member of the NSDAP from 1933 on, manoeuvred himself into the position as conductor and administrative leader of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, as a substitute for Wilhelm Furtwängler, who resigned from all his duties in Berlin in 1934 as a protest in connection with the 'Case Hindemith'.<sup>39</sup> The appointment became a fiasco for Stange, and he lost his post immediately (together with his post as vice president at the Reichsmusikkammer), when Furtwängler returned to the Berlin Philharmonic (although only as a permanent guest conductor and without renewing his permanent contract). From 1935 on, Stange worked as the first conductor of the orchestra of the

35 See the biographical overview, authorised by Anne-Marie Ørbeck in: John Neufeld, *Anne Marie Ørbeck som romansekomponist*, [master thesis] Oslo 1982, pp. 9–20. A copy of the thesis proof with annotations by Ørbeck is kept in the Ørbeck collection.

36 'Anne Marie Ørbeck får antatt et orkesterverk. Den unge norske debutant spilles i Tyskland av 60 manns orkester', in: *Morgenbladet*, 8 January 1938.

37 Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck collection, Droucker in letter to Ørbeck, 12 June 1937.

38 Interview by Johanne Grieg Kippenbroek, *Programbladet* (1971), No. 16, p. 13. Translation: 'The one who inspired me was the German conductor Herman Stange. During preparations for one of his concerts, performing one of the great symphonies, I remember he said. "You should write something like this, too – in this grand form."'

39 Misha Aster, *The Reich's Orchestra: The Berlin Philharmonic 1933–1945*, London 2010, pp. 71–77.

Deutschlandsender, where several controversies followed his engagement until his position was terminated in 1941.<sup>40</sup>

After her return from Germany, Ørbeck gave the first performance of the *Concertino* in Trondheim on 18 March 1938, followed by performances in Bergen (10 November 1938), and Oslo (26 January 1939), both under the leadership of Odd Grüner-Hegge. The Norwegian Broadcasting Company (NRK) recorded her work on 9 January 1940. This was a triumphant entrance as a young composer, with all the major symphonic orchestras in Trondheim, Bergen, and Oslo performing her work, in addition to the studio orchestra of NRK. The work was well received by the newspaper critics. Trondheim's *Arbeider-Avisen* highlighted the modern, impressionistic style, resemblances to the 'jazz orchestra', and themes characterised by Norwegian melodies; another critic from the newspaper *Nidaros* acknowledged the peculiar and interesting instrumentation, 'secure foundation on Norwegian soil', with folk tunes as a 'unifying force connecting the whole'.<sup>41</sup> The author of the announcement of Ørbeck's concert in Oslo on 26 January 1939 was impressed by her success in Germany, quoting the review in *Völkischer Beobachter*.<sup>42</sup> In Oslo, Ørbeck was once more the centre of attention of an exclusively Norwegian programme, with Johan Halvorsen, Edvard Grieg, Eivind Groven, and Arne Eggen framing her debut work. In *Dagbladet* of 27 January 1939, Pauline Hall reviewed her peer's performance in quite different terms:

Det ville være urettferdig å forlange at en ung komponist i sitt første store verk skal stå parat med sitt eget personlige tonespråk fiktst og ferdig. Men Anne-Marie Ørbeck sikter ikke sine innfall godt nok. Den muntre [...] tonen i den korte førstesatsen fragår hun plutselig i de solide spissborgerlige slutningstaktene. [...] Det er svært mange slike brå omslag fra en stil og uttrykksform til en annen, så det er ikke lett å finne ut hvor komponisten hører hjemme. Allikevel skinner det igjennom at det ligger teknisk evne bakom arbeidet. Anne Marie Ørbeck viser meget rytmisk oppfinnsomhet og røper at hun har klangsans [...].<sup>43</sup>

This would not be the last time Hall was given the opportunity to assess a work of Ørbeck. With the German occupation of Norway in April 1940, the situation changed dramatically for Hall, one of the few, prominent progressive voices in cultural life. For

40 Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp. 6775–6783.

41 Oscar Skaug, 'Symfoniorkestrets konsert', *Arbeider-Avisa*, 21 March 1938, Th.N. in *Nidaros*, cit. in: Neufeld, *Anne Marie Ørbeck som romansekomponist*, p. 14.

42 *Aftenposten*, Morning edition, 26 January 1939. Author's translation: 'The Concertino was met by huge applause and considered the highlight of the Nordic concert by the German press, a work conveying original feeling, imaginative and demonstrating solid skills', 'Concertinoen ble møtt med stor bifall og blev i den tyske presse betegnet som midtpunktet i den nordiske konsert, et verk båret av egenartede følelse, innfallsrikt og vitnende om solide kunnskap'.

43 Pauline Hall, *Dagbladet*, 27 January 1939. Translation: 'It would be unjust to claim that a young composer in her first major work would present a personal, matured style. However, Anne Marie Ørbeck's ideas lack a clear direction. The lively [...] tone suddenly is abandoned for a "petty-bourgeois", all too massive closure. There are many turns from one style and mode of expression to another and it's not easy to find out, where the composer belongs. One might guess that the composer had difficulties selecting among her many ideas. However, it's obvious that a skilled technique stands behind. Anne Marie Ørbeck displays high rhythmic imagination, and a particular sense for colour [...].'

Ørbeck, trying to pursue her early success as a composer under the new conditions, this proved to be difficult, too.

### 1943: An Award in Difficult Times

When Ørbeck moved from Oslo to Bergen in 1940, German soldiers marched through the city centre. In the meantime, she had married Helge Smitt, an engineering student she had met during his stay in Berlin. Economically secured as the wife of a chemical engineer, and, in 1943, also mother of a son, she led a mostly domestic life away from concert stages. She was not involved in any kind of propaganda efforts by the new regime, neither is there evidence she engaged in any clandestine activities initiated by the Norwegian resistance movement. Her move from the capital, Oslo, to Bergen also reduced her opportunities to work as a concert pianist. Instead, she withdrew from the public stage, besides one appearance on 3 April 1941 as a soloist at the 'popular concert' series of the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra under Hugo Kramm (1890–1958),<sup>44</sup> and giving a few chamber music recitals with her brother, the violinist Gunnar Ørbeck (1906–1991) in February and October 1941, following up on their debut as a duo in 1940.<sup>45</sup>

Ørbeck used the involuntary break from a busy life as concert pianist to concentrate on her compositional work. From 1939 to 1942, she carried out several smaller projects, some orchestral works, arrangements for piano, and a series of seven songs, using texts from Hans Henrik Holm. Compiled as *Syv sanger til tekster av Hans Henrik Holm*, Ørbeck felt confident enough to hand in these pieces to the Norwegian Society of Composers as a competition entry for the composition award, announced in autumn 1942. Pauline Hall was a member of the assessment committee, along with the composer Ludvig Irgens Jensen (1894–1969), and the violinist, conductor and composer Leif Halvorsen (1887–1959). In summer 1943, the committees' decisions were published, and Ørbeck was awarded a shared second prize (a first prize was not given, since 'nobody should be intimidated') in the category of 'concert music in smaller forms', together with Conrad Baden (1908–1989).<sup>46</sup> In 1942, the Norwegian Society of Composers celebrated its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary, and thus announced an internal compe-

44 Hugo Kramm, born in Düsseldorf, settled in Norway in 1919. He worked as violist and kapellmeister at the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra and Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra. In 1927 he founded the Norwegian Radio Orchestra as newly appointed music director of the Norwegian broadcast. In Spring 1941 he was forced to resign from his post and was arrested for a short time. He emigrated to Sweden. After the war, he became reinstated as music director at the Norwegian broadcasting. Cf. Hurum, *Musikken under okkupasjonen*, pp. 104–105.

45 As piano soloist Ørbeck performed the *Burlesque* by Richard Strauss on 3 April 1941, as part of a symphonic programme with the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra under Hugo Kramm (cf. *Bergens Tidende*, 31 March 1941).

Her duo recitals with her brother took place at the University Aula in Oslo, 22 October 1941, followed by a recital in Handelens- og Sjøfartens hus in Bergen, 28 October 1941.

46 Cf. Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck collection, copy of the letter of the Norwegian Society of Composers, dated 8 June 1943, and Ørbeck's remark on the award in a letter to John Neufeld from 20 July 1981.

tition for their members.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, Signe Lund (also a member, and even co-founder of the Norwegian Society of Composers in 1917), who celebrated her 75<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1943, was given a prominent place in Norwegian media by Nazi propaganda. Lund was congratulated by Hans Draeger, the president of the Nordische Verbindungsstelle in Berlin and the Norwegian Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet [Ministry for Culture and Public Enlightenment] for her ‘invaluable contributions to Norway’s music and reputation.’<sup>48</sup> The coverage of Lund’s 75<sup>th</sup> birthday in virtually all the national newspapers overshadowed by far the announcements of and reports on the Norwegian Society of Composers’ anniversary and competition the same month.<sup>49</sup>

For the premiere performance of her works, Ørbeck had to wait another year. In October 1944, her seven songs were presented at a so-called ‘musical evening’ [Musikk-Kveld], together with romances by Arnljot Kjeldaas (1916–1997), Klaus Egge (1906–1997), and Finn Ludt (1918–1992), for an exclusive audience consisting only of the composer society’s members.<sup>50</sup>

These ‘musical evenings’ were arranged as closed events for members, to avoid the attention of the censors in the teaterdirektoratet.<sup>51</sup> This way, Norwegian composers were given an opportunity to present some of their works for a Norwegian audience, as part of the ‘semi-clandestine’, ‘un-official’ concert life, organised in response to the paroles of the civil resistance movement to boycott the official concert life. For the composers of songs, the use of Norwegian texts also was a strategy to handle the teaterdirektoratet’s censorship, as it was often difficult to decide if a particular text, often referring to the same old Norse myths and sagas the Nazi party cherished, had to be considered as ‘patriotic’ or ‘unpatriotic’. The interpretation of the songs either way depended to a certain extent on the knowledge of their local context and idiom, and not least, on the ‘ethos’ of the performers: In the case of Ørbeck, the attitude of singer Gunvor Mjelva (1902–1988),<sup>52</sup> who was also the dedicatee of Ørbeck’s songs.

47 For a more detailed look at the Norsk Komponistforening’s jubilee and the competitions see Arvid O. Vollsnes’ chapter in this volume.

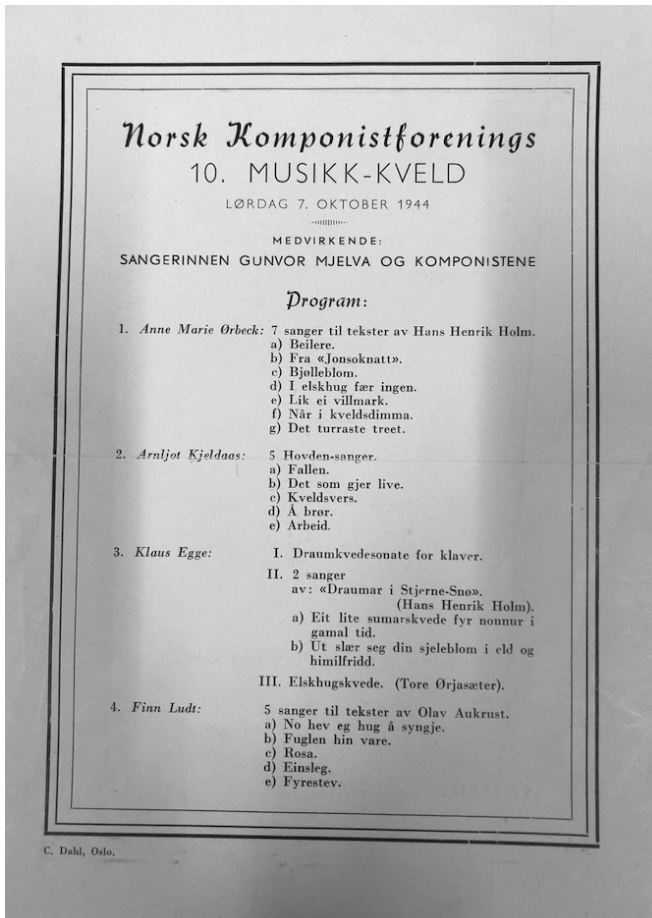
48 Hans Dræger, ‘Overstrømmende hyldest til Signe Lund’, in: *Aftenposten*, Evening edition, 16 April 1943.

49 Gushing laudations praising Lund in April 1943 were placed both in *Dagbladet*, *Morgenbladet*, *Bergens Tidende*, *Fritt Folk*, *Varden*, *Nationen*, *Adressavisen*, and many other regional newspapers. A short notice with the announcement of the composer society’s competition award winners was to be found only in *Aftenposten* 15 June 1943, and a few regional or local newspapers (results of search query for ‘Signe Lund’ and ‘komponistkonkurranse’ dated 1943 in the Newspaper archive, Norwegian National Library).

50 Rune J. Andersen, article ‘Arnljot Kjeldaas’, in: *Store norske leksikon*, ([https://snl.no/Arnljot\\_Kjeldaas](https://snl.no/Arnljot_Kjeldaas), last update 17 November 2013, last access 05 May 2020); Morten Eide Pedersen, article ‘Klaus Egge’, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* ([https://nbl.snl.no/Klaus\\_Egge](https://nbl.snl.no/Klaus_Egge), last update 25 February 2020, last access 12 May 2020); Anders Eggen, article ‘Finn Ludt’, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, ([https://nbl.snl.no/Finn\\_Ludt](https://nbl.snl.no/Finn_Ludt), last update 13 November 2018, last access 25 February 2020).

51 On Teaterdirektoratet and the system of censorship, see Andreas Bußmann’s chapter.

52 Gunvor Mjelva, Norwegian lyric/dramatic soprano, soloist and pedagogue, gave her official debut recital in Oslo on 24 February 1932. During the occupation, she was one of the most active and popular singers in the unofficial, clandestine concert life. Her patriotic commitment was acknowledged after the war. She was invited as the only female soloist to perform at the celebration concert for the homecoming of King Haakon VII at the National theatre in Oslo 8 May 1945. Cf. Anne Braaten et al. (eds.), *Jeg kunne det da jeg gikk hjemmefra*, Oslo musikk lærerforening 100 år. 1905–2005, Oslo 2005, p. 196. A yet unpublished list discovered at Norges Hjemmefront Museum by Michael Custodis confirms Mjelva’s engagement in the civil resistance movement, as indicat-



Pic. 3: Programme for 'musical evening' with winners of the Norwegian Society of Composers' competition in 1942, 7 October 1944 (Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck collection)

After the war, three of the seven songs were edited by Norsk Musikforlag, with a changed title, as suggested by Hans Henrik Holm: *Vonir i blømetid* [Hope at blossom time]: 'Beilere' [Suitors], 'Eldslogar' [Flames], and 'Gjente-brilur' [Girls' sentiments]. The titles of the other four songs were 'Jonsoknatt' [Midsummer Night], 'Bjølleblom' [Bluebell], 'Etter ei kalderid' [After a Night frost], and 'I kveldsdimma' [In the Sunset].<sup>53</sup>

The pieces are written in the tradition of Norwegian romances, depicting images of nature, pastoral scenes, impressionistic moods, and folkloristic topics in both music and text. The song 'Jonsoknatt' (number two in the original series of seven songs), taken from Hans Henrik Holm's breakthrough epos with the same title published in 1933,

ed by her name on this list of 'trustworthy people' compiled by the resistance movement. The list and its implications will be discussed in Custodis' forthcoming book *Music and Resistance. Cultural Defense During the German Occupation of Norway 1940–45*.

53 Anne Marie Ørbeck, *Vonir i blømetid for sang og piano*, Oslo 1945.

might illustrate the narrative that stirred Ørbeck's compositional imagination: it presents a key topos in Norwegian, or even Nordic, mythology: the midsummer night. It is a mythical folk ritual (also depicted in many paintings), where the peasants living in secluded valleys gather around bonfires. It is a magical night, full of expectation. The rituals also bring health and luck to their farms and animals. The girls sleep with flowers under their pillows, dreaming of who they will be married to. The text Ørbeck picked from Holm's 'Jonsoknatt' to set her music to is about anticipating the future by picking a flower's petals (first verse). The second verse is about hiding a four-leaved clover when finding it – as a symbol of fortune.

The concluding verse depicts an image of nature ('Vår lagnad flyr som haug over reirfugl og stegg med knivklør som daudljås-egg') to convey the meaning of 'our fate will always be fragile, threatened by dangers hovering above us'<sup>54</sup> Ørbeck, following her classicist ideal, arranged the music according to the poem's structure as a cyclic ABA design, with a regular syntax of two bar phrases, and a short introduction. The second verse and B-part move from A minor to D major, parallel to the texts' change to a more optimistic mood. The melody is, again, according to Ørbeck's outspoken commitment to tonal tradition, written in diatonic fashion, underpinned by a homophonic, harmonic texture. Some passages are highlighted by transitional dissonances, with modal episodes, open fifths, and pedal point integrated as references to folk tradition. Ørbeck explicitly added the performance instruction 'in folk tune' to the score, which might remind the performer to apply a certain, native, natural vocal style of Norwegian folk singers. Her commitment to the specific idiom of vocal folk melodies had also a personal background, as she revealed in her comment on the lyrical impulse for her style, which was the magic of the folk melodies she learned from her grandmother.<sup>55</sup>

The other songs of the cycle present an array of 'post-Grieg' stylistic elements, which the Norwegian audience was quite familiar with at this time: 'Bluebell' describes the sorrows of the lovers after being left alone, again using a diatonic melody embedded in a harmonic texture with some more 'progressive' harmonic shifts, variants, and mediant progressions, advanced modulations into remote regions, even tritone relations, yet never leaving the tonal foundation. Time and again, some of the most generic ingredients of the Nordic tone appear, such as modal passages, pedal point, and open fifths, or as in 'Girls sentiments', a popular Norwegian dance topos: the Halling. All these means were used to emphasise the mood expressed in the poems, thus establishing a semantic parallelism of music and text, and for the Norwegian listener, evoking pictorial associations with paintings of Norwegian landscapes or, in the case of Ørbeck's 'In the Sunset', to Jean-François Millet's painting 'Angelus', depicting two peasants bowing down on a field for prayer after a hard day's work.<sup>56</sup>

54 The verses Ørbeck picked appear as a short passage in Hans Henrik Holm, *Jonsoknatt*, Oslo, 1933, pp. 16–25, on p. 20 of the original version of Holm's poem with the title *Det skûmast i skogen* [It darkens in the woods].

55 Cf. Sandved/Bull, *Musikkens verden*, pp. 2231–2232.

56 Cf. Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck collection, Ørbeck in a letter to Johan Neufeld from 20 July 1981.



Fig. 4: Opening of Anne Marie Ørbeck 'Jonsoknatt' (Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck collection, unpublished autograph)

### 'Hope in Blossom Time': 'Nordic Tone' as an Idiom of Resistance?

Several composers drew their inspiration for vocal works from Hans Henrik Holm's poems.<sup>57</sup> The most prominent among them is Ludvig Irgens-Jensen's '*Ei Malmfuru*' (1933) which became a popular piece for male choir, a 'secret patriotic hymn', performed at the clandestine recitals organised in private homes during the occupation.<sup>58</sup> To the Norwegians gathering at those cultural events of civil resistance, the allegory of the 'Malmfuru' (the eldest, strongest pine tree, also used for building the famous Norwegian stave churches) was easy to decipher, relating the exiled Norwegian King's return to the poem's tale about a tall tree cut down and taken out of the Norwegian

57 Olav Dalgard et al. (eds.), *Hans Henrik Holm og det bygdenorske. Diktning og granskning gjennom 25 år*. Festskrift, Oslo 1958, pp. 154–156.

58 Arvid O. Vollnes, *Komponisten Ludvig Irgens-Jensen. Europeer og Nordmann*, Oslo 2000, pp. 331–332.



Pic. 5: Frøydis Haavardsholm, illustration 'Fra Jonsoknatt', in Henrik Holm's *Om Norsk folkesjel* (1941)

woods, then resurrected as a strong pole, carrying the boat safely on its course through stormy seas.<sup>59</sup>

In the same year, 1933, Holm had his breakthrough with *Jonsoknatt*.<sup>60</sup> It was the result of his year-long quest for what he later on would try to convey in his essay *Om Norsk folkesjel* [On Norwegian mentality].<sup>61</sup> In the 1920s, Holm apparently became inspired by the reformist Arts and Crafts movement's search for a spiritual life, in close contact with nature. He may have become familiar with this movement through his wife, the illustrator and craft artist Frøydis Haavardsholm (1896–1984). Haavardsholm also contributed to Holm's publications such as *Jonsoknatt* and *Om Norsk folkesjel* with illustrations.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 332.

<sup>60</sup> Holm, *Jonsoknatt*; Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck collection keeps copies of Holm's poem collections with dated dedications to Ørbeck.

<sup>61</sup> Hans Henrik Holm, *Om norsk folkesjel*, Oslo 1941, with illustrations by Frøydis Haavardsholm.

For years, Holm would shift between a life as an urban bohemian in Oslo and as an ethnographic field worker, settling in the secluded region of Setesdal.<sup>62</sup> His activities as a collector of folk poetry and researcher of the ‘archaic’ vernacular idiom kept alive in the most remote, apparently primitive places, was driven by a passion for rural culture. His own poetry features the folk tales he collected in a kind of artificial language, a mixture of oral idiom with archaic dialect forms, and a vocabulary created by himself, mostly by juxtaposing authentic expressions in new word combinations.<sup>63</sup>

During the occupation, Holm joined the civil resistance movement, writing outspoken political poems under the pseudonym ‘ein uppdøl’. These poems, or ‘war tunes’ as he called them, were full of irony, allegories, and symbolic meanings. Most of them were printed and distributed by the illegal paper *Norsk Front*.<sup>64</sup> In 1942 the poem *Sverdliljer* [Iris] came out, printed in the journal *Samtiden* before it was discontinued; another of his collections of war poems was published as *Raudt nordlyse* [Red Northern Lights] in 1946.<sup>65</sup> Before the publishing house Gyldendal was taken over by Norwegian Nazi editors, Holm managed to get his ‘anti-Germanic’ essay *Norsk folkesjel* published. Holm’s convoluted and archaic Norwegian made it an ideal medium for disseminating his allegories against suppression. His language was so peculiar that even experts of the Norwegian language strived to decipher the meaning of the words. For a censor, unable to fathom the hidden meaning of the poems, the ‘archaic’ Norwegian might have been taken as expression of a ‘völkische Nordic’ vernacular, and as an affirmation of the pan-Germanic ideology. Hence, Holm was never persecuted, as his clandestine activities were never revealed during the war. After the war, even his own peers from the Den norske Forfatterforening (Norwegian Authors’ Union) were considering an investigation into his activities and attitudes during the occupation, ‘because he wrote these “ultra-Norwegian” [norsk-norske] poems, and even if he wasn’t member of the NS; neither they could pin down any political nor economical wrongdoing’.<sup>66</sup>

With this in mind, Ørbeck’s decision to set music to Holm’s *Jonsoknatt* and to hand in these songs to the Norwegian Society of Composers’ competition in 1942 adds a political dimension to these apparently harmless romances. Ørbeck must have known about Holm’s political positions and activities. She received Holm’s publications during the war, with explicit dedications. They had already developed a close relationship before Ørbeck left Norway for her studies in Berlin, and had kept up a close friendship since then.<sup>67</sup> Holm’s suggestion for the title of the three songs published in 1945, ‘Hope in Blossom time’, seems to refer to the situation of despair they were created

62 The Setesdal Museum has reconstructed Holm’s apartment in Oslo, including artefacts from Holm’s collection of Norwegian folkloristic art (<https://www.setesdalsmuseet.no/faste-utstillinger/setesdalsmuseet-rystad/hans-henrik-holm/>, last access 27 May 2020).

63 Martin Skjekkeland, ‘Om språket til Hans Henrik Holm. Fra midlandsmål og Valle-mål til det “Holm-norske”’, in: Åmund K. Homme (ed.), *Hans Henrik Holm 1896–1996. Foredrag omkring 100-årsminnet*, Valle kommune 1996, pp. 33–57, here p. 48.

64 A collection of eight of Holm’s ‘war tunes’ printed in 1942–43 in illegal newspapers is reproduced in *Norsk Fronts Ukeavis* Nr. 65, 31 October 1945.

65 Cf. Hans Henrik Holm, *Raudt Nordlyse. Vilje-kveik og lentur i ei vargetid*, Oslo, 1946, preface p. 7.

66 Nils Johan Ringdal, *Ordenes pris. Den norske Forfatterforening 1893–1993*, Oslo 1993, p. 220.

67 Hans Henrik Holm’s papers at Riksarkivet, Oslo, contain several letters from Ørbeck to Holm and drafts of Holm’s answers, which shed further light on their close relationship, in addition to the letters from Holm to Ørbeck, kept at Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek.

in, and the individual striving for spiritual comfort. Furthermore, it echoes the motto, which has been given as the preliminary title for the collection of seven songs sent to the competition in 1942: *Optimisten* (The Optimist). In 1943, the audiences very well might have had this context in mind, not least, the committee members Hall and Irgens Jensen. At the same time as Ørbeck's songs were awarded, Holm's resistance poems were published by Hjemmefronten. Hall and Irgens Jensen refrained from any political allusions in their written assessment (which could have been protocolled and sent to the censors), focussing instead on the sincerity of the music, the composer's 'good intuition for form', and 'exceptional capability of catching the atmosphere of the poems immediately, and in a clear manner'.<sup>68</sup>

After the war, Holm found himself in a quite peculiar situation. Obviously unaware of his clandestine activities and involvement with the resistance movement, the Norwegian Authors Union took the initiative to punish him as, if not a collaborator, then at least as an opportunist.<sup>69</sup> Obviously, the 'cover' of his reputation as a writer of archaic Norwegian, which had served him so well during the occupation, turned into the very reason for suspicion. To Ørbeck, who knew Holm's ideological and aesthetic positions, Holm's poems might have signified something quite different, which lead to the quest for 'folkesjel' both of them shared: a deep connection with the ancestors' spiritual legacy, a collective imagination shaped and reshaped through the course of time, and handed down from generation to generation. In Ørbeck's case, the creative impulse for her artistic production was the personal history of her own family, and the legacy of folk tunes passed down to her by her grandmother. To Holm, the sincerity and clarity of individual expression and communication, and the anti-totalitarian mode of organising a community he found in his studies of rural society, forged a culture that respects the freedom of the individual and conveys sympathy for the outsider. In his poetry, he distilled these experiences, conveyed in the transmitted narratives he collected over the years, and transformed them into a vision of an imaginary people's mentality (which happened to be the Norwegian).<sup>70</sup>

This too shows that the category of the 'national, folkloristic', often used to separate the conservative from the progressive, both in aesthetic and political terms, has to be differentiated, as well as related terms such as the 'folkesjel'. To Holm, the quest for Norwegian mentality meant something quite different than for Quisling. As for Ørbeck, the use of native folk tunes and commitment to tonality did not label her in the same category of romantic-style composers such as Signe Lund, who openly expressed her sympathy with the 'völkische' ideology.

The case of Ørbeck still awaits an in-depth study of both her artistic significance and her agency as a female composer of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As such, she was drawn into the dramatically changing relationship between Germany and Norway, trying to consolidate her place within the national mainstream, and choosing her individual position within the modernist and classicist currents struggling for dominance in the early

68 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1446/D/Da/L0004; Assessment committee's remarks on Ørbeck's songs. The author is grateful to Arvid Vollsnes for drawing attention to this document.

69 Willy Dahl, 'Hans Henrik Holm og det nasjonale', in: Homme (ed.), *Hans Henrik Holm 1896–1996*, pp. 64–70.

70 Dahl, 'Hans Henrik Holm og det nasjonale', in: Homme, *Hans Henrik Holm 1896–1996*, pp. 65–66.



Fig. 6: 'Jeg har kjempet med stoffet – intet har vært lettvinnt'  
[I Strived with the Matter – Nothing Came Easy to Me]  
(Interview with Ørbeck, *Bergens Tidende*, 26 January 1971)

20<sup>th</sup> century. Time and again, Ørbeck expressed her difficulties in a milieu which was resistant to accepting her success as a female composer. To prove her critics wrong was a driving force behind her creative development. Her early success as a composer was remarkable and promising. It was Herman Stange, who encouraged her at the earliest stage of her career, to dare to compose in the grand form of the symphony.<sup>71</sup>

71 Ørbeck in an interview in *Bergens Tidende*, 26 January 1971.

She took the war times as an opportunity to make this impossible task a reality. As an agent in the political sense, Ørbeck as a composer was not motivated to let her music and style express radical ideas. In terms of music historiography, she never was a modernist, neither did she write 'contemporary' music. Hence, as so many of her peers writing in the national style until 1945 and beyond, she became one of the forgotten composers of her generation. Ørbeck never had the intellectual aspirations and polemic wit of Pauline Hall, making her the protagonist of the anti-national 'New music' movement after the war (although Ørbeck in 1946 became member of the Norwegian organisation *Ny musikk*, founded by Hall in 1938 as the Norwegian branch of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM)).<sup>72</sup> Ørbeck neither became as infamous as Signe Lund, not for her music, but for her involvement with the Nazi regime and ideology. As close as she came to an environment of Nazi musicians during her stays in Berlin between 1930 and 1937, she never took advantage of her image as a 'Nordic' composer, nor expressed any sympathies with the Nazi ideology. When coming back to Norway, and moving to Bergen, she struggled to maintain her career as young, promising composer and performer. However, she refrained from any opportunities to be promoted by the Nazi regime's propaganda apparatus.

Taken out of context, Ørbeck's seven songs set to poems of Hans Henrik Holm might be another example of a generic genre of post Grieg-style romances with Norwegian texts. However, this investigation of a young, Norwegian female composer starting her career in the Berlin of the late 1930s, in the middle of a pivotal historical moment in the long-standing German-Norwegian cultural relationship, might shed new light on a complex interplay of musical forms of expression, essential features of style, and their discursive significance, subsumed under the generic labels of 'national style' or 'Nordic tone'. Ørbeck's settings of Hans Henrik Holm's poems convey the subtle interplay of two Norwegian idioms, at the same time archaic and contemporary, conceived as unpolitical and at the same time signifying what Holm called 'collective mentality'. In Ørbeck's case, they might also illustrate how it was possible to survive the war and occupation, keeping ethical sincerity and artistic integrity intact.

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72 Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Ørbeck papers, confirmation letter of Ørbeck's membership in *Ny musikk*, signed by Pauline Hall, and dated 21 October 1946.

*Michael Custodis*

## **Remote Resistance**

### **Norwegian Musicians in Swedish Exile**

It is a characteristic of resistance that the will to turn oppositional attitudes and passive disaffirmation into active resistance includes the acceptance of high personal risk, including families and comrades. In contrast, going into exile was less of an option among other possibilities, but mostly a bare necessity to survive. At home an everyday routine had helped to maintain civil resistance over long time spans and combine political with apolitical issues. Being abroad, on the one hand, meant that actions that had become too dangerous at home could be maintained or even intensified. Therefore, music was an effective tool in defending the nation's integrity through the demonstration of patriotism. On the other hand, previously valued features of musical individuality lost importance outside of one's homeland. Social and artistic status, audience response, income and contacts had to be rebuilt under different cultural and socio-political dependencies. In consequence, the former impact of artists weakened substantially in exile. Their focus now had to be primarily on the banal realities of making a living, gaining support and staying prepared emotionally and politically for the return home.<sup>1</sup>

While the first paragraphs of this essay try to demonstrate the complexity of musical resistance work in exile, the latter ones will examine the motives of maintaining the memory of a free and independent Norway, to strengthen the morale among the exiled community and set a counterpoint to strong German influences in Sweden.

### **Numbers, Procedures, and Swedish Sensitivities**

Regarding the numbers of Norwegian refugees in Sweden during World War II, definitive estimations are difficult. A statistic report from 1 June 1945, compiled by the refugee department in Stockholm (the so-called 'Flytningskontoret Stockholm'), counts 48,410 people. The validity of these numbers is however limited, focusing on the years 1942–45, when the official census began, hence not including Norwegians who had been in Sweden already before the war, or who were of Swedish descent and therefore allowed by the German authorities to leave Norway legally after 1940.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the procedures of how refugees entered Sweden are well documented.<sup>3</sup> The Norwegians had managed to rescue their merchant fleet from German control so that the exiled Norwegian government in London could depend on a steady, substantial income. All Norwegians who had been accepted as expatriates in Sweden could at least be provided with basic supplies. Nevertheless, the situation was not easy. Soon after the govern-

1 Robert Levin and Mona Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, Oslo 1983, p. 251.

2 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-1677/E/L0106. See for the broader context the detailed study by Lars Hansson, *Vid gränsen. Mottagningen av flyktingar från Norge 1940–1945*, [dissertation], Göteborg 2019; Eirik Veum, *Det svenske sviket. 1940–45*, Oslo 2017, p. 166 where numbers of approximately 60,000 refugees are estimated.

3 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, SE/RA/420393/01/F/F\_1\_A/F\_1\_AB/F\_1\_ABA/4302.

ment had left for London in the summer of 1940, the Stockholm embassy, the so called 'Norsk Legasjon' expanded, and several departments took care of matters for military, economy, press work, trade, justice and health care.<sup>4</sup> Due to severe persecution, the number of refugees increased steadily from 1942 on. To support the Norwegian expatriates' integration into the Swedish labour market, the Norsk Legasjon organised their residence in close agreement with the Swedish authorities. On 15 June 1942 their first location 150 km west of Stockholm had been opened.<sup>5</sup>



Pic. 1: Registration of Norwegian refugees in Kjesäter (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1209/Uc/65/1-2/S5467)

Whatever the Norwegian musicians might have wanted to achieve for the sake of their occupied homeland or their individual career, it cannot be understood without considering the atmosphere in Sweden, both in general during the Second World War and especially concerning the Nordic neighbourhood. The more the threat of a war had become apparent in the late 1930s, the more difficult the Swedish position appeared to sustain the state doctrine of neutrality, and at the same time maintain its close relations to the other Nordic countries. The parliamentary monarchies in Oslo and Copenhagen had been forced under Nazi control (both kings were brothers), while Helsinki temporarily joined forces in an anti-Soviet coalition war (1939–1940, 1941–1944). In practical terms, the Swedish government was torn between expectations to secure political, diplomatic and moral standards on the one hand, and military realities of German demands for uncontrolled troop transports and the constant supply of resources for their weapons industry on the other hand.

Stockholm's cultural life represented all these different, sometimes rivalling or contradicting aspects, including propagandistic events featuring either Nazi Germany or

4 Norges Hjemmefrontmuseum, Oslo, NHM 498.

5 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, SE/RA/420393/01/F/F\_1\_A/F\_1\_AB/F\_1\_ABA/514 and SE/RA/Kjesäter vol. EII:17; Eirik Veum, *Det svenske sviket. 1940–45*, Oslo 2017, p. 162.



anti-Quisling Norway. A newspaper clip from the *Svenska Dagbladet* dated 30 October 1942 promoted suits for the fashionable resistance fighter which exemplifies that this topic was present in everyday life as well (see picture 2).<sup>6</sup>



Pic. 2: *Svenska Dagbladet*, 30 October 1942

Joseph Goebbels' propaganda kept Sweden present in Germany with the engagement of Zarah Leander and Kristina Söderbaum, who was married to Veit Harlan, the director of the infamous propaganda movie *Jud Süß*. At the same time, German musicians such as Wilhelm Backhaus, Karl Böhm and Walter Gieseking were active in Sweden during the war, and benefitted from the myth of a German superiority in music, as did especially Wilhelm Furtwängler during his visit to Stockholm in 1943.<sup>7</sup> Due to the general instructions by state authorities to avoid provocations against Germany (and accordingly to prevent active censorship), most newspaper articles avoided any political commentary and neglected to reveal that these artists were travelling on behalf of National Socialist 'Auslandspropaganda'.<sup>8</sup> Strikingly, one can find in another newspaper

6 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 30 October 1942, p. 3.

7 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 31 January 1941, p. 12; 14 February 1941, p. 11; 22 August 1943; 30 November 1943, p. 13; 1 December 1943, p. 19.

8 See for the overall background the chapter 'Informasjonskontroll og pressesensur', in: Veum, *Det svenske sviket. 1940–45*, pp. 256–281.

issue advertisements for Norwegian and Danish artists in exile, supported by Swedish colleagues and Princess Ingeborg, on the same page as ads for the German musicians, Karl Böhm and Walter Giesecking, on a propaganda tour (see picture 3).<sup>9</sup>

The image shows a collage of five advertisements from the newspaper Svenska Dagbladet, dated 9 October 1943. The ads are arranged in a grid-like fashion. At the top left is an advertisement for a concert by Karl Böhm, featuring works by Weber and Strauss. To its right is an advertisement for Intim Musik by Ansel Schütz, featuring Ernst Källberg and Tora Wiberg. Below the Böhm ad is an advertisement for a concert at Konserthuset, featuring Sigurd Wallens and Rospiggar. To the right of that is an advertisement for Nordisk Afton, featuring Attiksalen and a program of music and declamation. At the bottom left is an advertisement for a concert at Konserthuset, featuring the Danish Flying Girls. To the right of that is an advertisement for a church service at S:ta Maria Magdalena kyrka, featuring a song by Kyrkan.

Pic. 3: Svenska Dagbladet, 9 October 1943

Featuring the presence of open and subliminal German propaganda in Sweden, and contacts to domestic artists, Swedish musicology has contributed several case studies about the generation of composers who dominated the national music life during the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>10</sup> Among them, Kurt Atterberg was credited to be the most influential, not only because of his prestigious position as the secretary of the Royal Music Academy in Stockholm, including the privilege of having his own compositional class, but also regarding his intimate involvement in international associations. To an enormous extent, his private papers document how he stayed in touch with colleagues and political elites, especially in Germany, for example Hans Sellschopp, head of the foreign affairs office (Leiter der Auslandsstelle) and Heinz Drewes, the head of the music department in Joseph Goebbels' ministry of propaganda, as well as Herbert Gerigk, head of the so-called 'Sonderstab Musik beim Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg,' responsible for the acquisition and disappropriation of music-related Jewish property in German-occupied territory (such as scores, instruments, libraries, letters, and so on).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Svenska Dagbladet, 22 August 1943.

<sup>10</sup> These archival findings contour and match recent publications about Atterberg: Petra Garberding, *Musik och politik i skuggan av nazismen. Kurt Atterberg och de svensk-tyska musikrelationerna*, Lund 2007, especially chapter 5 'En plats i solen för svensk musik? Gestaltning av ett nationellt musikliv' and 6 'Vilket minne behöver en nation?'

<sup>11</sup> Archive of the Music Academy Stockholm, ATP5956 and ATT0051; Nancy Fleetwood, 'Musical Notes from Abroad. Germany', in: *The Musical Times* 79 (April 1938), No. 1142, pp. 305–307,

Atterberg was in close contact with both representatives of the Reichskommissariat Norwegen and the Quisling regime on music topics, especially with his friend, Norwegian composer and music operative David Monrad Johansen. He also got active regularly, for example in October 1942, to query rumours that the Norwegian Nazi party Nasjonal Samling really had decreed a ban of Swedish music in Norway. Writing directly to Berlin, he contacted a Dr. Gast at the Propagandaministerium on 30 October 1942 on this topic, which even made it into the Swedish news, and *Svenska Dagbladet* reported on 30 October 1942:

Från Oslo meddelas, det att NS-myndigheterna för en kort tid sedan utfärdade förbud mot offentlig framförande av svensk musik. Verk av ryska och judiska kompositörer ha redan tidigare bannlysts från den norska konsertsalarna. Nyordningen inom musiklivet ledes av kapellmästare Jim Johannessen, hirdens riksmusikledare, som fått utvidgade fullmakter, sedan han blev medlem av det nybildade kulturrådet. Johannessen har under loppet av den senaste halvåret berövat statens musikkonsulent, Geirr Tveidt, varje inflytande. Denne har nu i brev till kultur- och folkupplysningsdepartementet inlämnat sin avskedsansökan.

Konsertmusikernas situation har i höst varit ganska underlig. Bestämmelser utfärdas den ena veckan och kallas ofta tillbaka nästa vecka. En bestämmelse som fortfarande gäller är den, att vokalister måste sända in sina texter för att få dem godkända. En klausul enligt vilken musikerna skulle vara skyldiga att medverka i Osloradion har däremot upphävts.<sup>12</sup>

Four months later, Atterberg received an answer from Berlin, which informed him that, according to inquiries of the Reichskommissariat in Oslo, such a prohibition did not exist,<sup>13</sup> which in fact was distinct misinformation.

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here p. 305, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/921371>; Hans-Jürgen Luthhöft, *Der Nordische Gedanke in Deutschland 1920–1940*, [dissertation 1970], Stuttgart 1971; Reidar Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie. Geirr Tveitt – en biografi*, Oslo 2008, p. 162; Ernst Piper, *Alfred Rosenberg. Hitlers Chefideologe*, Munich 2005, p. 276; Vesa Vares, 'Kulturpolitik als Außenpolitik. Berichte deutscher WissenschaftlerInnen über die nordischen Länder an das Auswärtige Amt in den 1930er Jahren', in: *Nordeuropaforum* 21 (2011), No. 2, pp. 39–75, here p. 42, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18452/8086>; Martin Thrun, 'Führung und Verwaltung. Heinz Drewes als Leiter der Musikabteilung des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (1937–1944)', in: Albrecht Riethmüller and Michael Custodis (eds.), *Die Reichsmusikkammer. Kunst im Bann der Nazi-Diktatur*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 2015, pp. 101–146.

12 'Svensk musik får ej framföras i Norge' in: *Svenska Dagbladet*, 30 October 1942, p. 6. Translation: 'From Oslo is communicated that the NS authorities have issued ban on public performances of Swedish music a little while ago. Pieces from Russian or Jewish composers had already before been banned from the Norwegian concert halls. The new order of the musical life is led by Kapellmeister Jim Johannessen, Hird's national music executive, who has gotten extended authority since he became a member of the newly formed cultural council. Johannessen has, during the last half year, deprived the musical consultant of the state, Geirr Tveidt, of any influence. He has now, in a letter to the ministry of culture and public information, announced his resignation. The situation of concert musicians has been quite odd during autumn. One week, regulations are mandated and often revoked the next week. A regulation which still holds is that vocalists must hand in their texts and have them approved. A clause after which musicians should have been obliged to participate in the Oslo radio has however been lifted.'

13 Archive of the Music Academy Stockholm, ATT0054.

## Norwegian Protagonists

Together with Ole Jacob Malm (1910–2005), Hans Jacob Ustvedt (1903–1982) became a leading figure of the civil resistance movement, both in Norway and in exile after 1942. Both shared a medical profession as well as their love for music – Malm played piano, while Ustvedt preferred to sing. Ustvedt's papers in Oslo's Riksarkiv document his impressive intellectual horizon; after a career as professor for internal medicine in Oslo (1951–1962) he became the director of the Norwegian Broadcasting Company NRK (until 1972). Also, as one can learn from his diaries, German music and literature were central points of reference for him. In 1938 for example, Ustvedt took the liberty to write to Thomas Mann in his Swiss exile and confessed his deep admiration for the poet's explicit defence against Adolf Hitler's aggressive attempt to monopolise German culture.<sup>14</sup> The Nobel laureate (of literature in 1929) thanked Ustvedt nine days later, with kind words for his cordial support.

Hans Jacob Ustvedt's resistance work demonstrates a particular connection between Norwegian exile policy and Swedish cultural life. After his medical exam in 1927, he was employed at Oslo's Rikshospitalet and became active in the executive council of young medical doctors ('yngre legers foreningen'), and was then appointed their representative. With their access and knowledge of administrative procedures and office services, no one noticed for a long time that Ustvedt and his comrades Malm, Kåre Norum and Arne Okkenhaug built up a clandestine communication network to distribute information.<sup>15</sup> It was most efficient to use the legal and established communication channels of mail, telephone and telegraph, which in part were provided by the railway service throughout the country. Supported by colleagues who could travel for professional reasons and dispatch secret information inconspicuously, the so-called co-ordination committee ('Koordinasjonskomitee') was established in Oslo in the autumn of 1941. It could rely on secret connections to Bergen, Trondheim, Lillehammer and Kristiansand, and coordinated individual networks that teachers, mail staff, railway employees, architects, journalists, and engineers had built up independently. Thanks to their planning, the information courier network stayed intact throughout the war and was responsible particularly for the exchange of orders and strategies between resistance members in occupied Norway and their contacts in London and Stockholm.

When Ustvedt had to flee Norway on 8 November 1942 to avoid arrest, he left his wife Sigrud Ustvedt (born 25 June 1903) and their children Nils (born 15 April 1928), Hanna (born 8 February 1931) and Kristin (born 15 February 1936) behind in Oslo.<sup>16</sup> In Sweden he entered a fully established bureaucratic system, and was soon responsible for medical affairs. Together with approximately 20 doctors (including a full dental system) and 30 nurses, he took care of medical services, the supply of medicine

14 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1248/E/Ea/L0004.

15 Tore Gjelsvik, *Hjemmefronten. Den sivile motstand under okkupasjonen 1940–1945*, Oslo 1977; Ole Kristian Grimnes, *Norge og den 2. verdenskrig. Hjemmefrontens ledelse*, Oslo, Bergen and Tromsø 1977, pp. 69–212; Ivar Kraglund and Arnfinn Moland, *Hjemmefront* (= Magne Skodvin (ed.), *Norge i Krig. Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940–1945*, Vol. 6), Oslo 1987; Berit Nøkleby, *Holdningskamp*, (= Magne Skodvin (ed.), *Norge i Krig. Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940–1945*, Vol. 4), Oslo 1995, pp. 242–249.

16 Riksarkivet Stockholm, SE/RA/420393/01/F/F\_1\_A/F\_1\_AB/F\_1\_ABA/4302.

and vaccines, information campaigns about healthy nutrition, the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, as well as the distribution of medical goods and staple food into Norway through the 'Svenska Norgehjälpen' and a so-called 'Donator-Kommitéen'.

Ole Jacob Malm had to leave Norway only six days after Ustvedt on 14 November 1942 under very tragic circumstances.<sup>17</sup> Besides his commitment to coordinate the civil resistance throughout the country, Malm had actively supported the rescue and transport of persecuted Jews into Sweden. In an undated interview he described the circumstances of his own flight: An old couple of Austrian refugees (the husband being Jewish, while his wife was 'Aryan') had found temporary shelter at the house of Malm's father Erling before they were brought into the woods along the Norwegian-Swedish border.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, they ran into German soldiers and the immediate attempt of the old man to kill himself with cyanide failed. Instead, he was saved in a Norwegian hospital, and revealed under torture the names of his supporters to the German Sicherheitspolizei in their notorious Oslo headquarters, 'Viktoria Terrasse'. In consequence, Erling Malm was arrested on 4 or 5 November 1942, and questioned intensively. The following night, he committed suicide to avoid the risk of revealing other names under torture. His son Ole Jacob escaped the attempted arrest by the German authorities, as he had spent the night in a clandestine apartment. He immediately went to Sweden and soon spent much time in London, maintaining the contact between the exiled government and the Stockholm administration. Although one knows quite a lot about Ustvedt's double talent as a medical advisor and cultural ambassador, Malm's contribution is much less clear. The small amount of material which is preserved in his papers concerning these issues at least indicates that he must have played a similar role as a medical and political advisor, and at the same time as a representative of Norwegian culture.

## Norwegian Cultural Counterpropaganda

Concerning Norwegian counterpropaganda, one has to consider that the contemporary meaning of 'propaganda' was far more positive than it is today. Besides, Norwegian artists and cultural ambassadors hardly had any other chance to win international attention than by addressing the largest possible audience with traditional Norwegian music and explicit political messages. While in all the years until 1945, concert programmes in Norway had presented a combination of domestic and international repertoire, including classical German pieces from Bach, Mozart and Beethoven, the repertoire of Norwegian musicians in Swedish exile had narrowed down to Norwegian pieces, mostly from Edvard Grieg, with some additions of Johan Svendsen, Ludvig Irgens-Jensen and other moderate contemporaries.

As far as sources can tell, Norwegian artists gave concerts in Sweden constantly (see picture 4, p. 142), with a significant increase in 1943. A major event that year was a huge exhibition (see picture 5, p. 142), presenting artefacts of Norwegian culture and

17 The register of Norwegian refugees in Sweden is online, Malm's registration can be found at <https://media.digitalarkivet.no/view/43434/560> (last access 20 October 2019).

18 Norges Hjemmefrontmuseum, Oslo, NHM 16 J-0008; Bjarte Bruland, *Holocaust I Norge. Registrering, deportasjon, tilintetjørelse*, Oslo 2017, pp. 415-416, 463 and 469.

lifestyle for several weeks, flanked by concerts, lectures, theatre performances, and cabaret shows.



Pic. 4: Concert featuring Norway in Stockholm's concert hall, 30 October 1941 (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1209/U/Uj/L0216)



Pic 5: Exhibition in Stockholm, March and April 1943 (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1209/Uc/72/2/S1001)

It opened on 10 March 1943, with musical contributions by Ernst Glaser, Robert Levin, Sonja Mjøen, Lauritz Falk and Axel Kielland, in the presence of the Swedish Crown Princess, Princess Ingeborg and Prince Eugen, as well as the Swedish minister for Foreign Affairs, Christian Günther, and his Norwegian counterpart Jens Steenberg Bull, who had come from England to represent the exiled government.<sup>19</sup> Such impressive support to fight for a free Norway with words and diplomacy was provided by members of the Royal Swedish family regularly. They did not only attend cultural events such as exhibitions, concerts and lectures, they even expressed their personal opinions (see picture 6).



Fig. 6: Prince Wilhelm reading his poem *Till Norge* to support the charity organisation 'Norgehjälpen' (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1209/Uc/66/2)

Several occasions with political topics stand out from the numerous cultural and entertainment events, for example the reactions to Quisling's attacks against Oslo's Bishop Eivind Berggrav and the Norwegian state church,<sup>20</sup> as well as the mass incarceration of teachers in spring 1942, and the students' arrests in December the same year. In consequence, the exhibition in Stockholm included an evening lecture by Strängnäs' Bishop Gustav Aulén about the Norwegian church fight (*Den norska kyrkans kamp*) and one by Per Johnsen about the teachers' fight (*De norska lärarnas kamp*).<sup>21</sup> Two days later,

19 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 10 March 1943, p. 15.

20 Ingvar B. Carlsen, *Kirkefronten i Norge under Okkupasjon 1940–1945*, Oslo 1945; Odd Melsom, *Fra kirke- og kulturkampen under okkupasjonen*, Oslo 1980; Torleiv Austad, 'Church Resistance against Nazism in Norway, 1940–1945', in: *Neue Fragen und Sichtweisen auf den Widerstand. Kirche und Gesellschaft in Skandinavien und auf dem europäischen Festland* (= *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 28, Vol. 2) 2015, pp. 278–293.

21 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 18 March 1943, p. 16; 16 April 1943, pp. 14 and 19.

on 20 March 1943, a report about this event was flanked by an ad for the next event, presenting the composer Gunnar Sønstevoid at the piano, a literary contribution by poet Gunnar Reiss-Andersen and a lecture by Willy Brandt, the German expatriate, Norwegian resistance fighter and future Federal Chancellor of West Germany.<sup>22</sup>

The other major event in 1943 was the centennial of Norway's musical icon Edvard Grieg.<sup>23</sup> Once more it featured Hans Jacob Ustvedt, who had just published a biography about the 'Composer, Norwegian, Democrat Grieg' to defend the legendary composer against propagandistic claims by the Quisling's regime.<sup>24</sup> Already three months before the official celebrations in June, the Norge exhibition had included a Grieg day on 24 March 1943, with two concert slots,<sup>25</sup> one in the afternoon with violinist Ernst Glaser, pianist Robert Levin, the actors and singers Sonja Mjøen and Lauritz Falk, the other in the evening with singer Unni Bugge-Hansen, pianist Kari Aarvold Glaser, Ernst Glaser, and Lars Vang. The official celebrations on 15 June 1943 took place in the park Skansen, a public area for entertainment and recreation, and included all major Norwegian protagonists.<sup>26</sup>

Stockholm was not the only place to commemorate Grieg. Five months later, Unni Bugge-Hanssen, Kari Aarvold Glaser and Ernst Glaser hosted the 8<sup>th</sup> Norwegian-Swedish artist night in Uppsala on 21 November 1943, dedicated to Grieg and his legacy.<sup>27</sup> Also Ole Jacob Malm celebrated him in British exile, accompanying actress and singer Gerd Grieg at the piano in London's British-Norwegian Institute on 16 September 1943. On the Norwegian national holiday, 17<sup>th</sup> of May, Grieg had been celebrated at the Royal Albert Hall, by the London Symphony Orchestra conducted by George Weldon, of course including Grieg's music.<sup>28</sup> Even on air, as the Norwegian News could broadcast via BBC twice a day, Grieg was remembered on his centennial, both in Norwegian and English.

All musicians introduced so far as ambassadors of true Norwegian culture were not characterised as representatives of a civil resistance against Germany's occupation of their homeland by Swedish newspapers. Instead, the political vacuum of aesthetic autonomy was intact, separating music, even under these extreme conditions, from political matters. Only once can one find an exception to this rule, strikingly with Edvard Grieg's piano concerto played by Kari Aarvold Glaser (4 January 1901 to 3 October 1972). A newspaper article about the concert first sketched Kari Aarvold Glaser as an outstanding performer since her debut in 1921.<sup>29</sup> Then the author positioned her performance of Grieg's piano concerto next to two other pieces which were given in the same concert, a new opera overture by Kurt Atterberg and Ludwig van Beethoven's 8<sup>th</sup>

22 Willy Brandt, *Krieg in Norwegen*, Zurich 1942; Willy Brandt, *Norwegens Freiheitskampf 1940–1945*, Hamburg 1948.

23 See for further details Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes, "Die Gratulanten kommen" – Der Kampf um Griegs Erbe 1943', in: Helmut Loos and Patrick Dinslage (eds.), *Edvard Grieg. Sein Umfeld, seine Nachfolge – Neue Forschungen*, Leipzig 2018, pp. 340–358; and the official NS propaganda movie by Walter Fyrst (1943) at [www.nordicmusicpolitics.net/media](http://www.nordicmusicpolitics.net/media).

24 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 13 June 1943, p. 11; 12 July 1943, p. 7.

25 *Ibid.*, 24 March 1943, pp. 11 and 18.

26 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1248/E/Ee/L0028/0004.

27 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1248/E/Ea/L0028/0004.

28 Norges Hjemmefrontmuseum, Oslo, NHM 498.

29 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 16 October 1943.





Pic. 7: Ernst Glaser and Kari Aarvold Glaser performing in early post-war years (Jewish Museum Oslo, JMO-0144)

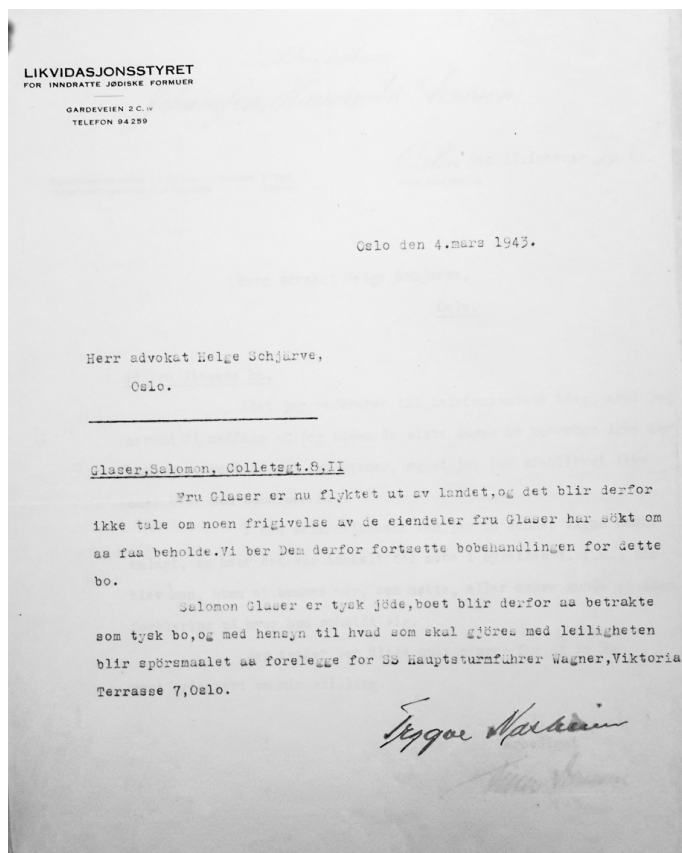
symphony under court music director Adolf Wiklund (1879-1950).<sup>30</sup> Moreover, *Svenska Dagbladet* credited her artistry in a detailed review, mentioning her fate as a Norwegian expatriate, speaking about her heartfelt wish to perform this so very true Norwegian piece (‘äkta norsk’), that is alien to today’s bitter reality but full of enthusiasm, ‘inwardly folk poetry’ (‘innerlig folklig poesi’).<sup>31</sup> If Kari Aarvold has been mentioned at all in musicological literature, then it was mostly as the first wife of the famous Jewish, German-born violinist Ernst Glaser (24 February 1904 to 3 April 1979). Glaser had joined the Oslo Symphony Orchestra as concert master in 1928 and became a Norwegian citizen after his marriage with Kari Aarvold in 1929. As soon as the German occupation had empowered the Norwegian Nazi movement, Glaser became a prominent target of propagandist attacks – despite the paradox of admiration for Glaser by Gulbrand Lunde, NS minister in charge for culture and propaganda. On 5 November 1942 Ernst Glaser finally fled to Sweden.<sup>32</sup> A few days later, his wife Kari and their two children Berit (born 5 September 1933) and Liv (born 23 September 1935) managed to leave Norway as well. In Sweden she maintained a very active concert life, and addi-

30 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 16 October 1943, p. 13.

31 *Ibid.*, 18 October 1943, p. 13, ‘När ho vid söndagens C-konsert framträdde som solist i Konsertforeningen förstår man, att det var en hjärteangelägenhet för henne att få spela Griegs pianokonsert och ingen annan. Fjärran från nuets bittra verklighet är den så alltigenom äkta norsk, fyllda av entusiasm och innerlig folklig poesi. Av Kari Glasers spel fick man också ett starkt intryck av, att hon varit förtrogen med konserten hela sitt liv, så naturligt och övertygande gestaltades den.’

32 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, SE/RA/420393/01/F/F\_1\_A/F\_1\_AB/F\_1\_ABA/988 plac. 1465; According to his questionnaire, dated 8 November 1942, Glaser was not practicing his faith.

tionally managed the family.<sup>33</sup> Her brother Reidar Aarvold had sold his spinet to pay for her travel to Sweden, agreeing to take her Grøndahl piano as a deposit and tried to keep the family's apartment in Oslo's Colletsgate 8 as long as possible.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, the office for liquidation of Jewish possessions ('likvidasjonsstyret') forced him to move out in spring 1943. According to a post-war restitution file (documenting the years 1945–47) two women, one named Mehle, the other Dyhli, took over large portions of the Glaser household, while the apartment was given to the musician Willy Fredriksen.<sup>35</sup> The argument for a legal transfer was that Ernst Glaser was a German Jew, accordingly a German inhabitant, so that SS Hauptsturmführer Wagner at the Viktoria Terrasse headquarters declared it to be a German issue (see picture 8).<sup>36</sup> According to the file, both ladies and the lawyer responsible for the sale of Glaser's possessions, Helge Schjærve, were already imprisoned in 1945 when Reidar Aarvold applied for the restitution of property of Ernst and Kari Glaser.



Pic. 8: Official report concerning the 'Arisierung' of Ernst Glaser's personal belongings, dated 4 March 1943 (Statsarkivet Oslo, RA/S-1564/H/Hc/Hcc/L0937)

33 Ibid.

34 Statsarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-1564/H/Hc/Hcc/L0937/0014.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

A different cultural arena to promote Norway's liberation, and at the same time support the coherence of the Norwegian refugees, were events for information and entertainment. Ustvedt's papers show that he was invited both to lectures that were supplemented with folk songs, and to purely music events. The Norsk Legasjon organised tours throughout Sweden, and also information campaigns. A typical tour would bring a handful of instrumentalists and singers – such as Ernst und Kari Glaser, Sonja Mjøen, Solveig Ballarini, Robert Levin and Unni Bugge-Hansen – to different sites and venues under exhausting conditions (travelling during daytime and performing in the evening in parish halls or refugee camps).<sup>37</sup> Despite the full coverage and planning of these tours by the Norsk Legasjon, the musicians needed official permits to travel and to enter different areas of Sweden, which usually was just a formality. A typical request would be as follows by Ernst Glaser:

Jeg er en av de nordmenn, som skal medvirke på de turnéer, som Svenske Norgehjelp arrangerer og som skal begynne d. 20. I. 1943, og jeg bör derfor referere til Sv. N.'s andragende om opphållsvisering i Sverige (utenom grensesonen) for de angjeldende kunstnere. Dessuten tillater jeg meg å henvise til min søknad om arbeidstiltånd av 28. XII. 1942.<sup>38</sup>

Despite the detailed coverage of certain aspects and biographies of expatriates, the source materials have to be considered fragmentary for now, as substantial research about the Norsk Legasjon and the community of exiled Norwegians in Sweden has still to be done.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, they do also contribute plenty of facts about anti-Semitic opinions and rejected help for persecuted Jews, indicating that Norwegians in their Swedish exile were well aware of the matter.<sup>40</sup> In reaction to their patriotic ambitions, Norwegian artists sometimes had to witness strong political tensions.<sup>41</sup> Ragnar Ulstein's book about Jewish Norwegians in exile, *Jødar på flukt*, includes several examples of anti-Semitism in Sweden, in terms of stereotypes among Norwegian expatriates, circulating rumours about Jewish refugees from Norway and general prejudices in Sweden

37 Levin/Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, p. 235; Riksarkivet, Stockholm, SE/RA/420393/01/F/F\_1\_A/F\_1\_AB/F\_1\_ABA/2384.

38 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, SE/RA/420393/01/F/F\_1\_A/F\_1\_AB/F\_1\_ABA/988 plac. 1465. Translation: 'I am one of the Norwegians who are supposed to participate in a tour arranged by Svenske Norgehjelp which is set for 20 January 1943. And I must therefore refer to the Svenske Norgehjelp's request on the permit of residence in Sweden (except the border zone) for the respective artists. Furthermore, I venture to point out my request for a work permit from 28 December 1942'; see additionally James A. Grymes, *Die Geigen des Amnon Weinstein*, Leipzig 2017, pp. 171–173.

39 Alf Skjeseth, *Nordens Casablanca. Nordmenn i Stockholm under krigen*, Oslo 2018, is mainly based on newspapers and only sparsely on archival sources. In consequence, many aspects are described as more anecdotal than analytical. See additionally Rune Ottosen, 'Et varslet folkemord? Dekning av Holocaust i norsk og svensk presse', in: *Norsk medietidsskrift* 02 (2019), Vol. 26, pp. 1–18, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18261/ISSN.0805-9535-2019-02-04>.

40 See as an updated summary the chapter 'Jødehatet i Sverige' in: Veum, *Det svenske sviket*, pp. 177–213.

41 Ragnar Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt*, Oslo 1995, pp. 226–228. Levin/Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, Oslo 1983, pp. 228 and 245. See additionally for the Swedish perspective Carl-Gunnar Åhlén, *Moses Pergament* (= *Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens skriftserie* 139), Möklinta 2016, pp. 199–126 and 127–160.

against Eastern European Jews.<sup>42</sup> In an interview with Ulstein in 1975, Ernst Glaser recounted an invitation he received to perform in Malmø, although the Swedish South had a bad reputation of being highly Nazified.<sup>43</sup> A query at the Norsk Legasjon confirmed this impression, but he was encouraged to give the recital at any rate, because it would be great to have a good Norwegian among all these Nazis. Also, Ustvedt took several notes in his memoirs concerning anti-Semitic tensions in Sweden and among Norwegian expatriates.

It is unclear how anti-Semitic sentiments among Norwegians changed, disappeared or remained after the end of the war, and how Jewish expatriates such as Ernst Glaser got along with former NS supporters, as for example David Monrad Johansen. He was the first artist charged with treason (*rettsoppgjøret*) when arrested the day after the liberation, accused of having approved the Nazification of Norwegian cultural life as a representative to the Kulturting and member of the Norwegian Nazi party. In his defence, Monrad Johansen declared that he had never convinced others to apply for party membership. Furthermore, he stated that his engagement in official committees such as the Kulturråd had started long before the German occupation, and was the outcome of pure idealism for the benefit of Norwegian musical life. The Court did not accept his arguments and sentenced him, on 8 November 1945 (his 57<sup>th</sup> birthday), to five years' imprisonment, six months' compulsory labour, the loss of his civil rights for ten years, and a fine of NOK 5,000.<sup>44</sup>

To the present, his position towards anti-Semitism has been rather opaque, not least due to the restricted access to his correspondence. Yet two examples may demonstrate the necessity of further research. In 1943, Monrad Johansen's very successful Norwegian Grieg biography was scheduled for a German edition in Grieg's own publishing house, Edition Peters, translated by the German musicologist Eugen Schmitz (1882–1959), with some additional remarks about Norway for the German readers.<sup>45</sup> As a committed National Socialist and party member since May 1933, Schmitz was not only an active ideological writer, but also deeply involved in the 'Arisierung' and 'Entjudung' of Edition Peters in 1938.<sup>46</sup> Probably due to the temporary circumstances during the war, the manuscript was never published, although two typewriter copies have survived in Berlin and Leipzig. The correspondence which Monrad Johansen and

42 Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt*, pp. 226–228.

43 Norges Hjemmefrontmuseum, Oslo, NHM 16 J-0006, Interview with Ernst Glaser at the music conservatory Ålesund, 14 January 1975, p. 14.

44 Riksarkivet, Oslo, Sig. Oslo politikammer, Monrad Johansen landsviksak, Dommer, Dnr. 1232, as well as Hansen, *Mot fedrenes fjell. Komponisten David Monrad Johansen og hans samtid*, Oslo 2013, pp. 453–456.

45 Stadtarchiv Leipzig, P 3621. See for general contextualisation Custodis/Mattes, 'Die Gratulanten kommen'.

46 Monrad Johansen's translator Eugen Schmitz came to the Peters music library in 1939, from a position as professor at the TU Dresden. Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, CD-ROM Kiel 2004, pp. 6242–6244; Sophie Fetthauer, *Musikverlage im 'Dritten Reich' und im Exil*, Hamburg 2007, pp. 178–179; Albrecht Dümling, *Musik hat ihren Wert. 100 Jahre musikalische Verwertungsgesellschaft in Deutschland*, Regensburg 2003, p. 217; Erika Bucholtz, *Henri Hinrichsen und der Musikverlag C.F. Peters (= Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 65)*, Tübingen 2001, pp. 301–302; Michael Custodis and Friedrich Geiger, *Netzwerke der Entnazifizierung. Kontinuitäten im deutschen Musikleben am Beispiel von Werner Egk, Hilde und Heinrich Strobel (= Münsteraner Schriften zur zeitgenössischen Musik 1)*, Münster 2013, pp. 113–114.

Schmitz exchanged both with Peter's managing director Johannes Petschull and Heinz Drewes indicates that this publication was expected to arouse some propagandistic attention.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, it is no surprise that all traces of Grieg's Jewish publisher Dr. Max Abraham and the later Jewish owner of Edition Peters, Henri Hinrichsen, who had been murdered in Auschwitz in 1942, were purged in Schmitz' translation, adapting Monrad Johansen's manuscript to the anti-Semitic doctrine of National Socialism. So far, one does not know how Monrad Johansen responded to such serious changes. But according to his correspondence with Schmitz and Petschull, where he proved his willingness for unlimited compromises, there is little doubt he would not have accepted them. Within his official positions for the Norwegian-German Society, in the Kulturting and Kulturråd, as well as his office as State Music Consultant for Vidkun Quisling's regime, he did not show any distance to official anti-Semitic actions such as the implementation of an 'Arierparagraph' in the statutes of the Norwegian Musicians' Union after 1941.<sup>48</sup>

Also the second example might provide some indication of Monrad Johansen's unclear position towards anti-Semitism: After his return to Oslo, Ernst Glaser apparently shunned David Monrad Johansen 'explicitly for political reasons',<sup>49</sup> which underlines once more the necessity of further, in-depth research, especially concerning difficult and controversial matters.<sup>50</sup>

## Consequences

In the field of music, it was especially Hans Jacob Ustvedt who represented the civil resistance in political debates and committees. As music's role mostly had not been to offend perpetrators but to keep up the collective spirit ('Holdningskamp'), music and art in general did not play a major role in post-war debates. Since the arrest and accusation of traitors had been planned already before Liberation Day,<sup>51</sup> the conviction of most musical collaborators was finished when a parliamentary amnesty in 1948 closed the debate.<sup>52</sup>

47 Staatsarchiv Leipzig, L 3664, Letter from David Monrad Johansen to Johannes Petschull, 17 June 1943, 'Dr. Drewes der zur Zeit in Norwegen ist als Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels Repräsentant sagt heute in einem Interwju in "Aftenposten" dass eine seiner Aufgaben bei dieser Gelegenheit ist dafür zu sorgen das seine deutsche Ausgabe meiner Grieg-Biografie zustande kommen kann. Die Biographie wird bald möglichst in deutsche Übertragung erscheinen, fügt Dr. Drewes hinzu.' (All errors in syntax and orthography within the letter have not been corrected.)

48 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/S-6010/D/Da/Daa/L0014/0012.

49 Liv Glaser in an interview with the author on 13 March 2019.

50 In a broader historical context, a more systematic scrutiny of anti-Semitism in Norwegian cultural history before, during, and after WW II is highly required. The fierce, public debate in Norway following the release of Marte Michelet's book *Hva visste hjemmefronten* (Oslo 2018) about anti-Semitism in the Norwegian resistance movement and the deportation of Norwegian Jews sheds light on how sensitive and taboo this topic still is.

51 Norges Hjemmefrontmuseum, NHM 498. The resistance movement in Stockholm kept records of NS members, important telephone numbers and number plates as well as influential collaborators, including composer David Monrad Johansen (characterised as member of the 'Kulturrådet').

52 More detailed case studies will be presented in the chapter 'A Nordic Casablanca. Exiled Counterpropaganda in Stockholm' in the forthcoming book by Michael Custodis *Music and Resistance. Cultural Defense during the German Occupation of Norway 1940–1945*, (in preparation).

The earliest and central source of information about music in Nazi-occupied Norway is Hans Jørgen Hurum's famous book *Musikken under okkupasjonen 1940–1945*. Already by 1946, he had summarised many important names, networks, events, works and incidents. Interestingly, documents about the Norwegians in Swedish exile reveal new information also for this case. Although Hurum's profound insider knowledge can be recognised on every page of his book, his biographical background remained as unclear as the conditions of the book's genesis. The author himself only mentioned, in the preface of 1946, that the book was commissioned three years earlier by his publishers Aschehoug.<sup>53</sup>

After Hurum did his military service in 1925, he studied law, followed by two years of music studies, until he got his first position as a journalist for the newspaper *Norges Handels- og Sjøfartstidende*. He was sent to Paris in 1939 and represented several institutions ('Landlaget for reiseliv i Norge' and 'Fransk-Norsk Handelskammer') when the war broke out. At the beginning of Norway's occupation, Hurum additionally contributed to radio programmes as a presenter and journalist, until he was arrested by German soldiers. After being imprisoned in camp 'Hemer i Ruhr' until New Year's day in 1941,<sup>54</sup> he was sent home to Norway where he continued to work for the *Sjøfartstidende*.<sup>55</sup> Without further specification Hurum claimed to have participated in the illegal actions of the resistance movement ('illegalt arbeide i forbindelse med nyhetstjenesten'). This information, although quite plausible in light of his biography, seems unspecific and is not verifiable. When several of his comrades were arrested, the German Sicherheitspolizei paid him a visit in February 1944, which initiated his escape from Norway the following month. Soon after his arrival in Stockholm the Norsk Legasjon's Press office hired him. We know from Ustvedt's diaries that Hurum was well connected both to Ustvedt and leading circles of Norwegian artists, as well as to critical Swedish composers such as the Jewish musician Moses Pergament.<sup>56</sup> It is impossible to tell how many documents or notes Hurum could have taken with him when he had to leave Norway, and how much information he collected in Stockholm, benefiting from the steady stream of news that came in from Norway through the Hjemmefront's secret channels. Concerning these facts, one can estimate that his famous manuscript was not conceived inside of occupied Norway, but through a well-informed view from outside, as a member of the remote resistance in Stockholm exile.

In their patriotic role as freedom fighters, exiled Norwegians were welcomed home cordially. Nevertheless, the leading figures of the military resistance developed a historiographical dominance, and their narrative of a united community in collective resistance had a lasting impact. The development of a strong but narrow sense of 'nation' during the war dominated the debates after 1945, hence supporting this assertion of

53 Hans Jørgen Hurum, *Musikken under okkupasjonen*, Oslo 1946, preface.

54 Compared to the research literature about Camp Hemer (Hurum's spelling by memory was wrong) his case was unusual and lacks further evidence from German archives so far. Hans-Hermann Stopsack and Eberhard Thomas (eds.), *Stalag VI A Hemer. Kriegsgefangenenlager 1939–1945*, Hemer 2017. Thanks to Eberhard Thomas for supporting this research.

55 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, SE/RA/Kjesäter vol. EII 13 (25264 Hans Jørgen Hurum), and SE/RA/420393/01/F/F\_1\_A/F\_1\_AB/F\_1\_ABA/1494.

56 Riksarkivet, Oslo, RA/PA-1248/E/Ea/L0028/0004.

historiographical dominance and the avoidance of major critical debates.<sup>57</sup> Mentioning the Norwegian-German relations after the Second World War, it was not until Willy Brandt, the former Norwegian resistance fighter, that a new trust in Western Germany – the NATO ally – began to grow.

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57 Rolf Hobson, 'Die weißen Flecken in der norwegischen Geschichtsschreibung über die deutsche Besatzung' in: Robert Bohn, Christoph Cornelißen and Karl Christian Lammers (eds.), *Vergangenheitspolitik und Erinnerungskulturen im Schatten des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Deutschland und Skandinavien seit 1945*, Essen 2008, pp. 95–103; Rolf Hobson and Tom Kristiansen, *Occupied Norway: The Regime's Ambitions, Popular Responses – Current Research on Norwegian Society during the Occupation*, lecture at the conference *The Nordic Ingredient. European Nationalisms and Norwegian Music Since 1905*, Bergen 2018.





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## Sources Revisited

### The Case of Geirr Tveitt

#### Introduction

The case of Tveitt is a complicated one, and still a quite delicate subject in Norway. On the other hand, it could be described as a typical constellation concerning other careers of musicians during the ‘Third Reich’ such as Richard Strauss, Wilhelm Furtwängler and Wilhelm Kempff, where the overlap of artistic and political implications resulted in contradictory and complex matters.

Still, everyone who deals with Tveitt today knows that the word ‘probably’ must be frequently used when discussing his personality and beliefs. Although he was an exceedingly productive composer, a diligent letter writer and important agent for Norwegian musical life, the situation with source material is problematic, for three main reasons. Firstly, due to the devastating fire in his Hardanger home in 1970, when a large part of his oeuvre and presumably much of his correspondence fell prey to the fire. Secondly, much of the source material is still under the control of the Tveitt family.<sup>1</sup> And thirdly, all the legends spun around the person Tveitt, myths that to a large extent were created by Tveitt himself, still live on today.<sup>2</sup>

This paper will summarise the historical context of Tveitt, focusing on his association with the Nazi-implemented government, and the implications of his trial before a court of honour as far as preserved sources allow.

#### I. Tveitt as an Artist and Cultural Bureaucrat

The composer and pianist Geirr Tveitt, born in Bergen in 1908 as Nils Tveit, according to the name of his family farm outside Norheimsund, changed his name several times.<sup>3</sup> During World War II, he started to use the uncommon spelling ‘Geirr Tveitt’ by which he is known today. He spent most of his childhood in Drammen, south of the capital, where his father was the headmaster of a Christian school. During the summer holi-

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1 The correspondence between Tveitt’s biographer Reidar Storaas and the Tveitt family, kept in Storaas’ private Tveitt Archive at Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek (which will be described later) serves as an example. It testifies that the family wishes to control many details and statements. The archive doesn’t have any official name yet. I therefore use the name ‘Storaas’ private Tveitt Archive’ in my article.

2 One example is that *Store Norske Leksikon*’s online article on Tveitt until October 2019 still listed Hardanger as the composer’s birthplace, not Bergen. This myth was created by Tveitt himself, probably to fit his wish of a more rural background. A birth certificate dated 15 May 1967 kept in Storaas’ private Tveitt Archive, testifies to this. Here Tveitt personally has manipulated the document by crossing out Bergen and replacing it with the village of Tørvikbygd in Hardanger. On my request, the encyclopaedia article is now rectified. Cf. Reidar Storaas, article ‘Geirr Tveitt’, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* ([https://nbl.snl.no/Geirr\\_Tveitt](https://nbl.snl.no/Geirr_Tveitt), last update 12 March 2009, last access 19 May 2020).

3 The following biographical information is mostly based on Reidar Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie – Geirr Tveitt – ein biografi*, Oslo 2008.



Pic. 1: Geirr Tveitt in Hardanger in 1960 (Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Storaas' private Tveitt Archive)

days, the family typically resided near Norheimsund in the district of Hardanger, east of Bergen. After five years of music studies abroad, and several years in Oslo, he took over the family farm in Hardanger in 1941, which, as will be discussed below, became his haven from 1942 on. During the post-war years, he commuted between Hardanger and Oslo, where he worked for the Norsk Rikskringkasting (Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK)), until he moved back to Oslo in 1967, where he lived until his death. Although he was born and died in the two largest cities in Norway and spent most of his life in urban surroundings, he always felt a particular emotional connection to the rural nature and cultural life in Hardanger. It was there, at the graveyard below his ancestral farm, that he was laid to rest in 1981.

Tveitt is seen as one of the most talented and thoroughly trained Norwegian composers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Without any formal education, but equipped with a letter of recommendation from Christian Sinding,<sup>4</sup> he was accepted to the Leipzig Conservatory in 1928. There he studied composition with Hermann Grabner,<sup>5</sup> and piano with Otto Weinreich,<sup>6</sup> amongst others. Evidence of his success in Leipzig is his first opus, *12 zweistimmige Vorstudien in lydisch, dorisch und phrygisch*, published at Breitkopf & Härtel in 1930, and the 1931 premiere of his *Piano Concerto No. 1* with the Leipziger Sinfonieorchester (the forerunner of today's MDR Leipzig Radio Symphony Orchestra). Tveitt stayed in Leipzig until 1932, when he moved on to Paris and Vienna. According to his testimony, he took lessons with composers like Heitor Villa-Lobos<sup>7</sup>

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- 4 The Norwegian composer Christian Sinding (1856–1941), who is best known abroad for his piano piece *Frühlingsrauschen* (Rustle of Spring, 1896), had himself studied in Leipzig during the 1870s.
  - 5 The Austrian music theorist and composer Herman Grabner (1886–1969) was a former student of Max Reger (1873–1916). He became a teacher of composition at the Leipzig Conservatory in 1924 and was appointed professor there in 1932. In 1938 he succeeded Paul Hindemith as professor of composition at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin (today's Berlin University of the Arts), a position he lost in 1945 due to his SA membership, amongst other things. In 1933 and 1935 Tveitt's Norwegian colleague, the composer David Monrad Johansen (1888–1974), also studied with Grabner. Cf. Ivar Roger Hansen, *Mot fedrenes fjell. Komponisten David Monrad Johansen og hans samtid*, Oslo 2013, pp. 369–375. In addition to his SA-membership, Prieberg points out that Grabner was a member of the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur, during the 1930s a member of the Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund, Reichsfachschaft Hochschullehrer, counsellor in the Reichsmusikkammer and lecturer in the Hauptlektorat Musik of the ARR. Furthermore, he composed several songs for Nazi- and Wehrmacht-related publications. Cf. Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, CD-ROM Kiel 2004, pp. 2462–2471.
  - 6 The German pianist Otto Weinreich (1882–1947), a former student of Robert Teichmüller (1863–1939), became a teacher at the Leipzig Conservatory in 1911, a position he held the rest of his life. See Thomas Schinköth, 'Herman Berlinski. Erinnerungen', in: Johannes Forner (ed.), *Festschrift. Hochschule für Musik und Theater 'Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy' Leipzig. 150 Jahre Musikhochschule 1843–1993*, Leipzig 1993, pp. 179–180.
  - 7 The Brazilian composer and conductor Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887–1959) spent several years in Paris during the 1920s and the 1950s. According to Tveitt's family, Villa-Lobos and Tveitt met several times and corresponded with each other, but the documentation of this contact has (probably) fallen prey to the fire in Tveitt's home in Hardanger in 1970 mentioned above. Cf. Hallgjerd Aksnes, *Perspectives of Musical Meaning. A Study Based on Selected Works by Geirr Tveitt*. [dissertation], Oslo 2002, p. 156; Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie*, p. 63.

and Arthur Honegger,<sup>8</sup> although this is not documented further.<sup>9</sup> He returned to Norway in 1933. In the decades following the war, he successfully toured abroad as a pianist and conductor.

Tveitt was a central person in the national movement in Norwegian cultural life during the 1930s. The influence of folk tunes in his personal style is considerable, as he wanted to build upon the typical modes of Norwegian folk music, and integrate its tonality into his own idiom.<sup>10</sup> The tonal language in his *12 zweistimmige Vorstudien* serves as an example of this, although he soon abandoned the style of strict polyphony as a vehicle for the tonality he advocated. In 1938, Tveitt published an article in the pan-Germanic and neo-pagan journal *Ragnarok*, where he rejected the polyphonic style as incompatible with the language of Nordic music. He refers to it as a 'fårlig mistak'<sup>11</sup> to believe that 'den polyfone stilen skulde føra til ei utløyning av den norrøne tonestilen',<sup>12</sup> something he ten years earlier had believed when composing his *12 zweistimmige Vorstudien*.<sup>13</sup> Examples of direct use of genuine Norwegian folk music can be found in his most popular work, commonly known as *Folketonar frå Hardanger*<sup>14</sup> composed in the early 1950s. In general, his orientation towards the continental styles of the last half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is evident both in his use of the piano, commensurable with that of Béla Bartók and Sergei Prokofiev, and his colourful orchestration, influenced by French impressionism.

As a theorist, he developed a diatonic theory, which interconnected the modal scales through a system of double leading notes. This resulted in the *Tonalitätstheorie des parallelen Leittonsystems*, published in German at Gyldendal Norsk Forlag (Oslo) in 1937. In his book, he makes the controversial claim that the modes in Norwegian folk music are in fact an old Norse invention, which equals a projection of aesthetic beliefs into the pre-historic 'Norse' Viking age in Norway.<sup>15</sup> Tveitt tried to hand in this work as a dissertation at the University of Oslo (until 1939 named Det Kongelige Fred-

8 The French composer of Swiss origin, Arthur Honegger (1892–1955), lived much of his life in Paris. According to Storaas, Tveitt said to have met Honegger in his Paris studio and that he was the first to get a glance at the score of Honegger's oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* (composed 1934–1935, premiered 1938). Unfortunately, Storaas does not offer any further source information for this in his book. Cf. Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie*, p. 63.

9 Aksnes, *Perspectives of Musical Meaning*, p. 156.

10 Ibid., p. 15.

11 Geirr Tveit [sic], 'Norrøn tonekunst', *Ragnarok* 3 (1938), pp. 63–67, here p. 66. Translation: 'Dangerous mistake.'

12 Ibid. Translation: 'The polyphonic style would make the Norse style bloom.'

13 Ibid.

14 These *Folketonar frå Hardanger*, organised in one version as suites for piano and in another as orchestral suites, were published under several different names. About the names and the timeline for the publications, see Aksnes, *Perspectives of Musical Meaning*, p. 81.

15 In her dissertation Hallgerd Aksnes discusses the *Tonalitätstheorie* several times (e.g. pp. 229–234) and is quite sceptical towards it: 'I myself have not found it worthwhile to treat the treatise or its reception in depth, as this would require that I entered into its myriad of complicated terms, its quasi-scientific formulae which in some cases extend over several pages [...], and it's in my view erroneous harmonic interpretations, only to discuss harmonic traits which can be explained in much simpler terms [...]'. Cf. Aksnes, *Perspectives of Musical Meaning*, p. 231.

eriks Universitet), where the two international committee members, Ilmari Krohn<sup>16</sup> and Jacques Handschin,<sup>17</sup> rejected it.<sup>18</sup>

Tveitt's role as a theorist has proven to be a minor one, as no composer or musical theorist has pursued the theories presented by him in his *Tonalitätstheorie*.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, his role as collector of probably more than a thousand folk tunes from the Hardanger region<sup>20</sup> has shown to be more influential, an effort that, amongst other things, resulted in the already mentioned *Folketonar frå Hardanger*.

In his book *Religion og rase. Nyhedenskap og nazisme i Norge 1933–1945*, the historian of religion Terje Emberland pointed out Tveitt's connection to the milieu around the already mentioned journal *Ragnarok*, which was published from 1934 to 1945.<sup>21</sup>

- 16 Ilmari Krohn (1867–1960), Finnish composer and musicology professor at the University of Helsinki.
- 17 Jacques Handschin (1866–1955), Swiss musicologist and organist of Russian birth, from 1935 professor (Ordinarius) at the University of Basel. Two of his most influential books were published in 1948: Firstly, *Der Toncharakter. Eine Einführung in die Tonpsychologie*, a study of sound in its historical context. Secondly, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, planned as an objective history of music divided into centuries and not eras.
- 18 Copies of the two statement letters from Krohn and Handschin, are kept in Storaas' private Tveitt Archive at Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek. In his statement letter (written in Swedish and dated Sammatti, Finland, 23 June 1937), Krohn reports that it is his impression that the author is a capable and original composer, but that the book – from a scientific point of view – doesn't qualify as an academical thesis. Krohn also states the obvious fact that the four 'Norse modes' presented by Tveitt under the Norse names 'Rir', 'Sum', 'Fum', and 'Tyr' are identical to the church modes dorian, phrygian, lydian and mixolydian. In his statement letter (written in German and dated Basel, 20 November 1937), Handschin too comments on this obvious fact and carries on: 'Tveits [sic] Theorie bezieht sich auf eine Kunst, die erst noch in der Entwicklung begriffen ist, obgleich die Ansätze dazu schon Jahrzehnte zurückliegen; diese musikalische Entwicklung ist noch nicht soweit geklärt, dass wir wissen können, ob diese Theorie nicht nur auf einen Ausschnitt daraus anwendbar ist, ja ob das Ganze überhaupt musiktheoretisch unter einen Hut zu bringen sein wird.' Translation: 'Tveit's [sic] theory refers to an art that is still developing, even though the approaches date back decades; this musical development has not yet been clarified so far as that we can know whether this theory is not only applicable to a part of it, or the whole thing can be reconciled music-theoretical at all.'
- 19 An illustrative example of the perception of Tveitt as a theorist can be found in the standard work on Norwegian music history published in 1971 by Nils Grinde (1927–2012), professor of musicology at the University of Oslo: 'En av de mest ekstreme representanter for den nasjonalistiske retning i 1930-årene er Geirr Tveitt. [...] I sin begeistring for den norrøne kultur gikk han så langt som til å uttale at "den norske rase må finne tilbake til sitt opprinnelige gudeideal", og i en større musikkteoretisk avhandling forsøkte han å bygge en ny musikkteori og komposisjonslære på noe han mente var et særlig norrønt grunnlag. Heldigvis er Geirr Tveitt som komponist atskillig bedre enn sine egne teorier, selv om det hefter en betydelig ujevnhet ved hans store produksjon. [...] Avhandlingen virker nokså uklar [...].': Translation: 'One of the most extreme representatives of the nationalist direction in the 1930s is Geirr Tveitt. [...] In his enthusiasm for the Norse culture, he went so far as to say that "the Norwegian race must find its way back to its original ideal of God", and in a major music theory theses he tried to build a new theory of music and composition upon what he thought was a genuine Norse foundation. Fortunately, as a composer, Geirr Tveitt is considerably better than his own theories, though his large production has a considerable unevenness attached to it. [...] The thesis seems rather unclear [...].': Cf. Nils Grinde, *Norsk Musikkhistorie. Hovedlinjer i norsk musikkliv gjennom 1000 år*, Oslo, Bergen and Tromsø 1971, pp. 297–298.
- 20 This according to Tveitt himself; Cf. Lorenz Reitan, 'Geirr Tveitt', in: *Programbladet* 8 (1977), pp. 7–8. Because the transcriptions were destroyed by the fire in his home in Hardanger in 1970, it is impossible to verify the number of the collected tunes. Cf. Aksnes, *Perspectives of Musical Meaning*, p. 85. The grant to collect the melodies Tveitt received from Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet during the war will be discussed later.
- 21 Terje Emberland, *Religion og rase. Nyhedenskap og nazisme i Norge 1933–1945*, Oslo 2003, pp. 332–338.

Emberland also shows that he was actively engaged in Wilhelm Hauer's<sup>22</sup> 'Deutsche Glaubensbewegung' ('German Faith Movement'), an organisation that strived to create a new official religion for the Third Reich based on a German-Aryan faith.<sup>23</sup> Examples of this engagement is Tveitt's panegyric promotion of Hauer in Norway<sup>24</sup> and their collaboration on Tveitt's most significant compositional project in the 1930s, the ballet *Baldurs draumar*<sup>25</sup> ('Baldu's Dreams'). As Hallgjerd Aksnes has pointed out, this ballet shows the composer as a convinced pagan with a strong wish to express his religious and political views. It can therefore be seen as the greatest monument to Tveitt's Norse project, as well as the most explicitly political work in his oeuvre.<sup>26</sup>

The fact that Tveitt expressed anti-Semitic opinions, and had pronounced sympathies for the radical form of Nazism in the decade before World War II, is thoroughly documented through Tveitt's own letters and his articles in *Ragnarok*. In addition, so far unknown (minor, but interesting) sources on the subject can be found in Reidar Storaas<sup>27</sup> private Tveitt Archive in the form of memories from Tveitt's fellow students, friends and colleagues.<sup>28</sup>

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- 22 The German indologist and historian of religion Wilhelm Hauer (1881–1962) conferred a doctor's degree at the University of Tübingen in 1917 on the theses *Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis im alten Indien* ('The Beginnings of the Yoga Practice in Old India'). He was appointed professor at the University of Marburg in 1925 and the University of Tübingen in 1927. In 1933 (formally 1934) he founded the 'Deutsche Glaubensbewegung' and was its undisputed leader and ideologist until he left the movement in 1936. In the 1935 book *Deutsche Gottschau* Hauer attempted to summarise and systemise the neo-pagan belief. The same year he sent a copy of the book to Tveitt, who responded enthusiastically and expressed his wish that the book may be translated into Norwegian. Cf. Emberland, *Religion og rase*, pp. 38–40 and 322–323.
- 23 Emberland, *Religion og rase*, p. 13.
- 24 Geirr Tveitt (sic): 'Wilhelm Hauer. Ein stor tenkjar – eit stort menneskje', in: *Ragnarok* 9–10 (1938), pp. 236–238, here p. 237. In his article, Tveitt, who visited Hauer in Tübingen in 1935, describes him as 'eit av dei reinaste og gildaste menneskje eg nokonsinne råka' ('one of the purest and greatest human beings I ever met') and 'ein av verdsens største vitenskapmenn' ('one of the greatest scientists in the world'). On Tveitt's visit to Hauer, see Emberland, *Religion og rase*, p. 323.
- 25 A piano version of *Baldurs draumar* was premiered in Leipzig on 23 October 1935, in a concert organised by NS-Kulturgemeinde. In a letter to his friend and colleague Egil Nordsjø (1908–1980) dated Leipzig, 7 October 1935, he complains about the quality of the singers during the rehearsals: '[S]krale songarar. Tenorane her er so veike og kvindelege at eg ikkje kan nytta deim, og dei få som er nyttande er anten ikkje i Reichsmusikkammer, eller au so dyre at N.S.-Kulturgemeinde rår meg frå deim.' ('[M]eagre singers. The tenors here are so weak and womanly that I cannot use them, and the few that are usable are either not in the Reichsmusikkammer, or so expensive that the N.S.-Kulturgemeinde advises me not to use them.') Nordsjø travelled to Germany to take part in the première. See Emberland, *Religion og rase*, p. 323 and Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie*, p. 89. A copy of the letter in question is kept in Storaas' private Tveitt Archive. An orchestral version of the work was performed in Oslo on 24 February 1938, and in Paris on 7 and 10 July 1939 it was played in a purely instrumental version as an orchestral suite. See Aksnes, *Perspectives of Musical Meaning*, pp. 234–35 and 242.
- 26 Aksnes, *Perspectives of Musical Meaning*, p. 234.
- 27 The journalist Reidar Storaas (born 1931) grew up near Tveitt's ancestral farm in Norheimsund, Hardanger. Since their first meeting in 1949 they became close friends – he interviewed Tveitt many times, exchanged letters with him and built up an extensive collection of material concerning the composer. About Storaas and his two biographies, see paragraph III. The new source situation.
- 28 Let me mention two examples: Firstly, a letter (dated 7 November 1984) to Storaas from the composer Conrad Baden (1908–1989) where the latter tells about Tveitt's inclination to anti-Semitism when talking about his teachers in Leipzig in the early 1930s. (In his second Tveitt biography, Storaas refers to some of the other content of the letter, but not to the anti-Semitism part, and he does not mention this specific letter as a source; Cf. Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie*,

1. UTGAVE	2. UTGAVE	SIDE	SPORT	VESTLANDET	UTLAND	BIL BÅT	JORD-BRUK	NÆRINGS-LIV	NEST SISTE	FAMILIEN	KIRKE-SIDE	BARNE-SIDE	UNGD. SIDE	LEDER	SIGNATUR	PAGINA
															Ingebjørg Gresvik	
															Samtale april? 83.	
dag		Bilde(antall): Stikkord														
<b>Manus</b>		<p>Geirr fikk det så lett, han dumpet rett opp i det og fikk før bindelse mesener som med og hjelp av Klaveness og <sup>Tor</sup> Olsen og Johan H. Andresen. Hadde nesten ikke klær da kom hjem fra utlandet, fikk 6-8 dresser av Tor Klaveness, håndsydde dressers. Smoking. Men ville ikke at <sup>andre</sup> skulle se at det var arvete klær, derfor kombinerte han blå vest med svarte klær. Klaveness betalte Thonålitatstheorie med 5000 kroner. Ingen leste boken, jo Jens Bugge, Olsen og en til.. Som kritiker i Norsk Tidende hadde han 120 kroner måneden.</p> <p>Ingebjørg Gresvik: Jeg hørte Jonsoknatt og ble helt betatt av musikken. Den var vidunderlig. Jeg dirrer med når jeg hører hans musikk gikk rett til hjertet. Det var noe spesielt med Geirr, hans rare brustne akkorder</p> <p>I Universitetes gamle festsal inviterte han til foredragsaften. Ville ta doktorgrad. Universitetet oppnevnte typiske organister som opponenter. Allerede i utgangspunktet var han overbevist om at saken var korrump. Kjente professorer i Tyskland hadde uttalt at det hadde ikke kommet ut en så lærd bok som dette.</p> <p>Vi giftet oss sommeren 1936, sep. vinteren 39, skilt våren 41. sommeren 39. Vi ble budne med Klaveness til Bayreuth. Ingebjørg G. kom fra Berlin. Møtte i Bayreuth Fanny Elsta. <del>Kr</del> Krigsstemningen uhyggelig og oppholdet ble avbrutt. Geirr hadde gitt avbud, for når tyskerne hadde gjort noe så ille som å gå inn i et annet land, så ville ikke han reise til Tyskland.</p> <p>- Kvelden før vi giftet oss fikk han vite at far var frimurer og at jeg het Marie i tillegg til Ingebjørg. Det var like ille som en ters! Han hatet jøder. Korresponderte med Mathilde Leidendorf og naseproblemer og med Guenther i Tybingen.</p>														
		OBS! Skriv fulle linjer i det innrammete feltet.														

Pic. 2: Reidar Storaas's transcription of his interview with Tveitt's first wife Ingebjørg Marie Gresvik, probably carried out in April 1983 (Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Storaas' private Tveitt Archive)

He even expressed his previous sympathy for Hitler as late as 1977, when he was NRK's 'Composer of the Month'.<sup>29</sup> When the journalist asked him if it was true that he preferred France to Germany, he answered: 'Å bevarer! Jeg har alltid vært mektig irritert både over Tyskland og tyskere, men i 30-årene må jeg innrømme at jeg ble fengset av Hitler og hans ideologi.'<sup>30</sup> The following part of the interview is also interesting. The journalist asked if this enthusiasm carried on after 9 April, which, for Norwegians, is synonymous with the German invasion of their country in 1940. Tveitt's answer: 'Nei, da tok begeistringen snart slutt.'<sup>31</sup> As a follow-up question, the journalist wanted to know: 'Du var statens musikk-konsulent i begynnelsen av krigen?'<sup>32</sup> Tveitt answered: 'Så lenge det var mulig, men i 1942 sa jeg opp den jobben. Dro til Hardanger og meldte meg inn i Hjemmefronten, og fikk tid til å samle over 1000 folketoner.'<sup>33</sup>

It can seem far-fetched to put too much emphasis on this single interview. Nevertheless, it touches on a series of problems one faces in connection with Tveitt: His statements, opinions and convictions can often be perceived as self-contradictory, for example, the fact that he dislikes Germany and Germans, likes France, but admired Hitler. His perception of reality was often quite idiosyncratic. One example is his assertion that he joined Heimefronten, the resistance movement, when he returned from Oslo to Hardanger in 1942. We have Tveitt's own statement, but the source of the subject is very unclear.<sup>34</sup>

Reidar Storaas' 2008 biography contains a short paragraph relating to the subject: He reports that Geirr Tveitt celebrated the May days of 1945 in the service of the resistance movement, together with other village inhabitants in the municipality of Kvam, that he put on a uniform and served as translator and local guide for the British officers, and that the resistance movement leadership trusted him fully.<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately, Storaas does not offer any source information. Another paragraph tells that SS men looked up Tveitt at his home and the Gestapo interrogated him during spring 1944.<sup>36</sup>

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pp. 37–39.) Secondly, a transcription of an interview with Ingebjørg Marie Gresvik (1908–2000, Tveitt's wife from 1936 to 1941) carried out by Storaas, probably in April 1983, where she recalls Tveitt's antipathy to freemasons and recalls: 'Han hatet jøder. Korresponderte med Mathilde Leidendorf (sic) om raseproblemer [...]' ('He hated Jews. Corresponded with Mathilde Leidendorf (sic) about racial problems.') Mathilde Leidendorf should be Mathilde Ludendorff (1877–1966), a leading figure in the German Völkisch movement.

29 Reitan, 'Geirr Tveitt', pp. 7–8. Thanks to the former NRK journalist Lorentz Reitan for bringing his interview to my attention.

30 Ibid., p. 8. Translation: 'Oh, good heavens! I've always been very annoyed at both Germany and the Germans. But I have to admit that, in the 1930s, I was filled with enthusiasm for Hitler and his ideology.'

31 Ibid., p. 8. Translation: 'No, then the enthusiasm promptly ended.'

32 Ibid., p. 8. Translation: 'At the beginning of the war you held the position as a State Music Consultant?'

33 Ibid., p. 8. Translation: 'As long as it was possible, but in 1942 I gave that job up. I went to Hardanger where I joined the resistance movement. I had time to collect over a thousand folk tunes.'

34 In a letter to the editor (which will be mentioned later) Tveitt's daughter Gyri Tveitt and his son Haoko Tveitt claim that their father 'samarbeidde med Heimefronten og gøymde motstandsfolk i heimen sin i Hardanger' ('collaborated with Heimefronten and hid resistance people in his Hardanger home'). They don't give any source information on this, cf. Gyri Tveitt and Haoko Tveitt, 'Geirr Tveitt vert stigmatisert', *Aftenposten*, 13 December 2008, p. 14.

35 Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie*, p. 174.

36 Ibid., p. 173.





Pic. 3: Geirr Tveitt in uniform in Hardanger in 1945 (Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Storaas' private Tveitt Archive)

To this point no other sources other than those from Tveitt himself could be located: A private letter Tveitt wrote to his colleague and friend Marius Moaritz Ulfrstad (dated 14 August 1944)<sup>37</sup> and a memorandum from Tveitt to an investigation committee after the war.<sup>38</sup> In addition, his name can neither be found in any source related to cultural protagonists and artists in the archives of the Resistance Museum in Oslo, nor does the

37 Storaas' private Tveitt Archive contains a large corpus of copies and summarising transcriptions (done by Storaas) of Tveitt's letters to the composer and organist Marius Moaritz Ulfrstad (1890–1968). The passage in question: 'Eg hadde større Gestapoforhøyr her i vår, husundersøking av 3 man (sic) ein ettermiddag og mykje kluss. Men no er alt roleg.' Translation: 'I had a rather large Gestapo interrogation here this spring, house search carried out by 3 men an afternoon and lots of goings-on.'

38 Storaas mentions the existence of this memorandum in his biography but doesn't give any further source information. Cf. Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie*, p. 173. (In my opinion, it is possible that the memorandum was part of four lost attachments from a document compilation put together by Tveitt's lawyer, attachments mentioned by Den rådgivende nemnd in 1946. I will comment on this later.) The incident in question seems to have become commonly known after Tveitt's concert tour to France in the winter 1946/1947. *Dagbladet*, the newspaper who seems to have been most critical towards Tveitt during the post-war years, then published a (anonymous) sarcastic article entitled 'Geir Tveit (sic) as a tortured resistance man!', see 'Geir Tveit som torturert hjemmefrontmann! Gir konsert i Paris og høster laurbær', *Dagbladet*, 11 February 1947.

well-informed journalist Hans Jørgen Hurum mention any of these assertions in his famous publication *Musikken under okkupasjonen 1940–1945*, published as early as 1946.

Of course, much depends on what one understands by the term ‘resistance’. Tveitt never became a member of the Norwegian Nazi party Nasjonal Samling. He also promptly refused an invitation to be part of Kulturtinget (The Cultural Assembly) in September 1942.<sup>39</sup> However, he had earlier accepted an appointment as leader of Det midlertidige konsultative råds avdeling for musikkspørsmål (The Temporary Consultative Councils Department of Music) upon its establishment in October 1940. In the summer of 1941, after all other department members except for Tveitt had resigned, he was appointed Statens musikkonsulent (State Music Consultant), an unpaid position he held until September 1942. In 1941, the NS regime had granted him kunstnerlønn, an annual honorary state grant for artists, and in 1942, he was granted 2500 Norwegian kroner from Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet (the Ministry of Culture and Public Enlightenment) to collect folk tunes,<sup>40</sup> many of which he later deployed as a base for his *Folketonar frå Hardanger*.<sup>41</sup> Is this compatible with the alleged enrolment in Heimefronten?

Defining the term ‘resistance’ in the context of musical life in an occupied nation would require a discussion that would go beyond the scope of this paper by far.<sup>42</sup> It is worth considering that Tveitt’s war time activities are frequently seen in the light of his cultural attitudes and activities during the 1930s. Although he enrolled himself in the cultural policy apparatus of the NS regime from an early stage, he soon showed self-confident attitudes in singular cases. For example, his objection to the banning order of repertoire on grounds of racial criteria<sup>43</sup> and to the Nazification of the organisation of the public musical life in general.<sup>44</sup> Concerning the latter question, his objection to a decree issued by the Ministry of Culture and Public Enlightenment in March

39 Riksarkivet, Oslo, S-6013/D-8, Tveitt’s telegram is dated 23 September 1942.

40 Hans Fredrik Dahl and Dag Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren. Oppgjøret blandt kunstnerne etter 1945*, Oslo 2013, p. 100. Unfortunately, Dahl and Solhjell neither provide any source information about the grants, nor any exact dates. The grant to collect folk tunes is mentioned in a letter from Tveitt to Marius Moaritz Ulfrstad dated 22 June 1942 kept at Storaas’ private Tveitt Archive. According to Tveitt, copies of the folk tunes had to be dispatched to Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet.

41 Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie*, p. 178.

42 For a discussion of the term in connection with Tveitt’s contemporary, the composer Harald Sæverud (1897–1992), see Friedrich Geiger, ‘Harald Sæverud’s *Kjempeviseslått* – A Typical Resistance Composition?’, in: Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes (eds.), *The Nordic Ingredient. European Nationalisms and Norwegian Music since 1905*, Münster and New York 2019, pp. 81–91.

43 In January and February 1942 Tveitt protested against an NS initiative on banning performances of works by Jewish and Russian composers. Cf. Dahl and Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren*, p. 100. In the article ‘Zur Kategorie des “Nordischen” in der norwegischen Musikgeschichte 1930–45’ Custodis and Mattes directly quote from this document where Tveitt speaks of ‘artsegne vei [...] i rasisk som i musikalsk henseende’ (‘specific way [...] in racial as well as musical regards’), in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 73 (2016), No. 3, Stuttgart 2016, pp. 166–184, here p. 174.

44 Tveitt’s final letter of resignation to Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet dated ‘September 1942’, where he oddly enough entitles himself as ‘Bonde på Tveit’ (‘Farmer in Tveit’), has been presented several times in the Tveitt literature and will therefore not be discussed here. See for example Dahl and Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren*, p. 102; Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie*, pp. 170–172. According to Storaas Tveitt had the letter copied and arranged for it to be dispersed amongst musicians in Oslo. The original letter can be found in Riksarkivet, Oslo, S-6013/D-8, Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet, Kulturkontoret, 1940–1945.

1942 holds a special position. The decree demanded all public musical performances prohibited unless the artists were given specific ministerial permission.<sup>45</sup> The insolence Tveitt exercised in his response letter to the Ministry (dated 13 March 1942) borders on disrespect, both in the aggressive way he presents his dissent and the fact that he addresses not only his own Ministry, but also the Ministry of Justice and Vidkun Quisling personally.<sup>46</sup>

Can the letter in question be seen as an act of musical resistance? As so often with Tveitt, the case has different sides. One of the main allegations Tveitt makes is that the present government shows itself too soft on Freemasons in high positions (in this particular case the head of NRK, W.F.K. Christie)<sup>47</sup> which makes the government untrustworthy in relation to the musicians. In the second paragraph of the letter he writes:

Man får nå til stadighet høre om den fare som frimureriet representerer. Hvorfor har den nåværende regjering høsten 1940 ansatt en av de høyeste frimurere som leder av Norsk Rikskr.? Etter regjeringens egen teori om frimureriet må dette ha vanskeliggjort ja umuliggjort at norske musikere kunne ha noe med Norsk Rikskr. å gjøre. Men ikke bare lederen av Kringk. ble rekruttert blandt frimureriets spisser, også andre betydelige nyansettelser fandt den nåværende regjering å måtte beklæ med medlemmer av den selvsamme organisasjon som blir erklært for landsfarlig og kulturopløsende. Hvordan kan man så forlange at musikerne skal tro på propagandaen mot frimureriet og samtidig med god samvittighet støtte en frimurerledet institusjon med sin kunstneriske opptreden?<sup>48</sup>

45 Cf. Dahl and Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren*, pp. 100–101. As Dahl and Solhjell show, Tveitt's letter resulted in a personal reprimand from Gulbrand Lunde, the minister of Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet.

46 Riksarkivet, Oslo, S-6013/D-8, Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet, Kulturkontoret, 1940–1945.

47 In September 1940, the jurist and Nasjonal Samling politician Wilhelm Frimann Koren Christie (1885–1956) was appointed commissary head of NRK by minister Gulbrand Lunde, a position Christie held until December 1941. Due to his lack of broadcasting experience and his high-ranking Freemasonry position he became a target to a great deal of criticism from his fellow party members. Cf. Hans Fredrik Dahl, *Dette er London. NRK i krig 1940–1945*, Oslo 1978, p. 287 and pp. 293–295. For a discussion of the anti-freemason milieu around the journal *Ragnarok* (the freemasons as 'artificial Jews') and the critique against Vidkun Quisling (on being too soft on freemasons) uttered by the pan-Germanic wing of Nasjonal Samling, cf. Emberland, *Religion og rase*, pp. 345–348.

48 Riksarkivet, Oslo, S-6013/D-8. Translation: 'At present one constantly hears about the danger posed by Freemasonry. Why, in the fall of 1940, the current government has hired one of the highest Freemasons to head the Norwegian Broadcasting? According to the government's own theory on Freemasonry, this must have made it difficult or even impossible for Norwegian musicians to have anything to do with the Norwegian Broadcasting. But not only the leader of the broadcasting has been recruited among the leaders of Freemasonry. The current government has also found it decent to appoint other members of the same organisation to significant positions, an organisation which is declared dangerous for the nation and culturally dissolving. How can one demand that the musicians should believe in the propaganda against Freemasonry and simultaneously, with good conscience, support a Masonic-led institution with their artistic performance??'.

The development of Tveitt's attitude, from his first engagement as a culture bureaucrat during the last half of October 1940<sup>49</sup> (as a leader of Det midlertidige konsultative råds avdeling for musikkspørsmål), his position as Statens musikkonsulent from June 1941<sup>50</sup> until his final resignation, probably in the end of September 1942,<sup>51</sup> can perhaps be seen as a turn from his pan-Germanic attitude of the 1930s – after being confronted with the realities of 9 April – to a more nationalistic approach.<sup>52</sup> In this case it is worth remembering that Tveitt continued to receive financial support from the Nasjonal Samling controlled Ministry also after his 1942 resignation as ministerial consultant.<sup>53</sup>

## II. The Courts of Honour

The case of Tveitt is also exemplary when it comes to the wider concept of 'honour' and the 'loss of honour', concerning the political contamination of personalities who actively had been involved in the machinery of German occupation and NS-Norwegian combatants. Tveitt's case was brought before the Norsk Komponistforening's (Norwegian Society of Composers) private court of honour in 1945, which resulted in his eviction. In the book *Men viktigst er æren. Oppgjøret blandt kunstnerne etter 1945*, Hans Fredrik Dahl<sup>54</sup> and Dag Solhjell<sup>55</sup> give an introduction to the structure of these trials, which they describe as a formal way of afflicting dishonour on those who were sentenced.

According to Dahl and Solhjell, the 'reckoning' with artists who, in different forms, had collaborated with the German occupation force and/or Nasjonal Samling, or in any other way had undermined 'the national cause', can be divided into three categories:<sup>56</sup>

Firstly, the judicial trials through the official legal system, which today is simply known as landssvikoppgjøret. This was carried out in accordance with landsvikanordninga, the provisional ordinance concerning treason from 15 December

49 According to Hurum 31 October. According to Dahl and Solhjell 15 October. Cf. Hans Jørgen Hurum, *Musikken under okkupasjonen 1940–1945*, Oslo 1946, p. 45, and Dahl and Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren*, p. 40.

50 The month (June 1941) according to Emberland, *Religion og rase*, p. 342.

51 As mentioned above, Tveitt only dates his letter of resignation 'September 1942'. Anyway, his letter is stamped '30 September' by the recipient, Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet in Oslo. Cf. Riksarkivet, Oslo, S-6013/D-8.

52 The so far most thorough discussion of Tveitt's ideological development during the occupation can be found in Emberland, *Religion og rase*, pp. 342–350.

53 Tveitt's activities as a performing musician during the war seem to have ended quite soon. According to Storaas, his last public performance was 23 April 1941 in Oslo, when he directed his own opera *Dragaredokko* with Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra. Cf. Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie*, pp. 157–158 and Alfred Fidjestøl, *Lyden av Oslo. Oslo-filharmonien 1919–2019*, Oslo 2019, p. 195. At the time of the mentioned performance Tveitt was still the leader of Det midlertidige konsultative råds avdeling, and not, as Fidjestøl states, already appointed Statens musikkonsulent.

54 The historian and journalist Hans Fredrik Dahl (born 1939), professor emeritus of media and communication at the University of Oslo, has written extensively on Norway during the World War II and, for example a two-volume Vidkun Quisling biography (1991 and 1992).

55 Dag Solhjell (born 1941), art sociologist, art critic and former associate professor at the University College of Telemark and Bø. In addition to a four-volume study of the history of Norwegian art politics he has published several books on art theory and art sociology.

56 See Dahl and Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren*, pp. 10–11.

1944, and landssviklova, the post-war treason law that was passed on 21 February 1947 by Stortinget (the Norwegian Parliament).

Secondly, the private courts of honour. The different artists' organisations had their own extra-judicial trials against members, both against artists who already had been convicted by the official legal system and those who were found 'not guilty', or had not been investigated at all. These forms of purges were carried out by *æresrettar* (courts of honour) executed by the board of the artists' organisations, or by extraordinary appointed committees who had been designated specially for this purpose. Their sentences were known as *æresdommar* (honorary verdicts).

Thirdly, a form of sanctions against artists that was the most diffuse, because they were indirect, carried out by the readers, the audience or the employers. Artists who had 'lost their honour' were, in different forms, boycotted by publishing houses, and de facto banned from exhibitions, stages, NRK and other arenas artists were depending on to make a living. These trials were partly a formal consequence of the two first forms, but they could, according to Dahl and Solhjell,<sup>57</sup> also be informal and quite random.

From an ethical perspective, the second form of trials – the private courts of honour – are the most interesting, because the grounds for judgement vary so much. This has partly to do with the fact that the members of the courts of honour were not professional lawyers or judges, but fellow artists in the Norsk Komponistforening who, during the German occupation, had stayed on what in colloquial terms was called the 'correct' side. It is also worth remembering that the artists who served as judges sometimes shared a common past, socially and professionally, with their accused colleagues.<sup>58</sup>

As Dahl and Solhjell point out, a comprehensive and general study of the internal purges carried out by the different artists' organisations has yet to be written. The different organisations operated with different and partly diffuse procedural rules in their honour courts, and procedures followed in early cases were often different from the later ones.<sup>59</sup> Already a few days after the Liberation Day, 8 May 1945, the unions took their first measures against some of their members. At this time Norsk Komponistforening, for example, undertook its first measures against members who had joined Nasjonal Samling and others who had 'sviktet Norges sak' ('betrayed Norway's

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57 Ibid., p. 11.

58 A good example is the Norsk Komponistforening court of honour verdict against the conductor and composer Olav Kielland (1901–1985), who was Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra's chief conductor from 1931 to 1945. On 30 May 1945 his membership was suspended for one year from Norsk Komponistforening, and on 1 July 1945 also from Ny Musikk ('New Music', the Norwegian Society of Contemporary Music). This was due to his membership in Det midlertidige konsultative råds avdeling for musikkspørsmål. Kielland was not given any opportunity to defend himself against the charges from the courts of honour before the verdict was given, and he saw the exclusion as a revenge from composer colleagues whose works hadn't been performed often enough by Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra during his period as chief conductor. After having entered an appeal against the verdicts, an appeal which was supported by Den rådgivende nemnd on 5 November 1945, the suspensions were suspended on 12 January 1946. Cf. Dahl and Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren*, pp. 84–91; Fidjestøl, *Lyden av Oslo*, pp. 233–234.

59 The court of honour of Norsk Komponistforening, for example, was active for over four years, from May 1945 until the end of 1949. See Dahl and Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren*, p. 68.

cause').<sup>60</sup> Soon it became clear that the courts of honour of the different organisations had to be better coordinated. By October 1945 Kunstnerrådet (the artists' council, which was the cooperative body of the different artists' organisations) concluded that the decisions from the various courts of honour were 'yderst forskjellige' ('extremely different'), which was 'uheldig' ('unfavourable'), and demanded that every artists' organisation hand over all material used, in the already closed court of honour cases.<sup>61</sup>

Despite this unclear and complicated picture, Dahl and Solhjell show that the court of honour system can be divided into three types:

- 1) The different artists' organisations, whose courts of honour consisted of their board or extraordinary appointed committees.
- 2) The already mentioned Kunstnerrådet, who consisted of five members, who met for the first time on 14 May 1945. Its function was that of an appellate body for the different artists' organisations. In addition, it investigated artists' organisations that, according to the council, had not carried out the internal purges thoroughly enough.
- 3) Den rådgivende nemnd<sup>62</sup> (the consultative committee), also named Det sakkyndige råd (the expert council) or Den departementale nemnd (the departmental committee) which was made up of three jurists<sup>63</sup> appointed by the Ministry of Justice. The committee was appointed by the Ministry on 21 June 1945, on the request of Kunstnerrådet. The Ministry insisted that the committee should have a purely consultative function, and that Kunstnerrådet continued to be the only appellate body. This was accepted by Kunstnerrådet in a meeting on 16 August 1945.<sup>64</sup>

Unfortunately, important sources are missing when it comes to Norsk Komponistforening's court of honour's dealings with Tveitt.<sup>65</sup> A thorough examination of this momentous and fateful part of Tveitt's life is therefore yet to be carried out. But, an account of the main sanctions placed on him by the court of honour and other instances

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60 Eight members were excluded because of NS membership. Three members, amongst them Geirr Tveitt, were excluded because they '[gjennom] direkte samarbeid med nazister eller med okupasjonsmakten hadde sviktet Norges sak' ('[through] direct cooperation with the Nazis or with the occupation power had betrayed Norway's cause'), without being members of Nasjonal Samling. One member was deprived of his member privileges for one year. Four members were to be investigated more closely. Norsk Komponistforening at this time had 80 members. See Dahl and Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren*, p. 65.

61 Ibid.

62 Also written Den rådgivende *nevnd*.

63 Supreme Court Judge Erik Solem (1877–1949) was Committee leader. The two others were Leif S. Rode (1885–1967) and Fredrik Winsnes (dates unknown), both of them 'Høgsterettsadvokatar', lawyers having the right of audience in the Supreme Court of Norway.

64 Ibid., pp. 26–27.

65 As Dahl and Solhjell point out, the summer and autumn 1945 correspondence between Tveitt (some of it probably written by his lawyer Chr. Kjerschow), Norsk Komponistforening and Den rådgivende nemnd is missing from the archive of Norsk Komponistforening. Amongst others, the important document where the charges against Tveitt are stated by Norsk Komponistforening, is yet to be discovered. Cf. Dahl and Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren*, p. 243. Some of the facts can be reconstructed from documents composed in early 1946, many of those to be found as copies in Storaas' private Tveitt Archive.

can be found in the books by Storaas<sup>66</sup> and Dahl and Solhjell.<sup>67</sup> The following brief summary, which (unless specified in the footnotes), is based on Dahl and Solhjell:

19 May 1945 the board of Norsk Komponistforening (which, as already described, constituted the court of honour of Norsk Komponistforening) excluded Tveitt immediately and indefinitely as his 'direkte samarbeid med nazister eller med okkupasjonsmakten hadde sviktet Norges sak'.<sup>68</sup> Although he had not been a member of Nasjonal Samling, the board regarded his function as a State Music Consultant for one and a half years as a misdemeanour equal to a Nasjonal Samling membership. In addition, he was deprived of his Kunstnerlønn, which had been granted by the NS-controlled Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet in 1941.<sup>69</sup> This resulted in a fierce feud between the composer and Norsk Komponistforening. Tveitt submitted an appeal to Den rådgivende nemnd, assisted by his lawyer Chr. Kjerschow, who compiled a long list of documents consisting of Tveitt's letters to Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet.<sup>70</sup> Den rådgivende nemnd processed the case by focusing on four allegations in relation to his war time activities: 1) His participation in Det midlertidige konsultative råds avdeling for musikkspørsmål and his work as Statens musikkonsulent. 2) His function as a sole nominator for grants to musicians, a function the board of Norsk Komponistforening had before the war. 3) His cooperation with the radical national socialist journal *Ragnarok*. 4) His acceptance of kunstnerlønn and the grant to collect folk tunes.

In the recommendation from Den rådgivende nemnd (dated 6 May 1946)<sup>71</sup> the three jurists Solem, Rode and Winsnes conclude: 'Nemnden finner ikke at Geirr Tveitt ved sitt forhold i noen av disse punkter har forrådt Norges sak'.<sup>72</sup> Yet they add that some of his conduct related to allegation 1), 3) and 4) are 'beklagelig' ('unfortunate') and should 'misbilliges' ('be disapproved of'). As mentioned above, the verdict of the court of honour had excluded Tveitt from Norsk Komponistforening for an indefinite time. The opinion of Den rådgivende nemnd was that this punishment was too harsh, but that '[...] det ikke finnes urimelig at han for et år utelukkes av vedkommende fore-

66 Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie*, pp. 174–188.

67 Dahl and Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren*, pp. 103–108.

68 Translation: '[D]irect cooperation with the Nazis or with de occupation power had betrayed Norway's cause.'

69 There were other sanctions too, for example his right to vote at TONO, the Norwegian corporation that administers copyrights for music in Norway.

70 Storaas' private Tveitt Archive contains a number of documents (mostly copies) relating to Tveitt's appeal, amongst them Chr. Kjerschows (undated) compilation of documents, unfortunately without four unidentified attachments. In my opinion, it is possible that the unknown attachments may have contained Tveitt's already mentioned memorandum about his activities in Hjemmefronten. See the recommendation statement dated 6 May 1946 from Den rådgivende nemnd titled 'Fra den rådgivende nemnd for opprydning i kunstnerorganisasjoner' where a 'lengre redegjørelse fra Geirr Tveitt' (an extensive account given by Tveitt) is mentioned. A copy of the two-page statement given by Den rådgivende nemnd can be found in Storaas' private Tveitt Archive.

71 Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Storaas' private Tveitt Archive, recommendation statement dated 6 May 1946 from Den rådgivende nemnd titled 'Fra den rådgivende nemnd for opprydning i kunstnerorganisasjoner'.

72 Ibid. Translation: 'The committee does not find that Geirr Tveitt in his conduct has betrayed Norway's case in any of these points.'

Ad I.

AvskriftFra den rådgivende nemnd for opprydning i kunstnerorganisasjoner.

Ved skrivelse av 22. mai 1945 fra Norsk Komponistforening ble komponisten Geirr Tveitt underrettet om at styret hadde strøket ham av foreningens medlemsliste.

Ved skrivelse av 31. s.m. fra Tono, Norsk Komponistforenings Internasjonal Musikkbyrå, ble han underrettet om at styret hadde besluttet å utelukke ham som stemmeberettiget medlem av Tono.

Begge eksklusjoner er foretatt i henhold til Kunstnerorganisasjonenes fellesvedtak om forholdsregler mot medlemmer som ved direkte samarbeid med okkupasjonsmakt eller nazister har forrådt Norges sak, eller som ved lite nasjonal holdning har svekket respekten for den norske front.

Geirr Tveit har ansett disse eksklusjoner ubeføyet og har innbragt saken for den av Justisdepartementet nedsatte nemnd for utrenskning i kunstnerorganisasjonene.

I saken foreligger en lengre redegjørelse fra Geirr Tveitt samt framstillinger fra hans sakfører, o.r.sakfører Chr.Kjerschow. Saken har dessuten vært behandlet muntlig i nemndens møter den 12. og 15. desember 1945, hvor foruten Geirr Tveitt og hans sakfører også representanter for Norsk Komponistforening, Tono og Norsk Solistforbund var tilstede. Sistnevnte forbund, hvorav også Geirr Tveitt var medlem, har ennå ikke tatt standpunkt til saken, men nemnden er blitt tilstillet gjenpart av en redegjørelse som o.r.sakfører Iver Holter Alnæs har avgitt til forbundet, visstnok som dettes juridiske konsulent. Han fremkommer her med forslag til avgjørelse i saken, som går ut på eksklusjon eller tidsbestemt suspensjon, idet styrets endelige standpunkt ikke bør tas før nærværende nemnds rådgivende uttalelse foreligger. - Såvel Solistforbundet som Komponistforeningen og Tono har henholdt sig til Alnæs' redegjørelse. Endelig foreligger en skrivelse fra Tono av 8. april 1946.

Etter det materialet som således foreligger for nemnden, synes bebreidelsene mot Geirr Tveit for hans holdning under okkupasjonen å konsentrere seg om følgende punkter.

1. Hans arbeide for Kulturdepartementet som medlem av det midlertidige konsultative råd, og senere som Statens musikk-konsulent inntil september 1942, da han frasa seg denne stilling.
2. Hans motarbeidelse av en del av Tonos foreslåtte endringer i denne institusjons vedtekter, og inngrep i Norsk Komponistforenings innstilling til utdeling av Tonos Understøttelsesfond for norske komponister.
3. Hans medarbeiderskap i tidsskriftet "Ragnarokk".
4. Hans mottagelse av komponistgasje fra Staten og offentlige støtte til innsamling av norsk folkemusikk.

Nemnden finner ikke at Geirr Tveitt ved sitt forhold i noen av disse punkter har forrådt Norges sak. Med hensyn til spørsmålet om hvorvidt han ved lite nasjonal holdning har sveket respekten for den norske front, skal nemnden uttale følgende:

Ad 1. Nemnden er enig i o.r.sakfører Alnæs' uttalelse i den forannevnte redegjørelse av 24. desember 1945 om at det neppe er tvilsomt at Tveit har vært til hjelp for den nasjonale front i sitt arbeide i det konsultative råd, og at man må godskrive ham, iallfall delvis, at en rekke nazistiske tiltak strandet. Videre er den enig i at Tveit i det hele synes å ha benyttet alle midler som var til rådighet for å holde sin linje, og har ført en kraftig og uredd penn med risiko for sin egen sikkerhet. Til slutt har han uten omsvøp sagt klart fra om grunnene for sin fratreden.

Pic. 4: A transcript of the the first page of the recommendation from Den rådgivende nemnd, dated 6 May 1946 (Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Storaas' private Tveitt Archive)



ninger [...].<sup>73</sup> Norsk Komponistforening didn't accept this recommendation right away, but in the end the verdict was changed from exclusion to suspension. On 28 August 1946 Tveitt was readmitted as a member.

It seems like every time Tveitt's war-time conduct was discussed in public after that, he was confronted with a new informal court of honour – a 'people's court'. This happened for the first time in 1953, when the newspapers and Stortinget debated if he was worthy of the kunstnerlønn he had been deprived of in 1945.<sup>74</sup> Tveitt's case was dismissed by Stortinget in 1953, and he had to wait until 1958 before he was again granted such an honorary annuity.<sup>75</sup> In connection with his centenary jubilee in 2008, public debate arose when, amongst other things, his affiliation with the radical National Socialist and neo-paganistic movement in the 1930s and his work for the Nasjonal Samling-controlled Ministry during the war became subject to a fervent debate in the newspapers.<sup>76</sup>

The ethical problems, concerning the private courts of honour in general, have recently been the subject of a public debate in Norway. On 15 November 2018, the board of Den Norske Forfatterforening (the Norwegian Authors' Union) presented an apology for the honour sentences against seventeen of its members. In March 2019, as a response to this apology, it was announced that one of Norway's most famous authors, Kjartan Fløgstad,<sup>77</sup> would leave the union in protest. Fløgstad and his colleagues, Tore

73 Ibid. Translation: '[...] [I]t is not unreasonable that he is expelled from the relevant organisations for a period of one year [...].'

74 Storaas' private Tveitt Archive contains numerous newspaper clippings (from *Dagbladet*, *Verdens Gang* and *Dagen*) related to the kunstnerlønn debate during spring 1953. As mentioned above, *Dagbladet* was the most critical, referring to Tveitt's collaboration with the 'nazistiske myndigheter' ('Nazi authorities'). Cf. 'Geirr Tveitt og kunstnerlønnen', *Dagbladet*, 14 March 1953 (the article is not signed and the clipping in Storaas' private Tveitt Archive does not contain any page number).

75 Dahl and Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren*, p. 113.

76 Let me mention two examples. Firstly, Christiane Jordheim Larsen, 'Han motarbeidet nazismen' ('He worked against nazism'), *Klassekampen*, 26 January 2008, pp. 24–25. In this interview, Tveitt's daughter Gyri Tveitt claims that '[p]åstandene om at Geirr Tveitt var nazist er injurierende' ('[t]he allegations that Tveitt was a Nazi are defamatory'). The claims referred to statements from Terje Emberland and Hans Fredrik Dahl. Secondly, Gyri Tveitt and Haoko Tveitt, 'Geirr Tveitt vert stigmatisert', p. 14. In this letter to the editor, Tveitt's daughter Gyri Tveitt and Tveitt's son Haoko Tveitt defend their father against allegations by Terje Emberland and alleged 'benmerkning' ('stigmatisation') by the newspaper *Aftenposten*. They state: 'Sjølvsomt Tveitt samarbeidde med Heimefronten og gøynde motstandsfolk i heimen sin i Hardanger, og at det ikkje finns det minste spor av Tveitt mellom dei 92.000 nordmenn som vart utsette for mistankar etter okkupasjonen, og trass i at han m.a. kjempa for å behalda jødisk og russisk musikk, vart han djupt krenka og frose ut av kollegaer etter krigen, m. a. avdi han ei tid sat i det sokalla midlertidige konsultative råd (som var eit alvorleg forsøk på å hindra at nazistane fekk hand over kulturlivet [...]).' ('Even though Tveitt collaborated with Heimefronten and hid resistance people in his Hardanger home, and that no trace of Tveitt exists amongst the 92,000 Norwegians who fell under suspicion after the war, and although he fought to keep Jewish and Russian music, he was offended and frozen out by colleagues after the war, for example because he for some time sat in the so called temporary consultative council (which was a serious attempt to prevent the Nazis for taking control over the cultural life [...]).')

77 Kjartan Fløgstad (born 1944) is one of the leading novelists in Norway. For his breakthrough novel *Dalen Portland* he was awarded Nordisk Råds litteraturpris (Nordic Council's Literature Prize) in 1978. He is also author of non-fiction writings such as the 2004 pamphlet *Brennbart (Inflammable)*. Here he polemised against the view that users of Nynorsk ('New Norwegian', one of the two written standards of the Norwegian language, also called Landsmål) had a stronger tendency

Rem<sup>78</sup> and Espen Søybe,<sup>79</sup> stated the reason for this withdrawal in an extensive opinion piece in the weekly newspaper *Morgenbladet*.<sup>80</sup> From the speaker's platform at the annual union meeting in Oslo on 24 March 2019, Fløgstad explained his reason for the withdrawal, asking rhetorically:

Kan jeg være med i en forening som feirer seg selv ved å be antisemitter, holocaustfornektere, krigsprofitorer om unnskyldning og som æreskjeller våre kollegaer for æresretten og hele det demokratiske flertallet for å ha utført uhyrligheter og sette en skamplatt på foreningen i 1945?<sup>81</sup>

He further explained that '[m]itt liv har blitt slik at to av mine barnebarn har jødisk far, et tredje av mine barnebarn har jødisk mor. Også av den grunn er det slik at jeg vanskelig kan bli stående i en forening som ber jødehatere, rasister og holocaustfornektere om unnskyldning.'<sup>82</sup> The debate went on for over a month and became more and more heated and personal, especially after descendants of the convicted authors joined the discussion. One of the foremost experts on the Norwegian courts of honour, the already mentioned art sociologist Dag Solhjell, also joined the debate. His short statement was entitled 'En æresdom er livslang og derfor urettferdig' ('An honour sentence is lifelong and therefore unjust'):<sup>83</sup>

Det var ikke tilfeldig at kunstnerorganisasjonene kalte sine granskende organer i 1945 for æresretter. Enhver straff som æresretten utmålte, streng eller mild, innebar fradømmelse av ære, noe navnet æresrett understreket. Å fradømme ære hadde ingen hjemmel eller tradisjon i noen kunstnerorganisasjons vedtekter, det ekstraordinære ved det sved ekstra. En æresdom fra ens egne kolleger, er ikke bare tung å bære. En æresdom kan, i motsetning til en landssvikdom, ikke sones. Den er livslang og derfor urettferdig. Slik rammet æresdommene ikke bare kunstnerne, men også kunstnernes nærmeste. Det var derfor et vakkert trekk at Den norske Forfatterforening (DnF) 15. no-

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to support Nasjonal Samling than users of Bokmål (literally 'book tongue', the other written standard, also called Riksmål). One of the main targets of his criticism was the historian Hans Fredrik Dahl. Fløgstad is himself a Nynorsk user.

78 The non-fiction author Tore Rem (born 1967) has since 2003 been professor of English Literature at the University of Oslo. For his book *Knut Hamsun. Reisen til Hitler*, Oslo 2014, he was awarded the Critics' Prize for best Norwegian non-fiction book that year.

79 The author and literary critic Espen Søybe (born 1954) has written several books connecting to the German occupation of Norway, amongst them the biography *Kathe – alltid vært i Norge* ('Kathe – always been in Norway'), Oslo 2003, where he portrays the destiny of the 15 years old Norwegian Jew Kathe Lasnik, who during fall 1942 was deported from Oslo with the German transport ship 'Donau' and murdered in Auschwitz-Birkenau.

80 Kjartan Fløgstad, Tore Rem and Espen Søybe, 'Kunsten å fremføre beklagelser', *Morgenbladet*, 15 March 2019, pp. 48–49.

81 Cf. Olaf Haagensen, 'Og alle var enige om at det hadde vært et begivenhetsrikt årsmøte', *Morgenbladet*, 29 March 2019, pp. 46–48. Translation: 'Can I be a member of an union that celebrates itself by apologising to anti-Semites, Holocaust deniers, war profiteers and that chastises our colleagues for the honour court and the entire democratic majority for having committed atrocities and putting a stain on the union in 1945?'

82 Ibid. Translation: 'My life has become such that two of my grandchildren have a Jewish father, and one of my grandchildren has a Jewish mother. For that reason, too, I find it difficult to remain in a union that apologises to Jew haters, racists and Holocaust deniers.'

83 Dag Solhjell, 'En æresdom er livslang og derfor urettferdig', *Morgenbladet*, 22 March 2019, p. 27.

vember i fjor fremførte sin unnskyldning for æresrettens saksbehandling ved en anledning der de også hadde invitert de æresdømte forfatternes etterkommere og slekt.

Fløgstad, Rem og Søybye trekker frem tre æresdømte forfattere i sin kritikk av DnFs «unnskyld». Dermed demonstrerer de den kanskje mest alvorlige virkningen æresdommene fikk: at en æresdom ikke kan sones, men varer de dømtens liv ut og enda lenger. Slik bekrefter de, trolig uten å forstå det selv, at Forfatterforeningens unnskyldning er berettiget.<sup>84</sup>

### III. The New Source Situation

The journalist Reidar Storaas (born 1931) is so far Geirr Tveitt's only biographer and has published two books on him: The first, *Tonediktaren Geirr Tveitt: Songjen i fossaduren*, came out in 1990. Then, in connection with his centenary jubilee in 2008, he published an extended and updated version, *Mellom triumf og tragedie. Geirr Tveitt – ein biograf*. As mentioned above, Storaas was a friend of the composer and followed his life since the end of the 1940s. This resulted in an extensive private archive, which, according to Storaas, contains numerous documents that do not exist elsewhere.<sup>85</sup> In November 2018 Storaas handed his archive over to the Bergen Public Library. A systematic examination of the material remains to be carried out. But having sorted through the archive in order to get a general idea of its content, it reveals:

- Approximately 60 original letters from Geirr Tveitt to different recipients;<sup>86</sup>
- Between 1000 and 1200 copies of letters from Geirr Tveitt to different recipients;
- Approximately 150 original letters to Geirr Tveitt from different correspondents;
- Approximately 400 copies of letters to Geirr Tveitt from different correspondents;

84 Ibid. Translation: 'It was no coincidence that the artists' organisations called their investigative organs courts of honour. Any sentence imposed by the honorary court, if it be harsh or mild, entailed loss of honour, which the name "court of honour" emphasised. To sentence somebody to loss of honour had no tradition or proof in any statutes of the artists' organisations. The uniqueness of the proceedings made them even more hurtful. An honour sentence from one's own colleagues is not only a heavy burden. One can serve time for a sentence of treason, but not for a sentence of honour. It is lifelong and therefore unjust. In this way, the honour sentences did not only hit the artists, but also their closest relatives. That is why it was a good decision by the Norwegian Authors' Union to present an apology for the procedures of their court of honour on 15 November last year, on an occasion when descendants and relatives of the convicted authors were invited. In their criticism of the 'apology' given by the Norwegian Authors' Union, Kjartan Fløgstad, Tore Rem and Espen Søybye brought up the names of three authors with an honour sentence. Thus, they demonstrate perhaps the most severe effect of these sentences: That one cannot serve time for an honour sentence, it lasts as long as the artist lives and even beyond his death. By this they [Fløgstad, Rem and Søybye] confirm, probably without realising it, that the apology given by the Norwegian Authors' Union was justifiable.'

85 This according to Storaas' official letter in connection with the donation, dated 6 November 2018.

86 One of the most extensive correspondence kept in the archive is that between Tveitt and his close friend and colleague, the bass singer Egil Nordsjø, who he first met during his student days in Leipzig. Cf. Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie*, p. 38. As mentioned above, Nordsjø took part in the first performance of *Baldurs draumar* in Leipzig in 1935.

- Approximately 100 documents with remarks of varying extent from approximately 25 historical witnesses who knew him personally, in the form of letters to the biographer or transcriptions of interviews the biographer carried out with them.
- Storaas' correspondence with the Tveitt family after the death of the composer, in connection with the writing of the biographies, especially with Tveitt's second wife Karen Margrethe Berg-Olsen (1918–1997), his life partner Wenche Margrethe Myhre (born 1940), and his daughter Gyri Tveitt. It consists of approximately 50 written letters and printed E-mails.

In addition to this, the archive has an extensive collection of newspaper clippings, mostly originals, which can be divided in three categories: Firstly, concert reviews of works by Geirr Tveitt. Secondly, concert reviews written by Geirr Tveitt himself. And thirdly, letters to the editor or normal newspaper articles, especially in connection to his controversies in relation to the Norsk Komponistforening in the second part of the 1940s, and the dispute around the kunstnerlønn, the honorary state grant for artists, in the 1950s.

Amongst the curiosities of the collection, one can also find many private photos of Geirr Tveitt, transcriptions of his dreams and at least one original handwritten draft to one of his articles for the already mentioned journal *Ragnarok* from the late 1930s.

#### IV. Towards a Wider Understanding?

Will documents from this archive broaden our understanding of the composer? Probably, for several reasons. Storaas' biography from 2008 gives a detailed picture of the composer and his time. However, in its entirety it has some weaknesses, because it is not clear if it is an unauthorised or an authorised publication, and therefore could be edited by Tveitt's family. It can probably be categorised as something in between these two categories. Because the biographer was a friend of the artist one can at times get the feeling that he wanted to put him in a good light, especially when it comes to the 1930s, his activities during the war and the turbulent post-war years. But when one reads the thus far inaccessible private correspondence between Storaas and the Tveitt family concerning the use of sources for the book, it also becomes more and more clear how they imposed harsh restrictions on what Storaas could write and how he was allowed to write it.

When one reads the letters to Storaas from the historical witnesses who knew Tveitt, or Storaas' transcriptions of interviews he carried out with them, it is surprising to see what the author left out – or *had* to leave out.<sup>87</sup> Other things that Storaas does not write much about is Tveitt's relationship with his first wife, Ingebjørg Marie Gresvik, or his last life partner, Wenche Margrethe Myhre. The interviews and letters from them to Storaas offer new information on the personality of the composer, especially those from his life partner, who plays a minor role in the published biographies.

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<sup>87</sup> Examples are the already mentioned letter to Storaas from the composer Conrad Baden and his interview with Tveitt's first wife Ingebjørg Marie Gresvik.

As already mentioned, Storaas' book is the only exhaustive Tveitt biography. However, due to the insufficient use of footnotes, it can sometimes be problematic to refer to the book when one writes in an academic context. Due to the access to Storaas' sources, this will be easier in the future.



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