



Michael Custodis

# Music and Resistance

Cultural Defense During the  
German Occupation of Norway 1940-45



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Edited by  
Michael Custodis

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Cultural Defense During the  
German Occupation of Norway 1940-45



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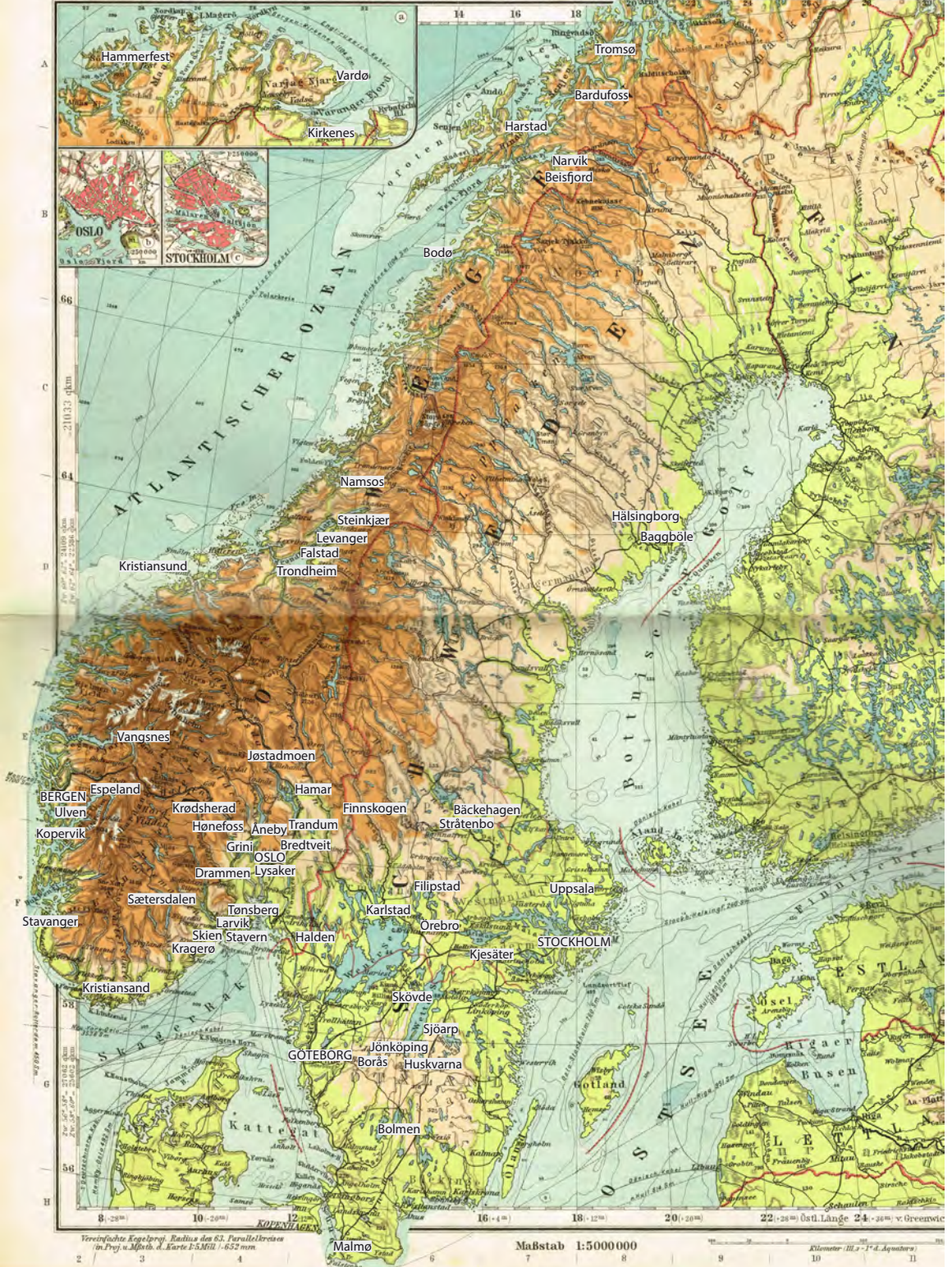
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## Abbreviations

ARBARK	The Norwegian Labor Movement Archives and Library (Arbeiderbevegelsens Arkiv og Bibliotek, Oslo)
ASCV	Arnold Schoenberg-Center Vienna
BArch	Bundesarchiv Berlin
BB	City Archives of Bergen (Bergen Byarkiv)
BLA	University of Bergen Library Archive (Universitetsbiblioteket Bergen, spesialsamlinger)
FS	Falstadsenteret Archive
GM	Grini Museum
HA	Archive of the Bergen Filharmoniske Orkester Harmonien
JMO	Oslo Jewish Museum (Jødisk Museum)
KFA	Arnljot and Gunnar Kjeldaas-Family Archive
LNRW	Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rhineland Department Duisburg
MCA	Michael Custodis-Private Archive
MDW	Archive of the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna
MFA	Jac and Mathilde Maliniak-Family Archive
MUS	Mozarteum University Salzburg
MTS	Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket Stockholm
NAN	National Archives of Norway (Riksarkivet and Statsarkivet, Oslo)
NAS	National Archives of Sweden (Riksarkivet, Stockholm)
NHM	Archive of Norway's Resistance Museum (Norges Hjemmefrontmuseum, Oslo)
NNL	National Library of Norway (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo)
NTNU	Library and Archive of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology Trondheim
RA	Regional State Archive Arninge (Riksarkivet Arninge, Sweden)
RMA	Archive of the Royal Music Academy Stockholm
RSA	Reinhard Siebner-Private Archive
SB	City Archives of Stavanger (Stavanger Byarkiv)
SFVHA	Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive at the University of Southern California
SRD	Regional State Archives in Drammen (Drammen Statsarkiv)
SR	Regional State Archives in Stavanger (Stavanger Statsarkiv)
TR	Regional State Archives in Tromsø (Tromsø Statsarkiv)
TRO	Regional State Archives in Trondheim (Trondheim Statsarkiv)
UMA	University of Melbourne Archives

Important cities, towns and other places mentioned in this book are supplemented in this historical map of Norway (also available online at [www.waxmann.com/buch4289](http://www.waxmann.com/buch4289)). It is based on Sydow-Wagners' *Methodischer Schul-Atlas*, 19th edition by H. Haack and H. Lautensach, Justus Pertes Publishers, Gotha 1931, p. 43.





## Foreword

Experiencing music from Norway and visiting Oslo, Bergen, and Trondheim in my teenage years sparked my first general interest for Norwegian culture. Political history of the Nordic countries and Norwegian music accompanied my academic career ever since I spent two semesters at the University of Bergen to study comparative politics and political sociology in 1995/96. After several years, a research question began to grow which would finally manifest itself in this manuscript. However, several pieces had to fall into place first, to focus in on the resistance and persecution of musicians in Nazi-occupied Norway. They are linked to people I am very grateful for advice, encouragement, and support: Albrecht Riethmüller, Joachim Dorf Müller, Arvid O. Vollsnes, and Arnulf Mattes.

Albrecht Riethmüller taught me, both as student and as research staff member how to take care of solid source work when dealing with controversial matters, especially concerning the wide scope of “music and nazism”. It was in his intermediate examination I discussed Harald Sæverud’s life and work for the first time.

The second person I owe cordial thanks to is Joachim Dorf Müller, who invited me to his annual Grieg festival in Münster to hold presentations. Following my first lecture in 2010 I began to relate my interest in Norwegian music history with the National Socialists’ claiming of music for ideological purposes. Additionally, he kindly introduced me to the Agder Academy of Science and Letters in Kristiansand, to which I was elected a member in 2017.

In 2015 the research project “*Nordic Music Politics*”. *Resistance, Persecution, Collaboration, and Reintegration in Norway’s Music Life, 1930-1960* took shape and Arvid O. Vollsnes became an important advisor, providing critical comments and contributions based on his huge knowledge. Furthermore, he connected me to the perfect project partner in Norway, Arnulf Mattes, who had just been appointed head of the Grieg Research Centre in Bergen. To my personal joy Arnulf not only became my “partner in crime” for publications, project events, and endless critical debates, support, and advice, but also a dear friend. We were able to intensify both relationships during my semester as guest professor at the University of Bergen in 2017.

Our work on the project *Nordic Music Politics*, generously funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, began in the fall of 2017 after identifying sufficient demanding tasks and finding enough archival material. During the following years, Ina Rupprecht, Andreas Bußmann, Hakiem Rabat, Adele Jakumeit, and Anna Maria Plischka formed a wonderful team of ambitious, creative, and inspiring young researchers and student assistants, and I am very grateful for their patience, humor, talent, and commitment. The project’s management would not have been possible without the colleagues at the Department of Musicology in Münster, especially Natalie Klein, who monitored and organized the financial administration with her unique talent and patience.

The scope of the project grew with regular seminars, conferences, and publications. The knowledge of names, incidents and details deepened (a detailed chronicle can be

found on the project's website [www.musicandresistance.net](http://www.musicandresistance.net)). Nevertheless, it was difficult to comprehend the artistic and strategic nature of musical resistance in general and in particular its purpose in Norway as well as in exile due to its clandestine nature. Musical resistance work in dictatorships is forced to operate in the illegality and must aim to leave no traces. In consequence, the historical reconstruction, based on lists and file cards of the administration in the "Reichskommissariat Norwegen", at first portrayed victims of Nazi-persecution in concentration camps in Norway, their fate as arrested musicians and fragments of musical life under such extreme circumstances. Among the several presentations I was invited to give in Norway about these topics, some together with Arnulf Mattes, the most moving ones were those at memorial sites of former concentration camps. Especially in Falstad the impression of historical responsibility and necessary sensitivity was strong when we spoke about Jewish musicians in Norway.

Regarding the administration of internal affairs, the Norwegians had been granted more liberty by the German occupying forces compared to other Nazi-occupied territories. Therefore, the civil resistance work could diversify better than in other countries especially those in Eastern Europe. As soon as I discovered a secret list of confidant artists in the archives of the Resistance Museum in Oslo in 2017, I finally had an idea how to estimate the quantity and the regional and stylistic variety of musical resistance work in Norway. In consequence, I felt I was in a position to take the Norwegian example to develop a preliminary model of music as a means of resistance.

During the years of research for this book I was able to study formidable sources and collections in many archives, libraries and museums and I had the chance to meet with fellow scholars. However, the strongest impressions were left by personal encounters with family members of persecuted musicians and resistance members. I was reminded that the attempt to reconstruct was important in itself. It prevents life stories from falling into oblivion and helps documenting how music can be a source of remembrance, solace, hope and joy. To increase the overall readability of this book, all quotations are given in English. In their original language and often in a broader context, they can be found in the endnotes of each chapter where all references and quotations are given in full length. As many cities, towns and locations mentioned may not be familiar to all readers, a historic map was added to offer a rough orientation in case of interest. While the map printed in the book has had to be kept small, it can also be found online as well ([www.waxmann.com/buch4289](http://www.waxmann.com/buch4289)) with more details giving an idea of the challenging distances and natural environment the book's protagonists were facing.

By presenting this book I hope that future inquiries will continue, modify, detail, and correct the findings and interpretations I have made over five years. At the same time, I am indebted to many people and institutions for their advice, encouragement, and support. If some names might be missing in the following listing I kindly ask their pardon and hope they will feel included in a general gratitude to all who furthered my research and our project *Nordic Music Politics*: Hans Eirik Aarek; Agder Academy of Letters and Sciences Kristiansand (especially Ernst Håkon Jahr, Rolf Thomas Nossun, and Ragnar Thygesen); Arkivet Peace and Human Rights Center Kristiansand (Thomas V. H. Hagen); Regional State Archive Arninge; the University of Bergen Library

Archive (Bjørn Arvid Bagge, John-Wilhelm Flattun, and Nils-Erik Moe-Nilssen); the archive of the Bergen Filharmoniske Orkester Harmonien (Henning Målsnes); Hans Christofer Børresen; City Archives of Bergen (Anders Nilssen); Bundesarchiv Berlin; Unni Boretti (Norsk Musikforlag); Bjarte Bruland; Liv Daasvatn; the Regional State Archives in Drammen; Falstadsenteret (Ingvild Hagen Kjørholt and Arne Langås); Per Kjetil and Lydia Farstad; Eike Fess (Arnold Schoenberg-Center Vienna); Friedrich Geiger; Goethe-Institut Oslo (Ulrich Ribbert and Dr. Martin Bach); Kristian Karlstedt (Göteborg Symfoniker); Grini Museum (Kari Amundsen, Anja Heie, Camilla Hedvig Mårtmann, Cecilie Øien and Ellen Sjøwall); Hallingdal Museum Nesbyen; Lars Hansson; Bjørn Geirr and Marita Harssen; Jiri Havran; Stadtarchiv Hemer (Eberhard Thomas); Rolf Hobson; Christhard Hoffmann; the Jewish Museum Oslo (Dag Kopperud); the Jewish Museum Trondheim (Tine Komissar); Anna-Ma Kjeldaas; Kode Museum Bergen (Annett Schattauer); Tom Kristiansen; Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Rheinland (Karoline Riener); Erik Levi; Severin Matiasovits (Archive of the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna); Marlies Baar, Jürgen Laumann, Daniel Lembeck, Simon Niehaus and the students at Marienschule Münster; University of Melbourne Law Library and Archives (Tin Nguyen and Jane Beattie); Katarzyna Naliwajek; the National Archives of Norway Oslo (Jan Ragnar Torgner); National Library Oslo (Richard Hjems and Anne Jorunn Kydland); Norway's Resistance Museum Oslo (Frode Færøy, Ivar Kraglund, and Sigurd Stenwig); the Norwegian Labour Movement Archives and Library Oslo; Håvard Okkenhaug; Niels Persen; Klaus Pietschmann; Boris Previšić; Rønnaug Ree and Eli Riefling Ree; Klaus Riehle; Maja Schmidt-Thomé; Gerhard Siebner; Christine Siegert (Beethoven-Haus Bonn); Ingrid Skovdahl; Stein Sødahl; City Archives of Stavanger; Regional State Archives in Stavanger (Bente Gro Olsen); Simon Stockhausen; Archive of the Royal Music Academy Stockholm (Ann Malm); Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket Stockholm (Marina Demina, Sebastian Lindblom); the National Archives of Sweden Stockholm (Caroline Duke, Lars Hallberg); Ilse Tiebert (Universität Mozarteum Salzburg Archiv Dokumentation); Archive of the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna (Severin Matiasovits, Lynne Heller, Ingrid Rapf and Erwin Strouhal); Regional State Archives in Tromsø; Regional State Archives in Trondheim; Library and Archive of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology Trondheim (Inger Langø and Erlend Lund); and as for all of my publications at Waxmann publishers Melanie Völker and her colleagues.

Finally, I would like to thank my dear family for their curiosity, love, and understanding with which they accompanied the preparation and writing of this book. I further owe deep gratitude to my parents, Elisabeth and Paul-Georg Custodis, who know best how many of the chances they have offered me found their way into this book. A special word of thanks goes to my mother for her critical comments and impressive language skills to turn my English drafts into a proper manuscript. In loving appreciation this book is dedicated to my parents.

Münster, 28 May 2021  
Michael Custodis

# I. Music as Resistance

## Nordic Exceptionalism

When the German Wehrmacht invaded the Oslo fjord in April 1940 and attacked the coastal regions around Bergen, Trondheim and Narvik, the future fate of the neutral state of Norway became highly unclear. In retrospect, one knows about increasing pressure, violence and terror by Hitler-Germany, ruthless cultural propaganda and corresponding political endeavors by Norwegian NS-activists: the installation of a Reichskommissariat by Josef Terboven and the announcement of a subordinated Norwegian State Council in September 1941; the declaration of martial law in 1942 after Vidkun Quisling's appointment to become the prime minister of an allegedly independent Norwegian government; the continual lack of acceptance of the fascist regime by the Norwegian public; the deportation and annihilation of Jews who had either been living in Norway for several generations or had fled from Central Europe after 1933; the deportation of approximately 120,000 mostly Soviet and Yugoslavian prisoners of war to Norway to do slave labor for the Organisation Todt; the incarceration of nearly 40,000 opposing Norwegians in concentration camps and prisons; and the devastated battle zone of Northern Norway left behind when the Wehrmacht began to withdraw in late 1944 after heavy losses against the Soviet Red Army. These trials and sufferings ended with Norway's liberation on 8 May 1945.<sup>1</sup>

Until Germany's defeat in Stalingrad in the winter of 1942/43, the general feeling among Norwegians often had been depressed and fatalistic. However, right from the beginning of April 1940, small groups of Norwegians had chosen to form resistance cells which promoted a collective mood of reluctance, opposition and open sabotage not only in and around Oslo, the Reichskommissariat's military and institutional center, but wherever the presence of the German occupational forces caused provoking events.

Over decades the political, economic and military dimensions of the years of occupation, including the military resistance movement, have been examined minutely by German and Norwegian historians. In contrast, academic research on Norway's music life during the German occupation, especially regarding the consequences for the Norwegian-German relations as well as for Norway's own perception within European cultures, has received very little attention until recent years.<sup>2</sup>

Summaries of Norwegian music history usually reviewed the 1930s and 40s rather briefly if they mention them at all. Only for obvious cases such as Christian Sinding, David Monrad Johansen and Geirr Tveitt explicit collaboration and fascist opinions are mentioned. Furthermore, most accounts feature the same few examples of institutions and male musicians from Oslo, with the additional examples of the west coast composers Harald Sæverud and Fartein Valen as well as one major anti-Semitic incident in Bergen against Jewish violinist Ernst Glaser on 16 January 1941. Most of the areas of Norway's far stretched geography, in part only sparsely populated, were never mentioned nor were the majority of Norwegian musicians in the performing professions or other musical fields such as church or choir music seriously touched upon. Exceptions

are a few regional studies which include hints to musicians within the local resistance movement.<sup>3</sup>

Prior to the invasion of April 1940, that was to fundamentally change the bi-national relations, Norway's cultural focus on central Europe had for centuries been directed mostly towards Germany. Vice versa, the fascination by the North, understood since Greek antiquity as a mystic, untouched region at the edge of the world, intensified rapidly during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when a highly interested European public followed daring expeditions to the North Pole in the press.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, popular novels spread the myths of Viking culture in Germany. One of the most prominent was the *Friðbjóf saga* (or Frithiof's saga), freely adapted and translated by the Swedish writer Esaias Tegnér (1782–1846); it made a deep impression on the young Wilhelm II: recitations of Old Norse poetry became part of the German emperor's legendary steamboat cruises to Norway that began in 1889.<sup>5</sup> These culminated in the ceremonial unveiling of a gigantic Frithiof monument made by the German sculptor Max Unger at the emperor's favorite destination in Vangsnes (Sognefjord) in 1913 (cf. fig. 1).<sup>6</sup>

On this occasion Wilhelm praised the common "Indo-Germanic" origins of the Germanic, Scandinavian, and Anglo-Saxon "tribes" once more – a notable reference to ancient "Aryan" civilization.<sup>7</sup> Wilhelm's admiration for the sturdy and proud Norwegian "Volk", inseparable from the wild Nordic nature, stood in stark contrast to his disdain for the Norwegian people's peaceful quest for a democratic nation state based on the parliamentary system. However, this contradiction did nothing to diminish the enormous popularity the German emperor had enjoyed in Norway since his first state visit in 1890.<sup>8</sup>

In Germany, "völkisch" religious movements absorbed the Wilhelminian idealization of Norwegian peasants, turning "Nordic" into a catchword for the attributes of "natural", "healthy", and "clean". The Nordic "Herrenmensch", ideologically the superior German master race, emerged as an ingredient of the numerous race theories thriving in Germany and Europe after World War I.<sup>9</sup> By this time, Richard Wagner's passion for Nordic mythology and the philosophical ambitions of his son-in-law Houston Stewart Chamberlain had ultimately made the mingling of music with Nordic race ideology socially acceptable.

During the late 1890s Norwegian artists had favored Leipzig and Berlin for first-class education, and only after the end of the First World War, which neutral Norway had outlived with only minor interferences, they turned to Paris as well. Nevertheless, the majority of Norwegian composers did not adopt the radical innovations of the time such as Neoclassicism, Atonality, Dodecaphony or *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Instead they tried to blend traditional folk music elements – the potential or emptiness of a specific "Nordic tone" was discussed intensely – with national romantic Melos into moderate modernist sounds, for example David Monrad Johansen in his monumental and rather successful oratorio *Voluspå*, opus 15 (1927).<sup>10</sup> The so-called "Nordic movement" ("Nordische Bewegung") in Germany had further radicalized under Hans F. K. Günther and Walther Darré who propagated the predominance of the Nordic "Herrenrasse". By means of this radicalization the "Nordic" was transformed from its geographical-cultural origin into an ideological category. Accordingly, the *Nordische Gesellschaft* of Lübeck, taken over by NSDAP's chief ideologist Alfred Rosenberg soon

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Det Ligt, som naar Nilsen mot Pjænderen, daar: Der kommer det med en, der siger det fra Indlandet i de hvide og sorte Linier, som er som Hvidt. G. Keiseren, Pjænderne staaende Ved.

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**Keiser Wilhelm og Nordmændene.**  
af  
Stateminister Chr. Michelsen.

Denne er den sidste af de tre... (text continues in small print)

Hil Norge som intet andet Land, som er sødt og i Grønning ligger det, naar Sommeren kommer i Vindstiden, Pjænderne.  
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**M. H. Landstad.**

Hil Norge som intet andet Land, som er sødt og i Grønning ligger det, naar Sommeren kommer i Vindstiden, Pjænderne.  
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Fig. 1: Special edition of the *Sogningen* newspaper, 31 July 1913, on the occasion of German emperor Wilhelm II's gift to the Norwegian people. NNL

after 1933,<sup>11</sup> courted artists from the Nordic regions (as will be explained in Chapter IV).

When Reichskommissar Josef Terboven's administration and Vidkun Quisling's puppet regime attempted to enforce the total "Gleichschaltung" of all fields of Norwegian everyday life musicians needed to think about which way to go: A few of them decided to serve the new masters, many tried to arrange themselves with the circumstances, and some chose to practice active resistance – comparable to society as a whole.<sup>12</sup> With regard to 20<sup>th</sup> century's music history, the dichotomy of music and politics proved to be a major catalyst including traditional beliefs that relate – with different chapters during the era of bourgeois emancipation and enlightenment – all the way back to Plato's doctrine on ethos and state theory. Audiences and artists still like to maintain the romantic idea that music and politics belong to different, only loosely connected worlds, despite the simple circumstance that hardly any cultural development and artistic progression can be explained outside the overall political framings.

Music can unfold a very special emotional impact which dictatorships rely on as a favored means for propagandist purposes. Nevertheless, also the oppositional faction of resistance fighters harnessed the emotional strength of music, without neglecting – in the case of Norway – the paradox dynamics of "transforming the Nordic": Despite the ideological radicalization of the national heritage by National Socialist propagandists the original apolitical, aesthetical interpretation of "Nordic" music remained intact among musicians and audiences. Accordingly, the civil resistance in Norway could utilize the ambiguity of "music in political times" for the benefit of Norway's liberty, either by using musical endeavors as a neutral territory or by employing allegedly unsuspecting music to communicate subliminal political messages.

The majority of Norwegians did not appreciate Hitler-Germany's ambitions to win their hearts and instead chose to show unmistakable disdain. Here one is facing a remarkable constellation though: How can it be explained – much to the Germans' surprise and despite all cultural and economic closeness for centuries – that a small, favorite Nordic "Brudervolk" would reject all attempts for fraternization by the predominant combatant? One possible answer could be found referring to a different era of "branding Nordic exceptionalism", the so-called "Nordic model" which describes the nation state-building of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, rapidly turning rural countries into modern, consensus-based welfare societies.<sup>13</sup> Political scholars such as Stein Rokkan, Stein Kuhnle and others carved out key factors which characterize the "Nordic model" with fairly small differences in class, income, and gender: a strong state, universal social rights, a "passion for equality" and a dominant role of the Lutheran State Church.<sup>14</sup> With the exception of Finland the Scandinavian states of Denmark, Norway and Sweden never had experienced feudalism in dimensions common to countries in Central Europe. The pride to be a society of free peasants, merchants, civil servants and bourgeoisie shaped the notion of a common Nordic identity of young nation states that had witnessed mutual cultural and political bonds for centuries: "The Nordic countries share a basic cultural unity, and are often – in relative terms not completely unfounded – looked upon as one single entity."<sup>15</sup>

After Norway had separated from Sweden and chosen to become a parliamentary monarchy in 1905, general social rights as well as universal suffrage were granted at least a decade earlier than in most European countries. Another unique factor, closely connected to the establishment of a strong state administration caring for all basic social needs of the inhabitants, was the prominent role of Lutheranism, manifested in the dominance of the protestant state church with the Norwegian king as its head. In consequence, the state and the municipalities were responsible for religious education and practice, so that priests were state servants and the King – as the formal head of state – acted as their principal.<sup>16</sup>

Effective conflict solution with a high level of social security proved to be the result of parliamentary decision making and reliable negotiations between trade unions and employer associations. The outcome were high social standards (modeled after Bismarck's social insurance system) and stable, trustable governments that implemented the moral routine to reach agreements and find consensus beyond rivaling political confrontation, as Matti Alestalo, Sven E. O. Hort and Stein Kuhnle pointed out:

A wide concept of the Nordic model must include aspects of the *actual* democratic form of government – or *governance* is a better term – in the Nordic countries, the evolution of a specific pattern for conflict resolution and creation of policy legitimacy as basis for political decision making. This pattern has developed over a long period of time and is characterized by active involvement and participation in various, often institutionalized, ways of civil society organizations in political processes before decisions are formally made by parliaments and governments, most particularly pronounced through triangular relationships between government, trade unions, employers' associations or similar organizations in for instance agriculture.<sup>17</sup>

## Institutionalizing Cultural Defense

Strikingly, political sciences predominantly discuss the “golden age” of the Nordic welfare states between the 1950s and 1980s, mostly when this regards the consequences for the present state of European unification versus centrifugal forces of growing nationalism. There has been less focus on the beginnings of the new state of Norway, when moral attitudes and modes of social cohesion became apparent which unfolded their patriotic impact during the German occupation. Nevertheless, sociological models which explain processes of social institutionalization give methodological advice.

The process of institutionalization – when ideas, ambitions and engagement evolve and turn into organized structures – is a crucial connection between individuals and collectives. To handle growing terminological diversity, catalyzed by differing meanings in everyday communication, Mario Rainer Lepsius offered a pragmatic introduction into the matter. In the preface to his book *Institutionalisierung politischen Handelns* (“Institutionalization of Political Action”, 2013) he avoids defining institutions by their nature, and analyzes their goals instead: “In institutions cultural guiding ideas manifest in maxims of behavior that can claim prevalence in certain fields of action. They coor-



dinate actions and form the core of social orders. Only in times of little social and cultural change they seem stable and permanent. They result in social differentiation and stand in competition and conflict with each other.”<sup>18</sup> All main features which originate in this definition can be summarized in six paragraphs:

1. An institution will develop for a certain purpose that has to be organized along short- and long-term goals. Without these goals or alternative purposes the institution will erode.
2. Institutions are legitimate mediation agencies between culture and society.
3. Institutions are founded on behavioral norms which are respected by different people as being rational and worth obeying. Only then a guiding idea can turn into a true model. Within this structure responsibilities become hierarchized and moral as well as professional criteria will be correlated with one another.
4. An institution needs authority and the ability to impose sanctions against opponents.
5. An organization has to warrant all events and results it produces. Accordingly, regulatory systems to communicate criticism, to settle conflicts and mediate between different guiding ideas need to be available.
6. Institutions incorporate interdependencies of stability and changeability.

Recently Wolfgang Benz reflected on resistance against Hitler in his comprehensive study *Im Widerstand. Größe und Scheitern der Opposition gegen Hitler* (the German title implies a broad understanding of “Größe” in the way of “grandeur” or “size”). To Benz the lesson only lately learned from German history is that resistance is right from the beginning on and it is lawful. It is a commandment of democratic belief that will preserve democracy. The questions he derived from these thoughts are short and quite fundamental: What is resistance, where does it begin, where are limits? Is only tyrannicide and its preparation a sign of true resistance, or does resistance already begin with a whispered joke, ridiculing the “Führer” and his mates?<sup>19</sup>

Historians are reluctant to find a definition of resistance that could cover all matters, and a bibliographical research produces literally thousands of titles for the keyword “resistance”. Terminological diversity has reached a breadth of theoretical, historical, philosophical, sociological, geographical, political and aesthetical sub-debates that seem limitless,<sup>20</sup> since scholarly debate set in at the end of the Second World War. Nevertheless, Benz named one indispensable characteristic how to tell resistance from softer forms of opposition, defense or reluctance: risk-taking.<sup>21</sup>

Naturally, within each dictatorship, country and generation the practical outcome of resistance is different and individual. When in the late 1970s Jørgen Hæstrup compared numerous resistance movements in Nazi-occupied countries, he detected striking similarities which help to map the transition from individual spontaneous defense into institutionalized action: 1) a decision to take action despite personal danger, 2) an initial phase to define enemies, goals, strategies and coalition partners, 3) a tendency towards centralization and cooperation, 4) various tacit circles that share a mutual resistance mentality, which enables the accelerating growth of resistance networks, and 5) the development of alternative hierarchies.<sup>22</sup>

German National Socialists tried to transform the traditional concept of the “Nordic” as a cultural and geographical mentality into a racial ideology, which in fact was the effort of capturing a traditional social-democratic culture of consensus by dictatorial force. This intention disagreed with all main features which the “Nordic model” presents in a nutshell: a strong state with self-confident, independent agents (parliament, trade unions, employer associations, state church), libertarian equality (which was contradicted by the anti-Semitic agenda of National Socialism) and the guarantee of social rights (the opposite of the National Socialist concept of unequal genders, heroic men and fertile, motherly women).

According to Tore Gjelsvik (a resistance fighter himself and later a main historiographer of the Norwegian resistance movement) the initial moment for resistance was sparked by General Otto Ruge’s commanded surrender,<sup>23</sup> Norway’s formal capitulation on 10 June 1940 and the decision of King Håkon VII and his cabinet to go into English exile.<sup>24</sup> Even before Josef Terboven had established an Administrative Council in September 1940 resistance was already organizing along three main criteria: place (close to the military presence of the occupying German forces and their administration), age (predominantly young adults who were defending their future careers and the lives of their young families) and resolution (which meant working undercover or, if trapped, continuing in a prison camp).

In all of its history Norway never had to face the feudalist repression of civil rights. Only 35 years after having gained independence from Sweden, no one wanted to relinquish it again and by doing so give up the civil rights at the same time. The clash of nation state concepts – represented by the Nazi-system versus the resistance movement – seems little surprising enough. The political agendas of the various Norwegian political factions were just as diverse as the resistance fighters themselves; just as manifold were their means and beliefs, temporarily uniting partisans and pacifists, artists and housewives, workforce and pupils.

Music, reaching into all corners and nooks of culture and society, was common to all these people. Not everybody might read novels, go to the movies or attend a theater performance, but probably everybody is affected emotionally or even intellectually by music. Therefore, music now offers us a unique perspective and enables us to reconstruct collective and individual resistance. The years since the independence of 1905 had brought about a habit of consensus within the population. The governmental corporate circle policy, based on trade unions bargaining with employer associations, had established a respected tradition of finding coalitions and compromises in spite of antagonistic ideological positions. At the same time the state church with its obligatory membership offered a moral compass for ethical behavior. With this background the Norwegian people seemed to have been prepared with a general feeling for reluctance when their natural rights were jeopardized in April 1940.

Once it had developed beyond the initial state of spontaneity and improvisation, the actual resistance work had to be professionalized. The required skills could be found in all branches of civil society. Key figures of the civil resistance movement in Norway – Hans Jacob Ustvedt (1903-1982), Ole Jacob Malm (1910-2005), Kåre Norum (1907-1981) and Arne Okkenhaug (1922-1975) – were leading names in the professional organizations for doctors (Ustvedt and Malm), teachers (Norum)<sup>25</sup> and broad-

casting (Okkenhaug).<sup>26</sup> Ustvedt's and Malm's contribution to the civil resistance are decisive to understand the integration of music into Norwegian exile politics and Swedish cultural life, as both men were filled with a passion for their medical profession and for music, Ustvedt as a singer and Malm as a skilled pianist. During the research for this book Ustvedt's huge collection of private papers, preserved in the National Archives in Oslo, were maybe examined for the first time. In any case, they reveal an exceptional personality. His broad educational and cultural background included German poetry as well. In 1938 he took the liberty of writing to the prominent critic of Nazi-Germany Thomas Mann (cf. fig. 2).<sup>27</sup> At the time of this letter, dated 14 January 1938, the winner of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1929 was about to move from his exile in Switzerland to the United States. After polite apologies for having enclosed his dissertation (about the value of musical therapy for patients suffering from mental diseases, 1937)<sup>28</sup> Ustvedt spoke of his deep admiration for Mann's writing (here in translation; originally, the letter was written in German):

From childhood on profoundly familiar with the world of the Buddenbrocks I experienced "hours of profound solitary happiness" sometimes repeatedly perusing Zauberberg during the years of my studies as you yourself say so well about Wagner. It means ever so much to me to have found amongst the authors who voice their opinions on music one who gives my vague and unspoken thoughts a clear expression. And yet, these things ultimately recede into the background before the profound, deeply humane admiration that fills me towards you as a prophet of humanism.

Connected since early youth by a sincere love for German music and literature I have experienced the occurrences of the past years with increasing pain, and I see the only hope for better times in people like you who really live and bring about ["wirken"]. What you wrote in the first volume of "Mass und Wert" touched me in my core. I would like to tell you that there are people living in Norway filled with similar thoughts, people loving the true Germany and grateful for the life and works of Thomas Mann as a beacon of light in the darkness. Maestro, forgive me my immodest words. It is a great pleasure for me to speak of my sincere love for Germany and to you.<sup>29</sup>

Nine days later Mann sent a kind reply to Ustvedt:

You have sent me such a kind and pleasant letter that I, as soon as I can, would like to thank you for it cordially. My sincere affinity to the Nordic countries, deepened by Nordic literature which I early imbibed, make it easy to understand that I am not indifferent to how people think of me up there. On the contrary, it is highly important and pleasing to me to be reassured that I have friends in Norway, Sweden and Denmark still, who have remained so in spite of the outward changes that my life became subjected to. These feelings are the result of a way of thinking which, as I may derive from your letter, is shared by many people in your country and by you personally too.<sup>30</sup>

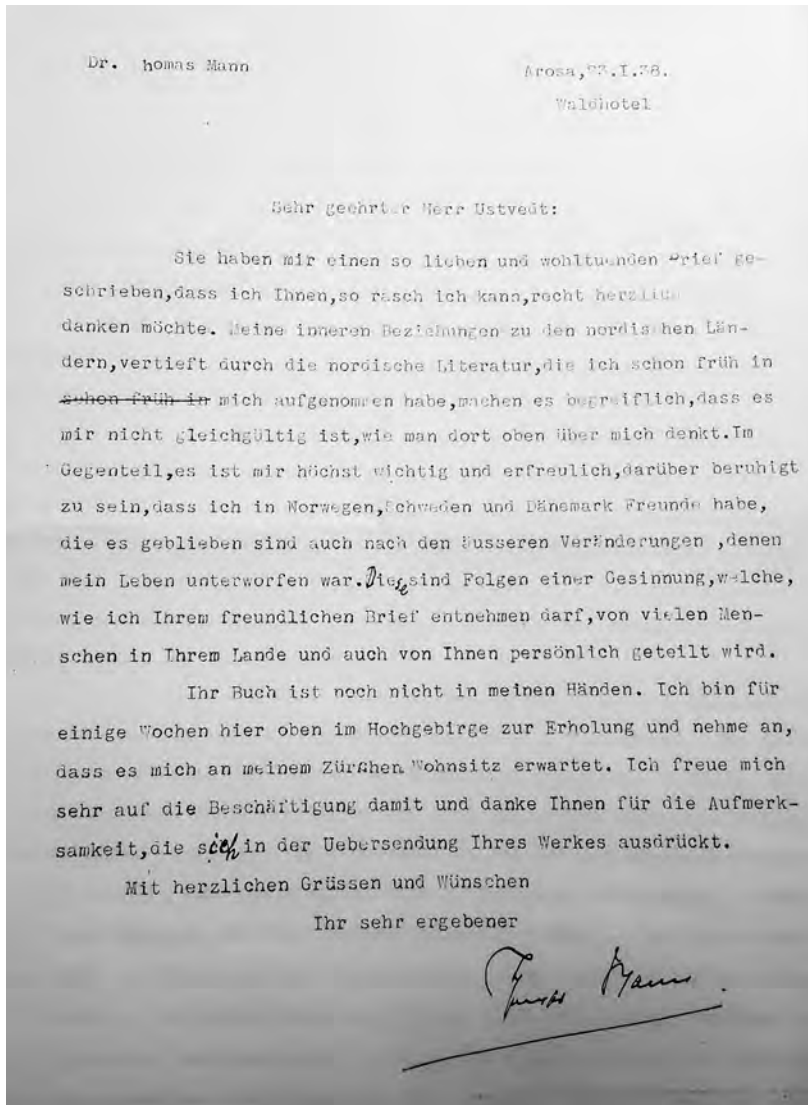


Fig. 2: Letter from Thomas Mann to Hans Jacob Ustvedt, 23 January 1938. NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ea/L0004

While researching for this book, the author got in touch with Hans Christofer Børresen, a nephew of Ole Jacob Malm.<sup>31</sup> He kindly allocated his uncle's papers to the Norwegian Resistance Museum's archive where they could be studied for the first time. These contain an undated interview from the post-war years about Malm's initiative together with Ustvedt to organize volunteers opposing German occupation. It matches and contours the verified historical knowledge.<sup>32</sup> As members of the executive council of young medical doctors ("yngre legers foreningen") and with Ustvedt (employed at Oslo's Rikshospitalet) as their representative they were used to administrative procedures and had access to the infrastructure of professional office service. After deciding

to professionalize their resistance against the German oppressors, their disobedience against the new regime had intensified during the late summer of 1940. Together with his comrades Kåre Norum and Arne Okkenhaug, Malm spent many months analyzing the political situation, available resources, and resulting consequences. In a program on the national radio, broadcasted 24 November 1966, Malm explained that he and his comrades first developed a war game to prepare them for all kinds of risks and eventualities, and finally developed a system of resistance that was logical, uncomplicated and as safe as possible under these circumstances.<sup>33</sup> In all the available literature accessible in the university library he gathered information on cryptography and invisible ink, afterwards trying out various recipes in his laboratory which was provided by the medical department. He even had the support of one of the faculty's secretaries, Sigrid Løkse, who later was known under her code name "Siri".<sup>34</sup>

The most important task was to set up a clandestine communication network including the necessary methods of spreading information, while the circle of confidants, shielded by the use of aliases and code names, had to be kept as small as possible. It proved to be most efficient to use the legal, established communication channels of mail, telephone and telegraph which were in part provided by the railway service throughout the country. Supported by intimates who could travel for professional reasons and dispatch secret information inconspicuously, the so-called Coordination Committee ("Koordinasjonskomitee") was established in Oslo in the fall of 1941. It could rely on secret contacts to Bergen, Trondheim, Lillehammer, Kristiansand and the North. It also coordinated the individual structures of organizations that teachers, mail staff, railway employees, architects, journalists, and engineers had already developed.<sup>35</sup> Thanks to such thorough planning the informational courier network stayed intact throughout the war. Malm estimated the number of activists over the years at about 50, and was responsible particularly for the exchange of orders and strategies between resistance members in occupied Norway and their contact men in their London and Stockholm exiles. One reason for the success of the clandestine work might have been that the Coordination Committee was located in an office in Stortingsgata in Oslo which originally had been provided by the medical faculty for Malm's research. Ironically, all other offices on the same floor were occupied by Hird (the paramilitary organization of the Norwegian Nazi-party Nasjonal Samling, the "National Gathering") so that during all the years they never experienced a razzia.<sup>36</sup>

In the undated interview mentioned above Ole Jacob Malm also spoke of his motives to dedicate his time and ambitions fully to resistance work. Both his father Erling Malm, lawyer at Norway's high court, and his uncle Jacob Worm Müller, professor for history at the University of Oslo, had been important role models for him, dedicated to strong opposition against Nazi-Germany after their early warnings that the war would soon reach Norway (to no surprise Jacob Worm Müller was removed from his university position only a few months after Terboven had established the Reichskommissariat).<sup>37</sup> In the fall of 1941, Ole Jacob Malm, 31 years old, married and father of three children, quit his job as an assistant doctor in the surgical department of Åker sykehus. To keep up the façade of a serious profession he began a doctoral dissertation so that it did not arouse any suspicion when he started an archive, collected information, joined the office with a secretary, and traveled abroad, officially to study x-ray pictures

and evaluate medical journals at other institutes. Although he supported members of the military resistance wing, who needed access to microscopes to decipher encrypted miniature photographs, Malm and his comrades emphasized the civil character of their work and stayed in touch with other professional realms, especially music, which was easy for both Malm and Ustvedt thanks to their strong musical talents.

## Sivorg and Music

After the first reports about the Norwegian resistance movement were published shortly after the end of the Second World War – concerning music Hans Jørgen Hurum's *musikken under okkupasjonen* was definitively the first one in 1946 – the impression would be misleading that civil and military resistance were monolithic, homogenic group of people with one binding ethical code. On the contrary, resistance is always in flux – reacting to the course of events, adapting to internal shifts of personnel due to arrests, hiding or exile, with regional differences concerning their duties, when coastal or municipal surroundings dictate other agendas. Sivorg – a collective term, combining the word “sivil” and “organization” and summarizing all groups abstaining from military force – accordingly coordinated different factions, including the Coordination Committee. As far as sources and testimonies can tell, there was no coherent policy for music and the arts in general. In fact the close and continuous monitoring of collaborators was announced regularly through illegal newspapers (the main media to spread information), so that once in a while names were published, both to document their misconduct and to warn all in doubt not to give in to the allurements of the regime.

One of numerous examples for such a public-underground pillory can be found in a document (cf. fig. 3) probably from fall 1943 (the argumentation is similar to other documents from this time),<sup>38</sup> which under the headline “The Music-Front” refers to an earlier list:

In our list of compromised artists a few names were missing. Here they are:

Those who betrayed:

Signe Lund<sup>39</sup>

Willy Johansen, bandmaster [“kapellmester”]<sup>40</sup>

Johan Kvandal

Ebbe Evensen

Erling Røberg, musician, Oslo<sup>41</sup>

Oscar Gustavson, musician, Oslo<sup>42</sup>

Ivar Bratlie, musician Oslo

Warning against the following Nazi-artists born abroad:

Carl Eckhardt, musician, Oslo

Willy Mittelbach, musician, Oslo

Bruno Hamburg, musician, Oslo

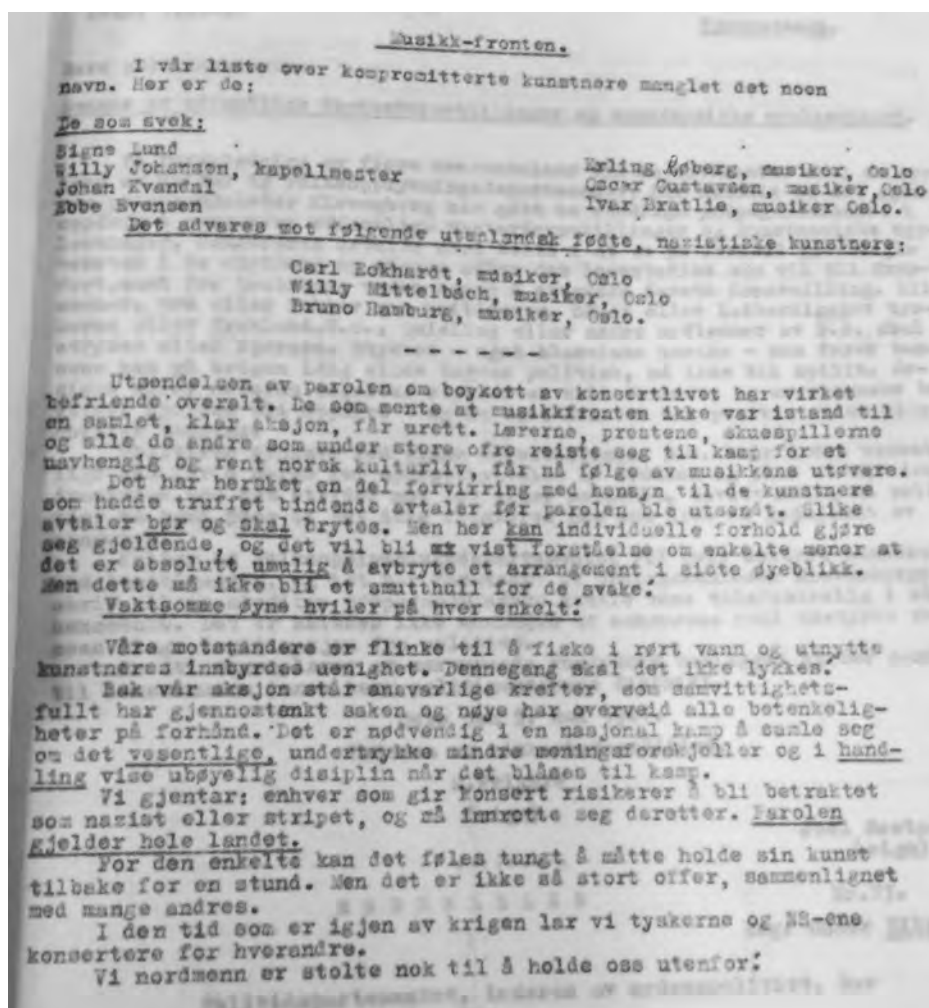


Fig 3: List of compromised artists and the parole, which consequences needed to be taken, probably from fall 1943. NHM, HA/NHM-358 *Paroler og rundskriv fra hjemmefronten 1940-1945*, folder X *Litt fra Musikkfronten*

In contrast to Signe Lund's well-known activism the involvement of Johan Kvandal has not been discussed much yet so that a short comment seems necessary to explain why his name was placed on this list. David Johan Jacob Kvandal (1919-1999) was a pianist and composer, and the son of David Monrad Johansen, the highest ranking Nazi-collaborator amongst musicians in Norway. Both joined the Norwegian Nazi-party Nasjonal Samling in October 1941, Kvandal with membership number 38090, his father with number 23401, who also became a member of the SS on 4 March 1942.<sup>43</sup> As late as March 1945, when everything in Nazi propaganda was committed to the "Endsieg", Kvandal still contributed an article about *Future Paths of Norwegian Music* ("Zukunftswege norwegischer Musik") to the *Deutsche Monatshefte in Norwegen*, published by the Reichskommissariat's propaganda departement (cf. fig. 4).



Fig. 4: Advertisement for the March-issue 1945 of the *Deutsche Monatshefte in Norwegen*, including Johan Kvandal's essay *Future Paths of Norwegian Music* ("Zukunftswege norwegischer Musik"), in: *Buskeruds Blad*, 10 March 1945, page 2.>NNL

According to the register book of the Conservatory in Leipzig Kvandal had studied with his father (1939-41), and at the Reichshochschule für Musik in Vienna (cf. fig. 5) music theory with Joseph Marx, piano with Franz Horak and organology with Wilhelm Jerger (30 October 1942 until 1 November 1943). From there he sent so-called "music-letters" which were published in the Oslo newspaper *Aftenposten*, for example on 4 March 1943.<sup>44</sup> On 7 October 1943 he enrolled at the famous Leipzig conservatory under the inscription number #18506 to study composition. Both studies abroad in Vienna and Leipzig were co-financed by the Nordische Gesellschaft in Lübeck, which belonged to the hemisphere of Alfred Rosenberg, the NSDAP-ideologist and Quisling-supporter. Shortly after the liberation Kvandal had to face a trial for treason by the so-called Norsk Kunsterråd ("Norwegian Artists' Council") and was excluded from the Norwegian Composers' Association in 1945 and readmitted 1947/48.<sup>45</sup>

Some illegal newspapers, such as *Fram* from Bergen, printed notices about contaminated musicians once in a while not only to blame, but also to ridicule them. The edition of 16 October 1944, for example, published an anecdote about Jim Johannessen, a violinist originally from Bergen, now responsible for music in Hird, the military section of the Norwegian Nazi-party Nasjonal Samling:



Reichs-Nr. \_\_\_\_\_

**Ausländer**

**REICHSHOCHSCHULE FÜR MUSIK WIEN**

Vor- und Zuname *Kvandal Johan*

geboren am *8. IX. 1919* in *Oslo*

Heimatsberechtigt *Slependen, Norgegen* Volkszugehörigkeit \_\_\_\_\_

Muttersprache *norwegisch* Religion *luth. - evang.*

Schulbildung *Abitur*

Adresse des Schülers *XIX, Kevskift a. Walde bei G. Himmel*

Name, Beruf und Wohnung der Eltern (Obsorger) \_\_\_\_\_

Haupt- und Nebenfächer	Lehrer	Klassenzensur				Anmerkung
		Februar		Juni		
		Fließ	Fließ	Fließ	Fließ	
						<i>1942/43 Sommersemester</i>
						<i>29. IV. 30. V. 4. 4. Bedingt g.</i>
<i>Musik Theorie 1</i>	<i>Marx</i>	<i>1 1</i>	<i>1 1</i>			<i>3. XII. 42 Bischof J. K. 44. V. 45.</i>
<i>Klavies 1</i>	<i>Karak</i>	<i>1 1</i>	<i>1 1</i>			<i>31. VI. o. 4. X. 42 o. 17. X. bis 8. I. 43</i>
<i>Instrumentenkunde 1</i>	<i>Jeiger</i>					<i>besucht in 2. 4. 4. II</i>
						<i>besucht in 2. 4. 4. II</i>
						<i>7. 2. 8. o. 19. IV. 43. - Zulassung</i>
						<i>genehmigt.</i>
						<i>27. 03. o. 1. X. 43. - Austritt.</i>

Fig. 5: Johan Kvandal's file card documenting his study in Vienna in 1942/43. MDW

Bandmaster Jim Johannessen continues to distinguish himself. The other day he demanded a car at Østbanestasjonen in Oslo. As he did not have a service certificate, the chauffeur refused to drive. Johannessen, who was rather "tipsy", became furious, walked away and returned with eight Hird-men. The driver took out the official regulations for driving, but these were torn from him and he was transported to the Hird-department (The old War School). His further fate is unknown.<sup>46</sup>

Besides such unusual information the so-called "paroles" became the main type of instruction concerning the arts. To avoid any misunderstanding the illegal papers regularly explained the nature and purpose of these paroles, for example with a note in the *Kommunal-Nytt* on 28 November 1944:

What is a parole? A parole is a code of conduct that defines which attitude one should have in a certain combat situation. Why do we need paroles? At war with our enemies we can only do well if we fight together and with discipline. The parole is the command that marshals the lines, which takes care that also in our civil fight we fight like an army and not like an unorganized mass. At the same time the parole is an expression of community among all

good Norwegians. It strengthens the weak to stand in line with the strong and brave. It takes care that the enemy does not know where to strike, because all stand together. The parole is the basis for our front.<sup>47</sup>

Paroles often marked shifts in the overall atmosphere in Norway, when either misbehaving fellow countrymen were accused of betraying the National spirit or official campaigns needed to be countered – for example festivities on the occasion of Rikard Nordraak's centennial in 1942 (further details will be discussed in Chapter III) and Edvard Grieg's centenary in the following year.<sup>48</sup> In a report from the first days after the liberation, dated 8 June 1945, Ole Jacob Malm not only described the necessity to write these commands, but also to found an illegal music journal when paroles needed to circulate more regularly in 1942:

By the summer of 1942 two members of the KK [= “koordinasjonskomitee”, the Coordination Committee], namely Dr. Ustvedt and I, had taken up the task to bind all resistance groups of artists to the guidelines the KK followed concerning professions and organizations. During the summer and fall of 42 a parole was sent out to all artists, representing all forms of art; and the miscellaneous situation at the music front [= musical resistance work] made it necessary to start an illegal music journal which was first released in September-October 1942. As I had to leave the country in November 1942 my concern with these things ended [...].<sup>49</sup>

Unfortunately, this is the only note so far available mentioning such a plan and no journal could be found yet that would match such a description; the only music journal that was founded during the war and can be traced back to a resistance activist – *Norsk Musikkliv*, published by Olav Gurvin in 1942 – does not contain obvious propaganda against the regime, which is quite natural for an officially printed journal which accordingly had to pass all regulations for certification without being censored.

The orders of the resistance leadership to boycott concerts and other public activities not only resulted in empty concert halls but also in drastic economic and artistic consequences for the musicians. Accordingly, some orders were questioned or even refused. One major argument, besides different opinions on the autonomy or control of music by politics, was that the situation in Oslo (where the decision making of the Coordination Committee took place) was contrary to all other parts of occupied Norway; accordingly, decisions that might make sense in the capital could be counterproductive in Bergen or Trondheim (this topic will be discussed in detail in Chapter III). In consequence, the personnel behind the paroles had to justify their decisions and explain the righteousness and necessity of their strict policy. One example can be found in the second part of the parole quoted above (cf. fig. 3):

Sending out the parole to boycott the concert life was a relief for all. Anybody who thought that the music front was not capable of a unified, clear campaign was wrong. Teachers, priests, actors and everybody else who stood up with huge sacrifices to fight for an independent and pure Norwegian cultural life can now be joined by the performers. In part there was confusion among artists who had made binding agreements before the parole was sent

out. Those agreements shall and must be broken. But here individual circumstances can become noticeable, and there will be some understanding if individuals think that it is absolutely impossible to cancel an arrangement at the very last moment. But this must not be a loop hole for the weak! Attentive eyes will rest on each individual!<sup>50</sup>

## The Historiography of Music and Nazism in Norway

When different spheres with individual rules overlap – in this case the spheres of “music” and “politics” – case studies can turn into complex fields of research. Even if music is seized for political purposes, it still can claim – due to the influential romantic idea of aesthetic autonomy – the nature of a sphere free of politics, primarily relying on the emotional strength of listening. It is an unsolvable paradox that Wilhelm Furtwängler believed that his conducting could turn a concert into a political vacuum, even when the first rows were occupied by high-ranking Nazi-officials.<sup>51</sup> After 19<sup>th</sup> century’s European nationalism already had taken over music cultures for ideological agendas, the political control of the arts further intensified in the National Socialist dictatorship. The alignment of all social processes and individuals (the German term “Gleichschaltung” is even stronger to underline the violent motivation to carry out indoctrination) and the abrogation of constitutional control mechanisms now enforced the subordination of all cultural and social realms, institutions and means of expression, at the same time producing contradictions, rivalries and reluctance.

At this time, musicology did not exist in Norway as an independent discipline. The first dissertation had been written by Georg Reiss (1861-1914) in 1913 at the University of Kristiania (called Oslo since 1925); earlier he had finished his music studies at the Conservatory in Berlin (1892), returned there in 1907 to study early music and neumes with Oscar Fleischer and published works on medieval scripts in the Norwegian national archives (1908).<sup>52</sup> More than a decade later he was succeeded by Ole Mørk Sandvik in 1922 who offered lectures in European music history, church and folk music for designated music critics, cantors and teachers from the semester term 1926/27 onwards.<sup>53</sup> According to Finn Benestad’s history of Oslo’s Department for Musicology one was well aware of the lack of staff and methodological diversity so that Sandvik, already in the year prior to his graduation, together with Gerhard Schjelderup published a history of Norwegian music in 1921.<sup>54</sup> Some authors copied this model and published smaller individual music histories, often references to the writings of Hans Joachim Moser and Hugo Riemann, for example Johan Christian Bisgaard, Ellen Lehmann and Sverre Hagerup Bull.<sup>55</sup> Others translated international literature, as Reidar Brehmer did in 1932 with his Norwegian edition of Karl Nef’s music history.<sup>56</sup>

A prototype for the difficulties of young Norwegians to gain a solid musicological education is the example of Olav Gurvin (1893-1974). His graduation in Oslo at the age of 25 is documented in 1928, holding the first Magister-degree in musicology in Norway ever. A short chronicle of the Department for Musicology and several encyclopedia articles indicate that he had studied in Germany before, probably in 1919-

20 in Heidelberg, and again in 1932-35, this time in Berlin.<sup>57</sup> In between he graduated under Sandvik's supervision on Norwegian program music. Immediately afterwards he made a remarkable shift from musicological mainstream to pure modernism: in 1930 he already presented newspaper articles about atonality and the Norwegian dodecaphonist Fartein Valen, leading to his dissertation of 1938, where he emphasizes his enthusiasm for Valen and Arnold Schoenberg in the preface: "The author hopes that this work will help to promote and understand atonal compositions, as in the works of Arnold Schoenberg and Fartein Valen, who can be classified as two of the greatest composers of our time."<sup>58</sup>

Speculating who Gurvin could have met in Heidelberg and Berlin, one finds several prominent scholars: In Heidelberg he must have witnessed the succession from Philipp Wolfrum to Theodor Kroyer, a specialist for music of the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although Berlin's university and the cultural importance of the Prussian metropolis must have been quite a contrast, modern music did not have an academic advocate here: not with Georg Schünemann, from 1920 to 1933 the director of the music conservatory ("Hochschule für Musik"), nor with his successor, Nazi-activist Fritz Stein,<sup>59</sup> nor with Arnold Schering at the Friedrich-Wilhelm-University nor his colleague Johannes Wolf. Only Hans Mersmann, who finished his habilitation at the Technical University in 1927 and had inherited the editorial responsibility for Hermann Scherchen's legendary Avant-garde-journal *Melos* three years earlier, could have been an expert for contemporary music. Considering the famous musicians and scholars, who were present in Berlin at the same time – Arnold Schoenberg, Franz Schreker, Hugo Leichtenritt, Erich Moritz von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs – one gets an idea of the intellectual and cultural climate that Gurvin experienced while preparing his dissertation. Furthermore, one can suspect that Gurvin, when he praised Arnold Schoenberg in his dissertation from 1938 as one of the most important composers of his age, knew very well that he idolized an exiled Jewish artist and enemy of the Hitler-regime.<sup>60</sup>

Meanwhile, the academic development in Norway had accelerated. In 1937 the Norwegian Broadcasting Fund sponsored a triannual lectureship which Gurvin and Sandvik split between themselves. From 1939, until the German authorities sanctioned Oslo's University in 1942, Gurvin was in charge of all musicological lectures and continued to teach graduate students on a private basis until 1945. On 1 July 1946 Gurvin was granted a permanent position to become the first lecturer for musicology. Nevertheless, all plans to establish his discipline as a minor subject were blocked by the faculty until 1949. With only the support of his assistant Liv Greni and cantor Arild Sandvold teaching harmony and counterpoint he had to cover the full methodological spectrum. He still found time though to found the Norwegian Institute for Folk Music ("norsk folkemusikkinstitutt") in 1951, a much frequented institution under the auspices of the Research Council for General Studies ("almenvitenskapelige forskningsråd"). Despite a lack of rooms, instruments, records and scores he cultivated musicology. In 1958 he was able to open his own department after he had been appointed the first professor in his discipline in Norway two years earlier. Until his retirement in 1964 he continued to study Norwegian art music, especially Johann Svendsen (the topic of his magister thesis), Fartein Valen (the subject of his dissertation) and folk music.

The liberation of Norway on 8 May 1945 was accompanied by a short period of documenting political and moral guilt.<sup>61</sup> Immediately after the German surrender the resistance movement started to arrest collaborators and war criminals on behalf of the legal government returning from London. In a spectacular trial the Norwegian Nazi-leader Vidkun Quisling was sentenced to death in October 1945; in the field of music composer and functionary David Monrad Johansen had been on the resistance's wanted list for a long time. He was arrested on the third day after the liberation and sentenced to several years of imprisonment and compulsory labor (further details will be discussed in Chapter V).<sup>62</sup>

After most traitors and collaborators had been outlawed in public directly after the war, the lack of workers to rebuild Norway urged compromise. Thanks to the traditional modes of solving disagreements the trade unions and employer associations agreed upon the rehabilitation of minor charged persons, and Storting, the Norwegian parliament, confirmed this appeasement with a general amnesty in 1948. Magne Skodvin's widely pursued historical research helped to build the myth of Norway as a land in collective resistance, which had been endangered only by a small group of ideologists – the so-called Quislings. Accordingly, the historical research concentrated for decades on the role of the Quislings and the glorification of the military resistance.<sup>63</sup>

It is not known if or how Olav Gurvin used his knowledge about the politically contaminated after the liberation when he acted in the role of a musicologist. Not only did he survive until May 1945 as a lector and journalist, but also as an activist inside the civil resistance movement (though details about his resistance work are still unclear due to the fact that the respective files in his papers are still classified by the National Library). For the centennial of Rikard Nordraak in 1942, Edvard Grieg's friend and the composer of the Norwegian national anthem, Gurvin and his companion Øyvind Anker had presented his collected works in six volumes, praised explicitly as a national duty for all patriotic Norwegians: "In difficult times for country and people we find strength in our national heroes. The Nordraak-Edition must find its way to all musical Norwegian homes in this anniversary year."<sup>64</sup>

In the same year 1942 Gurvin had founded a new journal, *Norsk Musikkliv*, to continue the choir journal *Norsk Sangerlag* which ceased publication after eight years. On the surface most topics about Norwegian musicians and folk music seemed rather unspectacular. Nevertheless, if one is familiar with the names of the leading musicians at that time and of activists in the civil resistance movement hidden political signals appear: While Hans Jacob Ustvedt, Robert Riefling and Gurvin himself can be found among the authors, which emphasizes the resistance's participation, prominent supporters of National Socialism in Norway, such as Jim Johannessen, David Monrad Johansen, Per Reidarson, Edvard Sylou-Creutz, Signe Lund and Geirr Tveitt, are not mentioned in *Norsk Musikkliv*. At least in volume No. 5, dedicated to Edvard Grieg's centennial in 1943, this boycott of prominent Nazi-supporters might have become really obvious, because Monrad Johansen – a high ranking member of the Composers' Association and Grieg-biographer – was excluded explicitly from the list of possible contributors.

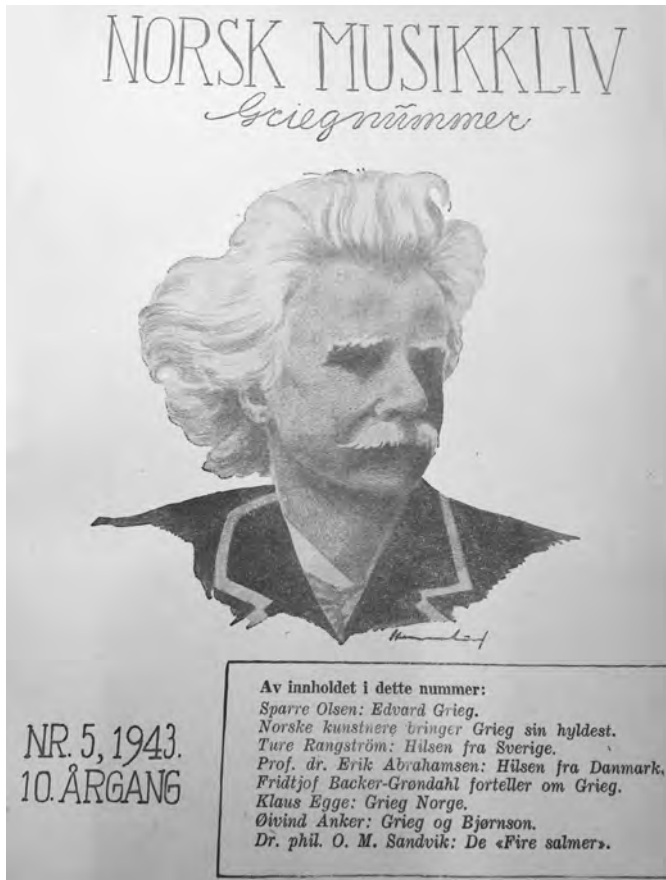


Fig. 6: The number of *Norsk Musikkliv* on the occasion of Edvard Grieg's centennial, edited by Olav Gurvin. Due to his intention to highlight the continuity of this journal to the precursory *Norsk Sangerlag* he continued by counting its volumes so that *Norsk Musikkliv* started with volume 9 in 1942.

With this in mind Gurvin's role as head of a commission of the Norwegian Artists' Council in 1945/46 for the purpose of clarifying the possible involvement of all of its members in NS-politics seems quite natural.<sup>65</sup> In critical articles for newspapers and journals Gurvin quite frankly spoke about music in Norway during the years of occupation and welcomed the harsh punishment against Monrad Johansen. But as soon as he shifted from the journalistic role to the academic ground of musicology he respected the common sense of Norwegian historiography to stay away from politics. The next generation of Norwegian scholars also excluded controversial political chapters from questionable biographies where silent knowledge of all the readers can be presumed.<sup>66</sup> But if a short notice could not be avoided, the dominant historical narrative gave orientation by praising the resistance movement and leaving all questions of moral guilt up to the Quislings. This time has been described by Stein Ugelvik Larsen as the beginning of revisionism in Norway.<sup>67</sup>

If – next to a few translations of foreign text books – own treatises on Norwegian music history did appear (and quite many were published for the popular market of music lovers in the shape of coffee-table books), chapters on 20<sup>th</sup> century music avoided mentioning the relations of “music” and “politics” as a central theme. Although Bo Wallner could not ignore the 1940s when he published his book *Vår tids musikk i Norden. Från 20-tal till 60-tal* (“The Music of our Time in the North: From the 20s to the 60s”) in 1968, he avoided all political issues. For inevitable topics, he adopted the narratives of leading historians and worshipped the resistance while blaming the marginal group of Quislings.<sup>68</sup> Six decades after Ole Mørk Sandviks and Gerhard Schjelderups *Norges Musikkhistorie*, Nils Grinde published his own *Norges musikkhistorie: Hovedlinjer i norsk musikkliv gjennom 1000 år* in 1984.<sup>69</sup> It became the primary textbook for many years at Norwegian schools and universities. His chapters about the years between 1920 and 1950 shied away completely from any political background. Instead, he limited his description to laconic commentaries about the dead-end “nationalistic style”.<sup>70</sup>

**Musikkbladet** **LJOM**

LITGITT AV NORGES LANDSFORBUND AV GUTTE & AMATÖRMUSIKKORPS  
NR. 2, 1949

**2. hefte er kommet!**

**Gurvin og Anker**

**MUSIKKLEKSIKON**

**En begivenhet i vårt musikkliv**

Et annet musikkblad som utarbeides for norske musikklovere og alle framme lagdelte og musikkforeninger i Norge.

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**DREYERS FORLAG**

**Guttekorpsstevnet i Kristiansand 5**

Vil denne se litt avsløring på en meget viktig sak som aldri har det vært utvidet på og mer utvidet enn i landet enn i den lille stamme.

Det er i hvert fall det historisk vi i forsamlingen har fått. Instruksjon for musikklovere er i stadig velle og framgang med en vidende forståelse av det musikklovens som fra postkassen side. Ny guttekorps side siden. Vi har komponert fra tusen alle byer i Nord-Norge som hjelp og råd fra demselve av guttekorpslovere. Det er småt sett spesielt at disse bestemmelse måtte komme rva skolen bestrengt eller fra skolelovene, kort sagt fra musikklovens myndigheter. Dette skulle jo tyde på at korpsene ve og ved skulle være godt vurdert. De samme spørsmål får vi også fra alle kasser i det norske Norge.

Forløp er det mangten på instruksjon som tildele de skolekasser, men det går jo framover også med taning av dette problematiske spørsmål.

Interessen for guttemusikkloven og forståelsen av dens store betydning gjør seg også stadig mere gjeldende blant våre amatørkorpslovere og tilsvarende det ha vært like like det var så. Jeg vil så sterkt jeg kan be alle aktive amatørkorpslovere på her i dette høste guttekorpslovene og dirigentene i deres store og opprettede arbeid.

Gleden alone eriv i oppføre gode resultater med guttekorpslovene lærer nok, og når man dertil også må kunne regne med de samme guttekorpslovene, medlemmer av guttekorpslovene skulle jo denne hjelp være selvfølgelig. Jeg vil så de alle disse guttekorpslovene med glede vil se med denne hjelp. Gjør det så for stevnet i Kristiansand.

Fig 7: Commercial advert in the journal for the *Landsforbund av Gutte & Amatormusikkorps* (National Association of Boys- and Amateur Brass Bands) for the second issue of Olav Gurvin's and Øyvind Anker's *Musikkleksikon*, which was published in chapters, printed in No. 2 (1949).

In the same fashion, Gurvin and Anker had omitted Christian Sinding's party membership in their *Musikkleksikon* from 1949.<sup>71</sup> Although Erling Sandmo submitted a compendium in 2004 with the telling title *Music in a Free State. Norwegian Orchestral Music 1905–2005*, including numerous pictures, he did not try to investigate new sources or include critical reflections. Instead he preferred to offer short illustrations of noncontroversial works.<sup>72</sup> A comparable lack of historically substantial research applies for the publication *Hundre års utakt. Norsk komponistforening feirer 100 år*, edited by Geir Johnson (Oslo 2017),<sup>73</sup> which celebrated the Norwegian Composers' Associations' centennial while ignoring any controversial matter. Calling to mind that Pauline Hall's series of articles and Gurvin's themed volumes in *Norsk musikkliv* and his radio reports were all written in 1945, and that Hurum published his famous occupation-study one year later, Arvid O. Vollsnes' achievement from 2000 is even more impressive: at the turn of the millennium he edited a Norwegian Music History in several volumes, which included a well-investigated chapter about the years 1940–45.<sup>74</sup> This was followed up by a small work by Elef Nesheim.<sup>75</sup> Ingrid Loe Dalaker took up Vollsnes' findings in 2011 to investigate the terminological differences between "modern" and "national" concepts in the 1920s and 30s,<sup>76</sup> while other current monographs contain precise research from political archives, but still stick to the model of non-comparatistic single biographies.<sup>77</sup> Historian Alfred Fidjestøl provided the latest contribution to these topics and chose a different approach when he wrote his profound study about the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra.<sup>78</sup> On the occasion of the orchestra's centennial he made extensive archival inquiries and focused on the institutional history, with less attention to questions of aesthetics and repertoire which seems natural to his intention.

Harald Herresthal, professor emeritus for organ at the conservatory in Oslo, contributed numerous publications to Norwegian music history of which two are placed amidst the occupational years 1940–45. In 2017 he published the story of his own family, with a Norwegian mother from Narvik and a German father who came to Norway as a music soldier. The tone of *Min mor valgte meg. Et krigsbarns familiehistorie* is very personal and the gesture of his autobiographical subjectivity convincing as it is based on personal documents and pictures from his parents' belongings.<sup>79</sup> For his book *Propaganda og Motstand. Musikklivet i Oslo 1940–1945*, which was released two years later, he chose a documentary approach, compiling existing literature, adding information from official newspapers and historical photographs from the National Archives.<sup>80</sup> Some methodological limits have to be mentioned though: The state of knowledge of international literature is missing completely, to evaluate for example if incidents are to be considered normal cases or exceptions in the fight against National Socialist music politics. Furthermore, the few documents in his book from public archives are lacking any proper quotation or philological description which would be necessary to gain a better understanding of these sources, open them to the scientific community and comprehend the context of their origin. Instead, much additional information is extracted from daily newspapers without considering that all public prints had to pass censorship and could hardly implement secret information under the surface of concert reviews and essays, as one can learn from examples in Paris, Prague, Warsaw or Berlin where such clandestine public writing was a familiar strategy.<sup>81</sup>



A more general problem of ethical dimensions is the habit of presenting speculations as facts without any proper reference. On page 196 Herresthal for example writes about the artists Signe Lund and Cally Monrad, who were shunned after Norway's liberation because of their certain collaboration with the Norwegian Nazi-regime. He sets their situation immediately after the liberation equal with the fate of the persecuted Jews in Norway: "They both shared some of the experiences that the Norwegian Jews were put through. They were literally thrown out on the street with all their belongings, their pieces could not be performed, their books were destroyed, they lost their financial support from the government, in addition to all possible work opportunities."<sup>82</sup> Without a doubt in all Nazi-occupied countries collaborators had to face public vengeance right after the liberation, and especially women sometimes even fell victim to physical violence by an uncontrolled mob. Nevertheless, there is no reference that Signe Lund was thrown out on the street with all her belongings in the way Herresthal suggests. Instead, portraying her in the role of a victim of the system she had supported until the very end and comparing her situation after 1945 to the fate of Jews in Norway after 1942 who predominantly died in the gas chambers of Auschwitz is beyond historical facts and obnoxious.

Lund (1868-1950) had been a decorated female composer in Norway and had enjoyed an international career, living for years in the United States. After her return to Norway in 1920 she joined National Samling in 1935 as one of the party's early supporters. Accordingly, after April 1940 she became an important figure for the official cultural propaganda, was granted a prestigious state pension<sup>83</sup> and supported the NS-regime until the very last day. In the winter of 1944/45, she published the first volume of her autobiography *Sol gjennom skyer* ("The Sun Through the Clouds") while the second part was originally scheduled for spring 1945. With the fall of Quisling's and Terboven's reign in May 1945 such plans were obsolete and her political activism redounded upon her.

In an epilogue to the second part of her autobiography from February 1946 Signe Lund complained about the price she had to pay for her true and unconditional love for Norway of being accused of being a traitor, losing all her legal rights and her state pension, of being expelled from the Norwegian Composers' Association which she had helped to establish, of the ban on her music and her book, and of the fact that all of her public lectures were prohibited – "in short robbed of all possibilities of making a living."<sup>84</sup> She continues that even the rental agreement for her apartment in Oslo had been terminated so that she had to move to a farm near Krødsherad (appr. 110 km northwest of Oslo) where she had to live without any cultural distraction or a housekeeper.

Sanctions against artists who had collaborated willingly were a standardized procedure in Norway (further details will be discussed in Chapter V) and involved the labor organizations and unions, who had agreed that people sentenced for treason should lose their employment and the membership in their particular organizations: "Alle personer som er eller blir tiltalt og straffet for landssvik, skal fratras sitt medlemskap i fagorganisasjonen."<sup>85</sup> Compared to the case of David Monrad Johansen who was even sentenced to several years of imprisonment, Lund's sentence was rather mild than harsh.<sup>86</sup> Regarding examples from France such as pianist Alfred Cortot and Wag-

ner-soprano Germaine Lubin, the public boycott and monetary penalization of former collaborators was also a common European phenomenon. Considering Lund's description of her living conditions after May 1945 one further has to keep in mind that it was expressed in an autobiography which traditionally is a literary genre.

During research for her master thesis Ingrid Skovdahl recently discovered the original file from Signe Lund's trial for treason ("landsvik") which helps to evaluate Lund's own indications.<sup>87</sup> The sentence was the deprivation of Lund's right to vote ("tap av stemmerett i offentlig anliggender") as a consequence a) of her membership in National Samling, b) the initiative to raise funds for the NS-youth organization ("småhirden") with an event at the Gausdal sanatorium and c) two donations of kr. 50,- to the combatants' organization ("frontkjemperkontoret") on 10 November 1943 and 2 November 1944. On 8 August 1945 she wrote a lengthy letter to the office for restitution ("erstatningsdirektoratet") which is part of the file as well. There she described on seven pages the reasons for her political engagement, answering an official request to all former members of Nasjonal Samling. Without any apology for crimes the Quisling regime had committed, neither reflecting on personal guilt or revoking her admiration for Adolf Hitler (which she had described in her autobiography in detail) she insisted only to have worked for the benefit and honor of Norway. Obviously these explanations did not convince the court. Her judgment was rendered on 20 August 1946 and she accepted it with her signature on 3 September 1946.

In general, many publications about Norwegian music life during the years 1940-45 have been written not by genuine musicologists, but often by music critics, performers or enthusiasts with an interest in history. Strikingly several Master-graduation papers have been presented during the last years, but mostly they were written outside of musicology and instead at departments of history.<sup>88</sup> Of course, topics of music do not belong exclusively to scholars or academic musicology in particular. Neither do popular writings have to apply to scientific standards, as long as they are not taken for something more than popular literature. The consequences for the subject and our reflection on history should not be underestimated though, to understand the implicit impact on the current mistrust in science and critical research, heated up by populist and revisionist narratives. A first conflict of standards applies to existing literature: With hardly any exception all publications about music in Norway during the Second World War discuss the subject unaware of or ignoring the knowledge on "Music and Nazism" which an international community has gathered for more than four decades. Such publications run the risk of repeating myths and false facts and of filling gaps in information with speculation and imagination, which includes a second conflict of standards: It is a duty and ethical obligation for scholars on the one hand to raise knowledge through new findings, evaluate existing knowledge by comparison, to detect evidence for historical facts in archives, to interpret and compare sources, to correct previous assumptions with these facts and especially to reference all materials for the disciplinary discourse. But on the other hand, it is also an ethical code to state lacks of knowledge, to find models to deal with such desiderates and not to pretend that all questions can be answered or that those, which have to remain unanswered for the moment, therefore would be irrelevant.

Norway did not experience a comparable case of an internationally famous, politically ambiguous composer such as Jean Sibelius in Finland, or a family heritage of highest controversial potential as the one Wagner had left in Bayreuth. Even editorial disputes about concerts with works by David Monrad Johansen or Christian Sinding, who at the age of 85 had joined Nasjonal Samling, did not change much at first. In the early 2000 years new biographies appeared, portraying Monrad Johansen and Sinding including critical questions,<sup>89</sup> once more without major disciplinary disputes. This consensus changed when Terje Emberland, coming from religious studies and attached to the Norwegian Center for Holocaust and Minorities Studies in Oslo, questioned the early excitement for the “völkische Bewegung” and National Socialism in 2008.<sup>90</sup> From within the humanities, but outside of academic musicology, he initiated a controversial, and in part fierce debate where only musicologist Hallgerd Aksnes participated on behalf of her discipline,<sup>91</sup> because she had dedicated her dissertation to Tveitt six years earlier,<sup>92</sup> mainly focusing on compositional aspects and excluding political parts of his biography. In the fall of 2018 the Tveitt-biographer Reidar Stooras offered his private archive with thousands of documents, copies and original letters from his exchange with his friend Tveitt to the Grieg Research Centre in Bergen. There the Centre’s stipendiary Sjur H. Bringeland was able to examine unknown material and evaluate the difficult and sometimes contradictory relation of music and politics in Tveitt’s life and artistic production. In a presentation, delivered in March 2019 at the conference *Persecution, Resistance, Collaboration. Music in the “Reichskommissariat Norwegen”, 1940-45* Bringeland also could show how intensively the Tveitt-family tried to influence research on their ancestor, whose scores and letters to the most part are still in their possession and not accessible to independent research.<sup>93</sup>

A critical distancing between a politically controversial biography and the appreciation of the correlating artistic work – as it is possible nowadays for example with Richard Wagner, Richard Strauss, Wilhelm Furtwängler or Leni Riefenstahl – did not seem possible yet with Geirr Tveitt or Johan Kvandal. Such a critical review is not intended to bring charges against historical constellations or other scholars who opted for different methodological standards and alternative narratives. In fact, Rolf Hobson and Tom Kristiansen were right when they valued in their presentation for the conference *The Nordic Ingredient. European Nationalisms and Norwegian Music since 1905* (Bergen 2018) the chance to learn from former generations of scholars, rather than to judge them in retrospect by contemporary standards.

Different modes of disciplinary communication became apparent when the publication of journalist Marte Michelet’s book *Hva visste hjemmefronten* provoked an ongoing debate in the Norwegian scene of historians in the winter of 2018/19.<sup>94</sup> Michelet asked for anti-Semitic prejudices among the resistance movement Sivorg and criticized that central archival documents had not been considered adequately in Bjarte Bruland’s standard work about the Holocaust in Norway (2017). She further argued that the inner circle of Sivorg around Tore Gjelsvik and Ragnar Ulstein had not cared much about the approaching deportations of Jews in Norway but cared more about their own financial benefit when they demanded unethically huge sums from persecuted Jews to help them to escape to Sweden: “The most inexplicable and least discussed point about the resistance movement’s response to the persecution of Jews in Norway is what

happened in November 1942. Or more precisely, what did not happen that month.”<sup>95</sup> Michelet’s critics in turn complained about her lack of methodological precision, highlighted mistakes in quotations and source documentation and strengthened their verdict in a critical re-reading of her book lately.<sup>96</sup>

Michelet’s insistence on critical reconsiderations of archival documents that had been examined only partially in previous studies should be natural for historical research. On the other hand her arguments generalize a specific setting in Oslo to the overall situation in Norway, for example when she reviewed the illegal newspaper *Bulletinen* to prove anti-Semitic opinions among the civil resistance movement Sivorg. It may be assumed that *Bulletinen* conveys the opinion of all major civil resistance groups, including the Coordination Committee, and it might be true that “Jews are completely absent”<sup>97</sup> in this paper. But in the same way as Paris does not stand for the whole of France an arrangement in Oslo does not represent the general scene in Norway. The example of one illegal paper from Bergen may be sufficient to indicate that anti-Semitism and the persecution of Jews in Norway was of concern within the resistance movement very well. Since February 1942 Egil Helle and Viktor Nøstdal produced an illegal newspaper for the west coast area in and around Bergen with changing names over the years to deceive the authorities (some of them were *Norges Demring*, *Fram*, *Ukenytt*, and *Mo seir*, including a phase when the paper was published without a title).<sup>98</sup> On 16 March 1942 *Ukenytt* placed a long article about the exclusion of Jews from Norwegian public life, originally codified in the constitution of 1814, “but we were proud that this paragraph was abolished. Norway should be a free land”<sup>99</sup> concluding with a long quote from Henrik Wergeland’s collection of poems called *The Jews*. On 9 November 1942 the paper (in its nameless phase) published a list of 13 Jews who had been arrested in Bergen.<sup>100</sup> Also the building and opening of new concentration camps was monitored accurately: “A new large concentration camp is finished in Sætersdalen. The barracks are two floors high.”<sup>101</sup> On 4 January 1945, when the forthcoming defeat of Hitler-Germany was already on the horizon, *Norges Demring* printed a longer article under the headline *Persecution of Jews*:

We here in Norway basically did not have knowledge about the extent of the persecution of Jews. The 1800 Jews in Norway certainly did not escape the Nazi’s cruelties. They were all deported to Poland at the turn of the year 42-43 and their fate is not clear. But this still pales in comparison to the figures given by a representative of the Jewish Commission in London at a recent press conference. In 1933, there were about 8.5 million Jews in Europe. Of this, 2.5 million saved their lives by fleeing, four million were killed and the remaining 2 million are immediately in danger.<sup>102</sup>

## Music as Resistance – A Preliminary Model

The debates of historians, organizations of eye witnesses and activist to work out general criteria for “resistance” mostly do not apply to the diversity of music as a form of art and a representation of everyday culture. Although topics of “resistance in music” appear in musicological writings regularly, definitions are rarely made. One exception is Julie Ann Cleary’s dissertation thesis from 2019 about music production and resistance in Nazi-occupied Paris, relying on a static distinction between “music for resistance” (describing a tactic) and “music as resistance” (including the “context of the world around the musician”).<sup>103</sup> Another exception is Ray Pratt’s article *Resistance and Music*, provided in 2013 to the *Grove Music Dictionary Online*.<sup>104</sup> Although Pratt distinguishes several intentions – escape, empowering, motivation to take action – the article discusses mostly popular music, and takes neither notice of specifics of music in dictatorships nor of historical research.<sup>105</sup>

Even if a model can help to map a field of research, the phenomenon “music and resistance” could not be described by only one example. Nevertheless, the case of Norway offers unusual preconditions: The excitement for the Nordic “Brudervolk” of leading Nazi-agents, such as SS-Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler and NSDAP-ideologist Alfred Rosenberg (a dedicated supporter of Vidkun Quisling), resulted – undesired by the Norwegians – in a larger degree of indulgence, respect and liberty for Norway compared to any other Nazi-occupied territory. Accordingly, civil resistance work could be diversified much better than in other countries especially in Eastern Europe, where the population had to witness much intensified terror, suppression and destruction due to the Nazi’s racial ideology and the course of the Second World War. Therefore, the Norwegian case helps to develop a preliminary model for a better understanding of music under the extreme circumstances of a dictatorship. In comparison to other Nazi-occupied countries it needs to be adapted, corrected and complemented, before the model’s compatibility to other dictatorships during the 20<sup>th</sup> century can be taken into account. Based on the results which will be discussed in the following chapters, some general observations can be categorized:

1. Active Agency: Resistance exceeds oppositional opinions or cultural aversion and implies risky deeds, in part conspirative planning and sometimes spectacular results with a plea to take action as well.
2. Commencement: Usually, active musical resistance starts when individuals are forced to take action due to incidents far beyond music, especially when ideologies break into personal realities. The strength of resistance depends on the overall political situation, so that more passive phases can follow up times of strong action.
3. Risk: Severe dangers are deliberately accepted for oneself, families and comrades. They differ between the generations: While the middle generation still has something to achieve and already much to protect, this group is vulnerable in particular if a family with small children is involved. Older people often try to protect their legacy for younger generations and may not be as energetic as younger people, but are very well connected and experienced. The youngsters hardly have more to fight

for and win than their future, so that resistance movements often are dominated by them, contrary to their representational status in politics and business life.

4. Consequences: Like their comrades in the military branches all members of the civil resistance are committed to their mission despite the potential danger. Arrests, questioning by the secret service, torture, imprisonment and incarceration in concentration camps give proof of these risks.
5. Militarization of everyday culture: The long term character of resistance blurs differences between the civil and militant characteristics of culture. Political and military resistance often focuses on prominent representatives of the regime, symbolic places or iconic buildings to reach a maximum of attention. In contrast the story of musical resistance can hardly be told along spectacular events or thrilling stories of paramilitary agents such as partisans. Instead, a few prominent artists and an invisible crowd of supporters and activists keep up the public morale both at home and among the fellow women and men in exile.
6. Multiple Singularities: Musical resistance is predominantly more a chain of singular events than one continuous action, because most of the time no central institution carries out one long-term agenda. Instead, individuals and small groups react spontaneously to certain situations and changing circumstances.
7. Professionalization: When resistance work intensifies and becomes professional, the chances for success rise while the risk potential declines due to advanced strategies.
8. Amateurs: A strong commitment of musical amateurs anchors resistance work sustainably in the population and secures the supply with necessary resources, including information, and the connection with all important parts of society.
9. Cooperation: The collaboration of civil and military resistance work is a common phenomenon in occupied countries, because the awaited end of the occupation and the recovery of control over culture, social life and politics define a mutual goal.
10. Homogeneity: In dictatorships, where the outcome of resistance relies among other things on the familiarity of language and culture, social differences are less emphasized. Instead, the struggle is directed towards patriotic definitions of culture and heritage and against alternative ideological semantics propagated by the regime.
11. Plurality: All available public and subtle means (including legitimate, popular or crucial and incriminated musical styles) can help to demonstrate opposition, to refuse the regime's attempt to control culture and public opinion and to ridicule the official propaganda.
12. Music and Politics: Resistance through music can be a means to an end especially when the idea of music as an apolitical sphere of artistic autonomy is addressed. This can open advantages to stage public events with equivocal forms even under the eyes of censors or help to unite resistance groups of different political convictions.
13. Political Music: Music as resistance can be a branch of political music. It can promote the affirmation of a certain political system and transport criticism. On the other hand, music can simply rouse against existing circumstances without postulating a political alternative.
14. Semantic: Communicating protest with and without lyrics relies on the specific semantic and emotional qualities of music. Herein aesthetic modes of music pro-

duction and reception interact, especially when new pieces with explicit political content emerge. In diametrical opposition per se apolitical works can accumulate implicit political messages when they are performed by certain musicians, in a special context or at a particular place.

15. Specifics of Music: Other than in painting, theater, literature and film, music often is involved directly in all areas of occupation and warfare, thanks to its emotional intensity and the effectiveness even of simplest elements (chanting, whistling, marching). Music connects spheres that are often on opposite frontlines, amongst others military music and music in concentration camps, official songbooks and clandestine concerts or the adaption and parody of popular tunes as well as the usage of illegitimate, accordingly provoking styles.
16. Variety of Music: The phrases “music” and “musicians” are to be understood in the widest sense, incorporating all kinds of musical genres and presentations as well as all levels of professional and amateur music making.

## Nordic Music Politics

Comparing the amount of material preserved from Nazi-institutions with the fragmented sources from civil resistance work, one faces an unbalanced situation with regard to contents and methods: The openly aggressive, professional Nazi-bureaucracy produced tremendous amounts of files. Although some of it was lost in the last days of the war (willingly destroyed or lost through fire and bombardments) segments found in counterparts of other archives can be reconstructed or at least assumed in their context. In contrast, effective resistance work took place secretly. It would have been perilous to leave traces and establish stable bureaucratic structures or permanent routines. The constant risk of detection and denunciation enforced the use of clandestine names and fragmented channels of communication. Furthermore, most members of the civil resistance in Norway, such as Ustvedt, Malm, Okkenhaug and Norum, were skilled experts in their professions as medical doctors, teachers and journalists, but not in administrating and establishing covert operations. In consequence, they had to gather such knowledge, experience and routine by self-teaching without drawing undesired attention.

While preparing this book and researching sources, case studies, literature, and getting an overview of topics, that usually would not get into an average focus, a research matrix became very helpful (cf. fig. 8), which lists pairs of opposites. Obviously Norwegians at first pragmatically tried to retain as much cultural continuity and self-determination as possible. The majority constantly opposed all efforts of the Reichskommissariat and the Quisling-regime of indoctrination and collectivization, so that they slowly developed a passive-reluctant attitude. They were confirmed in this demeanor by King Håkon VII, the exiled government, church authorities and other public figures of the righteousness of their opinions. In support of this collective creed music contributed important occasions: Choir concerts and private music making for example offered manifold inconspicuous opportunities.

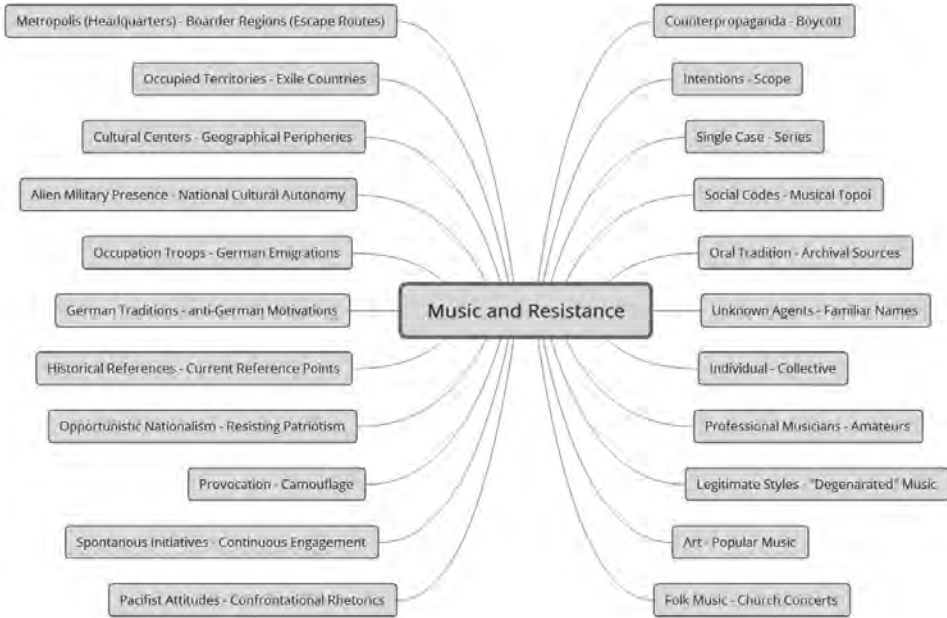


Fig. 8: Research Matrix with antagonist keywords concerning “music and resistance”

The loose organizational form of musical resistance was an answer to structural and practical problems, for example huge regional differences: More than one third of approximately three million Norwegians lived in the southern districts around the capitol Oslo, another half a million in the region of Bergen and Trondheim, and the remaining were spread across the sparsely populated North of Norway. Furthermore, organized resistance work often had its beginnings in existing institutions such as orchestras, newspapers, publishing houses or musical institutions that considered activities against the regime a moral civic duty. It could be rather dangerous to develop stable structures, which could be traced back along hints, names, routes and connections and then be reported to the Gestapo by traitors; in consequence, Sivorg had to fill vacancies for responsible positions approximately every 18 months.

It seems that it was not all too necessary, with respect to musical resistance to keep a stable and tight organization, compared to military and partisan groups where information, orders, flight routes and supply had to be maintained constantly. Only rarely collective orders for artists and audiences had to be given, and when in 1942 the regime tried to take over existing professional organizations by mandatory membership for the new substitutional structures (alike the policy of the Reichsmusikkammer),<sup>106</sup> it was most effective and efficient for Sivorg for example to reach teachers through their established union networks. Building up parallel structures would have consumed far too many resources, would have taken too long and would have had a high risk of attracting espionage.

A very practical reason why only few things in music needed to be coordinated by a central leadership is to be found in the prosaicness of cultural matters: In contrast to militant resistance work no aggressor and his staff needed to be fought at decisive stra-



tegic places, making it necessary to be informed about every single step of one's enemies. Instead, a corporate patriotic feeling had to be kept alive over the years. Public morale depended on the general military situation during the war, so that the first two years, exacerbated by a shortage of daily goods and ongoing German victories across the European continent, turned out to be a time of depression and sorrow. As soon as the German defeat in Stalingrad during the winter months of 1942/43 promised better times for the allied forces, stabilizing and maintaining a strong and positive spirit proved to be a permanent task.

In contrast to the importance of this task during the times of occupation the range of topics dealing with civil resistance was small once the war was over. Such a resistance of small steps was difficult to relate along spectacular events, compared to hazardous partisan action or heroic stories that even could be turned into movies as it happened with the biography of Max Manus. During the course of the occupation this characteristic – metaphorically speaking to consist of innumerable pebbles instead of a few large rocks – had been a major benefit: The regime simply could not sanction a collective atmosphere, nor turn or fight it with violent means. In case of music the strategy of propagandistic persuasion seemed the only option for the Germans so that famous artists, such as Walter Gieseking, Hans Knappertsbusch and the Berlin Philharmonics, Ludwig Hoelscher or the full staff of the Hamburg State Opera – engaged both for public concerts and troop entertainment – were sent to Norway. Nevertheless, this strategy was a failure on three levels: 1) The domain of cultural propaganda was already held by the domestic Norwegian artistic scene throughout the country. 2) Major parts of society were organized traditionally in choirs and music associations, churches, schools and other formations so that music was already available and provided established, natural structures. 3) Accordingly, most of the people who were organized in these formations could be contacted, informed, advised and instructed through the communicative channels that the formations provided, because these groups trusted their representatives, conductors, pastors, bandmasters and all the other personnel that was leading and organizing cultural activities. In consequence, Sivorg found advantageous conditions of well established organizations when it began building the so-called “Cultural Front” and maintained it over the long span of five years. The new regime's propaganda reached only Norwegians that were loyal to the new order anyway. The Sivorg response were the well-known paroles not to give in to the lures of the official cultural policy and not to place oneself outside of the silent majority loyal to the Crown.

One major obstacle to research music and music making as an act of resistance is the circumstance mentioned above that activists had to avoid leaving traces. In consequence the state of source material is disparate, opening much space for speculation and assumption what might have taken place, how things could have happened or who would have known certain details. One starting point for research therefore had to be the acceptance of considerable lacks of knowledge, unknown case studies nobody was aware of and the amount and location of unconsidered archival material. While evaluating existing and newly discovered sources it was important to avoid the impression of now being able to offer a complete and chronological reconstruction. Instead, representative singular cases needed to be outlined systematically in a way that they could

speak for other, unheard and undiscovered examples. At the same time, one needs to be aware of the fact that source interpretations can turn out to be too inaccurate or even wrong when new information becomes available and that – as the ethical codes of science dictate – all findings deserve critical discourse.

To turn the research matrix described above into a research agenda, taking into account the limits and circumstances of resistance research and using the preliminary model of “music as resistance” as a tool for self-critical monitoring, this book is based on several theses and central questions, to understand the conditions and forms of music in Norway during the years of Nazi-occupation:

- How can the dialectics of aesthetic autonomy and politicized music be diversified according to factors of regional, personal, musical, historical and momentary characteristics?
- How can the phenomenon of “transforming the Nordic” from a cultural and geographical quality into a racial ideology be synchronized with the conflict between a German-dominated “Leitkultur” (a traditional, intellectual mainstream) and its patriotic Norwegian antipode?
- Which cultural, social and political traditions stayed intact in the music and the cultural sector during the years of occupation? And which social premises changed so fundamentally, that the consequences still have an impact, especially concerning Norwegian-German postwar relations?

Summarizing the findings this book is based on, one has to start with the evaluation of extensive stocks of files that could be found in various places in the Norwegian National Archives (Bergen, Drammen, Oslo, Stavanger, Tromsø, and Trondheim), other public archives and libraries (especially the archive of the Norwegian Resistance Museum in Oslo), collections of the National Library in Oslo and archives of orchestras (for example Harmonien in Bergen). Either these materials were archived by institutions and include minute books, journals, concert programs, reviews and other papers that were produced in public (so that they could be inspected by the authorities), or one is dealing with private papers of individuals who donated their collection of memoirs, notes, copies of documents, diaries, correspondence and photos to archives and libraries. Due to the circumstances that clandestine action was most dangerous inside of Norway, substantial material was found in other, international archives for example in Stockholm, where the exiled Norwegian bureaucracy left traces when it administered social affairs concerning citizenship, housing, financial support or schooling of escaped Norwegians. One impressive result was the noticeable difference between secret communication and public writing, because in exile the resistance work was openly connected to the foreign counterpropaganda of the Anti-Hitler-coalition, which modified the value and validity of such material.

A different type of material belongs to the collections and reports that have been gathered and drawn up nationwide by historians in the summer of 1945 to secure as much information as possible, first of all for trials of treason. In a second wave of reevaluating the wartime around 1970 the next generation of historians in Norway reconsidered this information and added testimonies from witnesses and sources that had been retrieved or compiled in the meantime. Often this new state of knowledge

was laid down in chronicles of orchestras and choirs for anniversaries and local history books or was used in radio and TV programs which revived the years prior to 1945 after the lapse of a quarter of a century.

A special kind of files originate directly from the resistance movement, for example reports, paroles, names of traitors and detailed planning for the postwar times. To be able to decipher much of this content additional lists of names are equally important to understand who was behind a certain code name. From a methodological point of view such a classification of different lists has to accept a lack of definition: While lists with secret names and confidential information were compiled during the occupation, so that as much content as possible was incomprehensible to outsiders, corresponding charts and reports were written immediately after the liberation to document as much knowledge as possible. Therefore, not each list – written either prior or after the liberation – found a match and could be decrypted completely.

While some patriotic legends concerning resistance have been repeated many times one sensitive and much more fragile topic has not been considered with regard to music beyond a handful of examples: The sufferings of the racially and politically persecuted persons, of foreign slave laborers and prisoners of war in concentration camps in Norway. From the very south up to the polar regions SS, Wehrmacht and Norwegian authorities covered the country with a net of camps, some as permanent facilities, others as temporary camps mainly in the neighborhood of the construction sites for the Organisation Todt. As far as archival findings, memoirs and private papers can tell, which were located and examined during this research, music was present in all camps in Norway, under different conditions and in diverse forms, just as it is familiar from other camps outside of Norway under SS-control. This includes enforced music making to entertain the SS-guards and to humiliate the prisoners, singing and performing in secret as well as for official festivities on Christmas and Easter and cabaret evenings. Especially in this field it seems most urgent to create awareness and reduce the knowledge gap: to save Nazi-victims from historical oblivion, to describe their living conditions under the extreme circumstances of a concentration camp, and to collect information from relatives to document their family heritage.

Although context contributes much to the understanding and impact of music as a field for resistance, looking at music itself needs the same amount of attention, though demanding different methodological tools. Several works of Harald Sæverud were written during the years 1940-45 and display subversive political messages. Especially his Symphony No. 5 *quasi una fantasia*, opus 16 (1941) shows his ambiguous approach to politics through music: Demonstrating distance to the presence of Hitler-Germany while taking inspiration from Ludwig van Beethoven's Piano Sonata opus 27,1 to remember the common roots of Norwegian classical music as part of the European cultural heritage. The choral symphony *Den judiska sången*, conceived and composed between 1943 and 1945, offers different insights of compositional attempts and turns political times into an aesthetic experience. Not only did Swedish composer Moses Pergament link his composition to different German and European models in classical and modern music when he chose Gustav Mahler's orchestral song cycle *Das Lied von der Erde* for inspiration. Furthermore, being an artist and music critic of Jewish faith himself in neutral Sweden he followed the German presence in Denmark and

Norway closely and took great care to express the fate and culture of persecuted Jews in his music.

The lasting question of how and what to remember when speaking of resistance and music also inspired popular media. One example, surprisingly not taken notice of so far, is a Hollywood-production of 1943, starring superstar, former Robin Hood and Sea Hawk actor Errol Flynn next to Ann Sheridan, partner of Humphrey Bogart and James Cagney amongst others, to the music of the legendary Franz Waxman, who had left Germany as a Jewish refugee in 1934 and became one of Hollywood's most famous composers. The plot of *Edge of Darkness* brings us to the fictional fisher village of Trollness on the West coast of Norway, where a small, proud group of patriots supports the military resistance movement and bravely fights a Wehrmacht-squad and their mean captain. In moments of deepest sorrow the villagers not only intonate the National anthem, but also burst into the famous Lutheran chorale *Vår Gud han er så fast en borg* (*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*), traditionally a song with strong militant intention, reminding of the highest moral authorities in Norway, the King and the Church.

In 2008, a fictional movie was dedicated to another idol of the Norwegian resistance, who managed to sabotage German ships and fool the Gestapo. Based on the biography of Max Manus, the movie – directed by Joachim Rønning and Espen Sandberg – met all expectations of modern action cinema, with explosions, chases, drama and a love story. This time the ruling king of Norway, Harald V, attended the premiere, besides the widow Tikken Manus and their children, but music played a very different role here. For most parts conventional film music for the background is to be heard (composed by Trond Bjerknæs), with the exception of one scene. Strikingly it is the very moment, when resistance fighter Edvard Tallaksen is tortured by his evil counterpart, Gestapo officer Siegfried Fehmer, when diegetic music is used. To be more precise, it is one of the most iconic pieces of the most famous Norwegian composer, Edvard Grieg's *Åses død* from his *Peer Gynt*-suite No. 1, opus 46 II. More than six decades after *Edge of Darkness*, where Errol Flynn's acting apparently is exaggerated according to the standards of his time, *Max Manus* instead tries to take the audience back into historical time, with a realistic setting in Oslo, authentic costumes and historical requisites. It is the only scene in which music is directly involved where plot and the composition's historical content seem a little too ambitious: Although Edvard Tallaksen can stand the cruelties of his Gestapo torturer for a while, it is the usage of beloved Grieg, Åse's song of grief when Peer mourns for his deceased mother, that he cannot resist any longer but asks: "Can you please put on different music?"

## The Secret List of Confidants

The final part of this chapter is dedicated to a unique document, which helped to answer the question, how to find a sound beginning. During a research visit to the archive of Oslo's Resistance Museum on 1 March 2017 a file seemed promising with lists of names from industry, art, handicraft, trade and youth organizations among correspondence of the Resistance Leadership ("Hjemmefrontens ledelsen"). These papers

Adresser til kulturfrenten.

Pianisten Dr. Backer-Grøndahl, Lille Bergenvei 2, Vinderen.  
 Pianisten Robert Kiefling, Parcellus vei 7, Bekkelagshøgda.  
 Pianisten Reinar Kiefling, Furubrøtve. 5, Nordstrand.  
 Pianisten Annelie Christie, Ingar Nilens vei 7, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Ingebjørg Brevik Ronneberg, Troadheim.  
 Pianisten Mary Barratt Due, Lyder Sagenst. 2, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Hilda Waldeland, Parkvn. 75, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Kristine Doh. Bergum, Suhmsgt. 12, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Waldemar Alne, Rosenborgst. 5, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Thora Bratt, Stensgt. 25, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Agnes Brevig, Sorderhovsgt. 10, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Nicolai Birdal, Schønningsgt. 42.  
 Pianisten Solveig Lillefson, Parkvn. 75, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Gunnar Gjeretrud, Asavn. 27, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Margrethe Gleditsch, Vettakollen.  
 Pianisten Bjørg Ness Halvorsen, Bestun.  
 Pianisten Ivar Johnsen, Stabekk.  
 Organisten Holf Karlsen, Finn Høngvei 32, Raa.  
 Pianisten Erling Aestha, Sollikt. 2, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Eva Knardahl, Øslandsst. 57 B., Oslo.  
 Pianisten Dag Kristoffersen, Dagerborget. 6.  
 Pianisten Kristian Lange, Gabelst. 16.  
 Dir. Trygve Lindeman, Børdal Brunst. 8.  
 Pianisten Idv Wesenberg Nielsen, Hasle, Ø. Akter.  
 Pianisten Eline Nygaard, Bygde Alle 39, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Ester Pavels Hanva, Parkvn. 79, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Inge Kingnes, Slendalavei 114, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Mire Sien, Bakkest. 68 II, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Melvin Simonsen, Strand.  
 Pianisten Dag Winding Jørgensen, Bentsbrugt. 25, Oslo.  
 Kantor Arild Sandvold, Bekkelagshøgda.  
 Cellisten Holf Størseth, Frimannst. 20, Oslo.  
 Cellisten Hans Balchen, Jac. Aallst. 23, Oslo.  
 Kapellmester Oivind Bergh, Briskebyvn. 22, Oslo.  
 Sædbibisten Asbjørn Finess, Rathkegst. 1, Oslo.  
 Violinisten Alf Sjøen, Sverdrupst. 26, Oslo.  
 Violinisten Arvid Fladmoe, Lyder Sagenst. 2, Oslo.  
 Violinisten Oscar Holst, Hegdehaugvn. 24, Oslo.  
 Violinisten Johan Simonsen, Jar.  
 Sangfinneren Sigrid Bakke, Lilleaker.  
 Sangerinnen Gerda Wilskow, Sils Juelst. 9, Oslo.  
 Sangerinnen Ligner Norby, Witteberg 1 Skedsmo pr. Lillestrøm.  
 Sangerinnen Randi Helseth, Is st.  
 Sangerinnen Gunvor Øjelva, Drømen.  
 Sangerinnen Ina Blom, Rjukan.  
 Organist Kristoffer Alvaie, Åjukan.  
 Violinisten Gunnar Madsen, Stavanger.  
 Sangerinnen Gudrun Dollenose, Birkeblomst. 5, Oslo.  
 Sangerinnen Jenny Guldahl, Odensgt. 3, Oslo.  
 Tenoren Sigurd Hoff, Jac. Aallst. 17 B, Oslo.  
 Egil Nordstj, Industrigt. 47, Oslo.  
 Fru Agnes Hanson Hvoslef, Skogvei 26, Oslo.  
 Fru Haldis Ingelhart Isane, Finnes vei 16, Oslo.  
 Fru Bertha Wang Halvorsen, Nordrønst. 15, Oslo.  
 Fru Julie Gjestvang, Sorgenfrigt. 24, Oslo.  
 Fru Lalla Sæller, Rosenborgst. 16, Oslo.  
 Fru Lagny Sandvik, Sils Juelst. 45, Oslo.  
 Fru Elisabeth Marthe Kaae, Middelhust. 9, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Hans Solum, Svaleveien, Simonsbrøten.  
 Herr Olav Sverenus, Jac. Aallst. 58, Oslo.  
 Mr. A. Berckenhoff, Hørgbergst. 2 G, Oslo.  
 Herr Joseph Esterenyi, Møbelst. 17, Oslo.  
 Herr Morten Vata, Bekkelagshøgda.  
 Fru Ma Mold, Bygde Alle 51 B, Oslo.

Fig. 9: Front page of the first secret list of confidants (carbon copy), probably before September 1944. NHM, HA/HHI-Deba-0015/HHI/15

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Herr Einar Siebke, Arsløgt. 6 B, Oslo.  
 Herr Sverre Bergh, Krusesgt. 12 a, Oslo.  
 Herr Erling Kjellsby, Wesselsgt. 11, Oslo.  
 Dr. Olav Gurvin, Gjetevrysve. 11, Oslo.  
 Advokat Sigurd Korkildsen, Grønson 3, Oslo.  
 Herr Hugo Kraam, Tuengen Alle 21 C, Oslo.  
 Herr Eilifdan Christensen *Waltherstr. 4, N. Oslo*  
 Frk. Pauline Hall, Sandvedsve. 75, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Paa Welner, Sunnevegt. 2, Oslo.  
 Organist A. Hvidstøl, Skien.  
 Organist Einar Schøyen, Hamar.  
 Pianisten Arund Baknerud, Rygge Alle 20, Oslo.  
 Komponisten Eas. Beck, Østensjøveien 156, S. Aker.  
 Organisten Trygve Frøstun, Bergen.  
 Frk. Leile Aavatsmark, Eas. Heftyesgt. 45, Oslo.  
 Organisten Knut Rystad, Simonsbrøten.  
 Fru Sigrid Fraser, Asaveien 25, Oslo.  
 Komponisten Anne Eggen, Åkeberglia 41, Haslum.  
 Pianisten Luth Lagesen, Larvik.  
 Organisten Rojahn, Haugestrand.  
 Herr Trygve Hagen, Ridsvoll.  
 Herr Torbj. Taalesen, Hamar.  
 Lektor Linn Havnvik, Ålesund.  
 Pianistinnen Bergljot Havnvik, Kalvd. Svartesgt. 38, Oslo.  
 Komp. Ludv. Ingens Jensen, Nordstrand.  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
 Herr Walther Halvorsen, Oscarsgt. 57, Oslo.  
 Dr. med. Hra. Frimann Dahl, Vinøaren.  
 Fru dis. Frimann Dahl, Husebyveien 8, Skøyen.  
 Violinisten Gunnar Erbeck, Torsgt. 5, Oslo.  
 Ing. Ellingsen, Blindelstvei 113, V. Aker.  
 Violinisten Harald Brager Nielsen, Soltekkens Alle 9, Oslo.  
 Fru dr. ing. Sem, Holmenkollvei 12, V. Aker.  
 Bibliotekar Gyv. Anker, Universitetsbiblioteket, Oslo.  
 Prof. Brode Castberg, Holmenkollvei 16, V. Aker.  
 Sangerinnen Ingerid Traas Jensen, Kirkeveien 114, Oslo.  
 Sangerinnen Solveig Borthen, Eas. Heftyesgt. 42 B, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Waldemar Smith, Brandenburgvei 11 C, Oslo.  
 Herr G.O. Domsa, Grinvei 12, Ham.  
 Dir. Carl Hals-Olsen, Thunesvei 16, Oslo.  
 Herr Dr. Backer-Grøndahl jr., Hafrefjordsgt. 27, Oslo.  
 Dir. Anders Backer-Grøndahl, Frogner terrasse 9, Oslo.  
 Overlærer Georg Backer, Bak aveny 27, Bygdøy.  
 Komp. Joh. Backer-Lundé, Middelhunsgt. 15, Oslo.  
 Apoteker Siebke, Langlien 57, V. Aker.  
 Fru Karen Aars Egge, Mikkelstvei 4, Bakkehaugen, V. Aker.  
 Fru Marie Eernlid, Nobelsgt. 1 D, Oslo.  
 Frk. Bergljot Kittilsen, Morgenposten, Oslo.  
 Herr Arthur Katche, Brageveien 1, Oslo.  
 Journalist Alf Krohn, Aftenposten, Oslo.  
 Fru Dortheild Bannerud Johansen, Soltekkens Alle 4, Oslo.  
 Herr Leif A. Brendel, Kalvd. Svartesgt. 3, Oslo.  
 Fru Marta Gluppe, Koltke Mosevei 11, Ullevål Hageby.  
 Dr. Alec. Brinckmann, Dr. Holmsvei 3, V. Aker.  
 Frk. Berit Bitley Simonsen, Majorstavei 17, Oslo.  
 Frk. Anne-Marie Wyller, Middelhunsgt. 10, Oslo.  
 Ing. Lars Enoch, Torsgt. 1, Oslo.  
 Frk. Anne Gouzenron, Gyldenløvesgt. 38, Oslo.  
 Dis. Arne E. Voss, Norsk Lægeforlag, Oslo.  
 Frk. Agnes Dahl, Bern. Fossgt. 19, Oslo.  
 Frobenes Lily og Marie Johansen, Sil. Sundsgt. 11, Oslo.  
 Fru Martha Herlofson, Skogvei 7, Oslo.

Fig. 10: Second page of the first secret list of confidants (carbon copy), probably before September 1944. NHM, HA/HHI-Deba-0015/HHI/15

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Fru Anna Nilsen, Eckerbergsgt. 37, Oslo.  
 Fru Sigrid Steinert, Odearagt. 8, Oslo.  
 Adv. Anton Meyerdaal, Karl Johansgt. 27, Oslo.  
 Herr Bernhard Ogmussen, Industrigt. 3, Oslo.  
 Fru Louise Elditch, Mile Juelagt. 31, Oslo.  
 Ing. Ola Hoff, Kirkeveien 100 G, Oslo.  
 Fru Marie Rasch, Skovvei 33, Oslo.  
 Ing. Sverre Winger, Karbitstgt. 27 A, Oslo.  
 Fru Anne Marie Urbeck Smidt, Sandviken, Bergen.  
 Fru Helene Winter, Goltke Hovsvei 4, Ullevål Sagde 7.  
 Disponent Sigurd Winsnes, Holtfener Iervanskjoldsvet 58, Ullern.  
 Fru Henry Lovenskiold, Vaktera, Lysaker.  
 Fru Avo Andreeva, Smedbråten, Skoyen.  
 Skipsreder A.P. Elaveneus, Fikoberg, Bnebakk.  
 Byråsjef Th. Thorvaldsen, Brannes Terrasse 1, Oslo.  
 Fru Gerda Lide, Monte Bellevet 6, Skoyen.  
 Grosserer Arne Holstad, Kongenagt. 22, Oslo.  
 Disponent Laurits Schmidt, Villavei 36, N. Grøn.  
 Dr. Ragnar Seraus, Kr. Auguststgt. 15 A, Oslo.  
 Fru Ingeborg Fildstrand-Johannessen, Drammensvei 103, Oslo.  
 Teknologe Georg Ek, Parkveia 60, Oslo.  
 Teknologe Anst Erik Rø, Parkvei 60, Oslo.  
 Dir. Oj. Iyve-Schiell, Drammensvei 171, Skoyen.  
 Dir. L. Grønvald, Brynebakken, V. Akers.  
 Dir. N. Nobel Røede, Trangen, Vinderen.  
 Fru Jacob ~~Rasmussen~~ Backe Rye, Brannes Terrasse 3, Oslo.  
 Fru Signe Berg, Marbitz Alleen 15, Hoff.  
 Fru Hild Stang, Kristine Landvei 14, Odlo.  
 Dr. Wile Røede, Bøjestruhaust, Oslo.  
 Dr. Carl Müller, Chr. Auguststgt. 23, Oslo.  
 Herr Fritz von der Lippe, Scitrus, Mandanger.  
 Gustav A. Ring, Holmenkollveit 26, Vinderen.  
 Prof. Harald Schjelderup, Bygde Alle 68, Oslo.  
 Dir. Trygve J.S. Hoff, Røald Amundsenagt. 1, Oslo.  
 Fru Carl Hansen, Fellingsda, Lysaker.  
 Fru Liv Hansen Hoyer, Lysaker.  
 Dr. Baaken Verenskiold, Lysaker.  
 Fru Sigfrid Brustad, Lysaker.  
 Pianisten Jens Vallesen, Wn. Thranesgt. 5, Oslo.  
 Pianisten Rolf Holger, Akersbakken 24, Oslo.  
 Komponisten Andreas Haarklou, Steingurvet 7, Soga Sagby.  
 Pianisten Lesse Fløgestad, Jac. Aallagt. 45, Oslo.  
 Organist Gunnar Abrahamson, Kristiansand 8.  
 Pianistinnen Benny Dahl Hansen, Kristiansand 8.  
 Frk. Hildur Rabe, Bergen.  
 Komp. Vilfrid Gulbrandsen, Trondheim.  
 Fru Panny Elsta Lepace, Vigelandsvet 23, Oslo.  
 Kapellmester Lamsay, Lillehammer.  
 Fru Ben Thallaug, Lillehammer.  
 Herr Mons Michael Lie, Lillehammer.  
 Bankkasserer Halvorsen, Lillehammer.  
 Fru Ashfang Elise, Hamar.  
 Fru Guri Bent, Hamar.  
 Fru Kjerahild Stoen, Bjellhus st., pr. Hamar.  
 Dr. Brustad, Lillehammer.  
 Fru Elizabeth Beien, Moss.  
 Organist Haasberg, Halden.  
 Kapellmester Haakon Villen, Sarpsborg.  
 Komponisten Arne Norusgaard, Fredrikstad.  
 Lektor Harald Bergshelmsen, Hamar.  
 Frk. Signe Svystass, Industrigt. 9, Oslo.  
 Organist Bergersen, Sarpsborg.  
 Sangveren Wistein Frantsen, Fredrikstad.  
 Teknologe Røede, Halden.  
 Teknologe Arhus, Sarpsborg.

Fig. 11: Third page of the first secret list of confidants (carbon copy), probably before September 1944. NHM, HA/HHI-Deba-0015/HHI/15

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Pianistinnen Mildrid Selmer, Bokersbergsgt. 19, Oslo.  
 Frk. Berdis Gjens Selmer, As st.  
 Prof. Lindeman, As Landbrukskole, As st.  
 Farnlige Kvalsetad, Ski st.  
 Pianisten Stangeland, Stavanger.  
 Dr. Ragnar Omstaa, Stjerdalen-sti. *Dr. Knut Sygdom, Trondheim*  
 Apoteker Vessel Berg, Trødal.  
 Komp. Ange Nyklagaard, Mossberg.  
 Fru Ellen Mytten, Mossberg.  
 Fabrikkerer Odd Gleditsch, Sandefjord.  
 Herr S. von der Lippe, Mossberg.  
 Pianisten Mils. Schwarzott, Roragruun.  
 Org. Arne Skottner, Roragruun.  
 Org. Conrad Radon, Drammen.  
~~Harald Severud, Bergen.~~  
 Komp. Harald Severud, Bergen.  
 Komp. Walther Amundt, Bergen.  
 Kapellmester Harald Meide, Bergen.  
 Komp. Sverre Jordan, Bergen.  
 Herr Benart Norloff Knudsen, Villavei 20, L. Freen.  
 Pianistinnen Gunvor Egge, Bergen.  
 Sangeren Per Grønneberg, Sofiegt 65, Oslo.  
 Skuespillerinne Randi Michelsen, Bergen.  
 Violinist Rolf Gamleang, O.S. Brochsgt. 1, Oslo.  
 Violinist Robert Andersen, Miledkar.  
 Organist Arnliot Ejelgaard, Husefoss.  
 Organist Edvin Solan, Alesund.  
 Organist Edv. Kraia, Kristiansund N.  
 Pianisten Toralf Mørheim, Moser.  
 Kapellmester Haakon Holm, Trondheim.  
 Organisten Ludv. Nielson, Trondheim.  
 Herr Cecil Collin Hansen, Trondheim.  
 Pianisten Carl Jac. Bergh, Pearloygt. 2, Oslo.  
 Kjell og Rolf Hekkelund, Schweigaardsgt. 98 B, Oslo.

Fig. 12: Fourth page of the first secret list of confidants (carbon copy), probably before September 1944. NHM, HA/HHI-Deba-0015/HHI/15



turned out to be a list of names which literally changed the whole setting of this book: under the headline “Adresser til kulturfronten” (“addresses of the Cultural Front”) a list of four pages, closely compiled with a typewriter, offers names and addresses of 123 persons, some with additional professions, a few corrected or complemented with handwritten annotations; on a second list of five pages 281 persons including their postal addresses can be found, the majority appears on both documents. What do these lists tell us and what do we know about the enlisted persons?

### Observations

1. The document is a compilation of two separate lists within a series that summarizes confidential people – legitimized by their acceptance to appear in the particular list – in different professions. A differentiation of two separate lists for musicians can be made due to the quality of the print: both are carbon copies from a typewriter, the first one rather pale, the second one darker, the latter usually giving evidence of a very direct copy of the original.
2. Both documents bear neither the name of an author nor of a receiver. They go without further comment and note mostly private addresses. They do not clarify if somebody was “just” trustworthy or if she or he offered open resistance and if this would have been resistance with political or musical means.
3. Both lists do not enclose places north of Trondheim or outside of larger municipalities and towns.
4. No names of Jewish artists can be found on the lists.

### Conclusions

Despite their lacking context the lists give some information about their origin and date, which allows for some further interpretation:

1. In the folder, where both lists were found, the context of the surrounding documents could indicate a probable date between February and March 1945. Nevertheless, with regard to the names of “Disp. Toralf Voss, Norsk Musikforlag” (list #1, page 2, fourth line from the bottom), Einar Siebke (list #1, page 2, first line from the top) and Øyvind Anker (list #1, page 2, line 33 from the top), in all probability the lists were written earlier and by one or more authors.
  - Correcting the misspelling of “Toralf” to “Torolf” Voss, one gets a first check mark to narrow down the calendar date: Torolf Voss, born 12 November 1877 in Oslo and deceased there on 23 November 1943, was a conductor and composer and from 1935 to 1943 director of Norsk Musikforlag, the most important music publishing company in Norway at that time.<sup>107</sup>
  - Singing teacher Einar Siebke was born in Oslo 25 April 1903 and was arrested 17 August 1943.<sup>108</sup> He was brought to the Gestapo headquarters Møllergata 19 on 17 December 1943, was sent to concentration camp Grini outside of Oslo 27 March 1944 (# 10397) and brought on board the ship Westphalen 6 September 1944 to be transferred to Germany. He died on 8 September 1944 when the ship collided with a mine and sank in the Skagerrak. He had been married to Edvard Munch’s niece, the painter Signe Munch, who was incarcerated as well. After she

had been arrested on 17 December 1943 (the day her husband was transferred to the Gestapo), she was sent to Grini 1 March 1944 (# 10032) and released 30 April 1945, a few days before the liberation.<sup>109</sup>

- Øyvind Anker, responsible for the National Music Collection at the University Library in Oslo and co-publisher with Olav Gurvin of several projects, was arrested on 20 August 1943 and deported to Luckenwalde.

Taking into account, a) that the list was annotated with handwritten corrections, so that a deceased person could have been erased from the list, b) that as the death of Voss and the sinking of the Westphalen were mentioned in the daily press, c) that Øyvind Anker was a prominent, well-connected man in musical and intellectual circles in Oslo, and d) that a list of trustable names is only of use if it is kept rather up-to-date, a dating before September 1944, maybe even before September 1943 is therefore likely.

2. The second list, written with a different typewriter, overlaps with many names from the first list and adds some new names. So far it is impossible to say a) if the second list was written by different persons, b) if it was written prior or after the first list (it just appears in second place in the file) and c) if it was a revised version of the first list from the time after September 1944 (because it does not name Voss and Siebke).
3. Assuming, that at least the first list could be dated to the years 1943/44, it is clear that such a document would have been very dangerous and a huge risk if it had fallen into the hands of the Gestapo: Giving clear names and often full addresses of “gode nordmenn” (which meant Norwegians with the right patriotic faith) accordingly it must have been of great importance to the resistance movement.
4. Both lists obviously are incomplete and had to be so, according to the nature of partially spontaneous, peripheral and clandestine musical resistance. We do not know why active resistance supporters such as Ernst Glaser, Robert Levin, Hans Jacob Ustvedt and Ole Jacob Malm are not registered; all had to escape from Norway to Sweden in late 1942, so that they would had not been present anymore if the list was written after that. We know neither why Jewish musicians such as Jakob Lanke-linsky from Trondheim (after his release from camp Bredtveit on 2 March 1943 he could escape to Sweden), Jacob Maliniak also from Trondheim (he was finally arrested on 24 February 1942 and died in Auschwitz 3 March 1943) or Harry Isidor Mendel from Oslo (he finally was deported on 26 November 1942 with the steamboat Donau and murdered in Auschwitz 1 December 1942) were not registered – if they were already dead or abroad, or if they were not connected to the resistance movement.
5. Especially the first list contains several misspelled names. This could indicate that the author was no music specialist but instead that the list was supposed to support the orientation of non-musicians in the resistance movement when dealing with musical matters.
6. Despite their fragmentary character both lists can give an impression what at least some parts of the musicians’ networks inside the civil resistance movement could have looked like. At any rate these lists are a very profound and pragmatic starting point to reconstruct these networks.

Hr Gunnar Groth Hansen Sofiesgt 75  
 Hr Dir. Trygve Lindemann Nordahl Brunsgt 8  
 Hr Kaare Windhoel Neuberget 3  
 Lola Arntzen Hjelmset 4 og 2  
 Hr Oivind Bergh Briskebyvn 22  
 Fru Aagob Backe Nyen Framnes Terrasse 1  
 Hr Fr. Backer-Grøndahl jr. Norsk Musikkforlag Karl Johansgt 39  
 Hr Dr. Olav Gurvin Geitmyrsveien 11  
 Fru Amalie Christie Ingar Niensensvei 7  
 Hr ingeniør Sverre Winger Harbitzgt 27 A V  
 Hr Leif Balkeersen, Deichmannsgt 17  
 Hr Odd Grøner Hegge Incognitogt 13  
 Fru Randi Heide Steen Ullevålsvn 1  
 Hr Erling Wisther, Cort Adlersgt 6  
 Hr Rolf Størseth, Frimannsgt 20  
 Hr Sigurd Hoff Jac. Aallsgt 17b  
 Hr Sverre BerghBriskebyvn 22  
 Hr Arvid Fladmoe Lyder Sagensgt 2  
 Hr Stephan Barrat Dus Lyder Sagensgt 2  
 Hr Eilif Gundström Arbiensgt 8  
 Hr Alf Sjøen Sverdrupsgt 26  
 Hr Aage Wallin Louisegt 17a  
 Hr Dr Ragnar Forsberg Pilestredet 28  
 Hr Overlæge Haakon Sætre Hansteengt 4  
 Hr Dir Arnfinn Reje, Agra, Sofienberggt 23  
 Hr Dr Bjarne Mørck, Kr. Aug. gt. 23  
 Hr Dr H. Thrap-meyer St. Øbavspl 3  
 Hr Overlæge Schjøtt-Rivers Pilestredet 77  
 Fru J. Tiedemann Johannessen Drammensveien 103  
 Frk Signe ~~Øvstaas~~ Øvstaas, Industriegt 9 I  
 Fru Bokken Lassen Ingognitogt 9  
 Hr Dir. Anders Backer-Grøndahl, Frogner Terrasse 9  
 Fr. Kristine Dahl Børsum, Suhmsgt 12 IV  
 Hr Nicolai Dirdal Schönningst 42  
 Hr Overlæge Olaf Bang, Halvd. Svartestgt 36  
 Hr dr Ragnar Børsum Kr.Aug.gt. 15  
 Dr Hanna Berghoff Teatergt 1  
 Hr Grosserer Arne Molstad Kongensgt 20  
 Hr dr med Alex Brinchmann Lövenskjoldsgt 11  
 Hr dr Niels B. Koppang, Holtegt 20  
 Hr dr Hans Huitfeldt Fritznertgt 2  
 Hr dr Einar Oulie Valkyrjieggt 2  
 Hr Tannlæge Georg Ek Parkveien 60  
 Hr Tannlæge Knut-Erik Ek "  
 Frk Solveig Ellefsen Parkvn/75  
 Hr Thorleif Larsen Norsk Musikkforlag Karl Johansgt 39  
 Hr Johan Grundt Tanum Karl Johansgt 43  
 Pianisten Thøralf Norheim Hamar  
 Dirigenten Haakon Holm Trondheim  
 Hr Direktør Nilsen Hydro, Rjukan  
 Hr Disponent Odd Gleditsch Sandefjord  
 Fru Skibreder v.d. Lippe Tønsberg  
 Cecil Collin-Hansen Trondheim  
 Fru Ingeborg Gressvik Trondheim  
 Organisten Ludv. Nielsen Trondheim  
 Hr Daniel Lövdahl Grimstad  
 Hr Per Wang Brattelia 5, Sogn, V.Aker  
 Hr AmundRajnerud, Modum Bad  
 Fru Anne Marie Øbbeck Sandviken Bergen  
 Fru Erna Alten, Konglevn 49 Sogn, V Aker  
 Fru Grøte Schou Gulleråsvei 29  
 Hr Leif Holmboe Røa  
 Fru Björg Næss Halvorsen Bestun  
 Hr Halvarø Johnsen Frimannsgt 20  
 Fr. Solveig Kjølø Collettsgt 66 V, Oslo  
 Laila Aavatamark Ths Heftyesgt 48

Fig. 13: Front page of the second secret list of confidants (carbon copy), undated. NHM, HA/HHI-Deba-0015/HHI/15

Lr forfatteren K. Fasting Vinneseidet Fjell  
 Hr Ole Grepp Fjøsanger Bergensbannen  
 Hr Andreas Bjarke, Den Nasjonale Scene, Bergen  
 Organist Hesselberg, Halden  
 Hr Tannlæge Heede, Halden  
 Hr direktør Bjarne Faye Schøll, Drammensveien 171, Skøyen  
 Dirigent Leif Ramsøy, Lillehammer  
 Fru Rigmor Nordby, Villaveien 36 Lille Frøen  
 Hr Robert Andersen, Lilleaker  
 Hr Øivin Fjeldstad, Bang  
 Hr Johan Simonsen, Jar  
 Hr Dr. Gerh. Larsen, Hemmerstedgaten 23 Oslo  
 Hr direktør Karl Hals-Olsen, Thunes vei 14 Skøyen  
 Dr. Basken Werenskiold, Lysaker  
 Fru Kari Nansen Lysaker  
 Fru Sigfrid Brustad, Lysaker  
 Fru Theda Rudin, Jomfrubåtvei 77 Holtet  
 Fru Ingeborg Ring, Holmenveien 26, Vinderen, V. Aker  
 Hr Hans Solum, Svalevei 6, Simensbråten  
 Hr direktør H. Nobel Roede, Tuengen, Vinderen  
 Dr. med. Carl Müller, Blinderen  
 Fru Borshild Anker, Halden  
 Fru Disponent Vestby, Store Bjørnstad Tistedalen  
 Fru Tannlæge Kvakestad, Ski  
 Hr Disponent Underland, Ski  
 Hr Tannlæge O. J. Helseth, Aas  
 Frk. Tordis Gjeme Selmer, Aas  
 Hr Professor Lindemann, Aas  
 Fru Cissi Apenes, Fredrikstad  
 Hr Disponent Setvedt, Fredrikstad  
 Pianisten Wilhelm Schwarzsott, Forsgrunn  
 Hr Overlege Chr. Andersen, Kr.sand 3  
 Sangerinnen Gunvor Njelve, Drammen  
 Dirikent Einer Schøyen, Hamar  
 Hr Thorbjørn Taalesen, Hamar  
 Hr dr. Nils Haas Roede, Riis, V.Aker  
 Violinisten Mons Michael Lie, Lillehammer  
 Fru Ben Thallaug, Lillehammer  
 Fru Elisabeth Reiss, Lillehammer  
 Fru Ina Blom, Rjukan  
 Hr Kristoffer Kleive, Rjukan  
 Hr Morten Vatn, Bekkelagshøgda  
 Frk Sine Butenschen, Skøyen  
 Fru Vivi Mowinkel, Bygdøy  
 Fru Fulla Strand, Dalsvei 68, Slemdal  
 Fru Eve Andresen, Smedbråten, Skøyen  
 Fru Sigrid Steinert, Oscarsgate 3  
 Fru Berte Herlofaen, Skogveien 7  
 Fru Tilde Lund, Kirkeveien 65 C  
 Hr Waldemar Smith, Uranienborgveien 11 C Opg3  
 Fru Hilda Valdeland, Parkveien 75  
 Fru Magda Sverenius, Jac. Aalegt 58  
 Fru Nini Stang, Kristinelundvei 14  
 Hr Jan Wølner, Hansteensgate 2  
 Frk Pauline Hald, Munkedamsveien 75  
 Fru Ingerid Træse Jersin, Kirkeveien 114  
 Hr adv. Wilh. Bugge Karl Johansgate 41  
 Hr. adv. Sigurd Torkildsen, Grensen 3  
 advokat Fru Alvhild Halbo, Frinsensgate 21  
 Hr. adv Frøstein Halvorsen, Tordenskjoldsp1. 3  
 Hr Bokhandler Olav Thommessen, Stortingspl. 7  
 Arkitekten Kirsten Sinding-Larsen Holtegaten 24

Fig. 14: Second page of the second secret list of confidants (carbon copy), undated. NHM, HA/HHI-Deba-0015/HHI/15

Hr Skuespiller Børseth Rasmussen, Den nasjonale scene, Bergen  
 Hr Sverre Dahl, komediateatret, Bergen  
 Hr Fritjof Pearnley og Frue Berg stasjon, V. Aker  
 Hr Leif Juster, Melumveien 5 Røa  
 Frk Brita Sigum, Vollsveien 22 Jar  
 Hr Direktør Wiara Jenssen, Slømdal  
 Fru Elisabeth Gording, Slømdal  
 Hr Ola Isene Thunesvei 16, Skøyen  
 Fru Lillebil Ibsen, Prisessealleen 12 Skøyen  
 Fru Megda Blanc, Den nasjonale scene, Bergen  
 Fru Lillemor von Hanno, Nobelsgate 35  
 Hr Olafr Havrevold, Vallegaten 3  
 Hr Kolbjørn Busen, Parveien 10  
 Hr skuaspiller Simenstad, Nationaltheatret  
 Hr Otto Lundh, Oscarsgate 31  
 Fru Unni Thorkildsen, Nationaltheatret  
 Fru Ella Hval, Nobelsgate 29  
 Fr Marit Halset, ~~Særa~~ Behrens gate 8  
 Fru og Hr Henrik Børseth, Asaveien 10  
 Fru Kari Grøn, Ullevoldveien 109  
 Fru Alfhild Stormoen, Oscarsgate 3b  
 Fru Aagot-Nissen Levenskioldsgate 24  
 Fru aagot Didriksen, Oscarsgate 3b  
 Hr Jakob v. der Lippe, Sophiegate 35  
 Fru Aase Bye Drammensveien 82 D  
 Fru Agnes Nowinckel Parbitzgate 5  
 Hr Kristian Elster Filestredet 29  
 Hr Einar Skavlen Skogveien  
 Hr Hans Lyche, Trammensveien 47  
 Hr Økonomichef Sletbak, Holstsgate 13  
 Fru Tordis Maurstad, Det norske teater  
 Hr Lars Tvinde Colletsgate 5  
 Hr Johan Nordlund, St. Olevspl 1  
 Fru Ragnhild Hald, Olavspl 1  
 Hr Edv. Drøblø, Bjerragaardsgate 56  
 Hr Olvind Sien, Griffenfeldts gate 17  
 Fru Vessa Christensen, Fr. Stangsgate 22  
 Hr Trygv Marsen, Fjelmgate 7b  
 Hr Robert Wiefeling, Bekkelagshøgda  
 Hr Reimar " Nordstrand  
 Hr Ivar Johnsen, Stabekk  
 Hr Tolf Karlson, Pinhaugvei 32 Røa  
 Hr. Inge Ringnes, Slømdalsvei 114  
 Fru Fanny Elstad Lepsø, Gustav Vigelandsvai 23, Skøyen  
 Hr Melvin Simonsen, Strand  
 Fru Aasta Frimann-Dahl, Huseby, Smedstad  
 Hr. J. Holst-Jensen, Rosenborggt. 13  
 Hr Arvid Nilsen, Chat Noir teater  
 Hr direktør Reidear Otto, fr. Stangsgt. 41  
 Hr Carsten Winger, Drammensveien 95  
 Fru Karl Diesen, Vestheimgt. 6 A  
 Hr Ernst Diesen, Vesth----  
 Hr Einar Sissener, Gabelsgt. 47 B  
 Fru Ellen Iseffjer, c/o Julsrud, Hammerstadgt. 23 D  
 Hr Arne Bang Hansen, Gabelsgate 47b, Oslo

Fig. 15: Third page of the second secret list of confidants (carbon copy), undated. NHM, HA/HHI-Deba-0015/HHI/15

Fru Else Heiberg Wergelandsveien 5  
 Hr Ingolf ~~Bakke~~ Rogde, Lövenskioldsgate 1  
 Hr Folkman Schaanning Det Nye Teater  
 Frk Helen Brinckmann Lövenskioldsgate 11  
 Fru Marie He demark, Fougstadgaten 28  
 Fru Sofie Bernhoft, Daaesgt 3  
 Fru Dagny Gurvin Gjetemyrsveien 11, Oslo  
 Hr Helge Essmar, Ullevålsveien 10  
 Hr Finn Bernhoft, Daaesgt 3  
 Hr Leif Enger, Erl. Skjålgsønsgt 28  
 Fru Lalla Carlsen Niels Juelsgt 62b  
 Fru Aud Holmboe Solheimsgt 7b  
 Fru Asfri Schwenzen, Bygdø Alle 115 A  
 Hr Alf Sommer Geitmyrsveien 7 B  
 Hr Georg Lökkeberg, c/o Alten, Uranienborg Terrasse 17  
 Hr Thomas Thomassen, Middelthunsgate 8  
 Fru Turid Haaland Flagstad, Jac. Aalbsgate 45 a  
 Fru Lydia Opöien, Oscarsgate 61  
 Fru Guri Lent, Hamar  
 Frk Berit Poulsson, Teatergaten 7  
 Hr Dr Riise, Hamar  
 Sangerinnen fru Schreiner, Trondheim  
 Fru Karen Aars Bugge, Mikkel Nilsensvei 4, V. Aker  
 Hr Skipsreder Tom Wilhelmsen, Riis, V. Aker  
 Hr adv. Torgeir Heistein, Kr. sand, S  
 Frk Magnhild Styhr, Kr. sand S  
 Hr bokhandler Bödin, Moss  
 Hr Arild Sandvold, Bekkelagshögda  
 Fru Eva Haxthow, Gulleråsvei 9, Slemdal  
 Hr Fr. Backer-Gröndahl, Borgenvei 2, Vinderen  
 Hr fiolinisten Gunnar Knudsen, Stavanger  
 Hr skibsreder A. Fr. Klavens ss, Lysaker  
 Fru Karin Holst Hemsén, Bestun  
 Fru Gudrun Siebke, Landlia 37 Ullevål Haveby  
 Organist Edv. Bræin, Kr. sand, N  
 Hr Ing. Sverre Strand, Bekkelaget  
 Hr Conrad Baden Drammen  
 Fru Aslaug Svju Blakstad, Drammen  
 Hr Arkitekt Lund, Trondheim  
 Fru konsul Christensen, Drammen  
 Hr Gunnar Örbeck, Bregnevein 12, Sogn, V. Aker  
 Hr dr Ragnar Övstaas, Trondheim Sykehus, Trondheim  
 Fr. Agnes Bravig, Norderhovsgate 10 Oslo  
 Hr disponent Sigurd Kielland, Musikkhuset, Karl Johansgt 45  
 Hr Örnulf Gulbrandsen, Anth. Schjöttsgt 5  
 Hr Waldemar Alme, Rosenborggt 5  
 Hr Carl-Jacob Bergh, Fearnleysgt 2  
 Fr. Tora Bratt, Stensgt 25  
 Frk Eva Knardahl, Uelandsgt 57b  
 Hr Dag Kristoffersen, Fagerborggt 6  
 Hr Kristian Lange, Gabelsgt 16  
 Fr. Eline Nygaard, Bygdø Alle 39  
 Fr. Mildred Selmer, Eckersbergsgt 19  
 Hr Tore Sinding, Parkveien 6  
 Hr Egil Nordsjö, Industrigaten 47  
 Fr. Gudrun Böllemose, Birkelundsgaten 5  
 Fr. Bertha Wang Halvorsen, Nordraaksgt 15 II  
 Hr Erling Kjellsby, Wesselsgate 11  
 Fru Lillemor Sunde, Kristinelundvei 3  
 Hr Adv Harald Arnnesen Akersgaten 16  
 Fru Bergliot Havnevik Halfdan Svartes gate 32

Fig. 16: Fourth page of the second secret list of confidants (carbon copy), undated. NHM, HA/HHI-Deba-0015/HHI/15

Fr Esther Bier Gundersen Holtegt 16  
 Hr Thomas Christensen St. Halvardsgt 25 B I  
 Hr Oscar Holst Hegdehaugsvei 23 IV  
 Violinisten Carsten Anker Andersen Bygdø Alle 62  
 Hr Birger Valdar Theresevt 46  
 Hr Henrik Due Lyder Sagensgt 2  
 Hr Finn Westbye Geitmyrsveien 73 D  
 Hr Hans Balchen Jav. Aallsgt 23  
 Frk Hildur Andersen Jac. Aallsgt 17  
 Fru Astrid Stang-Lund Odensgt 34 Opg A  
 Hr Øystein Bjørnsgaard Drammensvn 93 III  
 Hr Harald Brager Nielsen Bolteløkkens Alle 9  
 Hr Rolf og Kjell Bekkelund Schweigaardsgt 98 B II  
 Pianisten Kåre Siem Lakkegt 68  
 Frk Doris Johannessen Ø/o frk Helland Fjøsanger Bergensbahen  
 Fru Tore Schönberg Teatret Bergen  
 Fru Tore Segelcke Gustav Vigeland'svei 22 Skøyeh  
 Hr Per Aabel Haukelibakken Slemdal  
 Hr Per Gjersøe c/o Waldenström Villavn 14 Li Frøen  
 Fru Johanne Dybwad Svalbardvn 16 B, Tuenga, V.Aker  
 Hr Anton Rønneberg Volvat Terrasse 5 V.Aker  
 Hr Paul Gjesdahl Bernh. Herres vei Smestad  
 Hr Fritz v. der Lippe Vinderenvn 41 Vinderen  
 Hr Ingjald Haaland Munheim Hardanger  
 Hr Einar MaaVaage Ulvenvn 23 Sinsen Hageby  
 Hr Arne Falk Peer Gynts Vei Ullevål Hageby V.Aker  
 Fru Ingeborg Steffens Ula pr. Larvik  
 Hr Henki Kolstad Rødstavn 8 Sinsen  
 Hr Thorleif Heiss Borgestadvn 1 Ullevål Hageby V.Aker  
 Hr dr med A. Brinckmann Skogfaret 17 Lilleaker  
 Hr Gunnar Olram Mossevn 201 Nordstrand  
 Hr Karl Ludvig Bugge ig Frue c/o Klouma Museumsvn 3 Bergen  
 Hr Tore Foss Modum Bad Modum  
 Hr Steinar Jøraandstad Thv. Eriksensvei 5 Skøyen  
 Fru Henny Skjønberg Kirkevn 27 Ramstad  
 Hr Harald Grieg Portøy Kragerø  
 Hr Professor B. Helland Hansen Michelsens Institutt Bergen

Fig. 17: Fifth page of the second secret list of confidants (carbon copy), undated. NHM, HA/HHI-Deba-0015/HHI/15

These two lists turned out to be the starting point in the search for traces of musical resistance work in German-occupied Norway. For the following comment on names only those musician and music-related people were taken into account who could be traced in literature, encyclopedia or verified internet sources. Each name is corrected in brackets if necessary and complemented with a few biographical notes related to the years until the end of WWII. As mentioned above, it is not clear for the majority of names yet, when and why they participated in the resistance movement or at least were considered to be trustworthy. Under ideal circumstances these results can inspire to find more information, describe further persons, correct details and add more pieces to the puzzle.

## List #1

Pianist Fr. [Fridtjof] Backer-Grøndahl, Vinderen [now Oslo]: 15 October 1885-21 June 1959; he was both a composer and a pianist. He performed with an international career, living in London 1920-30 after studies amongst others with his mother, the famous Norwegian composer Agathe Backer-Grøndahl, and in Berlin with Robert Kahn, Ernst von Dohnányi and Philipp Scharwenka.<sup>110</sup>



*Nina Grieg og Fridtjof Backer-Grøndahl.*

Fig. 18: Fridtjof Backer-Grøndahl together with Nina Grieg, Edvard Grieg's widow, in: *Norsk Musikkliv* (1943), No. 5



Pianist Robert Riefling [Oslo]: 17 September 1911-1 July 1988; born into a musical family he studied piano with Nils Larsen in Oslo and with Karl Leimer, Wilhelm Kempff and Edwin Fischer after 1928. In 1941 he founded a piano institute in Oslo together with his elder brother Reimar.<sup>111</sup> With his first wife Amalie Christie he helped persecuted Jews to escape to Sweden. He was arrested 3 November 1942 and sent to camp Bredtveit, 9 December 1942 he was sent to Grini (# 5738), where he had the opportunity to practice and play piano. He was released 7 April 1943.<sup>112</sup>



Fig. 19: Concert program of Robert Riefling in the Oslo University Hall, 21 September 1933.  
RSA

Pianist Reimar Riefling, Nordstrand [now Oslo]: 4 December 1898-22 May 1981. After studies with Astrid Onarheim (1915-20) and at the conservatory in Dresden (1921-23) he continued his education in Berlin with Sandra Droucker, Rolf Brandt-Rantzau, Karl Leimer and Walter Giesecking. He regularly performed in Norway and Germany, taught at the conservatory in Hannover (1925-31) and afterwards in Oslo, where he founded his own institute together with his brother Robert. Furthermore, he worked as a music critic for newspapers in Oslo.<sup>113</sup>



Fig. 20: A birthday greeting from Reimar Riefeling to his “talented pupil Gerhard Siebner” (“Meinem talentvollen Schüler Herrn Gerhard Siebner zum 10/10-1930”). RSA

Pianist Amalie Christie, Oslo: 21 December 1913-4 March 2010; after studies with Nils Larsen, Leonid Kreutzer and Wladimir Horbowski at the Berlin conservatory she started a successful performing career in Norway in 1938, soon also in Hungary and Switzerland. In 1940 additionally, she began to write concert reviews and give lectures, both about the understanding of music as well as anthroposophical topics. Together with her husband Robert Riefeling she helped persecuted Jews to escape to Sweden and negotiated with Gestapo officer Siegfried Fehmer (a music lover who was sentenced to death in 1948) about better conditions for her husband while he was incarcerated in Grini (1942).<sup>114</sup>

Pianist Ingebjørg Bresvik [Gresvik] Rønneberg, Trondheim: 22 January 1909; she studied with Nils Larsen and later in Germany, France and Italy, amongst others with Edwin Fischer and Ignaz Friedmann and toured through Scandinavia, the Soviet Union, England, Finland and Germany. She was a prominent figure in Oslo’s music life during the 1930s and as the first wife of Geirr Tveitt the soloist for his piano music (their marriage was divorced in 1941 after five years). After Tveitt had supported the new regime at first in the role of an official music consultant (“statens musikkonsulent”), he resigned in 1942 and was granted a governmental stipend to collect folk tunes in the Hardanger region. In retrospect Tveitt and his children told the unproven story that the SS paid him a visit and that he was interrogated by the Gestapo in spring 1944, even joined the resistance movement at the end of the war and celebrated Norway’s liberation in a Hjemmefrontens uniform as a picture indicates.<sup>115</sup>



Fig. 21: Ingebjørg Gresvik in a series of statements on the occasion of Edvard Grieg's centennial ("Norske kunstnere bringer Grieg sin hyllest"), in: *Norsk Musikkliv* (1943), No. 5

Pianist Mary Barrat Due, Oslo: 9 April 1888-24 December 1969; she was the daughter of Thomas Ball Barratt (1862-1940), the founder of Pentecostalism in Norway, who was a gifted musician and songwriter himself and had taken piano and harmony lessons with Edvard Grieg (1880-82). After studies at the Academy St. Cecilia in Rome at the age of 14, amongst others with Liszt-student Giovanni Sgambati, and further studies with Percy Grainger in London (1911-12), Mary Barrat-Due started a rich concert life. Together with her husband, violinist Henrik Due, she started their own music institute in Oslo which became a cultural hotspot during the Second World War.<sup>116</sup>

Pianist Hilda Waldeland, Oslo: 24 November 1917 (Bochum, Germany)-17 June 1961 (Malmö). After studies with Leonid Kreutzer, Robert Riefing and Gottfried Boon she started a career as a performer with concerts in the Nordic countries, England and Germany. After 1944 she lived in Sweden.<sup>117</sup>

Pianist Kristine Dahl Børsum, Oslo: born 14 August 1896; after studies at the conservatory in Oslo she continued with Nils Larsen (1915-19), in Boston (1919-20) and with Dagmar Walle-Hansen (1920-25). Besides giving concerts in Norway she became a piano teacher in Oslo.<sup>118</sup>

Pianist Waldemar Alme, Oslo: 10 January 1890-1967; after graduating as an organist and pianist 1911 in Oslo and 1916 at the conservatory in Berlin, he pursued an international career as a performer, taught at the Klindworth-Scharwenka Konservatorium in Berlin, at the music institute of Helsingfors (Helsinki, 1919-21), was active in Oslo as an organist and especially as a piano accompanist at the National Radio (NRK, 1927-1947), amongst others for Wagner-soprano Kirsten Flagstad.<sup>119</sup>



Fig. 22: Waldemar Alme in 1911. Oslo Museum. Creative Commons

Pianist Thora Bratt, Oslo: 8 October 1889-14 November 1972; she studied with Fridtjof Backer-Grøndahl and Dagmar Walle-Hansen at the Royal Danish Conservatory in Copenhagen (1907-1911) and with Ernst von Dohnányi and Ignaz Friedman at the Berlin conservatory (1911-1914). After having started a successful career as a performer she also taught at the conservatory in Oslo (1936-1948). In 1926 she married the American opera singer Wallace Symons Buchanan, who was arrested on 8 February 1941 and imprisoned in Aa (Åkebergveien) (# 1895) for insulting the Germans and NS (“Fornærmed tyskerne og NS”); he was arrested again on 27 March 1941 for insulting Nasjonal Samling and was questioned by the Gestapo at Møllergata 19. He was released on 28 June 1941.<sup>120</sup>

Pianist Agnes Brevig, Oslo: 1907-1983; she began as a member of the Female Student Choir in Oslo and after studying choir conducting at the conservatory in Berlin (1935), orchestral conducting at the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm (1938-39) and separately with Fartein Valen, she took over the leadership of the Female Student Choir and worked as a piano teacher.<sup>121</sup>

Pianist Nicolai Dirdal [Oslo]: born 21 February 1896; after studies with Karl Svendsen and at the conservatories in Oslo and Leipzig he graduated in 1923. The year before he had become a piano teacher at the Oslo conservatory; in 1946 he was appointed chairman of the Music Teachers’ Association.<sup>122</sup>

Pianist Margrethe [Janson] Gleditsch [Oslo]: born 2 April 1901; after having studied with Dagmar Walle-Hansen, Paul Weingarten, Nils Larsen and Wanda Landowska she celebrated her concert debut in 1928 and additionally worked as a piano teacher.<sup>123</sup>

Pianist Ivar Johnsen, Stabekk [near Oslo]: 6 February 1908-28 July 1978; he first was taught by Olga Glomsås, Carl Finberg, Thomas and Nils Larsen in Oslo and continued with Edwin Fischer in Berlin and Santiago Riera in Paris. He was active as a performer and teacher for piano.<sup>124</sup>

Organist Rolf Karlsen, Røa [near Oslo]: 26 June 1911-4 August 1982; at the early age of 12 he became a pupil of Arild Sandvold, graduated at Oslo's conservatory (1931) and began a successful international career as an organist and pianist. In 1937 he became associated with the Philharmonic Society in Oslo for nearly three decades and diversified his professions to conducting, teaching and composing.<sup>125</sup>

Pianist Erling Westhet [Westher], Oslo: 12 March 1903-3 July 1968; in 1924 he began teaching at Nils Larsen's piano institute and succeeded him after Larsen's death in 1937 until 1948 when he opened his own institute. Besides his performing and teaching he worked as a music critic.<sup>126</sup>

Pianist Eva Knardahl, Oslo: 10 May 1927-3 September 2006; as a very young talent she began to play piano with Ragnhild Agerup and continued her education with Mary Barratt Due (1936-45), shortly also with Ivar Johnsen.<sup>127</sup>

Pianist Dag Kristoffersen, Oslo: 18 June 1904-7 August 1986; he taught at the Barratt Due Institute since 1927 and conducted various choirs.<sup>128</sup>

Pianist Kristian Lange [Oslo]: born 10 January 1908; he studied piano with Odd Grüner-Hegge and Nils Lange, theory with Gustav Fredrik Lange and Fartein Valen; in 1935 he graduated at the Berlin Music Academy and started a career as pianist and piano teacher, and as an editor in the National Radio program (NRK) in 1937 until 1940.<sup>129</sup>

Conductor Trygve Lindeman [Oslo]: 3 November 1896-24 October 1979; son of the composer Anna Severine Lindeman (1859-1938); after one year of university studies in Trondheim he turned to music and studied cello, organ and music theory at the conservatory in Oslo (1911-1915 and 1917-18). Gustav Lange in Kristiania (Oslo) as well as Carl Nielsen and Knud Jeppesen in Copenhagen were among his teachers. With regard to his pedagogical ambition he preferred teaching and became the director of the Oslo conservatory for more than 40 years.<sup>130</sup>

Pianist Liv Wesenberg Nielsen [Oslo]: 16 April 1902-18 November 1990; after studying with Rolf Brandt-Rantzau and Egon Petri she continued to study in Brussels with C. Scharrès (1938-39) and Robert Riefling (1946-48) and worked as a performer and piano teacher in Oslo.<sup>131</sup>

Pianist Eline Nygaard, Oslo: 5 July 1913-3 February 2011; in Oslo she studied piano with Dagmar Walle-Hansen (1929-33), Reimar Riefling (1933-34), Nils Larsen (1934-47), Ivar Johnsen (1941) and in Stockholm with Simon Barrere (1933-37). She started a career as a performer in 1939, giving concerts across Norway and regularly with the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra. In later years she was also connected to the department of musicology at the University in Oslo.<sup>132</sup>

Pianist Inge [Rolf] Ringnes, Oslo: 25 February 1894-28 March 1971; after studying in Oslo and Berlin he started his career in 1917 and taught for several years in Honolulu until 1924. From 1936-46 he served as chairman of the Norwegian Music Teachers' Association.<sup>133</sup>



Fig. 23: Undated portrait of Inge Rolf Ringnes with a dedication to Nina Grieg. Bergen Public Library. Creative Commons

Pianist Kåre Siem, Oslo: 8 June 1914-23 June 1986; he studied with Erling Westher, Nils Larsen and Ivar Johnsen and became – in addition to his premiere as a pianist in 1938 – a bandmaster, piano accompanist, composer and in later years music critic and editor of song books.<sup>134</sup>

Pianist Melvin Simonsen [Oslo]: 18 September 1901-1996; he studied piano with Nils Larsen (1917-23), Isidor Philippe in Paris (1924-26) and Dagmar Walle-Hansen (1926-29), and theory with Per Winge, Per Steenberg and Fartein Valen (1920-30). After his premiere as a pianist in 1921 he also worked as an organist, composer, bandmaster and conductor with choirs and orchestras. He was arrested on 12 May 1942, imprisoned in Bredtveit and released on 28 May 1942.<sup>135</sup>

Kantor Arild Sandvold, Oslo: 2 June 1895-12 August 1984; after first organ training with Hilmar Grønner at the age of 11 and a first exam at the Oslo conservatory in Oslo (1912) he studied piano with Karl Nissen and composition with Gustav Lange. Since 1917 he taught organ at the conservatory and went to Leipzig (1921-22) for further studies with Karl Straube, Paul Graener and Rudolf Teichmüller. Besides several other obligations as an organist in Oslo he became the organist and principal cantor at “Vår Frelser kirke” (today the Oslo Cathedral) in 1933. Furthermore, he worked as a choral conductor and composer, was active as chairman in the Norwegian Music Teachers’ Association (1930-36 and 1946-52) and the Norwegian Organists’ Association (1935-57) and became one of the most influential teachers for organ and liturgical singing in Norway.<sup>136</sup>

Cellist Rolf Størseth, Oslo: 1913-2007<sup>137</sup>

Cellist Hans Balchen, Oslo: born 10 January 1907; he studied with Y. Selin and in 1932 with G. Hekking in Paris and made his debut as a soloist in 1931. He became a member of the National Radio Orchestra and later joined the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra.<sup>138</sup>

Bandmaster Øivind Bergh, Oslo: 3 December 1909-25 January 1987; he received his first violin training in his hometown Hamar where he debuted as soloist with the local orchestra at the age of 17. He later studied violin and conducting with Einar Schøyen, H. Marteau and P. Büttner in Oslo and Dresden (1932-34) and became the bandmaster (“kapellmester”) for the orchestra at Hotel Bristol in Oslo (1939-1946) which after the war was transferred with its 24 musicians to the National Broadcasting Company (NRK).<sup>139</sup>

Violinist Alf Sjøen, Oslo: born 26 February 1919; he studied at the conservatory in Oslo (1926-35) with Øivin Fjeldstad, in Berlin with Nazi-activist Gustav Havemann and Hans Mahlke (1938-39) and at the Juillard School in New York (1947-48). He taught at the conservatory in Oslo (1939-46) and pursued an international career as a soloist.<sup>140</sup>

Violinist Arvid Fladmoe, Oslo: 8 May 1915-18 November 1993; he received his first violin training with Henrik Due and also studied with Max Rosthal (1927-28), concert master of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra, and Carl Flesch in London. He performed with the Oslo Philharmonics and became the concert master with the Harmonien Orchestra in Bergen in the seasons 1938-40. During these years he was also engaged to pianist Esther Barrat Due with whom he played many private concerts during the occupational years. Later he also made a career as a conductor. He survived an act of sabotage when the Milorg-group Kompani Linge placed a bomb onboard the fjord ferry D/F Hydro on 20 February 1944, which was loaded with Heavy Water for Germany, and the ferry sank in the fjord near Rjukan.<sup>141</sup>

Violinist Oscar Holst, Oslo: born 1 December 1892; he studied with Ingebret Haaland, Arve Arvesen, Carl Flesch and Leopold Auer, and became the second concert master in the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra in 1919.<sup>142</sup>

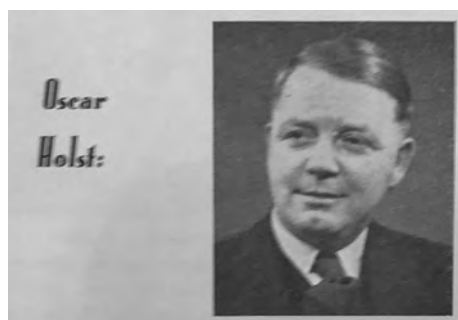


Fig. 24: Oscar Holst in a series of statements on the occasion of Edvard Grieg’s centennial (“Norske kunstnere bringer Grieg sin hyllest”), in: *Norsk Musikkliv* (1943), No. 5

Violinist Johan Simonsen, Jar [near Oslo]: born 21 December 1904; he studied with Gustav Lange and Herman van der Vegt in Oslo and was a pupil of Gustav Havemann in Berlin (1923). Further studies were spent in Berlin (1927), Paris (1928) and London (1939). He served as first violinist in the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra (1924-45) and became the concert master in the National Theater's orchestra in 1948. His wife Lydia Simonsen was Jewish.<sup>143</sup>

Singer Sigrid Bakke, Lilleaker [near Oslo]: born 11 July 1889; she studied in Copenhagen, Berlin and Bayreuth.<sup>144</sup>

Singer Gerda Wilskow, Oslo: born 15 November 1884-1969; she studied with Borghild Langaard in Kristiania (Oslo) and R. zur Mühlen in Berlin. She celebrated her debut as "Elsa" in Wagner's *Lohengrin* in 1912 at Oslo's National Theater.<sup>145</sup>

Singer Rigmor Norby, Lillestrøm [near Oslo]: born 1 February 1901; she studied with J. Guldahl, Elisabeth Munthe-Kaas, Borghild Langaar and later in Paris and Rome.<sup>146</sup>

Singer Randi Helseth, Ås [near Oslo]: 9 February 1905-24 September 1991; she studied with M. Ricci, Mimi Hvilid and M. Kurt in Berlin and started her career as a concert and opera singer in Oslo in 1934. She also worked as a vocal coach.<sup>147</sup>

Singer Gunvor Mjelva, Drammen [near Oslo]: 19 June 1902-14 September 1988; she studied piano with Nils Larsen (1920-25) and singing with Mimi Hvilid (1930-35); in 1932 she started a successful career with concerts in Scandinavia, England, and the U.S. and worked as a singing teacher.<sup>148</sup>



Fig. 25: Promotion picture by Soprano Gunvor Mjelva on the occasion of her US-concert tour in 1947. SRD, A-1039-Gunvor Mjelva



Organist Kristoffer Kleive, Rjukan: 29 January 1913-2005; after his studies at the conservatory in Oslo with Arild Sandvold, Nicolai Dirdal, Margrete Gleditsch-Janson and in Leipzig with Günther Ramin he worked in the U.S. as an organist, and as a conductor in Voss (1936-42), Rjukan (1942-46) and later in Skien (1946-83).<sup>149</sup>

Violinist Gunnar Knudsen, Stavanger: 30 July 1907-18 June 2003; after studies with concert master Gustav Lange in Oslo and at the conservatory in Berlin (1929-30) he returned to Berlin to study with Nazi-activist Gustav Havemann (1934-35). He became first violinist in the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra (1928-38) and in the National Radio's ensemble. In 1938 he took the opportunity to build up a new radio ensemble in Stavanger which he directed until 1944, together with the Stavanger municipal orchestra. He was arrested in 1944 together with his wife for active resistance work and was imprisoned in Grini, where he formed a string orchestra (more details about Knudsen's imprisonment will be discussed in Chapter II and his work in Stavanger in Chapter III).<sup>150</sup>



Fig. 26: Portrait of Gunnar Knudsen by Gunnar Bratlie 1945. GM

Singer Sigurd Hoff, Oslo: 2 April 1889-9 August 1955; after studying at the Oslo conservatory (1906-13) he continued with Bergljot Ibsen (the daughter of poet Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson), L. Haanshus and M. Hagermann in Berlin (1913-14). After his concert debut in Oslo (1916) he joined the Opera comique (1918-21), performed in Copenhagen, Stockholm and all over Norway. Furthermore, he worked as a teacher at the Oslo conservatory (since 1923).<sup>151</sup>

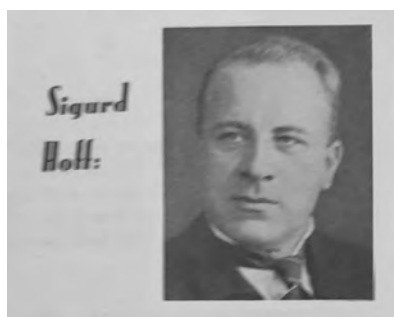


Fig 27: Sigurd Hoff in a series of statements on the occasion of Edvard Grieg's centennial ("Norske kunstnere bringer Grieg sin hyllest"), in: *Norsk Musikkliv* (1943), No. 5

[Singer] Egil Norsjø, Oslo: 31 October 1908-16 April 1980; in Oslo he studied organ with Arild Sandvold and singing with R. Bjarne, Arne van Erpecum Sem and Karl Aagaard Østvig. He started a successful career with concerts in Norway, Leipzig, Copenhagen and Paris and also conducted the Freemason's Choir in Oslo (1942-46).<sup>152</sup>

[Singer] Agnes Hanson Hvoslef, Oslo: 4 April 1883-1970; she studied at the conservatory in Oslo with Hildur Schirmer (1900-02), Emanuela Schröder and Ellen Gulbranson, as well as M. Wein (1906-08). In Vienna she worked with Amalie Materna and debuted in Kristiania (Oslo) in 1905. Since then she built up an international reputation, including engagements in Dresden (1913-14) and Bayreuth (1906, 1912, 1914 and 1924).<sup>153</sup>

[Singer] Dagny Sandvik, Oslo: 6 November 1878-7 April 1968; daughter of the music teacher and conductor Paul Knutsen Barstad Sandvik, sister of musicologist Ole Mørk Sandvik and sister-in-law of Elisabeth Munthe-Kaas; she studied with Gina Hille in 1898, started a career as a singer and worked as a teacher and vocal coach.<sup>154</sup>

[Singer] Elisabeth Munthe[-]Kaas, Oslo: 12 June 1883-2 October 1959; she went to Berlin, Munich and London for studies and began her international career as a singer after debuting in 1906. She supported young composers such as Fartein Valen, Fridtjof Backer-Grøndahl, Sparre Olsen, Ludvig Irgens Jensen, Marius Moaritz Ulfrstad and Eivind Groven. She also worked as a singing teacher in Oslo and married Sigurd Barstad Sandvik, a brother of singer Dagny Sandvik, opera singer Ingeborg Sandvik Kristensen and musicologist Ole Mørk Sandvik.<sup>155</sup>

Pianist Hans Solum [Oslo]: 17 February 1912-8 October 1980; at first he studied piano with Nils Larsen and Reimar Riefling in Oslo and then continued organ studies with Arild Sandvold. After his debut as an organist (1933) and a pianist (1934) he also taught at the Oslo conservatory. During WWII he often performed together with violinist Alf Sjøen.<sup>156</sup>

[Singer] Olav Sverenus, Oslo: born 6 April 1882; he studied with Jens Berntsen (1907), Georg Armin (1908), George H. Clutsam (1911-12) and H. Eppisch (1921). He started his career in 1913, performing amongst others in Dresden (1914), across Scandinavia (1916) and in Paris (1921). In later years he also worked as a singing teacher.<sup>157</sup>

[Singer] Joseph Szterenyi, Oslo: born 13 April 1898; originally from Hungary he studied at the State Academy in Vienna, founded his own singing institute in Pecs (1925-33) and moved to Norway in 1933. Since 1936 he worked as a singing teacher at the Oslo conservatory.<sup>158</sup>

[Singer] Morten Vatn [Oslo]: 27 June 1908-10 November 1970; after having started his career as an amateur musician, amongst other things touring with Hans Solum, he studied at Trondheim's music school (1927-28), singing at the Oslo conservatory with Arne van Erpecum Sem and organ with Arild Sandvold. In 1936 he visited Berlin to study with G. Walter and sang and conducted many concerts during the years 1940-45.<sup>159</sup>

[Singing Teacher] Einar Siebke, Oslo: 25 April 1903-8 September 1944. After his arrest on 17 August 1943 he was brought to the Gestapo headquarters Møllergata 19 on 17 December 1943, sent to concentration camp Grini outside of Oslo 27 March 1944 (# 10397) and brought on board the ship Westphalen 6 September 1944 to be transferred to Germany. He died on 8 September 1944 when the ship collided with a mine and sank in the Skagerrak. He had been married to Edvard Munch's niece, the painter Signe Munch, who was incarcerated as well. After she had been arrested on 17 December 1943 (the day her husband was transferred to the Gestapo), she was sent to Grini 1 March 1944 (# 10032) and released 30 April 1945, a few days before the liberation.<sup>160</sup>

[Composer] Sverre Bergh, Oslo: 2 November 1915-8 December 1980; a brother of the violinist Øivind Bergh; at first he studied music history at Oslo university (1934) and soon shifted to practical music making as a hotel musician. At the same time he started to study theory and composition with Fartein Valen (1935-38) and studied piano with Erling Westher and organ with Arild Sandvold. In 1939 he joined his brother's famous orchestra at Hotel Bristol and became NRK's main composer, arranger and pianist in 1946.<sup>161</sup>

[Organist, Composer] Erling Kjellsby, Oslo: 7 July 1901-20 February 1976; he studied with Wilhelm Huus-Hansen and Fartein Valen and became a lector for music at the teacher academy in Oslo ("lærerhøgskole", 1934-70). He played organ at the Uranienborg church in Oslo (1936-71), conducted, amongst others, the Workers' Choir ("arbeidersangforening") and was a board member of the Norwegian Composers' Association and the Copyright Association Tono.<sup>162</sup>



Fig. 28: Erling Kjellsby (second from left, next to his colleagues Eivind Groven, Arne Eggen, Odd Grüner-Hegge and Thomas Beck) at a board meeting of the Norwegian Composers' Association, in: *Norsk Musikklivet* (1942), No. 9

[Scholar, Journalist and Editor] Dr. Olav Gurvin, Oslo: 24 December 1893-31 October 1974; he studied musicology in Heidelberg (probably 1919-20), graduated in Oslo (1925) and continued to study in Berlin (1932-35). He wrote his dissertation about Arnold Schoenberg and Fartein Valen (1938), worked as a conductor, journalist and editor at Norsk Musikkforlag, where he published the journal *Norsk Musikkliv* (since 1942). Together with his companion Øyvind Anker he published the collected works of Rikard Nordraak on the occasion of his centennial (1942) as well as the encyclopedia *Musikk Leksikon* (1949). Gurvin's particular role for the civil resistance movement is still unclear, but it can be assumed that he was one of the main networkers in Oslo concerning music. Directly after



Fig. 29: Olav Gurvin next to Gunvor Mjelva, Ernst Glaser and Kari Aarvold Glaser (right to left) in an article about an Edvard Grieg-event, *Arbeiderbladet* 16 January 1946. NNL

the war Gurvin published several newspaper articles demanding severe punishment for musicians who had collaborated with the regime. His behavior as chairman of a committee to evaluate moral and political guilt of musicians nevertheless caused controversial reactions (for more details see Chapter V).<sup>163</sup>

Lawyer [Conductor] Sigurd Torkildsen, Oslo: 4 June 1897-1990; after studying law (graduation 1922) he studied music with Henrik Due, Oscar Holst, Emil Nielsen, Elisabeth Munthe-Kaas, Per Winge, Arild Sandvold and Fartein Valen. He became the conductor of the Oslo University choir in 1929 and gave classes for singing and conducting since 1942.<sup>164</sup>

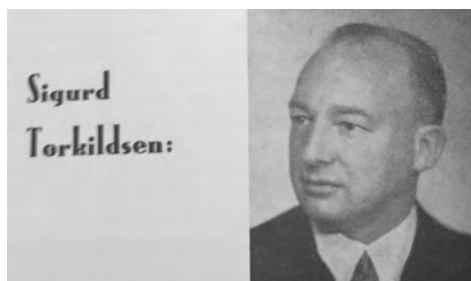


Fig. 30: Sigurd Torkildsen in a series of statements on the occasion of Edvard Grieg's centennial ("Norske kunstnere bringer Grieg sin hyllest"), in: *Norsk Musikkliv* (1943), No. 5

[Bandmaster] Hugo Kramm, Oslo: 5 February 1890 (Düsseldorf)-26 April 1958; son of royal music director Georg Kramm in Düsseldorf, where he received his first training to play violin and viola. Later he studied at the Düsseldorf conservatory and became the musical director of the municipal theater ("Theaterkapellmeister") in Dortmund, before he went to Berlin (1908) to study at the conservatory. Here he joined the quartet of his teacher, Henri Marteau, and toured Russia, the Balkan, Turkey, Persia, France, Austria and Sweden (1913). After having served at the front in WWI he came to Norway (1919), started as "Theaterkapellmeister" in Stavanger and moved to Bergen (1921), where he served as solo viola player and second bandmaster (Kapellmeister) of the Harmonien orchestra. He moved to Oslo to become the solo viola player for the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra (1924-27) and took on responsibility as "kapellmeister" and musical director of the National Broadcasting Service (NRK, 1927), beginning with 12 musicians. He kept close contact to the Philharmonic Orchestra and also promoted contemporary music, for example by Paul Hindemith. In conflict with NS-collaborator Edvard Sylou-Creutz he left the radio (1941). On 21 May 1941 he was arrested, questioned by the Gestapo (# 1267) and released one week later. He kept performing in Oslo, for example with Robert Riefing and Amalie Christie. Directly after the war he returned to NRK.<sup>165</sup>

[Actor, Director] Halfdan Christensen, Vestre Aker [now Oslo]: 12 December 1873-17 September 1950: after an education as a banker and a first position in Kristiania (1891) he decided against a career as a merchant and turned to acting. Returning from studies in Denmark and Germany (1894) he found first engagements at Den Nationale Scene, Bergen's theater. When the Nationaltheatret was opened

in 1899 he moved back to Kristiania and besides acting also began working as a director. During the next decades he could maintain his fame as an actor and director, temporarily also taking responsibility as the National Theater's director (1930-33). In the fall of 1943 he and his wife Gerd Ring had to flee to Sweden where he built up the exile theater company Fri Norsk Scene and toured Sweden. He returned to Oslo soon after the liberation.<sup>166</sup>

[Composer, Journalist] Pauline Hall, Oslo: 2 August 1890-24 January 1969; after piano studies with Johan Backer Lunde (1908-10), studies in theory and composition with Catharinus Elling (1910-12) and further studies in Paris and Dresden (1912-14) she started a career as a journalist and an exceptional artist – being a female composer and an advocate of modern music. During the next decades she became one of the most important figures for the musical Avant-garde in Norway, representing her country in the International Society for Contemporary Music. Similar to Gurvin, her role within the resistance movement is still rather unclear. In 1942 she lost her position as music critic for the newspaper *Dagbladet* (which she had held since 1934 and got it back in 1945). Her life partner Caro Olden, theater critic and cultural journalist, was arrested 12 May 1943, sent to Grini (# 7664) and released one year later on 15 May 1944. Like her colleague Gurvin, Pauline Hall used newspaper articles immediately after the liberation to document Nazi-collaboration of musicians.<sup>167</sup>

Pianist Jan Wølner, Oslo: 18 October 1909-7 July 1991; he studied piano with H. Hansen, Dagmar Walle-Hansen, Inge Rolf Ringnes, Karl Leimer, Reimar Riefling, Nils Larsen, Aleksander Borovsky and Edwin Fischer and theory with Fartein Valen. In 1942 Wølner refused the order of Edvard Sylou-Creutz, pianist and head

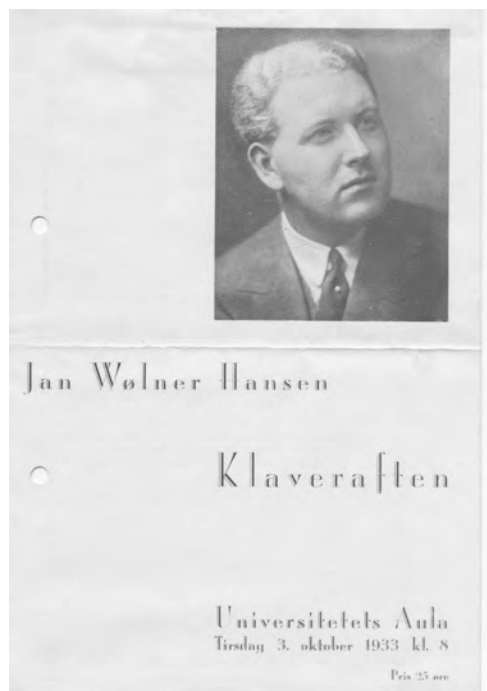


Fig. 31: Concert program from Jan Wølner Hansen, Oslo University Hall 1 March 1934. RSA

of the music department of the National Radio, to join the official NS-musicians' association. Therefore, Sylou-Creutz called for a ban against him, Robert Riefeling, Fridtjof Backer-Grøndahl, Amalie Christie, Rolf Størseth and Kari Glaser to perform in the University Hall.<sup>168</sup>

Organist Einar Schøyen, Hamar: 9 December 1882-16 September 1953; he began his studies at the conservatory in Oslo (1896-1900) and continued in Leipzig (1901-02) before he graduated as an organist (1909). Meanwhile he had debuted as flutelist (1903) and was concert master at Centralteatret in Oslo (1908-11). He became the permanent bandmaster ("kapellmester") at Stavanger theater (1919-20) and afterwards took a position as organist in Hamar.<sup>169</sup>

Pianist Amund Raknerud, Oslo: 3 October 1907-7 January 1962; he was first educated as a teacher (exam in 1928) and afterwards studied piano with Nils Larsen while making a living as a pianist in cafés and restaurants. After studying organ with Arild Sandvold he graduated in 1931 and became an influential jazz musician in Oslo, along with Øivind Bergh.<sup>170</sup>

Composer [Thomas] Beck, Østre Aker [now Oslo]: 5 December 1899-9 September 1963; he studied piano, organ and composition at Oslo's conservatory and graduated in 1926, where he was already conducting the University Students' Choir. In 1930 he took the chance to lead the recently founded Academic Choir ("akademisk korforening"). In between he had studied in Leipzig (1929). Additionally, he worked as an organist and editor for the journal *Tonekunst* (1928-34), was co-editor of the journal *Sangerliv* (which in 1942 became *Norsk Musikkliv*), served as secretary in the Philharmonic Society (1932-40), board member of the Norwegian Composers' Association (1938-46) and vice-chairman of the Copyright Association Tono.<sup>171</sup>

Organist Trygve Præsttun, Bergen: 6 April 1901-1974; he studied at the Bergen conservatory (1923-25), continued to study organ with Günther Ramin and piano with Robert Teichmüller (1927-30), both in Leipzig. In the years 1925-1946 he was organist at several churches in Bergen, until he was appointed the cantor of Bergen's cathedral.<sup>172</sup>

[Pianist] Laila Aavatsmark, Oslo: born in 1911; she studied piano with Erling Westher, Wladimir Horbowski and Edwin Fischer. In 1931 she celebrated her debut in Helsingfors (Helsinki) and performed as a concert pianist and chamber musician in Norway, Scotland and Germany.<sup>173</sup>

Organist [and composer] Knut Nystedt [Oslo]: 3 September 1915-8 December 2014; Nysted grew up as son of the amateur quartet player Robert Emil Madsen and first learned piano with Ruth Gaarder (1924-27). He then studied with Arild Sandvold (1928-30) and in a second study period made organ his main instrument (exam in 1936, the studies continued until 1940). Additionally, he studied piano with Reimar Riefeling (1937-39), composition and counterpoint with Per Steenberg (1935-37) and instrumentation with Bjarne Brustad (1939-40). After further studies with Øivin Fjelstad he graduated as bandmaster ("kapellmester") in 1943. While his duties as an organist already began in 1932, he started a conducting career in 1938, at the same time gaining attention as a composer. After the war he studied with Aaron Copland in Tanglewood and with Ernest White in New York.<sup>174</sup>

Composer Arne Eggen, Haslum [Haslum, near Oslo]: 28 August 1881-26 October 1955; at first he took a teaching exam in 1902 before he turned to music professionally, studying at the Oslo conservatory with Catharinus Elling, Peter Lindeman and C. Johnson (1902, organ exam 1905) and in Leipzig (1906-07) with Karl Straube and Stephan Krehl. In between he had started working as an organist (since 1908). Later he became the chairman of the Norwegian Composers' Association (1927-45).<sup>175</sup>

Pianist Ruth Lagesen, Larvik: 10 August 1914-2014; she studied with Mary Barrat-Due (1931-35), Nils Larsen and Erling Westher in Oslo, with Julius Isserlis in London, conducting with R. Goodall and with Nadia Boulanger. She had her piano debut in 1935, followed up by numerous concerts in Europe and the U.S.<sup>176</sup>

Organist [Ingarth] Rojahn, Haugesund: born 4 July 1869-1956; she first studied organ with her grandfather Ferdinand August Schünemann Rojahn, organist at the Kristiansand cathedral, and her brother Ferdinand Rojahn. Later she studied in Oslo, Stockholm and Berlin and debuted as an organist in 1893, followed up by numerous official positions as organist, music school inspector, conductor and music teacher.<sup>177</sup>

Pianist Bergljot Havnevik, Oslo: 12 April 1905-2 March 1963; after studies with Dagmar Walle-Hansen and Reimar Riefing in Oslo she continued with Wilhelm Kempff and Edwin Fischer in Germany and with Robert Casadesu in Paris. She gave her debut in Oslo (1926) and worked as a concert pianist and teacher.<sup>178</sup>



Fig. 32: Concert Program by Bergljot Havnevik at Oslo's University Hall, 7 September 1933. RSA



Composer Ludvig Irgens Jensen, Nordstrand [today a part of Oslo]: 13 April 1894-11 April 1969; he studied literature and languages at the University of Oslo. With a few piano lessons by Dagmar Walle-Hansen and Karl Nissen he composed as a self-taught artist. In the late 1920s his works, characterized by modal polyphony and classical forms, became well-known and won several competitions in Norway. During the years of occupation he composed music to poems by resistance poets, which were broadcast anonymously from London via BBC radio. He was active in the Norwegian Composers' Association as well as on other boards and juries.<sup>179</sup>



Fig. 33: A drawing of Ludvig Irgens Jensen by Gösta Hammarlund in the journal *Norsk Musikkliv* (1943), No. 1

Violinist Gunnar Ørbeck, Oslo: 24 March 1906-2 November 1991; brother of Anne-Marie Ørbeck; he studied in Berlin with Andreas Moser and with Henry Holst and began his career as a soloist in 1924 in Oslo. He also worked as concert master in the Opera Comique and at the National Theater, founded the Oslo String Quartet together with Øivind Bergh, and also served as bandmaster at the Hotel Bristol in Oslo.<sup>180</sup>

Violinist Harald Brager[-]Nielsen, Oslo: 1 April 1900-10 May 1980; he studied in Leipzig (1919) and Paris (1926) and later worked as a singing teacher at Aars, Voss and the cathedral school in Oslo ("Oslo katedralskole", 1936-46). Furthermore, he served as conductor for the student orchestra in Oslo for more than 42 years (1926-68).<sup>181</sup>

University Librarian Øyvind Anker, Oslo: 13 July 1904-30 December 1989; he was born in Frankfurt am Main into a Norwegian family of influential artists and politicians and was married to the pianist Eva Høst. After studying Norwegian literature in Oslo (writing his dissertation in 1931) he was hired by the University Library and appointed manager of the National Music Collection (1936), as suc-

cessor of Fartein Valen. Together with Olav Gurvin he was co-editor of the journal *Norsk Musikkliv*, published the collected works of Rikard Nordraak (1942) and the *Musikk Leksikon* (1949). On 20 August 1943 he was arrested, sent to camp Schildberg (# 709), transferred to Luckenwalde (# 709) and released on liberation day.<sup>182</sup>

Singer Ingerid Traae Jersin, Oslo: born 10 April 1895; she studied with C. Grieg, Gillis Bratt, Arne van Erpecum Seim and Ella Schmücker. She celebrated her debut 1922 in Bergen and 1924 in Oslo.<sup>183</sup>

Singer Solveig Borthen, Oslo: born 6 April 1894; she studied with Mimi Hvild. After her debut in Oslo (April 1927) she performed mostly at NRK National radio.<sup>184</sup>

[Journalist] Arthur Ratche, Oslo: 31 January 1884-27 November 1956; journalist for the Oslo newspaper *Morgenbladet*.<sup>185</sup>

Conductor [Publisher] Toralf [Torolf] Voss, Oslo: 12 November 1877-23 November 1943; he received his education in Berlin (1897-1903) and was conductor in Oslo for the Handelsstandens Orkester (1900-04), the Tivoli Orchestra (1906-07) and the orchestra at Centralteatret; he also composed and became the director of Norsk Musikforlag (1935-43).<sup>186</sup>

[Composter, Pianist] Anne[-]Marie Ørbeck Smidt [Smitt], Bergen: 1 April 1911-5 June 1996; she studied piano in Oslo and continued in Berlin (1930) with Sandra Drouker, Gustav Fredrik Lange, Mark Lothar and Paul Höffer for compositional training. Her *Concertino* for piano and orchestra was given in Berlin (1938), with the Großes Orchester des Deutschlandsfunks ("Large Orchestra of German Radio"), conducted by Hermann Stange for a radio broadcast. One year after her return from Berlin in 1939 she moved with her husband Helge Smitt from Oslo to Bergen and shifted her attention from performing to composing, with little opportunities to get her works performed in concert. "She was neither openly politically engaged, nor politically naive in private. Moreover, in terms of her compositional style, she was neither a fanatic classicist, nor a revolutionary modernist."<sup>187</sup> Nevertheless, her song cycle *Syv sanger til tekster av Hans Henrik Holm* ("Seven Songs to the Words of Hans Henrik Holm"), dedicated to soprano Gunvor Mjelva, was awarded a second prize in the 1943 competition of the Norwegian Composers' Association.<sup>188</sup> Holm was an active member of the civil resistance movement, writing outspoken political poems under the pseudonym "ein uppðøl" and inspired several other composers, most prominently Ludvig Irgens Jensen.

[Journalist, Publisher] Fritz [Frits] von der Lippe, Hardanger: 1 June 1901-5 September 1988; he grew up in a family interested in cultural and artistic matters. After one year as a private teacher in the vicinity of Kristiansand he began to work as a journalist (1920-30). He became an accomplished theater critic (1924-25 and 1926-41) and worked for the public radio as well (1928-31). He then shifted positions and joined the Gyldendal publishing house as a secretary (1930-42 and 1945-46), and when director Harald Grieg was arrested (1941-42) he was in charge to keep the business going. At the same time, he was an active member of the civil resistance movement.<sup>189</sup>

Pianist Rolf Holger, Oslo: born 26 September 1903; he studied at the Oslo conservatory piano with Dagmar Walle-Hansen and organ with Arild Sandvold (1933-37).<sup>190</sup>

Composer Andreas Haarklou [Oslo]: 11 October 1896-19 January 1979; he studied piano with Dagmar Walle-Hansen in Oslo and Arthur Schnabel in Berlin, additionally organ with Charles-Marie Widor in Paris and composition with Hans Grisch in Leipzig. He worked mainly as an organist, music teacher and music critic.<sup>191</sup>

Pianist Lasse Flagstad, Oslo: 5 June 1903-15 June 1969; brother of the famous Wagner-soprano Kirsten Flagstad, whose husband Henry Johansen was accused after Norway's liberation for having profited from trade with the German occupying forces.<sup>192</sup>

Organist Gunnar Abrahamsen, Kristiansand: born 24 February 1881; he studied with S. Lie, August Rojahn, Gudbrand Bøhn, Gustav Lange, Catharinus Elling (1898-1905) and with K. Billberg (1906-11), before he graduated in Sweden (1911). After positions as first violinist in Oslo's Secondteatret (1898-1900), concert master at the Fahlstrøm Theater (1903-05) and his debut as violinist in Kristiansand (1905) he became first violinist in Göteborg's Symphony Orchestra (1905-11), before he moved back to Kristiansand (1911) to become organist at the cathedral and take responsibility as a conductor of several choirs.

Pianist Benny Dahl[-]Hansen, Kristiansand: 29 January 1923-15 October 2011; he studied with Amalie Christie and Robert Riefling, and with Albert Ferber in London.<sup>193</sup>

[Bookseller] Hildur Rabe, Bergen: 1870-1953<sup>194</sup>

Composer Eilif Gulbrandsen [Gulbranson], Trondheim: 22 February 1897-6 October 1958; he studied at the Oslo conservatory, in Kiel (1923) and Copenhagen (1926). In 1937 he was in Berlin to study with Paul Hindemith who shortly afterwards went into exile. Since 1920 Gulbranson worked as a teacher for organ and singing in Trondheim and published concert reviews in the newspaper *Dagsposten* (1920-43). Between 1924 and 1937 he also served as chairman for the Trondheim Music Teacher Association.<sup>195</sup>

[Singer] Fanny Elsta Lepsøe, Oslo: 26 April 1899-4 February 1978; she started her career in 1924 and studied with Ellen Gulbranson, additionally with Antonio Votto in Milano (1932) and with Sarah Cahier (1935). Her international career was supported by Bruno Walter. She sang at the State Opera in Vienna (1935-37), performed at the Festspiele in Salzburg (1936-38), participated in Verdi's *Requiem* under Fritz Busch in Stockholm (1937) and performed in Bayreuth (1939) under Nazi-activist Heinz Tietjen. During the years of occupation she gave many clandestine concerts in Norway.<sup>196</sup>

[Singer] Ben [Edith] Thallaug[-]Benczy, Lillehammer: 16 June 1929-7 June 2020<sup>197</sup>

[Violinist] Mons Michael Lie, Lillehammer: 28 March 1904-6 September 1981

[Pianist] Elisabeth Reiss, Moss: 14 June 1902-8 March 1970; she grew up in a music-loving home, and after her premiere as a pianist (1917) under the supervision of Nils Larsen she started her career in the cabaret business (after 1937). Reiss was a close friend of Kari Aarvold Glaser.<sup>198</sup>

Organist [Eyvind] Hesselberg, Halden: 7 August 1898-22 March 1986; he began to study at the Oslo conservatory (1908-13), continued to study theory with Geburg Aasland and Catharinus Elling (1913-17) and further with Eyvind Alnæs

and Otto Olsson in Stockholm. After that he went to Berlin (1919-20) and to Paris where he studied with Nadia Boulanger. Since 1925 he worked as an organist, conductor and music teacher in Halden.<sup>199</sup>



Fig. 34: Bandmaster Haakon Viller, Sarpsborg.<sup>200</sup> Photography from 1945-47: Eyvind Holst (cello), Arne Walstad (oboe and clarinet), Einar Gabestad (flute), Tom Ahslen (violin), Haakon Viller (violin, standing), Frank Viller (doublebass), Esther Viller (grandpiano). (Creative commons Østfold Fylkes Billedarkiv)

Composer Arne Dørumsgaard, Fredrikstad: 7 December 1921-13 March 2006; he studied with Jens Bugge Olsen, Ivar Johnsen and Karl Andersen (1941-42) and taught theory classes at the Barrat-Due-institute in Oslo (1942-46).<sup>201</sup>

<p><b>JOHANNES STENBERG: MENUETT</b></p>		<p>kr. 2.—</p> <p>Menuetten er harmonisert og arr. for flolin og piano av Anne Marie Ørbeck</p>
<p><b>MUSIKK-HUSET A/S</b></p>		
<p><b>ARNE DØRUMSGAARD: BURLESKAR</b></p> <p>1. Eg kryp, 2. Skreddarsveinen, 3. Trur eg.</p> <p>1. Det var en gang en skreddarsvein med barokk og fine sø-</p> <p>lutt som gikk til sin jomfru på ha- me-ten, hver e- vi-ge laur dage natt.</p>		<p>kr. 3.50</p> <p>Prøven er tatt fra «SKREDDARSVEINEN»</p>
<p><b>MUSIKK-HUSET A/S</b></p>		

Fig. 35: Advertisement for a piece by Arne Dørumsgaard, next to the announcement for an arrangement by Anne Marie Ørbeck of Johannes Stenberg's *Menuett*, in: *Norsk Musikklivet* (1944), No. 9

[Concert Agent] Signe Øvstaas, Oslo: owner of the concert agency Norsk Konsertdireksjon.<sup>202</sup>

Singer Øistein [Herbert] Frantzen, Fredrikstad: born 28 May 1916; he studied medicine and law (1935-41) first, before he began to study singing with Oscar Serenus (1940-46), theory at Riefling's piano institute and with Olav Gurvin.<sup>203</sup>

Pianist Mildrid Selmer, Oslo: born 9 January 1900; she studied piano with Nanne Storm, Nils Larsen, Ignaz Friedmann, Josef Pembaur in Munich and I. Philip in Paris. She worked as a concert pianist and piano teacher in Oslo, including own pedagogical writings.<sup>204</sup>

Pianist [Trygve Johannes] Stangeland, Stavanger: 1898-1969.<sup>205</sup>

Composer Åge Myklegård, Tønsberg: 18 August 1904-15 March 1990; he first studied piano with A. Dannevig (1923-25), then at the Oslo conservatory with Arild Sandvold (organ) and Nils Larsen (piano), and in Leipzig (1925-27) with Karl Straube, Robert Teichmüller and Fritz Reuter (composition). Besides his duties as organist at the cathedral of Tønsberg he was in charge of the local choir Cæciliaforeningen (1935-1969).<sup>206</sup>

Pianist Wilhelm Schwarzott, Porsgrunn: 1914-89<sup>207</sup>

Organist Finn Skottner, Porsgrunn: 1907-1983<sup>208</sup>

Organist Conrad Baden, Drammen: 31 August 1908-11 June 1989; he grew up as the son of an organist in Drammen and received musical education from early on. When his father died the 18 year old succeeded him as the local organist and took lessons to improve his piano and organ skills with Daniel Hansen and Arild Sandvold. He further increased his knowledge of music theory. He studied at the Oslo conservatory with Per Steenberg and Nils Larsen (exam 1931), and continued studies in Leipzig (1931-32) where he met Ludvig Nielsen (later to become the organist at the Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim) and composer and pianist Geirr Tveitt. After his return to Drammen he continued as an organist and began to work as a music critic. He started a second career as a composer in the 1930s and became a member of the Norwegian Composers' Association in 1940, continuing to study composition and instrumentation with Bjarne Brustad.<sup>209</sup>

Composer Harald Sæverud, Bergen: 17 April 1897-27 March 1992; he began to study at the music academy in Bergen with Borghild Holmsen (1915-18) and continued to study composition in Berlin with Friedrich Koch (1920-22). While mastering a compositional crisis in the 1920s he started to work as a music critic in Bergen. With the beginning of the German occupation he began to reflect the atmosphere in Norway and around Bergen intensely, refining his personal style with folk-like melodies, classical forms and harmonies blending atonal counterpoint with memories of tonality. Of special relevance are his symphony No. 5 *quasi una fantasia*, opus 16, *Siljusslåtten*, opus 17 (dedicated to his brother Bjarne Sæverud, who was the leader of the local military resistance cell around Bergen), *Sinfonia dolorosa* (No. 6), opus 19 (dedicated to the memory of his friend Audun Lavik, who had been executed by the German occupational force), *Slåtter og stev fra Siljustøl*, vol. 1-4 (including the piano piece *Kjempevisen-Slåtten*, which was arranged for orchestra and enlarged near the end of WWII and after the liberation dedi-

cated to the resistance movement) and his symphony No. 7 *Psalm*, opus 27 (more details about Sæverud will be discussed in Chapter III).<sup>210</sup>



Fig. 36: Portrait of Harald Sæverud by Gösta Hammarlund, in: *Norsk Musikkliv* (1943), No. 6

Composer Walther [Valter] Aamodt, Bergen: born 25 March 1902; he studied music theory with Johan Ludwig Mowinckel (1922-24), vocal and choir instrumentation in Stockholm (1938) and London (1939). After pursuing a career as a composer he had his debut as a conductor in 1944.<sup>211</sup>

Bandmaster Harald Heide, Bergen: 8 March 1876-27 January 1956; he grew up in the family of an instrument maker and studied violin with Gudbrand Bøhn and music theory with Gustav Fredrik Lange, Johannes Haarklou and Catharinus Elling at the Oslo conservatory (1891-96). He continued to study violin with Florian Zajic in Berlin (1896). After a first position in Bergen (1898-99) as a violin teacher he took the position of first violinist in the orchestra at Kristiania's National Theater (1899-1903). He then moved to London to study violin with C. Thomson, afterwards performing in Great Britain and the United States. In 1907 he accepted the position as bandmaster ("kapellmester") at Den Nationale Scene in Bergen and in the following year of the municipal orchestra Harmonien. He led the orchestra in difficult times and demonstrated his opposition to Nazi-propaganda openly several times during the German occupation (more about his role during the years of occupation in the Chapters III and IV).<sup>212</sup>

Composer Sverre Jordan, Bergen: 25 May 1889-10 January 1972; composer, conductor and pianist, 1918-1949 married to actress Magda Blanc (1879-1959) and since 1949 to actress Nina Sandvik (1920-1996), who had been a member of Halvdan

Christensen's exile theater company Fri Norsk Scene. He grew up in a musical family and from early on showed compositional ambitions (his song *Nat*, "Night", was performed in 1906). After finishing school he studied piano in Berlin with Teresa Carreño and Conrad Ansgore and composition with Wilhelm Klätte (1907-14). He spent eight years touring in Norway and abroad (amongst others as accompanist for Kirsten Flagstad and Marian Anderson) and held the position of bandmaster ("kapellmester") at Den Nationale Scene in Bergen for 25 years (1932-57). At the same time, he regularly conducted the Harmonien orchestra and choir and wrote concert reviews. Many of his 85 compositions were published in Leipzig.<sup>213</sup>

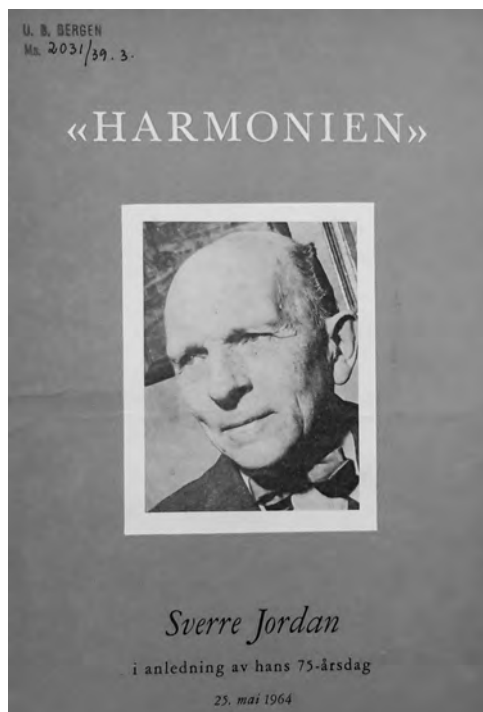


Fig. 37: Concert program on the occasion of Sverre Jordan's 75<sup>th</sup> birthday, Bergen Harmonien-orchestra 25 May 1964. BLA, *Collection Carl O. Gram Gjesdal* MS 2031/39.3

Pianist Gunvor Egge, Bergen: born 22 July 1917; she studied with Nils Larsen and Leif Halvorsen at the conservatory in Oslo as well as with Fartein Valen (1937-39), and with Cecilia Hansen in Berlin.<sup>214</sup>

Singer Per Grønneberg, Oslo: born 29 August 1911; he studied in Oslo, Berlin and Stockholm with Raatz-Brockman and Adelaide Andrejeva von Skilondz. After his debut in 1934 and concert tours in Norway, Denmark and Sweden he joined the opera in Wilhelmshaven (1938-39) and Den Nationale Scene in Bergen (1942-45).<sup>215</sup>

Violinist Rolf Gammleng, Oslo: 5 January 1898-3 September 1984; he was bandmaster ("kapellmester") of Oslo's movie theater (1927-32) and secretary in Oslo's Musicians' Union (1933-45).<sup>216</sup>

Violinist Robert Andersen, Lilleaker: born 16 February 1914; he studied with Øivin Fjeldstad, Bjarne Brustad, G. Turicchia and Max Rosthal and continued his studies after Norway's liberation in the U.S.<sup>217</sup>

Organist Arnljot Kjeldaas, Hønefoss: 22 January 1916-23 March 1997; son of the composer, conductor and teacher Gunnar Kjeldaas (more details about him in the following Chapter II). He studied piano with Rolf Holger, Nicolai Dirdal and Reimar Riefling, organ with Arild Sandvold, conducting with Øivin Fjeldstad and composition with Per Steenberg, Bjarne Brustad, Ludvig Irgens Jensen and Karl Andersen (his contribution to the musical resistance will be discussed in Chapter III).<sup>218</sup>

Organist Edvin Solem, Ålesund: born 10 May 1900; he was educated privately and further studied in the Nordic countries and in England. In 1925 he began working as a music teacher and choir conductor in Ålesund.<sup>219</sup>



Fig. 38: Portrait of Arnljot Kjeldaas, probably in the 1940s. KFA

Organist Edvard Bræin, Kristiansund: born 23 August 1924; he studied at the Oslo conservatory (1942-45) with Bjarne Brustad and Odd Grüner-Hegge and graduated in 1943 as an organist.<sup>220</sup>

Pianist Toralf [Thoralf] Norheim, Hamar: 1912-1984; Dominican monk and pianist.<sup>221</sup>

Organist Ludvig Nielsen, Trondheim: 3 February 1906-22 April 2001; he began to study at the conservatory in Kristiania (Oslo) at the age of 16 and passed his organist exam the following year. He continued his organ studies with Arild Sandvold and piano with Dagmar Walle-Hansen as well as music theory with Gustav Lange. He then studied organ in Leipzig with Karl Straube and composition with Günther Raphael (1931-32). Additionally, he studied counterpoint with Per Steenberg (1934-43). After first engagements as organist in Bærum (1924-32) and Ris (1932-34) he held the position as organist in the Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim for 42 years (1934-1976).<sup>222</sup>



[Conductor, Lawyer] Cecil Collin-Hansen, Trondheim: 15 August 1894-7 July 1970.

[Pianist] Kjell Bækkelund, Oslo: born 6 May 1930; he studied with Nicolai Dirdal, Ivar Johnsen and Gudbrand Bøhn.<sup>223</sup>

## List #2 (additional names)

Dir. Anders Backer-Grøndahl, Frogner terrasse 9, Oslo<sup>224</sup>

[Conductor] Odd Grüner Hegge, Incognitogt. 13 [sic]: 23 September 1899-11 May 1973; after having met Edvard Grieg shortly before his death (at the age of 6) he turned to music and studied piano with Nils Larsen and Fridtjof Backer-Grøndahl, composition with Otto Winter-Hjelm and Gustav Lange. His brother, violinist Finn Grüner-Hegge, joined him for his debut concert as a composer (1917). Additionally he turned to conducting and studied in Berlin, Vienna and Basel, amongst others with Camillo Hildebrand and Felix Weingartner. He began a successful conducting career in Norway and in 1931 he became bandmaster (“kapellmester”) for the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra, together with Olav Kielland. He had to resign two years later after a political and aesthetical controversy with Kielland which aroused a strong public debate. In 1934 he was appointed “kapellmester” at Oslo’s Nationaltheatret and was invited to conduct the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, with very positive reviews, so that he continued to perform internationally. He was first married (1929 to 1944) to the Jewish-born Sigrid Elena Feinsilber (born 3 March 1906). After she had been arrested due to Nazi-persecution, imprisoned in Bredtveit 26 November 1942 and released 3 December 1942 she escaped to Sweden and became a Swedish citizen. In 1944 he married Karen Welle (1914-2006).<sup>225</sup>

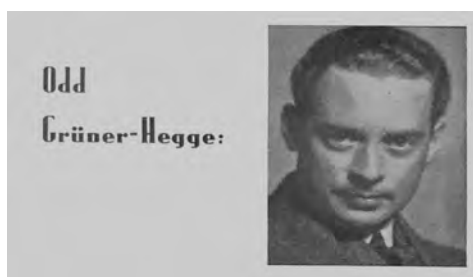


Fig. 39: Odd Grüner-Hegge in a series of statements on the occasion of Edvard Grieg’s centennial (“Norske kunstnere bringer Grieg sin hyllest”), in: *Norsk Musikkliv* (1943), No. 5

[Singer] Randi Heide Steen, Ullevålsvn. 1: 15 December 1909-12 November 1990. Although the resistance movement considered her trustworthy, she participated also in Walter Fyrst's official propaganda movie on the occasion of Edvard Grieg's centenary in 1943.<sup>226</sup>

Stephan Barrat [Due], Lyder Sagensgt. 2: 19 February 1919-18 November 1985.<sup>227</sup>

Thorleif Larsen, Norsk Musikkforlag, Karl Johangt 39.<sup>228</sup>

[Flutist] Per Wang, Vestra Aker: born 13 June 1902; he studied with Aksel Andersen and Philippe Gaubert in Paris (1923-25).<sup>229</sup>

[Controller] Sigurd Kielland, Musikkhuset, Karl Johansgt 45: Founder of the music publishing company Musikk-Huset A/S in 1939, together with Knut Fosskaug and Asbjørn Guldaahl.<sup>230</sup>

Violinist [Conductor] Carsten Anker Andersen [Oslo]: 16 February 1920-15 December 1997; he was a student of Ernst Glaser (1936-39) and additionally studied organ and harmony with Arild Sandvold at the Oslo conservatory (1937-39). He became a member of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra and took conducting lessons with Odd Grüner-Hegge.<sup>231</sup>

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Asking for the consequences of these lists for further research, one could either look at the horizons they already broaden, or the huge areas they still leave behind in the mists of history. In the light of the countless incidents that did not leave any trace one has to avoid the impression that with all the revealed structures the phenomenon of musical resistance would have followed a constant, homogenous development free of contradictions, moments of silence, stagnancy or doubt. Instead, like every other part of everyday life, this development depended on the changing personnel and military constellations within the Nazi-dictatorship, the local German authorities and their loyal Norwegian counterparts, and the overall course of the Second World War. Furthermore, an evaluation of music as a form of resistance in a dictatorship should not only take the period of active terror into account, but the rise of the regime and the consequences of its downfall as well: Decisions that had to be made under extreme, dictatorial conditions cannot be understood unless they are seen as derived from traditions and attitudes of former generations, nor could the long-term impact of such decision making on the post-dictatorial era be explained without regard to ideological and personal continuities or cuts.

The occupying German forces and the people of occupied Norway had one major interest in common: the fascination of "the Nordic", but they looked on it from antagonistic points of view. It was the ambition of Norway's musical resistance to make the transformation of the "Nordic" from a cultural concept into a racial ideology impossible. The paradox Norwegian solution was a self-imposed politicization of Nordic music, charging it with patriotic content to defend national independence and saturate it against alien indoctrination. The second point of mutual understanding between the occupying forces and the occupied Norwegian people is a deeply felt bond to German

culture – with antagonist outcome. According to the contradicting political beliefs, the concept of “German identity” was interpreted antithetically. Here one major stimulus for collective musical resistance can be identified concerning classical heritage: Hitler and his henchman were simply denied the right to speak out on behalf of German musical culture, which had inspired and influenced Norway for centuries and long ago had become common to European thinking. Moreover, such a conflict between traditional German repertoire and Nazi-German propaganda was a key to the understanding of music in the post-war years. During the times of a foreign dictatorship maintaining a musical tradition common to all Europeans prior to the occupation was a means of building bridges towards an anticipated, eagerly awaited peaceful European future.

The visionary wisdom of insisting on the difference between common cultural heritage and the representatives of a militant occupation provided one first milestone to our present understanding of memory culture in a common European plurality. Looking at music as one form of resistance in a dictatorship shows people and their culture under extraordinary political conditions. Under the pressure of an undesired, overpowering alien regime they protect and defend their own norms, beliefs and achievements. For this purpose music is a unique tool to communicate divergent political opinions and preserve cultural heritage. At the same time, to reconstruct a cultural process of such intensity expands our understanding of change, stability, and the necessity of cultures in military conflicts in a way that can hardly be observed otherwise.

## Notes

- 1 Cf. for an overview of the complex German-Norwegian relations prior and during the Second World War Tom Kristiansen, *Closing a Long Chapter: German-Norwegian Relations 1938-45. Norway and the Third Reich*, in: *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy. The Consequences of the German Invasion for the Scandinavian Countries, Then and Now*, edit. by John Gilmour and Jill Stephenson, London et al. 2013, pp. 73-100.
- 2 *Norges musikkhistorie. 1914–50*, edit. by Arvid O. Vollsnes, Oslo 2000; Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes, *Zur Kategorie des “Nordischen” in der norwegischen Musikgeschichtsschreibung 1930-45*, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 73 (2016), No. 3, pp. 166-184; Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes (edit.), *The Nordic Ingredient. European Nationalism and Norwegian Music since 1905*, Münster 2019 [= *Münsteraner Schriften zur zeitgenössischen Musik* 4]; Harald Herresthal, *Propaganda og Motstand. Musikklivet i Oslo 1940-1945*, Oslo 2019; Alfred Fidjestøl, *Lyden av Oslo. Oslo-Filharmonien 1919-2019*, Oslo 2019; Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes, *Celebrating the Nordic tone – fighting for national legacy: the Grieg Centenary, 1943*, in: *The Routledge Handbook to Music Under German Occupation, 1938-1945. Propaganda, Myth and Reality*, edit. by David Fanning and Erik Levi, London 2020, pp. 231-250; Ina Rupprecht (edit.), *Persecution, Collaboration, Resistance. Music in the “Reichskommissariat Norwegen” (1940-45)*, Münster 2020 [= *Münsteraner Schriften zur zeitgenössischen Musik* 5], DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31244/9783830991304>.
- 3 Jon Vegard Lunde, *Motstand og ikke-motstand. Hjemmefronten på Hedmarken og i Østerdalen. Vol. I 1940-42*, Lillehammer 1998 and Gunnar Reppen, *Harstad under krig og diktatur*, Harstad 2016.
- 4 These ideas kept alive antique Oriental and Greek notions of the North as a supernatural realm where barbaric hordes as well as the residence of Gods were assumed. See Eleanor Rosamund Barraclough, Danielle Cudmore, and Stefan Donecker, *Der übernatürliche Norden: Konturen eines Forschungsfeldes*, *Nordeuropaforum* 23 (2013), pp. 23–53, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.18452/8130>; Peter Fjågesund, *The Dream of the North: A Cultural History to 1920*, Amsterdam and New York 2014, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401210829>.

- 5 Stefan Gammelien, *Wilhelm II und Schweden-Norwegen 1888–1905: Spielräume und Grenzen eines Persönlichen Regiments*, Berlin 2012, p. 84. The author would like to thank Arnulf Mattes for highlighting these details.
- 6 Peter Fjågesund, *The Dream of the North. A Cultural History to 1920*, Amsterdam and New York 2014, pp. 477-8; Arill Riise, *Blå fjordar, blått blod*, Oslo 1995, pp. 69-71.
- 7 Wilhelm II, speech at the unveiling, excerpts quoted in German original, see Gammelien, *Wilhelm II und Schweden-Norwegen 1888–1905*, p. 86. Fjågesund, *The Dream of the North*, p. 472.
- 8 Gammelien, *Wilhelm II und Schweden-Norwegen 1888–1905*, pp. 99 and 150.
- 9 Birgitta Almgren, Jan Hecker-Stampehl, and Ernst Piper, *Alfred Rosenberg und die Nordische Gesellschaft: "Der nordische Gedanke" in Theorie und Praxis*, in: *Nordeuropaforum* 2 (2008), pp. 7-51, here pp. 8-9, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.18452/7972>; Klaus von See, *Kulturkritik und Germanen-forschung zwischen den Weltkriegen*, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 245 (1987), pp. 343-62; Bernard Mees, *Hitler and "Germanentum"*, in: *Journal of Contemporary History* 39 (2004), No. 2, pp. 255-70, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009404042131>.
- 10 Arnulf Mattes, "Monumentalism" in *Norway's Music 1939-1945*, in: Custodis and Mattes, *The Nordic Ingredient*, pp. 56-58; additionally for the overall context Ingrid Loe Landmark, *Ideas on National Music in Interwar Norway*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 35-54; Ingrid Loe Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskapning? Nasjonale spor i norsk musikk*. Brustad, Egge og Groven, Trondheim 2011; Ivar Roger Hansen, *Mot fedrenes fjell. Komponisten David Monrad Johansen og hans samtid*, Oslo 2013; Berit Kvinge Tjøme, *Trekkfuglen: Komponisten Fartein Valen*, Oslo 2012; Per Vollestad, *Christian Sinding*, Oslo 2005; Arvid Vollsnes, *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen: The Life and Music of a Norwegian Composer*, London 2014.
- 11 Hans-Jürgen Lutzhöft, *Der Nordische Gedanke in Deutschland 1920–1940*, Stuttgart 1971.
- 12 Hans Jørgen Hurum, *Musikken under okkupasjonen*, Oslo 1946; Arne Dörumsgaard, *Det norske musikklivet under krigen*, in: *Dagens Nyheter*, 15 October 1945; Olav Gurvin, *Vårt musikkliv under krigen*, in: *Norsk musikkliv* (1945), No. 5 and *Det har vært fruktbart under isen*, in: *Norsk musikkliv* (1945), No. 6 and Pauline Hall, *Norks musikkliv under okkupasjonen*, in: *Foreningen Dansk Musik Tidsskrift* 1945, Heft 7, pp. 119-20.
- 13 Christopher S. Browning, *Branding Nordicity. Models, Identity and the Decline of Exceptionalism*, in: *Cooperation and Conflict* 42 (2007), Vol. 1 March Special Issue on Nordic Internationalism, pp. 27-51, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836707073475>.
- 14 Axel West Pedersen and Stein Kuhnle, *The Nordic Welfare State Model*, in: *The Nordic Models in Political Science: Challenged, but Still Viable?*, edit. by Oddbjørn P. Knutsen, Bergen 2017, pp. 219-238.
- 15 Stein Kuhnle, *The Beginnings of the Nordic Welfare States: Similarities and Differences*, in: *Acta Sociologica* 21 (1978), *Special Congress Issue: The Nordic Welfare States*, pp. 9-35, p. 9.
- 16 Pirjo Markkola and Ingela K. Naumann, *Lutheranism and the Nordic Welfare States in Comparison*, in: *Journal of Church and State* 56 (2014), No. 1 Special Issue *Lutheranism and the Nordic Welfare States*, pp. 1-12, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcs/cst133>.
- 17 Matti Alestalo, Sven E. O. Hort and Stein Kuhnle, *The Nordic Model. Conditions, Origins, Outcomes, Lessons*, Hertie School of Governance *Working Papers* No. 41, June 2009, p. 7, <http://edoc.vifapol.de/opus/volltexte/2013/4255/pdf/41.pdf> (25 August 2020).
- 18 "In Institutionen werden kulturelle Leitideen zu Verhaltensmaximen konkretisiert, die in bestimmten Handlungsfeldern Geltung beanspruchen. Sie koordinieren das Handeln und bilden den Kern von sozialen Ordnungen. Nur in Zeiten geringen sozialen und kulturellen Wandels erscheinen sie als beständig und dauerhaft. Sie führen zu sozialer Differenzierung und stehen untereinander in Konkurrenz und Konflikt." Mario Rainer Lepsius, *Institutionalisierung politischen Handelns. Analysen zur DDR, Wiedervereinigung und Europäischen Union*, Wiesbaden 2013, preface, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-01326-4> and Robert Seyfert, *Das Leben der Institutionen. Zu einer Allgemeinen Theorie der Institutionalisierung*, Göttingen 2011.
- 19 Wolfgang Benz, *Im Widerstand. Größe und Scheitern der Opposition gegen Hitler*, Munich 2018, p. 16, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17104/9783406733611>: "Die späte Lehre aus der Geschichte lautet, dass Widerstand beizeiten notwendig ist. Und Widerstand ist rechtmäßig. Das ist ein Gebot demokratischer Überzeugung, die Demokratie bewahren will. Aber was ist Widerstand, wo beginnt er, wo hat er Grenzen? Ist nur Tyrannenmord und dessen Vorbereitung wahrer Widerstand, oder beginnt Widerstand schon mit dem Flüsterwitz, der 'den Führer' oder seine Gesellen lächerlich macht?" (Translation by the author.) Lepsius, *Institutionalisierung politischen Handelns*, preface.
- 20 Jocelyn A. Hollander and Rachel L. Einwohner, *Conceptualizing Resistance*, in: *Sociological Forum* 19 (2004), No. 4, pp. 533-554, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11206-004-0694-5>.

- 21 Benz, *Im Widerstand*, p. 19.
- 22 Jørgen Hæstrup, *Europe Ablaze. An Analysis of the History of the European Resistance Movements 1939-45*, Odense 1978, in particular pp. 24, 28, 32, 33, 35, 45-47, 57, 78-80, 201 and 352.
- 23 Tom Kristiansen, *Otto Ruge. Hærføreren*, Oslo 2019.
- 24 Tore Gjelsvik, *Norwegian Resistance 1940-1945*, London 1978, pp. 8-13 [in Norwegian *Hjemmefronten. Den sivile motstand under okkupasjonen 1940-1945*, Oslo 2<sup>1977</sup>]. For Gjelsvik's own biography, critically questioned by Marte Michelet, cf. her book *Hva visste hjemmefronten? Holocaust i Norge: varslene, unnvikelsene, hemmeligholdet*, Oslo 2<sup>2018</sup>, pp. 65-66, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18261/iissn.1504-2944-2019-04-06>. For the different phases of resistance, reacting against different chapters of occupational policies in Norway, cf. Tom Kristiansen, chapter 3 *The Norwegian War Experience – Occupied and Allied*, in: *Nordic War Stories. World War II as History, Fiction, Media, and Memory*, edit. by Marianne Stecher-Hansen, New York and Oxford 2021, pp. 49-64, especially pp. 58-59.
- 25 Interview with Kåre Norum, NHM-16 *Ragnar Ulstein*, p. 2: When Norum was arrested during the teachers' strike in 1942 and deported to Kirkenes, Arne Okkenhaug took his position in the Coordination Committee. After his return to Oslo in November 1942 Norum continued his work in the Committee and also started his regular teaching job again. After he had to go into Swedish exile in the summer of 1943 he worked for the Norwegian embassy in Stockholm and kept returning to Norway undercover for several weeks in a row.
- 26 Further information about Arne Okkenhaug will be given in Chapter IV.
- 27 NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ea/L0004.
- 28 Hans Jacob Ustvedt, *Über die Untersuchung der musikalischen Funktionen bei Patienten mit Gehirnleiden, besonders bei Patienten mit Aphasie*, Helsingfors (Helsinki) 1937 [= *Acta Medica Scandinavia* Supp. LXXXVI].
- 29 Letter from Hans Jacob Ustvedt to Thomas Mann, written in German, 14 January 1938, in: NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ea/L0004. "Schon von der Kindheit an mit der Buddenbrockschen Welt innig vertraut, erlebte ich in den Studienjahren bei der manchmal wiederholten Durchlesung vom Zauberberg 'Stunden tiefen, einsamen Glückes' wie Sie es selbst von Wagner so schön sagen. Und besonders viel bedeutet es für mich, dass ich unter den Schriftstellern, die sich ueber Musik äussern, einen gefunden habe, der meinen unklaren und unausgesprochenen Gedanken klaren Ausdruck verleihen. Und doch treten diesen Sachen in letzter Instanz in den Hintergrund gegenüber die tiefe, rein-menschliche Bewunderung die mich Ihnen als Prophet des Humanismus gegenüber erfüllt. Mit der deutschen Musik und Literatur seit der ersten Jugend in inniger Liebe verbunden, habe ich die Begebenheit [sic] der letzten Jahre mit wachsender Qual erlebt, und ich sehe die einzige Hoffnung auf bessere Zeiten darin, dass Menschen wie Sie wirklich leben und wirken. Was Sie in dem ersten Heft von 'Mass und Wert' geschrieben haben, hat mich in mein innerstes [sic] berührt. Ich möchte Ihnen gern sagen, dass in Norwegen Menschen leben die von ähnlichen Gedanken erfüllt sind, Menschen die das wahre Deutschland lieben, und die das Leben und Wirken von Thomas Mann als einen Lichtstrahl im Finsternis begrüßen. Verzeihen Sie mir, Meister, meine unbescheidenen Worte. Für mich bedeutet es eine grosse Freude von meiner warmen Liebe zu Deutschland und zu Ihnen einmal so zu sprechen." (Translation by the author.)
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 A cordial thanks to Ivar Kraglund and Frode Færøy at the Hjemmefrontmuseum (NHM) for their support.
- 32 NHM-498/0008, Ole Jacob Malm-papers. Cf. additionally Gerd Stray Gordon, *The Norwegian Resistance during the German Occupation 1940-1945: Repression, Terror, and Resistance. The West Country of Norway*, PhD University of Pittsburgh 1978; Anders Christian Gogstad, *Slange og Sverd. Hjemmefront og utefront leger og helsetjenester 1940-45*, Bergen 1995; Michelet, *Hva visste hjemmefronten?*, pp. 71-72.
- 33 Radio program *Ole Jakob Malm om arbeidet i Koordinasjonskomiteen (KK)*, NRK 24 November 1964, <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/feae5ba60632f568a3df18009d23219f?index=1> (10 August 2020): "[...] et krigsspil [...] for å bygge opp en system som var logisk, enkelt og så sikkert som det kunne gjøres under forholdene".
- 34 Radio program *Fru Sigrid Løkse (født Steinnes) fortel om arbeidet i Koordinasjonskomiteen (KK) i okkupasjonsårene*, NRK 24 February 1965, <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/3149045a-f746878a504af52328188e97?index=3> (10 August 2020).
- 35 Undated interview with Ole Jacob Malm, NHM-16/I/L0003/0002/0001: "Vi baserte oss da på en rekke legale kanaler. Postvesenet – i meget liten utstrekning – men reservert for kritiske situasjoner. Telegrafkommunikasjon – event(uel)t jernbanetelegraf som man hadde for de distans-

- er som den kunne rekk(e). Fortrinnsvis da kommunikasjon Oslo/Bergen og Oslo/Trondheim – Oslo/Lillehammer og Oslo/Kristiansand. [...] Ja, vi var rene amatører – men det var ingen uenighet om at målet var et relativt landsomfattende apparat og at det fra starten av måtte bygges opp så det kunne fungere på langtidsbasis.”
- 36 Radio program *Ole Jacob Malm om arbeidet i Koordinasjonskomiteen (KK)*, NRK 24 November 1964, <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/feae5ba60632f568a3df18009d23219f?index=1> (10 August 2020). Additionally consider the radio program *Hans Jacob Ustvedt om oppbyggingen av en sivil motstandsorganisasjon og om koordinasjonskomiteen (KK)*, NRK 21 November 1966, <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/d4f74f538a9b64160999912ba9af93d8?index=1> (10 August 2020).
- 37 Undated interview with Ole Jacob Malm, NHM-16/1/L0003/0002/0001: “Rent familiemessig var jeg vel predestinert til å ha en positivt motstandsvilje – hvis vi skal si det sånn – jeg kan tenke på at min morbror Jacob Worm Müller var jo allerede før invasjonen helt klart i sitt syn på den nazistiske fare og han var en av de meget få som offentlig uttalt at han trodde at krigen ville komme også til vårt land. Han ble i enkelte kretsen den gang da kalt krigshisser. Min far var av samme instilling selv om han ikke spilte noen offentlig rolle, han var høyesteretsadvokat, men jeg husker så godt at han sa til meg at den sorteste dag i hans liv var den Frankrike kapitulerte i 1940. Han kom forsåvidt også inn via min virksomhet mer eller mindre i motstandsbevegelsens arbeide, og han betalte for det ved å bli arrestert under jødeforfølgelsene fordi han hadde hatt jøder innlosjert i sitt hus, dessverre av meg, men det måtte til da vi ikke hadde andre muligheter.”
- 38 NHM, HA/NHM-358 *Paroler og rundskriv fra hjemmefronten 1940-1945*, folder X *Litt fra Musikkfronten*.
- 39 Signe Lund (1868-1950) was the most famous female composer of her time in Norway and a prominent Nazi-supporter. Cf. Rune J. Andersen, article *Signe Lund*, in: *Store Norske Leksikon*, [https://snl.no/Signe\\_Lund](https://snl.no/Signe_Lund) (3 September 2020). Kari Michelsen’s article for *Grove Music Online*, published in 2004, does not mention any political implications of Lund’s biography, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.54045>. By mentioning a national grant for composers (“Komp.gasje”) in the years 1941-45 Olav Gurvin and Øyvind Anker had interlined her Nazi-collaboration already in 1949, see the very short Lund-article in their *Musikkleksikon*, Oslo 1949, col. 670.
- 40 Willy Johansen (1903-1976) was a member of the so-called “Kulturting” in 1942.
- 41 Erling Røberg lived from 1905 to 1976.
- 42 Oscar Gustavson was born in 1877, cf. Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 426.
- 43 NAN, Landssviksarkivet, D/Da/L0178: Dommer, 1945-1948, *David Monrad Johansen*.
- 44 Angelika Silberbauer, *Kontinuitäten einer “führenden Musikerpersönlichkeit der Ostmark” – Joseph Marx*, in: *Eine Institution zwischen Repräsentation und Macht*, edit. by Juri Giannini, Maximilian Haas and Erwin Strouhal, Vienna 2014.
- 45 Solhjell and Dahl mentioned Kvandal’s membership in National Samling, Hans Fredrik Dahl and Dag Solhjell, *Men viktigst er æren. Oppgjøret blant kunstnerne etter 1945*, Oslo 2013, chapter *Æresoppgjøret* blant komponistene, pp. 66-68. Cordial thanks to Ina Rupprecht for bringing Kvandal’s studies in Leipzig to the author’s attention. Cf. Hochschule für Musik und Theater “Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy” Leipzig, Bibliothek / Archiv, A, I.2, Inscription number #18506. Natalie Hippel’s Kvandal-article in the encyclopedia *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, published in 2003, summarizes his studies in Oslo 1939-41 and 1945-51 with Ingebjørg Gresvik (piano), Arild Sandvoll (organ), Per Steenberg (composition, counterpoint) and Geirr Tveitt (composition) as well as his studies in Vienna with Joseph Marx 1941 and additional studies with Nadia Boulanger in Paris 1952-54 and Boris Blacher 1970 in West-Berlin, without mentioning his controversial activities during the Third Reich. Arvid O. Vollnes’ article for *Oxford Music Online* (2001) further adds studies in choral conducting at the Stockholm Conservatory (without year) and dates his studies with Marx 1950-51, not mentioning any political implications of his biography. Cf. Natalie Hippel, Art. *Kvandal, Johan*, in: *MGG Online*, edit. by Laurenz Lütteken, Kassel, Stuttgart, New York 2016, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/372366>. Cordial thanks to Severin Matiasovits at the Archive of the University for Music and Performing Arts Vienna.
- 46 *Fram*, 16 October 1944, p. 3: “Kapellmester Jim Johannessen fortsetter å utmerke seg. Forleden forlangte han bil fra Østbanestasjonen i Oslo. Da han ikke hadde tjenestebevis nektet sjåføren å kjøre. Johannessen, som var temmelig ‘påvirket’, ble rasende, løp sin veg og kom igjen med åtte hirdmenn. Sjåføren trakk fram den offisielle bestemmelsene for bilkjøring, men disse ble revet fra ham og han ble transportet til hirdstabbens hus (Den gamle krigsskolen). Hans videre skjebne er ukjent.” (Translation by the author).

- 47 *Kommunal-Nytt* Nr. 11 AV 28/11-1944, utgitt av Hjemmefrontens kommunegruppe, p. 11. In: SR, Arkiv Trygve Wyller – D-De-L0006: “Hva er en parole?” “Parolen er en forholdsordre som fastslår hvilken holdning en skal innta i en bestemt kampsituasjon.” “Hvorfor må vi ha paroler?” “I kampen mot våre fiender kan vi bare greie oss når vi kjemper smalet og under disiplin. Parolen er det kommandoord som ordner rekkene, det er den som gjør at vi også i vår sivile kamp kjemper som en armé og ikke som en uordnet masse. Parolen er samtidig uttrykk for fellesskapet mellom alle gode nordmenn. Den styrker de svake ved å stille dem inn i rekkene av de faste og djerne. Den gjør at fienden ikke vet hvor han skal slå til, fordi alle står likt. Det er parolen som er grunnlaget for vår front.” (Translation by the author.)
- 48 Custodis and Mattes, *Celebrating the Nordic tone – fighting for national legacy*, pp. 231-250.
- 49 “Allerede sommeren 1942 hadde to av KK’s medlemmer, remlig dr. Ustvedt og jeg, tatt opp arbeidet med tilknytning av kunstnernes motstandsfront til de linjer som KK fulgte for yrkene og organisasjonene. Det ble i løpet av sommeren og høsten 42 sendt ut en paroles om vedlegges, til kunstnere, representerende alle kunstarter; og den noe brogede situasjon på musikkfronten gjorde det nødvendig å starte et illegalt musikkblad som begynte å komme i september-oktober 1942. I og med at jeg måtte forlate landet i november 1942, opphørte mitt arbeid med disse ting, og om den videre utvikling vil min ettermann i sekretariatet gi sin utredning.” (Translation by the author.) NHM, HA/HHI/Deca-0001-49, file *Rapporter fra Orientering på landsmøte* 8. 6. 1945, folder *Orientering Sivorg*.
- 50 “Utsendelsen av parolen om boikott av konserlivet har virket befriende overalt. De som mente at musikkfronten ikke var istand til en samlet, klar aksjon, får urett. Lærerne, prestene, skuespillerne og alle de andre som under store ofre reiste seg til kamp for et uavhengig og rent norsk kulturliv, får nå følge av musikkens utøvere. Det har versket en del forvirring med hensyn til de kunstnere som hadde truffet bindende avtaler før parolen ble utsendt. Slike avtaler bør og skal brytes. Men her kan individuelle forhold gjøre seg gjeldene, og det vil bli vist forståelse om enkelte mener at det er absolutt umulig å avbryte et arrangement i siste øyeblikk. Men dette må ikke bli et smutthull for de svake! Vektsomme øyne hviler på hver enkelt!” (Translation by the author.) NHM, HA/NHM-358 *Paroler og rundskriv fra hjemmefronten 1940-1945*, folder X *Litt fra Musikkfronten*.
- 51 For the historical background of this paradox cf. Klaus Kanzog, *Offene Wunden. Wilhelm Furtwängler und Thomas Mann*, Würzburg 2014; Michael Custodis, “Orpheus in Nöten”. *Wilhelm Kempffs Freundschaft zur Albert Speer*, in: *Musik und Ästhetik* 20 (2016), No. 79, pp. 36-53; Michael Custodis, *Kunst als politisches Vakuum?*, in: *Furtwänglers Sendung. Essays zum Ethos des deutschen Kapellmeisters*, edit. by Albrecht Riethmüller and Gregor Herzfeld, Stuttgart 2020, pp. 27-38.
- 52 <http://runeberg.org/salmosen/2/19/1094.html> (21 September 2020).
- 53 Finn Benestad, *Institutt for musikkvitenskap Universitetet i Oslo*, in: *Festskrift til Olav Gurvin*, edit. by Finn Benestad and others, Drammen and Oslo 1968, pp. 13-31.
- 54 *Norges Musikkhistorie*, edit. by Ole M. Sandvik and Gerhard Schjelderup, Kristiania 1921 (2 volumes). For details about Schjelderup cf. Ina Rupprecht, *Manifesting the National Idea: Edvard Grieg or How His Biographers Saw Him*, in: Custodis and Mattes, *The Nordic Ingredient*, pp. 11-20.
- 55 Johan Christian Bisgaard, *Fra Musikkens Verden. Nogen Moderne Kunstnerportretter*, Oslo 1929; Ellen Lehmann, *Musikk-historisk oversikt*, Oslo 1929 and Sverre Hagerup Bull, *Musikk og musikere*, Oslo 1930.
- 56 Karl Nef, *Musikkhistorie. Oversett av Reidar Brehmer*, Oslo 1932.
- 57 These details were provided to the author by Dr. Anne Jorunn Kydland, research librarian at the National Library, Oslo, in a message from 23 August 2016. The author thanks Dr. Kydland for her kind support. Neither Gurvin’s personal article in his *Musikkleksikon*, edited together with Øyvind Anker (Oslo 1949, col. 426) nor the article in the *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* ([https://nbl.snl.no/Olav\\_Gurvin](https://nbl.snl.no/Olav_Gurvin), 30 November 2016), mention his studies abroad. His personal papers are preserved at the National Library Oslo (Håndskriftsavgdeling #4102) and the folder concerning the years of German occupation are inaccessible for 50 years until 2025.
- 58 Olav Gurvin, *Frå tonalitet til atonalitet*, Oslo 1938 and Nils Grinde, *Olav Gurvins trykte arbeider*, in: *Festskrift til Olav Gurvin*, pp. 168-170.
- 59 Michael Custodis, *Bürokratie versus Ideologie? Nachkriegsperspektiven zur Reichsmusikkammer am Beispiel von Fritz Stein*, in: *Die Reichsmusikkammer. Kunst im Bann der Nazi-Diktatur*, edit. by Albrecht Riethmüller and Michael Custodis, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 2015, pp. 221-238.

- 60 Gurvin, *Frå tonalitet til atonalitet*, preface: “Bokskrivaren vonar difor at dette arbeidet vil hjelpe til med å trengje inn i og skjønne atonale komposisjonar, serleg då verk av Arnold Schönberg og Fartein Valen, som kann hende er to av dei største tonemeistrane i vår tidebolk.” (Translation by the author.)
- 61 Solhjell and Dahl, *Men viktigst er æren*; Robert Bohn, *Schuld und Sühne. Die norwegische Abrechnung mit den deutschen Besatzern*, in: *Deutschland, Europa und der Norden. Ausgewählte Probleme der nord-europäischen Geschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, edit. by Robert Bohn, Stuttgart 1993, pp. 109 and 112; Susanne Maerz, *Landesverrat versus Widerstand. Stationen und Probleme der “Vergangenheitsbewältigung” in Norwegen*, in: *Nordeuropaforum* 15 (2005), No. 2, pp. 43-73, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.18452/7862>.
- 62 NAN, Oslo politikammer, Dommer, Dnr. 1232 – *David Monrad Johansen* and Hansen, *Mot fedrenes fjell*, pp. 453-456.
- 63 Ole Kristian Grimnes, *Hjemmefrontens Ledelse. Norge og den 2. verdenskrig*, Oslo 1977 sowie *Hjemmefront*, edit. by Ivar Kraglund, Vol. 6 of the series *Norge i krig. Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945*, edit. by Magne Skodvin, Oslo 1987.
- 64 The commercial add for the first volume of Nordraak’s collected works, printed in *Norsk Musikk-liv* (1942), No. 5: “I vanskelige tider for land og folk henter vi styrke i våre nasjonale åndsverdier. Nordraak-utgaven må finne veien til alle musikalske norske hjem i jubileumsåret.” (Translation by the author.)
- 65 Hansen, *Mot fedrenes fjell*, pp. 500-501.
- 66 Nils Grinde, *Norsk Musikkhistorie. Grunnfagskurs*, Oslo [1971]; Harald Herresthal, *Norwegische Musik von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Oslo <sup>2</sup>1987.
- 67 Stein Ugelvik Larsen, *Innledning*, in: *I krigens kjølvann. Nye sider ved norsk krigshistorie og etterkrigstid*, edit. by Stein Ugelvik Larsen, Oslo 1999, pp. 9-30. On the impact of this theory cf. Maerz, *Die langen Schatten der Besatzungszeit*, p. 83; Bjarte Bruland, *Wie sich erinnern? Norwegen und der Krieg*, in: *Mythen der Nationen. 1945 – Arena der Erinnerungen*, edit. by Monika Flacke and the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Vol. 1, Mainz 2004, pp. 453-480 and Rolf Hobson, *Die weißen Flecken in der norwegischen Geschichtsschreibung über die deutsche Besatzung*, in: *Vergangenheitspolitik und Erinnerungskulturen im Schatten des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Deutschland und Skandinavien seit 1945*, edit. by Robert Bohn, Christoph Cornelißen and Karl Christian Lamers, Essen 2008, pp. 95-103.
- 68 Bo Wallner, *Vår tids musikk i Norden: Från 20-tal till 60-tal*, Stockholm, Oslo and Copenhagen 1968.
- 69 Ole Mørk Sandvik and Gerhard Schjelderup, *Norges Musikkhistorie*, Kristiania 1921; Nils Grinde’s book was published in English translation as *A History of Norwegian Music*, Lincoln 1984.
- 70 Wallner, *Vår tids musikk i Norden*, p. 210.
- 71 Olav Gurvin and Øyvind Anker, article *Christian Sinding*, in: *Musikkleksikon*, Oslo 1949, cols. 1096-1098.
- 72 Erling Sandmo, *Et eget århundre: Norsk orkestermusikk 1905–2005 / Music in a Free State: Norwegian Orchestral Music 1905–2005*, Oslo 2004.
- 73 Geir Johnson, *Hundre ars utakt. Norsk komponistforening feirer 100 ar*, Oslo 2017.
- 74 Arvid O. Vollsnes (edit.), *Norges musikkhistorie 1914–50*, vol. 4 of *Norges musikkhistorie*, edit. by Arvid O. Vollsnes, 5 vol., Oslo 2000. Cf. also the first, privately published, Norwegian-language edition of Vollsnes’s biography of Ludwig Irgens-Jensen, in which he investigated the relationship of nationalistic and modernist ideologies in the political context of Norway’s interwar years more extensively: Arvid Vollsnes, *Modernisme på norsk: Komponisten Ludvig Irgens-Jensen*, Jar 1996, pp. 163-230. An edited and abridged version appeared as *Komponisten Ludvig Irgens-Jensen*, Oslo 2000 and an English translation as *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen: The Life and Music of a Norwegian Composer*, London 2014.
- 75 Elef Nesheim, *Et musikkliv i krig: Konserten som politisk arena – Norge 1940–45*, Oslo 2007. Although Nesheim centered on the years of occupation, he neither presented new sources, nor did he consider any of the international literature on music and National Socialism.
- 76 Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskapning? Nasjonale spor i norsk musikk*.
- 77 Tjøme, *Trekfuglen: Komponisten Fartein Valen*.
- 78 Alfred Fidjestøl, *Lyden av Oslo. Oslo-Filharmonien 1919-2019*, Oslo 2019.
- 79 Harald Herresthal, *Min mor valgte meg. Et krigsbarns familiehistorie*, Oslo 2017.
- 80 Herresthal, *Propaganda og Motstand*.



- 81 Cf. Katarzyna Naliwajek-Mazurek, *The Use of Polish Musical Tradition in the Nazi Propaganda*, in: *Music Traditions in Totalitarian Systems* [= *Musicology Today* 2010, No. 7], pp. 243-259, [http://files.musicologytoday.hist.pl/files/Musicology\\_Today/Musicology\\_Today-r2010-t7/Musicology\\_Today-r2010-t7-s243-259/Musicology\\_Today-r2010-t7-s243-259.pdf](http://files.musicologytoday.hist.pl/files/Musicology_Today/Musicology_Today-r2010-t7/Musicology_Today-r2010-t7-s243-259/Musicology_Today-r2010-t7-s243-259.pdf) (10 September 2020), Katarzyna Naliwajek-Mazurek, *Music in Nazi-Occupied Poland between 1939 and 1945*, in: *Musicology Today* 2016, No. 13, pp. 53-70, <https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/muso.2016.13.issue-1/muso-2016-0006/muso-2016-0006.pdf> (10 September 2020); Myriam Chimènes, *Musique et musiciens en France sous le régime de Vichy (1940-1944)*, in: *Music and Dictatorship in Europe and Latin America*, edit. by Roberto Illiano and Massimiliano Sala, Brepols 2009, pp. 3-26; Michael Custodis and Friedrich Geiger, chapter *Entwicklung der Freundschaft*, in: *Netzwerke der Entnazifizierung. Kontinuitäten im deutschen Musikleben am Beispiel von Werner Egk, Hilde und Heinrich Strobel*, Münster 2013 [= *Münsteraner Schriften zur zeitgenössischen Musik* 1], pp. 73-81.
- 82 Herresthal, *Propaganda og Motstand*, p. 196: “Begge fikk oppleve noe av det samme som de norske jødene før de ble deportert. De ble bokstavelig kastet på gaten med alt innbo, deres verker skulle ikke fremføres, bøkene ble makulert, kunstnerlønnen ble trukket tilbake, og alle ervervs-muligheter opphørte.”
- 83 Records of the Norwegian Composers’ Association, board meeting on 2 July 1941, NAN, RA/PA-1446/A/Ab/L0003.
- 84 Signe Lund, *Sol Gjennom Skyer. Livserindringer II* [1946], edit. by Børre Ludvigsen, [Granbakken] 2013, p. 236: “Det ville vel også være litt vel meget forlangt av meg, hvem det samfund jeg har prøvd å tjene, har stemplet som landssvik, har fratatt borgerlige rettigheter, komponistgasje, utvist fra alle foreninger, til og med den jeg selv er opphav til – den norske komponistforening. Det har forbudt min musikk å bli fremført, min bok å bli solgt, stanset min foredragsvirksomhet, kort sagt berøvet meg alle erhvervs-muligheter. Og ikke nok med det, jeg ble oppsagt fra min leilighet i Oslo og derved tvunget til å flytte langt opp på landsbygden, hvor ingen av mine kulturelle interesser får nevneverdig næring (jeg har ikke engang et piano) – og hvor jeg med mine 80 år må utføre altfor tungt kroppslig arbeid, da jeg selvsagt ikke har anledning til å holde hushjelp.”
- 85 Circular letter of the Arbeidernes Faglige Landsorganisasjon, dated 28 May 1946. ARBARK, AAB/ARK-1542-C-L0010-0005 Oslo Musikerforening.
- 86 Solhjell and Dahl, *Men viktigst er æren*.
- 87 NAN, RA/S-3138/0001/D/Dd/L0156/1473. Cordial thanks to Ingrid Skovdahl for bringing this case to the author’s attention.
- 88 Bjørnar Blaavarp Heimdal, *Nasjonal Samling og den norske folkemusikken*, Masteroppgave i historie, Trondheim 2012, 536218\_FULLTEXT01.pdf (ntnu.no) (24. Februar 2021) and Per Ivar Hjelmsbakken Engevoold, *Christian Leden og SS Ahnenerbe. Hvordan en norsk komponist og musikketnograf ble involvert i Heinrich Himmlers forskningsstiftelse SS Ahnenerbe*, Masteroppgave i historie, Oslo 2013.
- 89 Lorentz Reitan, *Harald Sæverud (1897–1992). Mannen, musikken og mytene*, Oslo 1997; Per Vollstad, *Christian Sinding*, Oslo 2005.
- 90 Terje Emberland, *Religion og rase: nyhedenskap og nazisme i Norge 1933–1945*, Oslo 2003.
- 91 The discussion was summarized in the media archive of the Hauge-Tveitt-jubilee, <http://www.ht08.no/Default.aspx%3Fpageid=895.html> (19 April 2016).
- 92 Hallgjerd Aksnes, *Perspectives of Musical Meaning. A Study Based on Selected Works by Geirr Tveitt*, University of Oslo 2002.
- 93 Sjur Haga Bringeland, *Sources Revisited. The Case of Geirr Tveitt*, in: Rupprecht, *Persecution, Collaboration, Resistance*, pp. 153-173.
- 94 <https://www.aftenposten.no/mening/kommentar/i/7K7QE8/hva-visste-marte-michelet> (28 November 2020), <https://www.nrk.no/ytring/historieforskninger-rammer-gyldendals-omdomme-1.15269915> (2 December 2020) and <https://www.aftenposten.no/mening/kronikk/i/86PvKG/mellomkrigstidens-joedeht-plakater-i-asker-med-oppfordring-om-ikke-aa> (11 December 2020).
- 95 “Det mest uforklarlige, og minst diskuterte, med motstandsbevegelsens respons på jødeforfølgelsene i Norge er hva som skjedde i november 1942. Eller rettere sagt, hva som ikke skjedde denne måneden.” (Translation by the author.) Michelet, *Hva visste hjemmefronten?*, pp. 222 and 241.
- 96 Elise B. Berggren, Bjarte Bruland and Mats Tangestuen, *Rapport frå ein gjennomgang av “Hva visste hjemmefronten?”*, Oslo 2020.
- 97 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

- 98 Bjørn-Arvid Bagge, *Fra "Ukenytt" til "Fram". En serie illegale bergenske aviser fra årene 1942-1945*, in: *Bergensposten* 12 (2009), Nr. 1 April, pp. 8-16.
- 99 *Ukenytt. For frihet og sannhet*, No. 5, 16 March 1942, p. 3: "Jødene er atter utestengt fra Norge. Det var de også etter grunnloven av 1814, men vi var stolte over at denne paragrafen ble opphevet. Norge skulle være et fritt land."
- 100 [nameless paper], 9 November 1942, p. 3: "Jøder arrestert i Bergen. Herman Kaminka, f. 30/10-82 i Beilostock, Russland. Wilhelm Goldberg, f. 21/6-89 i Bayern. Emil Salomon, f. 9/11-1882 i Tyskland. Isywan Ipolvi, f. 16/5-86 i Uxjvidek, Ungarn. Joseph Scecht, f. 2/7-92 i Elisabethgrad, Ukraine. Julius Eidenbom, f. 10/9-71 i Polen. Paul Borinski f. i Tyskland. Hans Huszar f. i Tyskland. Alexander Kremner f. i Østerrike. Josef Becker f. i Oslo. Franz Daus f. i Hamburg. Herchel Rabinowitz f. i Polen, og Harry Scheer f. i Bergen."
- 101 *Ukenytt. For frihet og sannhet*, No. 7, 30 March 1942, p. 4.
- 102 *Norges Demring*, 4 January 1945, p. 3: "Jödeforfölgelse. Vi her i Norge har in grunnen ikke fått det fulle kjennskap til omfanget av jödeforfölgelsene. Riktignok indgikk heller ikke de ca. 1800 jöder som befant seg i Norge nazistenes grusomheter. De ble alle ved arsskiftet 42-43 deportert til Polen og deres skjebne er ukjent. Men dette blekner likevel ved siden av de tall en representant for jödekomisjonen i London gav på en pressekonferanse nylig. I 1933 befant det seg omkring 8.5 mill. Jöder i Europa. Herav reddet 2.5 mill. livet ved flukt, fire mill. ble drept og de gjenværende 2 mill. er umiddelbar fare."
- 103 Julie Ann Cleary, "*L'art nà pas de patrie?*" *Musical Production and Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Paris, 1940-1944*, Dissertation at the University of Pittsburgh 2019, pp. 13 and 16, <http://d-scholarship.pitt.edu/37758/19/Cleary%20Final%20ETD.pdf> (4 September 2020). For further consequences of resistance for the arts cf. Iris Därmann, *Widerstände. Gewaltenteilung in statu nascendi*, Berlin 2021.
- 104 Ray Pratt, article *Resistance and Music*, in: *Grove Music Online*, 2013, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2252296>.
- 105 Philip H. Bohlman used an open understanding of aesthetic resistance in an essay from 1995, relying on Peter Weiss' novel *Ästhetik des Widerstands*, and does not differentiate specifically between opposition, resistance or other intentions. Instead, his arguments are based on examples of the Jüdischer Kulturbund in Berlin. Philip V. Bohlman, *Musik als Widerstand. Jüdische Musik in Deutschland 1933-1940*, in: *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 40 (1995), pp. 49-74, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/847915>.
- 106 Oliver Rathkolb, *Radikale Gleichschaltung und Rückbruch statt "Neubau". Anmerkungen zur Wirkungs geschichte der Reichsmusikkammer*, in: Riethmüller and Custodis, *Die Reichsmusikkammer*, pp. 33-46.
- 107 Rune J. Andersen, article *Torolf Voss*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2013), [https://snl.no/Torolf\\_Voss](https://snl.no/Torolf_Voss) (8 September 2020).
- 108 *Nordmenn i fangenskap. 1940-45*, edit. by Kristian Ottosen, Oslo 1995, pp. 565-566.
- 109 *Ibid.*
- 110 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 73. He appears on list #2 with the specification "Norsk Musikkforlag Karl Johansgt. 39." According to Fidjestøl (*Lyden av Oslo-Filharmonien 1919-2019*, p. 202) Backer-Grøndahl in 1942 refused the order of Edvard Sylou-Creutz, pianist and head of the music department of the National Radio, to join the official NS-musicians' association, so that Sylou-Creutz called for a ban against him and Jan Wølner, Robert Riefing, Amalie Christie, Rolf Størseth and Kari Glaser to perform in the University Hall, Oslo's most important concert hall. Cf. Fidjestøl, *Lyden av Oslo-Filharmonien 1919-2019*, p. 202.
- 111 *Ibid.*, cols. 1006-1007.
- 112 Cf. *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 533 and Ingeborg Solbrekken, *Med empati som våpen. Amalie Christies kamp mot deportasjon og rettsoppgjør*, Kjeller 2004, p. 57. Robert Riefing's private papers are preserved in the National Archives in Oslo, PA-0790. According to Fidjestøl (*Lyden av Oslo-Filharmonien 1919-2019*, p. 202) Riefing in 1942 refused the order of Edvard Sylou-Creutz, pianist and head of the music department of the National Radio, to join the official NS-musicians' association, so that Sylou-Creutz called for a ban against him and Jan Wølner, Fridtjof Backer-Grøndahl, Amalie Christie, Rolf Størseth and Kari Glaser to perform in the University Aula, Oslo's most important concert hall. For Riefing's oppositional attitude additionally cf. *ibid.* pp. 205-206, 258, 265.
- 113 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 1005; Harald Glatte, *Med kritikerblikk og ørets autoritet – Reimar Riefing*, in: "*Jeg kunne det da jeg gikk hjemmefra*". *Oslo musikklererforening gjennom 100 år, 1905-2005*, edit. by Anne Bråten, Oslo 2005, pp. 178-191. The kind support of Klaus Riehle

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- 114 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 194. According to Fidjestøl (*Lyden av Oslo-Filharmonien 1919-2019*, p. 202) Christie in 1942 refused the order of Edvard Sylou-Creutz, pianist and head of the music department of the National Radio, to join the official NS-musicians' association, so that Sylou-Creutz called for a ban against her and Jan Wølner, Fridtjof Backer-Grøndahl, Robert Riefeling, Rolf Størseth and Kari Glaser to perform in the University Aula, Oslo's most important concert hall. For Christie's oppositional attitude additionally cf. *ibid.* pp. 205-208 and in general Solbrekken, *Med empati som våpen*.
- 115 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 408. Reidar Storaas, *Mellom triumf og tragedie – Geirr Tveitt – ein biografi*, Oslo 2008, especially pp. 75, 126-134; Bringeland, *Sources Revisited*, in: Rupprecht, *Persecution, Collaboration, Resistance*, pp. 160-162.
- 116 Per Kjetil Farstad, *Pinsemusikken. En undersøkelse av norsk pinsebevegelses sang- og musikkliv 1907-2013*, Kristiansand 2013, pp. 64-67; Cecilie Dahm, article *Mary Barrat Due*, in: *Store Norske Leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/Mary\\_Barratt\\_Due](https://nbl.snl.no/Mary_Barratt_Due) (6 September 2020).
- 117 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 1295; Swedish national encyclopaedia, <http://www.ne.se/hilda-waldeland> (6 September 2020). According to Fidjestøl (*Lyden av Oslo-Filharmonien 1919-2019*, pp. 216-218, 221) Waldeland hosted clandestine gatherings.
- 118 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 167.
- 119 *Ibid.* col. 26 and Egil Baumann, article *Waldemar Alme*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2015) [https://snl.no/Waldemar\\_Alme](https://snl.no/Waldemar_Alme) (6 September 2020). According to Fidjestøl (*Lyden av Oslo-Filharmonien 1919-2019*, p. 202) Alme in 1942 refused the order of Edvard Sylou-Creutz, pianist and head of the music department of the National Radio, to join the official NS-musicians' association, so that Sylou-Creutz called for a ban against him and Jan Wølner, Robert Riefeling, Fridtjof Backer-Grøndahl, Amalie Christie, Rolf Størseth and Kari Glaser to perform in the University Aula, Oslo's most important concert hall. For Alme's oppositional attitude additionally cf. *ibid.* pp. 209 and 227.
- 120 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 141; NAN, RAFA-5969-E-Ea-L0002 and RA/PA-1075-F-Fa-L0011; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 148.
- 121 [https://lokalhistoriewiki.no/wiki/Agnes\\_Brevig\\_\(1907-1983\)](https://lokalhistoriewiki.no/wiki/Agnes_Brevig_(1907-1983)) (6 September 2020).
- 122 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 243.
- 123 *Ibid.*, cols. 524-525.
- 124 *Ibid.*, cols. 535-536. An article on Wikipedia mentions that Johnsen became a member in the so-called "Departementets midlertidige konsultative råd i kunstneriske spørsmål" ("the Department's Temporary Advisory Board for Artistic Questions") in 1940, a NS-loyal institution, though crediting no source for this argument. [https://no.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ivar\\_Johnsen](https://no.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ivar_Johnsen) (9 September 2020).
- 125 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 553; Arne J. Solhaug, article *Rolf Karlsen*, in: *Store norsk leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/Rolf\\_Karlsen](https://nbl.snl.no/Rolf_Karlsen) (9 September 2020).
- 126 Articles *Erling Westher 50 år*, in: *Friheten*, 12 March 1953 ([https://www.nb.no/items/URN:NBN:no-nb\\_digavis\\_friheten\\_null\\_null\\_19530312\\_13\\_60\\_1?page=3](https://www.nb.no/items/URN:NBN:no-nb_digavis_friheten_null_null_19530312_13_60_1?page=3)) (9 September 2020) and *Erling Westher 60 år*, in: *Friheten*, 12 March 1963 (<https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/1a9638bad4e0f78bd5fd49edaabcd871?index=1#4>) (9 September 2020). On list #2 Westher is mentioned with the misspelling "Erling Wisther" under the address "Cort Adlersgt. 6".
- 127 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 579; Rune J. Andersen, article *Eva Knardahl*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/Eva\\_Knardahl](https://nbl.snl.no/Eva_Knardahl) (9 September 2020).
- 128 Egil Baumann, article *Dag Kristoffersen*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2015), [https://snl.no/Dag\\_Kristoffersen](https://snl.no/Dag_Kristoffersen) (9 September 2020).
- 129 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, cols. 624-625.
- 130 *Ibid.* Col. 655; Idar Karevold, article *Trygve Lindeman*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/Trygve\\_Lindeman](https://nbl.snl.no/Trygve_Lindeman) (9 September 2020).
- 131 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, cols. 1306-1307.
- 132 *Ibid.*, col. 838; Egil Baumann, article *Eline Nygaard Riisnæs*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2016), [https://snl.no/Eline\\_Nygaard\\_Riisn%C3%A6s](https://snl.no/Eline_Nygaard_Riisn%C3%A6s) (10 September 2020); <https://www.hf.uio.no/imv/om/imv-historie/aktorar/eline-nygaard-riisnes.html> (10 September 2020). For Nygaard's oppositional attitude additionally cf. Fidjestøl, *Lyden av Oslo-Filharmonien 1919-2019*, pp. 216-217.

- 133 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 1013; Egil Baumann, article *Inge Rolf Ringnes*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2015), [https://snl.no/Inge\\_Rolf\\_Ringnes](https://snl.no/Inge_Rolf_Ringnes) (10 September 2020).
- 134 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 1093; Øystein Øystå, article *Kåre Siem*, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/K%C3%A5re\\_Siem](https://nbl.snl.no/K%C3%A5re_Siem) (10 September 2020).
- 135 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, cols. 1095-1096; Torkil Olav Baden, article *Melvin Simonsen*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2019), [https://snl.no/Melvin\\_Simonsen](https://snl.no/Melvin_Simonsen) (10 September 2020). NAN, RA-PA-1075-F-Fa-L0075 *Nordmenn i Fangenskap Simonsen-Sinding*.
- 136 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, cols. 1049-50; Harald Herresthal, article *Arild Sandvold*, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/Arild\\_Sandvold](https://nbl.snl.no/Arild_Sandvold) (10 September 2020). In his biography Herresthal mentions without further reason that Sandvold was not a member of the resistance movement. Harald Herresthal, *Arild Sandvold. Vår fremste kirkemusiker*, Oslo 1995, p. 70.
- 137 According to Ludvig Ernst Bramsen's musicians' "Who is Who" (*Musikkens hvem hvad hvor – biografier*, Copenhagen 1961) Størseth was a member of the Cleveland Orchestra since 1950. It seems that from 1963 until the 1980s he joined the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. No further reference to him could be found in other encyclopedias.
- 138 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 76.
- 139 Ibid. Col. 107; Carl Henrik Grøndahl, article *Øyvind Bergh*, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/%C3%98ivind\\_Bergh](https://nbl.snl.no/%C3%98ivind_Bergh) (10 September 2020).
- 140 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, cols. 1102-3; Fred K. Prieberg, article *Gustav Havemann*, in: *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933-45*, CD-R Kiel 2004, pp. 2713-2736. Full text of *Handbuch deutsche Musiker 1933-1945* ([https://archive.org/stream/bib130947\\_001\\_001/](https://archive.org/stream/bib130947_001_001/)) (24 February 2021).
- 141 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 324; Elef Nesheim, article *Arvid Fladmoe*, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/Arvid\\_Fladmoe](https://nbl.snl.no/Arvid_Fladmoe) (10 September 2020); <https://www.vistritjukan.com/om-rjukan/pressemedlinger/minnemarkering-70-aar-siden-tungtvannsaksjonen-mot-fergen-d-f-hydro-paa-tinnsjoen> (access 10 September 2020); Fidjestøl, *Lyden av Oslo*, p. 224.
- 142 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 483.
- 143 Ibid., col. 1095; the note about the Jewish descent of his wife Lydia Simonsen can be found in Solbrekken, *Med empati som våpen*, p. 47.
- 144 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 75.
- 145 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 1314; [https://www.hf.uio.no/imv/forskning/prosjekter/norgesmusikk/musikkhistarkiv/hurum/wilskow\\_g.html](https://www.hf.uio.no/imv/forskning/prosjekter/norgesmusikk/musikkhistarkiv/hurum/wilskow_g.html) (10 September 2020).
- 146 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 810. While list #1 mentions her address "Nitteberg i Skedsmo pr. Lillestrøm", list #2 names "Villaveien 36 Lille Frøen".
- 147 Ibid., col. 465; Hilde Holbæk-Hanssen, article *Randi Helseth*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2020), [https://snl.no/Randi\\_Helseth](https://snl.no/Randi_Helseth) (10 September 2020).
- 148 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 736; Astrid Haavardsholm, *Gunvor Mjelva – sanger og sangpedagog*, in: *"Jeg kunne det da jeg dro hjemmefra"*, edit. by Anne Bråten, Oslo 2005, pp. 194-201. Her private papers including a large collection of newspaper clippings are preserved at the Reginal State Archives in Drammen, A-1039-Gunvor Mjelva.
- 149 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 575; Egil Arnt Gundersen, article *Kristoffer Kleive*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2015), [https://snl.no/Kristoffer\\_Kleive](https://snl.no/Kristoffer_Kleive) (10 September 2020).
- 150 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 580.
- 151 Ibid., col. 478.
- 152 Ibid., col. 812-813; *Frimurernes sangforening Oslo: et tilbakeblikk*, edit. by Kaare J. E. Stephensen, Oslo 1999.
- 153 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, cols. 491-492; <https://www.norsklydinstitutt.no/utkast/> (10 September 2020).
- 154 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 1048.
- 155 Ibid., cols. 757-768.
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- 168 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 1324; Fidjestøl, *Lyden av Oslo-Filharmonien 1919-2019*, pp. 202 and 217.
- 169 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 1079; cf. a photo of his gravestone cf. [https://de.findagrave.com/memorial/176814624/einar-sch\\_yen](https://de.findagrave.com/memorial/176814624/einar-sch_yen) (11 September 2020).
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- 180 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 1339.
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- 182 *Ibid.*, cols. 44-45; Gunnar Christie Wasberg, article *Øyvind Anker*, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/%C3%98yvind\\_Anker](https://nbl.snl.no/%C3%98yvind_Anker) (11 September 2020); *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 97.
- 183 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 532.
- 184 *Ibid.*, col. 131.
- 185 <https://digitaltmuseum.no/021018255641/leirfjord-bardal-arthur-ratche-f-31-01-1884-d-27-11-1956-opprinnelig-fra> (1 September 2020).
- 186 Andersen, article *Torolf Voss*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2013).
- 187 Arnulf Christian Mattes, *Nordic, Female, Composer. On Anne-Marie Ørbeck’s War-Time Compositions*, in: Rupprecht, *Persecution, Collaboration, Resistance*, p. 116.

- 188 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, cols. 1338-1339; Cecilie Dahm, article *Anne-Marie Ørbeck*, in: *Norsk bibliografisk leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/Anne-Marie\\_%C3%98rbeck](https://nbl.snl.no/Anne-Marie_%C3%98rbeck) (11 September 2020);
- 189 Thoralf Berg, article *Frits von der Lippe*, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/Frits\\_Von\\_Der\\_Lippe](https://nbl.snl.no/Frits_Von_Der_Lippe) (11 September 2020).
- 190 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 479.
- 191 *Ibid.*, col. 500.
- 192 Trond Olav Svendsen, article *Kirsten Flagstad* (2020), in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, [https://nbl.snl.no/Kirsten\\_Flagstad](https://nbl.snl.no/Kirsten_Flagstad) (11 September 2020). Under the same address of list #1 “Jac. Aallsgate 45” one can find on list #2 a person called “Turid Haaland Flagstad”.
- 193 Rune J. Andersen, article *Benny Dahl-Hansen*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2020), [https://snl.no/Benny\\_Dahl-Hansen](https://snl.no/Benny_Dahl-Hansen) (11 September 2020).
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- 203 *Ibid.*, col. 351-352.
- 204 *Ibid.*, col. 1086.
- 205 <http://rogalyd.no/artist/trygve-johannes-stangeland-1898-1969> (12 September 2020).
- 206 *Ibid.*, cols. 786-787; Torkil Olav Baden, article *Åge Myklegård*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2020), [https://snl.no/%C3%85ge\\_Mykleg%C3%A5rd](https://snl.no/%C3%85ge_Mykleg%C3%A5rd) (12 September 2020).
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- 208 <https://www.histreg.no/index.php/person/PFd00104111983M11012A> (12 September 2020).
- 209 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, cols. 73-74; Elef Nesheim, article *Conrad Baden*, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/Conrad\\_Baden](https://nbl.snl.no/Conrad_Baden) (12 September 2020).
- 210 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, cols. 1177-1178; Rune J. Andersen, article *Harald Sæverud*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2020), [https://snl.no/Harald\\_S%C3%A6verud](https://snl.no/Harald_S%C3%A6verud) (12 September 2020); Reitan, *Harald Sæverud (1897-1992)*; Friedrich Geiger, *Harald Sæverud's "Kjempeviselåten" – A Typical Resistance Composition?*, in: Custodis and Mattes, *The Nordic Ingredient*; correspondence of Sæverud with his publishers (only remaining copies in the author's private archive); collection of Sæverud-manuscripts in the Public Library Bergen.
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- for hans fødsel torsdag 25. mai kl. 20 i Troltsalen på Trolldhaugen; 6. Artikkel om Sverre Jordan, skrevet etter oppdrag fra fru Hannaas-Larsen til Festsspillene i Bergens programbok 1989; 7. Fotografi av Sverre Jordan, antagelig tatt på hans 75-årsdag den 25. mai 1964, med dedikasjon til Carl. O. Gram Gjesdal.
- 214 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 269.
- 215 Ibid., col. 419.
- 216 Ibid., col. 371-372.
- 217 Ibid., col. 41.
- 218 Ibid., cols. 564-565; KFA.
- 219 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 1118.
- 220 Ibid., col. 152.
- 221 [https://snl.no/Thoralf\\_Norheim](https://snl.no/Thoralf_Norheim) (12 September 2020).
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## II. Persecution of Musicians and Music in Concentration Camps

To enforce the predominance of the Nordic master race was the aim of the Third Reich, and terror against people who were considered inferior was the means of achieving this end. No other institution incorporated this ideology more comprehensively and drastically than the concentration camp.<sup>1</sup> Although it might seem strange or unfeeling to focus on music in concentration and prison camps, singing, performing and communication via music were an essential, important part of everyday life in such an inhumane environment. Therefore, this topic is meanwhile well documented in the international scientific community. Accordingly, we can learn about the survival strategies of inmates as well as about the brutal conditions they had to face. Because almost no other cultural or social sphere was present among all the factions in these camps, music eventually connected both the SS-guards and the prisoners with the outside world. Nevertheless, a few preliminary remarks about the nature of these camps are necessary.

- Fragmented Continuity. 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> Although the time span from then until the liberation of the Auschwitz-persecution camp on 27 January 1945 could give the impression of one long, continuous development, several separate phases actually have to be considered: During the first six years until the outbreak of World War II, the imprisonment of political opponents and social deviants for "re-educational purposes" was predominant. It was followed by the persecution of political enemies in occupied countries as well as foreign soldiers as the front lines progressed after 1940. Many of these soldiers were deported to different countries such as Norway to do forced labor to meet the urging need for workers in the arms industry, road construction and infrastructure and to maintain the supply of materials. After the "Endlösung", the total annihilation of all European Jews, had been decided upon, the systematic deportations also began in Norway in November 1942.
- Change and Singularity. Despite its integration into the general NS-administration, each camp was a singular case. Though all prisoners shared the experience of incarceration, their individual fate depended on many factors such as local pre-conditions, the particular staff of guards and comrades at a certain time, the inmate's individual ranking in the camp's hierarchy, and the reason for his or her incarceration. The camp's overall purpose, its size and the length of time it was in use also have to be taken into account. In consequence, a reconstruction of music in Nazi-camps in Norway must consider the steady change of conditions along the broader political and geographical scheme.
- Subordination and Survival. The primary goal of all camps was to force an individual under the rules of a collective. This was relevant both for the group of inmates a prisoner was put into (with its internal hierarchy) as well as for the reign of the SS that represented the almighty force inside the barbed wire fences. Although one



might hope for glorious stories of selfless heroes and wise leaders, the extreme conditions prisoners had to face for years made survival their priority.<sup>3</sup> Only the collective of “Leidensgenossen” made it possible to fight hunger, sickness, exhausting work loads, and the guards’ cruelty. The deformation of one’s personality was a constant threat.

- Racial Profiling and Cultural Privileges. Most Norwegians did not ask for the cynical favor of being placed first in the National Socialistic race hierarchy. As prisoners, however, they were treated with greater respect, almost like native Germans. Privileged prisoners, the so called “Kapos”, formed the link between the guards and the camp’s inmates. They were responsible for the order in the different rooms, barracks and blocks. Another important factor was the prisoners’ personal background, such as age, sex, religious and political convictions, profession, other talents, and their supply with valuable goods sent by their relatives that could be traded among other prisoners or to be used to bribe guards.

## Locations and Numbers

During the twelve years of Nazi reign, 27 main camps were opened all over 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”, was established 30 km south of Bergen on 1 June 1940 just two months after the Wehrmacht had stepped on Norwegian soil. At the same time, the German Sicherheitspolizei opened several provisional prisons under the control of the Gestapo-headquarters in Oslo, Bergen, Kristiansand and Trondheim.<sup>5</sup> The increasing imprisonment of Norwegians raised the need for more capacities so that Norwegians were deported to Germany until new concentration camps had been erected. Until the liberation, approximately 9,000 to 10,000 people were brought to German camps from Norway.<sup>6</sup> Many of them were so-called “Nacht-und-Nebel-Häftlinge”, people who had suddenly disappeared from home and had to suffer brutal conditions, for example, in the KZ Natzweiler-Struthof, 100 km west of Straßburg in occupied Alsace-Lothringen.

After “Åneby” and “Grini” outside of Oslo and “Falstad” outside of Trondheim had been opened in 1941, “Espeland” outside of Bergen, “Sydspissen” near Tromsø, another one in Kirkenes as well as “Stavern” and “Berg” in the far south were installed in 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 these had only a provisional character and were intended to host the increasing numbers of Soviet and Yugoslavian prisoners of war as well as partisans who were deported to Norway for slave labor such as building roads, laying railway tracks for the Organisation Todt, or supplying and supporting the arms industry.<sup>9</sup> Approximately 120,000 men had to suffer this fate, more than 100,000 of them Soviet POWs. The death rate was very high.<sup>10</sup>



Fig. 1: A picture of camp Espeland near Bergen. SAB/SAB/PA-0607/U/Ua/L0006

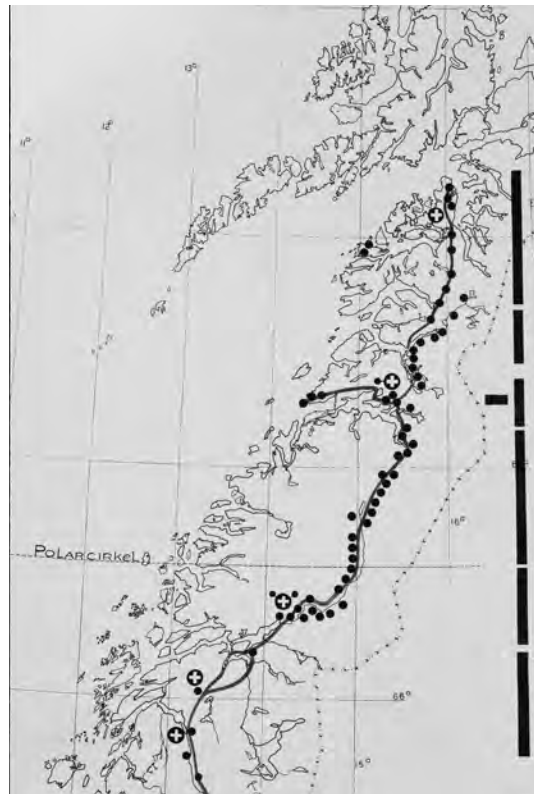


Fig. 2: A map of Northern Norway from the summer of 1945, documenting the chain of prison camps along the railway line. NAN, RA/PA-0276/U/L0001-0001



Fig 3: Soviet Prisoners of War, shortly after their liberation in Norway 1945. NAN, RA/PA-0276/U/L0001-0001

A preliminary phase of intense interrogation by the Gestapo including torture and often lasting for weeks or months was common before a prisoner was transferred to such major camps as “Grini” or “Falstad”. Oslo’s venues “Møllergata 19”, “Akershus fengsel” and the headquarters of the Sicherheitspolizei and Sicherheitsdienst in the complex of Viktoria Terrasse were infamous.<sup>11</sup> Approximately 44,000 Norwegians faced imprisonment during the years of occupation. After a long period of social exclusion and harassment, Norwegian and German authorities began arresting Jews in Norway in the winter of 1942/43. Of approximately 776 persons only 39 survived their deportation. The fate of another 24 persons is not clear.<sup>12</sup> Only about a dozen Jews, who were married to non Jewish partners, were expelled, and ten others spent their days until the liberation day on 8 May 1945 in Grini.<sup>13</sup> A few, such as Jakob Lankelinsky from Trondheim, were able to escape into exile. He fled to Sweden, because his parents had been Swedish citizens.<sup>14</sup>

Reichskommissar Josef Terboven and Wehrmacht-Befehlshaber General Nikolaus von Falkenhorst, the major protagonists in occupied Norway, as well as their subordinate Norwegian counterpart Vidkun Quisling used prison and concentration camps for their individual, sometimes contradicting, purposes. Their mutual reason was the persecution and suppression of anybody who did not fit into their ideological profile.<sup>15</sup>

Although there is evidence for severe punishment, torture, and death penalties, the camps in Norway only served as a pre-stage, in contrast to the concentration and annihilation camps the SS had erected in Germany and Eastern Europe. Every case in Norway, for which the SS considered ruthless punishment necessary, was forwarded to Central Europe. However, some general remarks are necessary to understand the purpose and the meaning of music in the camps:

1. The main functions of music were related to the specific situation, necessities and professional constellations in a certain camp.
2. Translated into systematic characteristics, one must make a difference between music performed on command or voluntarily, in private or in public, by professionals or amateurs. Music making ranged from individual singing and choirs to instrumental solos, full brass bands and orchestras.

According to the changing nature of concentration camps during the different phases of Hitler's regime, camp music mainly served to harass and humiliate political enemies during the first years. Right from the beginning, the traditional purpose of military music, to increase discipline as well as physical and mental manipulation, was present in the SS's profile of sanctions. The guards, for example, forced prisoners to sing lyrics in German or with cynical meaning and combined extreme marching with exhausting singing.<sup>16</sup> When the victims were finally completely hoarse, they were punished for having unrecognizable voices. On the other hand, music was an important means stabilizing the prisoners and their social community, which Juliane Brauer described in detail for Sachsenhausen, Gabriele Knapp for the female department of Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Sophie Fetthauer for Bergen-Belsen.<sup>17</sup> With the beginning of the Second World War and the industrialized annihilation in death camps the rapidly rising numbers of prisoners reduced the living conditions in the camps. At the same time, the increasing disorder in the camps, resulting from the decreasing control of the SS-guards left more room for music.

The music life in any of the Nazi-run prisons and concentration camps in Norway has not been described systematically yet.<sup>18</sup> Due to the special status of this country as well as the singularity of each camp, studies for other camps can offer some methodological guidelines. In consequence, the following paragraphs try to answer to this immense need of research. However, a valid overview covering all aspects and names would be impossible. Instead, the following descriptions are based on a most precise evaluation of a) autobiographical publications and b) the scarce scholarly literature mentioning music, as well as c) a painstaking archival research. As a result, six main fields of exemplary significance and two case studies were drafted and will need further studies in the coming years: causes for detention; the case of violinist Jac Maliniak; mundane music to remember and forget; enforced and voluntary events in camps; the odysseys of Frank Storm Johansen and Gunnar Kjeldaas through several camps; and acts of musical resistance.

## Causes for Detention

The Grini prison outside of Oslo was the largest and probably the best known of the camps in Norway. But taking into account the interviews and memory reports of Jewish survivors such as Julius Paltiel, camp Falstad north of Trondheim, opened on 1 November 1941, was the worst of them.<sup>19</sup> Unlike the camps of Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg, Sachsenhausen-Falkensee and Neuengamme, where he was just one Jewish inmate among thousands of others, he was one in a group of thirty Jewish convicts in Falstad. Each of them could easily be picked out and harassed perfidiously. Unlike the non-Jewish prisoners, he did not have a bed but had to sleep on a straw mattress on the floor. Before he and the other Jewish inmates were allowed to eat, they had to wait until the other prisoners had finished. When it was finally their turn the guards left them only a fraction of the regular time, so that Paltiel and his comrades had to suffer constant hunger.<sup>20</sup> Under the command of Gerhard Flesch who had been ordered from Bergen to Trondheim in the fall of 1941, the camp command for Falstad changed often, between 1942 and 1945 from Paul Schöning, Paul Gogol, a man called Scharschmidt, Werner Jeck and finally from Georg Bauer to Karl Denk. The years until 1943 were the most brutal ones. Frank Storm Johansen, who had been arrested for political activities, found similar words to describe the humiliating treatment of Jews during his own arrest in Falstad in 1942 and 1943:

The worst time in Falstad after the state of emergency was the period when the Jews were there. There were about 50 of them, from 17-18 to 70 years old, among them many wellknown folks from Trondheim and some political refugees. [...] They had to eat separately after all of us, they lived separately on the so called “Jew loft” [“jødeloftet”], they worked in their own work units and had to line up separately for muster. They were not allowed to mix with any of the other prisoners. According to the camp rules, a prisoner had to stand still and ask “Ich bitte vorbeigehen zu dürfen” when he met a Wachtmeister or a German. But the Jews had to say: “Jude (soundso) bitte herr Wachmeister [sic] vorbeigehen zu dürfen.”<sup>21</sup>

One major challenge is to find out why musicians were arrested. The four most important sources that collected information about Norwegian prisoners – *Norsk Fangeleksikon-Grinifangene* (1946), *Quislings Hønsengård. Berg Internerings-leir* (1948), *Nordmenn i fangenskap 1940-1945* (1995), and the database [www.fanger.no](http://www.fanger.no) (2020) – are very profound but only rarely cover such details. Nevertheless, such inquiries are important to understand the risks for politically active musicians during the years of occupation and the complexity of music in camps. Therefore, hundreds of additional archival files, several memoirs as well as biographical literature needed to be consulted. Based on these papers, especially the file cards from the main camps in Norway and the Gestapo-prison at Møllergata 19, restitution files from 1956, and the register books of the camp administrations in Grini and Falstad, the reasons for the detention for nearly half the arrested musicians and other prisoners arrested for musical actions could be reconstructed. The following list of music-related inmates pays respect especially to all of those who cannot be considered any further in this chapter due to lacking sources.



Fig. 4: Camp Falstad north of Trondheim. FS creative commons

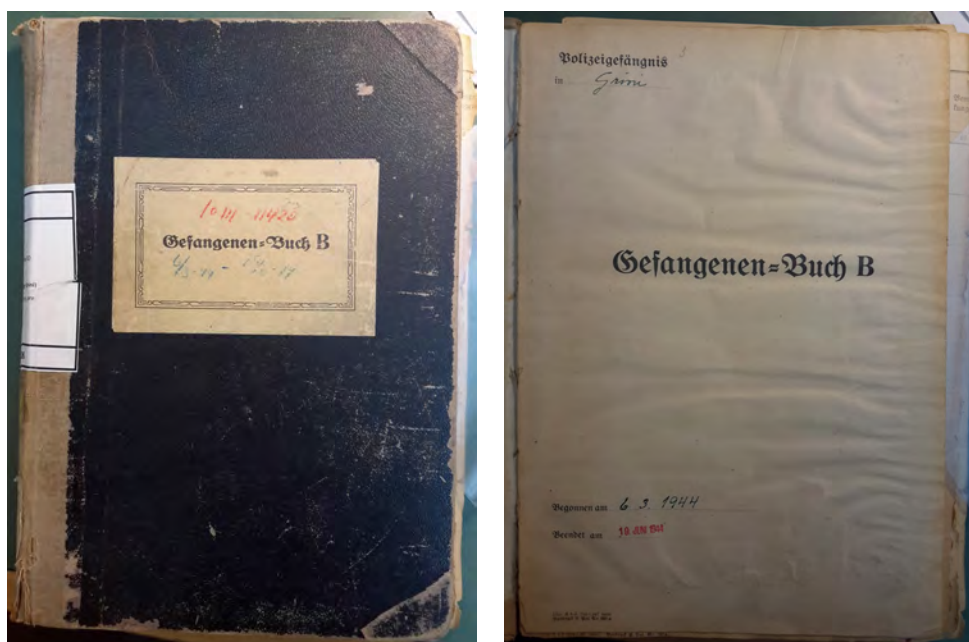


Fig. 5: One of the many register books from camp Grini. NAN, RAFA-5969/F/FA/Faa/L0022

Hopefully, more names and details can be verified by future research, while some entries will inevitably still contain contradictive data. Another systematic benefit of such a run-through of unconsidered material is an increasing understanding of the bureaucratic procedures in certain camps. The more prisoners were sent to the camps, the larger the demand became for the SS to hand over administrative coordination to reliable prisoners. Traces for these changes can be found, for example, in Grini's prisoner register (cf. fig. 5) which was laid out in German. Some professions, however, like the "intern trainee" were written down slightly wrong as "volontör", which is close to the German "Volontär", but the exact correspondent to the Norwegian "volontør".<sup>22</sup>

Authors such as Falk Pingel, Erik Lørdahl, and Nikolaus Wachsmann emphasize that each camp had an elite group of about 10 percent of the prisoners.<sup>23</sup> Besides characteristics such as nationality, political and religious belief, profession, and the length of stay in the camp, German language skills were essential to get one of the prestigious office jobs. Forty such privileged prisoners are known for Grini. They were responsible for organizing a series of work commands, were in charge of building new barracks, for maintenance of plumbing, electricity, and painting, for taking care of the three greenhouses or the daily mail service.<sup>24</sup> The position was ambiguous: On the one hand, these Kapo prisoners could influence central procedures, protect their inmates from some of the spontaneous actions by the SS, and sometimes keep the guards away from the barracks. On the other hand, they had to pass on the pressure of the SS and became guilty just like any other collaborator. The actual consequences for camps in Norway and their musical landscapes in particular are not clear yet. One only knows that work in general was done at a very slow pace, and that people were well informed about all incidents in the camps as well as the current events of the war. Furthermore, the prisoners could spend their leisure time, mostly on Sundays, in the camp library, listen to lectures given by intellectuals and scholars, watch a theater performance once in a while, play cards, or gather for singing.<sup>25</sup> The following names could be located in the various sources concerning prisoners in camps and prisons in Norway:

John Aanes: born 15 May 1917; shoe maker from Narvik; arrested on 18 September 1942 and sent via Narvik and Sydspissen to Møllergata 19, where he arrived on 3 December (# 3879); sent to Sachsenhausen (# 54226) where he was a member in the camp band ("Musikkapelle") and a Swing-Trio; released on liberation day.<sup>26</sup>

Anne Århus: born 18 June 1905 in Nittedal; music student; arrested on 28 May 1942; imprisoned in Grini (# 3181) until 15 February 1943.<sup>27</sup>

Kjell Aarnes: born 21 June 1923 in Kristiania; pupil on Bygdøy; sent to Grini on 11 November 1943 for singing a "jössingsang" (# 8566); released on 2 February 1944.<sup>28</sup>

Ben Moritz Abraham: born 1 April 1911 in Oslo; pianist; arrested on 26 October 1942 and sent to Bredtveit; imprisoned in Berg from 28 October 1942 to 26 November 1942; presumably deported to Auschwitz ("Jödeaksjonen") with the steam boat Donau on 26 November 1942.<sup>29</sup>

Rolf Amundsen: born 19 January 1922 in Oslo; conductor (“konduktör”); arrested on 2 February 1944 in Oslo and sent to Grini until 8 May 1945; lasting handicap nervous eyelids and hair loss (“nervöse lidelser og maneonde”).<sup>30</sup>

Rolf Ove Amundsen: born on 6 May 1915 in Ralingen Oslo; journalist; arrested on 2 September 1941; solitary cell at Møllergata 19, released on 10 October 1941.<sup>31</sup>

Bjørn Øvern Andersen: born 19 April 1921; trainee (“lærling”); arrested on 6 November 1942; sent to Grini (# 5325) on 6 November 1942; sent to Sachsenhausen on 8 December 1942 (# 54240); musician in the camp band (“Musikkapelle”) and a swing-trio in Sachsenhausen; released on liberation day.<sup>32</sup>

Robert Andersen: born 16 February 1914 in Bergen; band master (“kapellmester”) and violinist; arrested on 7 January 1942, sent to Møllergata 19 on 27 February 1942 and imprisoned in Grini on 17 March 1942 (# 1766); released on 15 December 1942.<sup>33</sup>

Einar Lorang Sakarias Andresen: born 28 January 1904; Oslo; music lieutenant (“Musikk løytnant”); 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 (maybe for medical treatment), finally released on 8 May 1945; lasting handicap heart attack (“Herzinfarkt”).<sup>34</sup>

Lfd. Nr.	Zu- und Vorname des Gefangenen, Beruf, Wohnort, bei Ausländern Staatsangehörigkeit	Geburtsdag	Geburtsort	Familienstand	Bekennnis	Grund der Einlieferung	a) Aufnahmeverfügung, Haftbefehl usw. (Behörde, Datum, Aktenzeichen) b) einliefernde Stelle
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
17341	Andresen Einar Musiker Oslo	28/1 04	Blo	V	P	IV 16 Lunntz	Wohnort a) Møllergata 19 b) Grini a) Familienkasse

Einlieferung				Beendigung der Haft				Grund der Haftbeendigung	Nummer im Verzeichnis der abgemerkten Gegenstände	Abgelieferte Gelder und Wertsachen	Bestätigung der Richtigkeit aller Angaben und der in Sp. 13 aufgeführten Gegenstände durch den Gefangenen	Haft-tage	Bemerkungen
Tag	Monat	Jahr	Stunde	Tag	Monat	Jahr	Stunde	11					
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16						
27.1	1945							27.1.45 IK 661		Milorg 14381			

Fig. 6: Details from the imprisonment of Einar Andresen in the register book from camp Grini. NAN, RAFA-5969/F/FA/Faa/L0011



Reidar Thorleif Andresen: born 15 July 1917; singer; brought to Grini (# 8348) on 14 October 1943; released on 16 October 1943.<sup>35</sup>

Else-Marie Arnesen: born 15 March 1913 in Oslo; musician; arrested on 7 July 1943 for “kommunistisk virksomhet” and sent to Bredtveit; brought to Grini on 17 July 1943 (# 12114); released 27 May 1944; lasting handicap depression (“Varig depresjon”).<sup>36</sup>

Yanrita Asbjørnsen: no birth date; opera singer; arrested on 8 December 1941; sent to Shanghai; released on liberation day.<sup>37</sup>

Julia Natalia Back: born 11 September 1922 in New York; music student; arrested on 19 October 1942; released from Grini (# 5051) on 14 November 1942.<sup>38</sup>

Olam Baeker-Grøndal (also Baeker-Grøndahl or Grøndahl-Backer): born 6 December 1917; student; arrested on suspicion of espionage and brought to Møllergata 19 (# 1324) on 1 June 1941; brought to the psychiatric hospital Vinderen on 28 June 1941; released on 24 July 1941.<sup>39</sup>

Rolf Marthinius Bekkelund: born 30 May 1925; musician; arrested on 5 August 1944 and sent to Møllergata 19; sent to Grini (# 14954) on 5 October 1944; released on 11 October 1944.<sup>40</sup>

Leon Berge: born 6 May 1927; musician; arrested in Bergen on 27 September 1944 for refusal to work (“Arbeitsverweigerung”); transferred to Espeland on 2 October 1944.<sup>41</sup>

Olav Berge: born 5 August 1890; teacher and church singer; arrested on 20 July 1943 for refusing to sing in church (“Nektet å gjøre tjeneste om kirkesanger. Arrestert til sikring.”); arrested again on 14 May 1943 for refusing duty as a civil watchman (“Nektet å gjøre borgervakt.”) and released on 8 June 1943; arrested a third time for refusing to sing in the Lårdal church on 18 July 1943 and not having done his duty as watchman at the flagpole in May (“Nektet å være kirkesanger Lårdal Kirke 18.7.1943. Ikke utført vakthold flaggstang 15.-18. mai.”); released on 18 September 1943 from Bredtveit.<sup>42</sup>

Ingrid Bergesen: born 25 February 1923 in Stavanger; 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>43</sup>

Per Bergseth: born 19 April 1921; Kristiansand; “AT-musician”; arrested on 23 February 1945; sent to Grini (# 19458) on 20 April 1945.<sup>44</sup>

Leopold Lars Bild: born 10 October 1910 in Ås; 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 (“Judenverfolgung”); died in Auschwitz on 1 February 1943.<sup>45</sup>

Jonas Bjørnerud: born 13 January 1905, music merchant from Gjøvik; arrested on 24 May 1944 by the Norwegian SS for refusing to attend a NS-lecture evening; sent from Bredtveit and imprisoned in Berg 20 June to 23 September 1944.<sup>46</sup>

Øistein Strøm Bjørnsgård: born 29 September 1902; current address Drammensveien 93, Oslo; labeled “Pianist I”; arrested on 16 November 1944; brought to Grini (# 15812-13) on 17 November 1944.<sup>47</sup>

Johann Bock: (no birth date); Swedish cabaret singer; arrested on 22 December 1942 on suspicion of espionage (“suspekte Person”); released from Grini (# 5803) on 30 January 1943.<sup>48</sup>

Johnny Bode: (no birth date); cabaret singer; arrested and imprisoned in Grini on 22 December 1942 (# 5803); released on 30 January 1943.<sup>49</sup>

Jonas Brunvoll: born 3 August 1920 in Bærum; singer; arrested on 27 January 1942 and sent to Møllergata 19; sent to Grini (# 1685) on 4 March 1942; sent to Sachsenhausen (# 62945) on 20 March 1943; released on liberation day.<sup>50</sup>

Wallace Symons 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>51</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 note book, 1 briefcase with content, 1 watch, braces (“Hosentræger”), garters, 1 wallet. Change: 3,10 Kr.; released on 28 June 1941.<sup>52</sup>

Barthold Peder Baarstad: born 16 July 1892; violinist in Oslo; arrested on 19 March 1943 and sent to Grini (# 6980); released on 25 January 1944.<sup>53</sup>

Gerd Alvilde Dahlstrøm: born 9 June 1916 in Notodden; listed as “without profession” (“ohne Beruf”); arrested and sent to Grini on 19 October 1943 (# 8389); released on 21 January 1944.<sup>54</sup>

Georg Egenberg: born 13 December 1903; singing teacher (“Gesanglehrer”); current address Magnus Lagabötersgt. 47, Stavanger; arrested in March 1942 and imprisoned in Grini and Victoria Terrasse; arrested again on 24 November 1944 in Stavanger; sent to Grini on 8 December 1944 (# 16288) until liberation day.<sup>55</sup>

Bertha Smith Falck-Ytter: born 6 October 1904; musician; arrested on 26 November 1942 and sent to Auschwitz; died on 1 December 1942.<sup>56</sup>

Astrid Sofie Fjordholm: born 22 March 1917; music student; arrested on 19 April 1942 (2.30h in the morning) and released from Grini (# 2691) on the same day (21.35h in the evening).<sup>57</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. Propaganda") and sent to Grini (# 6184) on 30 January 1943; released on 2 October 1943.<sup>58</sup>

Nr	Zu und Wohnort des Gefangenen, Name, Wohnort bei Ausbruch des Widerstandes	Geburtsdatum	Profession	Bewerber	Grund der Einlieferung	at Aufnahmefähigkeit, (Drohende, Deprim., Absterblich) Mischelersche Skala	Einlieferung		Befreiung der Haft		Grund der Haftbefreiung	Abgelieferte Güter und Wertsachen	Beschreibung des Haftortes mit Angabe der Zahl der Gefangenen	Haft-tage	Bemerkungen	
							Tag	Monat	Jahr	Tag						Monat
6181	Beckhe Oskar	30.6.														
	A. Eiker	99	Bremanger	V. P.			29.1.43	13	5-4			3831				
	Rahl Lehrer.	25.11														
	Hudson	04	Pomedal	V. P.								32				
	Larsen	4.2.														
	Fabric Steinberg	01	A. Eiker	V. P.								33				
	Fossane Astrid	9.8.			Spilt kongesangen på orgel		30.1.43	13	5-2			34				Propaganda
	Lehrerin Kälvaag	04	Bremanger	L. P.												
	Mjølster Arlene	29.10														
	Mjølster	83	Mjølster	L. P.												
	Vistad Bjornar	23.1.														
	Bergen	11	Bergen	V. P.												
	Land & Kant Fischer	11.3.														
	Varland	96	Astrak	L. P.												
	Kalsøy Wilhelm	1.2.														
	Kalsøy	12	Austrøt	V. P.												
	Kalsøy Miss. Karim	6.5.														
	Kalsøy	80	Austrøt	V. P.												
6184	Kalsøy Lars Karim	29.10														
	Kalsøy	09	Austrøt	V. P.												

4	Fossane Astrid Lehrerin Kälvaag	9.8.	04	Bremanger	L. P.	Spilt kongesangen på orgel	a)
							b)

Fig. 7: Details about the imprisonment of Astrid Fossane in the register book from camp Grini. NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0004

Reidar Kristian Frykman: born 15 May 1904 in Oslo; musician; listed as "Lagerarbeiter" (storage worker); arrested on 15 January 1944 and brought to Grini on 16 January 1944 (# 9489); (also imprisoned in Lanaker, for six months in Tarnebu and for the last 9½ months in Grini); forced to work for German authorities; released on 30 April 1945; lasting handicap in his left hand.<sup>59</sup>

Johan Gerrard jr.: born 26 January 1901 in Skien; arrested on 7 January 1942; released from Grini (# 12205) on 24 March 1945.<sup>60</sup>

Wilhelm Goldberg: born 21 June 1889; opera singer; arrested and imprisoned in Bergen on 23 July 1940; released on 3 August 1940; arrested again on 21 October 1940 and imprisoned in Bergen; released on 14 November 1940; arrested again on 26 October 1942; sent to Berg on 24 March 1943; sent to Grini (# 7053) on 26

March 1943; arrested on 16 February 1944 and sent to Berg on 24 February 1944; released on liberation day.<sup>61</sup>

Rebekka Goldenheim: born 24 August 1883; music teacher in Oslo; arrested and sent to Auschwitz on 26 November 1942; died on 1 December 1942.<sup>62</sup>

Rowland Charles Greenberg: born 28 August 1920; current address Grünersgt. 16<sup>1</sup>, Oslo; arrested on 21 July 1943 and sent to Åkebergveien; released on 27 July 1943; arrested again on 27 November 1944; sent to Grini (# 16002-9) on 28 November 1944; listed as “Musiker I”.<sup>63</sup>

Erik Grieg: born 14 May 1901 in Bergen; arrested in Bergen and on 30 October 1941 (# 752); sent to Ulven on 7 November 1941; released; arrested on 9 May 1942; deported via Kiel, Rendsburg and Sonnenburg to Sachsenhausen (# 89316); released on liberation day.<sup>64</sup>

Alfred Guttmann: born 30 July 1873 in Posen/Poznan, singer, conductor, composer, music author and medical doctor; living in Werder (Germany) since 1920, together with his wife Eva Guttmann, neé Alschwewsky (born 30 October 1897), emigrated to Norway in 1939; arrested on 16 March 1941 and sent to Åneby and Grini (# 94) on 30 March 1941; released on 29 October 1941.<sup>65</sup>

Hans Ludvik Bernhard Haavik: born 20 April 1904; teacher and church singer; arrested on 20 March 1942; sent to Bergen; sent to Grini (# 2247) on 30 March 1942; sent to Jørstadmoen on 31 March 1942; sent to Kirkenes; released on 20 November 1942.<sup>66</sup>

William Kurt Hammersmark: born on 27 March 1918 in Kristiansand; musician; arrested on 3 February 1944 in Kristiansand; released on 17 March 1944.<sup>67</sup>

Rudolf Hansen: born 17 November 1894 in Bærum; musician; arrested and sent to Møllergate (# 1447) on 28 June 1941; cause for detention “suspected of owning a gun” (“Mistake over våpenbesittelse”); released on 11 July 1941.<sup>68</sup>

Öivind (Øivind) Hansen: born 11 March 1922; arrested on 6 March 1942 and sent to Møllergata 19; sent to Grini (# 2325) on 28 March 1942; sent to Sachsenhausen (# 61041) on 20 February 1943; musician in the camp band (“Musikkapelle”) and the Swing-Trio; released on liberation day.<sup>69</sup>

Arne Heramb: born 30 August 1921; Kristiansand; “AT-musician”; arrested on 23 February 1945; sent to Kristiansand; sent to Grini (# 19457) on 20 April 1945; released on liberation day.<sup>70</sup>

Ruben Hirsch: born 20 August 1914 in Bergen; arrested on 8 October 1942 in Trondheim; transferred via Falstad and Bredtveit with the steam boat Gotenland to Berlin and Buna to Auschwitz (# 105305) on 24 February 1943; died on 21 January 1944.<sup>71</sup>

Haakon Emil Hoem: born 21 November 1897; cellist and conductor, member of the Trondheim Symphony Orchestra; arrested on 9 March 1942 and sent to Falstad the same day; released on 29 April 1942.<sup>72</sup>

Alf Constantin Holst: born 12 March 1885 in Risør; dealer for music instruments (“Musikalienhändler”); arrested on 19 January 1945 as hostage and imprisoned in Camp Berg pr. Tønsberg; released on liberation day.<sup>73</sup>

- John Tormod Huste: born 26 July 1912; calculator (“kalkulator”) in Oslo; arrested on 17 October 1941 and sent to Møllergata 19; sent to Grini (# 973) on 12 November 1941; sent to Sachsenhausen (# 42563) on 21 May 1942; musician in the camp band (“Musikkapelle”) and a swing-trio; released on liberation day.<sup>74</sup>
- Ole Marius Hvam: born 24 June 1895; music lieutenant; arrested on 22 July 1942 for possession of illegal papers; sent to Åkebergveien; released on 1 August 1942.<sup>75</sup>
- Henry Ingebretsen: born 22 August 1910 in Oslo; machine worker (“Maschinenarbeiter”); arrested for singing a German-critical song (“Absingen eines deutschfeindlichen Liedes”) and sent to Grini (# 9522) on 20 January 1944; sent to Sachsenhausen (# 86923) on 6 July 1944; released on liberation day.<sup>76</sup>
- Istvan Ipoldi (Ipolyi): born 16 May 1886 in Hungary; member of the legendary Budapest-quartet until he emigrated to Norway in 1936 where he settled in Bergen; arrested 26 October 1942 (“Jødeaksjonen”); sent to Berg 29 or 30 October 1942; released on 21 January 1943; arrested on 20 April 1943 and sent to Bredtveit; sent to Grini (#7553); sent to Berg 16 February 1944; released on liberation day.<sup>77</sup>
- Paul Jahren: born 17 January 1895 in Oslo; train mechanic (“lokomotivreparatør”); arrested on 19 January 1944 for singing German-critical songs (“Absingen deutschfeindlicher Lieder”); sent to Møllergata 19; sent to Grini (# 9524) on 21 January 1944; released on 25 July 1944.<sup>78</sup>
- August Nilsen Jørgensen (Jørgensen): born 16 March 1890; current address Bygdø Allé 28<sup>B</sup>, Oslo; listed as “Orgelbauer II”; arrested on 13 January 1942; sent to Grini (# 1320); released on 23 December 1942; arrested again on 12 January 1945; sent to Grini (#16878-10) on 13 January 1945; released on liberation day.<sup>79</sup>
- Georg Steen Johannessen: born 19 March 1913; musician in Bergen; arrested and sent to Akershus and Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel on 21 May 1942; sent to Sachsenhausen (# 116653); released on liberation day.<sup>80</sup>
- Henry Johannessen: born 14 October 1906 in Bergen; musician; arrested on 31 July 1943; imprisoned in Bergen (# 2562) and Espeland until 14 August 1943.<sup>81</sup>
- Karl Didrichsen Johansen: born 2 April 1890; singer; arrested on 5 March 1941 and sent to camp Aa and Åkebergveien (# 2118) for political activities (“politisk virksomhet”).<sup>82</sup>
- Paris Jozef: born 15 May 1924; musician in Farsund; arrested and sent to Kristiansand 5 November 1942 (# 1534); released on 14 November 1942.<sup>83</sup>
- Rolf Karlsen: born 20 January 1915 in Vardö; arrested and sent to Møllergata 19 on 10 July 1943; sent to Grini (# 12092) on 17 July 1943; released on 26 October 1943.<sup>84</sup>
- Hugo Keller: born 10 May 1911 in Copenhagen; musician; married, Danish citizen; current address Dannebrogsgade Nr. 33, Drontheim; arrested on 20 November 1941 for refusing to work (“Arbeitsverweigerer”); released on 12 December 1941.<sup>85</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>86</sup>

Elf (Ellef) Hans Knudsen: born 3 April 1915 in Oslo; “Impressario” and singer; arrested on 4 November 1942, sent to Møllergata 19 and Grini (# 5406) on the same day with prohibition to smoke, read and write; released on 11 November 1942; cause for detention was the pregnancy of his wife, which had kept him from going to work; he was evaluated as being “NS- and German-critical” (“NS- og Tyskfiendtlig”);<sup>87</sup> arrested again on 11 November 1942; released on 18 May 1943.<sup>88</sup>

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Name: (bei Frauen auch Geburtsname) K n u d s e n																			
Vorname: Elf Hans																			
Geburtsdag und -ort: 3.4.1915 in Oslo																			
Beruf: Impressario																			
Familienstand:																			
Staatsangehörigkeit: norw.								Oslo				D 19				Schreibprobe: 203			
Ded- Name: Adresse:																			
Politische Einstellung: 688				Glaubens- bekenntnis: ev.															
Datum der Auftragung		S a c h v e r h a l t										Staatspolizeihefte Gejährtzeichen							
4.11.42 17.15 Uhr		Fuer IV C. Einzelhaft. Fluchtverdacht. Darf nicht Rauchen, Lesen, Schreiben.										3 7 6 7 IV C K.K.Esner							
<i>Grini 5406</i>																			
G. St. Nr. 33																			

Fig. 8: Filecard (“Haftkarte”) for Elf Knudsen from the Gestapo-headquarters Møllergata 19. NAN, RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0006

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”); in a solitary Gestapo-cell in Stavanger for a month;<sup>89</sup> sent to Grini (# 15638-3) on 11 November 1944 where he founded a string orchestra; released on liberation day.<sup>90</sup>

Kåre Marinius Korneliusen: born 11 November 1915 (or 1916) in Nedre Eiker; musician; married and father of two children; arrested on 9 October 1943 in Svelvik i Vestfolg; sent to Grini (# 8306) the same day; released 9 May 1945.<sup>91</sup>

Hugo Kramm: born 5 February 1890; band master (“kapellmester”); arrested on 21 May 1941 and sent to Møllergata 19 (# 1267), released on 28 May 1941.<sup>92</sup>

1125

## ANTRAG (Erstatningskrav.)

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

Opplysninger om den politisk forfulgte:

Fullt navn: ..... Gunnar Knudsen .....

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

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

Forsorgelsesbyrde ved arrestasjonen: .. Kone .. Stortingsreferant Judith  
..... Knudsen, som hadde trukket seg tilbake fra sin  
..... stilling i steten .....

Yrke: ..... Violinist, Kapellmester i Stavanger Byorkester og N.R.K. ....

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

Fangesteder og fangetid: .. Gestapokjelleren i Stavanger i eneselle  
..... i 1 måned, derefter Grind til frigjøringen som fenge  
..... uten brev, pakker og besøk .....

Skader med men: .....

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

Dødsårsak: .....

Opplysninger om etterlatte:

Fullt navn: .....

Fødselsdag og -sted: .....

Bopel: .....

Slektskapsforhold til den forfulgte: .....

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

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

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

**Stortingets kontor**

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 formulærer ikke er å få for  
vedtagelsen av endringsforslag til erstatningsloven, ifølge brev av 15 des. 1955 fra den  
tyske Forbundsrepublikks ambassade i Oslo.

Nyhets tjeneste, fremskaffelse av radiomateriell til sendere,  
dekning og annen flyktningehjelp.

12787

Fig. 9: Gunnar Knudsen's indemnification file from 1956 that mentions his imprisonment in a solitary cell. NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0046


Frida Krömer: born 8 April 1902 (or 1903, two dates in different lists); music teacher; arrested on 26 November 1942 and deported the same day with the steam boat Donau; died in Auschwitz 1 December 1942; her name cannot be verified in the ship's passenger lists.<sup>93</sup>

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>94</sup>

Symfonisk diktning

I fangenskap.

Skisse til 2. tema.



*Indulgeamur amice! Homines mali non sunt, mentis autem aegroti. Omnis experientiam suam perit. Temporibus futuris vis ratio et amor, quasi elementa mundum regunt, et una quoque regnabit.*  
*In carcere Germanorum, septembris kalendis, annis MCMXLI<sup>o</sup>*  
*Tibi in calaeritate sociis fides permaneo*  
*W. v. Kvetzinsky*

Allegretto con moto,  
Obo. quasi andantino.




Fig. 10: Wassily Kvetzinsky's sketch for a second theme of the symphonic poem *I fangenskap* ("In captivity"). NAN, Magne Molvig, F/L0001: Minnebok med dagboksopptegnelser fra Grini fangeleir 15.08.-21.10.1941



Sigrid Johanne Landgraf (Landgraff): listed “without profession, single” (“ohne Beruf, ledig” / “husmor”); arrested and sent to Grini on 16 September 1943 (# 12900); released on 7 October 1943.<sup>95</sup>

Jakob Lankelinsky: born 7 February 1892 in Trondheim; musician; arrested on 7 October 1942 and imprisoned in Falstad on 6 October 1942 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>96</sup>

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>97</sup> arrested again on 20 April 1943 and sent to Bredtveit; sent to Grini (# 7552) on 8 May 1943; sent to Berg 16 February 1944; released on liberation day; lasting permanent handicap frozen fingers.<sup>98</sup>

Moritz Joseph Lewenthal: born 22 March 1911 in Valboe, Sweden; stateless musician in Oslo; arrested on 23 June 1941; released from Grini (# 255) on 14 July 1941.<sup>99</sup>

Max Paul Otto Lindemann: born 24 February 1878 in Berlin; musician in the Filharmonisk Selskap Oslo; arrested and questioned at Victoria Terrasse; imprisoned in Grini from 22 November to 23 December 1944; lasting handicap eye disease with temporary blindness which forced him to quit his work with the orchestra on 1 September 1945.<sup>100</sup>

Ole Albjam Ludvigsen: born 14 June 1911 in Maum; arrested on 15 or 17 May 1940 and imprisoned until 28 July 1940 at Møllergata 19 (# 5) for a German-critical attitude (“tyskfiendtlig holdning”).<sup>101</sup>

Øyvind Lunde: born 22 September 1898 in Oslo; train / traffic inspector (“jernbanexpediteur” / “trafikkinspektør”) and singer; arrested 10 September 1943 and sent to Møllergata 19; sent to Grini (# 13011) on 23 September 1943; on 10 August 1944 sent to Natzweiler-Stutthoff, arrived 12 August 1944; released on liberation day.<sup>102</sup>

Fytyof Lyssand: born 20 May (June) 1904 in Oslo; arrested on 25 September 1941; sent to Møllergata 10 on 27 September 1941 until 7 August 1942; sent to Grini (# 4078) until March 1944; sent to Bardufoss until 8 May 1945.<sup>103</sup>

Jacob Maliniak (also Jac or Jack): born 31 October 1883 in Warsaw; violinist and conductor; 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>104</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 steamboat Gotenland on 24 February 1943 and sent via Berlin to Auschwitz; murdered on 3 March 1943.<sup>105</sup>

Johan Lauri Martinpelto: born 8 December 1904 in Lappee; musician; arrested on 10 June 1941 and sent to Møllergata 19; sent to Grini (# 200) on 20 June 1941; released on 28 August 1941.<sup>106</sup>

Moritz Mayer-Mahr: born 17 January 1869 in Mannheim; pianist and piano teacher; on 24 March 1942 he emigrated together with his second wife Paula Mayer-Mahr, née Sternberg from Germany to Norway and lived in Vestre Aker (today Oslo);

on 7 November 1942 they escaped to Sweden, but returned to Norway at an unknown date. On 8 January 1946 the couple returned to Sweden where he died on 30 July 1947.<sup>107</sup>

Finn Meland: born 24 September 1918; student in Trondheim; arrested on 6 November 1940 and sent to Vollan; sent to Trondheim on 23 December 1940; on 17 March 1941 sent to Åkebergveien (# 1993), arrived on 18 March 1941; released on 19 March 1941; arrested again on 31 August 1941 and sent to Kabelvåg; sent to Syd-spissen on 1 October 1941; on 20 February 1942 sent to Grini (# 1611) and arrived 23 February 1942; on 20 May 1942 sent to Sachsenhausen (# 42508); musician in the camp band (“Musikkapelle”) and a swing-trio; released on liberation day.<sup>108</sup>

Harry Isidor Mendel: born 10 July 1918 in Oslo; musician; arrested on 26 October 1942 as persecuted jew (“Jödeaksjonen”); imprisoned in Bredtveit from 30 October 1942 until 26 November 1942; deported to Auschwitz with the steam ship Donau; murdered on 1 December 1942.<sup>109</sup>

Anton Meyer: born 19 January 1880; pianist in Oslo; arrested on 2 June 1943 and sent to Møllergata 19; sent to Grini (# 12088) on 17 July 1943; on 7 October 1943 sent to Åkebergveien; released on 3 March 1944.<sup>110</sup>

Johannes Meyer: born 9 March 1923 in Oslo; pupil on Bygdøy; arrested and sent to Grini (# 8567) on 11 November 1943 for singing a “jössingsang”; released on 2 February 1944; arrested again on 27 April 1945; sent to Møllergata 19 on 28 April 1945; imprisoned until 8 May 1945.<sup>111</sup>

Attilio Aurelio Georgio von Moos: born 31 August 1898 in Naples; 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>112</sup>

Leif Nagel: born 25 July 1911 in Oslo; arrested on 24 September 1942 for German-critical behavior; imprisoned in Grini (# 4721) until release on 17 December 1942.<sup>113</sup>

Otto Nielsen: born 19 June 1909; singer and cabaret musician; arrested on 10 November 1943 and sent to Grini; released on liberation day.<sup>114</sup>

Alf Ingemann Norås: born 30 July 1921 in Kristiansand; listed as “Musikkmester A.T.”; arrested on 12 January 1945 for leaving the military base unauthorized (“Ulovlig forlatt forlegningen”) and imprisoned in Bredtveit; released on 1 February 1945.<sup>115</sup>

Ole Øien: born 12 August 1922 in Drontheim; current address Mellomila Nr. 45, Drontheim; arrested on 10 July 1943 in Frusta, sent to Falstad on 11 July 1943; arrested for taking part in a meeting and singing the English national anthem; released on 4 August 1943.<sup>116</sup>

Klasse: 657

## Haftkarte

Name: ..... Ø i e n .....

Vorname: ..... Ole .....

Geburtstag/ort: ..... 12. 8. 22 ..... zu Drontheim .....

Wohnhaft: ..... Drontheim Mellomila Nr. 45 .....

Ehefrau bezw. Angehörige: .....

Festgenommen am: ..... 10. 7. 43 ..... um ..... 22, 00 Uhr ..... Ort ..... Frusta .....

Eingeliefert am: ..... 11. 7. 43 ..... um ..... 8, 00 Uhr ..... Ort ..... Drontheim .....

Festnahmegrund: ..... Beteiligung an einer Versammlung und Singen der engl. National-Hymne .....

Sachbearbeiter: ..... RA/E-410/43 .....

Entlassen am: ..... 4. 8. 43 Kure ..... um .....

bezw. überführt nach: .....

Fig. 11: “Haftkarte” for Ole Øien. NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0011

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>117</sup>

Karl Ingolf Oshaug: born 12 January 1906; arrested 30 October 1942; sent to Trondheim, Falstad and Sachsenhausen (# 73684) where he played in the camp band (“Musikkapelle”) and a swing-trio; released on liberation day.<sup>118</sup>

Arvid Nikolai Pedersen: born 26 October 1904 in Bærum; musician; arrested for gun possession on 28 June 1941; released from Møllergata 19 on 19 August 1941.<sup>119</sup>

Arild Otto Plau: born on 10 July 1930; listed as “Musiker Oslo”; arrested as hostage in April 1944.<sup>120</sup>

Willie Albert Prytz: born 6 February 1908 in Oslo; pianist; arrested for tearing off posters (“Plakatabreisser”) on 23 July 1941; sent to Grini on 31 July 1941.<sup>121</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>122</sup>

Bernhard Ramm: born 23 June 1895 in Oslo; arrested on 26 October 1942 as persecuted Jew and imprisoned in Bredtveit; sent to Berg 28 October 1942; sent to Aa on 28 April 1943; sterilized on 29 April 1943; after inspection by Dr. Hans Eng released on 4 May 1943.<sup>123</sup>

Robert D. Riefling: born 17 September 1911; pianist; arrested on 3 November 1942, the same day sent to Bredtveit, 9 December 1942 sent to Grini (# 5738), released on 7 April 1943.<sup>124</sup>

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Name: (bei Frauen auch Geburtsname) <i>Prytz</i>										Wohnung: (Zeit d. Eintragung eintragen) <i>Oslo, Kirkeveien 49</i>					Personalehr: <i>78</i>				
Vorname: <i>Willie Albert</i>										Bildvermerk:					Singer-Abdruckkarte:				
Geburtsort u. -ort: <i>6.2.03. Oslo</i>																			
Beruf: <i>Pianist</i>										Schriftprobe:									
Familienstand: <i>led.</i>																			
Staatsangehörigkeit: <i>NORW.</i>										Name: <i>IP</i>					Politischer Einstellung: <i>Sachverhalt</i>				
Religiöse Bekenntnisse: <i>18</i>																			
Datum der Auftragung: <i>23.7.41 12.50 Uhr</i>										Staatspolizeistelle Gefängnisseichen: <i>1545 R i c h t e r K A.</i>					Gefängnisnummer: <i>Grini 395</i>				
Datum der Auftragung: <i>23.7.41 12.50 Uhr</i>										Sachverhalt: <i>Plakatabreisser</i>					Staatspolizeistelle Gefängnisseichen: <i>1545 R i c h t e r K A.</i>				

Datum der Auftragung	Sachverhalt	Staatspolizeistelle Gefängnisseichen
	Eingeliefert am <i>23.7.41</i> <i>Hammerv. Mus.</i>	
	Entlassen am <i>31.7.41 1200</i> <i>auf Geheiß</i> <i>Schmidmüller, Oberw.</i>	

Fig. 12: "Haftkarte" for Willy Albert Prytz from his arrest at Møllergata 19. NAN, RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0008

Dagfin Ommundsen Rimestad: born 23 November 1913; popular working class songwriter before the war; arrested and sent to Møllergata 19 on 12 October 1942; sent to Stavanger on 21 October 1942; sent to Grini on 27 November 1942 (# 5526); sent to Sachsenhausen on 27 February 1943 until the liberation (# 61489).<sup>125</sup>

Ole Halvorsen Rise: born 21 February 1896 in Stjørdal; listed as “Musiker”, “Lagerchef” and “Musikkłøytnant”; current address Stjørdalshalsen, Libakken; married and father of five children; arrested as hostage on 4 July 1944 and sent to Falstad, released on 7 July 1944 with obligation “Meldepflicht”; arrested again for two months in Værnes fangeleir, sent to Grini on 4 February 1945 (# 14352) and to camp Berg until liberation day.<sup>126</sup>

Karl Viktor Røst (Röst): born 22 May 1906 in Drontheim; listed as “Musiker”; current address Danielgate 11, Drontheim; sent to Falstad on 16 August 1944; sent to Grini on 13 December 1944 (# 14361), released on 15 February 1945.<sup>127</sup>

Rolf Egil Rollsten: born 26 June 1918; “ekspeditør”; arrested on 6 November 1942 and sent to Grini (# 5320); sent to Sachsenhausen (# 54247) on 8 December 1942 where he was a musician in the camp band (“Musikkapelle”) and a swing-trio, released on liberation day.<sup>128</sup>

Mauritz von Roos: born 14 January 1870; opera singer; arrested on 26 October 1942 as persecuted Jew (“Jödeaksjonen”); sent to Bredtveit on 26 October 1942 and sent to Berg on 28 October 1942; released on 7 November 1942; arrested again on 12 December 1942; released 6 January 1943.<sup>129</sup>

Herman Sachnowitz: born 13 June 1921 in Stokke; arrested on 26 October 1942 as persecuted Jew; sent to Berg and sent 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>130</sup>

Jacob Scharff: born 26 January 1908; arrested and brought to Bredtveit on 26 October 1942; transferred to Bergen on 28 October 1942; deported with the steam boat Donau on 26 November 1942.<sup>131</sup>

Joseph Hirsh Schechter: born 2 July 1892 in Elisabethgrad, Ukraine; violinist and concert master of Bergen’s Harmonien orchestra and member of Bergen’s radio ensemble; arrested on 26 October 1942 and sent to camp Berg; deported with the steam boat Donau to Germany on 26 November 1942; he died in Auschwitz on 14 January 1943.<sup>132</sup>

Herman Jens Scheel: born 7 July 1924 in Anker; pupil on Bygdøy; sent to Grini (# 8568) on 11 November 1943 for singing a “jössingsang”; released on 2 February 1944.<sup>133</sup>

Einar Siebke: born on 25 April 1893; singing teacher (“Gesangslehrer Oslo”); arrested for illegal activities (“illegale Betätigung”); sent from Møllergata 19 to Grini on 27 March 1944 (# 10197); sent from Grini on 6 September 1944; he drowned on 8 September 1944 when the ship Westfalen collided with a mine and sank in the Skagerak.<sup>134</sup>

Sigurd Johannes Sigurdson: born 8 July 1899 on Iceland; opera singer; arrested for starting to sing a probably German-critical song (“Ansingen eines Liedes”) and brought to Grini (# 9828) on 12 February 1944; released on 14 February 1944.<sup>135</sup>

Melvin Simonsen: born 18 September 1901 in Bærum; composer; arrested on 12 May 1942 and imprisoned in Bredtveit; released on 28 May 1942.<sup>136</sup>

Otto Sinding: born 24 December 1903; violinist; arrested on 16 February 1941 by order of Staatsrat Jonas Lie.<sup>137</sup>

Tore Sinding: born 24 December 1903 in Frederiksværn; pianist; arrested on 16 February 1941 by order of Staatsrat Jonas Lie for illegal activity (“illegal virksomhet”); arrested again on 24 August 1944 for distributing flyers (“Flugblattverteiler”), sent to Møllergata 19 for being involved with illegal newspapers (“aviser”), released on liberation day.<sup>138</sup>

Anne Oline Stensrud: born 2 July 1885 in Glemmen; housemaid (“Hausgehilfin”) in Svelvik; arrested and sent to Grini on 31 May 1943 for distributing an illegal song; released on 10 July 1943.<sup>139</sup>

Jenny Strand: born 7 January 1913 in Ålesund; listed as “the bride” (“hun var bruden”); arrested for singing a German-critical song at her wedding (“tysk-fiendlig sang”) and sent to Grini on 19 January 1944.<sup>140</sup>

John Thorleif Strand: born 1 December 1905 in Hamar; listed as barber journeyman (“Friseurgeselle”) and “groom”; arrested for singing a German-critical song at his wedding (“tysk-fiendlig sang”) and sent to Grini on 19 January 1944 (# 9511).<sup>141</sup>

Harald Svendsen: born 13 August 1896 in Mosjøen; music lieutenant (“Musikklöytant”); arrested on 16 August 1943 in Harstad for spreading radio news and illegal activities; sent to Elvegårdsmoen and Narvik until 7 September 1943 and sent back to Harstad on 20 September 1943; via Falstad and Akershus deported to Germany; released on 15 September 1944.<sup>142</sup>

Sigurd Syversen: born 13 August 1921; instrument maker; arrested on 6 March 1942; sent to Møllergata 19 on 6 March 1942; sent to Grini (# 2329) on 31 March 1942; on 15 February 1943 sent to KZ Sachsenhausen where he arrived on 20 February (# 61077); released on liberation day.<sup>143</sup>

Carl Sømme: born 18 November 1896 in Stavanger; actor; arrested for threatening two Norwegian ladies; imprisoned in Møllergata 19 on 16 June 1940; released on 27 July 1940.<sup>144</sup>

Bodil Thorsen (Carlsson): born 18 September 1919; music teacher; arrested on 14 September 1944 in Stavanger; sent to Grini on 12 October 1944; released on liberation day.<sup>145</sup>

Gunnar Torbjørnsen: born 25 May 1888 in lesund; music teacher; arrested on 5 January 1945 and imprisoned in Vollan for distributing illegal news (“Nyheter”).<sup>146</sup>

Kristian Vuttudal: born on 23 November 1920 in Hemne; current address Orkager, “z.Zt. Heimdal”; arrested and sent to Falstad on 29 June 1943; sentenced to two months KZ for singing communist songs.<sup>147</sup>

LV A 1 - K 8 375 /43

Klasse: 1002

## Haftkarte

Name: VUTTUDAL

Vorname: KRISTIAN

Geburtstag/ort: 23. 11. 20. HEMNE

Wohnhaft: Orkanger z. Zt. Heimdal

Ehefrau bezw. Angehörige: \_\_\_\_\_

Festgenommen am: 29. Juni 43. um \_\_\_\_\_ Ort \_\_\_\_\_

Eingeliefert am: 29. Juni 43. um \_\_\_\_\_ Ort \_\_\_\_\_

Festnahmegrund: Singen kommunistischer Lieder 2. Monat T.L.

Sachbearbeiter: LV. A. 1. r. K. 8. 375/43 Brak

Entlassen am: 30.8.43 19.13 Leik um \_\_\_\_\_

bezw. überführt nach: Malmhøgskolen 1.7.13 / Holm 31.8.13

Fig. 13: “Haftkarte” for Kristian Vuttudal. NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0011

Egil Wennemo: born 3 July 1922; arrested on 8 October 1942; sent to Grini the same day (# 4888); sent to Sachsenhausen on 4 November 1943 where he was a member in the camp band (“Musikkapelle”) and the Swing-Trio; released on liberation day.<sup>148</sup>

Holger Armand Wennevold: born on 27 September 1921; arrested on 24 February 1943 and sent to Åkebergveien on 26 February; on 2 March sent to Møllergata 19; sent to Grini (# 7133) on 31 March; sent to Sachsenhausen on 18 April where he was a member in the camp band (“Musikkapelle”) and a swing-trio; released on liberation day.<sup>149</sup>

Gottfried Werner: born 9 June 1907; current address Klostergate 43, Drontheim; arrested for “unruly behavior / renitentes Verhalten” (“gjenstridig holdning”) without date at location “Hausgefængnis” (Vollan) and Falstad; released on 19 November 1944.<sup>150</sup>

August Wilhelmsen: born 9 May 1924 in Kristiania; pupil on Bygdøy; sent to Grini on 11 November 1943 for singing a “jössingsang” (# 8569); released on 2 February 1944.<sup>151</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; survived (“overlevet”).<sup>152</sup>

Oskar Wulff: born 14 November 1914 in Oslo; imprisoned in KZ Berg on 26 October 1942 until 1 May 1945; transferred to Sweden on 2 May 1945; arrested during the “action against Jews” (“Jödeaksjonen”).<sup>153</sup>

## Violinist Jac Maliniak – From Warsaw and Trondheim to Auschwitz

Oslo's National Archives contain a file card for Jacques Maliniak's time in Falstad which gives a few bits of information: He was born on 31 October 1883 in Warsaw and was living in Trondheim at the time of his arrest on 9 October 1942. The given reason for his arrest was being a Jew ("Jude"). The bottom line of the form summarizes the beginning of his tragic odyssey in a few words: "überführt nach K.Z. Lager Auschwitz am 25.11.42" ("transferred to KZ Auschwitz on 25 November 1942"). According to *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, Maliniak was a musician and had previously been arrested between 23 June and 3 July 1941 during the German attack on the Soviet Union ("Angrepet på Sovjetsamveldet").<sup>154</sup>

Haftkarte		Klasse:.....
Name: .....	M a l i n i a k	
Vorname: .....	Jacques	
Geburtsdag/ort: .....	31.10.1883 Warszawa	
Wohnhaft: .....	Valien 4. Trondheim	
Ehfrau bzw. Angehörige: .....		
Festgenommen am: .....	am	Ort
Eingeliefert am: 9.10.42	am	Ort Falstad
Festnahmegrund: .....	Jude	
Sachbearbeiter: .....		
Entlassen am: .....	am	
bzw. überführt nach: 12. Lager Bieffang am 15.11.42		

Fig. 14: "Haftkarte" from Jac (Jacques) Maliniak during his arrest in Falstad. NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0008



Fig. 15: Jac Maliniak, probably in the 1930s. JMO, Maliniak-collection #182

The Jewish Museum in Oslo preserves some scores and photographs belonging to Maliniak, which also show his wife Mathilde who was murdered together with him in Auschwitz and their daughter Maryla who could flee to Sweden in the winter of 1942. Today, the youngest of Maryla's three daughters Liv Daasvatn takes care of the family heritage and has published a short summary of her family in a Jewish Blog on the internet.<sup>155</sup> Derived from all these pieces, the picture of a rich biography arose, presenting a musical career that spanned four decades and connected Trondheim with the European music life. In his home town Warsaw, Jac Maliniak had been trained at the conservatory to become a professional violinist. As Liv Daasvatn remembers hearing from her mother Maryla, her grandfather during his later years in Norway was proud to tell the story how he performed under Edvard Grieg who conducted the Warsaw Symphony Orchestra during his last concert tour in the spring of 1903. Together with his wife Mathilde, who was four years younger than him, Jac moved to Berlin a few years later where their only daughter Maryla was born in 1910.

Little is known about these years. However, the few documented puzzle pieces give an idea of Maliniak's reputation. When Arnold Schoenberg's world-famous piece *Pierrot Lunaire*, opus 21 was scheduled for premiere in 1912, he was the designated violinist as the program note announced; it was approved by the Arnold Schoen-



berg-Center in Vienna (cf. fig. 16). For some reason, Jac Maliniak was replaced by Emil Telmányi just before the premiere (as will be mentioned in Chapter III, Telmányi performed in Bergen with the Harmonien orchestra several times).<sup>156</sup> One can only speculate about the reasons for this replacement. But Schoenberg, who always had a very strict idea of how to perform his music, gave a hint himself. In his American exile Schoenberg was planning a recording of *Pierrot Lunaire*, as we learn from a letter to Hans Kindler (dated 31 August 1940, cf. fig. 17), the director of the National Symphony Orchestra in Washington. Looking back at the original production, he also mentioned the artistic disagreements with Maliniak: “Just now plans have been made to record *Pierrot Lunaire*, and that reminds me of the times when we rehearsed this piece under friendlier auspices in Berlin. On this occasion I often spoke of you (and your ears must have rung) when I wanted to have my new fingering [“Fingersatz”] applied. Certainly you remember it and that I had to fight several battles with Mr. Maliniak.”



Fig. 16: Program for the premiere of Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire*, opus 21 with Jacob Maliniak as the designated player for the violin and viola part. ASCV



Fig. 17: Letter from Arnold Schoenberg to Hans Kindler, dated 31 August 1940, including the mentioning of Jac Maliniak. ASCV

To escape the confusions of World War I, the young Maliniak family moved from Berlin to Sweden, where Jac received the offer to become the musical director in Trondheim's luxurious Hotel Britannia in 1917. In the following happy years, Jac became a central figure in Trondheim's music life and also conducted the local symphony orchestra regularly.



Fig. 18 and 19: The luxurious Hotel Britannia in Trondheim, probably in the early 1920s. Creative commons.



Fig. 20 and 21: Jac Maliniak in Trondheim in the early 1920s, in the left picture 20 with an unknown colleague, in the right picture 21 with his wife Mathilde and their daughter Maryla next to him. JMO, Maliniak-collection #182

In Liv Daasvatn accounts,<sup>157</sup> her grandmother remembering the metropolitan culture of Warsaw and Berlin found it harder to socialize in Trondheim than her husband. Nevertheless, she tried to get accustomed to the local conditions and could benefit from her multi-lingual talents by offering foreign language classes and conversation exercises in German, French, English, Polish and Russian (cf. fig. 22 and 23).

Daughter Maryla became a violinist herself. She moved to Oslo in 1930 to study at the conservatory with Ernst Glaser and other capacities. There she founded her own quartet – “The White Ladies” – to entertain at restaurants and weddings with state-of-the-art tunes and popular classics. At this time, she had already met her future husband,



Fig. 22 and 23: An advertisement for Mathilde Maliniak's language courses in Trondheim, printed in the local newspaper *Dagsposten* (NNL), 5 January 1922, and an undated portrait of her from around that time. JMO, Maliniak-collection #182

Gunnar Daasvatn, and as soon as he had finished his studies in Trondheim to become an engineer, he also moved to Oslo. The couple married on 1 May 1940. When the tension rose against Jews in Norway during the year 1942, Gunnar and Maryla Daasvatn decided to flee to Sweden on 1 December 1942. They boarded a train to go north with just a backsack containing the most important belongings. Everything went well until a German razzia stopped the train in the lonely forests of Finnskogen. Gunnar immediately understood the danger of this situation, shoved Maryla out of the train and destroyed all compromising papers by eating them up. Thanks to his appearance as a tall, blond Norwegian everything could have gone well but the German guard inspected his backpack filled with Maryla's clothes. Gunnar was arrested, first sent to Åkerbergveien, then to Grini on 16 December 1942 (# 5750) and transferred to the KZ Sachsenhausen, where he arrived on 18 April 1943 (# 64586) and was imprisoned until liberation day.<sup>158</sup>

Meanwhile, Maryla continued her dramatic flight to Sweden and crossed the border on 6 December 1942.<sup>159</sup> As the official documents from the Norwegian refugee office show (cf. fig. 27) her daughter Inger Eva was born von 27 March 1943 which means that Maryla must have been in the second half of her pregnancy when she managed to escape to Sweden in early December 1942.



Fig. 24 and 25: Maryla Maliniak in the 1920s and 30s. JMO, Maliniak-collection #182



Fig. 26: *The White Ladies* – Maryla Maliniak's all female band – which performed in restaurants in Oslo, at weddings and other festivities. JMO, Maliniak-collection #182

10879 Daasvatn	Anna Maryla	120710 061242
56922 Daasvath	Gunnar	020410 020545
21641 Daasvatn	Inger Eva	270343

Fig. 27: The official list of Norwegian refugees in Sweden, kept by the Norwegian refugee office in Stockholm, including the names of Maryla (# 10879, born 12 July 1910, border crossing on 6 December 1942), Gunnar (# 56922, born 2 April 1910, border crossing 2 May 1945) and Inger Eva Daasvatn (# 21641, born 27 March 1943). NAN, *Den Kl. Norske Legasjons Flyktningskontor, V/Va/L0002: Kjesäterkartoteket*

The Maliniak-papers in the Jewish Museum in Oslo also contain several letters from the years of Maryla's exile in Sweden, which illustrate her everyday life in Stockholm and Uppsala and tell about her chance, to exchange a few letters with her husband Gunnar during his arrest in Sachsenhausen. As these papers indicate, it must have been difficult for her to pursue a regular life as working mother with a small child. Ernst Glaser who had come to Sweden a few weeks earlier and had gotten in contact with her immediately,<sup>160</sup> tried for more than a year to find a violin for her which means that she could not play music regularly. Finally, on 4 November 1943, he told her that she could borrow an instrument from Dr. Felix Printz, who can be verified in Swedish newspapers as an active violinist in Stockholm during the war time. Furthermore, Maryla probably took part in a program for exiled Norwegian musicians in Uppsala which was sponsored by the Royal Swedish Academy to copy and write out scores.<sup>161</sup> As Gunnar was allowed to write home from camp Sachsenhausen, he very soon received notice that Maryla and their baby were safe in Sweden. This kept his will alive to survive hunger, pain, sickness, and humiliation in Germany. When the Swedish Red Cross was able to rescue Scandinavian prisoners from Sachsenhausen with the famous White Buses, Gunnar stepped on Swedish soil in Malmö on 2 May 1945, reunited with his young family and together they returned to Oslo soon afterwards.

By this time Jac and Mathilde Maliniak had already been murdered for more than two years. As Julius Paltiel had explained in the interview quoted above, Jews in Trondheim had been surprised by the beginning of the German occupation and were rather unprepared when the pressure exercised by the German forces was increased rapidly. In the spring of 1941, the synagogue was confiscated and used to house German soldiers who soon vandalized the building and its interior.<sup>162</sup> Maliniak's daily workplace, the glamorous Hotel Britannia, was turned into the headquarters of the German Sicherheitspolizei. After several interrogations Maliniak was arrested for the first time on 23 June 1941 in Trondheim and imprisoned in Volla during the German attack on the Soviet Union ("Angrepet på Sovjetsamveldet").<sup>163</sup> He was released on 3 July 1941, but arrested again one year later when the persecution of Jews ("Jødeaksjonen") on 7 October 1942. He was sent to camp Falstad on 9 October 1942. On 26 November 1942, when he was sent on to Bredtveit his wife Mathilde was also arrested.<sup>164</sup> They were deported together on the steam boat *Gotenland* on 24 February 1943 and sent via Berlin to Auschwitz, where they died in the gas chamber on 3 March 1943.



Fig. 28: Maryla and Gunnar Daasvatn, probably in early 1940 around the time of their wedding. JMO, Maliniak-collection #182

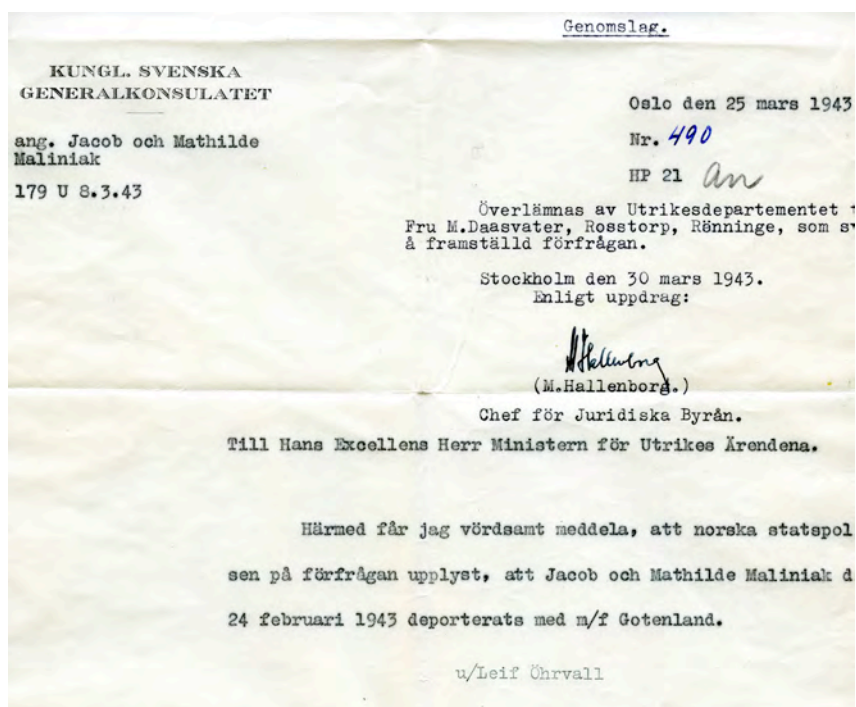


Fig. 29: Official note, dated 25 March 1943, from the Royal Swedish Embassy in Oslo to Maryla Daasvatn in Sweden that her parents have been deported by the Norwegian State Police ("statspoliti") the previous month on 24 February 1943. The note from M. Hallenborg indicates that this document was handed to Maryla Daasvatn on 30 March 1943, three days after she had given birth to her daughter Inger Eva. JMO, Maliniak-collection #182

## Mundane Music to Remember and Forget

Statements about music in general should be considered with deliberation, but the act of singing seems to be universal: For countless reasons, purposes and occasions human beings use their voice with and without lyrics besides just talking. Accordingly, we are surrounded by songs much of our time. They accompany our lives from birth to death, and as far as historical documents and archeological findings can tell, it seems to have always been this way. Songs seem to go with nearly any situation, and are connected with personal associations, memories and feelings. Consequently, certain songs develop such a strong impression on a group of people that they become symbols for certain incidents or even for a generation. Because singing is the only way for virtually everybody to produce musical sounds, – in contrast to the necessary skills to play an instrument – it is a universal phenomenon which can form a community quickly and can be professionalized and turned into an artistic practice. Songs connect people with their external world by a special emotional power. They can bring back and transport memories so that a person can position him- or herself in a certain line of tradition, to connect for example to a historical figure or time. On the other hand, a mutual musical taste can also offer a basis to connect with other people so that all of a sudden one has something in common with strangers or can deepen the bond with one's fellows.

The extreme living conditions in a concentration camp are reflected by and in music exceptionally. On the one hand, as already mentioned, guards and camp leaders employed songs in most brutal, humiliating ways. The prisoners, on the other hand, were separated according to their nationalities in different barracks. To them, songs were an important means to maintain a mutual identity,<sup>165</sup> to keep memories alive, to defend remnants of dignity and hope, to seek and give collective and individual solace, to communicate clandestine political messages, or to find distraction at least for a moment and to forget about everything around. The short and compact form of songs was very useful in the effort to stay sane under extreme conditions such as months of incarceration in a solitary cell. Humming and singing just mentally could satisfy the most urgent needs of the prisoner without attracting the attention and the watchfulness of the guards. Even when no material was at hand to write down notes and lyrics, songs could be dwelt on, repeated and reproduced.

The following passages focus on this psychological use of songs. It is important to keep in mind that such differentiation of purposes for music is necessary to describe the breadth of music encountered in prison and concentration camps. At the same time, a too sophisticated effort to show the different uses of music should not be applied to the actual situation inside a camp. While a performance ordered by the leaders to entertain the SS guards could be classified as forced labor, it could, at the same time, have meant an occasion for solace, mutual solidarity and even joy for the musicians.<sup>166</sup>

### Selfmade Tunes and Songbooks

Wherever Norwegians were imprisoned, singing was always an important issue.<sup>167</sup> Five decades after the liberation a collection of songs was published that had been written in the camps and prisons of Møllergata 19, Åkerbergveien, Grini, Akershus landsfengsel, Berg, Falstad leir, Kvænangen, Bardufoss, Kirkenes, Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück,

Natzweiler-Stutthof, Neuengamme as well as in the numerous “Nacht und Nebel”-camps.<sup>168</sup> Unfortunately, this edition does not name the individual authors of the songs or the political context of their composition. We only learn that they originate from Andreas Barsnes, Erling Bauck, Johannes Bjørge, Anders By, Olav Dalgard, Arne Domben, Andreas Dryhaug, Andreas Eriksen, Sigurd Ebensmo, Astrid Frost, Carl Frøseth, Carl Haave, Carl Johann Fredrik Jakhelln, Sverre Løberg, Lars Magnus Moen, Odd Nansen, Otto Louis Nielsen, Olav Nordnes, Chr. S. Oftedal, Fredrik Ramm, Bjørgulf Rysstad, Sylvia Salvesen, Per Sogstad, Anna Elisabeth Urbye, Trygve Wyller, Arnulf Øverland, Alf Olaf Aadnøy, Herlov Åmland, Bjarne Philip Aanese, and Andreas Aarlie. This collection is a proof of the importance of songs during these highly political times in Norway, but it does not give detailed impressions of the music life in certain camps.

Quite thorough insight into camp imprisonment is provided by Grini prisoner Anne-Margrete Olden, called “Metete” in her family.<sup>169</sup> Her private papers are preserved in Stavanger’s Byarkiv and contain a rare and rich collection of memorabilia from her many days in Grini.<sup>170</sup> Metete Olden, born into a Quaker family on 20 September 1912 in Stavanger, was a skilled art teacher (“tegnelærerinn”). As mentioned by several illegal newspapers, she was probably arrested for political activities at a meeting on 11 November 1943 at her aunt Liv Godal’s house together with her aunt, Helga Stene, Åsta Stene, Lie Stene, Erling Jansen, someone called Sandvik (who was not arrested), Birger Vormestrand, Eldrid Mehus, Karl Karlsen, Ingeborg Figved, and Joronn Houskon.



Fig. 30: A secret photograph from the female part of camp Grini. NAN, RA/PA-1209/U/Uj/L0219c



Mete Olden afterwards captured her arrest, the questionings, and imprisonment by the Gestapo, and central scenes from the female department in Grini in impressive pictures, collages and pencil drawings. Beginning with the day of her arrest by the Gestapo, she had to endure 17 days of intense questioning by SS-officer Schumacher before she was sent to a prison in Stavanger's Lagårdsveien on 28 November 1943. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of December, she came to Grini where she had to sleep on the floor in the knitting room at first. After five days she was sent to the hospital section with scarlet fever and stayed there until February 1944.<sup>171</sup> Following her recovery from another infection in June 1944, she was housed in cell 91 and then spent the rest of her time in a room together i.a. with Joronn Housken,<sup>172</sup> Martha Rossavik,<sup>173</sup> Anne Emilie Munthe Jansen,<sup>174</sup> and Liv Godal.<sup>175</sup>



Fig. 31 and 32: Drawings by Mete Olden remembering her arrest by the Gestapo. SR, PA-212  
Anna-Margrete Olden

The story of Mete Olden's release is another exceptional story, because she was amnesied by the chief of the Norwegian SS, Heinrich Fehlis, in person. Together with her mother, a school principal, and her sister Ingeborg she had taken care of German castaways whose Kraft-durch-Freude-steam boat Dresden had sunk at Kopervik, a little north of Stavanger in 1934. Cordial letters from the German Gesandtschaft, dated 25 January 1935, expressed the German authorities' gratefulness and even invited them to visit Germany in return. As paper clips from Kaiserslautern in the south west of Germany show, Mete's mother and sister accepted the invitation in the summer of 1935. Additionally, it spoke for Mete and her aunt Liv Godal that Mete's father had been

very active supporting undernourished German children after WWI. He had been the founder and chairman of the first Norwegian-German society in Stavanger and had initiated an exchange between German and Norwegian pupils, which was carried on for several years. In the summer of 1944, after Mete had already been imprisoned for seven months, her mother began a forceful campaign to free her daughter writing directly to the “Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD” in Oslo and asking the president of the Norwegian-German Red Cross Fridtjof Heyerdahl to support her case. On 3 March 1945, Heinrich Fehlis ordered the release of Mete Olden from Grini in recognition of her merits during the rescue of the Dresden-castaways. She was set free three days later on 6 March.

The female wing 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, there were opportunities to develop secret structures and to stay in touch with the male inmates through the fence separating the areas. Even parties with both male and female prisoners remained unobserved by the guards as Erik Løhrdal reports.<sup>176</sup> Nevertheless, the risk of room inspections was high and unpermitted items could be confiscated at all times. In addition to little presents and memorabilia from other prisoners, Mete Olden’s personal papers in Stavanger’s Byarkiv include



Fig. 33: Gifts and memorabilia from Mete Olden’s time in Grini. SR, PA-212 Anna-Margrete Olden

two song collections, which must have meant a lot to her, because she managed to keep and hide them during all her days in Grini. These collections were written on toilet paper, the only papers 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* (cf. fig. 34). Written with a soft pencil, it contains seven tunes, some of them with credits to other prisoners. Some of the songs have no title so that the first line is quoted to get an idea of their spirit: “En har står oppstolt i fangedrakt her på Grini” (to the melody of *En liten gutt i fra list*, credited to Anne Lise Karine),<sup>177</sup> *Kvirivirivipp bom bom*: “Ola Normenn og hans konse hei ho hans kone, kom til Grini for å some sitt Kvirivirivipp bom bom”, “Om vårt Grini vi syngte vil en sang, med godt humør faller tiden aldri lang” (to the melody of *Præriens gemle sang*), “Ute på Grini vi har nå den vane” (to the melody of *Pål sine høner*), an evening song (*Kvell sang*) “Alle lys er slukket, døren låst og lukket”, “Fanger sukker i alle eeler, lengsten leer i en somne Kveller”, and “Jeg sitter allene, bostavid allene, bak vellens lukkade dør.”

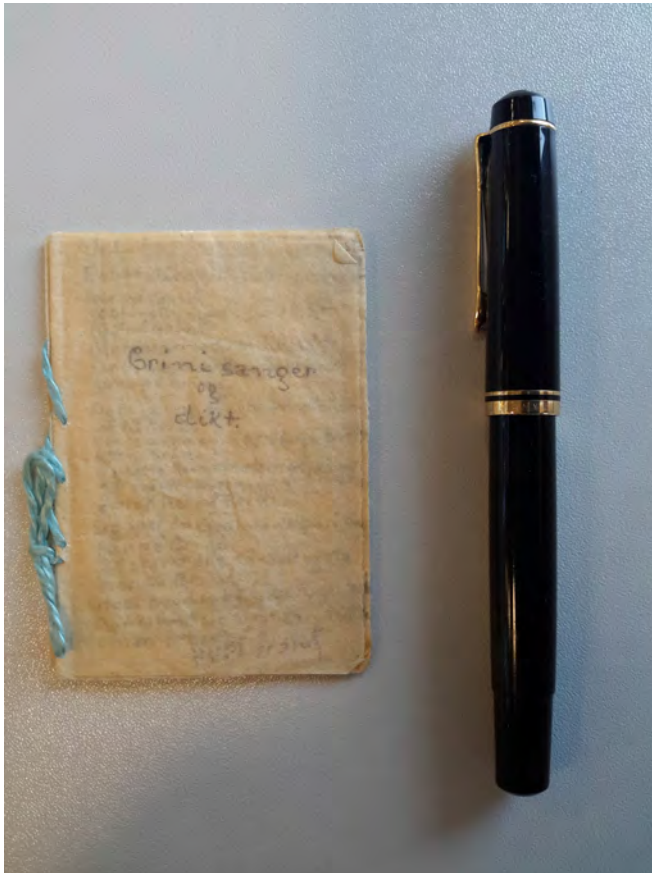


Fig. 34: Song book # 1 from Grini in Mete Olden’s collection. To compare its size a regular ink pen of 12,5cm can be seen on the right. SR, PA-212 Anna-Margrete Olden

The second collection is written on a longer strip of toilet paper that was taped together (cf. fig. 36). Besides song lyrics, it also includes birthday greetings and notes. All these materials from Mete Olden – the drawings and sketches, the knittings dedicated to her from other prisoners and the song collections – would deserve a separate, philological edition. To get an impression of the diversity of the songs, their first lines are again quoted: “Ute på Grini vi har nå den vane, selskap å lage så ofte vi kan.” (dated 12. 9. 1944, to the melody of *Pål sine høner*), “Astrid her, doktoren er. Det er trygt og deilig” (to the melody of *Ryss meg Per!*), “Bland alle lande i sind og røyd, er Madagaskar mitt hjertes fryd” (to the melody of *Blant alle lande*), “Asla her” (with the names of Met, Ingeborg, Tilla and others following, some names difficult to decipher, to the melody of *Myss* [?; illegible word in the original source] *meg Per!*), and “Marta fra Stavanger” (to the melody of *Kjerringa* [?; illegible word in the original source]). The next song lyrics (again to the melody of *Pål sine høner*) are so complex and rhymed in Norwegian that a longer quotation makes more sense than a translation: “Anne-Emilie kvinnesaks kvinne – virket for samhold i tale og skrift – Derfor hun måtte nok bli litt herinde – men vi skal se at hun snart drar på vift. Liv er sjef i systuetumlen, Skarlet der er mere enn en mumlen – mastet og tråkket jo skaper en rumlen – som hun nok gler seg til snart å bli fri.” A longer comment was written next to it: “Slik arter livet seg stort sett for mange som måtte vandre på Grini-vei. Her satt Marie i måneder lange, 20 idag, om du tror eller ei. Pytt, pytt, pytt! Hva enn måtte komme! Husk, om kort er tiden jo omme. Da triler nølene trygt i vår lomme. Den som ler sist, den ler best, Det gjør vi!”

Allegretto. 160. Norsk folketone.

*mf*

Pål si - ne hø - ner på hau - gen ut - slep - te  
Pål kun - ne vel på hø - nom for - ne - ma,

hø - nen så lett o - ver hau - gen sprang;  
re - ven var u - te med rum - pa så lang.

*f* *mf*

Klukk, klukk, klukk, sa hø - na på hau - gom.

Pål han sprang og reng - de med au - gom:

„No tør' eg ik - kje ko - ma heim åt ho mor!”

Fig. 35: The popular tune *Pål sine høner*, printed in: Mads Berg, *Skolens Sangbok. Med metodisk rettleiing for undervisningen i sang*, Oslo 1940, p. 144

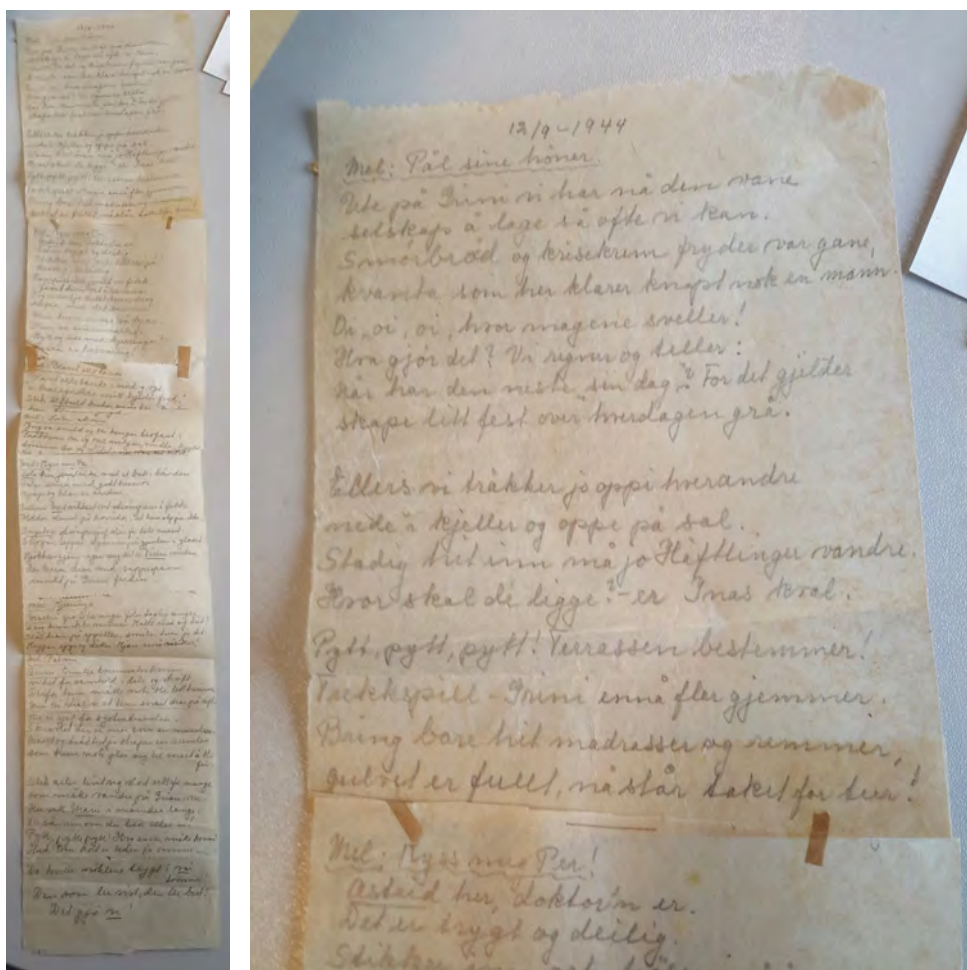


Fig. 36: Song book # 2 from Grini in Mete Olden's collection. SR, PA-212 Anna-Margrete Olden

In numerous collections from concentration camps several songs can be found that were supposed to be sung to the melody of *Pål sine høner*. This traditional tune used to be one of the most popular folk songs in Norway, often used as a childrens' song. It was written down by Peter Christen Asbjørnsen in 1863 in the Gulbrandsdalen-dialect and is famous for a melody which is easy to remember, not least due to a distinct Halling rhythm. The story is about a man called Paul ("Pål") who is chasing a fox that kills all his chicken. Finally he gets his revenge and mills grain instead at least to bring something home to his mother. In the end the song confirms the self-certitude if one keeps a brave tongue not to be afraid to return home.<sup>178</sup> No explanation could be found, however, if the song's implicit meaning, the catchy melody or both elements were the main reason for imprisoned Norwegians to use *Pål sine høner* for their own new satirical lyrics.

Another note can be found in the other collection of Mette Olden: “Kjære Mell! Du gir oss ett gjenskinn fra Himmelens blå. Så cellene blir ikke mere så grå. Du er selv sene en stråle fra sol og fra måne. Du nikker og smiler på frihet ikke tviler. Takk skal du ha – Når vi drar herifra og tenker tilbake til fangedager. Skal du bli i vår tanke hver enn vi vanker – vi gratulerer deg hjertelig med fødselsdagen. Borghild – Gunnhild og Marie.” Another birthday greeting with two songs to the melody of *Pål sine høner* is next followed by lyrics starting with “Blant alle lande”. The last two texts document material from other inmates: a poem by Astrid Frost with an additional remark from post-war times that she had survived for 1 ¾ years in a solitary cell,<sup>179</sup> and lyrics by Hanna Grete Rinnan.<sup>180</sup>

### Consoling, Mourning, Easing

The previous examples are from prisons and concentration camps, and many of them deal with music for times of leisure, with songs that helped to bring a little joy and make seasonal celebrations a pleasant occasion. To no surprise, they dominate the memories of Norwegian prisoners, and the narratives about camp life in Norway. But on the low end of the hierarchy of imprisoned nations, in the camps for slave workers from Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, as well as in dark moments of cruelty, torture, and in the expectation of executions, there was music, too. For obvious reasons such situations are not covered by archival sources. The brutality, and fatality of such settings were so intense that music was nothing one would find in reports, files, or statistics. Nevertheless, music and singing was a preferred means to maintain some emotional stability, to help to console, mourn, or ease fear and pain. A few published memories and artistic reflections indicate such an interpretation. A telling example is Ingebjørg Jensens’ graphic novel (2017) concerning incidents that occurred in the Beisfjord labor camp in 1942. At a point of maximum horror amidst sadistic SS-guards and Soviet and Yugoslavian prisoners enduring their brutal treatment, these victims began to sing.<sup>181</sup>

Lange’s and Schreiner’s *Griniboken*, published in 1946 and already quoted above, pictures a similar scene where music reached beyond words. A large group of Norwegians had been arrested for planning a boat tour to England and for the possession of guns, among them Anton K. Bø (Nærbø), Arne Vigre (Nærbø), Torgeir Sikvaland (Time), Andreas Steinsland (Time), Augustus Steinsland (Steinsland), and Ingvar Ree (Nærbø). After five days of intensive interrogations, the verdicts were spoken. Four of the men were sentenced to 15 years imprisonment with hard labor (“Zuchthaus”), three of them to 10 years imprisonment with hard labor (“Zuchthaus”) and one of them to 10 years in prison (“Gefängnis”). Their comrades Bjørn Rosland (Time), Sverre Waldeland (Vigrestad), Karl Hellestø (Nærbø), Jorsten Johansen (Bryne), Magnus Mækand (Varheug), Bjarne Aarsland (Vigrestad), Martin Opstad (Bø), and Olav Ege (Vigrestad) were even sentenced to death. The verdict was to be enforced on 21 May 1942. Later, Rosland and Aarsland were amnestied, because they had not reached the age of 20 at the time of their delinquency.<sup>182</sup> On their last evening in Grini, before they were transported to the place of the execution in Trandum, violinist Robert Andersen and Odd Nansen, the Norwegian poet and architect, were allowed to play music and sing to them under the strict obligation for all others attending just to

listen in silence and not to join in. Among other pieces, they performed *Ola, ola; Jeg lagde meg så silde; Solveigs Sang*; and *Gud signe deg Norge mitt deilige land*.

### **Enforced Performing in Falstad and Grini**

Describing the atmosphere of anguish and brutality, Falstad's Jewish inmate Julius Paltiel recalled an event where music sung by the Jewish Kantor Josef Grabowski had been the explicit cause for severe punishment.<sup>183</sup> Born in Posen 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 acknowledged as a political refugee. He settled in Trondheim where the small Jewish community offered him the position of cantor. He soon became an important factor both for the local music life and as the founder of a choir to support the liturgical ceremonies. His personal situation deteriorated when his request to prolong his residence permit was turned down by the new Norwegian NS authorities on 25 January 1941. In his testimony for the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, Auschwitz-survivor Julius Paltiel mentioned in 1998 that his own family at first retreated to their mountain hut and took the Grabowski family with them when the Germans came to Trondheim.<sup>184</sup>

After the Wannsee-conference in January 1942 had decided upon the total extermination of all Jews, the Reichskommissariat Norwegen began to persecute and imprison all the Jewish inhabitants in Norway systematically. Finally, Grabowski was sent to Falstad on 9 October 1942, and stayed there for six weeks. On 25 November 1942, he was sent abroad and died in Auschwitz-Birkenau in consequence of hardest compulsory labor on 3 March 1943.

When the guards of Falstad learned that Grabowski could sing in German, they forced him to perform in public. On a cold and clear November night in 1942, he stood in front of all the prisoners and watchmen who had gathered outside in the inner court of the square main building. When he raised his beautiful voice for about 15 minutes, an impressive silence spread and united all listeners to one audience, so that (according to Paltiel) at this very moment everybody felt just human. After Grabowski had ended, the beauty of the moment was shattered by the howling of a watchdog. As usual on such occasions, the guards blamed the Jewish prisoners. Immediately, they had to stand still, take the last leaves off the birch-tree nearby and pile them up. Then they had to lie down and clear the ground by taking one leaf at a time from this pile between their lips and crawl for about 70 to 80 meters to pile them up again without using their hands. Frank Storm Johansen described similar scenes in his memoirs *Tusen dager i fangenskap* and added another humiliating incident:

Sometimes, the Jews had to sing something the Germans had taught them. It was a melody like a hymn in church. I do not remember the words, but the content was how much Jews care about money, including blasphemy. On one night, after the Jews had to perform this song, commander Geist shouted at all of us prisoners: "That's right, isn't it?" When he got no answer, he repeat-

ed the question. Three hundred prisoners were standing there uneasy without opening their mouths. Seething with rage, he yelled that he would teach us that it was true.<sup>185</sup>



Fig. 37 and 38: The inner court of the square main building at camp Falstad from two different angles. FS creative commons

Due to a general lack of primary sources for Falstad, only a few photographs made by Hans Harstad let us know that camp commander Werner Jeck boasted an elite music corps of prisoners. These musicians were probably forced to play for his entertainment and on public occasions.<sup>186</sup> The pride and conceit of having a representational brass band to one's own disposal and delight were common and are well documented for the final year in Grini. After its opening on 12 June 1941, this camp had first been run by SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Koch until SS-Hauptsturmführer Alfred August Zeidler got in charge in July 1942.<sup>187</sup> With a total number of 19,247 prisoners, many musicians came to Grini over the years, some very prominent, some arrested just as hostages, others having been courageous enough to play a Nazi-critical tune in public. Zeidler ordered to accommodate all male prisoners in 20 barracks separated from the 620 female and 200 Jewish inmates and the special unit for 200 to 250 juvenile prisoners, which came to Grini after May 1943.<sup>188</sup>



Organized forms of ensemble performances did not start before the wintertime of 1944/45. One year later already, immediately after Norway's liberation, the journal *Norsk Musikerblad* summarized the history of two ensembles in Grini – a string orchestra and a brass band – along the facts collected from leading protagonists.<sup>189</sup> The authors were well aware of the sensitive nature of their subject speaking of art and entertainment in the presence of pain, fear, torture and humiliation for which the concentration camp had an infamous reputation: “It may seem like blasphemy when one wants to write about the musik in Grini, but it was a fact. In all the misery and terrorism that prevailed there, they had – at least in recent months – two orchestras.”<sup>190</sup>

While the string orchestra was an ambivalent enterprise both with voluntary and imposed performances (so that it will be discussed in the next paragraph), the brass band can be traced back to a direct command. In mid January 1945, an order was spread via the camp loudspeakers to found a string orchestra and a military brass band, called “Janitsjarkorps”. The obvious connections to the military sector came through its co-founder and conductor Lorang Andresen, a board member of Oslo's Musicians' League, oboist and member of the military resistance Milorg. Andresen was imprisoned in the fall of 1944 and was sent to Grini in January 1945. On the day of his arrival, he got to know Rolf Letting Olsen, who was a long term member of the famous left-wing Kampen Janitsjarkorkester and a Grini prisoner since 9 November 1943. Together with at least seven friends from his former brass orchestra, Olsen had tried to establish a cabaret band and a Janitsjarkorp for the Christmas events in Grini, but he had not been successful. However, he now gathered a group of 30 like minded musicians who wrote home for instruments and scores while he himself was even allowed to leave the camp and bring back more indispensable scores.<sup>191</sup> Additional material was provided secretly by Oslo's Musikerforening, Carl M. Iversen and William Farre. Soon the brass band began practicing and a month later it could give, to the extreme satisfaction of their comrades, its first open air concert on the central appeal place. One of the photos taken secretly under great risks by Alf Rønning, and Leif Blichfeldt in Grini and published in 1946 shows the music corps marching, and rehearsing, although it cannot be decided if they were doing this voluntarily or on command of the SS.<sup>192</sup> The grandest success came soon after the liberation when the band had the honor to play at the celebrations in Grini and head the march of Grini's prisoners on Oslo's boulevard Karl Johan on 11 May 1945.<sup>193</sup> Their last call in the camp either on the day of their liberation or one day later is also captured on film and can be found online nowadays.<sup>194</sup>

Pride and memorial work seem to have been a big part of the Janitsjarkorps' legacy and of all the other musicians who had been imprisoned in Grini. One example that was found in the Grini museum is a “memorial diploma” (“Erindringsdiplom for Deltagelse i Grini Janitsjarorkester”) for Reidar Nordvald (# 9986), and signed by Lorang Andersen, and Rolf Letting Olsen (cf. fig. 39). Another example is a recording of Otto Nielsen's *Grinimarsjen* that was made for the Musica-Company (Telefunken, A-8430) on 17 September 1945 by the Grinikvartetten, probably with Nielsen performing himself (cf. fig. 40).



Fig. 39: “Memorial Diploma” for Reidar Nordvald, on the backside dated “Julen 1944” (christmas 1944). GM



Fig. 40: Recording of Otto Nielsen's *Grinimarsjen*, dated 17 September 1945. GM

## Enforced Submission and Voluntary Action

Traditionally, music plays an important role in the military both for purposes of representation as well as in every day affairs such as marching exercises, parades, and popular concerts. Germany's occupation of Norway did not change these matters. What changed substantially was their setup: Immediately after April 1940, the hierarchy of command and obedience expanded into the domain of the existing music units (called "musikkorps" in Norway). It was a major symbolic concern of Nasjonal Samling and Hird to gain control of the existing military music units as soon as possible (more details will be discussed in Chapter III). The result was only a partial success as many musicians were not soldiers but hired professionals. In spite of a serious unemployment rate among musicians, these professionals refused to take orders from the unwelcome new rulers, and annulled their contracts. In consequence, Hird and Nasjonal Samling were forced to found new units with volunteers who either believed in the new state ideology or were at least willing to arrange themselves with their new duties. The aspect most unclear, and difficult to reconstruct is the question of enforced and voluntary performance. What feelings did musicians performing on political occasions experience? Being professional musicians they might have enjoyed the act of playing regardless of the context. But how is the disregard to the calls for resistance to be considered, when the employment was needed, for example, for the support of the family?

The conditions sketched here for the traditional and the newly established music units also pertain to the situation in prison camps. 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 were provided with professional brass bands or orchestras.<sup>195</sup> The average SS troops in camps across Norway did not have the advantage of having their own music soldiers. Due to the desire for musical representation and entertainment as well as for the enforcement of military drill on prisoners the SS set up bands with skilled musicians recruited among the prisoners. This was a common phenomenon in most of the larger camps across Europe. Furthermore, by such means a facade of normality could be upheld in spite of the dreadful conditions of hunger, fear, sickness, death, despair and hard, monotonous work. For the prisoners, the possession and use of musical instruments offered solace, and a minimum of normality, diversion and recreation in their bleak, desolate lives. Practically, the SS could not prevent activities the prisoners organized in their spare time. The camps were just too large and the number of guards too small to keep all corners and all barracks under control all the time. In consequence, the guards had to allow a certain moderate amount of cultural and leisure initiatives and try to make them a part in their rule of suppression and debasement thus maintaining their hierarchical dominance of all aspects of camp life.<sup>196</sup>

The easiest way to ensure this dominance was to exercise control over the camp orchestras with their medium or large sized groups of people requiring instruments and music scores and in need of space, time, and concentration for rehearsals and performances. Often these groups had been founded by prisoners themselves and had received permission to organize a few of their own events. Besides, they had to perform whenever a camp leader ordered them to. Against their will and against their artistic

ambition, they had to play when prisoners entered or left the camp in marching cohorts, when prisoners who had been caught after unsuccessful attempts to escape, were brought back into the camp under the humiliating whistles of the guards, even for drastically staged execution procedures. The musicians often ranked among the privileged prisoners, dispensed from some of the harder work, and the ten to twelve hour shifts.<sup>197</sup> This could bring about the discontent and anger of their comrades. The image of lazy or relaxed prisoners in concentration camps is not as paradox as it might seem at first.<sup>198</sup> For visitors and the own staff, the SS tried to keep up the pleasant illusion of normality and order so that flower beds, or camp libraries filled with fine literature, and propaganda writings supported this impression while they increased the tensions between different nationalities, and groups of prisoners.

Considering these circumstances, a clear cut distinction between the enforced and the voluntary actions would be difficult to make. Some of the voluntary and secret enterprises are described in memoirs and retrospect interviews though, while the few archival documents from official events show only the surface of programs that were permitted. This leaves room for speculation about purposely undocumented additions to the program. Therefore, the following description of case studies tries to balance several aspects: a) Many events, and ensembles included elements of both commanded and voluntary (sometimes even clandestine or subversive) nature; b) The willingness to compromise was essential to get the permission for events organized by prisoners and tolerated by the officials; c) Musical collaborations must not be evaluated with moral standards. The prisoners had neither any legitimacy nor the power to negotiate with the SS.

### **Christmas Time in Grini and Falstad**

A first report about a Christmas celebration in Grini was printed already in 1946 in August Lange's and Johan Schreiner's *Griniboken*, which collected memories that former inmates considered worth documenting for future generations. This first report summarized the preparations for the year 1943 when each barack nominated a committee and secretly prepared contributions to the collective festivities. These committees were usually led by older prisoners who knew their younger comrades and their talents best.<sup>199</sup> The account continues that the German Lagerleitung had given permission to use instruments this year which logically means that there must have been performances before. This time, choirs practiced in different barracks, while songs, comedy sketches, and prologues were written in others: "Alle var instillt på at stemingen skulle være så lys og lett som mulig. De gamle fangene gledet seg faktisk til julen, de visste at den ville bli hyggelig, og etter hvert rev stemningen også de yngre og nye med seg."<sup>200</sup> The Christmas spirit must have been strong among the German suppressors as well who permitted the handout of 3,000 to 4,000 parcels without censorship or pre-opening and also extra food rations. The entertainment events were a great success.

The Falstad archive preserves a seven page document which shows in great detail a similar occurrence for the Christmas season of 1944.<sup>201</sup> In an interview in 2003 former Falstad inmate Per Hjort confirmed the existence of a choir, which was conducted first by a man named Petersen (brother to opera singer Egil Norsjø), whom he succeeded himself after Petersen's undated transfer to a different camp.<sup>202</sup> The choir's repertoire

depended on the abilities of its singers (“Det var jo mye korkyndige folk der, så det gikk riktig bra.”), and on the repertoire they had been familiar with before they came to Falstad as well as actual scores that could be used inside the camp. According to Hjort, the choir gave an undated Christmas concert (“julekonsert i borggården”) and also performed inside the camp in the hallway next to the diphtheria cells (“diftericellen”). When Hjort became the choir’s conductor after Petersen had left the camp, he organized a program in Falstad they called “Vårjevndøgnskonsert” for an enthusiastic audience. Their repertoire featured traditional pieces (“noe av Beethoven”) and a composition by Hjort himself, *Viljen* (“the Will”). This once more emphasizes that German pieces were less a concession only to the German officials but also a reminiscence of Norway’s cultural traditions. Hjort’s composition can also be found on the program for the Christmas events in 1944. The official committee, headed by Asbjörn Aas, Erling Murbraeck and Örnulf Nordgaard had to hand in a meticulous program in German which was approved by Lagerkommandant Karl Denk (“Programmet godkjendt i foreliggende form.”), with copies to “Politimesteren Herr Haak, Storcappo Herr Meinhardt, Häftlingvernet kontoret”. It even had to name the personell in the kitchen, the prisoners who had to clean up the dining room after the celebrations as well as the camp guards (“Lagerwehr”). The festivities lasted three days in a row. The first afternoon and evening included a string quartett with Dagfinn Flen und Hans Mitet (violin), Kåre Pettersen (viola) and Jon Lund-Hansen (cello), a vocal double quartett with Knut Arnesen (conductor), Erling Larsen, Kaare Storaas, Jon Lund-Hansen, Ole Devik, Jacob Bakke, Adolf Barkved and Aasmund Knotten.

Besides exact specifications for the decorations, the routes to enter and leave the public areas as well as the returning of the clean dishes, the papers listed a very strict timing for the first festivities on Christmas Eve (although it is not known if it was kept in all details). After the usual muster and lunch between 12:30h and 14:00h (sticking to the German and Norwegian way of counting the time) a first concert was given between 16:00h and 16:45h by the choir and an unspecified horn orchestra (it was mentioned in the interviews by Peter Hjort and Falstad-inmate Arvid Arstad as well). The brass players began with a *Defilermarsch* by A. Svendsen, K. Amundsen’s *La Bella Villagoise*, and Christmas songs. The choir continued with Gustav Böhn’s *Her ser eg fagre fjord*, Per Hiorth Albertsen’s *Viljen*,<sup>203</sup> F. A. Riesiger’s *Höstandakt* with soloist Jacob Bakke and *Hav* by Oscar Borg.

Because of the huge number of participants, the prisoners were divided into two separate groups for the second part of the evening. It began at 17:50h when four members of the prisoner’s “Lagerwehr” picked up the first group of 220 men in their barrack room by room, possibly with additional patients from the “Krankenrevier” (infirmary). After a few welcoming words by Örnulf Nordgaard, *Glade Jul* was intoned with the string quartett accompanying, followed by a declamation by Albert Mörkved. Before the whole audience sang together again (*Jeg er saa glad hver julekvell*), the string quartett presented several tunes: the Christmas carol *O Sanctissima*, the Norwegian folk melodies *Eg veit ei lite jente*, *Aagots fjellsang*, *Jeg lagde mig sa silde*, and again two carols: *Jeg synger Julekvad*, and *du grønne, glittrende tre*. In spite of the intended sentimental atmosphere, the military nature of the evening was undeniable, for the vocal double quartett had to keep up the strict timing and nevertheless perform with fervor

*B. Berglund*  
PROGRAMM FÜR DIE WEIHNACHTEN 1944.

Für Weihnachten wird der Speisesaal mit "GOD JUL" an der Wand gegen der Küche dekoriert. In den 12 Zwischenräumen zwischen den Fenstern werden zweiarmige Leuchter mit Kerzen aufgehängt. Die Tische werden mit einfachen Tischdekorationen von Tannenzweigen geschmückt.

In den Baracken wird mit ~~Papiersticker~~ und Tannenzweigen dekoriert.

Im Revier wird unter den Lampen einen Julkranz aufgehängt und in Saal 25 wird ein dekoriertes Weihnachtsbaum hineingesetzt.

Für die Diphtheriezellen wird ein Weihnachtsbaum geschmückt, der in den Korridor vor den Zellen hineingesetzt wird.

Für die Zellenhäftlinge wird für jede Zelle ein Tannenzweig geschmückt, der am Weihnachtsabend gleichzeitig mit dem Abendessen abgeliefert wird.

WEIHNACHTSABEND.

✓ 12<sup>00</sup> Appell.  
 Beim Appell wird bekanntgemacht: Sämtliche Häftlinge sollen sich um 17<sup>45</sup> Uhr auf Ihren Stuben befinden.

✓ 12<sup>30</sup> 14<sup>00</sup> Mittagessen wie gewöhnlich.  
 15<sup>00</sup> 16<sup>45</sup> Konzert im inneren Hof. Der Chor und das Hornorchester.

	<u>Programm:</u>	<u>Hornorchester:</u>
16 <sup>00</sup> 04	1) A. Svendsen	: Defiliermarsch
16 <sup>06</sup> 10	2) K. Amundsen	: La Bella Villagoise
16 <sup>12</sup> 17	3)	: Weihnachtslieder.
	<u>Programm:</u>	<u>Chor:</u>
16 <sup>20</sup> 24	1) Gustav Böhn	: Her ser eg fagre fjord
16 <sup>27</sup> 30	2) Per Hiorth Albertsen	: Viljen
16 <sup>33</sup> 37	3) F.A. Riesiger	: Høstandakt m/Solist: Jacob Bakke
16 <sup>40</sup> 45	4) Oscar Borg	: Hav

17<sup>50</sup> Wegen der grossen Zahl der Teilnehmer werden sie in zwei Gruppen eingeteilt.

17<sup>50</sup> Die erste Gruppe wird von 4 Mann der Lagerwehr abgeholt in folgender Reihenfolge:

Stube A	21 Mann
" B	49 "
" C	21 "
" D	15 "
" F	52 "
" G	19 "
Turmhallen 1/2	43 "
	<u>220 Mann</u>

+ event. Patienten von Revier.

Fig. 41: Program for a Christmas celebration in camp Falstad 1944. FS, F-00265-003-001, page 1

*Stille Natt* by Bethoven [sic], *Stjernesangen* by Sibelius, and the Christmas carol *Deilig er Jorden*. Between 18:41h and 18:52h, the “Weihnachtsmann” was supposed to distribute humorous presents (“scherzhafte Geschencke”) to 15 prisoners. The solemn hour closed with eight minutes of collective singing (“18.52 bis 18.60 Die Teilnehmer singen 4 Timer i klokker”), before the participants put back their stools and were brought back to their rooms by the Lagerwehr. Meanwhile, the second group had eaten their Christmas dinner (“Butterbrot und Kaffee aus der Grossen Küche”) which had been prepared and delivered to the barracks before, coordinated by each room’s Kapo. Two men of the Lagerwehr had to take care of the proper coordination of this procedure (“2 Mann der Lagerwehr sorgen für die Ordnung bei der Essenausgabe.”). Afterwards, they were taken to the exact same festive setting in the main dining hall.

Christmas day began with a morning concert (“Frühkonzert”) on the muster ground (“Antreteplatz”) where the horn orchestra repeated its program with works by Svenden, Amundsen and Christmas carols the first time. With the supporting choir (also singing the repertoire of Christmas Eve), they performed it a second time between 9:30h and 10:03h, probably in the green houses or the gardening area (“Hornmusik und Gesangskonzert aus der Gärtnerei”) for the prisoners from the cell wing (“Zellenhäftlinge”) while the string quartett repeated its program of the previous day in the hospital section. Another concert was scheduled for the evening hours when new pieces were added to the program: Alfred Paulsen’s *Naar fjordene blaaner*, O. Ekhangen’s *Ved tjernet*, Adolf Thomsen’s *Barndomsminne fra Nordland* with a soloist Nordahl and Oscar Borg’s *Gud signe Noregs land*. The string quartet contributed the Norwegian folk song *Jeg lagde mig saa sildig*, Christoph Willibald Gluck’s *Reigen seliger Geister*, a *Menuett* from Luigi Boccherini, an adaption of Robert Schumann’s piano piece *Träumerei* and concluded with the popular tune *Paal sine høner*.

## Cabaret

Maybe the most surprising part of the threefold program, and a very pleasant one at any rate, was reserved for the third day: a cabaret (called “revy”). In contrast to the detailed schedule for the first two days, only its program is covered in the seven pages-paper of the organisation committee. This might match a drawing by Thorleiv Sellæg, which is preserved in Falstad’s archive, entitled *Falstad-Jazz*. It shows three musicians with guitar, violin and violoncello (cf. fig. 42).<sup>204</sup> After a not further specified *Ouvertüre*, R. Georgsen sang an *Aapningsvis* and H. Otnes welcomed the audience with an *Introduksjon*. Afterwards, R. Georgsen returned to the stage with the jodle tune (“Jodlervise”) *Lille Gjeterpetter* (“Jodlervise”) followed up with a song by O. Waaded *En morgen i mai* and *Fiskens Moral* by Albert Mörkved. Two prisoners (the name of only one of them, “Eriksen”, can be deciphered in the papers) presented the sketch *Vennen I huset*, before the inmates Van Genns, Flaa and Mittet (maybe the mentioned *Falstad-Jazz-Trio*) performed a *Musik* with guitar, violin and banjo. Several songs came next: *Jag er en kvinn* (performed by R. Georgsen), *Den vanlige lille visa* (H. Otnes) and *Drikkevis* (a drinking song, Albert Mörkved), with an interruption for reading (“Oplesning / Vorlesung”) *Olsen og Garmand* by H. Otnes, after which O. Waaden sang the tune *Faar jag tala om*, and R. Georgsen *Kalle har vaert her*. Another *Musik* by “Der Trio” was next, afterwards Georgsen and Otnes performed the sketch



Fig. 42: *Falstad "Jazz"*, drawing by Thorleiv Sellæg. FS, F-00366-001-011

*Erstatning* ("reimbursement"). Otnes continued with a sailor's potpourri (*Sjømannspotpouri*), and together with Waaden and Georgsen performed as the vocal trio ("Gesangstrio") *Mens stjerner blinker* ("While The Stars Are Blinking"). Another declamation by Albert Mørkved was next, before the night was concluded with a jodle by R. Georgsen *Paa kanefart* ("On A Boat Trip"), the Farmer's Song ("Bauerlied" [sic]), *Tralle du gla Lars* by Otnes, a *Musik* by "Der Trio" and at last an unnamed sketch by Otnes, Georgsen and Waaden.

In Grini, the preference for cabaret programs, most of them called "revy" here,<sup>205</sup> can be found, too. An early indication is a note in Magne Molvig's diary from 1941.<sup>206</sup> Molvig, a man from Røyken, born 14 April 1911, had been arrested for the distribution of illegal newspapers and for German-sceptical statements ("Tyskfiendtlige ytringer"). Via Frederikstad he was sent to Møllergata 19 on 15 August 1941, imprisoned in Grini (# 452) the same day and released two months later on 21 October.<sup>207</sup> On Sunday, 24 August 1941, he wrote into his diary: "Once more inspection, so I walked around with the psalm book, which I had gotten in the chapel where Pastor Tråen was preaching, and collected autographs. [...] At night a revue with performances of prisoners. Øverland read own poems. Rinnan sang, Grimstad told jokes, a harmonica orchestra, singing by Dyrnæs. The women were present on the galleries, the same as for the prayer. Appr. 40 of them. There are appr. 275 men here."<sup>208</sup>



One of the best-known examples of how a camp's entertaining music life could improve thanks to one singular artist is Otto Nielsen's impact on Grini. Born in Trondheim in 1909, he was an active cabaret artist while a student of architecture in the early 1930s. Together with his sister Gerd, he became a radio celebrity thanks to the breakthrough of this young media in Norway. In consequence, he answered to the high hopes of his inmates when he entered Grini in November 1943 and was happy to contribute his abilities for a good spirit there. The various publications that cover the prisoners' life in Grini mention Nielsen extensively and some even show photographs of him performing for his comrades. 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 after Norway's liberation. The most catching songs were edited by his friends under the title *Rom8sanger* and were combined with anecdotes about and by Otto Nielsen.<sup>209</sup> They included *Grinimarsj*, *En deilig dag* (with a final verse that was added after the liberation), *Det har vi*, *Nyttårstablå* (from one of the cabaret shows), *Grini-sild* (to the melody of *Ivelandssekta*), *Grini-skål* (to the melody of *Johan på Snippen*), *For 2 år siden* (for "Einar Linderud's to-årsdag i fangenskap 4/2 - 44" to the melody of *For 7 år siden*), *Vuggevisse til en innemann* (for "Paul Nyblen 19/2 - 44" to the melody of *Bake kake søte*), *Petters fødselsdag* (dated "15/9 - 44"), *Når skal du dra* (some anecdotes), *Til Torild fra far* (to the melody of *Du Lasse, Lasse liten*), *Torilds fødselsdag* (to the melody of *Amerikabrevet*), *Al-dri mer* (commented "Da Gilland fikk gul trekant og forlot rommet. August 1944"), *Avskjeid med rom 8* (a long description of the friendship in room number 8, naming Einar Linderud, Arne Pettersen, and Otto Nielsen: "Jeg er glad for at jeg fikk gjort en innsats for rommet da jeg strevet med Kartei og tyskerne for å få nr. 8648 overført til oss.", and mentioning Alf Fosdal, Gunnar Bratlie, Oddvar Trøbler, Oscar Magnus, Adolf Brendford, Odd Kahrs, Einar Paasche Aasen, Finn Wahlgren, Hervig, and Mossegutten Thorting), *Ai ai ai ai ai ai* (to "Brendford og Magnus felles fødselsdag"), *Hov-mot og daglig brød*, *Dråpa om Torleif Krokfinger* (to "Torleif Corneliussens fødselsdag 25.7.1944" to the melody of *Marsjkonkurransen*), *Grinitrio* (the mentioned sketch), *Fri-hetsmarsj*, *En vidunderlig tid*, *Påskesalme 1945*, *Det lakker mot vår*, *Fremtidsmeny*, and *Skapsangen (Framåt!)*.

The full scale revues and cabaret evenings were too long to be kept secret so that all programs needed approval by the Lagerkommandat. The fact that the lyrics were supposed to be in Norwegian, which the SS was unfamiliar with so that it had to rely on the translation of loyal Norwegians, underlines once again the specifics of music with open semantics: While the melodies touched both the audience and the guards, the lyrics could turn a tune's meaning so that the prisoners could sense the ironic contents between the lines. Such a project was the event planned for Christmas in Grini in 1944. Shortly after the war the artist Gunnar Bratlie published his memories of his imprisonment "*Det har vie*". *Griniskisser*. There he describes how sentimental the Germans became the closer the Christmas days drew so that their censorship of the prisoners' proposals was rather liberal.<sup>210</sup>

So somehow, all of Nielsen's lyrics for the Christmas cabaret ("julerevyen") passed the German censorship, and the preparations kept everybody busy. Bratli and his helpers painted decorations, and all participants practiced their parts. As in Falstad, the

evening was divided into two similar shows so that all of the prisoners could attend. In the presence of the camp's leaders (seated in the first two rows), the program presented a small choir, with the violinist and conductor of Stavanger's symphony orchestra Gunnar Knudsen performing Paganini, bass Johannes Berg-Hansen, tenor Einar Linderud, a vocal quartet with Berg-Hansen and Linderud (who later on was replaced in the quartet by Alf Erikstad, a student of architecture, and credited as Grini's finest tenor), theater actor Jack Fjeldstad, jazz musician Rowland Greenberg, poet Lars Berg (the former head of the Hålogaland teater), Kåre Korneliussen, former radio host from Kristiansand Julius Hougen, and of course Otto Nielsen. The event must have been such a pleasant experience for everyone that the Lagerkommandant permitted another one for New Year's Eve.

A unique exception during the Christmas days was the permission for the female inmates of the camp to attend an extra show though without male comrades in the audience. These had to stand still at the muster field so that the female prisoners could enter the decorated scene. Gunnar Knudsen was not only a famous artist among the cabaret performers; he was also married to an energetic political activist, Judith Knudsen, who had resigned from her position as parliamentary consultant ("stortingsreferent") after the beginning of Norway's occupation. Being a Grini inmate herself she had not seen her husband since their mutual arrest until the moment when he entered the stage. As eye witnesses reported afterwards, he could not stand the longing for her when he spotted her, stepped off the stage into the audience and gave her a long and loving hug. Surprisingly, the guards did not interrupt this scene.

A second exceptional event of Grini's Christmas season 1944 was the permission for the female prisoners not only to attend a show featuring the male cabaret, but to stage their own show in the women's block. In her private papers preserved in Stavanger, Anna-Margrete Olden collected an article that her aunt journalist Caro Olden who was a prisoner in Grini herself had published in a Norwegian journal.<sup>211</sup> There she wrote that the start into the Christmas season with the refused permission to set up and decorate a tree had been depressing, culminating in the camp commander's orders to the women to sing Christmas carols for him. As Olden stated in reminiscence, she never before or after this occasion heard singing with more defiance and disgust. The women, nevertheless, tried to save the spirit of the season by making speeches and singing songs just for themselves. However, they received permission to attend Otto Nielsen's and his comrades' "julerevyen" as mentioned above. Although they had neither instruments nor decorations, neither skilled artists nor anyone with experience in planning and organizing anything comparable, they wanted to turn their inspiration into initiative and stage their own cabaret show. Within four days, they managed to write lyrics and poems, do sketches, tailor costumes, improvise some decorative sceneries ("et praktfullt bakteppe hadde Anita Greve laget av et laken med applikasjoner som forestilte konturene av Norge med et stort fuglebur der hvor Grini lå, og fra det fløy brokete fugler ut mot friheten."), practice secretly and finally even received permission to present the results on New Year's Day, just for themselves but at least in public for all. Their success resulted in the permission to organize another show for Easter. This time, the women had the chance to plan and organize the event a long time in advance.

## Classical Entertainment

Having active artists and musical celebrities among the inmates of the prison camp naturally improved the quality, intensity and diversity of the cultural life. The aura of classical music obviously added another special ingredient. Former inmates stated how much admiration and thankfulness Otto Nielsen aroused with his entertainment. It let everybody at least smile a little in spite of the unfriendly, threatening environment. When Gunnar Knudsen came to Grini on 11 November 1944 at the age of 37, another chapter in the camp's music life began. The awareness of centuries of cultural traditions, Norwegian as well as European values, and the exceptional artistic talent that he represented reminded of the different facets of Norwegian identity, of seriousness and dignity that had not been experienced like this before. Knudsen had been arrested for political activities in Stavanger where he had supported refugees, spread illegal news, and delivered radio material to a broadcasting unit (the conveyed papers do not specify if it meant components for a radio station or journalistic content).<sup>212</sup> The expectations he inspired reached beyond the average musical community where everybody could join in easily and aroused attention among his comrades. Very soon someone gave him a violin which he tried to play secretly with a damper (*sordin*).<sup>213</sup> One (unspecified) day, he was ordered to play for Lagerkommandant Alfred Zeidler who had heard rumors that a virtuoso had come to his camp. It is not known how Knudsen solved this task; some authors speculate he voluntarily played wrong, but a poor performance would have been contradictory to his reputation as an artist. It is certain he was not called upon for another concert. However, he was allowed to keep his violin and give concerts in the barracks. This was normally forbidden but for some reason or other tolerated in this case. One possible reason why these events were ignored may have been the conditions during this last phase of WWII, which Pingel and Wachsmann in general, and historians specialized on the warfare in the North in particular have described as a time of relenting control. The Wehrmacht was too busy with the withdrawal from Finnmark, and the dramatic deterioration of all continental frontlines to bother about such minor questions.

Together with his long-term colleague Harald Kværne (a member of the Freemason's Orchestra and Handelsstanden's Orchestra) Knudsen had intended to form a string quartet for the Christmas season when he arrived at Grini in November. Although the camp leader refused this idea at first, one day before Christmas he ordered Knudsen and Kværne to establish a trio, and perform for the Sicherheitsdienst at a Christmas celebration. Should they refuse to comply, he threatened to take back his permission for the inmates' festivities described above.<sup>214</sup> This might have possibly been the unpleasant audition before Zeidler. To supply the necessary instruments, Zeidler confiscated some from other prisoners, and forced the musicians to pay for the scores they were allowed to order in Oslo themselves. In civilian suits from the depot and from other inmates as well as black ties from the commander, but without any preparation, they performed their first concert in the commander's apartment for a pack of cigarettes. During the next days, Grini witnessed the legendary course of events with a theater show, a cabaret program and several concerts that already have been mentioned several times.

Two weeks later in mid January 1945, an order was spread via the camp loudspeakers to found a string orchestra and the military brass band (Janitsjarkorps) which has been described previously. Many volunteers responded immediately and were allowed to write home for their instruments.<sup>215</sup> Scores were provided by Handelsstanden's Orchestra, the Freemason's Orchestra, by a Mrs Fagelund, and the Norwegian Musicians' League. Knudsen started rehearsals for his new string orchestra soon under most primitive conditions, first in a carpenter's workshop, then in a barrack. Rehearsals were difficult due to long and exhausting working days, and could not start before 8 p.m. Several times they were interrupted by pack drills. The orchestra had 16 to 24 members: 7 first and 6 second violins, 2 violas, 4 violoncelli, 1 doublebass and a piano played by Bergh-Olsen, the chairman of Bergen's philharmonic society Harmonien. According to scores preserved by the Grini museum, the repertoire covered both popular symphonic tunes and pieces by Edvard Grieg, arranged for the special size of the orchestra, such as Edvard Grieg's *Hjertesår, Våren, Ved Rondane*, his violin sonata in C minor, opus 45, and extracts from his piano concerto in A minor, opus 16 with Eyolf Bergh-Olsen as soloist. Johann Svendsen's *Ifjol gjætt e gjeitinn* and his *To islandske melodier*, as well as Ole Bull's *La Melancolie* were also performed. The concerts were held in each barack separately for an average audience of 300 persons.<sup>216</sup> During the Easter time, the string orchestra gave 13 concerts for approximately 3,500 listeners. Its final concerts were held in Oslo's University auditorium soon after the war and received enthusiastic public response.

## **Camp Odysseys – Frank Storm Johansen and Gunnar Kjeldaas**

So far, this chapter has described certain places and situations reporting about the lives of captives there and the major and minor incidents facing them. It is important to keep in mind that the camp inmates often did not stay long at one place but were transported from one camp to another: Jews and political prisoners “deserving” severe punishments were sent on to the concentration camps in Central Europe while Norwegians accused of “minor” delinquencies, and civilians resisting orders, such as teachers in the legendary strike of 1942, were sent all over Norway. Accordingly, they often could not really integrate into the community of permanent prisoners in the different camps, but formed a close group of the comrades that were bound together by their mutual fate of everchanging whereabouts.

### **Frank Storm Johansen – Deported Abroad**

Very exceptional is a small note book that used to belong to Frank Storm Johansen. Born in Oslo in 1919, he was 23 years old when German soldiers arrested him at the Trofors station (a tiny village in the northern part of Norway between Trondheim and Bodø) on 10 September 1942. After his graduation at the School for Railway Service he was employed as a railroader. As an active member of the Workers' Union he was also aware of the rise of National Socialism in Germany, as he explained in his memoirs *A Thousand Days in Captivity*.<sup>217</sup> Originally, these memoirs were written only for Johansen's own family with an explanation in the preface of how difficult and sometimes

impossible it was to describe how situations of terror, fear, hopelessness felt, how the smell of burning corps from the crematoriums was present in a concentration camp all the time, but also how strong and compassionate the ties between the prisoners could grow being bound together by a common fate.<sup>218</sup>

His notebook is now preserved in the Falstad-archive (cf. fig. 43). It has the size of a pack of cigarettes and opens like a tryptichon with a double-page notebook on one side and a small block for notes on the other. It is not possible to determine when all of the notes filling this little booklet were written down.



Fig. 43: Notebook from Frank Storm Johansen. FS, F-00153-012-001

The addresses of comrades and short lists of necessities to buy in the KZ Sachsenhausen indicate that many of these memos originate from there, for example a “Prämien-schein” (cf. fig. 44). Some of the memos were possibly written in retrospect but still before Johansen returned to Norway.



Fig. 44: Bonus bills from KZ Sachsenhausen, inside from Frank Storm Johansen’s notebook. FS, F-00153-012-001

The first page shows a multi-colored picture of the front of “Arbeitslager Falkensee”, a part of the KZ Sachsenhausen Oranienburg. Johansen wrote down an itinerary of his odyssey beginning with his arrest at “Majastua” on 10 September 1942. The reasons for his arrest are not known. He was sent to Falstad first (# 268), where he arrived three days later. After one month, he was sent on to Misjonsshot on 16 October and from there to Vollan just three days later. On 19 October, he returned to Falstad (# 484). After fourteen months there, he was deported to Germany on 12 December 1943 and held in arrest in several parts of KZ Sachsenhausen: first in the main camp (# 73742) outside of Oranienburg (30 km north of Berlin), then transferred to Falkensee (20 km south of Oranienburg on the western outskirts of Berlin) half a year later on 23 June 1944, back to Sachsenhausen on 21 March 1945, and further to Neuengamme (# 79052, located on the eastern outskirts of Hamburg) five days later on 26 March 1945. Probably as part of a rescue mission by the Swedish Red Cross and their White Busses, he reached the border to German-occupied Denmark on 21 April 1945 and arrived in Frøslev the same day. On 1 May 1945, Johansen crossed the border to Sweden thus regaining his freedom. His route back to Norway by train is recorded in even greater detail. Starting out in Malmø on 1 May 1945, he reached the Magnus Stenbock-skolan in Hälssingborg the same day. On 5 May, he came to Bolmen i Småland and two days later to Sjöarp in Tälläng. On 23 May, he reached Kjesäter and passed by Gøteborg on 25 May. Shortly after midnight, he passed the Norwegian border and arrived in Oslo in the morning of 26 May 1945.

The following pages of the notebook contain many song lyrics, written with different pens without naming authors, places or melodies. All of them are related to Johansen's imprisonment and the different places of his odyssey: *Falkensee – vårt Paradis; Festsanger. Julen 1943-44* (“Nå er det jul igjen, kan du forstå det!”); “Igjen er julen til oss kommen” dated 1944; “Na er vi her igjen med smil påny”; *Jeg ikke født slik* (“Jeg ikke født slik, du ser meg her i kvell”); *Feuerwehr* (“Jeg ble pella ut til ‘Feuerwehr’ fordi jeg er så klok”); *Moorsoldaten; Sangen om fred* (“Har du et sinn som kan lytte til verdens urolige jag”); *Crescendo* (“Solen sænker sine flammer mildt i kvelden ned”); *De gamle trær* (“Mangen aftenstund når det mørkner her”); *Skjenk meg din skjerv* (“Vil du eneste natt meg skjenke intill morgengry”); *Husker du dengang; Du* (“Du som engang i drømme jeg så”); *Marion* (“Marion – Marion – som en blå forglemmegei”); *Gloria* (“I de første morgentimer før vår by er våknet opp”); *Faria – Faria* (“Lystig er vår sigøynerferden”); *Såg du mitt land* (“Såg du mitt land når snø i lidom bråna”); *Heimatt til Noreg; I djupe dalar* (“I djupe dalar og grøne lider”); *Mitt bu, min heim; Ene mellom roser; Ho mor* (“No stend ho steller I kjøkenkrå – ho mor”); *Gjennem kampens bulder* (“Der går et stille tog igjennom kampens bulder”); *Holliå* (“Bun er skogens hæselnøtt, brun er også jeg, ja også jeg”); *Vandre* (“Nu kranes solens landevei og lykkens gjemte sti”); *Kom kamerater* (“Kom kamerater og stem mandolinen synd den skal rustne forglemt på sin søm”); *Framåt* (“Framåt vår tanka måste vandra framåt emot den ljusa tid”); *Søndagsmorran* (“Søndagsmorran atter kommet arbeidsuka er forbi”); *Börgermoor-sangen; Falstad* (“Før natta er omme blir vi vekket opp, de gjelder å komme seg ned med et hopp. Vi finner fram klærne og trækker på tærne til andre som også er eier ov en kropp”); *Skagerak* (“I vår skole har vi hørt et navn som nå er populært Skagerak, Skagerak” [the lyrics end with the memo “Revyen i Neuengamme” in brackets]; “Fra

Sachsenhausen kommer vi, fra fengsel og fangeleier, og aldri andet bryst så fri, så fulle av sang og seir. Oss venter barn og make no får vi alt tilbake. Vårt hjem og vår egen jord, der hele vår fremtid grov”; *Friheten forpast* (“ser du byen og hjembgdas lier, ser du bølgende åser og fjell”); *Das Moorsoldatenlied*; *Grinimarsj* (“Norges stolte sønner, fiskere, arbeidere og bønder”), and *Oslo* (“byen vår med Ekeberg og gamle Akershus, se hvor stolt den reiser seg av svundre tiders grus”). On a following list Johansen took down 91 names with addresses.<sup>219</sup>

In his memoirs Johansen wrote about many situations pertaining to music, to experiences on the train during days of exhausting travel without food or water, to Christmas celebrations in the concentration camps Falstad, Sachsenhausen, and Falkensee, and to the journey home with the famous White Busses the Swedish White Cross used to rescue Scandinavian prisoners from Germany in early 1945:

- Christmas in KZ Falstad, 1942: “In the camp we had gotten permission for a get-together on Christmas Eve by the Germans. There was a large Christmas tree in the gym, and there were long tables along the hallways with decorations. We had been allowed in advance to write home for a parcel of two kilogram, which was given out during the Christmas celebration. All tobacco had been taken out by the Germans before. This should be shared by all, they said. Obviously, much of the tobacco got into the Germans’ pockets before we got our share. One of the guards was inconsiderate enough to offer one of our boys a cigarette which had a Christmas greeting to Erling Paulsen written on it. We walked around the Christmas tree, sang Christmas songs, thought of our loved ones at home and believed that next Christmas the war would be over and we back home. Several prisoners entertained us with songs and readings. The Czech prisoners were really good. They sang the songs of their homeland, and they sang well. None of us had believed that we would experience such a Christmas evening in a concentration camp. Our man Jørgen Vogt, who was chiefly responsible [‘hovedtillitsmann’, probably the Kapo], deserves most of the honor for this celebration. But very soon we returned to our grey existence as prisoners.”<sup>220</sup>
- During the train ride to Sachsenhausen in December 1943 I: “We did not get food during the first day, only one cup of ersatz coffee. But entertainment was organized. A priest gave urging speeches, somebody told stories, and a provisional choir brought joy. The next morning I saw Germany for the first time. A grey and depressing landscape stretched south endlessly. There were snow clouds here and there.”<sup>221</sup>
- During the train ride to Sachsenhausen in December 1943 II: “Before we had a chance to find out how to place ourselves as well as possible, the door opened again and some more people were pushed inside. There were 70 men altogether in our carriage, the same applied for the other rail coaches. Well, one could only try to arrange himself as well as possible, because most important was to keep up a good humor. The beginning of our stay in Germany was not very promising. But all of a sudden, like a promise for comradeship, the song *Bedre og bedre dag for dag* [‘Better and Better Day by Day’] was to be heard from one of the carriages and quickly all the others joined in. We wanted to see how the guards reacted, but we did not hear any protest. Probably they did not understand the words, but the lively

and optimistic melody could not be misunderstood. It was funnily enough to learn when we came to Sachsenhausen, that this song we had just happened to sing on our way here was very popular and widely used by Norwegians there.”<sup>222</sup>

- Christmas in Sachsenhausen, 1943: “First our ‘tillitsmann’ [Kapo] Nils Langhelle spoke a few words before Dahle from Bergen read the Christmas gospel in Nynorsk. Dalgard read his own poems, and we sang carols. The next evening, the old guys returned to entertain us. Arnulf Øverland read his own poems, amongst others *Det sto et juletre på galgebakken* [‘There is a Christmas Tree on Gallows’ Hill] – from his manuscript. He declaimed with far more composure than I had ever heard from him, and then he read ‘Guernica’ from a scene in Oslo before the war. A group from the AUF [= arbeidernes ungdomsfylking / the Norwegian Labor Party’s Youth Organization] presented a nice program, amongst others with Rudolf Nilsen’s *Gi mig de rene og ranke*. We sang Paasche Aasen’s *Frihetens forpost*, which, in fact, became our second National anthem. Several of our ‘tillitsmennene’ [Kapos] said a few words, and we together all witnessed a unique solidarity.”<sup>223</sup>
- Entertainment in Falkensee: “A cherished memory from Falkensee are Dagfinn Rimes’ entertainment programs. He sang to his own guitar accompaniments and had kept a vast number of songs and tunes in mind. He never refused when we asked him to sing and play, and the evenings he entertained us, after all had gone to bed, were unforgettable. He sat down on the edge of a bed, strummed on his guitar and began to sing all the songs we wanted to hear, folk tunes, other Norwegian songs and melodies from the Labor movement youth camps. And we lay in the dark and listened and were often asleep already before he had finished. He was tireless, Dagfinn, and created many hours of joyful atmosphere for us amidst these insane circumstances we were living in. It also happened that he took his guitar with him into the slit trench during air raid warnings. When bombs fell rather close several times and nervousness arose, one could always shout ‘Play, o’Dagfinn’. Not only was Dagfinn a troubadour, he had other talents as well. He decorated the dining hall for Christmas, wrote melodies and lyrics for a Christmas revue and practiced and rehearsed with some of the guys who wanted to present themselves as actors. Colors and decoration were ordered and, before Christmas Eve came, every darkening curtain in the dining hall was decorated with paintings in Norwegian style. On Christmas Eve, the tables were set with little extras from Red Cross parcels. Under quite some risks, the Rollwagenkommando had organized a Christmas tree, stolen from the camouflage around the factory, which was classified as increased sabotage. But all went well and, when it was standing there in all its glory, the SS did not ask where it had come from. Several short speeches were given during dinner, we sang the National anthem, and now it was time for entertainment under Dagfinn’s supervision ending in a grand finale – the local ballet. – Five guys as dancing fools, only with bras and straw skirts. This was so surprising to all of us and was exercised to exquisitely that we burst into infinite jubilation. We just let it go, because most of us had not seen anything like it before. The revue was repeated on New Year’s Eve and was just as well received. Yes, it cannot be described fully what a guy like Dagfinn meant to all of us under the conditions we were living in.”<sup>224</sup>



- On the bus homeward: “Of course the spirits were high inside the bus. It was night time, but who could afford to sleep! The bus had a radio, and we could later listen to the news from London and later to swing music; the cheers were in time with the beat. Actually, we resided in a part of free and neutral Sweden on the way through Nazi-Germany.”<sup>225</sup>
- On transit in camp Frøslev in Denmark heading home: “Due to the overcrowding of the camp, we only had to work every third day and the working speed was comfortable. We played bridge and chess in our free time and enjoyed entertainment. Here, as anywhere, was no shortage of singers, actors, speakers, etc.”<sup>226</sup>

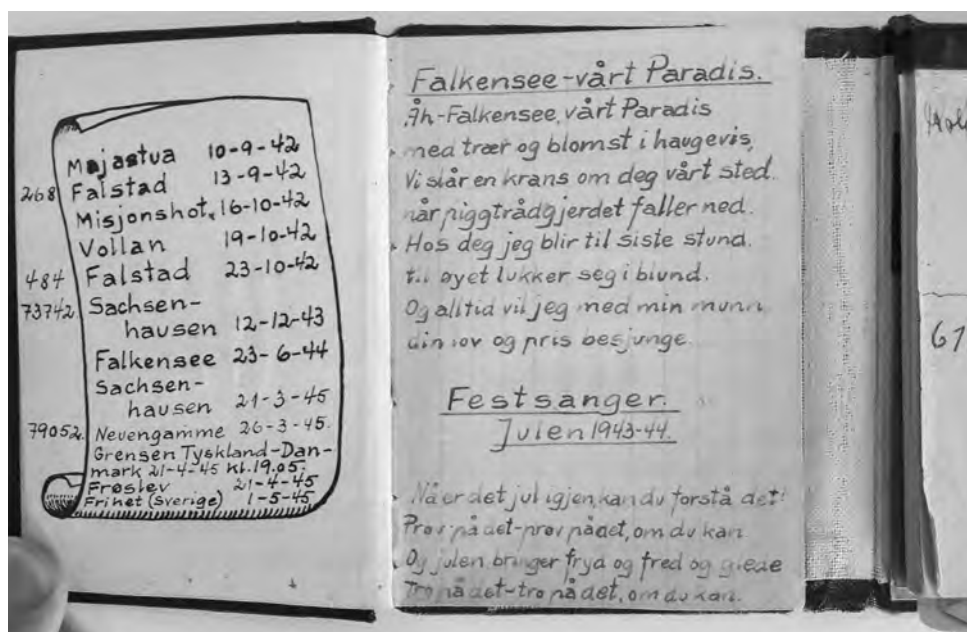


Fig. 45: The first pages in Frank Storm Johansen's notebook, on the left the different chapters of his odyssey, to the right the songs "Falkensee – Our Paradise" and the first of several hymns, here for Christmas 1943-44 which he celebrated in the KZ Sachsenhausen. FS, F-00153-012-001

### Gunnar Kjeldaas – The "Fangesongar frå Kirkenes"

With a rich collection of papers, memorabilia and a diary written in retrospect all in possession of his family, Gunnar Kjeldaas (1890-1963) is another impressive example. His testimony is of special interest as he gained a very positive view of Weimar Germany so that some explanations are necessary to understand his position during Norway's occupation by Hitler-Germany.

After a few years as a teacher at different schools in southern Norway, Kjeldaas, at the age of 32, made his dream come true and went to study at the famous Leipzig conservatory. Having considered his financial situation and accommodated his six-year-old son Arnljot with friends, Gunnar Kjeldaas settled in Leipzig with his wife from Octo-



Fig. 46: Gunnar and Anny Kjeldaas with their son Arnljot in 1918. KFA

ber 1922 until July 1923. He reserved many pages in his memoirs for his composition studies with Paul Graener, the organ lessons in the class of Günther Ramin, cantor in charge at the famous Thomaskirche (Johann Sebastian Bach's former sphere of activity), and singing courses with Wolfgang Geist. It is a sign either for Kjeldaas' loyalty to his former teachers, an evidence of the general attitude that music has nothing to do with politics, or a lack of information about the developments in Germany after his return to Norway that he did not mention Graener's and Ramin's later engagement for the National Socialists.<sup>227</sup> In his reminiscence of these years, he valued Graener as a unique character: "The professor was a very charming man. He had been Kapellmeister at a theater in London, and was able to speak English perfectly. His wife and daughter were very charming people as well."<sup>228</sup> The same preference not to merge political matters with unique artistic memories accounts for his experience as a chorister in Beethoven's Symphony no. 9 under Wilhelm Furtwängler's baton. Only when he spoke about Wagner's anti-Semitism with a Jewish fellow student, political issues were touched upon.

Besides several other Norwegians, the Kjeldaas couple met Olav Kielland, the son of the glass painter at Trondheim's Nidaros Cathedral Gabriel Kielland, who was studying piano with Robert Teichmüller. Arild Sandvold who was just about to finish his organ studies with Ramin became a special friend in Leipzig. Soon afterwards, Sandvold was appointed first organist in Oslo's cathedral where he formed generations of Norwegian church musicians, including Gunnar's son Arnljot Kjeldaas. In June and July 1923 Gunnar Kjeldaas graduated with decent success (cf. fig. 47):

Major subject: Composition.

Ability: “rather good” (IIa)

Diligence “excellent” (I)

Achievement: “very good” (Ib)

Paul Graener

Minor subject: Organ.

Ability: “good” (II)

Diligence “rather good” (IIa)

Achievement “almost good” (IIb)

Günther Ramin

Minor subject: Singing.

Ability: “rather good” (IIa)

Diligence “excellent” (I)

Achievement “rather good” (IIa)

Wolfgang Geist<sup>229</sup>

Back in Norway, Gunnar Kjeldaas returned to his duties as a school teacher in Holmestrand and later in Lysaker. He conducted several choirs, played the organ, and gave additional piano and music lessons to raise the family income. He also composed so that he became an appointed member of the Norwegian Composers' Association in 1937.

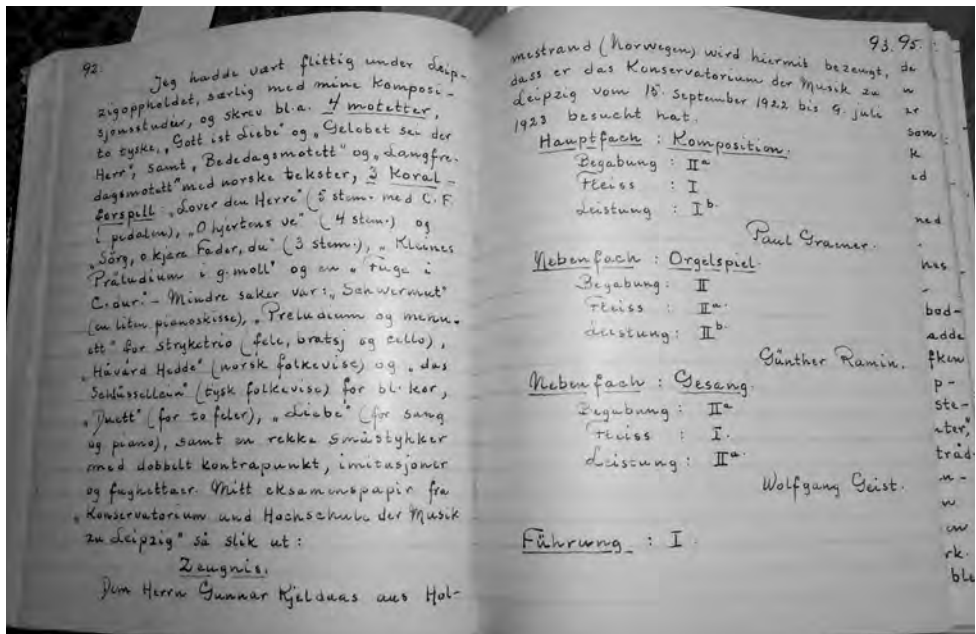


Fig. 47: A detail from Gunnar Kjeldaas' memoirs concerning his results at the Leipzig conservatory. KFA

For the Kjeldaas family, the first years after Germany's attack on Norway went by without major incidents, aside from occasional quarrels between "jössinger" [= "good Norwegians"] and "nasister".<sup>230</sup> The situation changed in 1942 when Quisling "eller Usling som vi kalte ham"<sup>231</sup> was appointed prime minister. Immediately, he set about organizing a Riksting where all professions were to be represented as in ancient Germanic times. During his inauguration ceremonies on 1 February 1942, Quisling proclaimed himself head of the Norwegian State Church and climaxed this affront against Bishop Eivind Berggrav – the leader of the church opposition against the new regime – during a High Mass at the Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim, the mystical birth place of Norwegian Christianity. A few days later, a compulsory youth organization passed legislation ("Lov om nasjonal ungdomstjeneste", modeled after Germany's Hitlerjugend) together with the obligatory membership of all teachers in one single union ("Lov om Norges Lærersamband"). The passing of these two laws was a decisive incident in the history of the Norwegian resistance movement, and caused serious results. The first reaction came from approximately 12,000 of the 14,000 Norwegian teachers who refused to join the new NS-controlled organization. The consequence was a nation wide breakdown of the schooling system. Quisling's administration reacted with utmost brutality. During the next weeks, 1,300 teachers were arrested, and imprisoned. A second reaction to the new legislation followed, this time from the parents from all over the country. With 200,000 letters (which corresponded to 60-70% of all parents) they rejected the attempt to indoctrinate their children in the new youth organization. A handful of the Norwegian bishops supported this mass movement and openly declared their opposition against Quisling's plans in church.<sup>232</sup> Most of the parents had opted for the baptism of their children and according to the first paragraph of the existing school legislation the schools were responsible for the moral and Christian education of all their students. In consequence, the clergy claimed its responsibility for this issue, and two thirds of the parents confirmed their authority.<sup>233</sup> This was a disaster for Quisling and his attempt to gain control over Norway's teachers and youth. It was a sensational failure within only a few weeks right at the beginning of his administration.

Gunnar Kjeldaas was one of the 1,300 arrested teachers and had to endure eight months of imprisonment. An impressive testimonial of his odyssey through nine prisons and concentration camps in the south, middle and north of Norway is his tin bowl, preserved by his relatives, in which he engraved all the stations of his journey. After he had been arrested on 20 March 1942, he was sent to Grini first until 31 March.<sup>234</sup> He and his fellow teachers were brought from there to Lysaker station and cooped in freight cars. Contrary to their dreadful apprehensions of being deported to Germany, the train headed north to Jørstadmoen where they stayed from 1 April to 11 April. Despite severe compulsory labor, most of the men did not give in to Quisling's demands, and their trip continued further north.<sup>235</sup> Via Trondheim (12-15 April), Bodø (16-21 April), Harstad (22-23 April), Tromsø (23-25 April) and Hammerfest (25-27 April) they reached Kirkenes by boat on 29 April. The situation Kjeldaas and his comrades had to endure during this journey must have been threatening: severe hunger, extreme cold, bad treatment by the guards and the ship crews, an underqualified medical staff and disastrous sanitary conditions. Kjeldaas himself suffered an undiagnosed heart attack on the way. The final stop (probably with temporary relocations to



Fig. 48: Frontside of Gunnar Kjeldaas' tin bowl with the engraved places of his imprisonment. KFA

Kirkenes) was Elvenes, a tiny village nearby, where Kjeldaas remained until his release on 20 November 1942. A look on the map at this route and at temperature records for the months of March to November – from Grini west of Oslo to Kirkenes in Northern Norway, which is 300km north of the Arctic Circle with temperatures of  $-20^{\circ}\text{C}$  – underlines how exhausting this odyssey must have been.

Kjeldaas dedicated many pages in his memoirs to musical gatherings in some of these camps. The power of music must have been a very strong solace to help endure this time of hardship. During their eleven days in Grini, the Lagerleitung gave permission for Gunnar Kjeldaas and his fellow teachers to organize their own evening programs with lectures, sketches and songs. Explicitly mentioned is an evening with singing by Jonas Brunvoll who later became an opera singer. Almost all the members of the Brunvoll family had been arrested; his mother Kirsten Brunvoll was later sent to Ravensbrück, Auschwitz and back to Ravensbrück; she survived the war in Mauthausen.<sup>236</sup>

After the men reached Kirkenes and realized that they would stay there for an unknown length of time, the need to adjust to the extreme climatic conditions and to the hard work during the day gained utmost importance. In his essay *Teltlægret "Pappenheim"* (an allusion to the cardboard tents housing the prisoners, cf. fig. 51) inmate Ola Hegerberg gave an impression of some of the musical activities there: "As soon as we

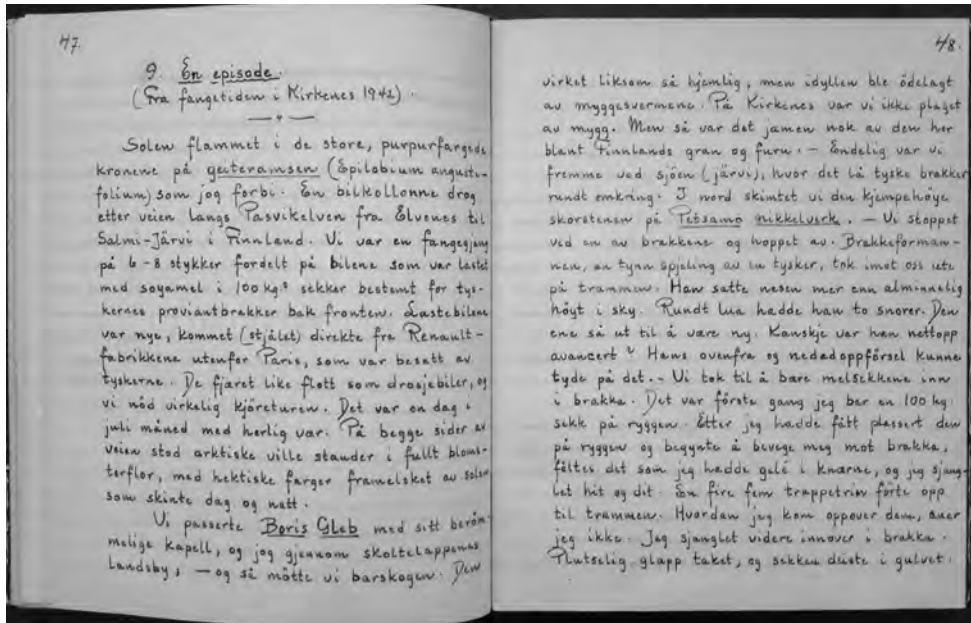


Fig. 49: In a different volume of his memoirs, Gunnar Kjeldaa described also the everyday life of the prisoners (here chapter 9, written in January 1959). KFA

came to Elvenes Hans Bergersen began to arrange songs for a choir. He had nothing to manage this task with, but being as musical as he was, he chose songs we knew and rehearsed them. Many of them were nice songs.”<sup>237</sup>



Fig. 50 and 51: Drawings from camp Elvenes near Kirkenes: To the left a drawing by Olliver Smith, dedicated to Gunnar Kjeldaa on 20 March 1943. On the right a drawing of the cardboard tents, called “Pappenheim”, from camp Kirkenes, in the possession of Gunnar Kjeldaa. KFA

Kjeldaas felt the desire to arrange and compose music himself and asked his comrade John Molden for a poem describing the landscape in front of the barrack. The result was the song *Betula* which was performed in later years by Oslo's Håndverkeres Sangforening with Fridtjof Spalder conducting.<sup>238</sup> His fellow inmates began calling Kjeldaas “Kirkenes-komponisten” in appreciation of his talent to set into music their daily impressions as well as their longings, hopes and sorrows, and they asked for more. The conditions for creative work were anything but favorable; Andreas Aarlie, for example, wrote his poem *Bøn* during his lunch break in a room called “Apotheke”. It became a favorite evening activity to sing these songs when everybody had returned to the camp after a long day of hard work.

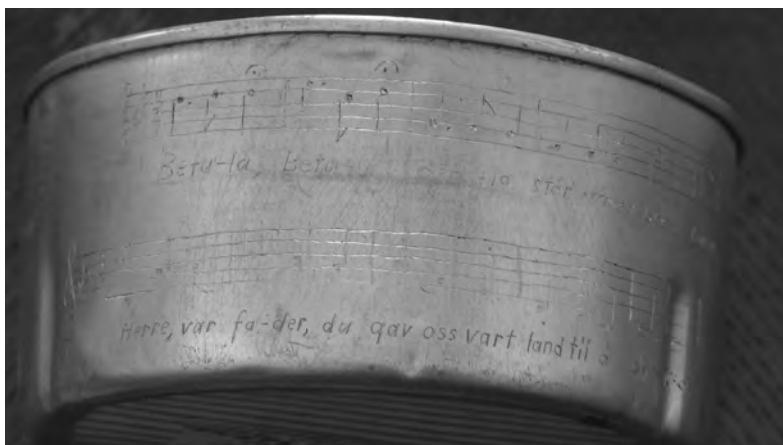


Fig. 52: Backside of Gunnar Kjeldaas' tin bowl with engraved melodies of his *Fangesongar frå Kirkenes*, here the beginning of *Betula* and *Bøn*. KFA

In the 20-minutes documentary *Songs to Survive. Gunnar Kjeldaas' "Fangesongar frå Kirkenes"*, which was produced by the research project *Nordic Music Politics* in 2020, cantor Stein Sødal and musicologist Arnulf Mattes discussed the style of Kjeldaas' songs and emphasized the connection of several of the pieces to chorals and patriotic songs with respect to religion and politics. Arnulf Mattes: “Stein Sødal recognized spontaneously the similarity of Kjeldaas' musical prayer *Bøn* with a traditional song from the very popular collection *Norges Melodier* (1875). This musical association might very well be plausible when looking closer into the text of the piece *Herr Sinklar drog over salten hav* [“Mr. Sinklar left over salty sea”, written in 1781 by Edvard Storm]. This traditional tune portrays the historical fight against invaders who were raiding and assaulting the population on their way through Norway. Quite a striking coincidence with Kjeldaas' own experience in 1942.”

It is a common phenomenon of music that has been composed in concentration camps to react to particular conditions: for example to certain instruments that are available, certain musicians among the comrades, spoken languages within a barrack or repertoire which can be remembered and referred to. Accordingly, such compositions, which are written for special settings in a camp, need to serve very pragmatic purposes: Their message has to be direct and easily understood. They must be easy to

perform even under difficult circumstances; they must appeal to amateurs and still be challenging enough for professionals, they must be emotionally touching for different characters and experiences and satisfy the expectations of the comrades. These characteristics are similar to resistance music: It also needs to get its message across to an audience as large as possible and which therefore consists of very different characters and levels of expectations and experience. It would be a misunderstanding to evaluate these compositions along the standards of art without considering their purpose and context. Although they have to be “Gebrauchsmusik” in the most pragmatic way, no one would deny the mastership of composers such as Victor Ullmann or Olivier Messiaen who purposely adapted the form of their camp compositions to the possibilities and necessities around them. The mastership of composers was implemented beneath the pragmatic surface, was to be found more in details, elaborate quotations, and delicate voicings than in complicated counterpoint or structures of atonal harmonies. In conclusion, these standards of camp and resistance compositions offer further aspects of how to consider Gunnar Kjeldaa’s *Fangesongar* and his reminiscences of traditional Norwegian folk melodies.

It is worth while to look at the basic facts about *Herr Sinklar drog over salten hav* more closely (cf. fig. 53). First, one finds a classical song form (A-A'-B-A) in A minor. After an upbeat of a fourth, which follows the usual upwards pronunciation of “Herr Sink-lar”, the melody moves downwards slowly in half-tone steps or stays on the same note. The few larger intervals are only to be found between the different segments. Reaching the most dramatic moment in part B, when Mr. Sinklar found his grave between Gulbrand’s cliffs, the harmonies match the scene: Within the limited harmonic vocabulary the turn from E major (the dominant to the tonic A minor) at the ending of section A' into a shining shift from G major to C major to F major even with a seventh in the melody is enough to create a different mood, before the scenery slips back into the sad and clean atmosphere of A minor. The rigor of the melody and the harmonies are mirrored in the deliberate pace of quarter notes and are varied every other bar with punctuated rhythms.

Fig. 53: The folktune *Hr. Sinklar drog over salten hav*, preserved in the famous collection *Norges Melodier* (“Norway’s Melodies”). NNL



Kjeldaas' prayer *Bøn* shows both similarities and differences (cf. fig. 54): It also uses the classical song form A-A'-B-A, but it is strictly limited to quarter or longer notes without any punctuations which is typical for a chorale. After the lyrics in the two A-segments have thanked the Lord for the land He has given to His people to harvest, to build their homes and His church upon, the dramatic climax is reserved to segment B as well, here featuring freedom and law that were established with His help. While the A-segments present a strict E minor without any alterations or additional intervals, the last bar of segment A' modulates from G major to B minor. When E minor now opens segment B, it creates the impression of being the new subdominant to B minor, alternated with A major for the first time and leading back to E minor to the words "fri-dom og rett" ("free-dom and law"). The following bars increase the tension even more when an E-chord continues, but this time in its major form and leading back to the original dominant B major, to stress the words "skapte med di hjelp vår ætt" which summarizes the real message: "freedom and law established our lineage with Your help".

Returning to the argument that compositions from concentration camps mostly give priority to the practical purpose of the music and implement artistic craftsmanship beneath the surface of an easily accessible melody, such details like in segment B help to understand Gunnar Kjeldaas' decisions: Within a very narrow set of harmonies changing the tonic E minor into its major form can be an effective contrast. But the beginning of *Bøn* also contains a reference to the atmosphere Kjeldaas had experienced during his studies in the 1920s when Leipzig witnessed a new Bach-movement merging strict counterpoint with modal scales, open chords of fourths and fifths (striking examples can be found in Kjeldaas' song *Elvenes*). One indication is the beginning of *Bøn*, like *Hr. Sinklar* with a larger interval upwards (in Kjeldaas' case with a fifth), but here against the speech melody, when the word "Herre" ("Lord") would usually demand an intonation downwards. Furthermore, a fifth leading upwards often gives the impression of an upbeat which runs contrary to the beat the words indicate.

Assuming that Gunnar Kjeldaas' decided very deliberately which style to chose for each song and how to underline their political messages inconspicuously, what would that mean for *Bøn*? One possible answer can be found when the political and the spiritual contexts of the *Sinklar*-tune and *Bøn* meet: On the one hand the well-known folk-song tells a story, in which a Scottish navy captain and his soldiers joined forces with the Swedish king in the Kalmar Wars (1611-13) against the Danish-Norwegian kingdom and were defeated by Norwegian peasants. Due to the patriotic story, this song became very popular and an important reference for the Norwegian movement for national independence from Sweden during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, it suited the situation during the years of German occupation very well. On the other hand, Andreas Aarlie's words to Kjeldaas' composition urge a group of prisoners to endure, to believe in God and stay true to their struggle for the freedom of their country.

Soon after the war, seven of the ten *Fangesongar frå Kirkenes* were published by Musikhuset in Oslo and performed in a radio concert with Trond Moshus singing, Gunnar Kjeldaas' son Arnljot's accompanying on the piano and Gunnar himself speaking a few introductory words.

9

## Nr. 2. Bøn

(Salme)  
(ANDREAS AARLIE)

GUNNAR KJELDAAS

Her - re, vår Fa - der, du gav oss vårt land til å dyr -

kja Her føkk vi jord, og vi byg - de vår heim og dit

lyr kja Fri - dom og rett skap - te mot di hjelp vår

ett. Kvar ein så trygt kun - ne yr kja.

Landet vårt blande,  
di signing gav vort stand og groda.  
Steinfjord blei Åker,  
og fullt var stabbør og leda.  
No er det øydt,  
landet er rann og eneydt.  
Hjerta i sørger så blanda.

Hjelp oss å, Gud  
med di veldige makt til å strida.  
Send oss din ånd,  
så vi kan få med til å lida.  
De vil vårt land,  
det som vi fikk av di hånd,  
attar mot fridomen skrida.

M. H. 492

Fig. 54: The song *Bøn* from Gunnar Kjeldaa's personal copy of his *Fangesongar frå Kirkenes*. KFA

**MUSIKK SOM JULEGAVE**

**HANS OG GRETE, sangbildebok** Kr. 5.—  
av Per Kvist og Kristian Hauger, inneholder alle sangene fra Inga Bjørnsens Barneteaters populære eventyrspill, lett arrangert for piano av komponisten, knyttet sammen av handlingen fortalt på vers av Per Kvist, tofargers tegninger av Hans Hauger og et lite etterord av Inga Bjørnsen.

**FANGESONGAR FRÅ KIRKENES** Kr. 6.—  
Musikk: Gunnar Kjeldaa. Tekst: Anders Vassbotn, Andreas Aarlie, Andreas Dyrhaug, Anders Børnsnes, Johs. N. Bjørge, Olav Nordnes, Andreas By. Helsides tegninger av G. A. Hagerup.

**MODERNE DANSEMUSIKK** Kr. 9.50.—  
av Øivind Bergh. Om denne boken skriver Norsk Musikkliv bl. a. «Det er folk som Øivind Bergh som med tiden kan omvende jazzmusikens verste fiender til å innta en forsonligere holdning og forstå at også denne del av musikken har sin misjon.»

**KJEMPEVISESLÅTTEN** Kr. 5.—  
av Harald Søverud, den største norske suksess på en årrekke, fåes for klaver i heftet: «Slått og Stev fra Siljustøl II».

**MUSIKK-HUSET**

Fig. 55: An advertisement for Gunnar Kjeldaa's *Fangesongar frå Kirkenes* as a Christmas gift, in: *Arbeiderbladet*, 18 December 1945. NNL



Fig. 56: The opening pages in Gunnar Kjeldaa's personal copy of his *Fangesongar frå Kirkenes*, on the right with the dedication to his son Arnljot and his daughter-in-law Ingeborg, Christmas 1945. KFA

With impressive wood cuts by G. A. Hagerup, the final edition included (with the name of poets in parantheses): *Å leva* (Anders Vassbotn, "To Live is to Love"), *Bøn*, salme (Andreas Aarlie, "Prayer"), *Elvenes* (Andreas Dyrhaug), *Heimlengt* (Andreas Barsnes, "Homesickness"), *Til deg* (Johs. N. Bjørge, "To You"), *Septemberkveld* (Olav Nordnes, "September Evening") and *Barnesmil* (Anders By, "The Smile of a Child"), with an additional afterword by Olav Kvalheim. After his release from captivity Gunnar Kjeldaa returned to his teaching duties in spring 1943 without further political complications.<sup>239</sup>

## Acts of Musical Resistance

As the purpose of the KZ-system was focused on the subordination of the individual under the rule of the SS and deprived the prisoners of their qualities as human beings according to the Nazi race ideology, it is difficult to imagine resistance in concentration camps to have been possible.<sup>240</sup> Opposition and reluctance were answered with severe punishment. Prisoners were not able to fight the Wehrmacht as partisans did. They could neither attack prominent representatives of the regime nor commit acts of sabotage to cause serious damage or arouse publicity.<sup>241</sup> But as mentioned in the beginning, rules of the outside world did not count inside the camps. Neverthe-

less, the everyday routines, and the inevitable delegation of responsibility and organizational procedures from the SS to the prisoners due to the increasing lack of staff did leave room for smaller or greater self-determined actions. Starving prisoners just tried to survive from one day to another although it must be said that ranking high in the racial hierarchy exercised by the SS Norwegians were still better off than many other captives in the camps spread all over Europe.

As far as general remarks can be made, chances for subversive action varied, depending on the conditions and circumstances in each camp. The forms of resistance, therefore, showed a huge variety, shifting between active and subversive reluctance, breaking a silence to turn enforced passive obedience into active decision making, refusing benefits such as the visit of the camp brothel, hiding inmates or helping them to escape, sabotaging gun production in factories when slave laborers had access to sensitive areas, or collecting information about camp procedures and SS-staff and smuggling these materials out of the camp to inform the allied forces. Whether spontaneous actions or long-term tactics, any sign of resistance could cause severe sanctions less to punish the culprits but primarily to please sadistic passions of the SS and frighten the remaining prisoners.<sup>242</sup>

In comparison, acts of resistance through music do not seem to satisfy such high standards. Nevertheless, prisoners often considered even the resolution to survive as distinct acts of resistance. One example for singing as a means of endurance can be found in the testimony Reidar Dittmann contributed to the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive.<sup>243</sup> Born in 1922 and originally from Tønsberg on the western side of the Oslo fjord, Dittmann was arrested for political activities when the NS-authorities closed Oslo's university in November 1943 and sent him to KZ Buchenwald. There, he conducted a choir mainly because he and his comrades had not been selected for compulsory labor. They had to fill their time and keep up their spirits. Elly Gotz, a Jewish holocaust survivor born on 8 March 1928 in Kaunas (Lithuania), described similar experiences from the Ghetto of his hometown in one of his two testimonies for the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive.<sup>244</sup> In reply to the question, if there was any kind of resistance in the Ghetto, he explained with a clear distinction between artistic and militant resistance:

The first resistance was just to survive, to resist the very suppressive life of the ghetto, by creating some cultural activities. That itself is resistance, to keep your human face, not to become just a slave. We developed later on a classical musical orchestra, we had concerts, I was involved in theater, [...] we had excellent teachers. There were lectures on philosophy and various other things, all this in the face of very negative signals about our future from the authorities. But the direct word 'resistance' means opposing the force that keeps you. And it is important to understand that the Germans had a very repressive, tough attitude towards any resistance. The slightest resistance was death and was paid for with your life. But what was worse: you involved another hundred or two hundred or God knows how many innocent people. I might chose to die a very unpleasant death if I was found with a gun in my hand or if I killed a Nazi-officer or something. But what about the two hun-

dred people in the ghetto around me who would be taken away and shot without having given their consent to a hero's death? For our people it was an unwritten rule: we do not carry weapons into the ghetto and, if we can't help it, we hide it very carefully; we show no resistance in the ghetto. If we want to resist, we have to leave the ghetto, go to the forests and fight as partisans. This was a very paralysing journey to get the two hundred kilometers to the forest where the partisans were. Some people who were left over by the Russian army or remained when the army retreated: they were left behind the German lines, not deliberately, but because they were cut off and they formed troops and were carrying out partisan activities. But they did not take Jews so we had to form our own groups. Secretely, people used to sneak away and go to the forest and fight there.

Comparing statements made by prisoners and those familiar with the general situation in Norway, helps to understand the context: In general, the impact of the civil resistance movement cannot be told along spectacular events or featuring heroic, para-military specialists. Instead its many supporters, some even famous nationwide while the vast majority were embedded in a local setting (which was often a strong recommendation of their trustworthiness), addressed the civil society in general by using non-military means to keep up the public morale. This attitude is expressed in the telling Norwegian word "holdningskamp". The numerous examples mentioned for reasons for detention prove that this civil resistance work bore just as many risks as the support of military resistance. They were dangerous enough to get people arrested by the Gestapo and imprisoned in concentration camps. The incarcerated musicians often had not planned acts of provocation or determined resistance; they had simply undertaken some tasks to which they had committed themselves.

A common definition for resistance bridging the gaps between the spheres of civil and military life in Norway rests on two characteristics which correlate with the model of "music as resistance" (explained in Chapter I):

1. Acting in total awareness of the danger to oneself, one's relatives, and combatants.
2. Using all means for public and clandestine impact to demonstrate opposition, to destroy the legitimacy of the German occupants, to contradict and ridicule the official propaganda as well as to raise the moral strength of the fellow countrymen in Norway and abroad.

Music was an ideal means for achieving these goals. Small measures especially proved very effective, because they were impossible to control or fight and could not be prohibited by the SS-guards. This effort to maintain at least a small degree of mental freedom supported the mutual spirit inside a camp and strengthened the feeling of solidarity. Because of the immense growth of the camps in the later years of the war, when the SS had to pass more administrative responsibility on to the Kapos, such unpredictable opportunities increased.<sup>245</sup> Making use of their skills, which were inscrutable for outsiders, musicians in the concentration camps in Norway could rely on the popular belief that art is an apolitical matter. The ability to read scores and write notes sudden-

ly could become a valuable proficiency as biographical, political, social and geographical meaning could be embedded in melodies if such special abilities were at one's disposal and that of the audience. Per se unpolitical pieces could be charged with implicit political meaning and gain strong symbolic presence if they were performed by certain musicians or with regard to a certain context that referred to the cultural background of the prisoners. The open semantics of music just could not be censored by non-musicians and foreigners such as the average SS-guard. The following documentation, however, has to take certain methodological limits into consideration. Although several extraordinary sources and examples are preserved, their context is lost to us. Consequently, these cases leave a wide field for interpretation but are nevertheless strong enough to demonstrate the range of possibilities.

### Illegal Usage of Facilities

The archives of the Grini museum contain several musical artefacts that show impressive craftsmanship such as a baton, and a tiny guitar that has the size of an ukulele and is decorated with inlays of dancing musicians in darker wood (cf. fig. 57 and 58). Its origin is not clear. Was it possible to build such an instrument – which takes quite some time, proficiency and proper materials – in secret, or was it made in free time? And was its display at cabaret evenings, as secretly taken photographs suggest, a political gesture? Examples for the illegal use of facilities are proven, for example from Sachsenhausen, where Norwegian prisoners managed to print a few hundred copies of the clandestine songbook entitled *Norske Sanger*.<sup>246</sup>



Fig. 57: Baton, manufactured by Gudmund Johan Bjørnstad (# 10121) in Grini. GM



Fig. 58: A four-string guitar, manufactured by Torleil Corneliusen in Grini (# 5746). GM

### Hidden Scores and Language Barriers

Several music manuscripts with unusual titles were also discovered in the Grini Museum. The scores were either kept secret or their titles were not announced when the pieces were performed. It might be possible that the handwritten piano parts for the Norwegian “Kongesangen” *Gud sign vår Konge god* were written for the occasion of Grini’s liberation (cf. fig. 59). Like many other anthems of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century the “Kongesangen” was based on the melody of the British national anthem. Because the piano parts in Grini have no reference to any lyrics, just the Norwegian title, and nothing indicates whether the anthem was to be sung or just performed by instruments, this piece might also be understood as a hidden greeting to the exiled King Håkon VII in England, who was an important symbol for Norway’s proud resistance against Nazi-Germany. According to *Norges Fange Leksikon* several British inmates were imprisoned in Grini; this would support such an interpretation.

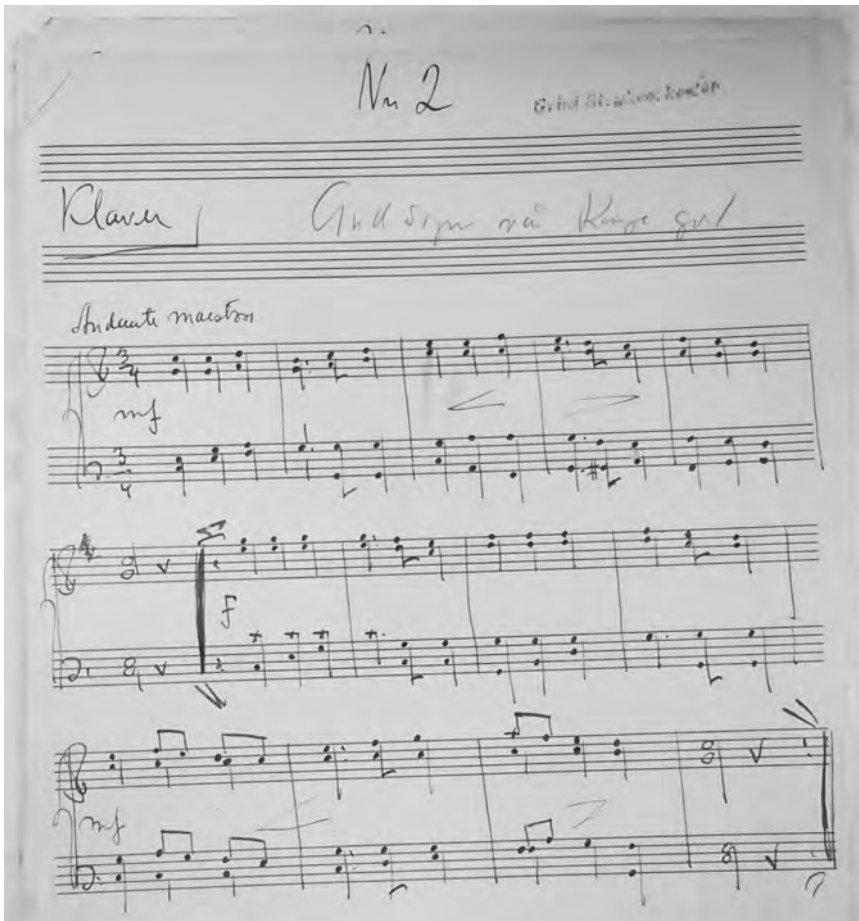


Fig. 59: Piano score to the “Kongesangen” *Gud sign vår Konge god*. GM

Sangmarsj for Heimevernet. R. Nordvold

Vi er sol-da-ter som el-sker vårt land, fri-het og fred er vårt mål, vi er søn-ner av fol-ket hier  
 a-ll-ene menn som red træning vil her-der til stål. Trø-la la-la la-la la, Trø-la la-la la-la la, og hu-  
 mør, ja det har vi om det blir litt slit i blant Trø-la la-la la-la la, trø-la la-la la-la la, og med  
 stål-hat vi bærer H. V. men det kjip-t.

Fig. 60: One of several handwritten versions of the *Sangmarsj for Heimevernet*, credited to R. Nordvold. GM

The same may be true for other tunes, one called *Sangmarsj for Heimevernet*, praising the military resistance movement: “We are soldiers who love our country, freedom and peace are our goals”. Another bears the title *Dansk Sabotørsang* and is preserved with several instrumental voices and a setting for piano but without lyrics (cf. fig. 61). Should the melody have been familiar to the prisoners a performance must have had an immense impact. Even if only the musicians knew about its ironic, bold nature, a performance without detection in the presence of the German occupational force must have caused a great delight.

Dansk sabotørsang

Klar og Tript

Fig. 61: One of numerous voices for orchestra of the *Dansk Sabotørsang*. GM



Another noteworthy example from Grini and possibly an insider's joke among the musicians is a short note at the bottom of the page on a sheet of Otto Nielsen's *Grini-marsj*, arranged for Grini's string orchestra by Kjell Ruud (cf. fig. 62). In accurate ink letters the writer of this sheet gave a warning to the violinists and other authorized readers, which speaks for itself: "Obs! Dette er skrevet med tysk penn! Bruk allierte varer!!" ("Oops! This was written with a German pen! Use allied materials!!") At any rate the Norwegians who wrote and used the score made sure to keep it hidden from the guards.

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

*Whistling. (uten G)*  
*e.v. fløy.*

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

Fig. 62: Violin part from Otto Nielsen's *Grini-marsj*, arranged by Kjell Ruud for Gunnar Knudsen's string orchestra. GM

## Musical Double-Meanings

As mentioned in the beginning, singing was enforced regularly in the camps making little allowance for individual thoughts. Former Grini inmate Arnold Aures who wrote the lyrics to a *Falstadmarsjen* stated that after some time some of the prisoners could no longer bear singing German songs while they had to walk in circles on the mustering grounds.<sup>247</sup> Therefore, they composed their own march and even received permission to sing it instead of the German songs. Two years earlier, London radio, broadcasting from England across the North Sea into Norway, included a very special tune in its news bulletins on 11 December 1942 under the headline *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, [...]. 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>248</sup>

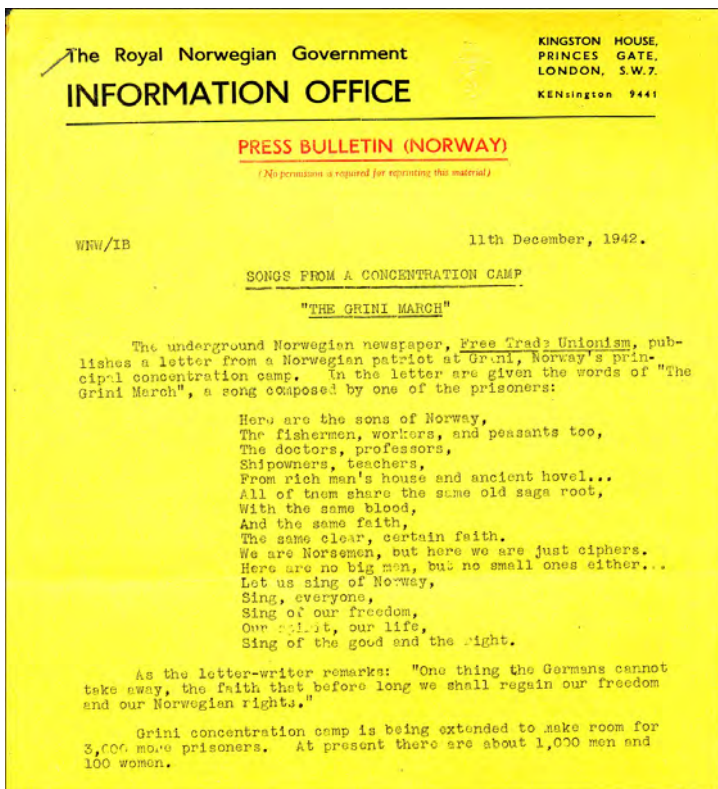


Fig 63: News bulletins from London on 11 December 1942 under the headline *Songs from a Concentration Camp* "The Grini March". NAN, RA/S-2057/1/DA Nyheter fra Regjeringens Informasjonskontor London

Two years later, the prisoners' brass band in Grini ("janitsjarokrester") was ordered to perform, and, although complying, turned this event into an act of opposition: After conforming to the Lagerkommandant's command and playing *Alte Kameraden*, they continued with Otto Nielsen's *Grini-Marsj* much to the delight of all the inmates.<sup>249</sup> It is not clear if the SS knew about the political message of this melody or was aware of the lyric's explicit implications of resistance.

## Claims for Compensation

Very little is known about the fate of the Norwegian prisoners after the end of World War II. Although considerable further research is required, some preliminary remarks seem necessary. Shortly after the liberation, many of the old camps were used to imprison war criminals, collaborators and arrested German troops, or to accommodate released foreign compulsory laborers who were waiting for their return home. And again, some of these communities developed their own music life. The former Polish slave laborers of camp Mysen even founded their own orchestra.<sup>250</sup> The Polish foreman and his wife expected their first baby in this camp. It was to become a famous artist and is considered a true, native Norwegian: the saxophone player Jan Garbarek.

Gaining the acknowledgement of their sufferings by the German government, was not easy for the survivors of the Holocaust and the former inmates of concentration camps. The communist German Democratic Republik in Berlin refused to take on any responsibility for war crimes and atrocities committed by the Third Reich and left all questions of historical guilt and compensation to the rivaling Federal Republic of Germany with its capital in Bonn. Soon after the war, Norway and Western Germany established strong economic and political ties, including the FRG joining NATO in 1955 where Norway was a founding member. Nevertheless, the Norwegian public remained skeptical.<sup>251</sup> The Storting, for example, informed Bonn it would not tolerate the *Deutschlandlied* in case a West German athlete should win a gold medal at the Winter Olympics 1952 in Oslo; Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* would have been the diplomatic compromise.<sup>252</sup> The question of reparations for damages caused by the Reichskommissariat Norwegen and the Wehrmacht as well as the compensation of Norwegian victims was delicate. Accordingly, an agreement was necessary to normalize the bi-national relations. After the Norwegian side had managed to include resistance fighters in the group of beneficiaries in spite of strong German reservations, a compensation agreement was signed in August 1959, as Hans Otto Frøland explains,

which obliged the FRG to pay DM 60 million to Norway, but left it to the Norwegian government to allocate the cash. The agreement covered victims of Nazi persecution on the grounds of race, faith or philosophy of life. Bonn was not obliged by international law to pay this compensation, as the London Debt Agreement for Germany in 1953 had confirmed a moratorium on reparations and compensation until the final peace treaty with Germany had been settled. From 1955 Bonn was nevertheless subjected to co-ordinated political pressure from the Allied states to pay compensation for Nazi crimes.

Between 1959 and 1964 Bonn signed equivalent agreements with ten other West European states involving a total of DM 876 million. Norwegian victims of the Nazis had been demanding compensation from Bonn since 1953, but these claims had always been rejected as unfounded. When it became known in 1955 that the Bundestag was planning to revise the Compensation Act, Norwegian ex-prisoners' groups put together an umbrella organisation to press the Norwegian government to ensure that the new Act included offers of compensation for Norwegian victims. The latent distrust of Germany made it easy for them to win the support of public opinion, the press and the Storting.<sup>253</sup>

Oslo's Riksarkivet contains numerous claims for compensation in the background material to the publication *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, mostly from the years 1953 to 1956. In short statements the former prisoners, holocaust survivors, or relatives of holocaust victims told their stories and it can hardly be imagined how much pain, sorrow, and suffering the prosaic language of these reports actually conveyed. One example is a request from Arild Otto Plau, born on 10 July 1920 in Haugsbygd near Ringerike (cf. fig. 64). On 19 April 1944 he had been arrested at Oslo's Conservatory and spent 13 months of imprisonment as a hostage in the hands of the Gestapo and the SS at Viktoria Terrasse, Grini and Bardufoss from 19 April 1944 to liberation day on 8 May 1945. In an attachment to his claim for compensation, written in German and Norwegian, he summarized his fate:

My two brothers had to flee to Sweden because of political reasons and I was arrested as a hostage. At this time, I was developing enormously as a pianist and depending on daily work at the piano. After the war, it turned out that the strong cold and hard work during my imprisonment had damaged my hands so much that I could not restart my piano studies. Therefore, I had to chose a different instrument – the bassoon –, because this instrument does not depend so much on dexterity. It took me one year of intensive work to finally find a first engagement as a bassoon player with the Bergen symphony orchestra.<sup>254</sup>

During the research for this book several files could be found at the Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rhineland Department, which correspond to the Norwegian requests. The administrative procedure was as follows: a coordinating council for former political prisoners ("Erstatningsrådet for tidligere politiske fanger") sent bundles of 50 to 200 files to the "Entschädigungsstelle beim Regierungspräsidenten Köln" ("Office for Compensation at the Regional Board Cologne"), where they were finally all declined, often with a formalized answer in print on a form. The standard reason was that Norway had signed the allied agreement on reparations which had been settled in Paris on 14 January 1946.

Some of these files, however, include striking new details, for example to the biography of Frank Storm Johansen, who had been imprisoned in the concentration camps Sachsenhausen and Falkensee.<sup>255</sup> After a description of his arrest, which corresponds to the far more detailed report in his memoirs mentioned above, he concluded his claim (dated 26 May 1956) stating he had suffered from gastroenteritis due to the stress and

Anlage: Oslo 28/10-1956

Meine zwei Brüder mussten aus politischen Gründen nach Schweden fliehen, und ich wurde als Geißel verhaftet. Zu dieser Zeit war ich in regen Entwiklung als Pianist und von täglicher Arbeit beim Klavier stark abhängig.

Es hat sich nach dem Kriege gezeigt, dass die starke Kälte und schwere Arbeit während meiner Verhaftung meine Hände in solchem Masse geschadet hatten, dass es mir unmöglich war die Klavierstudien wieder aufzunehmen. Ich musste daher ein anderes Instrument wählen und zwar Fagott. Dieses Instrument ist von der Fingerfertigkeit nicht so abhängig, und erst nach einem Jahre intensiver Arbeit habe ich mein erstes Engagement als Fagottist in dem Symphonieorchester in Bergen erzielt.

Arild Plau.

Fig. 64: Attachment to Arild Otto Plau's claim for compensation, dated 28 October 1956. NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0069

strains of his imprisonment. Furthermore, he had lost all the money his parents had sent him each month, which had never been disbursed to him: "After the war I suffered from a stomach disease. The cause of this illness, according to the doctors, are the nervous disorders caused by the exposure during the war. During my stay in Germany my parents sent me 60 RM every month through the Deutsche Reichsbank. I never got that money, everything was lost."<sup>256</sup>

Despite the refusal of German authorities to approve his claim Frank Storm Johansen received compensation (it is unclear, however, if it was granted by the Norwegian authorities). In a preface to their father's memoirs, his sons Bjørn and Tor Storm-Johansen recalled: "Sitting in the back seat, on top of sleeping bags and a tent

in a VW 1200 62-model, with smoking parents in the front! We knew that the car and the photo camera, both German products, were paid with the reparation father had gotten for the days of his arrest – eighty Norwegian Kroner per day for one thousand days in captivity.<sup>257</sup> They continued their retrospect with a lesson about tolerance they had learned from their father: “Neither disdain nor hatred against ‘the Germans’, but a clear distinction between ‘the Germans’ and Nazism as a belief and ideology. Father’s distinct attitude towards human dignity, tolerance and comradship are present in the memorabilia he left and which this book is based on: reports, letters, and pictures.”<sup>258</sup>

The final example, which will close this chapter, is from Jacob Lankelinsky, a Jewish musician from Trondheim who was dismissed from German arrest in early 1943 and could escape to Sweden. In his case, a restitutional file from 1955 can be connected to papers from 1943, preserved in the Riksarkivet in Stockholm, when Lankelinsky had to explain his situation to the Swedish authorities in detail. As already mentioned, he was arrested on 7 October 1942 at the age of 50 and imprisoned in the Falstad concentration camp, in the town prison of Trondheim, in Vollan, and finally sent to camp Bredtveit, from which he was released on 2 March 1943. As the documentation of Norwegian refugees in Sweden reveals, he escaped into Swedish exile the same day, together with his elder brother (Abraham) Isak, who had been born in 1883. Three more names of the Lankelinsky-family can be found in the records, Betty (born 29 December 1894), and her daughters Miriam (born on 22 March 1918) and Peggy Hanna (born 3 April 1928). While Betty and Peggy crossed the Norwegian-Swedish boarder on New Year’s Eve, 31 December 1942, Miriam followed not before 12 April 1944 (the reason is not clear).

10876	Lankelinsky	Betty	291294	031242
12447	Lankelinsky	Isak	090683	020343
12446	Lankelinsky	Jacob	070292	020343
04183	Lankelinsky	Miriam	220319	120440
10878	Lankelinsky	Peggy Hanna	030423	031242

Fig. 65: The official record of Norwegian Refugees in Sweden, here documenting Jacob Lankelinsky and his brother Isak Lankelinsky’s family. NAN, *Den Kl. Norske Legasjons Flyktningsskontor*, V/Va/L0002: *Kjesäterkartoteket*

This escape had only been possible, because Isak’s and Jacob’s parents – Israel Lankelinsky (1853-1929) and Sara Lea, née Wolfsohn (1856-1937) – had lived in Sweden during the 1870s and 1880s, before they moved to Trondheim. Jacob was the only one of their three children who was born there, Isak and their sister Bertha (1881-1924) had been born in Karlstad, Sweden. This family connection now proved to be their rescue and in his registration papers Lankelinsky could claim to be united with his family, which was already living in Stockholm. Although his profession was specified as “violin teacher”, he first argued to continue his violin studies there,<sup>259</sup> probably to give a strong reason why he needed to settle in the capital where the labor market for musicians was tighter than anywhere else in Sweden. It seems that this request was granted only temporarily, because in a report a few weeks later he openly combined the argu-

ments for his musical ambition with a description of his poor physical and psychological conditions. Under the address of “Hotell Prinsesse, Drottninggt. 47, Stockholm” he first summarized his situation to “Herrn Amanuens Senning, Kungl. Socialstyrelsen, Stockholm”, on 12 May 1943: His professional motivation included violin lessons with Karl Westfelt, further studies of harmony, composition, and choir and orchestra conducting and the edition of a violin textbook. Additionally, he spoke of the chance of moving into the household of his brother Isak, which would grant him mental stability after his months of imprisonment.

It is difficult to tell from these papers, if the professional or personal arguments were more important for entitling him to stay in Stockholm, which at least was granted by the authorities. In any case these documents offer deeper insights into his fate as a prisoner in Norway, because in a handwritten report from 7 April 1943 he described the circumstances in detail of how much his escape to Sweden had been depending on the Nazi-authorities in Norway:

I was arrested by the authorities in Trondheim on 6 October 1942 and sent to Falstad concentration camp. I stayed there until 24 November 1942 and was transferred to Bredtveit prison then, together with several Jews who have mostly been deported meanwhile. During my stay in Bredtveit, I was given the opportunity to apply to move to Sweden, and after this permission was granted by the Royal Foreign Ministry, and after an intervention by the Swedish consul general, I was released. I arrived in Sweden on 2 March 1943. My closest relatives are in Stockholm and have a residence permit.<sup>260</sup>

After Norway had been liberated, Jacob Lankelinsky returned to Trondheim and continued to work as a violin teacher. In October 1945 his name can already be found in local newspapers again, to which he also contributed concert reviews during the following years. In 1955, he claimed a compensation for his persecution for racial reasons in Germany and once more summarized the dates and places both of his imprisonment and his exile during the years 1942 to 1945, as well as the harm the persecution had caused to his health.<sup>261</sup> But with regard to Lankelinsky's Norwegian citizenship at the time of his arrest, he was not considered “staatenlos” (“stateless”). His request was therefore declined on 23 November 1956. Nevertheless, Lankelinsky adhered to his claim and the file continues with a confirmation by the police in Oslo, that he had been a political prisoner. The German authorities, however, on 24 April 1961 confirmed their former decision that Jacob Lankelinsky had been a Norwegian citizen during the time of his persecution, not a refugee or stateless according to the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951. Therefore he did not have the right of compensation. The request must have been maintained by a relative by then, probably by one of his nieces, who certified that the case was finally closed in 1961. By this time Jacob Lankelinsky had been dead already for more than three years. He lived to be 66 years old. An obituary in Trondheim's newspaper *Adresseavisen* mourned for a man, who was persecuted because of his Jewish descent and returned to Trondheim after the war with a “crack”. “But he continued his work at Trondheim's music school, despite his strong afflictions, which became harder and harder as times passed by.”<sup>262</sup>



Fig. 66: Photography from the obituary for Jacob Lankelinsky, *Adresseavisen*, 20 January 1958. NNL

## Notes

- 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, *Die Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, Munich 2015. As he summarized 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 debate 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 of detention 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*, Hamburg 1978, p. 152.
- 4 Wachsmann, *Die Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, p. 11.
- 5 Kristian Ottosen, *Arbeits- und Konzentrationslager in Norwegen 1940-1945*, in: *Neutralität und totalitäre Aggression. Nordeuropa und die Großmächte im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, edit. by Robert Bohn, Jürgen Elvert, Hain Rebas and Michael Salewski, Stuttgart 1991, p. 356.
- 6 Jon Reitan, *Strafgefangenenlager Falstad 1941-45*, in: *Falstad. Nazileir og landssvikfengsel*, edit. by Jon Reitan and Trond Risto Nilssen, Trondheim 2008, 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 also considered them to have been concentration camps. See for example official responses to restitutional claims of former inmates in camps that were run in Nazi-occupied Norway (1956-1961): LNRW, Sig. BR 2172 No. 18, see Erik Lørdahl, *Polizeihaftlingslager Grini 1941-1945 and the Prisoner Mail*, Tårnåsen 2004, p. 6 and Svein Bugge, *Skyggene fra Quislings hønsegård. Den norske konsentrasjonsleiren på Berg i Vestfold*, Tønsberg 2001.
- 8 Dirk Riedel, *Norwegen*, in: *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, No. 9, edit. by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Diesel, editor Angelika Königseder, Munich 2009, p. 433.
- 9 Slave labor was also an important income for the Reichskommissariat, cf. Arne Sandem, *Den siste SS-leiren. SS-Sonderlager Mysen* [1990], p. 70.



- 10 Ottosen, *Arbeits- und Konzentrationslager in Norwegen 1940-1945*, p. 358; Reitan, *Strafgefängenenlager Falstad 1941-45*, p. 24.
- 11 Lordahl, *Polizeihäftlingslager Grini 1941-1945 and the Prisoner Mail*, p. 6.
- 12 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. See Bjarte Bruland, *Holocaust i Norge. Registrering, deportasjon, tilintetgjørelse*, Oslo 2017, pp. 99-100, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666310775>. Ottosen, *Arbeits- und Konzentrationslager in Norwegen 1940-1945*, chapter 6 “Den endelige løsningen”: Jødene deporteres, pp. 206-391 as well as the charts pp. 674-701.
- 13 Riedel, *Norwegen*, pp. 434-435.
- 14 Cf. for further information the article about the Lankelinsky-family <https://www.jodiskefotspor.no/artikel/familien-lankelinsky> (accessed 4 November 2019). Thanks to Tine Komissar at the Jewish Museum in Trondheim for advice and support.
- 15 Ottosen, *Arbeits- und Konzentrationslager in Norwegen 1940-1945*, p. 355.
- 16 Guido Fackler, *Lied und Gesang im KZ*, in: *Lied und populäre Kultur* 46 (2001), pp. 1141-1198, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/849512>.
- 17 Juliane Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, Berlin 2009; Eckhard John, *Musik und Konzentrationslager. Eine Annäherung*, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 48 (1991), 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), No. 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: *Geschichte der Musik im 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2 1925-1945, edit. by Albrecht Riethmüller, Laaber 2006, pp. 243-268; Sophie Fetthauer, *Musik im DP-Camp Bergen-Belsen und ihre Rolle bei der Identitätsfindung der jüdischen Displaced Persons*, in: *Musikwelten – Lebenswelten. Jüdische Identitätssuche in der deutschen Musikkultur*, edit. by Beatrice Borchard and Heidy Zimmermann, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 2009, pp. 365-379.
- 18 Some information was published only for the late phase of camp Grini, beginning directly after Norway’s liberation, and concerning music mainly focused on cabaret programs and humorous songs by Otto Nielsen. Cf. *Grini*, edit. by Alf Rønning, Leif Blichfeldt and Bjarne Thorud with photographs by Alf Rønning and Leif Blichfeldt, Oslo 1946; Ragnvald Jørgensen, *Med Blyant På Grini. De siste 8 Måneder*, Bergen 1946, pp. 89-91 and 107; *Rom8sanger*, copy 103 of 150, preserved in the archives of the Grini museum. Thanks to Camilla Hedvig Mårtmann, Cecilie Øien, Kari Amundsen, Anja Heie and Ellen Sjøwall for supporting this research.
- 19 Reitan, *Strafgefängenenlager Falstad 1941-45*, pp. 28-31.
- 20 FS, Paltiel, Julius # 226, undated Interview II (probably in connection to Interview I, dated 2 March 1997) and File F-00226-005. Thanks to Arne Langås at Falstadsenteret for his generous support. NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0009. A picture of Julius Paltiel after his liberation from Buchenwald can be found in Oscar Mendelssohn, *Jødenes Historie i Norge gjennom 300 år*, Vol. II, Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger and Tromsø 1987, p. 181.
- 21 Frank Storm Johansen, *Tusen dager i fangenskap. Et personlig vitnesbyrd fra nazistenes dødsleirer*, edited by Ingvild Hagen Kjørholt, Arne Langås and Ingeborg Hjorth, Oslo 2015, p. 80: “Den verste tida på Falstad etter unnakstilstanden var perioden da jødene var der. Det var omlag 50 av dem, fra 17-18 til 70 år, blant annet mange kjente trondheimsfolk og også noen politiske flyktninger. [...] De måtte spise i egen bordsetning etter oss andre, de bodde for seg selv på det såkalte jødeloftet, de arbeidet i egne arbeidskommandoer og sto oppstilt for seg selv på appellen. De skulle ikke blandes sammen med oss andre. Leirreglementet sa at når en fange møtte en Wachtmeister eller en annen tysker, skulle fangen stoppe og i ‘giv akt’ spørre om å få gå forbi: ‘Ich bitte vorbegehen zu dürfen’, mens jødene måtte si: ‘Jude (soundso) bitte Herr Wachtmeister vorbegehen zu dürfen.’” (Translation by the author.)
- 22 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/FA/Faa/L0019.
- 23 Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft*, p. 159; Wachsmann, *Die Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, pp. 587 and 591-592.
- 24 Lordahl, *Polizeihäftlingslager Grini 1941-1945 and the Prisoner Mail*, p. 17.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 13. *Grimiboken*, edit. by August Lange and Johan Schreiner, Oslo 1946, p. 284.
- 26 Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 431; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 681.
- 27 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0003; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 681.
- 28 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 682.

- 29 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0059; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 82.
- 30 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0002.
- 31 NAN, RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0001.
- 32 Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 431; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 84.
- 33 *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 90.
- 34 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0011, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0004 and RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0001; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 94.
- 35 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 96
- 36 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005 and RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0004, written explanation from 1956: "Om min arrestasjon kan jeg berette at jeg kom intetanende hjem fra kino, og fant mitt hjem besatt av nasipoliti som åpnet døren for meg og arresterte meg. Mine foreldre hadde de allerede arrestert og sendt på Viktoria terrassen, og min søster ble tatt senre på natten, altså hele familien! Jeg finner ingen anden grunn til arrestasjonen end min søsters forlovede Olaf Østerud (område-sjef i millorg.) som senere blev skutt av tyskerne – i oktober 1943." *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 98.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 101.
- 38 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0003; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 106.
- 39 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0006 and RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0001; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 106.
- 40 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0014.
- 41 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0007; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 117.
- 42 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0007; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 118.
- 43 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 119
- 44 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0011; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 120
- 45 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0009 and RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0002; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 124; Bruland, *Holocaust i Norge*, p. 676.
- 46 Bugge, *Skyggene fra Quislings hønsegård*, p. 120.
- 47 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0019; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 129.
- 48 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0004.
- 49 *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 133.
- 50 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0002; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 144.
- 51 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0011.
- 52 NAN, RAFA/5969/E-Ea/L0002; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 148.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 154.
- 54 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 164.
- 55 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0019 and RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0016; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 176.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 198.
- 57 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0003 Grini.
- 58 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0004 Grini; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 210.
- 59 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005 and RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0022; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 216.
- 60 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0002.
- 61 *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 228.
- 62 *Ibid.*
- 63 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0019; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 232.
- 64 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0025; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 233.
- 65 *Norsk Fangeleksikon. Grinifangene*, edit. by Børre R. Giertsen, Oslo 1946, p. 4; [https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm\\_lexmperson\\_00002715](https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00002715) (22 December 2020). According to Mendelssohn, *Jødenes historie i Norge gjennom 300 år*, Guttman was arrested again in October 1942 and released in March 1943 due to health problems. He lived in Norway until his death (21 December 1951) in Ålesund.
- 66 *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 313.
- 67 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0028; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 255.
- 68 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0030 and RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0004; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 267.
- 69 Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 431; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 268.
- 70 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0011; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 288.
- 71 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0034; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 292. [https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=de&s\\_lastName=Hirsch&s\\_firstName=Ruben&s\\_place=&s\\_dateOfBirth=\(= 20 December 2020\)](https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=de&s_lastName=Hirsch&s_firstName=Ruben&s_place=&s_dateOfBirth=(= 20 December 2020)).
- 72 *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 294.
- 73 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0035; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 299.
- 74 Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 431; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 306.

- 75 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0036; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 307.
- 76 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 315.
- 77 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0004; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 316; Bugge, *Skyggene fra Quislings hønsegård*, p. 139; Egil Baumann, article *István Ipoldyi*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2020), [https://snl.no/Istv%C3%A1n\\_Ipolyi](https://snl.no/Istv%C3%A1n_Ipolyi) (20 December 2020); Trond Olav Svendsen, article *Budapestkvartetten*, in: *Store norske leksikon* (2020), <https://snl.no/Budapestkvartetten> (20 December 2020).
- 78 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 323.
- 79 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0020; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 353.
- 80 *Ibid.*, p. 334.
- 81 NAN, RA-PA-1075/F/Fa/L0041; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 335.
- 82 NAN, RA-PA-1075/F/Fa/L0042; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 342.
- 83 *Ibid.*, p. 351.
- 84 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 360.
- 85 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0012.
- 86 Private papers, preserved by Anna-Ma Kjeldaas, KFA; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 365.
- 87 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0046; RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0006.
- 88 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0003; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 371.
- 89 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0046. This information does not correspond to the Grini register NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0019.
- 90 *Ibid.*; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 372.
- 91 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005 and RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0047; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 378.
- 92 *Ibid.*, p. 379.
- 93 NAN, RA-PA-1075/F/Fa/L0049; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 388. [https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=de&s\\_lastName=Kr%C3%B6mer&s\\_firstName=Frida&s\\_place=&s\\_dateOf-Birth=](https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=de&s_lastName=Kr%C3%B6mer&s_firstName=Frida&s_place=&s_dateOf-Birth=) (20 December 2020).
- 94 *Norske fangeleksikon*, p. 13; *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 391; NAN, Molvig, Magne, F/L0001: Minnebok med dagboksopptegnelser fra Grini fangeleir 15.08-21.10. 1941, og brev, postkort og avisutklipp (uttatt fra fotoalbum U1), 1941.
- 95 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 394.
- 96 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0050; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 397; LNRW, BR 3002-616072; <https://www.jodiskefotspor.no/artikkel/musiker-jakob-lankelinsky> (4 November 2019).
- 97 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0052; LNRW, BR 3002-705656 Arpad Lehner.
- 98 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0004; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 407; LNRW, BR 3002-705656 Arpad Lehner.
- 99 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0002; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 410.
- 100 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0053; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 415.
- 101 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0053; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 419.
- 102 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 423.
- 103 NAN, RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0007, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0054 and RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0003; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 425.
- 104 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0055.
- 105 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0008; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 433; Bruland, *Holocaust i Norge*, p. 694. Cf. for further details Liv Daasvatn, *Kapellmester og fiolinist Jacob Maliniak og Mathilde Dorothea Halpern Maliniak*, published on 23 January 2015 at <http://scandinavianjewish.blogspot.com/2015/01/kapellmester-jakob-maliniak-og.html> (23 December 2020), <https://www.jodiskefotspor.no/artikkel/maryla-flykter-til-sverige> (20 February 2021) 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) (19 November 2019).
- 106 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0002.
- 107 [https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm\\_lexmperson\\_00001524](https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001524) (20 February 2021).
- 108 Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 431; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 441.
- 109 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0057; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 443.
- 110 *Ibid.*, p. 444.
- 111 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 444.
- 112 NAN, RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0007; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 454.
- 113 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0003; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 464.
- 114 *Ibid.*, p. 468.
- 115 NAN, RA-PA-1075/F/Fa/L0063; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 483.
- 116 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0011; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 671.
- 117 NAN, RA-PA-1075/F/Fa/L0065 and RAFA-5969/F/Fb/L0003; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 496.

- 118 Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 431; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 506.
- 119 NAN, RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0008 and RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0067; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 512.
- 120 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0022; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 523.
- 121 NAN, RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0008 Möllergata; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 524.
- 122 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0069; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 527.
- 123 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0069; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 527.
- 124 *Ibid.*, p. 533; Solbrekken, *Med empati som våpen. Amalie Christies kamp mot deportasjon og rettsoppgjør*, Kjeller 2004, p. 57.
- 125 Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 287 and 435; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 534.
- 126 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0010, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0014 and RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0071; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*; p. 535.
- 127 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0010 and RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0014; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 549.
- 128 Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 431; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 538.
- 129 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0071; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 538.
- 130 *Ibid.*, p. 551; Hermann Sachnowitz, *Det angår også deg*, documented by Arnold Jacoby, Oslo 1976; Bugge, *Skyggene fra Quislings hønsegård*, pp. 35-40. 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 in Oslo, sig. JMO G00522 and JMO G00410. <https://www.jodisk-museumoslo.no/en-gb/mg-feb17> (23 December 2020). See as well several entries for the Sachnowitz-family in the Yad Vashem Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names, <https://yng.yad-vashem.org>. Thanks to Dag Kopperud at the Jewish Museum Oslo for advice and support. A "Stolperstein" is dedicated to the memory Herman Sachnowitz in his hometown Larvik, next to his family members Eliaas, Frank, Frida, Israel Leib, Marie, Martin, Rebekka Rita, and Samuel Sachnowitz. <https://www.snublestein.no/Herman-Sachnowitz/p=128/> (23 December 2020).
- 131 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0074; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 558. Anne Gro Christensen reconstructed the tragic history of family Scharff who had lived in Hønefoss for 28 years until they were arrested on 26 November 1942. Of a family of eight only two members survived, all others were murdered in Auschwitz. Jakob Scharff was the family's musician: "Jakob fikk fiolintimer og utviklet seg til en dyktig musiker, som også ga undervisning til elever. Julius spilte fløyte i Hønefoss Ungdomskorps. Begge komponerte. Jakob spilte i Henschien's trio, hadde sitt eget Scharffs orkester og Synco band. Min far, Per, jobbet som kontorsjef i Henschien Musikcenter, og hadde mye med Jakob å gjøre. Han skrev til og med tekster til noen av hans komposisjoner. [...] Jakob Scharffs musikalske skatt dukket imidlertid ikke opp før 60 år etter hans død. I to store kasser, tatt vare på av musikervernen Håkon Sødal. Nå lever musikken videre, takket være Steinar Eriksen, som har nedlagt et stort og viktig arbeid i å rekonstruere og arrangere et stort antall vakre melodier og komposisjoner. Og det er enda mer å ta av, både av hans og broren Julius' komposisjoner." Anne Gro Christensen, *Historien om familien Scharff*, in: *Heftet Ringerike* 2014, Vol. 86, pp. 68-71, [https://www.heftet-ringerike.com/images/heftene/2014\\_heftet.pdf](https://www.heftet-ringerike.com/images/heftene/2014_heftet.pdf) (10 March 2021).
- 132 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0074; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 558; <https://www.snublestein.no/Joseph-Hirsch-Schechter/p=360/> (23 December 2020).
- 133 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 558.
- 134 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0022; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 565.
- 135 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 566.
- 136 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0075; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 567.
- 137 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0075; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 568.
- 138 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0075 and RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0009; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 568.
- 139 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0004; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 592.
- 140 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 596.
- 141 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 596.
- 142 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0082; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 606.
- 143 *Ibid.*, p. 609.
- 144 NAN, RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0010; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 613.
- 145 *Ibid.*, p. 627.
- 146 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0085; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 632.
- 147 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0011; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 653.
- 148 Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 431; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 658.

- 149 Listed by Brauer as “Wennewold”, cf.: Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 431; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 658.
- 150 File card from FS; NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0011 and RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0089; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 659.
- 151 NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0005; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 622.
- 152 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0090, RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0010 and RAFA-5969/F/Fa/Faa/L0003; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 665; cf. Ragnar Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt*, Oslo 1995, pp. 58-59; Bruland, *Holocaust i Norge*, pp. 78, 222, 341, 596 and 698.
- 153 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0090; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 666.
- 154 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0055; File card from Falstad-Archive with a different version in NAN, RAFA-5969/F/Fc/L0008; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 433.
- 155 Daasvatn, *Kapellmester og fiolinist Jacob Malinian og Mathilde Dorothea Halpern Maliniak*.
- 156 Cordial thanks to Eike Fess at the Arnold Schoenberg-Center, Vienna, for supporting this research.
- 157 Daasvatn, *Kapellmester og fiolinist Jacob Maliniak og Mathilde Dorothea Halpern Maliniak*.
- 158 *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, pp. 172-173.
- 159 Register with # 10879 under the name Anna Maryla Daasvatn, born 12 July 1910, crossing the Swedish boarder on 6 December 1942. [https://media.digitalarkivet.no/view/43434/121?indexing=\(20 December 2020\)](https://media.digitalarkivet.no/view/43434/121?indexing=(20%20December%202020)).
- 160 The first letter from Ernst Glaser to Maryla Daasvatn is dated 8 December 1942, which was her third day in Sweden. JMO, Maliniak-collection # 182.
- 161 RMA, Kungl. Musikalska Akademiens Förvaltningsnamnden Protokoll 1944, Stockholm, board meeting 14 September 1944, RMA.
- 162 Michelet, *Hva visste hjemmefronten?*, p. 97.
- 163 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0055.
- 164 *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 433.
- 165 Wachsmann, *Die Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, p. 576.
- 166 The German composer Stefan Heucke reserved much space for this ambivalence of music to be abused by the SS and at the same time to be cherished as a last resort of hope, confidence and dignity in his opera *Das Frauenorchester von Auschwitz* from 2006, featuring conductor Alma Rosé (Gustav Mahler’s niece) and her exceptional orchestra in Auschwitz-Birkenau.
- 167 Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, p. 277.
- 168 *Dikt og sanger fra norske fengsler og leir*, edit. by foreningen av politiske fanger 1940-1945, Oslo 1997.
- 169 Information contributed by Bente Gro Olsen at Stavanger Byarkiv on 30 July 2018 and Mete Olden’s relative Hans Eirik Aarek who the author would cordially like to thank for their support.
- 170 SR, PA-212 Anna-Margrete Olden.
- 171 All these details are listed in her private papers, see additionally NAN, RAFA-5969/F/FA/Faa-L0012.
- 172 Joronn Housken was born on 2 November 1917 and worked as a teacher in Stavanger. She was arrested on 9 November 1943, sent to Stavanger and Grini (# 90279), where she arrived on 1 December 1943. On 6 July 1944 she was sent to Ravensbrück (# 45623) and at a later time to Buchenwald, where she was released on liberation day. *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 303.
- 173 Martha Rossavik was born on 24 November 1905 and worked as a masseuse in Stavanger. She was arrested on 12 November 1943 and sent to Grini (# 8999), where she arrived on 1 December 1943. She was released on 29 March 1945. *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 539.
- 174 Anne Emilie Munthe Jansen was born on 1 July 1917, arrested on 9 November 1943 and sent to Grini (# 8595) the same day, where she stayed until liberation day. *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 325.
- 175 Liv Godal was born on 2 September 1901 and worked as a teacher. She was arrested on 2 September 1943 in Stavanger and sent to Grini (# 8998) on 1 December 1943. She was released on 30 April 1945. *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 228.
- 176 Lordahl, *Polizeihaftlingslager Grini 1941-1945 and the Prisoner Mail*, p. 16.
- 177 Anne Lise Karine Rasmussen was born on 4 March 1923. She was arrested on 10 April 1943, sent to Åkebergveien (# 782), where she arrived on 13 April, and sent to Grini (# 7270) on 14 April 1943. She was released on liberation day. *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 528.
- 178 ARBARK, AAB/ARK-1159/Db/L0005 *Furubotn partisan songs*, folder S. T. 3660-3787, songs from april to mai 1940.

- 179 Astrid Frost was born in 5 March 1895. She was arrested on 18 April 1942 and sent to Grini (# 2683), sent to Ravensbrück (# 24131) on 6 October 1943 and sent to Mauthausen on 1 March 1945. She was released on liberation day. *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 215.
- 180 Hanna Greta Rinnan was born on 12 September 1911. She was arrested on 18 April 1942 and sent to Grini (# 2682). According to *Nordmenn i Fangenskap* she further was sent to Møllergata 19 on 3 December 1943 and released on liberation day, *ibid.*, p. 535. Olden's collection instead mentions a deportation of Rinnan to Germany.
- 181 Ingebjørg Jensens, *Dødsleiren. SS' Konsentrasjonsleir i Beisfjord 1942*, Bergen 2017, p. 37.
- 182 *Griniboken*, edit. by August Lange and Johan Schreiner, pp. 143-144.
- 183 FS, Paltiel, Julius Nr. 226, undated Interview II. See for the few biographical facts of Josef Grabowski <http://falstadsenteret.no/wp-content/uploads/prisoner-number-424.pdf> (19 December 2017); see additionally Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt*, pp. 53-54.
- 184 Julius Paltiel, interview # 39292 in Norwegian, 22 February 1998, SFVHA.
- 185 Johansen, *Tusen dager i fangenskap*, p. 81: "Det sto en stor bjørk der, og døvfallet var gårdsplassen full av blader. Disse måtte jødene plukke opp, men bare ett av gangen. Så løp de da hele termiddagen fram og tilbake til trillebåra med ett og ett blad. Ofte ble de forstyrret om natta ved at en vaktmester eller to fikk lyst til å plage dem. Da var det et leven og bråk fra 'jødeloftet' så det hendte at vi andre våknet. [...] Blant jødene var det en operasanger, visstnok polsk flyktning. Vaktene, som tyskere flest, var glad i sang, og det hendte at denne sangeren ble kalt fram på kveldsappellen og beordret til å synge. Så sto han foran oss og sang det som tyskerne forlangte, mest operettemelodier. Ingen som opplevde dette, kommer vel til å glemme det. Jøden i en slitt fangeuniform, trett og sliten etter dagens anstrengelser og lidelser, som sang for en flokk fanger i snorrette geledder og for sine plageånder, de tyske vaktene. Det hendte at stemningen ble brutalt brutt av en tysker som heller ville høre en annen sang. Det hendte også at sangeren til slutt ble jaget på plass med spark og brøl. Av og til måtte jødene samlet synge noe som tyskerne hadde lært dem. Det var en messelignende melodi. Ordene husker jeg ikke, men innholdet var om hvor glad jødene er i penger, pluss en del gudsbespottelser. En kveld, etter at jødene hadde måttet framføre denne sangen, ropte Gneist, som da var fungerende kommandant, til oss andre: 'Det stemmer, ikke sant?' Han fikk ikke noe svar og gjentok spørsmålet. Tre hundre fanger sto urørlig uten å åpne munnen. Rasende brølte han at han nok skulle lære oss at det var sant." (Translation by the author.)
- 186 Nielssen and Reitan, *Falstad*, p. 33; FS, F-00193-002-001 Interview by Dag Skogheim with Arvild Alstad, 30 September 1996, p. 15.
- 187 Riedel, *Norwegen*, p. 434.
- 188 *Ibid.*, p. 435.
- 189 Editorial *Musikken på Grini*, in: *Norsk Musikerblad* 33 (1945), Nr. 5-7 Mai-Juli, pp. 5-7.
- 190 *Ibid.*, p. 5: "Det kann virke som blasfemi når en vil skrive om musikken på Grini, men den var et faktum. I all den elendighet og terrorisme som rådet der hadde de – ihvertfall de siste månedene – to orkestre." (Translation by the author.)
- 191 Grete Letting and Terje Knudsen, *Fra Kampen til New Orleans. Kampen Janitsjarorkester gjennom 75 år*, Oslo 2004, pp. 45-47.
- 192 *Grini*, edit. by Rønning, Blichfeldt and Thorud.
- 193 The liberation and solemn exit of prisoners leaving Grini was documented on film, including scenes from the string orchestra, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=merU-MBlaQI> (21 December 2017).
- 194 Gunnar Bratlie, "Det har vie". *Griniskisser*, Oslo [without year], p. 318.
- 195 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>.
- 196 Pingel, *Häflinge unter SS-Herrschaft*, p. 168.
- 197 Lordahl, *Polizeihäftlingslager Grini 1941-1945 and the Prisoner Mail*, p. 11.
- 198 Wachsmann, *Die Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, p. 590.
- 199 *Griniboken*, pp. 227-228.
- 200 *Ibid.*, p. 228.
- 201 FS, F-00265-003-001 *Program for juleaften 1944*.
- 202 *Ibid.*, F-00189-001-001 *Interview with Per Hjort Albertsen*, 19 May 2003, p. 10.
- 203 The spelling and difference of Hjort's name in the program is not clear.
- 204 FS, Sig. F-00366-001-011, drawing by Thorleiv Sellæg.

- 205 Cabaret programs were common in concentration camps and are also mentioned for Camp Berg, cf. Bugge, *Skyggene fra Quislings hønsegård*, pp. 71-73.
- 206 Magne Molvigs dagbok fra Grini 1941, cf. NAN, Molvig, Magne, F/L0001: Minnebok med dagboksopptegetninger fra Grini fangeleir 15.08-21.10. 1941, og brev, postkort og avisutklipp (uttatt fra fotoalbum U1), 1941.
- 207 *Nordmen i Fangenskap*, p. 453; *Norsk Fangeleksikon*, p. 17.
- 208 Magne Molvigs dagbok fra Grini 1941: "Igjen inspeksjon, så gikk jeg med salme boken, som jeg hadde fått i kapellet kvellen før, hvor pastor Tråen talte, rundt omkring og samlet autografer. [...] Revy om kvellen med optreden av fangene. Øverland leste egne dikt. Rinnan sang, Grimstad laget ablegöien, munnspillorkester, sang av Dyrnæs. Kvinnene fikk vare tilstede på galleriet, som på andakten. Ca 40 stk. Det er ca 275 mann her." (Translation by the author.)
- 209 Grini, edit. by Rønning, Blichfeldt and Thorud; Jørgensen, *Med Blyant På Grini*, pp. 89-91 and 107; *Rom8sanger*.
- 210 Bratlie, "Det har vie", pp. 107 and 120-122.
- 211 SR, PA-212 Anna-Margrete Olden. Caro Olden was the companion to composer, journalist and music activist Pauline Hall. For decades they shared an apartment and joined the editorial staff of various journals as critics for theater (Olden) respectively music (Hall). Among others *Yrkeskvinnen* and *Dagbladet* worked with her for decades. Cf. Kvalbein, *Musikalsk modernisering*, pp. 140-145.
- 212 NAN, RA/PA-1075/F/Fa/L0046.
- 213 *Griniboken*, p. 284.
- 214 Jørgensen, *Med Blyant På Grini*, pp. 100-101.
- 215 Lordahl, *Polizeihäftlingslager Grini 1941-1945 and the Prisoner Mail*, p. 22: "In general the inmates in the prisons belonging to the Gestapo headquarters in Viktoria Terrasse in Oslo (as Grini, Akershus Fengsel and Møllergt. 19) were permitted to write and receive letters. The number varied, but was usually two per month both ways. Parcels to the prisoners were in principle not permitted 'as all could be bought in the camp,' but still accepted. In the first period these could be delivered directly to the camp. Later this was changed and they had to be sent through the official mail." Due to the complete censorship of all public newspapers by the German authorities in Norway, they were permitted inside the camps as well.
- 216 Bratlie, "Det har vie", p. 285.
- 217 Johansen, *Tusen dager i fangenskap*, editors' preface, pp. 8-9 and cf. the preface of his sons, Bjørn and Tor Storm-Johansen, *ibid.*, p. 14.
- 218 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 219 See additionally a *Falstad-Sangen*, marked by the note "Skrevet av en norsk krigsfange på Falstad under krigen 1940-45", FS, Y-00001-001-001.
- 220 Johansen, *Tusen dager i fangenskap*, pp. 84-85: "I leiren hadde vi fått tillatelse av tyskerne til å ha en sammenkomst på julekvelden. I turnhallen var et stort juletre, og langs veggene var det langbord med juleløpere på. På forhånd hadde vi fått skrive hjem etter en pakke på inntil to kg. Pakkene fikk vi delt ut under julefesten. Men først hadde tyskerne tatt ut all tobakken. Den skulle deles likt på alle, sa de. Men det var åpenbart at mye av tobakken havnet i tyskernes lommer før vi fikk vår rasjon. En av vaktene var ubetenksom nok til å gi en sigarett til en av gutta senere, og han så at det var skrevet en julehilsen til Erling Paulsen på esken. Vi gikk rundt juletreet, sang julesanger, tenkte på dem hjemme og mente at neste jul var krigen slutt og vi var hjemme igjen. Flere fanger underholdt. Det var både sang og opplesing. Særlig lykke gjorde de tsjekkiske fangene. De sang sitt hjemlands sanger, og de sang godt. At vi skulle få oppleve en slik julekveld i en KZ-leir, hadde vel ingen av oss trodd. Æren for at vi fikk det til, må hovedtillitsmannen Jørgen Vogt få. Men vi kom snart tilbake til den grå fangetilværelse igjen." (Translation by the author.)
- 221 *Ibid.*, p. 114: "Mat fikk vi ikke første dagen, bare en kopp kaffeerstatning. Det ble organisert underholdning. En prest holdt en manende tale, noen fortalte historier, og et provisorisk sangkor gjorde lykke. Neste morgen så jeg Tyskland for første gang. Et grått og trist landskap strakte seg flatt og endeløst sørover. Det var klatter av snø hist og her." (Translation by the author.)
- 222 *Ibid.*, p. 115: "Før vi rakk å undersøke mulighetene til å plassere seg best mulig, gikk døra opp igjen, og noen flere ble truet inn. I alt var vi 70 mann i vogna vår, det samme var naturligvis tilfellet i de andre vognene. Vel, det var bare å prøve å innrette seg så godt som mulig, hovedsaken var å holde humøret oppe. Begynnelsen på oppholdet i Tyskland var ikke særlig lovende. Da, som et løfte om samhold, lød plutselig sangen 'Bedre og bedre dag for dag' fra en av vognene, og straks var alle med. Vi var avskåret fra å se hvordan det virket på vaktene og andre, men vi hørte ingen protester. De forsto vel ikke ordene, men den muntre og optimistiske melodien var ikke til å ta

- feil av. Det pussige var at vi da vi kom til Sachsenhausen, oppdaget at denne sangen, som vi tilfeldigvis klemte i vei med her, var svært populær og mye brukt av nordmennene der.” (Translation by the author.)
- 223 Ibid., p. 134: “Vår tillitsmann, Nils Langhelle, sa først noen ord, så leste Dahle fra Bergen juleevangeliet på nynorsk. Dalgard leste egne dikt, og vi sang julesanger. Kvelden etter kom de gamle gutta for å underholde oss nye. Arnulf Øverland leste egne dikt, blant annet ‘Det sto et juletre på galgebakken’ – i manuskript. Han leste om mulig med enda større inderlighet enn sist jeg hadde hørt ham, da leste han ‘Guernica’ fra en scene i Oslo før krigen. En tramgjeng fra AUF hadde et flott program med blant annet Rudolf Nilsens ‘Gi mig de rene og ranke.’ Vi sang Paasche Aasens ‘Frihetens forpost’, som faktisk ble vår annen nasjonalsang. Noen av tillitsmennene sa noen ord, og det hele vitnet om et enestående samhold.” (Translation by the author.)
- 224 Ibid., p. 185: “Et kjært minne fra Falkensee er underholdningen av Dagfinn Rimes tad. Han sang til eget gitar-akkompagnement og kunne et utall av sanger og viser. Han var aldri uvillig når vi ba ham synge og spille, og de kveldene han underholdt etter at alle var gått til køys, var uforglemmelige. Han satte seg på køyekanten, klimpret på gitaren og stemte så i med sanger vi gjerne ville høre, folkeviser, andre norske sanger og sanger fra arbeiderungdomslagene. Og vi lå i mørket og lyttet og sovnet ofte før han ga seg. Han var utrettelig, Dagfinn, og skapte mange fine stemningsstunder for oss andre midt oppe i disse vanvittige forholdene vi levde under. Det hendte også at han tok med gitaren i splittergrava under flyangrep. Når bombene enkelte ganger ble særlig nærgående og det kanskje oppsto en viss nervøsitet, kunne en eller annen rope ‘Spell ,a Dagfinn!’. Men Dagfinn var ikke bare trubadur, han hadde andre talenter også. Til jul dekorerte han spisesalen, skrev viser og tekster til en julerevy og instruerte og prøvde med noen av gutta som ville prøve seg som revyskuespillere. Det ble orget farger og utstyr, og før julekvelden kom, var hver blendingsgardin i spisesalen forsynt med et maleri med norsk motiv. På julekvelden var det dekket julebord med litt ekstra fra Røde Kors-pakker. Juletre hadde Rollwagenkommando orget ikke uten risiko, for treet var stjålet fra kamouflasjen rundt fabrikkene, og slikt var regnet som grov sabotasje. Men det gikk bra, og da det først sto pyntet på blocka, spurte ikke SS om hvor det var kommet fra. Ved julebordet var det noen korte taler, vi sang nasjonalsangen, og så kom underholdningen i Dagfinns regi, avsluttet med stor finale – den lokale balletten. – Fem av gutta som sparkepiker, kun iført brystholdere og bastskjørt. Det kom så overraskende på alle oss andre og var så godt utført at jubelen var grenseløs. Vi ga oss helt over, de fleste hadde ikke hatt anelse om noe slikt. Revyen ble gjentatt på nyttårskvelden og vakte like stor jubel da. Ja, hva en kar som Dagfinn betydde for oss alle i de forholdene vi levde under, kan ikke verdsettes fullt ut.” (Translation by the author.)
- 225 Ibid., p. 204: “Stemningen var naturlig nok høy i bussen. Det var natt, men hvem hadde råd til å sove! Bussen hadde radio, og da vi fikk nyheter fra London og senere swing music, sto jubelen i taket. Vi befant oss faktisk i et stykke fritt og nøytralt Sverige på fart gjennom Nazi-Tyskland.” (Translation by the author.)
- 226 Ibid., p. 221: “På grunn av det store fangebelegget ble det arbeid bare tredje hver dag på hver enkelt, og arbeidstempoet var behagelig. I fritida spilte vi bridge og sjakk, og det ble arrangert underholdning. Her, som ellers, var det ikke mangel på sangere, skuespillere, foredragsholdere osv.” (Translation by the author.)
- 227 Andreas Domann, “Führer aller schaffenden Musiker”. *Paul Graener als nationalsozialistischer Kulturpolitiker*, in: Riethmüller and Custodis, *Die Reichsmusikkammer*, pp. 69-86; Prieberg, *article Günther Ramin*, in: *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933-45*, pp. 5420-5422.
- 228 Memoirs from Gunnar Kjeldaas, KFA, pp. 63-64: “Professoren var en særdeles hyggelig mann. Han hadde i sin tid vært kapelmester ved et teater i London, og behersket således det engelske sproget til fullkommenhet. Hans frue og datter var også meget elskverdige mennesker.” (Translation by the author.)
- 229 Ibid., p. 93.
- 230 Ibid., p. 161.
- 231 Ibid., p. 158.
- 232 Torleiv Austad, *Church Resistance against Nazism in Norway, 1940-1945*, in: *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 28 (2015), Vol. 2 *Neue Fragen und Sichtweisen auf den Widerstand. Kirche und Gesellschaft in Skandinavien und auf dem europäischen Festland*, pp. 278-293, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13109/kize.2015.28.2.278>.
- 233 KFA, Kjeldaas memoirs, p. 285.



- 234 Ibid., p. 165, chapter *Fange hos tyskerne*. “The year 1942 was a strange time for me. I was really arrested and for half a year I was a German prisoner [handwritten correction ’7 months’]. A large book has been written called ‘Kirgenesfera’ about what happened there. There it is written what had happened before the arrest. Here I only put down on paper what happened to me.” “Året 1942 ble for meg en merkelig tid. Jeg ble virkelig arrestert, og satt som fange hos tyskerne i et halvt år [handwritten addition “7 maanen”]. Det er skrevet en stor bok ‘Kirkenesferda’ om det som hendte. I den står det hva skjedde før arrestasjonen. Jeg tar her med bare det som mere angår meg og mine personlig.” (Translation by the author.)
- 235 Ibid., p. 169.
- 236 Ibid., pp. 166-167; *Nordmenn i Fangenskap*, p. 145.
- 237 “Straks vi kom til Elvenes tok Hans Bergersen til å sette ut songar for kor. Han hadde ingen ting å hjelpe seg med, men musikalsk som han var, sette han ut stemmene på songar vi kjente og øvde dei inn. Mange var flinke songarar.” (Translation by the author.) Ola Hegerberg, *Teltlægret ‘Pap-penheim’*, in: *Kirkenesferda 1942*, edit. by Sverre S. Amundsen together with John Bjørkstad, Haakon Holmboe, G. Natvig Pedersen and Kåre Norum, Oslo 1946, p. 231.
- 238 KFA, Kjeldaas memoirs, p. 177.
- 239 Ibid., chapter *fri igjen*, p. 182.
- 240 Cf. for the general possibilities and limits of resistance in concentration camps Thomas V. Maher, *Threat, Resistance, and Collective Action: The Cases of Sobibór, Treblinka, and Auschwitz*, in: *American Sociological Review* 75 (2010), No. 2 April, pp. 252-272, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122410365305>.
- 241 Wachsmann, *Die Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, pp. 575 and 607.
- 242 Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft*, pp. 188-190 and Wachsmann, pp. 608-615.
- 243 Reidar Dittmann, interview # 50467 in English, 3 October 1999, SFVHA.
- 244 L. Elly Gotz, interview # 54119 in English, 15 June 1987, *ibid*.
- 245 Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft*, p. 161.
- 246 Brauer, *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, pp. 281-282.
- 247 FS, Y-00001-001-011 *Falstadmarsjen*.
- 248 NAN, RA/S-2057/1/DA *Nyheter fra Regjeringens Informasjonskontor London*.
- 249 Jørgensen, *Med Blyant På Grini*, p. 100.
- 250 Sandem, *Den siste SS-leiren*, pp. 125-129.
- 251 Karl Christian Lammers, *The Nordic Countries and the German Question after 1945*, in: *Contemporary European History* 15 (2006), Vol. 4, pp. 443-452, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777306003481>; Robert Bohn, *Dänemark und Norwegen in der bundesdeutschen Nachkriegsdiplomatie*, in: Robert Bohn, Christoph Cornelißen and Karl Christian Lammers (edit), *Vergangenheitspolitik und Erinnerungskulturen im Schatten des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Deutschland und Skandinavien seit 1945*, Essen 2008; Robin M. Allers, *Besondere Beziehungen. Deutschland, Norwegen und Europa in der Ära Brandt (1966-1974)*, Bonn 2009.
- 252 Record of the cabinet meeting on 22 January 1952. BArch, [https://www.bundesarchiv.de/cocoon/barch/0000/k/1952k/Datei/rtf-k1952k-0000219170.rtf/A197.\\_Kabinettssitzung\\_am\\_22.\\_Januar\\_1952\\_TOP\\_F.\\_Nationalhymne.rtf](https://www.bundesarchiv.de/cocoon/barch/0000/k/1952k/Datei/rtf-k1952k-0000219170.rtf/A197._Kabinettssitzung_am_22._Januar_1952_TOP_F._Nationalhymne.rtf) (29 December 2020).
- 253 Hans Otto Frøland, *Distrust, Dependency and Détente: Norway, the Two Germanys and “the German Question”, 1945-1973*, in: *Contemporary European History* 15 (2006), Vol. 4, pp. 495-517, here p. 508, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777306003511>. Additionally cf. Robert Bohn, *From Wartime Enemies to Alliance Partners: The Remodelling of West Germany’s Political Relationship with Denmark and Norway after the Second World War*, in: *Contemporary European History* 15 (2006), Vol. 4 November, pp. 539-551, especially pp. 548-549, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777306003535>.
- 254 Attachment to Arild Otto Plau’s claim for compensation, dated 28 October 1956. NAN, RA/PA-1075-F-Fa-L0069, in Norwegian: “Mine to brødre måtte av politiske grunner flykte til Sverige og jeg blev arrestert som gissel. På dette tidspunkt i min utvikling som pianist var jeg i merkelig vekst og sterkt avhengig av daglig arbeid ved klaveret. Det viste seg etter krigen at de forhold som jeg ble utsatt for i fangenskapet – med tildels sterk kalde og tungt arbeid – hadde vært så uheldige for mine hender at det ble umulig for meg å gjenoppta klaverstudiet. For å hevde meg som musiker måtte jeg velge et nytt instrument – fagotten – som ikke stiller slike krav til hendenes førlighet, og først etter ett års intens arbeid fikk jeg mitt første engagement som fagottist i symfoniorkester i Bergen.” (Translation by the author.)
- 255 LNRW, BR 3002-643627 Frank Storm Johansen.

- 256 Ibid.: “Nach dem Kriege habe ich an einer Magenkrankheit gelitten. Der Grund dieser Krankheit ist infolge der Ärzte die Nerfenstörungen [sic], die durch die Beanspruchung [sic] während des Krieges verursacht sind. Während meines Aufenthaltes in Deutschland haben meine Eltern mir durch Deutsche Reichsbank, jeden Monat 60 RM gesandt. Dieses Geld habe ich nie gekriegt, alles ist verloren gegangen.” (Translation by the author.)
- 257 Johansen, *Tusen dager i fangenskap*, preface by Bjørn and Tor Storm-Johansen, p. 18: “Sittende i baksetet, oppå soveposer og telt i ei VW 1200 62-modell, med røykende foreldre i forsetet! Vi visste at bilen og fotoapparatet, begge av tysk fabrikat, kom fra krigserstatningen pappa hadde fått for den tida han satt inne – åtte norske kroner per dag for tusen dager i fangenskap.” (Translation by the author.)
- 258 Ibid., pp. 18-19: “Ikke hat eller forakt for ‘det tyske’, men et klart skille mellom ‘det tyske’ og nazismen som tanke og ideologi. Pappas klare holdninger til menneskeverd, toleranse og kameratskap er også tydelig til stede i det minnematerialet han etterlot seg og som denne boken bygger på: beretningen, brevene og bildene.” (Translation by the author.)
- 259 NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-2259 (Jacob Lankelinsky), pp. 4 and 6.
- 260 Ibid., handwritten report to the Royal Social Administration (Kungl. Socialstyrelsen Stockholm), dated 7 April 1943, p. 22: “Jeg blev av myndighetene i Trondheim arrestert den 6. oktober 1942 og ført til Falstad konsentrasjonsleir. Jeg var der til 24. november 1942 og blev derefter overført til Bredtveit fengsel, oproud [?, illegible word in the original source] pr. Oslo, sammen med flere jøder, hvorav de fleste nu er deportert. Under oppholdet på Bredtveit blev jeg forelagt til uthjelpning [?, illegible word in the original source] ansökning om innreise til Sverige og efter at sådan innreise ved det kungl. Utrikesdepartements velvillighet og intervensjon fra den svenske generalkonsuls side var innrömmet, blev jeg löslatt. Jeg ankom til Sverige den 2. mars 1943. Mine nærmeste slektninger oppholder sig i Stockholm og har oppholdstillatelse.” (Translation by the author.)
- 261 LNRW, BR 3002-616072 Jacob Lankelinsky.
- 262 Obituary for Jacob Lankelinsky, *Adresseavisen* 20 January 1958: “Da han etter krigens slutt kom tilbake til Trondheim, vistes det tydelig at han hadde fått en knekk. Men sitt arbeide ved Trondhjems Musikskole fortsatte han til tross for sine store lidelser, som ble hårdere og hårdere etter som tiden gikk.” (Translation by the author.)

### III. Artistic Liberty and Periphery

Popular associations to peripheries usually apply to distant geographic and rural areas. Sociological theories use the term for more general dispositions of power, social structures and societal systems.<sup>1</sup> Stein Rokkan, credited in Chapter I as an influential author to explain the Nordic model of a Social Democratic welfare state, used the dichotomy of center and periphery as one out of five central cleavages which “structure mass politics in smaller European democracies”;<sup>2</sup> to quote the title of an essay from 1968. Including Norway along with other countries in his reflections he considered that “the centre-periphery cleavage [...] generates most diversity in the systems of party constellations”.<sup>3</sup> This did not seem surprising to him, because all of these smaller democracies have been

marginal in the European structure, all highly dependent on the inflow of political, economic and cultural resources from outside. Such situations of dependence tend to produce deep cleavages. With the spread of literacy, urbanization and economic growth, the elites closest to the external centre come under increasing pressures from nationalist- separatist counterelites. Depending on the geopolitical situation, such cleavages may generate elite factions or opposed mass parties, or lead on to a fight for territorial secession. A critical consideration in all such sequences of “nation-accentuating” politics is the extent of metropolitan settlement within the peripheral territory: had there been a history of colonization from the dominant centre? How large, how strong, how concentrated was this settlement? How closely was its elite tied in with the fate of the metropolis?<sup>4</sup>

If peripheries are characterized by a lesser degree of population, economic resources, and social complexity, such remoteness to the urban centers of power, public decision-making and culture may turn into a strategic advantage as soon as the capital becomes dangerous territory, for example the center of an alien invasion which attempts to gain control over the entire occupied country and its inhabitants. This is exactly what happened in Norway during the years 1940-45. Numerous publications have documented the importance of rural peripheries for the military resistance movement. The west coast of Norway was of special importance for reporting German naval activities and the illegal transfer of information, arms, and supplies. This also applies to the highlands in middle Norway that could be reached by British airplanes; especially the long eastern border to Sweden with its lonely woods and secluded mountainous terrain was a preferred region for evacuating endangered people.

Among the various strategies of the civil resistance movement to answer the German propaganda with irony and satire some seem especially memorable as they referred to stereotypes of typical Norwegian rural scenes, the ruling elite or even events of warfare (see fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Undated satirical stamps against the German exploitation of Norway, Vidkun Quisling's puppet regime and the German propagandist campaign against England. BB, A-2848.002 Y-0005 Bergen kommune. Okkupasjonshistoriekomiteen II. E 1-6 *Propaganda, illegale aviser*

These examples of black propaganda, which turned official regime slogans and campaigns upside-down, were found in two collections in Bergen's municipal archive and the university library. The context and history of these collections, however, remain unclear. All items are professional prints, most of them even in color, and designed in a size that they could have been used to be stuck on walls and surfaces with wallpaper paste. Some stickers were very outspoken and used the international understanding of German cuss words to replace two "s"-letters by SS-runes.



Fig 2: BLA, MS 1618,3, folder *Deutsche Freiheitspartei (avis)*, 1944: nr. 27, 30, 1945: nr. 7 *Særpubl. (Ortsgruppe Drontheim)*. *Diverse paroler og grensepass*

Other examples demonstrated open opposition against Hitler, which meant the death penalty if the perpetrator was caught. One calls for "a leader by divine right" (the grace of God, i.e. King Håkon VII) instead of the "murder of Berchtesgaden" (i.e. Hitler in his residence at the Obersalzberg in Berchtesgaden), using the German rhyme Gnaden / Berchtesgaden (cf. fig. 3). The small print underneath the red background says in German "Parole of week 13, 1943, Central Publishing House of NSDAP, Munich".

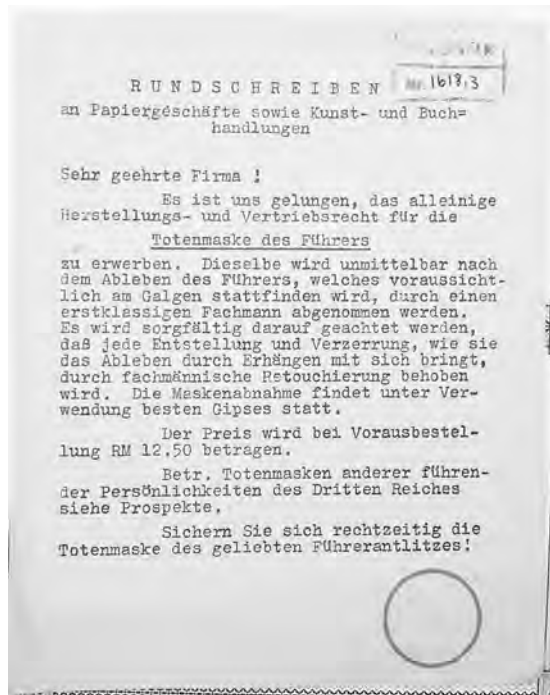


Fig. 3 and 4: BLA, MS 1618,3, folder *Deutsche Freiheitspartei* (avis), 1944: nr. 27, 30, 1945: nr. 7 Særpubl. (Ortsgruppe Drontheim). Diverse paroler og grensepass

Another flyer, undated like the three faked stamps in this collection (cf. fig. 4), was an advertisement calling for subscriptions to Hitler's future death mask:

Circular for paper shops as well as art and book shops

Dear company!

We managed to acquire the exclusive rights to produce and distribute the  
Führer's death mask.

Immediately after his passing, which is expected to take place on the gallows, it will be made by a first-class expert. Great care will be taken that any distortion and defacement, a usual consequence of hanging, will be corrected by professional retouching. The production of the mask will include the use of plaster of finest quality.

The price will be RM 12.50 for preorder.

Concerning death masks of other leading personalities of the Third Reich please consult our leaflet.

Be sure to order the death mask of the beloved Führer face in due time!

Another flyer even addressed German soldiers directly, trying to instigate them to desert by offering them a border pass to Sweden (“Grenzpass”). It was written in Swedish and German, and despite excellent phrasing certain grammatical constructions indicate that it was not drafted by a German Native speaker. It was signed by the “Deutsche Freiheitspartei – Ortsgruppe Drontheim” (“German Liberty Party – Local Segment Drontheim”). While one side addressed the German soldier, and the other was meant for the Swedish border patrol, it tried to explain the situation when a German deserter surrendered to the authorities:

To all departments concerned [in the German version, the Swedish versions appealed to “the Swedish authorities”]

The bearer of this document is a German soldier who for reasons of conscience refuses to participate in oppressing actions ordered by the German military authorities in the district of Trøndelag. We ask to treat him as a political refugee, to refrain from taking him prisoner when he sets foot on Swedish soil and to offer him the legal opportunity of earning his living in accordance with the Swedish law for political refugees.

On his part the bearer of this document commits himself not to take part in political or propagandist activities in Sweden, and to obey the laws of the host country whose support he claims.

As proof of his willingness to accept these conditions the bearer of this document is prepared to sign it on his arrival on Swedish soil in the presence of Swedish witnesses.<sup>5</sup>

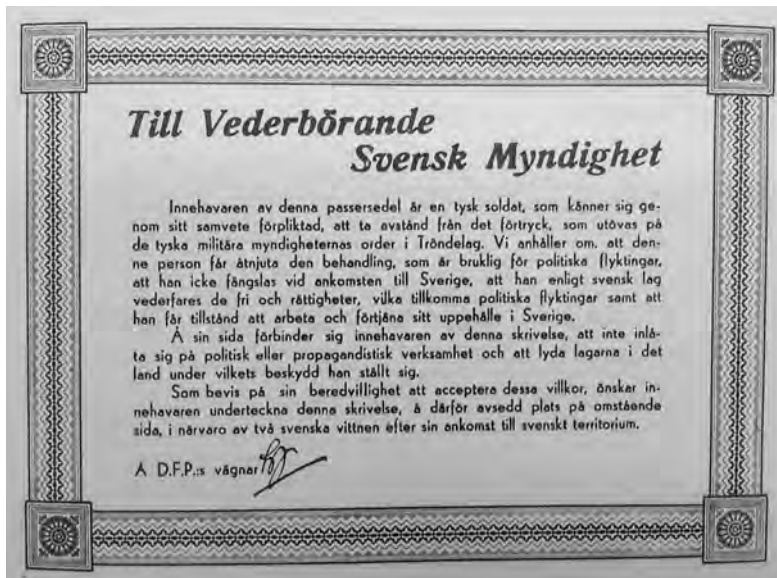


Fig. 5: “Black propaganda” against the Nazi-regime, here addressing German soldiers in particular to convince them of desertion. BLA, MS 1618,3, folder *Deutsche Freiheitspartei (avis)*, 1944: nr. 27, 30, 1945: nr. 7 *Særpubl. (Ortsgruppe Drontheim)*. *Diverse paroler og grensepass*

The geographical context of this last example, the district of Trøndelag is located close to the Swedish border, once again underlines the significance of peripheries for military resistance work. Similar to the much lesser general attention civil resistance work has attracted so far, the consequences of peripheries for musical resistance work in Norway have hardly been ever considered. Nevertheless, despite this lack of research the significance of peripheries is an important factor, as this chapter will show. Traditionally social control among the inhabitants is stronger in small communities than in regional or national centers.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, one may expect strong and rather homogeneous opposition against the German forces and the Norwegian NS-regime in villages where the labor movement or religious communities enjoyed a long history. In Bergen, where the domination by Oslo as the capital was a traditional nuisance, the opposition increased after 1940, but not only against Terboven and Quisling in patriotic solidarity for King Håkon VII and his exiled cabinet. The centralized paroles to boycott concerts, issued in Oslo and binding for the whole country, were rejected as well, because the generalization of the situation in Oslo, for the whole of Norway did not seem to match the situation in the peripheries. From the European point of view the diagnosis of living in the periphery applied to Oslo as well, although the cultural characteristics of the Nordic peripheries had moved Norway into the ideological center of National Socialism. Therefore, fighting for Norway's liberation always implied a struggle to protect traditional values and Norwegian folk culture against the ideological occupation by Hitler's, Rosenberg's and Himmler's pan-Germanic delusions.

These reflections indicate that reevaluating the category of peripheries can offer new historical and methodological aspects of music as a means of resistance. As the following four sections of this chapter will demonstrate, periphery initially can be understood in the literal sense of geographic distances, which will be featured with examples from Bergen, Stavanger, Trondheim and Tromsø. Furthermore, in a metaphorical sense periphery also describes artistic distances according to the traditional convention of art music as the standard of aesthetic autonomy. Accordingly, functional genres such as military music and church music are ranked peripheral to this center while they reach far beyond bourgeois audiences into widespread domains of everyday and communal life.

## **Military Music**

Distinct frictions concerning resistance work can be found in the field of military music on many sides, within official music corps as well as within the military resistance movement.<sup>7</sup> Soon after National Socialism had been implemented in Norway, the new leaders tried to gain control over existing military and administrative structures, both for ideological and for pragmatic reasons. Not only did they try to give proof of their strength and legitimacy, but in the case of music – with its serious lack of volunteers and instruments – they also tried to save resources by maintaining existing entities. During the first months, while Reichskommissar Terboven was installing a Norwegian Administrative Council (“Administrationsrådet”) parallel to his already existing German administration, a mixture of continuity and uncertainty prevailed. Some music

units tried to practise concealed opposition by giving public concerts with tellingly patriotic tunes that triggered Norwegians' desire for independence. An example can be found in the files of the 1<sup>st</sup> division's music corps stationed in Halden and conducted by Alf Mostad.<sup>8</sup> A first attempt to gain clarity about the new circumstances was the answer he sent to the Norwegian Army's Civilian Administration on 10 August 1940 in reply to a letter from 21 July 1940 which had required him to report if he could still keep up rehearsals and public concerts. He stated that his unit consisted of fifteen permanent officers ("fastlønnte offiserer") and three temporarily hired corporals. It was probably difficult for the military staff to balance the obedience to orders with the personal desire to withstand the new illegitimate Norwegian superiors following the decisions of the Wehrmacht under Nikolaus von Falkenhorst. One diplomatic way out of this dilemma was a tradition of civilian public concerts; these could not be misunderstood as support for the present military service because Alf Mostad dedicated all income from these concerts to the National Fund for the Wounded ("krigsherjete"). He contacted opera tenor Erling Krogh in Oslo, and asked for his support for an open-air concert on 1 September 1940 in Halden with pieces from Oscar Borg, Franz von Suppé, Johann Strauss, Edvard Grieg, M. A. Brewer, Juan Llossas, H. Kling, Alfred Paulsen, Ole Olsen, Christian Sinding, William Aston and Alf Mostad himself. Krogh agreed passionately, and even offered to reduce his usual fee by fifty percent.

The overall political changes from the Administrasjonsrådet to the official nomination of a Norwegian Statsrådet ("State Council") on 1 September 1940 cast a cloud over the plans for the concert. A note from the Administrative Council and the Army's Civilian Administration (dated 31 August 1940) explained that the activities of all divisjonsmusikkorps should be pursued only on a preliminary basis and that the bureaucratic responsibility had been transferred to the new district administration. According to publications documented by Mostad and his staff, the press and the audience received the concert on 2 September 1940 enthusiastically. Certainly they understood the clandestine signs of Mostad's choice for repertoire, while the critic for *Smålenenes Amtstidene* even named one specific piece:

When opera singer Erling Krogh entered the stage he was welcomed with storming applause, and his program was arranged advisedly. More than ever Erling Krogh sang himself into the hearts of the people and when he began with Christian Sinding's "Vi vil oss ett land" there was silence in the park and not one finger was moved. After the last note of this beautiful song had ended jubilation set in so intense and long that the singer had to sing da capo. After Erling Krogh's last number the cheering audience demanded more and again: "Vi vil oss et land".<sup>9</sup>

The phrase "Vi vil oss et land" ("We want a country") was taken from a nationalist poem by Per Sivle (1895), written when Norway's struggle for national independence from Sweden was intensifying. Later it was used for many different purposes. It was praised in a communist party journal in 1925, and appeared as a headline for an agitative film supporting the Liberal Party in 1936; just four weeks after Mostad's concert, it served as the title for one of Norway's first illegal newspapers in October 1940.<sup>10</sup> Its composer, Christian Sinding, a longtime member of the Preußische Akademie der



Künste in Berlin,<sup>11</sup> had sympathized with Adolf Hitler's ideas since the early 1930s, and was one of the most prominent artists in Norway supporting National Socialism.

After their immense success, Mostad, his musicians and Krogh began planning further charity concerts for early October 1940 in Drammen, Skien, Larvik and Tønsberg. However, the tide had turned. An internal letter from the 1<sup>st</sup> division's office informed the music corps on 23 September 1940 that the Army's Civilian Administration had forbidden all concerts for Army and Navy music units; the administration itself was passing on an order from the German Oberkommando der Wehrmacht ("Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht"). As sources tell, there was no choice but to cancel the plans. Supported by numerous letters of incomprehension and regret, which strengthened the musicians' conviction, they refused all the increasingly aggressive attempts to get them to join NS music corps that followed during the next months.

After Terboven had replaced the temporary Administrative Council by the Norwegian Statsråd on 1 September 1940 (to give the impression the German control of Norway was legitimized by Norwegian authorities), the "Gleichschaltung" of state-run institutions accelerated. In 1946 Hans Jørgen Hurum published his legendary monograph *Musikken under okkupasjonen* about Norway's music life during the years of occupation, on which he had worked since 1943 (for details cf. Chapter IV). According to him, the former divisjonsmusikkorps was to be transformed into a music unit for Hird in December 1940. These plans met strong resistance and motivated the 1<sup>st</sup> divisjonsmusikkorps to call together all related military music units for a secret gathering.<sup>12</sup> In an undated report the former member Hans Sommer described in great detail how intensely the pressure on the musicians became.<sup>13</sup> Thorstein Andersen, head of Arbeidskontoret (the Labor Department) and Bj. Schau (the mayor of Halden, the music corps's home town) ordered the complete unit to do heavy construction work either in Ørlandet or Kristiansand as punishment for insubordination. On 3 July 1942 they began building barracks for the company of John Olsson & Larsen. In an accident on 14 September 1942 Sommer lost four fingers and parts of his left hand, for which the National Insurance Company ("Rikstrygdeverket") granted a disability grade of fifty percent.

Files of the former 2<sup>nd</sup> divisjonsmusikkorps give more examples of how the political turnover was carried out.<sup>14</sup> On 21 February 1941 the Civilian Administration of the Army and Navy, a part of the Ministry of the Interior, ordered Music Sergeant Guttorm Johns Larsen to appear at the office of Rikshirden's chief of staff. In case he should refuse to obey this order, this would mean his definite decision against future engagements in the public service, which was in accordance with the Reichskommissar's decree of 4 October 1940.<sup>15</sup> Another letter to Larsen dated 14 March 1941, a reaction to the explanations he had provided, shows clearly that the order had been ineffective, although, as the office takes care to explain explicitly, party membership of NS was never required. In retaliation to Larsen's way of dealing with the matter, the administration delayed the payment of outstanding wages for years and finally in June 1943 it compensated only forty percent of the amount that was due to him.<sup>16</sup>

The members of the 6<sup>th</sup> musikkorps stationed in Harstad north of the Arctic Circle refused to serve in the NS-controlled Norwegian Armed Forces, and chose to quit their positions after they had not received their salaries for a long time.<sup>17</sup> They hand-

ed in their notices through their association “Divisjonsmusikernes forening” and faced neither any further consequences nor punishments, except the exclusion from positions in the civil service.

It seems likely that Jim Johannessen’s plans from spring 1942 to establish seven music corps for Hird nationwide matched the previous structures. Unfortunately the files from Hird’s Stabsmusikken do not provide additional archival sources for evaluating how many of the former music units were actually transformed into Hird music corps. Some strong reactions against the forced takeover are documented, and sanctions followed quickly. One month after Norway’s liberation, Olav Gurvin, journalist, musician, future founder of the musicological institute at Oslo’s university, and member of the civil resistance, published an essay with the telling title *Norsk musikkfront under krigen. Etter at alle åpne angrep var slått tilbake, grep nazistene til snikmetoder som også bedt nedkjempet til slutt* (“The Norwegian music front during the war. After all open attacks had been fought back, the Nazis used methods of servility which, in the end, were overpowered as well”).<sup>18</sup> In a few words he summarized the case of Musikkløytnant Alfred Evensen, who paid with his life for his open resistance against the new rulers. In the beginning Evensen refused obeying commands to give concerts in Oslo’s Studenterlund Park, and when the order came in the fall of 1940 to convert divisjonsmusikken into Hirdmusikken, Evensen led the refusal of thirty-eight of his forty men. He was soon arrested, and died of the results from his imprisonment in a solitary cell. According to an obituary, he had begun his career as a music instructor for the 6<sup>th</sup> division in Harstad, and was the leader of the town’s blooming music life.<sup>19</sup> In 1932, he took the position of a conductor for the divisjonsmusikken in Bergen, where he soon gained large popularity and the respect of his musicians. After two years, he changed positions and began his service within the 2<sup>nd</sup> division in Oslo, where again he won the sympathy of local music lovers very quickly with his popular park concerts. One of his most remarkable successes was the honor to lead the Norwegian military musikkorps at the third festival of military music in Paris in 1935. Significantly, the article written in 1942 could not mention any details of his incarceration or give any reason for his death.<sup>20</sup>

### **Music and Milorg**

Milorg (a combination of the terms “military” and “organization”) has its roots in the summer of 1940 when civil and military resistance developed their first concepts and forms of organization. Although Milorg considered itself a military undertaking, singing was surely a part of everyday life, not for a military purpose but maybe as an expression of patriotism, personal moods, wishes or feelings. However, the resistance fighters had neither time nor resources to produce their own songbooks. If printing machines and paper were available, Milorg engaged in printing paroles and distributing illegal newspapers. Concerning music, it was much more efficient to use already available popular music books. Another reason for using music books was of a musical nature: Milorg was a community of like-minded patriots from different social backgrounds and professions, united in the will to fight Nazism and Norway’s occupation, but professional musicians were usually not involved. To them, music was not an important factor for achieving their military and political goals. Music in public and for

public audiences served the purposes of the Wehrmacht, the SS, the Police and Hird, but it would not have made sense for Milorg to arouse attention and threaten the secrecy essential for resistance work. Songbooks popular among the resistance fighters give an insight into the attitude of the singers. It is easy to imagine that people who were living in peril because of their resistance activities chose songbooks for distraction and entertainment. They simply picked songbooks because they felt the desire to sing together.

The special value of popular songbooks used by Milorg becomes apparent in Milorg-district 14.2 in the outskirts of the Ringerike district. Thanks to Bjørn-Geirr Harssen, the author enjoyed the chance to visit a hut of approximately forty square meters, hidden in the woods, which was used by the local Milorg cell as headquarters in the years 1943-45.<sup>21</sup>



Fig. 6: A Milorg hut from the years 1943-45, preserved by Ringerike's Folkemuseum. Pia and Paul-Georg Custodis

Under the supervision of Ringerike's Folkemuseum, the hut has been preserved in its original structure and character including the interior. During the visit on 27 July 2017, a songbook was discovered on one of the bookshelves with a handwritten inscription dating it to the year 1944, which offers singular insights into the mentality and the everyday life of the local freedom fighters. It is a copy of a songbook that Trondheim's famous student union for engineers Smørekoppen had published in 1943 in a third edition. In its preface, Lars Prytz and O'Kee Stangebye explained that the first edition had been assembled two years earlier to answer the practical demand of engineering students. Meanwhile the book had gained such popularity that it was decided to make it accessible for everyone. Nevertheless the editors were very willing to stand against the difficulties of the new times ("*å trosse tidens vanskeligheter*") and get their songbook published. It obviously passed censorship.

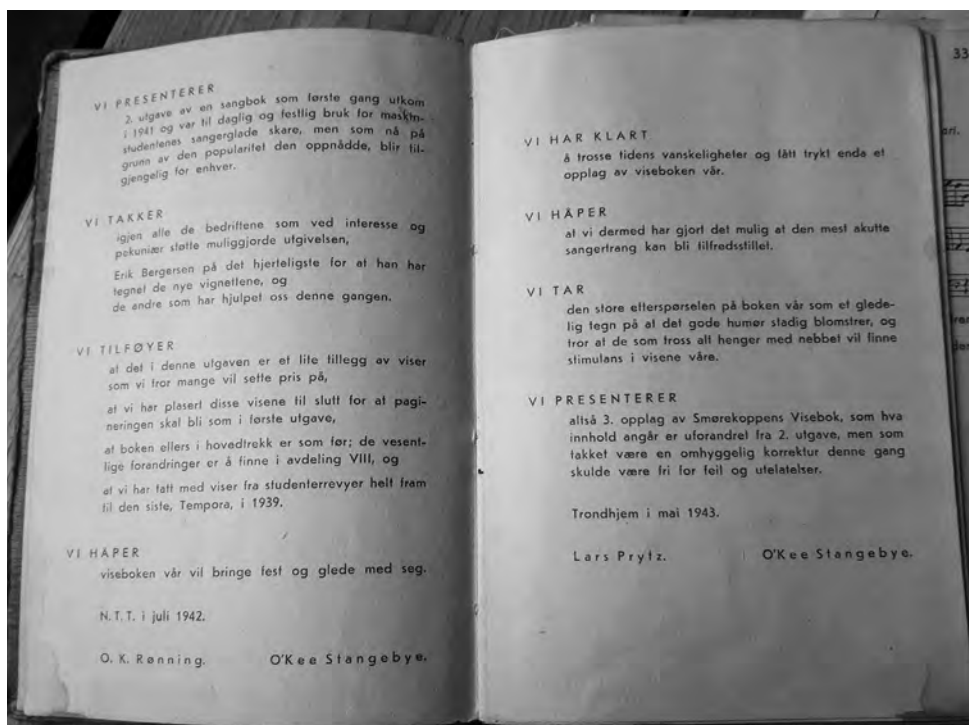


Fig. 7: Foreword to a songbook of the Smørøkkopp-student union (3<sup>rd</sup> edition 1943), found on a shelf in the Milorg-hut in the district of Ringerike.

On 170 pages the volume offers lyrics of more than 200 songs and begins with six tunes of high importance: *Ja, vi elsker dette landet*; *Norrønafolket det vil fare*; *Jeg vil verge mitt land*; *Du slægt, hvis hjerte banker*; *Kunnskap skal styra rike og land* and *Å leva, det er å elska*. Subsequently, twelve sections with different topics mirror the typical interests of students and the traditions they cherished. Besides tunes in the three Scandinavian languages there are numerous English, German, and some French songs included. To underline a) how much the related student culture owed to old, long lasting connections to Germany and b) how strong this impression must have been in times of Norway's military occupation, all songs of extraordinary relevance are mentioned here in the following listing of the twelve segments:

1. Skadelig Rum
2. Under dusken (including the standards *Gaudeamus igitur*, *O, alte Burschenherrlichkeit* and *Hilsningssang til de utenlandske gjester*, with melody and lyrics equally in English, German and French)
3. Trondhjems(senti)mentalitet (including *Vi har vår egen lille verden*, labeled to be sung to the melody of *Liebe der Matrosen* and *Hemninger rår* to be sung to the melody of *Kamerad, wir sind die Jugend*; this parody-technique of writing new lyrics to existing melodies was also practiced with English songs)

4. Fladske, oh Fladske (including the German drinking songs *Im tiefen Keller sitz ich hier* and *Trink, trink, Brüderlein trink*)
5. Eros
6. A la Carte
7. Bellmann och Glunten
8. Sing (including Goethe's *Heidenröslein* without recommendation of a certain melody; *Der Lindenbaum*; *Oh Tannenbaum*; *Kommt ein Vogel geflogen* and *Wiegenlied (Guten Abend, gut' Nacht)*)
9. Shanties
10. Rundsanger
11. Stumsanger
12. Litt av hvert

Cultural artefacts of such a kind demonstrate how the strong will to protect the Norwegian way of living dominated not only the military aspects of Milorg's activities. Singing was an essential part of everyday life in leisure time as well as the lonely or desperate hours. It is well known how important music is for building and keeping up personal and collective identities. Obviously German student songs belonged as naturally to this set of Norwegian musical values as a chorale from Johann Sebastian Bach did in the religious realm, or Beethoven's symphonies to domestic concert life. After centuries of cultural practice, these musical imports from Germany had long become an integral part of Norwegian habits, so that this cultural heritage had to be defended now against Nazi Germany's aggression. This practice was sometimes controversial but still explicable through the will to defend universal humanistic values against the dictatorial attempt to subordinate music under politics.

The songbook from the Smørekoppen-student union was not the only one that included traditional German songs in Norway in the years 1940 to 1945. The case of Mads Berg's song book for schools (*Skolens Sangbok. Med metodisk rettleiing for undervisningen i sang*), including methodological guidelines to teach singing, was a little different. After the first issue had been released in 1916, several revisions were published over the years. One copy, which was found in an exhibition of the Hallingdal Museum in Nesbyen in 2017, was approved for printing by the Ministry for Church and Education ("Kirke- og Undervisningsdepartementet") in August 1940, right at the time when Josef Terboven's Reichskommissariat was being established and the turnover of the Norwegian administration was taking place.

On page 79 one can find as number 94 the song *Gud velsigne Norges rike, Norges konge, folk og land!* with the annotation "to be sung to the melody of the Austrian national anthem", which of course is based on Joseph Haydn's famous melody. Nevertheless, no indication was added that this melody was used as well for the *Deutschlandlied*, so that the melody during these years was associated much stronger with Hitler's regime than with the Habsburg Empire, which had ended more than twenty years before in 1918. Another example is even more surprising regarding the political circumstances in Norway in August 1940. As number 204 the collection presents the song



Fig. 8: Mads Berg, *Skolens Sangbok. Med metodisk rettleiing for undervisningen i sang*, Oslo 1940

*Søndagsmorgen* (“Sunday morning”) and even dares to print the composer’s full name: Felix Mendelssohn. If this detail was not noticed by the approving institution in the summer of 1940 or if it was approved clandestinely as a statement against the anti-Semitic dogma of the just established German rule, however, cannot be said.

### Music in Churches

On 28 May 1943 organist Arnljot Kjeldaas gave a concert in the Hønefoss church, together with the opera soprano Gunvor Mjelva. On first sight the concert program (see fig. 9) offers no information to the question if this event had anything to do with musical resistance against the German occupation of Norway. None of the pieces bears a suspicious title or would be known as political music, neither were Johann Sebastian Bach, Ludwig van Beethoven, Georg Friedrich Händel, César Franck or Ferdinand Hummel famous because of their explicit political activities. The domestic composers Oscar Borg, Peter Eiken, Friedrich August Reissiger, Arnljot Kjeldaas, Peter Erasmus Lange-Müller, Eyvind Alnæs, and Abraham Hvidsten were hardly known even to experts. Accordingly, a potential political charisma cannot be expected here either.



Fig. 9: Program for a concert in Hønefoss on 28 March 1943. KFA

From a methodological point of view an answer is not easy to find either which demands a closer look. As explained in Chapter I along the preliminary model,

1. Resistance exceeds oppositional opinions and cultural aversions which one might expect of musicians, who usually are occupied rather with artistic challenges than political topics.
2. Impressive resistance work on one hand includes clandestinely developed and spectacularly executed events, while on the other hand it bears high risks for the resistance fighter, his comrades and family. How dangerous could a concert be where classical repertoire is performed in a church, one might ask?
3. Effective resistance work often prefers popular and important targets or prominent victims to gain a maximum of attention. But neither the church of Hønefoss (100 km northwest in the periphery of Oslo) nor our protagonists Arnljot Kjeldaas and Gunvor Mjelva could be credited as musical celebrities of their days nor was the audience prominent. Furthermore, church music or concerts in churches with secular repertoire are rarely the arena one might think of when subjects like “music and resistance” are discussed.
4. None of the compositions that were performed on 28 March 1943 in Hønefoss were based on explicit political contents. Instead, one needs to understand how works by German composers such as Bach and Beethoven could express cultural resistance against the Nazi-occupation of Norway. Also Händel, who was defended ideologically by German musicologists against British historiography,<sup>22</sup> and Frenchman César Franck were not threatened by NS-censorship.

But still there was a plan of politically ambitious protagonists behind the scenes, as can be shown along four points: Norway's state church during the occupation, the ecclesiastic environment as a field of musical resilience, Arnljot Kjeldaas' biography, and the balance of music and resistance to think of war while praying for peace.

### Historical and National Contexts

After April 1940 the Norwegian State Church had to decide on which side to stand. Formally, it belonged to the Ministry of Church and Education and the highest representative, Bishop Eivind Berggrav (1884-1959) of Oslo, was involved in the official negotiations with Terboven and his staff right from the beginning after King Håkon VII and his administration had left Norway seeking exile in London.<sup>23</sup> When Terboven established the Provisional Administration Council ("kommissarisk administrasjonsrådet") with domestic bureaucrats to run all Norwegian administration in September 1940, which included the termination of all previous political structures and parties (except the Norwegian Nazi-party Nasjonal Samling), most members of the Church inevitably developed a resilient state of mind. Berggrav was well aware of the struggle between church and state in Germany and at first tried to secure the unity of all protestant movements and churches in Norway. He organized secret gatherings in the so-called *Kristent Samråd* ("Christian Counsel") and wrote orders and circular letters which he distributed across the country through clandestine channels.<sup>24</sup>

Immediately after his appointment as Norwegian Prime Minister Quisling began to establish a "Riksting" representing all important professions and guilds. Furthermore, he declared himself head of the Norwegian State Church during a ceremony on 1 February 1942 in Trondheim's Nidaros Cathedral, the mystical birth place of Norwegian Christianization. A few days later he passed a bill for obligatory youth service ("Lov om nasjonal ungdomstjeneste", inspired by the German Hitlerjugend) and demanded the registration of all teachers in a new, state controlled organization ("Lov om Norges Lærersamband"). Both initiatives were critical moments in Norway's resistance history. On one hand, 12,000 of the 14,000 teachers nationwide refused to join the new organization which resulted in a temporary breakdown of the schooling system. This caused the arrest of 1,300 teachers during the following weeks and their imprisonment in camps across Norway, mostly in the far North, for compulsory labor. On the other hand, in 200,000 letters to the school administration approximately between 60 and 70 percent of all Norwegian parents declared their unwillingness to let their children join the new youth organization or accept their indoctrination in school. Several Norwegian bishops supported this mass mobilization and explained their disapproval of Quisling's policy in their sermons in church. Most parents had wished their children to be baptized so that the Church claimed the responsibility for their moral and Christian education according to the education act's first paragraph.<sup>25</sup> Thereby, after only a few weeks Quisling's initiative for collective indoctrination of all pupils turned out to be a failure.

For the following two and a half years the former state church existed in a political vacuum until Norway's liberation. Most of the loyal priests lost their positions as civil servants and depended on private support by their former congregations to survive with their families. Internal administrative records reveal that most clergymen



appointed by Quisling's administration were shunned by their religious communities. Consequently, their church services were attended only by party members and their families.<sup>26</sup>

### **The Political Impact of Church Concerts**

The participation of congregations in church services and social activities was an essential part of protestant church life in Norway. Often churches, parish halls, and assembly rooms were the only locations in rural areas for touring musicians, amateur choirs and semi-professional orchestras to perform and practice. Concert programs and reviews in local newspapers show a preference for classical-European repertoire and genuine national-romantic pieces including inspirations by folk-music. The German contributions to the repertoire did not change very much after April 1940, still favoring pieces by Bach, Händel, and Beethoven, sometimes also by Reger and Strauss.<sup>27</sup> After the Quisling administration had ordered the "Gleichschaltung" of all professional organizations and associations in 1942, many choirs, amateur and semi-professional orchestras and music corps dissolved, as it had already occurred with military ensembles as mentioned above and as it will be further discussed below in an example from Tromsø. Except for concerts in private rooms, which have left almost no archival traces and have not been reconstructed systematically yet for the example of Norway, churches remained one of the few places where musicians could perform in public.

As far as sources tell us up to now, systematic censorship in Norway did not start before 1942, even though some documents do mention a decree dated 30 May 1941.<sup>28</sup> In general concerts had to be registered at the local police station.<sup>29</sup> Performances in border regions – eastwards to neutral Sweden and westwards close to the Atlantic shore along the fortified Westwall – needed extra permission by the Norwegian Theater Department, the Sicherheitspolizei and the passport office of the Norwegian police. Thanks to the research done by Andreas Bußmann, files of the actual censorship procedures have been discovered in Oslo's Riksarkivet showing how exceptions were granted especially for church concerts.<sup>30</sup> As soon as music with lyrics was included in a concert program, the tour managers or concert producers had to send copies of all lyrics to the head of propaganda at the local branch of Nasjonal Samling prior to the event. After a preliminary inspection the material was sent further to the theater department of the Norwegian Ministry of Propaganda, where the program either was approved, restrictions were imposed to leave out certain verses of a song or to omit a scheduled piece completely.<sup>31</sup> Music by Jewish, American, English, and Russian origin was prohibited in general.<sup>32</sup> Some room was left for French music,<sup>33</sup> a general ban on Swedish music was lifted again in 1943 if it did not dominate a concert program.<sup>34</sup> Three main distinctions can be made so far regarding music censoring:

1. Events of professional and amateur musicians were ranked differently, all non-professional groups had to donate a quarter of their income to one of National Samling's charity organizations.<sup>35</sup>
2. Concerts with instrumental music did not have to pass censorship.<sup>36</sup> They only had to be reported to the local police authorities on short term, but without an evaluation of the concert program long in advance. Accordingly, the amount or lack of musical knowledge among the local authorities concerning inappropriate repertoire

or the names of foreign composers and artists left much room for strategic musical resistance work.<sup>37</sup>

3. There was an ongoing critical debate if church services by clergymen had to be a mandatory part of a church concert. This turned into a crucial question after the Quisling administration had dismissed all oppositional priests and employees in 1942. When NS-loyal priests now tried to continue this tradition, congregations and musicians regularly refused to accept this attempt to ideologize their musical activities in church.<sup>38</sup> Strikingly, the heads of local propaganda departments tried several times but were not successful in convincing the administration in Oslo to implement a compulsory inclusion of NS-priest in church concerts.



Fig. 10: Arnljot Kjeldaas at the organ in Hønefoss around 1942. KFA

### **Arnljot Kjeldaas' Contributions to Musical Resistance**

For a better understanding of Arnljot Kjeldaas' (1916-1997) own commitment to the homefront one needs to keep in mind that his father Gunnar had been arrested during the notorious teachers' strike in 1942 and had spent several months in prison camps in Norway (for details cf. Chapter II and the documentary *Songs to Survive. Gunnar Kjeldaas' "Fangesongar frå Kirkenes"*).<sup>39</sup> At this time Arnljot was already a professional church musician, after having graduated under Arild Sandvold's supervision on 12 December 1940 at Oslo's conservatory.

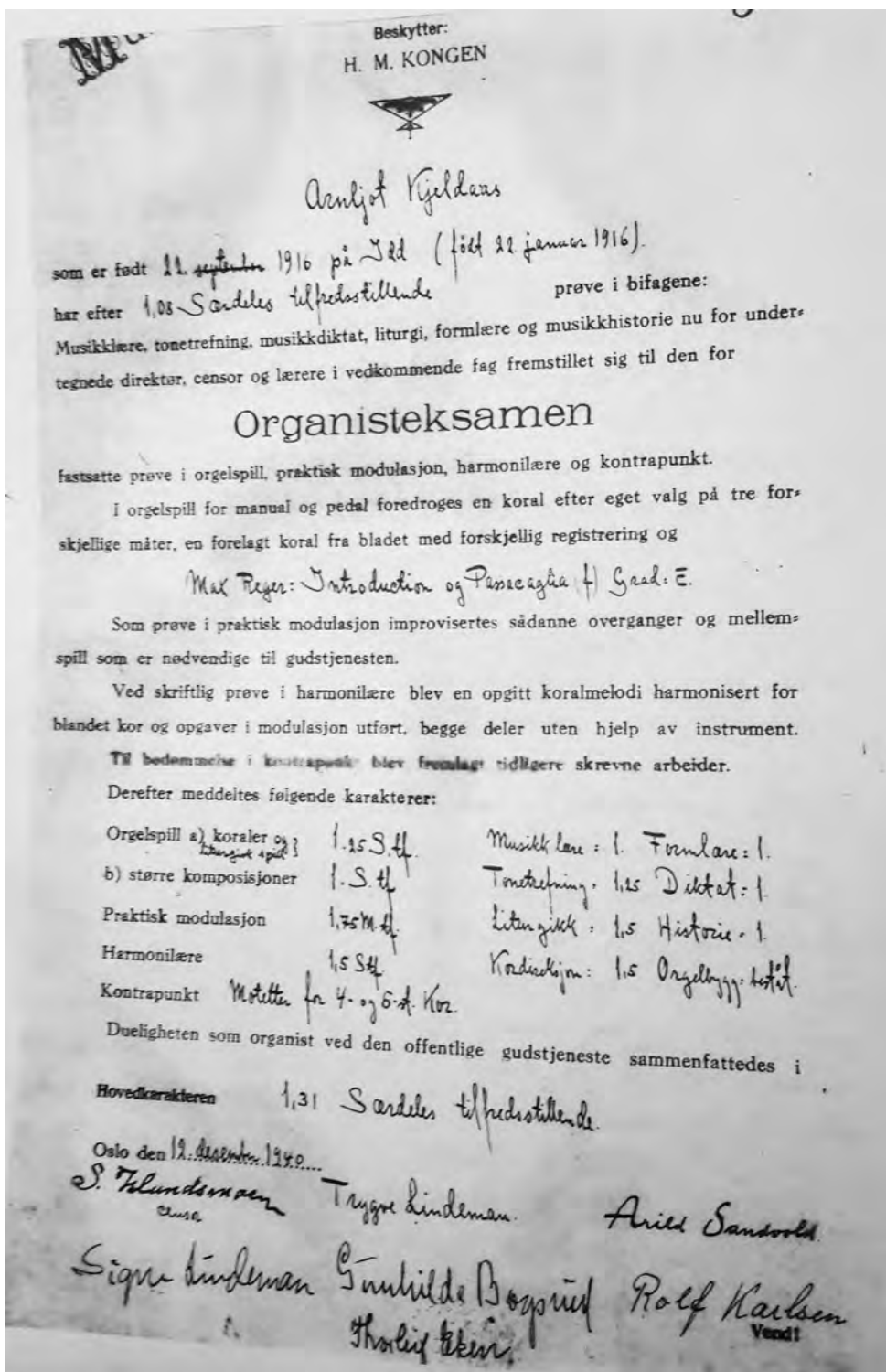


Fig. 11: Arnljot Kjeldaa's organist exam, dated 12 December 1940. KFA

Aside from his duties as an organist in Hønefoss he was busy leading choirs, composing, conducting as well as accompanying singers and playing the organ at movie theaters. According to concert programs, reviews and his private collection of scores, which today are preserved by his daughter Anna-Ma Kjeldaas, his repertoire included classical pieces from Johann Sebastian Bach, Georg Friedrich Händel and Max Reger, as well as pieces by Ludwig van Beethoven, Alexandre Guilmant, Charles Gounot, Antonio Vivaldi and Norwegian composers such as Edvard Grieg, Carl Gustav Sparre Olsen and his teacher Ludvig Irgens Jensen.



Fig. 12: Article about Arnljot Kjeldaas' new position in Hønefoss, in: *Ringerikes Blad*, 17 September 1942. NNL

In 1942 Kjeldaas intensified his compositional ambitions, including studies with Bjarne Brustad, and left his position in Hønefoss two years later,<sup>40</sup> after the Ministry for Folk Enlightenment and Propaganda – responsible for the Norwegian Composers' Association – had granted him a composition stipend of kr. 1,000 on 1 February 1943. In this case the nimbus of music's aesthetic autonomy protected the integrity of a young artist whose father was being imprisoned over months by the regime. After Norway's liberation such official support was no burden, in contrast to Germany where funding by the Ministry of Propaganda was often regarded as a proof for political compromise. Instead, as mentioned in Chapter I, Kjeldaas was credited by the civil resistance movement in their confidential list of reliable artists. Two certificates from November 1945 and October 1946, which are preserved in his private papers, further testify his commitment to take action against the German suppressors and their Norwegian fellow combatants: The leader of the local resistance cell in Brandbu (in the community of

Gran) confirmed that he had regularly carried out missions reliably and had employed his artistic talents for the common cause.<sup>41</sup> A police officer in the Lysaker parish certified that he had not been a member of Nasjonal Samling or any other party organization, but instead had shown a “godt nasjonal holdning” (a good national attitude).<sup>42</sup>

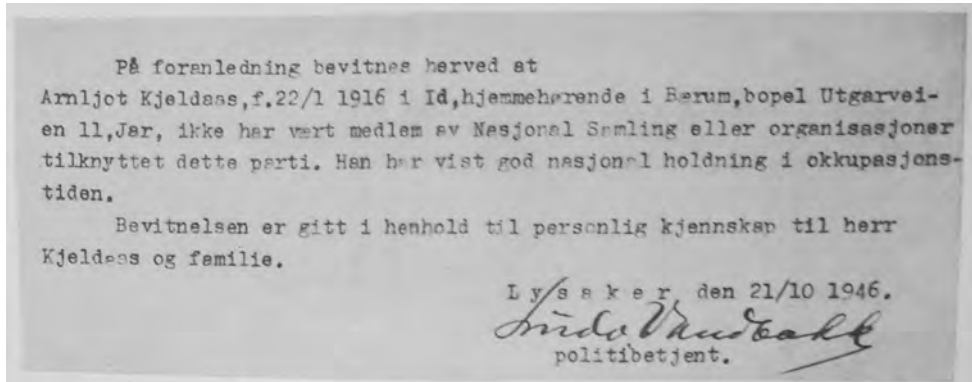
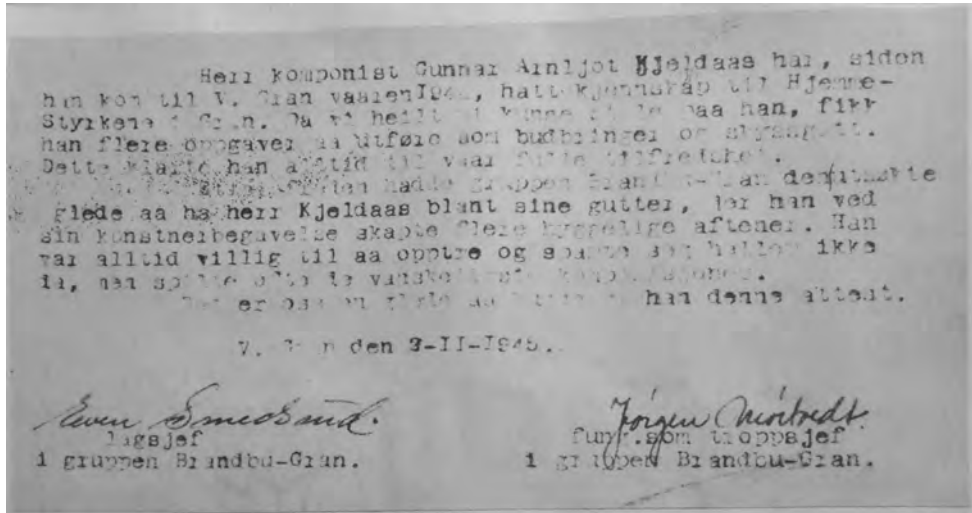


Fig. 13: Certificates for Arnljot Kjeldaaas, crediting his contribution to the resistance movement. KFA

Knowing about Arnljot Kjeldaaas’ oppositional attitude, the resulting question would be where this quality was manifested in his musicianship and his own music. A first answer can be found in the program for a concert on 12 December 1941 in Oslo’s Frogner church where Kjeldaaas contributed the organ part. Under the baton of the female conductor Jenny Guldahl pieces by Dietrich Buxtehude, Franz Schubert, Antonio Sacchini, Georg Friedrich Händel, Nils Larsen, Oskar Merikanto, Sparre Olsen, Agathe Backer Grøndahl and Edvard Grieg were performed, while as a matter of course the program also included music by Robert Kahn, Felix Mendelssohn, Anton Rubinstein and Peter Tschaikowsky. No one hesitated to print these Jewish and Russian names on

the official poster, neither accepting any separation of music into legal and illegal repertoire, nor giving the NS-propaganda a chance to speak on behalf of classical music. Nevertheless, this presumed intention is still just an interpretation. Consequences drawn by the authorities in case classical musicians had not followed the rules or had performed interdicted instrumental repertoire could not be detected in archival sources so far.

**Musikkandakt**

til inntekt for trengende til jul

I FROGNER KIRKE

søndag 14. desbr. kl. 18

PROGRAM:

Buxtehude:	Præludium, Fuge g-moll.	
	Organist A. Kjeldaas.	
Schubert:	2 motetter.	Sangkvartetten.
Mendelssohn:	Ich harrete des Herrn.	
Rubinstein:	Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh.	
Tschaikowsky:	Thranen.	Ingeborg Ring, Eva Haxthow.
Tale av pastor Fjelberg.		
Sacchini:	Salvum fac regem.	
Sparre Olsen:	Lomskyrkja.	
Kahn:	I sjøen svømmer liljen.	
Agathe Backer Grøndahl:	Hvile.	Sangkvartetten.
Händel:	Lascia chio piange.	
Nils Larsen:	Sne over verden.	
Grieg:	Modersorg.	
Merikanto:	Jag välsignar.	Astrid Hoff.
Schubert:	Salme	Sangkvartetten.

Sangkvartetten: Ingeborg Ring, Astrid Hoff, Ragnhild Brodskorb, Aagot Holst, Rigmor Norby, Edith Røiside, Eva Haxthow, Helga Sambo, Ingeborg Tidemand-Johannessen, Bitten Hestvedt, Torkel Mathiesen.

Dirigent: Jenny Guldahl - Orgel: Organist A. Kjeldaas.



Fig. 14: Program for a concert in Oslo's Frognerkirke on 14 December 1941 and a portrait of Arnljot Kjeldaas around this time. KFA

Taking into account that whistling a forbidden melody in public or singing an anti-German song could result in several months of imprisonment in a concentration camp (as described in Chapter II), the performance of illegal or ostracized repertoire could turn a church concert into an appeal for peace amidst an unjust regime.

8

*Til min lærer kantor ARILD SANDVOLD.*

## FESTPRELUDIUM

over „Gud signe vårt dyre fedreland“.

Arnljot Kjeldaa.

**Maestoso molto**

MANUAL *I ff*

PEDAL *ritard.*

**Andante con moto**

*mf*

÷ Ped. kop. I.

*poco a poco maestoso e cresc.*

Forlaget cisdom for alle land  
Copyright 1944 by Norsk Musikforlag, A. S. Oslo. N. M. O. 7472

Fig. 15: The beginning of Arnljot Kjeldaa's *Festpreludium* in comparison to the beginning of the traditional chorale *Gud signe vårt dyre fedreland*. KFA

Kjeldaa's own *Festpreludium* ("solemn prelude"), which ended the concert on 28 March 1943 at Hønefoss and which had opened this overview of church concerts, offers a telling example how a resilient attitude was embedded even in a functional piece of church music. Formally speaking, the *Festpreludium* is a chorale introduction, preceding the congregational singing with variations of the chorale melody. Kjeldaa's impressive beginning, highlighted with the performance indication "maestoso molto", presents the central motif of the original chorale (marked in red in fig. 15) which is varied several times. But only together with the underlying hymn *Gud signe vårt dyre fedreland* ("God bless our dear fatherland") the political content of the music emerges: This popular chorale accumulated an eminent patriotic symbolism in Norway since its first performance in 1891. While the pressure for Norway's independence from the unloved union with Sweden had grown rapidly, the theologian, church counselor and folk music collector Elias Blix had written new lyrics to a melody which Christoph Ernst Friedrich Weyse had composed in 1826 for the millenium of Denmark's Christianization. Since then the chorale was often combined with the Norwegian national anthem *Ja, vi elsker*. If Kjeldaa now wanted to remind of Norway's independence without making an open political statement, he could easily quote this melody. The congregation would praise their free country under God, while the regime's representatives could not complain about a traditional chorale. The chorale title *Gud signe vårt dyre fedreland* was also a prominent slogan for the resistance movement, as a leaflet printed for Norway's liberation day on 8 May 1945 documents.



Fig. 16: Leaflet from the resistance leadership on 8 May 1945, celebrating Norway's liberation that crowned the years of fighting. NNL



A chorale introduction was an ideal moment for a church composer to incite the common knowledge of his audience, whereas the qualification of the authorities was hardly sufficient to check the nationality of musicians or the origin of prominent Jewish composers on a program. The intricacy of fugative melodic treatments of a traditional chorale, however, could not be detected by average censorship, but easily enough by a trained audience.

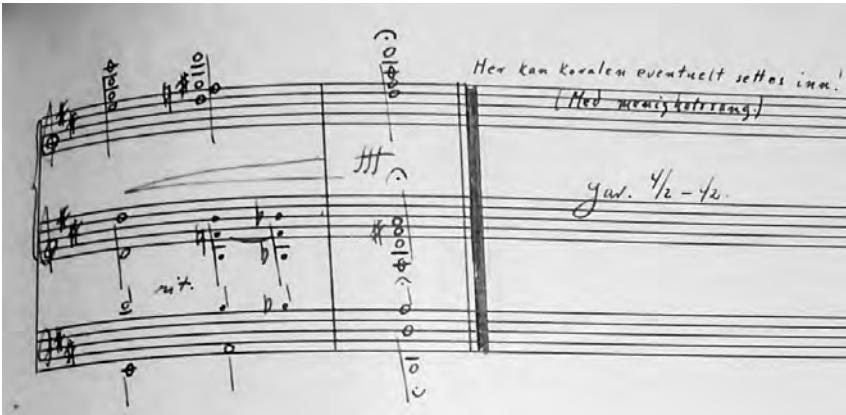


Fig. 17: The ending of Arnljot Kjeldaa's *Festpreludium* in his own handwriting saying "Here the chorale possibly can set in! (With the congregation singing.)" KFA

In addition to the political and musical implications the *Festpreludium* also characterizes the family history of father and son Kjeldaa. The piece was composed in the winter of 1941/42 (the fair copy was dated 4 February 1942), six weeks before his father was arrested and sentenced to spent eight months of hard labor in the north of Norway, together with more than one thousand other teachers (cf. Chapter II). In his memoirs Gunnar Kjeldaa described how he visited the Baklandet church in Trondheim on his way home after he had left the boat to continue his travels a little later on the train. When he entered the church, he sat down behind the organ and began playing the chorale *Gud signe vårt dyre fedreland* together with the deeply moved congregation. During his imprisonment Gunnar had sent short notes and several of the melodies for his *Fangesongar frå Kirkenes* to Arnljot which had been smuggled out of the camp. When on 28 March 1943 Arnljot closed the concert in the Hønefoss church with his *Festpreludium* so that the audience could join in for the traditional fatherland-chorale (cf. fig. 17), the hidden importance of this very moment certainly was clear to everybody encouraging all to keep up the collective resistance against the Nazi-occupation of Norway.

## Composing Resistance in Bergen and Harald Sæverud's *Symphony No. 5* (1941)

Harald Sæverud's *Kjempeviseslåten* is probably the most popular musical statement of resistance against the German occupation of Norway. The piece is still very prominent today, on a symbolic level reaching even into the realm of merchandising and everyday life.

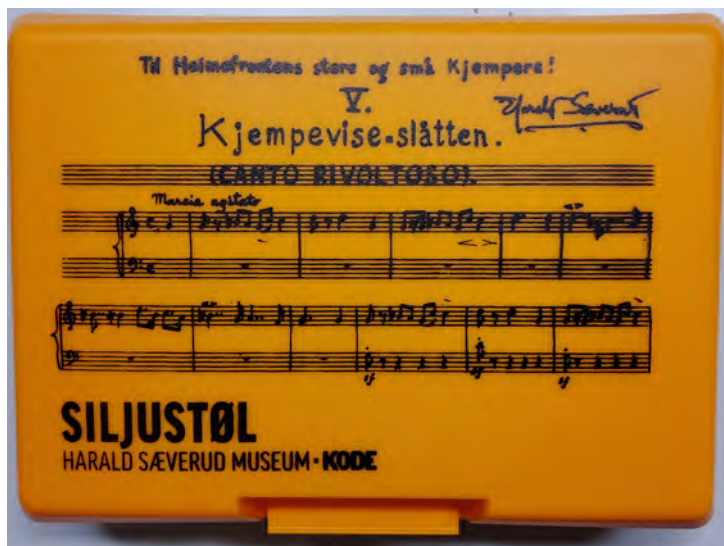


Fig. 18: A lunchbox with the beginning of *Kjempeviseslåten* (No. V in the *Slåtter og Stev fra "Siljustøl"*-Suite No. 2 for piano, opus 22) in Harald Sæverud's handwriting. Harald Sæverud Museum Bergen

First composed in 1943 as a piano piece for the second suite of the *Slåtter og stev fra "Siljustøl"*, opus 22, *Kjempeviseslåten* was reworked for orchestra (as opus 22a) until spring 1945 including a new introduction of 50 bars with an additional new opening motif. Sæverud's correspondence with his publisher Sigurd Kielland at Norsk Musikkhuset in Oslo documents how offers from Sweden to Moscow came in rapidly which scheduled *Kjempeviseslåten* between December 1945 and February 1946 for performances amongst others with the Swedish Radio in Stockholm, in Bergen, and even in Moscow (cf. fig. 19 and 20). In consequence, *Kjempeviseslåten* became the "symbol of the Norwegian resistance fight",<sup>43</sup> representing the rage against the injustice during the war.

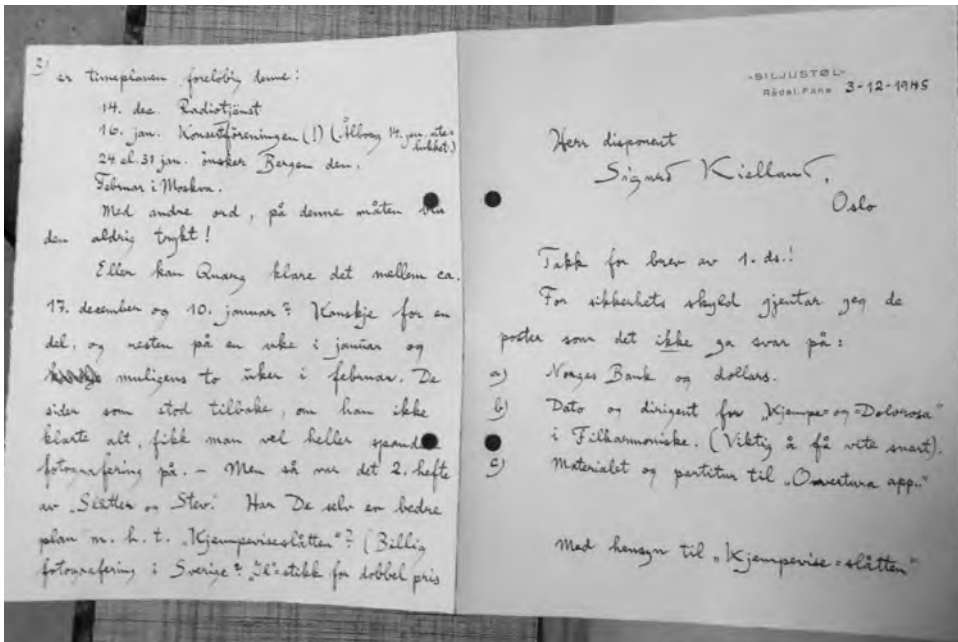


Fig. 19: Letter from Harald Sæverud to Sigurd Kielland, 3 December 1945, with details about scheduled performances of *Kjempeviseslätten*. MCA

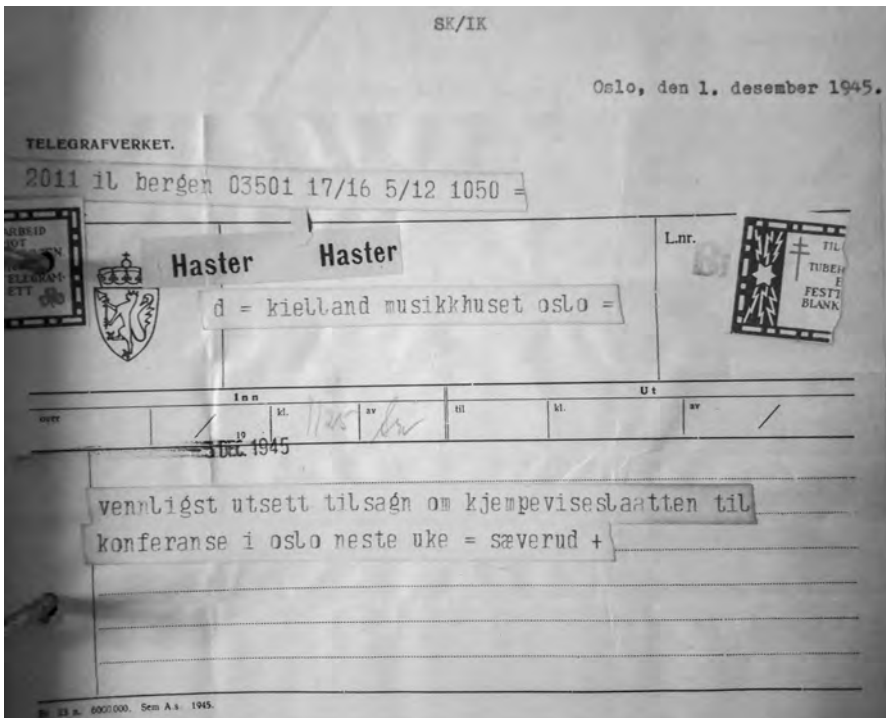


Fig. 20: Telegram from Sigurd Kielland at Norsk Musikkhuset to Harald Sæverud, 1 December 1945, about a scheduled performance of *Kjempeviseslätten* for the Norwegian Music Week in Oslo. MCA

Nevertheless, very little is known in fact about the conception of the piece and Sæverud's attitude in general during the years 1940 to 1945. Naturally, all dedications of compositions from the war time had to be made in retrospect, those concerning the case of *Kjempeviseslåtten* and connections to the resistance movement in particular. Friedrich Geiger was the first scholar to examine its dramatic concept as a typical piece of resistance music, including Sæverud's pragmatic intervention on behalf of his engraver, Edwin Quarg (1899-1956). Ironically, the German born Quarg was arrested for his behavior during the occupation for supporting the German Reichskommissariat and the Quisling regime several times, being released discretely with the help of Bjarne Sæverud (1892-1978), the composer's brother and a high-ranking member of the resistance, the Norwegian Composers' Association and his publisher Sigurd Kielland.<sup>44</sup>

Obviously, *Kjempeviseslåtten* was extremely successful at its premiere and rather pragmatic as a composition, in comparison to Sæverud's symphonies, in particular the three he composed during the years 1941 to 1945. Besides some occasional mentions as decisive examples of musical resistance they have not been examined regarding their semantic content. While No. 7, opus 27 (1944-45) expressed a musical prayer for peace (corresponding to its subtitle *Salme*), No. 6, opus 19, his *Sinfonia Dolorosa* (1942), presented a music of mourning and doubt (two years after its premiere it was dedicated to the memory of Sæverud's friend Audun Lavik who had been shot by the Germans for his support of the resistance on 31 October 1944 at the age of 45). His Symphony No. 5, opus 16 from 1941, subtitled *quasi una fantasia*, represents Sæverud's first major political-symphonic statement conceived at a time when the resistance in Bergen and all of Norway began to organize and professionalize, including his own brother, Bjarne Sæverud. As will be analyzed, this piece is not only strikingly representative for these personal circumstances, but also for Sæverud's view on Beethoven as symbolized in the symphony's subtitle *quasi una fantasia*. In terms of form and expressiveness his source of inspiration was Beethoven's piano sonata opus 27,1 in E<sup>b</sup> major, the sister-sonata to the so-called *Moonlight*-sonata, opus 27,2 in C<sup>#</sup> minor. His correspondence with Sigurd Kielland reveals that Beethoven's music and even the 5<sup>th</sup> Symphony in C minor, opus 67 were important references for Sæverud (cf. fig. 21). Although his 6<sup>th</sup> was the most performed of his symphonies immediately after Norway's liberation, his opus 27 was chosen to be performed at the World Music Festival of the International Society of Contemporary Music in Brussels (1950).

To understand the political and biographical context of Sæverud's aesthetic decisions in his opus 16, the following description will first summarize details about his brother Bjarne and cultural resistance in Bergen, before a portrait of the choir and orchestra from Bergen's Harmonien society will picture the cultural surroundings in which Sæverud's music found much of its resonance in his hometown.

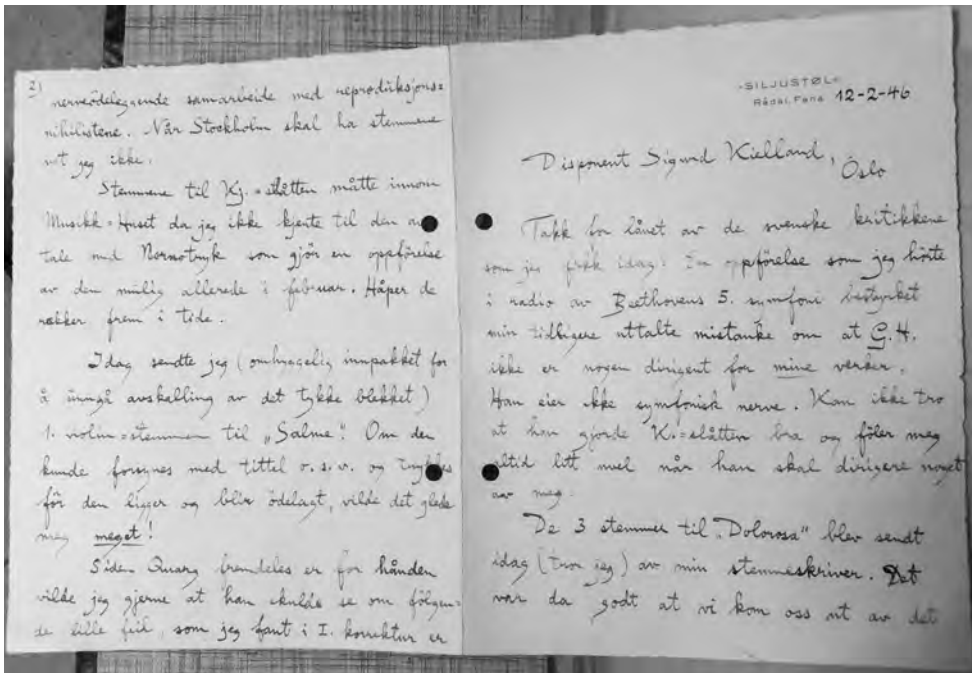


Fig. 21: Letter from Harald Sæverud to Sigurd Kielland, 12 February 1946, with a critical comment about Odd Grøner Hegge after Sæverud had heard him conducting Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 in C minor, opus 67. MCA

### Resistance Work in Bergen

In the 1970s a committee in Bergen began compiling information about the structures, events and actions during the years of the German occupation.<sup>45</sup> In general there was a clear division within the resistance groups of responsibilities and tasks, of sharing the collective burden, of taking care that clandestine civil and military activities could be carried out without interruption, even if parts of the network would have been exposed by the German and Norwegian authorities, and of maintaining the steady flow of finances and goods that were provided by the exile government in London and coordinated via the centralized, superordinate resistance structures in Oslo and Stockholm.<sup>46</sup> According to Bjarne Sæverud's memory in 1974 a monthly check of kr. 100,000 up to kr. 250,000 was transferred through the books of the Vestlandsbank in Bergen.<sup>47</sup>

A significant stock of files is preserved in Bergen's municipal archive belonging to a committee dedicated to the city's occupation history. Its collection contains diverse materials, lists of names, and background information, including interviews with leading figures of the former resistance movement. One document, dated August 1975, characterizes the so-called Board of the Westland and its Network of Contacts ("Vestlandsrådets kontaktnett"), which was made up of more than 150 persons representing different professions, tasks and groups. Founded four years earlier, it was officially installed in September 1944 under the leadership of M. Coucerhon, Finn Øen, Nils Nandal, Einar Stueland, Ole Laading, and Egil Hiis Hauge.<sup>48</sup> Bjarne Sæverud's name can

be found as number 54 on the list together with four other activists all responsible for economic questions and support ("Økonomi- og hjelpevirksomhet"). Number 75 on the list is lawyer Kaare Kaland in charge of music.

53. Økonomi- og hjelpevirksomhet:	salgssjef Sigurd Grindheim
54. "-	Bjarne Sæverud
55. "-	Elsa Jenssen
56. "-	Hildur Andersen
57. "-	fhv. kontorsjef Trygve Freyer
73. Kulturgruppen:	fhv. forlagssjef Ole Tschudi Irgens
74. "           teater:	skuespillerinne Unni Schönfelder
75. "           musikk:	advokat Kaare Kaland

XVII. Milorg.-kontakter.

134. Roar Sannem, milorg-sjef, direktør
135. Bjarne Sæverud, "tilbaketrukket" milorg-sjef, disponent
136. Gunnar Wiig-Andersen, telegrafist (salgssjef MAX MANUS, Bergen)
137. Chr. Tønseth, milorg-kontakt, nå direktør N.K.P.
138. Louis Pettersen, Red-Wing, siv.ing.
139. Alf Harbitz Rasmussen, milorg-kontakt, forretn.mann
140. Sven Løvik, "stripen", fhv. reguleringssjef Fana
141. Magnold Hannås, milorg-kontakt, adjunkt
142. Torgrim Hannås, milorg-kontakt, bokhandler i London

Fig. 22: The names of Kåre Kaland and Bjarne Sæverud on a list from 1975 which documented the network of contacts within the so-called Board of the Westland ("Vestlandsrådets Kontaktnett"). SAB, A-2848.002 Y-0012/17 *Bergen kommune. Okkupasjonshistoriekomiteen II. Y-0012/17 Hjemmefrontens Vestlandsråd*, Document *Vestlandsrådets Kontaktnett*, Ms. 1802 H.52a

As early as 1940 Bjarne Sæverud was engaged with resistance work when he began supporting the wives and children of arrested sailors and the families of political prisoners in and around Bergen both economically and with advice and care for their basic needs.<sup>49</sup> The exception that Bjarne Sæverud is listed twice, the second time as number 135 as the "resigned" leader of the military resistance Milorg (cf. fig. 22), is closely connected to the development of the resistance organization throughout the years: According to the Hjemmefrontens Vestlandsråd's reports civil engineer Lars Rivenæs served as the first leader of the organized civil resistance in the Bergen area.<sup>50</sup> When he was arrested in 1943, he was succeeded by Ole Laading who had been introduced to Bjarne Sæverud previously by Rivenæs but knew no details about his duties and responsibilities in the military resistance.<sup>51</sup> On the surface of everyday life Sæverud, who also used the alias Ole Ekeberg,<sup>52</sup> was a representative for the margarine company

“Norge” in Bergen. This position allowed him to travel regularly to Oslo and throughout the country and to keep up the resistance’s financial transactions in Bergen. After Rivenæs’ arrest the leading positions inside the regional resistance had to be re-organized. In November 1943 Sæverud was appointed to become the regional leader for both the civil and the military branch. With luck, strict routines and detailed preparations Sæverud managed to stay out of the focus of the German authorities, although he was responsible in and around Bergen by the end of the Second World War.<sup>53</sup>

Neither Bjarne Sæverud’s family nor his personal relations were mentioned much in the reports about his activities. The interview with him and his wife Gunvor in 1974, when he was asked to look back on his life at the age of 82, did not deviate from his political commitment.<sup>54</sup> No mention was ever made that his brother Harald was a well-known artist or that the political ideas attributed to his pieces in post-war literature were already apparent or at least discernable to his contemporaries during the occupation. Only from the scores printed after 1945 do we learn that his opus 17 and 17a, *Siljusslåtten, Symfonisk dans for klaver* (1941) and *Siljusslåtten, Symfonisk dans for orkester* (1943) were dedicated to Bjarne. If Harald Sæverud’s correspondence with Sigurd Kielland had not been found accidentally at his publisher’s Norsk Musikkhuset, no one would ever have known about Bjarne’s secret engagement to free Harald’s German engraver Edwin Quarg, arrested in Oslo by the military resistance for treason and collaboration. This event at least shows that both brothers were concerned with the consequences of the German occupation and dealing more pragmatically with them than could be expected.

The second important name on Vestlandsrådets Kontaktnett-list is Kåre Kaland, a lawyer and link between music and resistance in Bergen. His name also appears in the record book of Kammermusikforening, a society for chamber music founded in 1935 to fill the gap between the performances of the symphonic orchestra and solo recitals. This new institution arranged regular concerts with local and touring musicians. After April 1940 the Kammermusikforening did not promote its concerts in the daily press for its members whose number had been limited to 125 right from the beginning to keep the concerts’ atmosphere intimate. As a report from 1975 says, these settings kept the audience and the group of members free from any Nazi-infiltration.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, as the report adds, the organizers had to accept the official regulations to ban the works of Jewish and hostile composers (“bannlysing av jødisk og fiendtlige komponister”) from all eighteen soirées that were organized during the Second World War from November 1940 onwards. All concert programs were staged with local musicians due to the current travel restrictions in Norway with the exception of the performance of violinist Arvid Fladmoe and his wife on piano in October 1943.

When all associations and organizations had to register formally in February 1942 Bergens Kammermusikkforening had a new leadership in charge since 6 May 1941: David Lie Eide had been elected as the new chairman to follow Arthur Norill and Georg Grieg had succeeded Kåre Kaland as the managing artistic director (“intendant”). In 1943 and again in 1944 both were re-elected in their positions. The dangers and uncertainties of these years were present within these circles as well as in society in general, especially after cellist Erik Grieg and violinist Robert Andersen had been arrested in October 1941 respectively in January 1942.

As the various primary source materials from Bergen's municipal archive, Harmonien's archive, the National Library and rare mentions in one of the illegal newspapers give us to understand, the years between 1940 and 1945 can generally be described as a period of much routine with a few exceptional highlights. On 1 June 1942, for example, the newspaper *Norges Demring* called for a strike against movie theaters because on 27 May members of Hird had forced an audience to rise and sing Nasjonal Samling's hymn.<sup>56</sup> Norway's three most important events pertaining to music with national impact took place in Bergen, one each year from 1941 to 1943. The first event was a scandal following a protest of the Hird-youth against a performance of the German-born Jewish violinist Ernst Glaser. He was scheduled for a concert with the Harmonien orchestra on 16 January 1941 to play on a famous Guarnerius del Gesu-violin from 1742, which had once belonged to Ole Bull (cf. for details Chapter IV). The second incident was connected to Richard Nordraak's centennial in 1942, which included a boycott of singers from Harmonien's choir which will be described later in this chapter.

The third occasion was the centennial of Nordraak's friend Edvard Grieg in 1943. In the third year of the German occupation it proved to be a welcome opportunity for the new rulers and their Norwegian confederates to claim Norway's musical icon for their own propaganda and demonstrate the close alliance between the two Germanic sister nations, both within Norway and all territories in Europe under Nazi-control.<sup>57</sup> On 15 June, Grieg's birthday, the official festivities in Bergen brought together prominent officials from Norway and Germany, among them GW Müller, the head of the Reichskommissariat's Propaganda Department and Joseph Goebbels' former adjutant,<sup>58</sup> and Heinz Drewes, the head of the music department in the Berlin Ministry for Propaganda. Drewes had been chosen to lay a wreath on the grave in Goebbels' name. Scenes from this ceremony are documented on the Norwegian newsreel (*Filmavisen*) from 28 June 1943 and can be found online at the Norwegian Broadcasting Company's website.<sup>59</sup> Müller's Norwegian counterpart, Minister of Propaganda Rolf Fuglesang, spent kr. 98,700 altogether for the official celebrations and ended the festive day with a gala dinner and a speech which was broadcasted on the national radio.<sup>60</sup>

Considering the importance of Grieg's centennial for the official propaganda, there seemed to be no chance for the resistance leadership to take action on its own. Yet there is an anecdote, a short story in which the representatives of the "unofficial" music life in Bergen tricked the authorities and managed to arrive first at Grieg's gravesite to lay a wreath there and blocked the narrow path outside of Troidhaugen so that the official delegation had to wait until it was their turn.<sup>61</sup> Appeals to stay away from the official concerts and claiming Grieg on behalf of a free Norway were the predominant answers from the resistance movement.<sup>62</sup> Selfcritically considering how easily and successfully the regime had exploited the "naivety"<sup>63</sup> of the Norwegian music life for its agenda, an intensification of counteractions seemed inevitable. In consequence, after September 1943 new paroles tried to coordinate the collective cultural behavior as described in Chapter I: All musicians, who did not want to be taken for collaborators, were supposed to stop their performing activities, except those under permanent contracts. They were granted the right to keep their positions. In general the audience was expected to boycott all concerts.<sup>64</sup> On 10 November 1943 the clandestine paper



*Mot Seir* presented detailed orders under the headline *The Cultural Front Needs to be Activated* (“Kulturfronten må aktiveres”) which publishers, theaters, and movies had to be boycotted.<sup>65</sup> The theater sector included institutions in Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim while the publishing sector had a nationwide outreach thanks to the possibility of sending books by mail or sharing them (in particular the following companies were supposed to be boycotted: Blix Forlag, Kambans Forlag, Centralforlaget, Gunnar Stenersens Forlag, I. M. Stenersens Forlag, Viking Forlag, Thraps Forlag, Amos Forlag, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, and Aschehoug). And while apart from all German productions the Leif Sinding-movie *Sangen til livet*<sup>66</sup> was mentioned explicitly, which could be distributed across Norway and therefore was not limited to one place, all details concerning music were either general orders (“No good Norwegian artist gives any public concert these days. He does not perform as soloist in orchestra concerts.”), or considered only the situation in Oslo by mentioning “Filharmoniske’s konserter” (which was synonymous with the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra).

As explained in the context of Chapter I, this parole evoked a very controversial reception. Especially in Bergen artists and music lovers were united in their refusal which revived the general conflict between Oslo and Bergen respectively between the enforced dominance of a political center and its cultural periphery. A document in Bergen’s municipal archive, belonging to the Okkupasjonshistoriekomiteen’s papers from the mid 1970s, quotes from a report that former military resistance leader Egil Hiis Hauge gave in London in April 1947 in retrospect.<sup>67</sup> To explain the differences between the classical music life in Oslo and Bergen, he resumed the reaction of the executive board of Bergen’s Harmonien orchestra after the NS-authorities had tried to enforce one of their representatives called Foss-Bergesen as a member on this panel. In response the executive board simply went on strike and caused Foss-Bergesen to withdraw his initiative, exactly at the very moment when the parole from Oslo ordered the complete boycott of all concerts; this would have been an unnecessary tactical retreat after such a symbolic victory. As Hauge continued, after consultations with the resistance movement no guest conductors or soloists outside of the orchestra’s own staff were invited to perform with Harmonien, but the seasons continued, as the concert programs document.<sup>68</sup>

In comparison to such responses that tried to convince and persuade musicians and their audiences of the necessity to boycott all concerts, the answer of Harmonien (or people who took the liberty to speak on its behalf) was rather drastic. The material from Hjemmefrontens Vestlandsråd contains a document entitled *Redegjørelse for Bergens Musikkliv* (*Musikselskabet “Harmonien”*) from an anonymous author. It is dated 15 March 1944 and denies – as its central message – an anonymous resistance leadership in Oslo the right to decide on behalf of Bergen’s musicians.<sup>69</sup> To demonstrate the importance and uniqueness of the Harmonien Society the author at first described its unpolitical nature that had already been maintained under great sacrifices for several years. In contrast to the Bergen theater Den Nasjonale Scene the Harmonien Society signed neither any contracts with the Nazi-controlled radio nor the German propaganda. Additionally, the stable figures of 800 permanent ticket holders and 400 tickets on sale constituted a continuous audience group with strong social control, which guaranteed to keep politically undesirable persons out of the concert hall (“ikke mulig for

andre enn vårt faste konsertpublikum å få billetter”). Subsequently, the author turned this diagnosis into a series of rhetorical questions which testify to a strong attitude in Bergen:

Why should we stop our activities? Whom or what would that lead to? Who are these anonymous dictators? Music life here in the city is probably the only sphere that has been allowed to develop relatively undisturbed and has become free from intervention by the occupying forces. [...] Harmonien is of course unable to exist on students or by giving closed home concerts for friends and acquaintances who can pay prices there that are completely beyond the ability of the large audience. That the large audience should be cut off from listening to music, while some privileged audiences should be able to conduct private house concerts for special friends and acquaintances where they have the opportunity to pay, seems to me to be a manifestation of bad social spirit and is little in line with the purpose of art. I believe that adapting in this way with only a few individuals and a few selected performers is completely reprehensible and negative. If this were to be implemented for a longer period of time, all art life in the field of music would slow down. That what thus takes place in the dark should be so much more patriotic than what is arranged in bright light is also completely incomprehensible to me. If the anonymous letter writers have important national reasons for their activities, then this must be stated, preferably by personal inquiries (I see no risk in that). I personally will not take these anonymous accusations or threats into account at all.<sup>70</sup>

This impression matches another parole which was printed in the secret newspaper *Fram* on 25 September 1944 (cf. fig. 23). After an overview of NS-propaganda in Norway and of general orders it focussed explicitly the individual situation in Bergen and tried to win understanding for coordinated resistance action:

#### Concert Situation

It turns out that here in Bergen there is considerable ignorance and confusion about what is the background for the boycott of public concerts, that for example in Oslo has become very efficient. – Many here think that it is only the Philharmonics in Oslo that will be the subject of the audience’s boycott, but that is wrong. The boycott is part of a national protest against the nazification of cultural life, which in the case of music is reflected in the fact that the concerts must be reported to the police to get the programs approved. So it is music censorship. – Harmonien in Bergen can boast of great popularity, and the audience seems to be reluctant to reject the musicians’ hand. – Certainly it is also right that the management and the musicians generally deserve our sympathy, but they have no special reason to deserve an exceptional position. In addition to the fact that national solidarity must weigh strongly, as we have pointed out earlier in this paper, it must also be noted that Harmonien continues to participate in boycotted movie programs. – It is

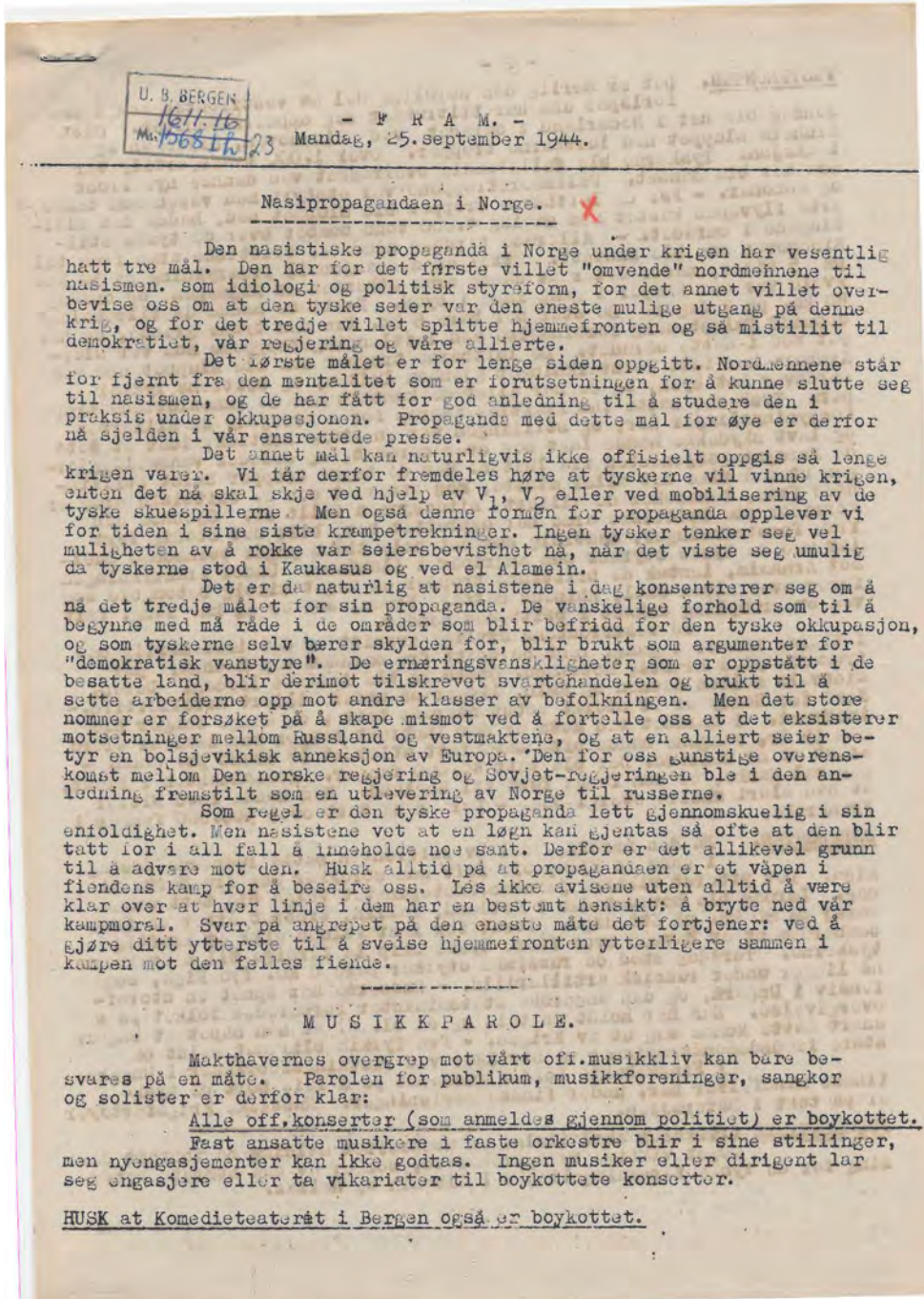


Fig. 23: Music Parole printed in the secret newspaper from Bergen *Fram*, 25 September 1944. BLA

also a well-known fact that the orchestra in parts consists of German musicians and Norwegian Nazis. Is it not soon time that we also here in this city demand clear lines in the complete cultural life?<sup>71</sup>

Another document, entitled *Musikk-fronten* (“the music front”), which belongs to a collection of papers in the National Library in Oslo, discussed the question of performing or boycotting concerts in a Nazi-controlled music life. Although the document is undated, several occasions mentioned on the list help to date its context around the time of August 1944.<sup>72</sup> Summarizing the current situation with the threats, prohibitions and enforcements musicians had gotten confronted with, the paper argues by using the example of the Oslo Philharmonics to show how restrictions and temptations had turned into obligations to participate in political events, amongst others the act of state at the historical fortification of Akkershus in February 1942 or the festivities for the decennial of the Norwegian-German Society two years later: During 19 and 25 March 1944 the orchestra had to support concerts with the famous German pianist Walter Gieseking, with Georg C. Winkler, Kapellmeister of the Deutsches Theater in Oslo, who conducted the ceremonial act with Josef Terboven and Vidkun Quisling, and a performance of Richard Strauss’ opera *Der Rosenkavalier* featuring Fritz Krenn, member of the Vienna State Opera, in the part of Baron von Lerchenau.<sup>73</sup> The last engagement for the celebrations of Knut Hamsun’s 85<sup>th</sup> birthday on 4 August 1944 was even qualified as musical compulsory labor (“Også ved festligheten i Aulaen på Hamsuns 85 års dag var filharmonikerne på tvangsarbeid.”). Therefore, as the anonymous author argued, a boycott of all public concerts seemed inevitable not only as an act of resistance against the propagandist aggressions of the German and Norwegian NS-authorities, but as a necessary protection of all musicians against a sort of artistic conscription.

### **Harmoniën’s Choir and Orchestra**

When the Second World War hit Harald Sæverud’s hometown Bergen, he was an accomplished composer of 43 years. His wife Marie Sæverud, née Hvoslef, belonged to a wealthy, influential and cosmopolitan family and was a well established member of Bergen’s bourgeoisie.<sup>74</sup> For a better understanding of his Symphony No. 5 the records of Harmoniën’s board meetings and the concert programs offer valuable information. It has to be remembered though that this material can only scrape the surface of many topics, because the minute books needed to be written in a manner that they could be inspected by the authorities at any time, and because the concert programs were published and had to stand up to all political regulations and censoring. In consequence, questions why certain decisions were made either were answered only after the liberation in retrospect or still remain open.

According to the records from Harmoniën Harald and Marie Sæverud held several official positions over the years, for example in the representative board, in program committees and juries (cf. fig. 24).<sup>75</sup> During the years 1940-45 the orchestra enjoyed a substantial increase of concerts and audiences, from 25 evenings in the season 1940/41 with 16,597 visitors up to 47 evenings in 1942/43 with a peak of 52,495 visitors (cf. fig. 25).

**Musikselkabet „Harmonien„s ledelse  
i sesongen 1943—44.**

---

	<b>Styre:</b>	<b>Varamenn:</b>
Bergen kommune:	Skipsreder Haakon J. Wallem	Kaptein Øivind Hansen.
—	Lektor Olav Mosby.	Fotograf Chr. Bøbak.
Orkestret:	Musiker Arne Arnesen.	Musiker Hans Stenseth.
Den Nationale Scene:	Skipsmekl. Eyolf Berg-Olsen (form.)	Skipsreder Einar Engelsen
Harmonien:	Komponist Sverre Jordan	Komponist Harald Sæverud
—	Doktor L. Smit	Direktør Arve Arvesen.
—	Kjøpmann Finn de Lange (viseform.)	Kontorsjef Finn Johannessen.
	<b>Representantskap:</b>	<b>Varamenn:</b>
Bergen kommune:	Fru Johanne Vogt.	Fru Anne Jebsen Henriksen.
—	Skoleinspektør Daniel Vatne.	Musiker Kaare Heide.
—	Redaktør Fr. Bergmann	
—	Avdelingssjef Sig. Thdr. Huse	
—	Kapellmester Jim Johannessen	
Orkestret:	Musiker Øistein Brandvik	Musiker Paul Dittrich
—	Musiker Hans Stenseth	
Den Nationale Scene:	Direktør Gustav Wiig	Frøken Ella Lie
—	Kjøpmann Einar Friele.	
Harmonien:	Kjøpmann Christopher Brun	Kjøpmann Hans Isaksen
—	Skipsreder Jacob Kjode (viseform.)	Kjøpmann Birger Mowinckel
—	Direktør Wilh. Murstad	Disponent Ragnvald Waage.
—	Komponist Sparre Olsen.	Frøken Agnes Rabe.
—	Kjøpmann Sigurd Wernøe	Direktør Conrad Mohr Kjær.
—	Fru Marie Sæverud	
—	Advokat Christian Bekker.	
—	Boktrykker J. W. Eide (ormann).	
	<b>Programkomité: Forretningsfører:</b>	<b>Revisor:</b>
Kapellmester Harald Heide	Olaf Bucher Johannessen.	Statsaut. revisor Johs. Severud.
Komponist Sverre Jordan		
Skipsmekler Eyolf Berg-Olsen.		

Fig. 24: The managing board of the Music Society Harmonien for the season 1943/44 included Harald and Marie Sæverud. HA, *Pengelotteriets Fond 1943-1962*

Season	1943/44	1942/43	1941/42	1940/41	1939/40
Concerts	42	47	39	25	29
Visitors	48,872	52,495	33,808	16,597	8,552
Ticket sales (kr)	142,389	134,613	65,032	24,897	11,854

Fig. 25: Statistics of concerts, visitors, and ticket sales of Harmonien. Until 1940 all concerts were held in the theater, since then in the so-called concert palace with a larger capacity which explains the significant increase of numbers between the seasons 1939 and 1940. HA, *Pengelotteriets Fond 1943-1962*

Like all the other professional and semi-professional orchestras in Norway Harmonien could rely on a considerable state subsidy to its budget, for the season 1943/44 for example of kr. 45,000. In addition to agreements with Bergen's theater Den Nationale Scene and local movie theaters, incomes from funds, ticket sales and donations Harmonien could calculate with a total budget of kr. 413,000 (cf. fig. 26).

1. sept. 1943 — 31. aug. 1944.	
<i>Inntekter:</i>	
Billettsalg .....	kr. 142.391,00
Musikkavtaler:	
Den Nationale Scene .....	kr. 86.500,00
De Kommunale Kinematografer .....	» 60.000,00
	» 146.500,00
Programsalg netto .....	» 4.713,99
Medlemskontingent .....	» 1.775,00
Fondsrenter:	
Kommunens fond .....	kr. 19.200,00
Edvard Griegs fond .....	» 16.200,00
Jubileumsfondet .....	» 14.000,00
Pengelotteriets fond .....	» 5.642,48
Kroepeliens Legat .....	» 2.200,00
Orkesterforeningsfondet .....	» 1.200,00
	» 58.442,48
Tilskudd:	
Staten .....	kr. 45.000,00
Skipsreder Haakon J. Wallem:	
Til sesongens drift .....	kr. 8.400,00
Til solister .....	» 2.200,00
Til orkesterforsterkning .....	» 587,00
	kr. 11.187,00
Fana kommune .....	» 2.500,00
Bergen kommune til orkesterskolen .....	» 500,00
	» 59.187,00
	kr. 413.009,47

Fig. 26: Budget of Harmonien in the season 1943/44. HA, *Pengelotteriets Fond 1943-1962*

The programs of concerts Harmonien performed during the years 1940 to 1945 leave a very heterogeneous impression: Among the few foreign guests who visited Bergen was violinist Emil Telmányi scheduled for 20 February 1941, who living in Århus at the time had been married from 1918 to 1936 to Carl Nielsen's daughter Anne Marie Nielsen and had premiered the violin part in Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* as the substitute for Jac Maliniak. On 2 October 1941 Georg Kuhlenkampff was designated to play Ludwig van Beethoven's Violinconcerto in D major, opus 61 with conductor Harald Heide; regarding the famous violinist's prominent role in the Third Reich and the fact that no concert tour outside of Germany was possible without an official permit by the German authorities, this concert in Bergen can be classified as foreign cultural propaganda. A few other concerts can be found throughout the different seasons which included works and performances by Norwegian artists who supported

the regime, especially David Monrad Johansen, Geirr Tveitt, and Per Reidarson. Monrad Johansen's oratorio *Voluspå*, opus 15, which was given on 13 October 1940 as part of Harmonien's 175<sup>th</sup> anniversary, had already been premiered in 1927 so that it could hardly be regarded as propaganda for NS-art.<sup>76</sup> On 28 November 1940 Geirr Tveitt as a conductor premiered his opera *Dragaredokko* in an unstaged version with his friend Egil Nordsjø singing the title role of "Greip". Tveitt's early fascination with fascism in the 1930s is well documented as well as his decision in the fall of 1940 to join the new regime as a State Consultant for music. The opera, however, has not been examined in detail and the one page in the program notes to summarize the plot is maybe the only remaining information, because the manuscript was lost when Tveitt's home burnt down in 1970. Therefore, it remains unknown if *Dragaredokko* would be judged as one of the composer's aesthetically unproblematic or ideologically contaminated works. Nevertheless, Tveitt who was born in Bergen stayed in contact with Harmonien. The board records mentioned on 16 March 1942 that he had visited his former home town from 4 to 8 March to collect material for an analytical book about Edvard Grieg's music.

Probably a different case was the premiere of Per Reidarson's work for choir and orchestra *Håkon den godes død* ("The Death of Håkon the Good") on 24 April 1941. Reidarson (born in 1879 in Grimstad, he deceased in 1954 in Bergen) had moved to Bergen with his family as a child. He joined the theater orchestra as first violinist under Johan Halvorsen at the age of 17. Two years later he became an orchestra member of the National Theater in Oslo. At the age of 25 he studied abroad in Paris, Berlin, and Munich and returned to Norway, working as a music critic for *Tidens Tegn* (1913-17) and as conductor for the theater in Stavanger. In 1921 he relocated in Oslo and worked as a composer and music critic for *Arbeiderbladet*, regularly also conducting his own works with the Philharmonic Orchestra in Oslo and Harmonien in Bergen. Additionally, he joined the executive board of the Norwegian Composers' Association for several years as well as the National Broadcasting advisory board.

On first sight these biographical notes, which were published in the concert program on 24 April 1941, sound unproblematic as they are strictly limited to artistic matters. Only the additional fact, that in the previous year he had been awarded one of the prestigious state pensions for composers by the Norwegian parliament Storting, could be read as a concealed indication to his political engagement. Not only was the Storting in 1940 under the control of the occupation regime and its loyal Norwegian administration, but Reidarson was also a fierce anti-Semite and an ideological hard-liner who agitated against modern music, propagated a concept of archaic, primitivist tonality, and composed numerous battle tunes ("kampsanger") praising the ideals of National Socialism and printed in song books for Nasjonal Samling, Hird, the Labor Service, and combatants (cf. fig. 28).

For the Harmonien concert on 24 April 1941 Reidarson's *Håkon den godes død* can be found at the end of the program, the conducting being shared between Sverre Jordan and Trygve Præsttun. First came Robert Schumann's Symphony No. 1 ("*Spring Symphony*") in B<sup>b</sup> major, opus 38, three songs by Sverre Jordan (*Ung Åslaug*), Sparre Olsen (*Fjell-Norig* as premiere) and Per Reidarson (*Efter avskjeden*) with Jenny Jahren as soloist, and two pieces by Armas Järnefelt (*Preludium for lite orkester* and *Berceuse*).



Fig. 27: Portrait of Per Reidarson by Gunnar Theodor Sjøwall (ca. 1935). Oslo Museum, Byhistorisk samling. Creative Commons

128. Heil og Sæl! Vi hilser deg.

Per Reidarson.

1. Heil og sæl! Vi hil-ser deg Nor-ges hø-veds-mann. Gud sign dingjerning, led din vei for vårt fed-re-land. Sam-let vi i fyl-kingstårmed of-fer-vil-lig sinn. For Nor-gessak vi al-le går med liv og vel-ferd inn. Vi hil-ser deg! hil-ser deg Fø-rer på vår vei. Heil og sæl! Heil og sæl vi hil-ser deg!

Gerhard Severud.

Fig. 28: Per Reidarson's obsesiance to Vidkun Quisling *Heil og Sæl! Vi hilser deg* to the lyrics of Gerhard Severud. Printed in the songbook *Det nye Norges Sangbok*, published in Oslo in 1943, including a foreword by Anne Eiline Christie Østring and Kaare Roar Westbye, an instructional comment by Thorvald Lammers, a greeting from Cally Monrad, and battle songs ("Kampsanger") amongst others by Auge Johann Conradi, Carl Christian Gundersen, Boggen Ibsen, Jim Johannessen, Allan Johansen, Irving Johansen, Willy Johansen, Signe Lund, B. Cramer Nordby, Knut Schjefstad, Anders Underdal, Knut Vik, and Finn Wang-Henrichsen.

According to the program notes Reidarson's new piece pictured the legendary battle of Fitjar in 961, where king Håkon the Good and his 7,000 soldiers won over the troupes of his nephew, Eric Bloodaxe, although he was mortally wounded. Why and how this piece had found its way into the concerts of Harmonien – either by political pressure from the authorities or thanks to Reidarson's long-term connections to the orchestra – remains unknown.

Naturally the music of Richard Nordraak played an important role in the programs of Harmonien, especially the concert commemorating his centennial on 3 December 1942 and featuring Harald Heide, Magda Blanc, Gunvor Egge, and Henriette Heide. Preparations for this occasion had begun many months before and had also included the Students Association's Choir ("Studentersangforeningen"), the Youth Associa-



tion's Choir ("Bergens Ynglingeforenings sangforening") and the Workers Association's Mixed Choir ("Bergens Arbeiderforbunds felleskor").<sup>77</sup> However, when the representatives from Harmonien choir learned on 1 December that the concert was scheduled for radio broadcasting, the resentment to let the Nazi authorities exploit this artistic event for ideological purposes arose immediately. The choir's four executive speakers therefore informed conductor Harald Heide about the unwillingness of many singers to participate in the concert. A meeting of all choir members was called for the next day, 2 December 1942, for decision making, and – as the minute book reports – every one of the approximately 250 singers supported the spokesmen's attitude. Harald Heide was informed at once. He had the right to change the program due to unforeseeable incidents and being obliged to fulfill the contract Harmonien had made with the national broadcasting company, he performed a different program with other pieces composed by Nordraak without the choirs' participation.

According to the records of the Harmonien choir this program would have been the first broadcast of a Harmonien concert in one and a half years, because the usual concert hour conflicted with the German programs on the radio.<sup>78</sup> Now that the civil resistance against the regime's ambitions to benefit from Nordraak's popularity had become apparent, the authorities began detailed inquiries. Two days after the gala concert, Saturday 5 December 1942, the four choir spokesmen Hans Ragner Hjortnæs, John Sigurd Kolstø, Karl Ferdinand Hjelmeland and Martin Andreas Leikvoll were summoned in to the police department for the coming Monday.

During the police questionings, which were held one after the other so that the spokesmen could inform each other in between, police constable Odd Gundersen insisted on getting the names of all choir members who had refused to participate in the concert and demanded the choir's agreement to another concert. All four spokesmen refused these demands and were finally dismissed after five hours of questioning. Two months later they were informed on 1 February 1943 to appear before the Staatspolizei immediately, and again on 4 March 1943 for further inquiries.

On 8 March 1943 the four spokesmen had to appear at the police department for the fourth and last time. The authorities still did not know the identities of the choir singers and ordered the representatives to submit four questions to all choir members: Name of the choir, name of the choir member, address, and "would you participate in a concert which is to be broadcasted". After the four spokesmen had refused to do so, constable Gundersen insisted on the submission of the registration records of all the members. With five weeks of delay the lists were sent, and as the report highlights, no further consequences occurred. This report was signed by the choir's representative Sigurd Kolstø on 2 June 1945 who had been advised by Erik Dahlen (lawyer at Norway's High Court). This shows again that such a detailed chronicle about resilient behavior could only be written after the liberation.

It was clear after these incidents resulting from Richard Nordraak's centennial that the authorities tried to leave no room for boycotts of the contributions for Edvard Grieg's festivities in 1943. Nevertheless, during the years prior to the Nordraak celebrations the Harmonien concerts show several significant violations of the official rules concerning concert programs. However, no one knows so far if this defiance of official regulations had any consequences. The first of such concerts with "prohibited" works

Avekrift.

S. P.B. jnr. 1123/42. Bergen den 5/12 1942.

R A P P O R T  
til  
Statspolitijefen  
avgitt av politikonstabel Odd Gundersen

Anmeldelse på en del sangkor i Bergen for  
demonstrasjon mot myndighetene.

Olaf Bucher Johannessen, 47 år, forretnings-  
fører i "Harmonien", bopel

Øvrst. Alsenning 2 a.  
ikke medlem av H.S., har ikke vært medlem av noe parti, med  
samtlig uforbunden, kjenner vitneansvaret og saken, forkl.:

I mai måned 1942 blev der gjort de første forberedelser til  
R. Nordraks mindekoncert som skulde avholdes 3/12 - 42. Til denne  
koncert ble der arbeidet på å få flere av byens sangforeninger til å  
medvirke og de arrangeremonger som ble truffet i den anledning ble for-  
midlet gjennom Harmoniens kontor og delvis gjennom formannen i Harmo-  
niens kor, lærer Lars Sigurd Kolstø. Forst ut på sommeren 1942 blev det  
beskjede om at flere kor som kom til å medvirke, nemlig følgende:  
Harmoniens Kor, Bergens Unglingeforening, Sangforening, Bergens Arbeid-  
derforbunds Fellesekor og Studentersangforeningen i Bergen.

Under det forberedende arbeidet med de respektive sangforeninger  
blev spørsmålet vedrørende kringkasting av konserten ikke drøftet og  
noe skriftlig forbehold fra korenes side angående kringkasting av kon-  
serten er ikke gjort til Harmonien, og til meg personlig er heller ikke  
fremkommet noen muntlig saken.

Prøvene og alt til konserten gikk åsin vante gang like til  
tirsdag 1/12 da det ble kjent at konserten skulde kringkastes.

Tirsdag den 1/12 fikk Harmonien telefonisk beskjed fra kring-  
kastingen i Oslo at konserten vilde bli overført til radioen.

Da Harmonien ble kjent med at konserten vilde bli kringkastet  
ble de respektive kor underrettet om dette til de respektive kor, s  
formenn.

Etter at spørsmålet vedr. kringkastingen hadde fått den fornød-  
ne drøftelse innen de respektive kor, fikk Harmonien den definitive  
beskjed fra korenes at disse ikke kom til å medvirke, og denne beskjed  
kom onsdag middag (2/12).

Oppløst og vedtatt.

Olaf Bucher Johannessen

Den 7/12 - 42 kl. 13.00 avhørtes på Statspolitiets kontor  
formann i Harmoniens kor:

John Sigurd Kolstø, 47 år,  
lærer ved Dragefjellsets skole, bopel

Hans Tankert 3.

Fig. 29: Certified copy of the protocol from the police questioning on 5 December 1942, here written out for Olaf Bucher Johannessen to sign. The protocol further documents that additionally to the four spokesmen (Hans Ragnar Hjortnæs, John Sigurd Kolstø, Karl Ferdinand Hjelmeland and Martin Andreas Leikvoll) Harald Heide and Olaf Bucher Johannessen were questioned as well. HA, Minute book *Harmoniens Kor. Fra 26/8-40 til 2/6-45*, Årsberetning for Harmonien kor i tiden september – november 1942 of mai 1945

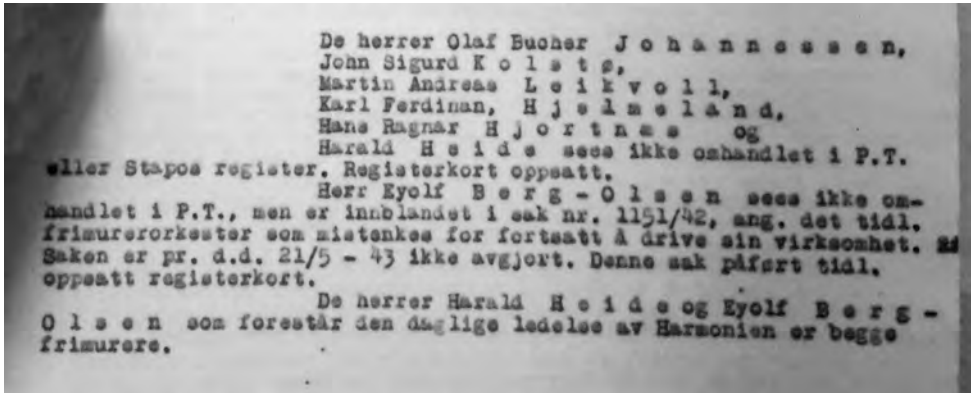


Fig. 30: Last page from the certified copy of the protocol from the police questioning on 5 December 1942, with Eyolf Berg-Olsen and Harald Heide being characterized as free masons. HA, Minute book *Harmoniens Kor. Fra 26/8-40 til 2/6-45*, Årsberetning for Harmonien kor i tiden september – november 1942 of mai 1945

took place on 24 October 1940 when Harald Heide and soloist Elsa Munthe-Kaas performed an evening with melodies from popular operas and operettas. Besides music by Charles Gounod, the overture to Johann Strauß' *Die Fledermaus*, and the overture to Richard Wagner's *Flying Dutchman*, the concert presented several works which were quite famous but did not match the anti-Semitic dogma of National Socialist music censoring: a *Sang av "Zigøinerelskov"* (from the operetta *Zigeunerliebe*) by Franz Léhar (one of Hitler's favorite composers, the libretto, however, was written by Alfred Maria Willner and Robert Bodanzky who was Jewish); *Fiorella's aria* from the operetta *Røverne* (originally *Les brigands*) by Jacques Offenbach who came from a Jewish family; and music from Richard Strauss' *Rosenkavalier*, which was based on a libretto by the Austrian Jewish poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal whose widow and parts of the family had emigrated from Germany because of their Jewish descent.

On 15 December 1940 Harald Heide conducted a youth concert called *De Unges Konsert*. Besides works by Robert Schumann, Carl Maria von Weber, Edvard Grieg, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart the orchestra also played music by Felix Mendelssohn, namely the second and third movement of his Violin Concerto in E minor, opus 64, with Gunnar Sævig as soloist, and the second and third movement from the First Piano Concerto in G minor, opus 25 with Ågot Våga as soloist. Four weeks later on 16 January 1941 the concert featuring Ernst Glaser, which was turned into a scandal by Hird and Nazi-activists, took place underlining the general gap between the theoretical ban of politically undesired repertoire and the practical assault against a Jewish born musician. The following week a program on 23 January 1941 combining Ludwig van Beethoven's Fifth Symphony with Peter Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto No. 1 in B<sup>b</sup> minor, opus 23 was conducted by Harald Heide and featured Jan Wølner as soloist. Despite the official prohibition of Russian music Harmonien presented another Russian program for the series *Populær-Konsert* on 3 April 1941, with Harald Heide as conductor and Anne-Marie Ørbeck as pianist, including among other pieces the overture to Mikhail Glinka's *Rusland and Lyudmila* and Alexander Scriabin's orchestra work *Rêverie*, opus 24.

On 19 March 1942 Harald Heide and the Harmonien orchestra performed a concert with Bjarne Larsen as solo violinist in a program including the overture to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Magic Flute*, Georg Friedrich Händel's *Concerto grosso* No. 21 in D minor, Johan Svendsen's symphonic poem *Zorahayda* and Max Bruch's Concerto for violin and orchestra in G minor, opus 26, also the *Polka og Fuga* from Jaromir Weinberger's opera *Schwanda the Bagpiper* although the composer was of Jewish descent. On 28 October 1943 the piece can be found again in a program of Harmonien, this time in combination with Camille Saint-Saëns *Symphony No. 3* in C minor, opus 78 and the *Symphonie Espagnole*, opus 21 by Édouard Lalo. It seems that this was the last program that featured music from Jewish composers until Felix Mendelssohn's concert overture *Ein Sommernachtstraum* on 31 May 1945. The *Polka and Fuge* from Weinberger's opera seem to have been a rather popular piece in Norway at the time; also the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra under Odd Grüner-Hegge performed the piece in 31 March 1941 and 9 February 1942.<sup>79</sup>

This tension between world famous repertoire and the Jewish descent of some of its composers was a source of regular irritation in Nazi-occupied territories. As it seems for Norway and the example of Harmonien in Bergen, this difficult situation also touches on the difference between center and periphery: In a center – both in Berlin or in Oslo – one can expect to meet with censors and an audience of great expertise because of the many people interested in music, the many performing artists and the great number of concerts all underlying the control by qualified censorship on the side of the authorities. The further one comes into the periphery, the more individual skill is required, on the side of the censors to recognize the breaches of rules, on the side of concert organizers to calculate the authorities' lack of musical competence.

It is not known why no concerts with repertoire that could have aroused the suspicion of the censors were given by Harmonien after the Nordraak-scandal in 1942. There is only one exception, the second performance of Weinberger's piece in October 1943, a few months after everything had gotten back to normal after the festival week in honor of Edvard Grieg in June 1943. One can only speculate that Harmonien was aware of being closely watched by the authorities after the dispute about the Nordraak-concert had escalated in December 1942. At least three assumptions can be made stating that these decisions 1) correlate with Norway's situation under the German occupation, 2) deal with the relation of center and periphery, and 3) are connected to the difference of music versus politics:

1. Corresponding to the larger degree of liberty granted to Norway by Adolf Hitler against the Norwegians' will, the resistance movement could diversify and persevere much better than in German-occupied countries especially in Eastern Europa. On the microlevel of a symphony orchestra it is possible to gain an impression of how musical resistance can take advantage of such an attitude – at least for a while. As resistance work has to avoid all traces, which might be detected by the authorities, the reasons and motivations for such concerts with politically “dubious” repertoire, however, remain unclear.
2. In its relation to the center of power in Berlin and the development of the Second World War Norway was on the geographic periphery after 1941. However, as far as the Nazi-ideology was concerned, much effort and funding was invested to keep

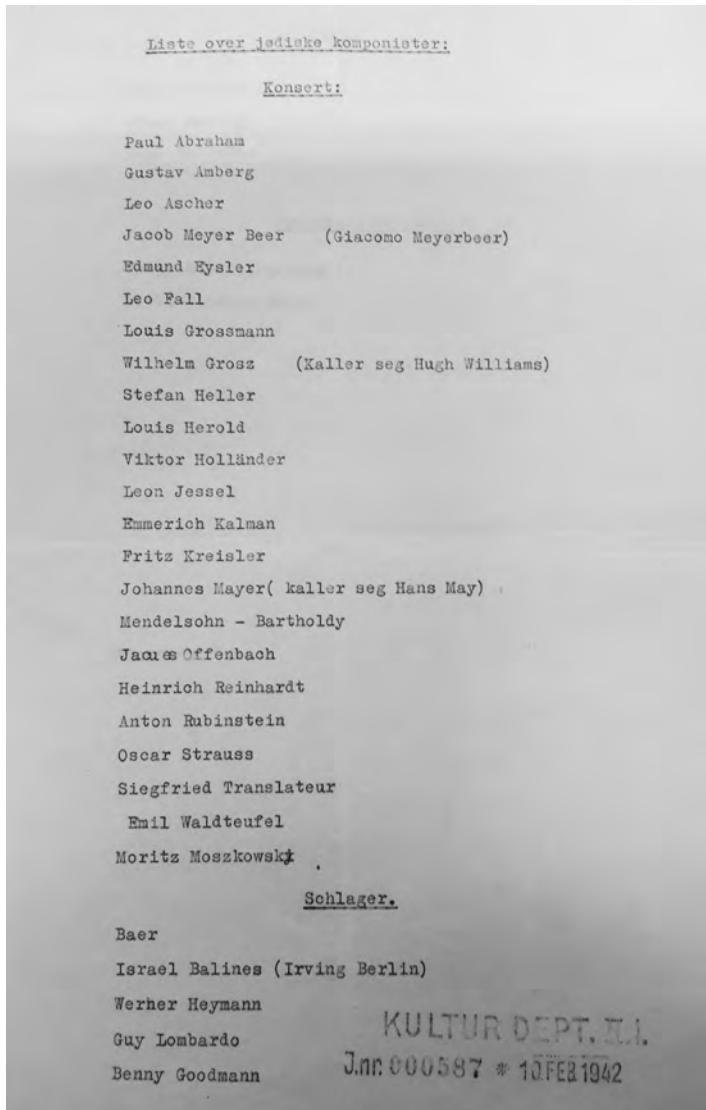


Fig. 31: List of Jewish composers, collected by Jim Johannessen and Nasjonal Samling Rikshirden for Minister Dr. Gulbrand Lunde, dated 9 February 1942 and stamped the next day. NAN, RA/S-6013/D/L0005-0004 *Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartement, Kulturavdelingen-Kulturkontoret*, folder *Jødiske komponister. Russisk, engelsk og amerikansk musikk*

up pro-German propaganda with newspapers, magazines, radio programs etc. Nevertheless, even in the North where the eastern front against the Soviet Union was much closer than in the rest of the country, activities of organized musical resistance took place. It seems as if the greater distances between Bergen, Trondheim and Tromsø (the three examples in this chapter) to Oslo and the deminishing presence there of Gestapo and Wehrmacht could have been an important factor for cultural resistance work.

3. The kind of music performed in concerts suspected of political breaches was essential: It was classical, established repertoire from the European and national Norwegian canon, not radical modernism, which would have stood out with an unusual, provocative sound. Such a crossing of aesthetic frontiers between classical and avant-garde conventions probably would have started a controversy about “entartete Musik” (“degenerated music”), with Arnold Schoenberg as its most detested representative, accused since the 1920s of being the leader of a Jewish-bolshevist conspiracy.<sup>80</sup> But none of his works beyond *Verklärte Nacht*, opus 4 (1899), the *Gurrelieder* (1900-1911), and the first string quartet in D minor, opus 7 (1904/05), which all belonged to his tonal phase of composing, had ever found their way into the Norwegian concert halls, so that there never was such an aesthetic provocation.

In consequence, to program well-known classical composers with a Jewish family background was not a musical offense for Norwegians. To consider a piece to be politically provocative, therefore, depended on the tolerance and knowledge of the Norwegian authorities, of which we do not know. Neither do we know about potential sanctions, which might have ranged from commanded concerts to the closing of orchestras as it happened in Germany,<sup>81</sup> because there simply is no known precedent. Nevertheless, the question of handling censoring liberally or strictly was a case completely under Norwegian control. As the numerous examples of detention causes in Chapter II tell, the German authorities could sanction with drastic consequences, if they were affected by a provocation directly. As far as sources reveal, musicians were arrested for political action, for supporting the resistance movement, insulting the Wehrmacht etc., but not for musical statements in a Norwegian concert setting. The Norwegian authorities were in charge, and as mentioned, there is evidence that reported violations of restrictions in the peripheries were not sanctioned from the center in Oslo.<sup>82</sup>

### **Harald Sæverud's Symphony No. 5 “quasi una fantasia”, opus 16**

Referring to Harald Sæverud's catalog and the programs from Harmonien the years during the German occupation of Norway turned out to be very creative ones for him.<sup>83</sup> While the political circumstances seem to have had a direct impact on some of his large scale compositions – and his three symphonies #5-7 as well as *Kjempeviseslåtten* range among his most renowned works – other pieces especially from the piano suite *Slåtter og Stev fra Siljustøl* seem to have originated from purely musical inspirations. As will be seen in the following though, such a clear distinction would not describe the nature of his musical thinking properly so that – to argue the other way around – some very personal reflections could have been inscribed in small piano pieces which usually are not intended for such a large audience as an orchestral work. Unfortunately, there is no personal material such as diaries or letters either accessible or preserved so that interpretations of Sæverud's artistic intentions remain speculations.

The first program of Harmonien dedicated to Sæverud's music after the beginning of the German invasion was a concert on 6 March 1941, presenting his *Divertimento No. 1* for string orchestra and flute, opus 13 (which he had composed in 1939), two pieces from opus 14 for wood winds and strings *Barcarola notturna* and *Rondo amo-*

*roso* (1941, originally part of a collection of piano pieces, *Lette stykker for klaver*, opus 14, Vol. 1 from 1939, which were premiered on 27 May 1943),<sup>84</sup> his *Variazioni innocente* for orchestra, opus 15,<sup>85</sup> and his Symphony No. 5 *quasi una fantasia*, opus 16 with himself as the conductor.<sup>86</sup> In the program notes Sæverud offered details about the symphony's compositional form:

The fifth symphony is written now during the war. Whether this affected the contents should be left unsaid, but otherwise the subtitle “quasi una fantasia” suggests that everyone can think for themselves. In its form, it is a parallel to the classical sonata form in its main movement, but with the modification that the slow introduction to the work is inserted in the exposition (as Berlioz, among others, does in his overtures). Furthermore, the different parts of the movement (exposition, development, reprise and coda) have been greatly expanded and grown to become independent movements. The form structure is therefore briefly this: a) exposition, b) inserted andante, c) development (few variations on the main theme), d) reprise and coda. The symphony, therefore, covers in its form both the classical sonata movement (main movement) and the 4-movement symphony. Unlike the composer's previous symphonies, the fifth symphony has a triumphant ending.<sup>87</sup>

When it came to talking about politics, Sæverud strikingly changed into poetic descriptions. Nevertheless, he left an important key to the work's understanding. To offer in parantheses, that is almost unobserved, the name of Hector Berlioz is the call for a semantic interpretation, whether the war left an impression on the work's contents or not. The answer can be derived from the subtitle “quasi una fantasia”: It is Sæverud's understanding of Ludwig van Beethoven's piano sonata in E<sup>b</sup> major, opus 27,1 – the sister composition to the famous so-called *Moonlight-sonata* in C<sup>#</sup> minor, opus 27,2<sup>88</sup> – symbolizing the struggle between universal German cultural heritage and the military presence of Hitler-Germany in Norway.

On the compositional level of formal adoptions Sæverud's symphony shares striking similarities already with the beginning of Beethoven's sonata: Three distinct chords of long notes, followed up by a run which halts in another chord (cf. fig. 32 and 33). While Beethoven limits the harmonic range of this passage very strictly to the tonic E<sup>b</sup> major and the dominant B<sup>b7</sup> major, Sæverud takes this idea further and spreads the unison rise from a C in octaves upwards via D and a chain of notes in C-scale into a dissonant chord in bar 3 including constellations of B-C (small ninth in doublebass and celli), C-D (large ninth in celli and violas), and A<sup>b</sup>-D (triton in the violins). Nevertheless, both pieces share a tendency for simple, strainless harmonies and plain melodies, which is obvious in Sæverud's first theme, starting in bar 3, which uses many repeated notes and an internal repetition of the opening phrase C-D-C-D-F<sup>#</sup> resp. F.



Fig. 32: The beginning of Ludwig van Beethoven's *Sonate für Klavier (Es-Dur)*, op. 27,1 (*Sonata quasi una Fantasia*), Czerny 878. Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Helferich 26b

Fig. 33: The beginning of Harald Sæverud's symphony No. 5, bars 1-6 (extract of the string section). Musikkhuset Oslo

In the finale both pieces also share striking similarities: After a long run of small notes that lead downwards in little waves of 2-5 tones, Beethoven breaks into the presto part where pairs of thirds in the right hand alternate with fourths in the left hand. After a few bars they speed up from quarter to sixteenth notes while exchanging different intervals in their mode of alternating each other, until they stop abruptly in three forte fortissimo chords that quote the beginning of the sonata and thereby close the dramatic circle of the piece (cf. fig. 34).

Sæverud takes a little more time to prepare the ending of his symphony, letting Beethoven's original shine through beneath the surface of the wood winds, brass, and strings. Beginning with cipher 90 in the score, the repetition of accelerating motifs intensifies with melodic chains reaching into the high registers again and again. Until cipher 90 the lower registers in all instrumental groups formed a puls of eighth notes with a few quarter notes in between. A few bars after No. 90 (cf. fig. 35) the low registers are reduced to strong accents in forte fortissimo while all the other voices unite in a last organized uproar.



15

J. Cz. 878.

Fig. 34: The finale of Ludwig van Beethoven's *Sonate für Klavier (Es-Dur)*, op. 27,1 (*Sonata quasi una Fantasia*), Czerny 878. Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Helferich 26b

The image displays a page of a musical score for Harald Sæverud's Symphony No. 5. It shows two bars after cipher 90. The score is arranged in three systems of staves. The first system includes Fl. 8, Fl. gr., Ob., Cl. (a2), Fag., and C.fag. The second system includes Cor., Tr., Tbn. e, and Tuba. The third system includes Vln., Vie., Celli, and Cb. The music is characterized by strong brass accents and violin accents, with dynamic markings such as *sf*, *fff*, and *sf*. A tempo marking of quarter note = 72 is visible at the top right.

Fig. 35: Harald Sæverud, Symphony No. 5, two bars after cipher 90 following (extract of all active voices). Musikkhuset Oslo

For two bars only the strong brass accents remain prolonged by the violins in high registers like a reverb (cf. fig. 36). Then the last accent of all voices in triple forte wraps with elegant curves around the final chord, which presents a C in nearly half of the voices with a few additional notes on E, G, and B highlighted with a fermate in quadruple forte.

This impression on the microlevel, with Sæverud finding useful inspiration in Beethoven's sonata on how to handle motifs and how to create dramatic effects, correlates macroscopically the decisions of building contrasts and the tectonics of the movements.

The image displays a page of a musical score for Harald Sæverud's Symphony No. 5, specifically the final bars. The score is a full orchestral extract, showing parts for various instruments and voices. The instruments listed on the left include Flute 8, Flute 8r, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Cor Anglais, Trumpet, Trombone, Tuba, Timpani, Percussion (Grande Cassa, Tambour, Tam tam, Piatti, c. Trgl.), Piano, Violin, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The score features complex rhythmic patterns, slurs, and dynamic markings such as *sf*, *f*, and *sfz*. Performance instructions like "riten. .... at.", "ben riten.", and "marcatissimo" are present. The music is written in a complex, rhythmic style with many slurs and accents.

Fig. 36: Harald Sæverud, Symphony No. 5, final bars (extract of all active voices). Musikkhuset Oslo

Like Beethoven Sæverud abstained from a traditional sonata form, connected all segments by means of attacca-instructions, relied on a scheme of A-B-A in the first movement, and occasionally made use of rough contrasts.<sup>89</sup> But as he mentioned in the programs notes, Sæverud had wanted to go beyond formal analogies and compose programmatic music. Due to the political circumstances, however, he had to leave the description of a specific plot to the audience's imagination – quasi una fantasia. Accordingly, an approach to this narrative dimension of the symphony has to leave the firm ground of the score and reach into the expanse of interpretation and speculation. Nevertheless, Sæverud's example is not as unique as it seems but more a typical case of a resistance composition which needed to be as direct and easy to understand as possible without getting trapped in the web of quotations of forbidden melodies or censurable lyrics.

To dissect the political content of resistance compositions, Friedrich Geiger framed several criteria that prove to be quite helpful in attempting a closer understanding of Sæverud's symphony No. 5.<sup>90</sup> Using the examples of Miloslav Kabeláč's cantata *Neustouujte!* and *Kjempeviseslåtten*, he basically writes:

- Such a work should awake, activate, inspire, and empower its listeners. What was required was greatest possible clarity to ensure a maximum of general comprehensibility.
- For reasons similar to those that apply to the textual level, the recourse to folklore is characteristic of the musical material. Kabeláč addressed the listener in a native, familiar language, and also made a musical appeal to his threatened national identity.
- Folkloric material always has musical innovation potential, provided it is authentic. From a rhythmic-metric point of view, some suggestions from folklore seem to be taken up, as indicated by syncopations or frequent changes of meter.
- Another popular element is a dramatic structure leading towards a triumphant ending, following the well-known pattern of *per aspera ad astra*.
- A typical sequence of phases would be: description of the state of affairs; lament and mourning about the supposedly hopeless situation; decision for resistance; growing faith in victory; culmination in a moving finale. Each dramatic phase is labeled by distinct musical features that can be understood easily.

This model matches Harald Sæverud's symphony No. 5 very well. In general, war symphonies have to be programmatic and pragmatic in order to communicate a political message to the audience. Otherwise they would remain outside the political sphere as absolute music, despite their origin in highly political times. Accordingly, Sæverud had to find a compromise between his artistic ambitions and the comprehensibility of his musical idiom. One major advantage was his desire to merge moderately expanded tonality with the rhythms and melodic nature of Norwegian folklore. Nevertheless, he always tried to avoid direct borrowings or quotations, as many of his precursors had done – especially his colleague Edvard Grieg from Bergen – or as contemporary composers such as Geirr Tveitt did. Consequently, Sæverud always kept up the romantic tradition of writing “im Volkston”, which he now could rely on in silent agreement with his audience. Based on his established personal style he had all the nec-

essary compositional elements and listening conventions at hand to activate, inspire, and empower his listeners, Geiger's first argument. In analogy to the second argument Sæverud addressed his audience "in a native, familiar language, and also made a musical allusion to his threatened national identity". Additionally, Sæverud's intention to protect musical heritage against ideological plundering concerned both the German and the Norwegian sides of his compositional socialization: While his usage of native folk music idioms was meant to protect Norwegian cultural heritage against its ideological exploitation by Norwegian Nazi-musicians and the German propaganda, the adaption of Beethoven's sonata stood for his dispute on behalf of German music as European culture. Accordingly, the symbolism to found a fifth symphony on the fundament of a Beethoven sonata correlates to the decision to resume a classical *per aspera ad astra*-dramaturgy aimed at a triumphant ending, which is typical for Beethoven's most famous symphonies and at the same time provides the "appellative potential" – Geiger's fourth argument – which is necessary for a successful resistance composition. Combining these indications with the classical quadrinomial symphonic form a poetic interpretation of the symphony was the result. Sæverud, however, obviously composed a political instrumental piece which used neither direct melodic quotations (as Beethoven for example did in his *Wellingtons Sieg oder die Schlacht bei Victoria*, opus 91 or Hanns Eisler in his *Deutsche Sinfonie*) nor idioms that are associated with one distinct mode of reception such as a funeral march.

### **Part I: Description of the State of Affairs (exposition, # 1-6)**

Following the classical tradition of the Beethoven-sonata, Sæverud establishes his first theme (cf. fig. 37). In general, his symphony is less a diary or chronology of the events that led to Norway's occupation by German troops, but more a colorful picture of the emotions, fears, hopes, and expectations that Sæverud experienced and tried to channel artistically. While raising the tension slowly, Sæverud strictly limits his means. It is typical for his style that a theme makes use of repetitive notes, which are without a rhythmic pattern. Of course, Sæverud tells the story of his country finding its way into active resistance from the Norwegian point of view linking it to the tone color of the strings most of the time. A dramaturgical reason is the closeness of this sound to the most typical instrument of Norwegian folk music, the Harding-fiddle. A musical argument, which helps to support this interpretation, is Sæverud's cautious harmonization of the first theme in the bars 4-5 and 9-10, which lets the most important notes ring while they are modified in the accompanying voices: The violins establish a C-tonality without a third. The violas and celli join the violin's F# with a dissonant F and ease the tension through the minor-third E<sup>b</sup> to the double-dominant D (bar 4-5). The violins repeat their easy to remember opening phrase and thereby close the first phrase of the theme on the basic notes of the cadence F-C-G (bar 6-7). Beginning in bar 7, Sæverud presents the theme with slight modifications: While violas and celli answer the solistic opening first with the minor third C-E<sup>b</sup> (which results in a diminished chord including the violins' F#), the melodic line ends on a sustained C this time, where violas and celli contribute the rudiment of a cadenza with the dominant B-D and the keynote C (violins), surrounded by its third E<sup>b</sup> (violas) above and the major sixth A (celli) below, which also could be interpreted as a diminished chord A-C-E<sup>b</sup>.

The image shows a musical score for the first theme in Harald Sæverud's Symphony No. 5, bars 3-13. The score is in 2/4 time and features a 'Sul G' instruction. It includes staves for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. The tempo is 'energico e passionato' with dynamics ranging from 'ben f' to 'mf'. The score shows a melodic line in the violins and a supporting harmonic structure in the lower strings.

Fig. 37: The first theme in Harald Sæverud's Symphony No. 5, bars 3-13 (extract). Musikkhuset Oslo

Elements such as minor seconds, tritones, and diminished chords are preferred means for Sæverud throughout the piece to create tension. Thus the melodic line of the first theme – interpreted as Sæverud's depiction of Norwegianianess – can remind of an easy, peaceful setting which is already disturbed by dissonant interventions that characterize forces which drive away from a mutual past. Such an understanding of corresponding and steadily increasing adverse protagonists is motivated by the further development of this passage beyond cipher 1 in the score where the wood winds are assigned with this theme and trade different harmonical unfoldings forth and back with the string section. Accordingly, in this metaphorical interpretation the wood winds represent the international upheavals, which at this point do not concern Norway directly but already overshadow its future with anxiety about a new World War.

The threat of Hitler-Germany's global aggression comes into the picture with the second theme at cipher 2 in the score (cf. fig. 38). With its alternation of eighth and sixteenth notes it reminds strongly of the way Beethoven contours passages in the middle and at the end of his first movement. This supports the interpretation of how a traditional European understanding of German culture was turned upside-down by Hitler's seizure of power. After these elements have begun to interact around cipher 3, the trumpets join in and add the traditional flavor of military instruments. Accordingly, they represent the German threat to Norway which soon bursts – after long lines upwards in the wood winds and strings beginning at cipher 5 – into trumpet signals at cipher 6 (cf. fig. 39). War has finally reached Norway, the Germans have attacked, and the Norwegian defense against the trumpets of war, carried out by the string section representing Norway, dies away within a few bars.

2

Vn. *ff sf marc. molto e furioso sf*

Vle. *ff marc. molto furioso sf*

Celli *ff marc. molto sf*

Cb. *ff marc. molto sf*

Fig. 38: The second theme in Harald Sæverud's Symphony No. 5, cipher 2 (extract). Musikkhuset Oslo

6

Fl. I *sf*

Fl. II *sf*

Ob. *sf*

Cl. *sf*

Fag. *sf*

C. fag. *sf*

Cor. *ff*

Tr. *f*

Tbn. I *ff*

Tuba *ff*

Timp. *f*

Arpa *ff*

Vln. *sf*

Vle. *sf*

Celli *sf*

Cb. *sf*

Fig. 39: Trumpet signals in Harald Sæverud's Symphony No. 5, cipher 6. Musikkhuset Oslo

### Part II: Lament and Mourning about the Supposedly Hopeless Situation (andante, # 7-24)

The following section of the andante, starting at cipher 7 (cf. fig. 40), portrays the first phase of shock, despair, and apathy after the German attack. The third theme turns the focus to the Norwegian perspective of the strings, whose repetitive notes and internal segments of transposed motifs (A-E-E-F<sup>#</sup>-E-D<sup>#</sup> and E-B-B-B-C-B-A) resemble the first theme's structure. At the same time the alteration of eighth and sixteenth notes incorporates the second theme's rhythmical characteristics.

Fig. 40: The beginning of the third theme in Harald Sæverud's Symphony No. 5, cipher 7. Musikkhuset Oslo

In comparison to the exposition, which had introduced the whole setting rather quickly (six ciphers), Sæverud reserved three times as much attention to this episode (18 ciphers). The exchange of thoughts between strings and wood winds fills many pages to highlight the different emotional conditions the composer and his fellow countrymen experienced with hardly any disturbances by brass or percussion. Like the quiet before the storm the orchestra nearly fades out, until immediately before cipher 17 the oboes and clarinets fill in a tiny motif of highest symbolic significance (cf. fig. 41). If one would transpose these four notes of D<sup>b</sup>-C-E<sup>b</sup>-D four steps down, one could read what does not make any difference to the listeners (unless they have perfect pitch): B-A-C-H, the traditional signet of one of the most iconic German composers. On the one hand an audible reference to Johann Sebastian Bach is often used to associate the audience with classical German music. On the other hand the Leipzig tradition associated with Bach was a major influence for Norwegian church music in general in Sæverud's own time. This puts the ambivalence of positive memories of German humanist heritage and the presence of Hitler's troops in Norway in a nutshell.



36

Fl. B

Fl. gr.

Ob.

Cl.

calando

17

$\text{♩} = 100$

I. Solo

*espr. molto e sempre sonoramente*

*p*

Fig. 41: A disguised reference to B-A-C-H in the voices of oboe and clarinet in Harald Sæverud's Symphony No. 5, two bars before cipher 17. Musikkhuset Oslo

This moment of reflection must have been so important to Sæverud, that he underlined it with a repetition transposed one note higher. For another three segments lonely meandering lines of wood winds, strings and horns (which Sæverud uses in combination with the wood winds most of the times) prevail, until a steady pulse of repeated eighth notes spreads across the whole orchestra between cipher 23 and 24.

### Part III: *Decision for Resistance* (development, # 25-37)

Like a demanding, urgent solution the accumulated tension erupts into the symphony's development sections. Although the impressive number of 26 short variations of the main theme pictures the emerging and hardening will for resistance, this movement is short with only 13 ciphers in the score. Like a controversy of different opinions these variations involve all parts of the orchestra in different combinations. Sometimes the trumpets throw in military signals like in variation 6 (cf. fig. 42), but placing it this time on the side of the resistance movement, establishing there the idea of military action like Bjarne Sæverud did in the composer's own family.

The figuration of lines flowing upwards and downwards through the various instrumental groups matches gestures in Beethoven's allegro. Especially ostinato patterns with small groups of notes stepping up and down in small intervals are typical for most of Sæverud's variations (especially No. 17, cipher 22-25). At the same time they resemble wide parts of Beethoven's adagio (cf. fig. 43). Keeping in mind that the work was premiered on 6 March 1941 and calculating the time necessary to compose a full symphony, it is likely that this part was written or even finished in the fall of 1940 while Josef Terboven was consolidating his Reichskommissariat and appointing the Norwegian state councilors.

The image displays a page of a musical score for Variation No. VI. The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with multiple staves. The instruments listed on the left are: Fl. s. (Flute solo), Fl. gr. (Flute grand), Ob. (Oboe), Cl. (Clarinet), Fag. (Bassoon), C. fag. (Contrabassoon), Cor. (Cor Anglais), Tr. (Trumpet), Tbnl. e Tuba (Trombone and Tuba), Timp. (Timpani), Acpa (Acoustic Piano), Vin. (Violin), Vle. (Viola), Celli (Cello), and Clb. (Double Bass). The score is divided into three measures. The first measure is marked with a box containing 'Var. VI'. The second measure begins with a dynamic marking of *f marc.* and includes an *a2* marking above the woodwind staves. The third measure continues with *f marc.* and includes a *div.* marking above the violin staff. The woodwind parts (Fl. s., Fl. gr., Ob., Cl., Fag., C. fag., Tr.) feature complex rhythmic patterns with many slurs and accents. The brass parts (Cor., Tbnl. e Tuba) have simpler, more rhythmic lines. The string parts (Vin., Vle., Celli, Clb.) provide a steady accompaniment. The piano part (Acpa) is mostly silent, with some activity in the third measure. The overall texture is dense and rhythmic.

Fig. 42: Variation No. VI in the development of Harald Sæverud's Symphony No. 5.  
Musikhuset Oslo

8

Adagio  
con  
espressione

J. Cz. 878.

Fig. 43: Adagio from Ludwig van Beethoven's *Sonate für Klavier (Es-Dur)*, op. 27,1 (*Sonata quasi una fantasia*), Czerny 878. Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Helferich 26b

#### **Part IV: *Growing Faith in Victory and Glorious Finale* (reprise, # 38-74 and coda, #75-90)**

While in the logic of a resistance work the previous movement had marked the intense but yet quick decision-making process of an oppositional attitude turning into active resistance, this movement describes the resulting consequences at length with 35 ciphers in the score. Accordingly, here we witness Sæverud's own point of view at the very moment of composing in many details: This is his personal way as an artist to contribute to the common mood "we need to do something", bringing vague feelings of unease and anger into a calculated, organized form. At the same time this part of the symphony is the most open and ambiguous one: In his abstract language of classical instrumental music Sæverud could not express exactly through his music what needed to be done in reality or even give precise commands. This had to be left open *quasi una fantasia*. His music stayed away from the politics of the day but instead had a share in uplifting the audience, uniting it in the spirit of resistance motivating and activating it in the mutual fight for Norway's liberation.

Consequently, the final coda stays as abstract as the reprise, where all important musical elements and themes – carrying the essence of his message – are summarized and called back into mind. As described above and explained by Sæverud himself, the finale is modeled as a triumphant ending. Here no program needs to be transformed anymore like in the symphony's beginning; here the music is the message itself: the belief to persevere in the cause and to finally succeed in ending the German occupation, despite all sacrifices still to come. This final passage of the symphony is shorter again with only 16 ciphers in the score. The thrilling message of a glorious future victory does not need many words – or in this case melodies and rhythms. As the conductor of his premiere it was certainly Sæverud's intention to program the symphony at the end of the concert, so that he could push the audience's emotions to the maximum before sending each listener out of the concert hall into the night of a real world with war, occupation and the common duty to offer resistance.

#### **Activities in Stavanger, Trondheim, and Tromsø**

The secret list of confidants, that was presented in Chapter I, also named musicians from Trondheim. Although this indicates that activities and activists outside of the two largest Norwegian cities Oslo and Bergen were acknowledged by the resistance leadership in Oslo, the widest gap in research concerning peripheries is to be found here. The following findings do not pretend to be complete, neither as far as knowledge nor as far as sources are concerned. On the contrary, the ambition is to learn about the potential, which middle-sized or smaller places such as Trondheim and Stavanger or secluded towns like Tromsø could contribute to a better understanding of musical resistance in Norway, if one knew where to look for new sources and initial points of research. Two aspects have to be added to the picture though, which combine characteristics of the nature of musical resistance with those of perceiving peripheries: On one hand resistance work in a dictatorship naturally has to avoid producing documents which might turn into a threat for all activists. Accordingly, existing institutions partic-

ipating in resistance work had to keep all incriminating information out of their minute books, which they had to keep for their finances. Therefore, if institutional records provide any information it has been written after Norway's liberation on 8 May 1945, sometimes only a few weeks afterwards and sometimes years in retrospect. On the other hand the respect and interest in local and regional cultural phenomena was limited for decades to the peripheral context itself. There, many people shared the memory of the German occupation and the resulting resistance activities as mutual oral history, often with no need for or experience in documentation. Respectively, historical research can only hope that the present shift of generations, when the last eye witnesses pass away, will not reduce traces but heave up new material.

### **Stavanger**

The examples in Stavanger reveal a remarkable distance between musical and political matters. The reports about Gunnar Knudsen and Anne-Margrete Olden (cf. Chapter II) tell of the many risk musicians from Stavanger took when they became involved in resistance work and how important music was for them during their imprisonment. At the same time details about the political side of their biographies in the case of Knudsen did not find attention in historiography or, regarding Olden, only in an autobiographical setting. In addition further research would need to examine gender-related differences in official NS-music politics, including the sub-categorization of Norwegian and German agendas. The Ladies Choir from Stavanger, for instance, could offer a striking example in case it became possible to compare the official minute books with background information: The records of the local Ladies Choir – preserved in Stavanger's State Archive – give the impression of a harmless circle of friends concerned only with the joy of making music and the social cohesion a choir can offer.<sup>91</sup> Assuming that all protocols of their meetings and activities are correct and complete, the choir never had to witness any attempt to be taken over by Nazi-groups. Nevertheless, in case this was only the surface of the documentation the choir wanted or had to offer, it remains an open question what could have gone on otherwise in the political atmosphere of a town that marked the first electoral success of Gulbrand Lunde in the 1930s, expert for Culture and Public Enlightenment for Nasjonal Samling and a fanatic anti-Semit.

Another example with valid sources to be considered is the history and development of Stavanger's symphony orchestra. In his chronicle published in 1963 Ragnvald Eikil dated the beginning of an active music life in Stavanger to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when a first town orchestra of 18 musicians successfully performed during several concert seasons.<sup>92</sup> A step towards the local professionalization was the establishment of Stavanger's Musicians' Union ("musikerforening") on 12 February 1916. Harald Hansen was the first chairman of this institution that included 12 members of the theater as well as musicians working mostly for the local movie theaters.<sup>93</sup> With the shutdown of the last theater for silent movies in Stavanger in 1932 the unemployment rate of musicians rose seriously. Little is known about the orchestra during this time, but when conductor Johan Ludwig Mowinckel from Bergen visited Stavanger on 25 September 1932 on a musical lecture tour, he conducted an orchestra performing with 25 musicians. Just four weeks later Gustav Sand needed an orchestra for his debut as

concert pianist on 26 October. This fostered ideas of perpetuating this ensemble. In February 1933 the orchestra presented its first program under Harald Heide; in April Gunnar Abrahamsen conducted a second concert. The new steering committee under Gustav Sand included the journalist Tor Gjesdal, Arne F. Grønlund as well as Franz Dørr and Reinhold Schwebs representing the Musicians' Union. The new orchestra soon established a good reputation attracting leading domestic and international artists to perform in Stavanger, such as Paul Stassévitch from New York, Reidar Brehmer, Odd Grüner Hegge, Olav Kielland, Bjarne Brustad, Dr. S. Leslie Howard (the Artistic Director of the Newcastle Symphony Orchestra), Øivin Fjeldstad, Gustav Eriksen, Fredrik Sagen, and as soloists among others Ruggiero Ricci, Bernt Elvebakken, Eyvin Thu, Arne F. Grønlund, Per Wang, Ernst Glaser, and Robert Riefling.<sup>94</sup>

The next chapter in the orchestra's history was its formal institutionalization by the municipality, the local division of Norway's broadcasting company NRK and the Musicians' Union on 12 September 1938 celebrated with a gala concert on 6 October under the batons of konsul Lauritz Wilhelm Hansen and bank manager Johannes Johnsen (both were members of NRK's local program board) as well as clarinetist and conductor Harald Kristianssen. In its founding season 1938/39 the orchestra also welcomed conductor and violinist Gunnar Knudsen as its new artistic leader.

When the German occupation hit Norway, the orchestra's status as a semi-professional ensemble with a mixture of public and private funding proved to be an important factor to keep it anchored in the public attention on the west coast. In 1938 the orchestra with 20 full positions gave 16 concerts in and around Stavanger (five of them were held in the theater, five in the movie theater, and three in the large hall of the Bethania congregation). It was funded by kr. 2,000 from the municipality and an additional kr. 8,000 from the Ministry of Church and Education. All extra expenses had to be covered by private donations. Knudsen was paid kr. 50 for each concert and kr. 10 for a rehearsal, while the musicians each received kr. 10 for a concert and kr. 5 for a rehearsal.

Files in Stavanger's State Archive indicate that the orchestra could rely on stable finances throughout the years 1940-45. Records for the season 1942/43 give a solid overview with 22 concerts (14 played in the town theater, three in the church St. Peter, one in Sandnes, and another four as open air events in the leisure park "Fornöielsesparken", two of them were chamber music evenings, cf. fig. 44 and 45). Singers Gudrun Folgerö and Erling Krogh, the pianists Ivar Johnsen, Finn Audun Oftedal, Lyder Juul, and Einar Ingebretsen, as well as the violinists Arne Grønlund, Ragnar Borge, and Otto Sinding were welcomed as soloists. The program included 54 Norwegian works (69 in the previous season), and 67 foreign compositions (86 in the previous season). Altogether 21,451 people attended the concerts (19,038 in the previous season), generating ticket sales of kr. 24,175.20 (kr. 23,427 in the previous season) with prices from 50 öre up to kr. 5 in the theater, kr. 1 in the church St. Peter, and 50 öre for the open air concerts. For 27 musicians the orchestra had to spend kr. 34,879.16.<sup>95</sup>

**Stavanger Byorkester**  
Fra Forretningsføreren

Ekstrakt av Stavanger Byorkesters regnskap  
for første halvår sesongen 1942/43.  
(Tilsvarende tall for samme periode 1941/42  
i parentes)

\*\*\*\*\*

Inntekter:

1942.  
31 Desember.

Balanse ifl. siste regnskap:			
I Stavanger Sparekasse..	kr. 850,98 /		
I kasse.....	" 29,07 /	kr.	880,05 ✓
Bidrag og gaver (15465).....	"	"	8700,- ✓
Billett-salg (11443).....	"	"	12839,50 ✓
Program-salg (319).....	"	"	332,- ✓
Annonsør progr.bladet (2687).....	"	"	2985,- ✓
Renter.....	"	"	9,64 ✓

Utgifter:

<i>Overført fra siste regnskap</i> - -	100,-		
Musikerne (13349).....	kr. 14060,-		
Amatørene (693).....	" 772,-		
Kapellmesteren (2123).....	" 2266,68		
Solister (1575).....	" 340,-		
Flygelstemning, noteskriving, vakter, transport etc.....	" 1007,25		
Forretningsføreren.....	" 600,-		
Noter.....	" 34,50		
Leie av lokale (1756).....	" 1798,40		
Annonsør og plakater (1123) "	1418,-		
Trykking programmer.....	" 1187,95		
Konserterbyrået.....	" 533,02		
Billetter.....	" 93,33		
Avgift Tono.....	" 206,56		
Diverse.....	" 527,93		
I Stavanger Sparekasse.....	" 654,09		
I bank ved E. Fredrikson.....	" 23,-		
I kasse.....	" 123,48		

kr 25346,19      kr 25346,19

14. januar 1943.      S.E. & O.  
H.B. Isachsen.

Der er holdt 12 konserter (hvorav 3 friluft) i første halvdel av sesongen mot 10 ifjor (hvorav 1 friluft).

*Regnskapsutvidet og finnet riktig  
Stavanger den 14/1-1943  
Kj. Høidal*

Fig. 44: Preliminary clearing for the orchestra season 1942/43, dated 14 Januar 1943. SB, PA-0092/D/F/-L0001 Stavanger Byorkester, folder Privatarkiv 12, Stavanger Byorkester Korr. R-S, 1942-46.

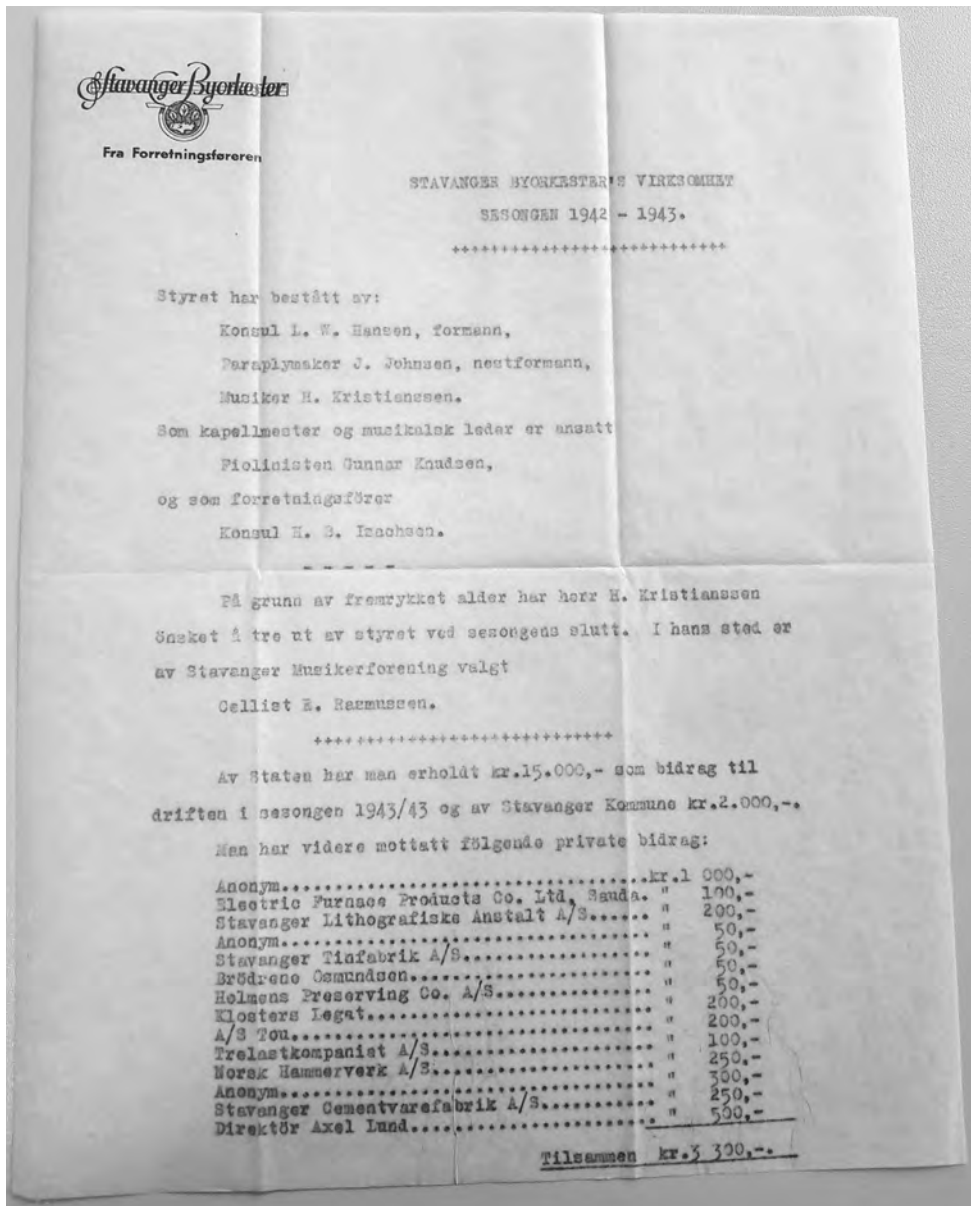


Fig. 45: Calculation for the orchestra season 1942/43. SB, PA-0092-D-F-L0001 Stavanger Byorkester, folder Privatarkiv 12, Stavanger Byorkester Korr. R-S, 1942-46.



Various documents show (cf. for example fig. 45) that the state subsidy was by far the largest part of the orchestra's income, while donations and advertisements in the concert programs generated more additional money than came in from the regular subsidy granted by the municipality. Accordingly, the files preserved by the orchestra's administration contain numerous bills, letters of thanks, appeals for funds, and contribution receipts for shipping companies, local businesses, handicraft enterprises, and industrial producers, who often donated sums varying from kr. 100 to kr. 200 annually.<sup>96</sup> The financial situation must have been solid enough to offer Gunnar Knudsen a salary raise from annually kr. 4,000 to kr. 5,000 in 1943 and to confirm his contract as conductor for the season 1943/44.<sup>97</sup> During this time Knudsen also often performed in and around Stavanger with his ensemble, featuring Arne F. Grønlund and himself on the violin, Otto Sinding on the viola, Aksel Wold on the cello and Lyder Juul on piano.<sup>98</sup> Although there does not seem to have been much support by the municipality for the orchestra, a paper written by Monrad Larsen on behalf of Stavanger's musikforening dated 1 August 1944 indicates that the municipality did grant stipends for young artists, for example kr. 5,000 in 1944. It is not known, however, if this was a unique initiative or not.<sup>99</sup>

The only official correspondence relating to political matters in the files, which could indicate attempts to win the orchestra for propagandistic purposes, dates to 31 January 1944. On behalf of the orchestra Monrad Larsen wrote to the Stavanger musikforening and reported that the Reichskommissariat had asked if the orchestra would be willing to perform a concert with Carl Maria Artz as conductor on 17 or 19 March 1944 for the usual rate.<sup>100</sup> Larsen now needed the musikforening's evaluation if all musicians willing to collaborate had the permission to do so, so that he could answer the request the next days. The files contain no further documents pertaining to this matter, but no concert with Artz could be found in the orchestra programs so that presumably the plan did not materialize. Another practical reason might have been, as a report for the biannual meeting of the steering committee indicates, that several orchestra musicians were called to military duty in 1943:

5 members were summoned, 4 by the Stavanger Police Department and 1 by the Hetland sheriff's office ["kennsmannskontor"]. After a number of conferences with the police and the county governor, the summons were cancelled. When the national labor mobilization was enacted, the union took up its task with the central administration to get the musicians exempt, and also the work was taken up with the Stavanger Employment Service, and it seems that the musicians do not have to be called up, but the requirement is that music is their main profession.<sup>101</sup>

The orchestra's history during the years 1940-45 is summarized briefly in Eikil's chronicle from 1963: "The occupation tramples down the last part of the concert season 1939-40. The minute books reflect the pressure the orchestra was subjected to from the Germans and the N.S. going hand in hand through the years of occupation. But the orchestra board and the orchestra did not give in, and found ways to stay in contact with their audience and with the Norwegian spirit – and grew on it."<sup>102</sup> On the occasion of the orchestra's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1988 Jan Alsvik presented another chron-

icle, this time including an anecdote about resilient behavior. In the basement of the broadcasting studio where the orchestra had gone for a rehearsal, orchestra musician Schwesb listened to the illegal BBC radio program from London while upstairs the Gestapo was carrying out a razzia.<sup>103</sup>

Besides the fact, that the orchestra was active for the official celebrations on behalf of Edvard Grieg's centennial in 1943, the most familiar incident in its history was the arrest of its conductor, violinist Gunnar Knudsen in the fall of 1944 (for his time in Grini cf. Chapter II). This dramatic turn of events changed the atmosphere within the orchestra significantly, as a report from Stavanger's Music Union for the period between 29 October 1944 and 6 May 1945 describes:

The working conditions have deteriorated significantly over the past six months: The city orchestra is still down and the Radio Ensemble, which after conductor Gunnar Knudsen's arrest in October last year has continued to play under the direction of Arne Grønlund, was suspended until 1 February, but was paid until 1 March. The federal board, which was immediately notified of the suspension, has taken up the work to have it reversed, but so far without result. In addition, the use of fuel for heating in the theater was forbidden in January and a number of planned performances could not take place, much to the disadvantage of several of our members.<sup>104</sup>

A report from Stavanger's section of the Musicians' Union to the headquarters in Oslo, dated 29 June 1945, painted a much brighter picture and summarized a challenging but nonetheless heroic time:

During the five years of the war, the Stavanger musicians fought a tough battle against the Nazi authorities, and the result, it must be said was good. Except that the Radio Ensemble under Gunnar Knutsen's [sic] leadership had to play on a couple of N.S. meetings that were broadcasted, all Nazi events and concerts, both Norwegian and German, were happily avoided. The retaliations that had been threatened on several occasions resulted in the dismissal of the Radio Ensemble at a time as late as February 1945. Since then, the ensemble's musicians have been without permanent employment. After Gunnar Knutsen was arrested, in the fall of 1944, Arne Grønlund took over the leadership of the ensemble, and Ragnar Borge moved in as violinist. The City Orchestra's activities ended with Gunnar Knutsen's arrest. The Stavanger City Orchestra was attacked on several occasions. The local Nazi authorities, the Norwegian-German Association and the Reichskommissariatet [sic] have repeatedly called for the orchestra's participation, partly with German conductors, but through excellent cooperation between the orchestra's board and the musicians, all attempts were rejected, so that the City Orchestra has not given a single concert because of the Norwegian or German Nazis.<sup>105</sup>

## Trondheim

In relation to the size and importance as a regional center the lack of knowledge concerning the years 1940–45 seems at least as great for Trondheim as it was diagnosed for Stavanger, as a few keywords might indicate: Church music at the Nidaros Cathedral must have been quite a factor for the local music life, but the mentioning of the cathedral's organist Ludvig Nielsen on the secret resistance list of confidants could not be substantiated so far by valid information. The musical contributions to Vidkun Quisling's inauguration in February 1942 at this historical site would demand further research as well, while Aage Haavik briefly sketched how the public protested outside the cathedral against their lock out by singing the Luther-chorale *Vår Gud han er så fast en borg* ("A Mighty Fortress is Our God"; for details about the importance of this chorale cf. Chapter V).<sup>106</sup> The orchestra at the luxurious Britannia hotel, led by Jac Maliniak and partly involving musicians from Trondheim's symphony orchestra, has not been described yet either. Especially the position of Jewish musicians in the local music scene and the stylistic variety of Jewish music in Trondheim is very unclear as well and so far could not be reconstructed during the research process for this book due to lacking material. In a letter written on 28 June 1945 the Trondheim section of the Norwegian Musicians' Union informed its headquarters in Oslo about members that had been arrested during the German occupation.<sup>107</sup> While naming musicians such as Karl Røst, Johannes Vist, Ingvald Dybwad, and Arne Sødahl, Jewish colleagues from Trondheim such as Ruben Hirsch, Jakob Lankelinsky, or Jac Maliniak were not mentioned.<sup>108</sup> As another paper from 4 September 1945 reveals, the union could use rooms in the Britannia hotel, because several of their active members had been employed there in the orchestra led by Maliniak. In consequence, they could have known quite well about the names that were left out of the lists of victims among their members.<sup>109</sup> Accordingly, the following description is not supposed to pretend to be complete, but just gives some first impressions of the possible dimensions for further inquiries.

One example from the Trondheim Chorale Association ("Trondhjems Korforbund") might illustrate how difficult it is to read between the lines in minute books from the war years. A report for the season 1939/40 just very broadly mentions: "The 9<sup>th</sup> of April 1940 put a stop to all the arrangements. There were many difficulties for the various choirs to get back on track, but the interest and optimism prevailed and despite the amount of darkness and other disadvantages, the turnout of singers has been good. The association has for that reason (weather) naturally remained passive and as times are at present, it is difficult to make any plans for the future."<sup>110</sup> A later, undated protocol (probably immediately from the time of Norway's liberation) looks back to events and developments between 1941 and 1943:

The conditions during the war of course put a damper on the Choir Association's activities, but Song Day was still celebrated once, on Sunday 21 April 1941 with a public meeting in the Student Society. Associate professor Johan Due spoke, theater director Gleditsch read poems, it was both choir singing and all-singing. 14 and 15 March 1943 marked the choir association's 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Arild Sandvold's *misjonskantate* to a text by Ronald Fangen was performed at 2 concerts in Our Lady's Church. Conductor was cathedral or-

ganist Ludvig Nielsen, soloists Borghild Tvette Lian, Ingrid Vasselen, Sigurd Hoff and Kåre Rønning, and the composer was at the organ. The concert was well attended and the reviews good.<sup>111</sup>

A different moment in Trondheim's music history, which indicates an enthusiastic atmosphere for certain aspects of German contemporary music culture, was a visit by Fritz Jøde in early 1939. It is interesting to note that Jøde's position as an academic in the Third Reich, where a career against the system was impossible and instead demanded proof of one's loyalty to National Socialism, was neither questioned nor mentioned in the intensive press coverage this visit produced. Jøde, born in 1887 and originally a school teacher, had become a mastermind of the musical youth movement ("Jugendmusikbewegung") in the Weimar Republic. In 1920/21 he studied musicology with Hermann Abert in Leipzig and was appointed professor at the State Academy of Church and School Music in Berlin in 1923.<sup>112</sup> During the 1920s he increased his international fame with open singing lessons ("Offene Singstunden") which promoted the singing of folk music to fight back decadent popular music and jazz. After 1933 he became a controversial figure in Germany amidst the rivaling ideological factions of Alfred Rosenberg against Joseph Goebbels and under still unclear circumstances was removed from his position as professor in Berlin.<sup>113</sup> He went to Munich where he worked for the youth radio in 1938 and was the leader of a "Rundfunkspielschar" (radio choir) for the Hitler-Jugend, before he was engaged at the music conservatory Mozarteum in Salzburg for the winter semester 1939/40. There he began teaching choir conducting on 1 April 1940 until 1943.<sup>114</sup> On 1 January 1940 he became a member of the NSDAP (# 7.792.080)<sup>115</sup> but left the Mozarteum "on his own request"<sup>116</sup> in 1943.

An invitation to Jøde was mentioned in the records of Trondheim's Choir Association for the first time on 10 November 1938, evaluating options for concert events on 12 and 13 January 1939.<sup>117</sup> The point of fascination in all comments about Jøde was his idea of "Gemeinschaftssingen", comparable to the popular ritual "Allsang", to reconnect people with their folk music tradition. While National Socialism emphasized the impact of singing old and new folk songs for the building of a racially homogenic "Volksgemeinschaft", which Jøde supported with numerous song books and publications, these political implications of his mission to promote folk songs are not reflected in the choir association's records or newspaper articles about Jøde's concert lectures which included public singing. Instead, a series of articles covered the days Jøde spent in Trondheim and Oskar Skaug limited his characterization of the prominent German guest in the newspaper *Arbeider-Avisen* strictly to artistic arguments:

Who exactly is Fritz Jøde? The name is known, but what is it he wants, and what is it that has made him so famous far beyond Germany's borders? We basically know only that his name is connected to the big movement that has been named Allsang, a movement that we got a pretty strong feeling for last summer.

Professor Fritz Jøde comes from a Swedish noble family, and the name is supposedly originally "Göthe", which later in Low German became Jøde. He began his career as a primary school teacher, but is today a professor at the

Academy of Church and School Singing in Berlin and recreates folk music and folk song, not only in Germany, but in a number of European countries.

We find the basic view of the song expressed in a small booklet I have lying in front of me: Only a strong people [“folk”] sing, a weak one does not. A singing people [“folk”] is the foundation of a healthy musical life. (Freely translated). In a people [“folk”] who no longer sing, music life gives way and dies. [...] Professor Jøde has set himself the goal of bringing new life to song and music, and it really seems that he has succeeded in achieving it through the *allsang*-movement. [...] Thousands upon thousands of people have joined the movement he has created, not only in Germany, but everywhere he goes. In Denmark and Sweden, he was introduced years ago and has been hailed as the song’s innovator, and significant men have taken the lead in the movement in full belief that it will arouse renewed interest in song and music. Trondhjem’s Choir Association and Bygdelagenes korforbund have joined forces to get Professor Jøde up here, and with lectures and demonstrations tonight and tomorrow there will be an opportunity to get to know this stranger, whose reputation precedes him.<sup>118</sup>

## Tromsø

Probably Norway’s most northern orchestra was located in Tromsø. After a first town musician (“stadsmusicus”) is mentioned in chronicles for the year 1848, who took care of the organ music in town churches, for music in schools as well as the education of string and brass players, a vibrant music life began to expand after 1900.<sup>119</sup> Developing from a tradition with several music associations and clubs from craftsmen, workers, and middle class since the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century – Håndverker-Musikforeningen, Den borgerlige Musikforening, Tromsø Musikforening, Arbeidernes Musikforening, Hornkvintetten, Musikforeningen av 28de september [1877] – Karl J. Hall founded a first permanent ensemble in 1892, called the “Avholdsforeningens Orkester og blåsekorps”. Ten years later it began touring in the northern parts of Norway, visiting Narvik in 1902, Trondheim and Kristiansund in 1905, Vardö in 1908 and Harstad in 1920 where they performed Edvard Grieg’s piano concerto with Haldor Sørensen as soloist.<sup>120</sup>

With members of the musikkorps and Avholdsforeningens Orkester the “Tromsø Orkesterforening” was founded on 19 November 1923 to further enhance the regional music life which also benefited from several choir societies, for example the Male Choir (“Tromsø Mandssangforening”), the Workers’ Male Choir (“Arbeiderforenings Mannskor”), the Union’s Male Choir (“Fagforeningenes Mannskor”), the Mixed Choir (“Tromsø Blandede Kor” which later became the Youth Choir “Tromsø Ungdomskor”, directed by Hallfrid Johnsen), the mixed choir *Klosterklokka*, a Ladies Choir (“Tromsø Damekor”), the Female Workers’ Choir (“Arbeidernes Kvinnekor”), Tromsø Boys Choir (“Tromsø Guttekor”), as well as a girls choir at the cathedral in the years between 1928 and 1941.<sup>121</sup>

For unknown reasons the minute books of Tromsø’s Orchestra Association offer many details about their meetings in the years 1940 to 1945, not only being added in retrospect after Norway’s liberation like in many other institutions, but also even

during the time itself. The documentation begins with a note from the meeting of the steering committee on 10 November 1940:

The association's activities in the period from 27 April 1939 to today are strongly influenced by the war situation, from the outbreak of war in Europe in September last year and soon when our country was also involved – 9 April this year. Due to the conductor and several members' neutrality service and later participation in the war, the association's activities have obviously been severely paralyzed. [...] The orchestra, on the other hand, has not been active. The reason for this must be attributed to the already mentioned war situation, and later the lack of rehearsal rooms.<sup>122</sup>

According to its records the orchestra still did well financially with 67 active and passive members and elected a new steering board on 30 April 1940 with Harald Hansen as chairman, M. Th. Amundsen as his substitute and secretary, and Thorleif Jensen, Odd Krane, and Odd Rude as additional board members. The conductor was Odd Kjellman and the former treasurer Johan Dahl passed his responsibility on to Odd Krane.

As a report from 26 May 1942 summarizes, the brass corps ("Janitsjarkorps") continued its musical activities as well against all odds. The two mentioned benefit concerts for the cathedral's organ fund, which yielded kr. 448.51 and kr. 305.75 and included a cantata for choir, solos and organ by David Monrad Johansen, turned out to be the Janitsjarkorps's last activities during the Second World War:

The association's activities from 10 November 1940 to the present day have still been marked and hampered by the war situation. The Janitsjarkorps continued the rehearsals in the Catholic Congregational Hall, but when this venue was also confiscated, the rehearsals and work on the proposed Church Concert had to be stopped. However, the corps received a request from Arbeiderforeningens Mannskor to assist it at a church concert performed by Sparre Olsen: "Gneisten" and Gade "Morgensang I østen stiger solen opp" ["In the east the sun rises"]. The concert was held on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Easter last year and the corps assistance seemed to be very valuable. Several members expressed the wish to ask if the association could use the Church for rehearsals for a planned Church concert. This wish was met and the rehearsals were started immediately. The interest and attendance at the rehearsals were very good. The concert was held on "Ascension Day" on 22 May and repeated on 8 June 1941. The last time for income to the Cathedral's "organ fund".<sup>123</sup>

While the order for registering all associations was complied with on 18 February 1941,<sup>124</sup> the need for resistance drew closer soon after Vidkun Quisling's administration came into office in February 1942. The related document which summarized the events after June 1942 was written on 26 May 1945, which is easily explained by the controversial nature of the attempted turnover of the steering committee. At a meeting on 2 June 1942 a letter by the Ministry of the Interior was discussed that informed about the replacement of the previous board by Peder Larsen, Sigurd Olsen, and Johannes Reibo.<sup>125</sup> On 20 February 1941 Larsen had joined Nasjonal Samling as well as

the Rikshird on 15 March 1942. He soon built up a career in the NS-party and the public sector, among other things as propaganda leader, and *replaced Hjalmar Høyem on 1 January 1943 to serve as mayor of Tromsø until 28 March 1944.*<sup>126</sup> However, the orchestra members refused to perform under the new leadership and stopped all of the orchestra's activities for the next three years.

On 8 May 1945 Peder Larsen was removed from his position as chairman and banned from all positions in the orchestra and all of its events for lifetime. Other members of the orchestra such as Petter M. Nilssen and Thormod Olsen were excluded as a result of their membership in Nasjonal Samling.<sup>127</sup> On the same day the trumpeter Karl Dahl, horn player Thorleif Jensen, clarinet player Odd Krane and Erling Haugnes took all of the orchestra's instruments, scores and other belonging from a facility where they had been stored for three years and distributed them to all the members so that the orchestra could participate in the festivities to celebrate Norway's liberation. Rehearsals together with the Janitsjarkorps and the Youth Brass Band ("Ungdomskorps") began immediately.<sup>128</sup>

This Ungdomskorps had to witness a similar fate of an attempted take-over as the orchestra resulting in a shut-down as an act of civil disapprobation. The existing files for this case document in even greater detail than the orchestra's minute books the advantages of a small community in the periphery. Furthermore, social cohesion was a strong force when confronting a politically dominating minority of Nazi-authorities. During the first months after the Reichskommissariat had been established everything seemed to go well and according to the orders issued by the Norwegian authorities the Ungdomskorps was registered at the police department on 23 February 1941, including the name of all current members of the steering committee: chairman Ivan Siversten, vice-chairman Ivar Hansen, secretary Björn Meland, treasurer Öyvinn Hagerup, board member Andreas Jacobsen, first substituts Rolv Olsen, and second substitute Fritz Johansen.<sup>129</sup> On the same day the Nasjonal Samling offered the Ungdomskorps (which consisted of 20 active and 19 passive members at the time) a rehearsal room of quite generous size and the opportunity to perform for the National Broadcasting Service if they would learn NS-marches and would perform at party events. An answer to this request or any report about related concerns or new rehearsal space could not be found in the Ungdomskorps' papers.

The crucial board meeting, when supporters and opponents met to discuss the future politization of the youth brass band took place on 29 November 1942, in the presence of Joakim Abrahamsen, Björn Meland, Arnulf Kanstad, Erling Selfors, Karl Lund, Tor Kjellman, Rolv Olsen, Arne Antonsen, Lars Olsen, Johannes Sörem and Per Bjerning, as well as the music leader of the 6<sup>th</sup> Hirdregiment for the region Hålogaland, secretary Peder Larsen and the Hird commander for the 6<sup>th</sup> regiment, Erling Steinnes.<sup>130</sup> Larsen opened the meeting and was elected as its host. On his demand Joakim Abrahamsen read a letter from the Ministry of Propaganda in Oslo to the Nasjonal Samling county organization ("fylkesorganisasjon"), dated 4 November installing Peder Larsen, Johannes Reibo and Sigurd Olsen as the new steering leadership with immediate effect. In Larsen's opinion the corps itself was responsible for this situation after Johannes Jensen had been harmed during an anniversary cabaret which had ridiculed

the German occupation troops. This incident, however, lacks further description in the records.

Johannes Sörem responded that in his view the previous board had done a remarkable job, especially by raising enough money so that the corps could pay back all its debts, and asked for the real reasons that the board had been removed. The discussion became more and more confrontational, including a very defensive Peder Larsen who argued that the order for the Ungdomskorps to play for Nasjonal Samling was given by the German authorities and not by the Norwegian National Socialists. Regarding recent acts of sabotage and boycotts of sports events by the Norwegian population, Hird commander Erling Steinnes gave a distinct warning to all musicians to consider their decision very seriously. Furthermore, he insisted that the corps now had become a political institution, an argument which was rejected by Per Bjerning who insisted on the unpolitical nature of this youth orchestra.

Steinnes finally proposed that every member, all were youngsters, should answer the question if they would be willing to perform for National Samling, and in case the answer was “no” to justify this decision. According to the minute book the answers were as follows:

Lars Olsen: No, regards the development as too political, and therefore has lost interest.

Erling Selfors: No, has the impression that politics has come to the fore. Has always been in the music corps for the sake of the music, has no interest in the corps as things have now developed.

Arnulf Kanstad: Underage, will ask the parents for advice.

Karl Lund: Underage. But would like to inform that he plays in the Salvation Army's Boys' Music [“Frelsearméens guttemusikk”]. His membership in the Youth Corps was just to learn to play.

Tor Kjellman: No, no interest in the corps after politics has come in.

Rolv Olsen: No. Has little faith in the new board which has never put any effort into the corps. Thinks it will be difficult for the board to find the tone that prevails among the youth and thus achieve effective cooperation with the members. Also considers the corps to be political and has lost interest in this.

Per Bjerning: No. Has lost interest. Has little desire to be in an association with a board that has never thought for a moment about the corps before they interfered. Will also not fall into the back of his music comrades, but stand together with them in good and in bad.

Arne Antonsen: No. No interest in political corps. Has been solely interested in the music.

Johannes Sörem: No, has no interest, moreover demanding work with lots of overtime.

Björn Meland: Underage, will consult with parents.<sup>131</sup>



When all answers had been given, Peder Larsen asked for time to think about the results, ordered that everybody should take good care of the instruments, and closed the meeting. As we have learned already from the parallel case of Tromsø's Orchestra Society, this open refusal to collaborate with the Norwegian Nazi authorities marked the end of all activities of the Youth Brass Band until Norway was liberated on 8 May 1945. It is neither documented if Peder Larsen or any other official made another attempt in this matter or imposed any sanctions on the unwilling musicians. Despite the importance of cultural activities in Tromsø and musical organizations in particular one must not forget that the north of Norway was turned into a war zone when the Wehrmacht began to withdraw from the eastern front against the Soviet Union in the Finnmark during the winter of 1944/1945 and devastated the whole area by a policy of scorched earth. This made civil resistance by musical means a minor issue, compared to the bare necessity of survival and escape of the civilian population.

## Notes

- 1 Lukas Becht, Johannes Geng and Alexander Hirschfeld, *Luhmanns systemspezifisches Konzept von Zentrum und Peripherie*, in: *Mythos Mitte. Wirkmächtigkeit, Potenzial und Grenzen der Unterscheidung "Zentrum/Peripherie"*, edit. by Arbeitsgruppe "Zentrum und Peripherie in soziologischen Differenzierungstheorien", Wiesbaden 2011, pp. 173-184, DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-93003-9\\_23](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-93003-9_23).
- 2 Stein Rokkan, *The Structuring of Mass Politics in the Smaller European Democracies: A Developmental Typology*, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 10 (1968), No. 2, pp. 173-210, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0010417500004801>.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 202.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.
- 5 "An alle zuständigen Stellen. Träger dieses Dokuments ist ein deutscher Soldat, der aus Gewissensgründen die Teilnahme an der unterdrückerischen Tätigkeit ablehnt, die auf Befehl der deutschen Militärbehörden im Bezirk von Trondelag durchgeführt wird. Es wird gebeten, ihn als politischen Flüchtling zu behandeln, ihn beim Übertritt auf schwedisches Gebiet nicht ins Gefängnis zu überführen und ihn in Bezug auf Möglichkeit zu Arbeit und Erwerb in den Genuss der Rechte kommen zu lassen, die das schwedische Gesetz für politische Flüchtlinge vorsieht. Seinerseits verpflichtet sich der Träger dieses Dokuments, nicht an politischer oder propagandistischer Tätigkeit in Schweden teilzunehmen, sowie die Gesetze des Gastlandes, dessen Schutz er in Anspruch nimmt, zu achten. Zum Zeichen der Annahme dieser Bedingungen ist der Träger dieses Dokuments bereit, es zusammen mit schwedischen Zeugen nach seiner Ankunft auf schwedischem Boden zu unterzeichnen." (Translation by the author.) BLA, MS 1618,3, folder *Deutsche Freiheitspartei (avis)*, 1944: nr. 27, 30, 1945: nr. 7 *Særpubl. (Ortsgruppe Drontheim). Diverse paroler og grensepass.*
- 6 Cf. for methodological settings Annette Spellerberg, *Was unterscheidet städtische und ländliche Lebensstile?*, in: *Urbane Ungleichheiten. Neue Entwicklungen zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie*, edit. by Peter A. Berger, Carsten Keller, Andreas Klärner and Rainer Neef, Wiesbaden 2014, pp. 199-232, DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-01014-0\\_10](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-01014-0_10).
- 7 Parts of this section were originally published in a preliminary version under the title *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>. This was the first attempt to sketch this multifaceted topic, because strikingly the years of the German occupation were omitted from an official publication by Norway's Armed Forces commemorating 200 years of military music in Norway. Cf. Niels Persen (edit.), *I storm og stille. Forsvarets musikk 1818-2018*, Oslo 2018. For the military context cf. Sigurd Sørli, *Solkors eller hakekors. Nordmenn i Waffen-SS 1941-1945*, Oslo 2015.

- 8 NAN, SAO/A-11306/L/L0001 *Stabsmusikk 1. Divisjon*; Niels K. Persen, *Militærmusikken I Norge*, in: *Norske Musikkorps*, vol. 2, edit. by Eddie A. Ingskog, Oslo 1990, p. 59. The author would like to thank Niels Persen cordially for his kind and generous support of this research and the project *Nordic Music Politics* in general.
- 9 “Da operasanger Erling Krogh trådte fram ble han mottatt med stormende aplaus og hans program var klokt oppsatt. Erling Krogh sang seg mer enn noensinde inn i folkets hjerter og da han begynte på Chr. Sindings: ‘Vi vil oss ett land’ var det åndestille i parken og ikke en finger ble rørt. Da det siste toner av den vakre sang forstummet, brøt der løs en jubel så intens og ekte og så langvarig at sangeren måtte synge, da capo. Etter siste nummer av Erling Krogh forlangte folk igjen ved sin aplaus at han måtte synge mer og igjen: ‘Vi vil oss et land.’” (Translation by the author.) Quoted after a collection of transcribed reviews, in: NAN, SAO/A-11306/L/L0001.
- 10 Vollestad, *Christian Sinding*, p. 233.
- 11 Michael Custodis, *Traditionsbewusst im Zeitenwandel. Georg Schumanns Spätphase als Direktor der Sing-Akademie und kommissarischer Präsident der Preußischen Akademie der Künste*, in: *Dichten, Singen, Komponieren. Die Zeltersche Liedertafel als kulturgeschichtliches Phänomen (1809-1945)*, edit. by Axel Fischer and Matthias Kornemann, Hannover 2016, pp. 217-248.
- 12 Hurum, *Musikken under okkupasjonen*, p. 29.
- 13 The mentioning of his job in a saw mill narrows the origin of this report to the period of summer 1942. NAN, SAO/A-11306/L/L0001.
- 14 The refusal of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> music corps to acknowledge the Quisling-controlled administration as the new commanding authorities was monitored and credited by the resistance movement as patriotic behavior. Cf. NHM, NHM 358, folder *Paroler og rundskriv fra hjemmefronten 1940-1945*.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 Letter from E. Hunnes, Innenriksdepartementet, Sivilforvaltningen for hær og marine, to G. Johns Larsen on 15 June 1943, in: NAN, SAO/A-11306/L/L0001.
- 17 The files in Oslo’s Riksarkivet do not specify this span, NAN, RA/RAFA-3494/D/Da/L0008 6. *Musikkorps Nord-Norge under okkupasjonstiden*.
- 18 Olav Gurvin, *Norsk musikkfront under krigen*, in: *Aftenposten*, 16 June 1945. Cf. as well the article *Kulturfronten Holdt I Norge*, in: *Dagbladet*, 18 May 1945 and his radio talk *Musikkforholdene i okkupasjonstiden*, broadcasted on NRK on 21 May 1945, [http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-no\\_dra\\_1993-02387P](http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-no_dra_1993-02387P) (6 February 2021).
- 19 Article (without author) *Musikkloynant Alfred Evensen*, in: *Norsk Musikerblad* 30 (1942), no. 5-6, May-June, p. 8. For Evensen cf. also Fidjestøl, *Lyden av Oslo*, p. 194.
- 20 Olav Gurvin, *Norsk musikkfront under krigen. Etter at alle åpne angrep var slått tilbake, grep nazistene til snikmetoder som også bel nedkjempet til slutt*, 16 June 1945, found in Hans Jacob Ustvedt’s papers: NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ee/L0031, folder *Krigen – kulturisk. Musikk 1940-42*.
- 21 Bjørn Geirr Harsson, *Med Milorg D 14.2 på skauen, 1944-45: Ringerike, Hadeland og Hallingdal*, Hønefoss 1995; Jan Helge Østlund, *Krigen på Ringerike. Vol. II Okkupasjon, motstand og frigjøring*, Hønefoss 1997, chapter *Et blodig år and Det går mot fred!*; Bjørn Geirr Harsson and Per Christian Hurum, *De kom om natten. Fallskjermslipp til Milorg D 14.2 I 1942-1945*, Hønefoss 2004.
- 22 Cf. Rebekka Sandmeier, “Großdeutsches Dankgebet” und “völkerumfassendes Oratorium”: Händels “Judas Maccabaeus” in Deutschland zwischen 1933 und 1945, in: *Gewalt, Bedrohung, Krieg. Georg Friedrich Händels “Judas Maccabaeus”*, edit. by Dominik Höink and Jürgen Heidrich, Göttingen 2010, pp. 201-214.
- 23 Cf. for the general context Ingvald B. Carlsen, *Kirkefronten i Norge under okkupasjonen 1940-45*, Oslo 1945.
- 24 Austad, *Church Resistance against Nazism in Norway, 1940-1945*, p. 281.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 285.
- 26 Torleiv Austad, *Der Widerstand der Kirche gegen den nationalsozialistischen Staat in Norwegen 1940-1945*, in: *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 1 (1988), No. 1 *Der Widerstand von Kirchen und Christen gegen den Nationalsozialismus*, pp. 79-94.
- 27 NAN, RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0036 *Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet. Kulturavdelingen. Statens teaterdirektorat*.
- 28 *Ibid.*, document dated 8 February 1943.
- 29 *Ibid.*, letter by the statens teaterdirektorat, dated 10 July 1942.
- 30 Andreas Bußmann, *Music Censorship in the Reichskommissariat Norwegen*, in: Rupprecht, *Persecution, Collaboration, Resistance*, pp. 17-30.

- 31 NAN, RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0036.
- 32 Ibid., RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0041.
- 33 Ibid., RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0036.
- 34 Ibid., RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0041.
- 35 Ibid., RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0036 and RA/S-6129/D/Da/L0041.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Unlike the situation in Germany Jazz (in Norway often called rhythm-music) was not forbidden in general during the years of the German occupation, as long as no classical melodies and works were used for “hot” arrangements. The reasons were less ideological, but often regarding international copyright regulations. Cf. NAN, RA/S-6013/D/L0005-0004 *Statens musikkonsulent. Geirr Tveitt*, the article *Beschwingte Musik in Aftenposten* on 4 November 1941 and for a wider view Bjørn Stendahl and Johs Bergh, *Sigaretst Stomp. Jazz i Norge 1940-1950*, Oslo 1991.
- 38 NAN, Sig. RA-S-6129-D-Da-L0041.
- 39 Cordial thanks to Anna-Ma Kjeldaas, Arnulf Mattes, and Stein Sødal for supporting this research. The biography of Gunnar Kjeldaas as a victim of the famous teachers’ strike cf. the documentary *Songs to Survive. Gunnar Kjeldaas’ “Fangesongar frå Kirkenes”*, at [www.musicandresistance.net/multimedia](http://www.musicandresistance.net/multimedia).
- 40 Note in *Asker og Bærums Budstikke*, 27 July 1943.
- 41 Confirmation by Even Smedsand (“lagsjef i gruppen Brandbu-Gran”) and Jörgen Nöstvedt (“fung. som troppsjef i gruppen Brandbu-Gran”), dated 3 November 1945, KFA.
- 42 Ibid., confirmation by the Lysaker police deputy, dated 21 October 1946.
- 43 Bjørn Li, *Harald Sæverud*, Oslo 1986, p. 87: “Med *Kjempeviseslåten* hadde Harald Sæverud skapt det verk som etter frigjøringen i 1945 skulle bli stående som symbol på den norske motstandskamp. Temaet begynner stillferdig og innadvendt, for så å utvikle seg til et infernalsk raseri i hissige, aggressive toner. I sind uttrykkskraft og stramme komposisjon hører det til hovedverkene i norsk musikk. *Kjempeviseslåten* uttrykker raseriet over den urett krigen førte med seg.”
- 44 Friedrich Geiger, *Harald Sæverud’s “Kjempeviseslåten” – A Typical Resistance Composition?*, in: Custodis and Mattes, *The Nordic Ingredient*, pp. 81-92.
- 45 BB, A-2848.002 Y-0012/17 *Hjemmefrontens Vestlandsråd*, document *Rapport om D.20 + D.20.2 – Nov. 1943 – Mai 1945*.
- 46 Tim Greve, *Bergen i krig. 1943-1945*, Bergen 1979, p. 42.
- 47 BB, A-2848.002 MA 002 *Bergen kommune. Okkupasjonshistoriekomiteen II. Y – Andre utskilte arkivdeler Y-0029*, Ms. 1802.H.5a *Samtale med disponert Bjarne Sæverud. Notater etter en times samtale med Gunvor og Bjarne Sæverud i deres hjem i Eikebakken 4 den 17. sept. 1974*.
- 48 BB, A-2848.002 Y-0012/17 *Hjemmefrontens Vestlandsråd*, document *Vestlandsrådets Kontaktnett*, Ms. 1802 H.52a: “Justitiarius M. Coucerhon, Bergen byrett, formann, direktør Finn Øen, H.S.D., Bergen, overlærer Nils Nandal, nå fylkesman i Oppland, pastor Einar Stueland, da Døvesland, nå sogneprest i Børse, oppmålingssjef Ole Laading, da ‘hovedkontaktpunkt’, nå siviling, ligningssekretær Egil Hiis Hauge, leder av rådets sekretariat, fhv. banksjef.”
- 49 Ibid., A-2848.002/Y/0010/03, Ms. 1802.H.3 *Opptak fra møte søndag 15. september 1974 i Egil Hiis Hauges hytte på Haugastøl. Tilstede Elsa Jenssen, Ole Laading, Egil Hiis Hauge, Sigurd Grindheim, Harald Nielsen og Odd Strand*.
- 50 Ibid., document Ms. 1802.H.52 G *Hjemmefrontens Vestlandsråd*.
- 51 Ibid., Ms. 1892 H 32 G. December 1974. *Samtaler med tidl. oppmålingssjef Ole J. Laading Leder av Sivil-Org i Bergen 1943-44 og medlem av Vestlandsrådet (Hjemmefrontledelsen på Vestlandet)*, p. 5, No. 7 *Kontakt med Bjarne Sæverud, Mil.Org*.
- 52 Ibid., dokument *Rapport om D.20 + D.20.2 – Nov. 1943 – Mai 1945*.
- 53 Ibid., A-2848.002/Y/0011/12, Ms. 1802-H32.
- 54 Ibid., A-2848.002 MA 002 *Bergen kommune. Okkupasjonshistoriekomiteen II. Y – Andre utskilte arkivdeler Y-0029*, Ms. 1802.H.5a *Samtale med disponert Bjarne Sæverud. Notater etter en times samtale med Gunvor og Bjarne Sæverud i deres hjem i Eikebakken 4 den 17. sept. 1974*.
- 55 “Det kan ikke sees å ha forekommet nazister blandt medlemmer og tilhørere, og selv om foreningen var så offentlig kjent at den blev undergitt kristidens lover og forordninger, var politisk infiltrasjon aldri aktuell.” Ibid., A-2848.002 *Bergen kommune. Okkupasjonshistoriekomiteen II. Y-0029/01 Bergens Kammermusikkforening i okkupasjonstiden* (August 1975).
- 56 *Norges Demring. For frihet og sannhet*, No. 7, 1 Juni 1942, p. 6: “Kinostreik!!! Onsdag 27. mai kl. 19.30 hadde N.S. tillyst møte på torvet med tale av ‘rådmann’ Grønstad. Værgadene var imidlertid i slett Tune og øste vann på det vesle nasipublikummet som var møtt fram. Men ‘rådammen’

tok sin trofaste skare med seg og marsjerte til Logen kino. Her ble vist fram en fransk film kl. 19.00 og kinolokalet var fullstappet. Forestillingen ble avbrutt og talen annonsert. Kinogjengerne ville forlate salen, men bare 5-6 av dem slapp ut. De andre ble stoppet og dørene stengt. Hirten var postert ved dørene. Publikum måtte reise seg da 'kampsangene' ble sunget. Ville de ikke det, var det alltid en nasist som hjalp med å få dem opp av stolen. Denne uforskammede utfordringen må bergenserne gi svår på. Vi holder oss borte fra kinoene for å unngå liknende provokasjoner i framtida. Bergenserne går ikke på kino for å overvære landsforræderens moter." (Translation by the author.)

- 57 For details cf. Custodis and Mattes, *Celebrating the Nordic tone*.
- 58 Custodis, *Master or Puppet? Cultural Politics in Occupied Norway under GW Müller, Gulbrand Lunde and Rolf Fuglesang*, in: Custodis and Mattes, *The Nordic Ingredient*, pp. 66-80.
- 59 <https://tv.nrk.no/serie/filmavisen/fmaa43005943/28-06-1943#t=6m51s> (16 February 2021).
- 60 Cf. the article *Bergen feiert seinen grossen Sohn. Grieg-Gedenkstunden - Errichtung einer Musikakademie geplant*, in: *Deutsche Zeitung in Norwegen*, 16 June 1943 and the article *Im Banne Trollhaugens. Dr. Drewes über die Tage in Bergen*, in: *Deutsche Zeitung in Norwegen*, 18 June 1943.
- 61 Cf. for the overall context Reitan, Selvik, Vollsnes and Stooras (edit.), *Harmonien i fire satser 1765-2015*, pp. 256-257.
- 62 [Nameless Resistance Newspaper from Bergen, in the tradition of *Fram* and *Norges Demring*], 15 June 1943, p. 3: "Edvard Griegs minne feires nå over hele verden. Han elsket sitt land og ville i dag ha lidd med alle gode nordmenn over landets skjebne. Hans navn står for høyt til å skjemmes av utidig nasipropaganda."
- 63 Fidjestøl, *Lyden av Oslo*, p. 215.
- 64 BB, A-2848.002 Y-0029/03 *Kulturvirksomhet under krigen. Harald Nielsen / Egil Hiis Hauge*, MS 1568 T2-2 *Undated Music Parole*.
- 65 *Mot Seir*, 10 November 1943, p. 2.
- 66 <https://www.nb.no/filmografi/show?id=14189> (16 February 2021).
- 67 BB, A-2848.002 Y-0029/03 *Kulturvirksomhet under krigen. Harald Nielsen / Egil Hiis Hauge*, document Ms. 18.02.T3.06 "Ikke av brød alene" – om kulturvirksomhet under krigen: "Parolen om å sabotere harmonikonsserter kom i en eidendommelig særstilling i Bergen. Bakgrunnen var jo den nazistiske sensur av programmet for alle offentlige konsserter. Parolen ble som kjent sendt ut like etter en del opptrinn og nazistiske inngrep ved Filharmoniske i Oslo. Disse begivenheter kjente selvsagt det brede konsertpublikum i Oslo best til, og det var derfor en lett sak å få publikum der til å holde seg borte. Riktignok gjaldt den nazistiske programmsensur også Bergen, men forholdene lå likevel atskillig anderledes an. Musikkelskapet Harmonien hadde lenge hatt rent jøssingstyre, noe som nazistene i lengden ikke ville finne seg i. De forsøkte etter en tid å tvinge inn i styret N.S.-mannen Foss-Bergesen, men da erklærte styret rett og slett streik. Det endte med at Foss-Bergesen trakk seg tilbake, og det ble såvidt jeg vet ikke engang gjort forsøk på å sette inn noen annen N.S.-mann i hans sted. Med andre ord en ren jøssingseir. Det var akkurat da denne seier var vunnet at parolen om å sabotere harmonikonsserter kom." "The parole to sabotage Harmonien-concerts turned into in a peculiar, exceptional case in Bergen. The background was the Nazi censorship of the programs for all public concerts. As is well known, the parole was sent out shortly after a number of incidents and Nazi interventions at the Philharmonic Orchestra in Oslo. Of course, these events were best known to the general concert audience in Oslo, and it was therefore an easy matter to get the audience there to stay away. Admittedly, the Nazi program censorship also applied to Bergen, but the situation was there still quite different. The music society Harmonien had long had a board only of 'jøssings' [good Norwegians], something that the Nazis in the long run would not find themselves in. After a while they tried to force the NS-man Foss-Bergesen on the board, but the board simply declared a strike. In the end, Foss-Bergesen withdrew, and as far as I know, no attempt was ever made to put another NS-man in his place. In other words, a pure victory of the jøssings. It was just when this victory was won that the parole of sabotaging Harmonien concerts came out." (Translation by the author.)
- 68 Additionally cf. BB, A-2848.002 MA 002 *Bergen kommune. Okkupasjonshistoriekomiteen II. Y - Andre utskilte arkivdeler Y-0029*, Ms 1802.H.42 with a long report by Egil Hiis Hauge for Tore Gjelsvik, 28 December 1977.
- 69 *Ibid.*, A-2848.002 Y-0012/17 *Hjemmefrontens Vestlandsråd*. Manuscript 1568 T 1-1 *Redegjørelse for Bergens Musikkliv (Musikkelskapet "Harmonien")*.
- 70 *Ibid.*, "Av hvilke grunner skal vi stanse vår virksomhet? Hvem og hva skall dette tjene? Hvem er disse anonyme diktatorer? Musikkivet her i byen er vel snart sagt det eneste område som har fått utvikle seg noenlunde uforstyrret og er blitt fri for inngrep fra okkupasjonsmaktens side. [...]"

Harmonien er selvsagt avskåret fra å kunne eksistere på elever eller ved å gi lukkede hjemmekonserter for venner og bekjendte som kan betale priser der ligger helt utenfor det store publikums evne. At det store publikum skal avskjæres fra å høre musikk, menns en del privilegerte publikummere skal kunne drive med private huskonserter for særlige venner og bekjendte der har anledning å betale, forekommer meg å være utslag av dårlig samfunnsånd og er lite i overensstemmelse med kunstens hensikt. Jeg mener at det å innrette seg på den måte med bare få individer og noen utvalgte eksekutører er helt forkastelig og negativt. Skulle dette bli gjennomført i lengere tid, ville alt kunstliv på musikkens område tangere. At det som således foregår i mørke skal være så meget mer patriotisk enn det som arrangeres for fullt lys er også for meg helt uforståelig. Hvis de anonyme brevskrivere har vektige nasjonale grunner for sin virksomhet, så må dette kunne opplyses, fortrinnsvis ved personlige henvendelser (jeg ser ingen risiko ved det). Disse anonyme beskyldninger eller trusler kommer jeg personlig ikke å ta noesomhelst hensyn til.” (Translation by the author.)

- 71 Music parole printed in the secret newspaper *Fram*, 23 October 1944, p. 6: “Konsertforholdene. Det viser seg at her i Bergen hersker atskillig uvitenhet og villrede om hva som er bakgrunnen for den boikott av offentlige konserter, som f.eks. i Oslo er blitt meget effektiv. – Mange her tror at det bare er Filharmoniske i Oslo som skal være gjenstand for publikums boikott, at den så å si er et lokalt fenomen, men det er galt. Boikotten er et led i en nasjonal protest mot nasifiseringen av kulturlivet, som for musikkens vedkommende gir seg utslag i at konsertene må anmeldes til politiet for å få programmene godkjent. Det er altså musikkensensur. – Harmonien i Bergen kan rose seg av stor popularitet, og publikum ser ut til å kvie seg for å slå hånden av den. – Det er også sikkert riktig at ledelsen og musikerne stort sett fortjener vår sympati, men noen spesiell grunn til å bli satt i en særstilling har de ikke. Foruten at hensynet til den nasjonale solidaritet bør veie sterk slik vi har pekt på tidliger i dette blad, må det også legges merke til at Harmonien forsetter å medvirke ved blokkerte kinoprogrammer. – Det er også en kjent sak at orkestrer tildels består av tyske musikere og norske nasister. Er det ikke snart på tide at vi også her i byen krever rene linjer i alt kulturliv?” (Translation by the author.)
- 72 NNL, Krigstrykk 10.C.5, I Norge: *Kulturkamp*.
- 73 *Norsk-Tysk Selskaps jubileumsuke 19.-25. mars 1944*, in: *Norsk Tysk Tidsskrift* 3 (1944), No. 5, pp. 1-10.
- 74 For Marie Sæverud's biographical background cf. Reitan, *Harald Sæverud*, pp. 156-165.
- 75 HA, minute book *Styreprotokoll Musikselskabet Harmonien Bergen*, records for example from 18 December 1940, 20 May 1943, 7 September 1943 and 14 April 1944.
- 76 For details about this piece cf. Mattes, “Monumentalism” in *Norway's Music 1930-1945*, in: Custodis and Mattes, *The Nordic Ingredient*, pp. 56-58.
- 77 HA, minute book *Harmoniens Kor. Fra 26/8-40 til 2/6-45*, Årsberetning for Harmonien kor i tiden september – november 1942 of mai 1945.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 The Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra offers a detailed chronicle of their series of concerts online, where a few other pieces by Jewish composers can be found for the years 1940-45, for example Henri Wieniawski's *Concert for Violin and Orchestra* No. 2 on 15 October 1942. Cf. <https://of.no/en/concert-archive/concerts/1940> (20 February 2021).
- 80 Eckard John, *Musikbolschewismus. Die Politisierung der Musik in Deutschland 1918-1938*, Stuttgart and Weimar 1994.
- 81 Sophie Fetthauer, “Unerlaubtes” *Musizieren und Unterrichten. Die Ordnungsstrafverfahren der Reichsmusikkammer nach Paragraph 28 der “Ersten Durchführungsverordnung des Reichskulturkammergesetzes”*, in: Riethmüller and Custodis, *Die Reichsmusikkammer*, pp. 47-68.
- 82 Bußmann, *Music Censorship in the Reichskommissariat Norwegen*, p. 28.
- 83 Reidar Storaas, *Harald Sæverud: 17. april 1897-27. mars 1992*, Bergen 1992, p. 6.
- 84 Reitan, *Harald Sæverud*, p. 384.
- 85 In Sæverud's catalogue this piece is called *Gjættelvisvariasjoner*, cf. *ibid*.
- 86 According to Bjørn Li the symphony was revised in 1979, the copyright of the score dates in 1981. The remaining part of his correspondence with Sigurd Kielland shows how detailed he proceeded with proof reading and corrections. However, the corrections Sæverud made under this revision cannot be reconstructed yet. Cf. Bjørn Li, *Harald Sæverud*, Oslo 1986, p. 87.
- 87 “Femte symfoni, er skrevet nu under krigen. Om dette har innvirket på innholdet, skal være usagt, men ellers antyder jo undertitlen ‘quasi una fantasia’ at enhver kan tenke sitt. I sin form er den en parallell [sic] til den klassiske sonateform i dennes hovedsats, men med den forandring at den langsomme innledning i aftenens verk er innskutt i eksposisjonen (som bl.a. Berlioz

- gjør det i sine ouverturer). Videre er satsens forskjellige deler (eksposisjon, gjennomføring, reprice og koda) sterkt utvidet og vokset frem til å bli selvstendige satser. Formoversikten blir derfor i korthet denne: a) Eksposisjon, b) Innskutt Andante, c) Gjennomføring (knappe variasjoner over hovedtemaet), d) Reprice og koda. Symfonien dekker derfor i sin form på samme tid den klassiske sonatesats (hovedsats) og den 4-satsede symfonie. I motsetning til komponistens tidligere symfonier, har femte symfonie en triumferende utgang.” (Translation by the author.) Harald Sæverud, program notes to his Symphony No. 5, quoted after the official program notes 6 March 1941, HA.
- 88 Reitan, *Harald Sæverud*, p. 204: “Symfoni nr 5 som hadde fått den nøytrale undertittelen quasi una fantasia, (liksom en fantasi). Den samme som Beethoven hadde smykket tittelbladet på måneskinssonaten med.” Despite this confusion of opus 27,1 and opus 27,2 one has to keep in mind that the title *Moonlightsonata* does not originate from Beethoven himself, but was a marketing decision by his publisher. Additionally cf. Claus Raab, article *Mondscheinsonate op. 27 Nr. 2*, in: *Das Beethoven-Lexikon*, edit. by Heinz von Loesch and Claus Raab, Laaber 2008, pp. 509-511; Egon Voss, article *2 Klaviersonaten Quasi una fantasia Es-Dur und cis-Moll “Mondscheinsonate” op. 27*, in: *Beethoven. Interpretationen seiner Werke*, edit. by Albrecht Riethmüller, Carl Dahlhaus and Alexander L. Ringer, Vol. 1, Laaber 1994, pp. 221-230; Walter Werbeck, segment *Zwei Sonaten op. 27, Nr. 1: Es-Dur – Nr. 2: cis-Moll (“Mondscheinsonate”)* of the chapter *Zweite Periode: Opus 26 bis Opus 57* in the article *Die Klaviersonaten*, in: *Beethoven Handbuch*, edit. by Sven Hiemke, Kassel, Stuttgart and Weimar 2009, pp. 361-365; Hartmut Schick, *Auf der Suche nach einer neuen zyklischen Form: Die zwei Fantasiesonaten op. 27*, in: *Beethovens Klavierwerke*, edit. by Hartmut Hein and Wolfram Steinbeck [= Vol. 2 of the *Beethoven-Handbuch*, edit. by Albrecht Riethmüller], Laaber 2012, pp. 120-132.
- 89 Cf. Voss, article *2 Klaviersonaten Quasi una fantasia Es-Dur und cis-Moll “Mondscheinsonate” op. 27*, pp. 222.
- 90 Friedrich Geiger, *Musikalischer Widerstand. Die Kantate “Neustoujtle!” von Miloslav Kabeláč*, in: *Die Tonkunst*, October 2009, pp. 428-437 and Geiger, *Harald Sæverud’s “Kjempeviseslåten” – A Typical Resistance Composition?*, p. 83.
- 91 SR, PA-1676/A/L0001 *Stavanger Damekor*.
- 92 Ragnvald Eikil, *Stavanger Byorkester 1938-1963*, Stavanger 1963, p. 9.
- 93 *Norsk Musikerblad* 29 (1941), No. 2 February, article *Stavanger Musikerforening 1916-1941*, pp. 1-2.
- 94 Eikil, *Stavanger Byorkester 1938-1963*, pp. 19-20.
- 95 Settlement for the Stavanger Symphony Orchestra’s season 1942/43, dated 30 June 1943, in: SB, PA-0092/D/F/L0001 *Stavanger Byorkester*, folder *Privatarkiv 12, Stavanger Byorkester Korr. R-S, 1942-46*.
- 96 *Ibid.*
- 97 *Ibid.*, folder *Mappe Privatarkiv 92, Stavanger Byorkester, Forh. Mistugr Musikerfor. 1943*.
- 98 Jan Alsvik, *Stavanger Symfoniorkester 1938-1988*, Stavanger 1988, pp. 52-53.
- 99 SR, Arkiv Trygve Wyller, D/De/L0004 *Sakspapirer 1942-1945*, folder *Kunstner stipendier 1944*.
- 100 SB, PA-0092/D/F/L0001 *Stavanger Byorkester*, folder *Privatarkiv 12, Stavanger Byorkester Korr. R-S, 1942-46*.
- 101 *Ibid.*, Report of the Norsk Musikerforbund, Stavanger Musikerforening, Stavanger 9 mai 1943, Halvårs-generalforsamling, beretning: “Styret har i siste halvår bestått av: Monrad Larsen, Lyder Juul, Harald Kristianssen, Leif Helberg og Harry Larssen. Der var vært holdt 8 styremøter. En stor del av styrets arbeide har dreiet sig om spørsmål som står i forbindelse med rekvirering og registrering av arbeidere til de tyske anlegg på Jæren. 5 medlemmer var innkallt, 4 gjennom Stavanger Politikammer og 1 gjennom Hetland lennsmannskontor. Etter endel konferanser med politi og fylkesmann, blev innkallelsen trukket tilbake. Da den nasjonale arbeidsmobilisering blev lovfestet, tok forbundet opp arbeidet med centraladministrasjonen for å få musikerne fri-tatt, og likeledes blev arbeidet tatt opp overfor Stavanger arbeidsformidling, og det ser ut til at musikerne slipper å bli innkallt, men forutsetningen herfor er at musikken er vedkommendes hoved-erhverv.” (Translation by the author.)
- 102 Eikil, *Stavanger Byorkester 1938-1963*, p. 27: “Okkupasjonen tramper ned siste del av konsertsesongen 1939-40. Protokollen gjenspeiler det press orkestret var utsatt for fra tyskerne og N.S. om å gå dem til hände gjennom okkupasjonsårene. Men orkesterstyrene og orkester ga ikke etter, og fant veier til kontakt med sitt publikum og med norsk opinion – og vokste på det.” (Translation by the author.)
- 103 Alsvik, *Stavanger Symfoniorkester 1938-1988*, p. 48.

- 104 SB, PA-0092/D/F/L0001 *Stavanger Byorkester*, folder *Norsk Musikerforbund, Stavanger Musikerforening, Stavanger 6 mai 1945. Halvårsberetning 29 oktober 1944 til 6 mai 1945*: "Arbeidsforholdene er i løpet av det siste halvår blitt påtagelig dårligere: Byorkesteret ligger fremdeles nede og Radioensemblet, som efter kapellmester Gunnar Knudsens arrestasjon i oktober ifjor, har spilt videre under ledelse av Arne Grönlund, blev oppsagt til fratredelse 1 februar, men fikk gasje til 1 mars. Forbundsstyret, som omgående blev underrettet om oppsigelsen, har tatt opp arbeidet for å få den omgjort, men hittil uten resultatet. Hertil kommer at der i januar måned blev nedlagt forbud mot å bruke brensel i teatret og det førte til at en rekke forestillinger som var planlagt, ikke kunde finne sted, til stor skade for flere av våre medlemmer." (Translation by the author.)
- 105 Letter of the Norsk Musikerforbund, Stavanger Musikerforening, to the Norsk Musikerforbund in Oslo, Stavanger 29 juni 1945, in: ARBARK, AAB/ARK-1671/D/Db/0007 *Norsk Musikerforbund. Lokale Foreninger*: "Stavangermusikerne har i de fem krigsårene ført en seig kamp mot nazimyndighetene, og resultatet må sies å ha vært bra. Bortset fra at Radioensemblet under Gunnar Knutsen [sic] ledelse måtte spille på et par N.S. møter som blir kringkastet, er alle naciststillinger og konserter såvel norske som tyske, lykkelig unngått. De repressalier som det ved flere leiligheter ble truet med, resulterte i oppsigelse av Radioensemblet på et såvidt sent tidspunkt som februar 1945. Siden den tid har ensembles musikere vært uten fast ansettelse. Etter at Gunnar Knutsen ble arrestert, høsten 1944, overtok Arne Grönlund ledelsen av ensemblet, og Ragnar Borge rykket inn som violinist. Byorkestrets virksomhet ble innstilt ved Gunnar Knutsens arrestasjon. Overfor Stavanger Byorkester er det ved flere høve gått til angrep. De stedlige nacistmyndigheter, Norsk-Tysk forening og Reichskommissariatet [sic] har gjentatte ganger forlangt orkestrets medvirken, tildels med tyske dirigenter, men ved et utmerket samarbeide mellom orkestrets styre og musikerne, er alle forsøk avvist, slik at Byorkestert under hele okkupasjonstiden ikke har gitt en eneste konsert for norsk eller tysk nacistregning." (Translation of the author.)
- 106 Aage Haavik, *Anti-nazistisk markering utenfor Nidarosdomen 1942*, in: *Martin Luthers psalmer i de nordiska folkens liv*, edit. by Sven-Åke Selander and Karl-Johan Hansson, Lund 2008, pp. 62-67.
- 107 ARBARK, AAB/ARK-1671/D/Db/0009 *Norsk Musikerforbund – Lokale Foreninger (Trondheim)*, letter of Trondhjems Musikerforening to the Norsk Musikerforbund on 28 June 1945.
- 108 Ibid.: "Følgende har vært fengslet av tyskerne: Karl Røst hat satt fengslet på Vollan, Falstad og Grini ca. 7 mndr. (1944-45). Følgende medlemmer satt som krigsfanger en kort tid (august 43): Johannes Vist, Ingvald Dybwad og Arne Sødahl."
- 109 Ibid., letter of Trondhjems Musikerforening to the Norsk Musikerforbund, 4 September 1945: "Det er og vil vel komme til å være tungt å arbeide med foreningen her ennå en tid da vi ikke kan få tak i noe kontor. Det forrige styre hadde en fordel der i det mange av styret var ansatt i Britannia hotel og derved kunne bruke musikergarderoben der til møter. Vi har tilskreket rekvisisjonsnemda om kontor uten i det heletatt å få svar, annonser har også vist seg virkningsløse."
- 110 TRO, Privatarkiv #94 *Trondhjems Korforbund*, folder *Forhandlingsprotokol for Trondhjems Korforbund 1936-2.10.1951*, document *Årsberetning for året 1939-1940*: "Den 9.de april 1940 satte bom for alle arangemangs. Der viste seg mange vanskeligheter for de forskjellige kor for å komme igang igjen på pösten, men interessen og optimismen seiret og tross mörklegmeng og andre ulemper har opmötet av sangere varet bra. Forbundet har avn den grunn (været) naturlig nok holdt sig passiv og som tiden fremdeles er, kan der vanskelig legges noe planer for fremtiden." (Translation by the author.)
- 111 Ibid.: "Forholdene under krigen satte selvfølgelig en demper på Korforbundets virksomhet, men Sangens Dag ble likevel feiret en gang, søndag 21. april 1941 med et offentlig møte i Studentersamfundet. Lektor Johan Due talte, teatersjef Gleditsch leste dikt, det var både korsang og allsang. 14. og 15. mars 1943 ble i anl. korforbundets 15-årsjubileum. Arild Sandvolds misjonskantate til tekst av Ronald Fangen oppført ved 2 konserter i Vår Frue kirke. Dirigent var domorganist Ludvig Nielsen, solister Borghild Tvete Lian, Ingrid Vasseljen, Sigurd Hoff og Kåre Ronning, og ved orglet komponisten. Konserten var godt besøkt og kritikken god." (Translation by the author.)
- 112 Reinhold Stapelberg, Artikel *Fritz Jöde*, in: *MGG, Band 7 Jensen-Kyrie*, Kassel et al. 1958, col. 80.
- 113 For a general overview of musicology in Germany during 1933 and 1945 cf. Pamela Potter, *Die "deutsche" der Künste. Musikwissenschaft und Gesellschaft von der Weimarer Republik bis zum Ende des Dritten Reiches* [1998], Stuttgart 2000; Michael Custodis (edit.), *Herman-Walther Frey: Ministerialrat, Wissenschaftler, Netzwerker. NS-Hochschulpolitik und die Folgen*, Münster 2014 [*Münsteraner Schriften zur zeitgenössischen Musik* 2]; Michael Custodis, *Friedrich Blumes Entnazifizierungsverfahren*, in: *Die Musikforschung* 65 (2012), pp. 1-24, <https://www.jstor.org/>

- stable/41703265 (28 April 2021); Michael Custodis, *Rudolf Gerber und die Anfänge der Gluck-Gesamtausgabe*, Mainz und Stuttgart 2015 [= *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse* Vol. 2015, Nr. 6].
- 114 Artikel Fritz Jøde, in: *Riemann Musiklexikon*, Personenteil A-K, Mainz 1959, p. 881; *Jahresbericht der Reichshochschule für Musik Mozarteum 1939/40*, p. 23.
- 115 Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933-45*, Artikel Fritz Jøde, p. 3429.
- 116 *Jahresbericht der Reichshochschule für Musik Mozarteum 1943/44*, p. 22.
- 117 TRO, Privatarkiv #94 *Trondhjems Korforbund*, folder *Forhandlingsprotokol for Trondhjems Korforbund 1936-2.10.1951*, Styremøte on 10 November 1938.
- 118 Oskar Skaug, *Fritz Jøde. Allsangens skaper*, in: *Arbeider-Avisen*, 19 January 1939: “Hvem er egentlig Fritz Jøde? Navnet er kjent, men hvad er det han vil, og hvad er det som har gjort ham så kjent langt utenfor Tysklands grenser? Vi vet i grunnen bare at hans navn er knyttet til den store bevegelse som har fått navnet Allsang, en bevegelse som vi hadde en ganske sterk føling med siste sommer. Professor Fritz Jøde stammer fra en svensk adelssekt, og navnet er visstnok opprinnelig ‘Göthe’, mer er senere på platt-tysk blitt til Jøde. Han begynte sin løpeban som folkeskolelærer, men er idag professor ved akademiet for kirke- og skolesang i Berlin og folkemusikkens og folkesangens gjensker, ikke bare i Tyskland, men i en rekke europeiske land. Hans grunnsyn på sangen finner vi uttrykt såleies i et lite hefte jeg har liggende foran mig: Bare et sterkt folk synger, et svakt ikke. Et syngende folk er grunnvollen for et sunt musikkliv. (Fritt oversatt). Hos et folk som ikke synger mer, hensynger musikklivet og dør. [...] Professor Jøde har satt sig som mål å bringe nytt liv i sangen og musikken, og det ser virkelig ut til at det har lykket ham å nå det gjennom allsangbevegelsen. [...] Tusener og atter tusener av mennesker har sluttet opp om den bevegelse han har skapt, ikke bare i Tyskland, men overalt hvor han kommer. I Danmark og Sverige er han introdusert for år tilbake og er hilst som sangens fornyer, og betydelige menn har sillet sig i spissen for bevegelsen i full tro på at den vil vekke fornyet interesse for sang og musikk. Trondhjems korforbund og Bygdelagens korforbund er gått sammen om å få professor Jøde hit opp, og ved hans foredrag og demonstrasjoner ikveld og imorgen vil det bli anledning til å stifte nærmere bekjentskap med denne merkelige mannen, hvis ry er gått foran ham.” (Translation by the author.)
- 119 Manuscript “*Musikklivet i Tromsø*”. *Historikk. Desbr. 1951* by Egil Jacobsen, in: TR, SATØ-P-0081/D *Tromsø Orkesterforening*, folder *Korrespondanse, Konsertprogram, Manuskripter, Notater*.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Ibid. and SATØ/P-0081/A/L0002 *Styreprotokoll Tromsø Orkesterforening*, Årsberetning for Tromsø Orkesterforening’s 16. generalforsamling 10. november 1940: “Foreningens virksomhet i tiden fra 27. april 1939 til idag er sterkt preget av krigssituasjonen, fra krigens utbrudd i Europa i september ifjor og senere da også vårt land blev trukket med – 9. april i år. På grunn av dirigent og flere medlemmers nøytralitetstjeneste og senere deltagelse i krigen, er foreningens virksomhet selvsagt blitt sterkt lammet. [...] Orkestret har derimot ikke vært i virksomhet. Grunnen herfor må tilskrives forannævnte krigssituasjon, og senere mangel på øvelseslokale.” (Translation by the author.)
- 123 Annual report of the Janitsjarkorps for the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> general assembly on 26 May 1942, *ibid.*: “Foreningens virksomhet i tiden 10. november 1940 til i dag har fremdeles vært preget og hemmet av krigssituasjonen. Janitsjarkorpset fortsatte prøvene i Den Katolske Menighetslokale, men da også dette lokale ble rekvirert måtte prøvene og arbeidet med den påtenkte Kirkekonsert innstilles. Korpset fikk imidlertid forespørsel fra Arbeiderforeningens Mannskor om å assistere det på en Kirkekonsert under fremførelse av Sparre Olsen: ‘Gneisten’ og Gade ‘Morgensang I østen stiger solen opp’. Konserten ble avholdt 2. påskedag i fjor og korpset assistanse syntes å være meget verdifull. Da der fra flere medlemmer ble uttalt ønsket om å få forspurte om foreningen kunde få benytte Kirken til øvelser til en påtenkt Kirkekonsert. Dette ble imøtekommet og en gikk straks i gang med prøvene. Interessen og fremmøte til prøvene var meget bra. Konserten ble avholdt ‘Kristi himmelfarts dag’ 22. mai og gjentatt 8. juni 1941. Siste gang til inntekt til Domkirkens ‘orgelfond’” (Translation by the author.)
- 124 Meeting record dated 18 February 1941, *ibid.*
- 125 Record of the steering committee’s meeting on 2 June 1942, discussed during the first meeting after the liberation on 26 May 1945, *ibid.*
- 126 Roy-Arne Knudsen, *Nasjonal Samling og partiets ordførere i Tromsø 1940 til 1945*. Masteroppgave i Master i historie, Trondheim May 2017, p. 65.
- 127 *Ibid.*



- 128 Årsberetning for Tromsø orkesterforening's 19.-21. ordinære-generalforsamling, 16 December 1945, in: TRO, SATØ/P-0081/D *Tromsø Orkesterforening*, folder 1925-1993 *Vedlegg til styreprotokoller (korrespondanse, medlemslister mv.)*.
- 129 Ibid.
- 130 Ibid., SATØ/P-0081/A/L0003 *Styreprotokoll Tromsø Orkesterforening*, minute book for the Tromsø Ungdomskorps, report of the meeting on 29 November 1942.
- 131 Ibid.: "Lars Olsen: Nei, anser foreninga for politisk, han dessuten tapt interessen.  
Erling Selfors: Nei, har intrykk av at politikken er kommet i forgrunnen. Har alltid stått i musikkorps for musikkens skyld, har ingen interesse av korpset slik tingene nå har utviklet seg.  
Arnulf Kanstad: unmyndig vil spørre foreldrene til råds.  
Karl Lund: unmyndig. Men vil gjerne opplyse at han spiller i Frelsesarméens guttemusikk. Hans medlemskap i Ungdomskorpset var bare for å få lære å spille.  
Tor Kjellman: Nei, ingen interesse av korpset etter at politikken er kommet inn.  
Rolv Olsen: Nei. Har liten tro på at det nye styre som aldri har lagt to pinner i kors for korpset har noen virkelig interesse for korpset. Tror det vil bli vanskelig for styret å finne den tonen som hersker blandt ungdommen og sårlødes oppnå et effektivt samarbeid med medlemmene. Anser dessuten korpset for å være politisk og har mistet interesse for dette.  
Per Bjerning: Nei. Har tapt interessen. Har liten lyst å stå i forening med et styre som aldri har tenkt et øyeblikk på korpset før delta kom på. Vil dessuten ikke falle sine musikk-kamerater i ryggen, men stå sammen med dem som han har felt både godt og ondt med.  
Arne Antonsen: Nei. Ingen interesse for politisk korps. Har utelukkende stått for musikkens skyld.  
Johannes Sörem: Nei, har ingen interesse, dessuten krevende arbeid med masse overtid.  
Bnörn Meland: unmyndig, vil samrå seg med foreldrene." (Translation by the author.)  
Cf. additionally a record after memory by Björn Meland, *ibid.*

## IV. Remote Resistance in Stockholm

It is a characteristic of resistance that the will to turn contrary attitudes and passive disaffirmation into active resistance includes the acceptance of high personal risk for oneself and also for families and comrades. In contrast, going into exile was less an option among other possibilities, but mostly a bare necessity to survive. An everyday routine helped to shield civil resistance from suspicion over long time spans and unite political with apolitical issues in daily routines. Once in exile, previously featured values of musical individuality lost their importance for professional performers. Music, an effectful tool in defending the nation's integrity through patriotic activities, lost its impact when crossing the border, because the enemy stayed behind. Now, 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. The focus of the new emigrants had to be primarily on the banal realities of making a living, gaining support and staying emotionally and politically prepared for a return home.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding 20<sup>th</sup> century's music history, the dichotomy of music and politics was still a driving force. Especially music without lyrics can develop a very strong emotional impact so that dictatorships were always attracted to music for propagandistic purposes. The general struggle for both dictatorships and resistance groups for as much attention and impact as possible also depended on this tool. So, both sides adopted music for their own special purposes and for both music's nimbus of being unpolitical proved to be an important factor. On the one hand, the dictatorship in Norway had a strong need for symbolic representation and public demonstration in its effort to nurture cultural heritage and strengthen the mutual bonds through music. On the other hand, music was already embedded in nearly all aspects of Norway's everyday life – from singing in school and church or amateur organizations up to a professional concert life – so that it was nearly impossible for the regime to intrude into this sphere and fight the impact of oppositional music on the public morale. Accordingly, and in contrast to spectacular military sabotage or partisan action, the civil resistance followed a strategy of many small steps, to build an invisible crowd of like-minded based on the oppositional spirit of intimate, trust-worthy communities.

Concerning the financial situation after Norway's occupation by Germany, the exiled government in London could depend on a steady substantial income thanks to Norway's merchant fleet which the Germans did not get hold of. On 23 October 1943, Ole Jacob Malm gave a lecture at the International Youth Centre in London, entitled *A brief survey of Norway in past and present*, and proudly explained this tactical advantage for Norwegian resistance policies:

Our finest contribution to the Allied cause is also this time our Merchant fleet. On the day of the German assault on Norway 1024 of our ships were scattered on all seas. All the ships, without a single exception, put themselves by telegraph at the disposal of the Norwegian Government, and have since been a deciding factor in the battle of transport. Our modern tanker fleet carries about 40% of all the oil to the different theatres of war. Admiral Evans

estimated that “our Merchant Navy is of greater value to the United Nations than a million men”. This fleet has suffered great losses in men and ships; but in spite of that it has been possible to create a Norwegian Navy of more than 60 units.”<sup>2</sup>

With the steady income of the merchant fleet, the Norwegian government was able to support all the Norwegian expatriates in Sweden and satisfy their basic needs, although their situation remained uneasy. Only 35 years after Norway had left the unpopular union with Sweden the atmosphere was tense. The Swedish government was afraid to show too much solidarity with Nazi-conquered Norway to prevent own occupation. Besides, there was a strong fascist fraction in the Swedish Riksdag. At the same time many Norwegians distrusted Swedish neutrality after the German foreign policy had enforced the right to transport troops through Sweden to the Eastern front in Finland to fight the Red Army. Norwegian artists in Sweden, therefore, were an important link between both nations as they promoted the case of a free independent Norway among the Swedish public and united the community of Norwegian refugees at the same time.

## Numbers and Procedures

It is difficult to estimate the number of Norwegian refugees who came to Sweden during World War II. Ole Kristian Grimnes’ book *Et flyktningsamfunn vokser fram. Nordmenn i Sverige 1940-1945* (1969), and Lars Hansson’s extensive study *At the Frontier. Sweden’s Reception of Refugees from Norway 1940-1945* (2019) calculate the number of Norwegians between approximately 60,000 and 67,000 civil refugees.<sup>3</sup> A statistics report from 1 June 1945, presented by the Refugee Department in Stockholm (“Flytningskontoret Stockholm”), counted 48,410 people and limited its statement to the years 1942-45 when the official census was made. Norwegians, who had already been in Sweden before the war, or who were of Swedish descent and been allowed to leave Norway legally by the German authorities after 1940, were not counted in for this statistics.<sup>4</sup> Earlier reports from June and October 1943 as well as from March 1945 confirmed these figures and added much sociographic data and information about the regional origins of these people.<sup>5</sup> One report from March 1945, labeled “striktly classified” and preserved in Ole Jacob Malm’s papers,<sup>6</sup> even mentioned five male musicians as music students as well in a detailed list of professions (cf. fig. 1).

When the stream of Norwegian refugees increased significantly, their first destination was a small castle 150 km west of Stockholm, called Kjesäter (cf. fig. 2 and 3). To make sure that the Norwegian exiliants could be integrated into the Swedish labor market, the Norsk Legasjon was in close contact with the Swedish authorities and did not grant permission to everyone to settle in the favored area of Stockholm.<sup>7</sup>

- 2 -

YRKESPORDELING FOR NYANKOMNE TIL KJØBSTÆTTER I TIDSRUMMET  
JANUAR - MARS 1945.

	<u>Menn</u>	<u>Kvinner</u>		<u>Menn</u>	<u>Kvinner</u>
Leitorfunksjonærer	264	89	Anlegg	199	
Leirlake funksjonærer			Hotell- og kafedrift	30	15
a. Ingeniører	46		Helsepleie	10	49
b. Andre	48		Advokater og dommere	22	
Besetningsfunksj.	102	42	Direktører og disp.		
For skj. andre funksj.	25	2	for større bedrifter	10	
Husmødre		648	Skipereidere	2	
Hushjelp hos private			Andre selvstendige		
og på anstalter		161	næringsdrivende	96	1
Helseværende	35	129	Redaktører og jour-		
vangføringsarbeidere	-		nalister	7	
Jord- og skogbruk, gartneri			Kunstnere og forfattere	11	3
a. Gårderbrukere	64		Musikere	5	
b. Småbrukere	39		Vitenskapsmenn, uni-		
c. Andre	669		versitetslærere	1	
Fiske, sel- og hvalf.	151		Leger og tannleger	35	1
Sjøfart	271		Apotekere og farmasøyer	-	
Transport- og lager-			Prester	2	
arbeid	425		Legpr. dissenterprester	-	
Malm, metallutvinning	65		Lærere	25	5
Stein, torv seament-			Jernbanefunksj.	61	
alkindustri	35		Post, telegraf, telefon		
og verk, glass-			og tollvesen	46	11
personalsindustri	23		Politi og lensmenn	68	1
Barnmetallindustri	3		Embetsmenn ikke tidl.		
annen mat- og drikke-			tatt med	-	
varer	75	6	Andre statsfunksj.	22	2
og tobakkindustri	-		Statens arbeidere	8	
Olje- og fettindustri			A. T. befal	6	
kjemisk og elektrokje-			Offiserer	37	
misk industri	28		Underoffiserer	3	
Sagbruk, høvleri	67		Komm. funksjonærer	26	3
annen trevareindustri	79		" arbeidere	15	
Papirindustri	33	5	Studenter	145	18
Trykkeri, bokbinderi	13	4	Andre skoleelever		
Skinn, lær, gummiind.	49	17	over 15 år	193	30
Textil, trikotasjeind.	5	5	Diverse andre yrker	45	19
Kledningsindustri	15	35	Barn	330	318
Skipsbygging	83				
annen jern- og metallind.	264	5			
Bil- og flymekanikere	91				
Elektrikere	79		Tilsammen	4892	1613
Byggevirksomhet	268				

Iv gruppen "Jord- og skogbruk, o. Andre" var ca. 37% fra Hedemark fylke.

Fig. 1: Strictly classified report about the variety of professions among Norwegian refugees in Sweden. NHM-498

After Hans Jacob Ustvedt and Ole Jacob Malm both had to leave Oslo in the winter of 1942, there was a major change in the structures of the civil resistance movement that has been described in Chapter I. When Ustvedt had to flee from Norway on 8 November 1942 to avoid arrest, he left his wife Sigrud Ustvedt (born 25 July 1903) and his children Nils (born 15 April 1928), Hanna (born 8 February 1931), and Kristin (15 February 1936) behind in Oslo.<sup>8</sup> In Sweden he encountered a fully established bureaucratic system. He was registered and questioned about his reasons for coming (cf. fig. 4). These records provide much insight into refugee fates, biographical details and even escape agents.<sup>9</sup>



Fig. 2: Castle Kjesäter with barracks in front to house the Norwegian emigrants. NTB Krigsarkivet



Fig. 3: Registering a Norwegian refugee at castle Kjesäter. NAN, RA/PA-1209/Uc/65-1/2-S5497

Ustvedt was also registered by the Norwegian administration (refugee # 10295), which had been set up by the Norwegian embassy in Stockholm shortly after the government had fled to London in the early summer of 1940. This so called Norsk Legasjon was located in a huge, prestigious building, Banérgatan 37 (cf. fig. 5), in the center of Stockholm and included several main departments, concerned with military, and economy matters, press work, trade, justice and health care.<sup>10</sup>

KUNGL. SOCIALSTYRELSEN  
UTLÄNNINGSBYRÅN  
BIRGER JARLS TORG 5.  
Postadress: Box 2068, Stockholm 2.  
Tel. Nannansryg: Socialstyrelsen  
Tjänstemännens sottsaga. o. tel.-tid  
kl. 10-13

Till (An — To — A) KUNGL. SOCIALSTYRELSEN

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

1. tillnamn — Familienname surname — nom de famille	Ustvedt	
2. samtliga förnamn. — sämtliche Vornamen Christian names in full — tous les prénoms	Hans Jacob Heimann	
3. födelsedatum — geboren am date of birth — né(e) le	7/2 - 1903	
4. födelseort (land) — Geburtsort (Staat) place of birth (country) — lieu de naissance (pays)	Lorge	
5. nationalitet — Staatsangehörigkeit nationality — nationalité	norsk	
6. religion	protestantisk	
7. yrke (titel) — Beruf (Titel) Occupation (title) — profession (titre)	Lage	
8. gift med (samtliga namn, födelsedatum) verheiratet mit (sämtliche Namen, Geburtstag) married to (names in full, date of birth) marié(e) avec (tous les noms, date de naissance)	Ligvid Ustvedt, f. Wille • 25/7 1903	
9. barn (förnamn, födelsedatum) Kinder (Vornamen, Geburtstag) children (names, date of birth) enfants (prénoms, date de naissance)	Kjils Gagner • 15/4 1928	
	Kanna Cathrine • 8/2 1931	
	Kristin • 15/2 1936	
	• 1	
10. Var vistas f. n. make (maka) och barn? Wo halten sich z. Z. Mann (Frau) und Kinder auf? Where are husband (wife) and children staying now? Séjour actuel du mari (de la femme) et des enfants?	Oslo	
11. Referenser i Sverige (namn, adress) Referenzen in Schweden (Name, Adresse) References in Sweden (name, address) Références en Suède (nom, adresse)	prof. Leif Arbovi, v. med. J. Fjellström	
12. Vistats i Sverige sedan den — Eingereist in Schweden am Arrived in Sweden on — Sejourné en Suède depuis le	8/11 1942	
13. Passet, som bifogas, är giltigt till den — Der Pass, hier beigelegt, ist gültig bis zum The validity of the enclosed passport expires on — La validité du passeport ci-joint expire le	11/11 1944	
Föredragandens anteckningar. — Reservierter Platz. — For official use. — Place réservée.	Signum	

S. nr 632. \*\*/ 1942, 50.000 + 19/ 1942, 50.000 ex.

Fig 4: Hans Jacob Ustvedt's questionnaire to the Swedish authorities, 14 November 1942. NAS, SUK-FIABA-4302

Among the numerous documents and artifacts in his huge collection in Oslo's Riksarkivet one can find his passport which shows that Ustvedt enjoyed diplomatic status during his years in Swedish exile so that he could travel within the country and to the London headquarters without further complications (cf. fig. 6).<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, a stamp in the passport indicates that he was granted access to restaurants in Stockholm which reminds that Sweden was witnessing a shortage of daily goods and food during World War II.



Fig. 5: The Norsk Legasjon on 7 May 1945. NAN, RA/PA-1209/Uc/72/4/S5752



Fig 6: Pages from Hans Jacob Ustvedt's passport. NAN, RA/PA-1248/G/L0045

As a medical specialist Ustvedt was integrated immediately into the Norsk Legasjon's duties. Among approximately 20 doctors (including a full dental system) and 30 nurses, he was the one responsible for medical services, the supply with medicine and vaccines, information campaigns on healthy nutrition, the prevention of venereal diseases and the distribution of medical goods and staple food into Norway through a so called "Donator-Kommitéen" and the "Svenska Norgehjälpen". In 1943 for example he listed a supply of 9,000 tons of sugar, 1,000 tons of butter, large amounts of oatmeal, peas, different kinds of vegetables and mentioned a campaign to vaccinate 9,000 Norwegian refugees against typhoid fever (cf. fig. 7).<sup>12</sup>

27.11.52  
43-16/e.

Borek Johansen

30/11 43

Kjære venn!

Det gleder meg meget å få en anledning til å skrive noen ord til deg. Takk for hilseener fra tid til annen. Her strever vi først og fremst med hjelpevirksomheten på Norge, og personlig har jeg mest å gjøre med medikamenter, vaksiner o.lign. Det er lyktes oss å oppnå ganske meget, idet våre allierte ikke gjør nevneverdige innskrenkninger, undtagen når det gjelder visse medikamenter som kan tenkes anvendt i krigsviktige øyemed, jod, fettstoffer o.lign. Vi får kjøpt temmelig store partier medikamenter her, og får likeledes adskillig over fra England, og det går altsummen prikkfritt inn til Norge gjennom Donator-Komiteén, som har vært en fortreffelig institusjon, og fordeles såvidt jeg kan forstå, på uangrikelig vis. Det gjelder blant annet svære mengder sulfonpreparater, insulin, difteriserum og difterivaksine og en rekke forskjellige viktige medikamenter, narkotika og anestetika. Men en del stoffer er det ikke mulig å skaffe under noen omstendighet. Vi står i ganske god rapport med Oslo om dette, og hele arbeidet har på dette område gått meget tilfredsstillende.

Vanskeligere har det jo stillet seg med næringsmidler, idet våre allierte venner prinsipielt opprettholder en streng blokadepolitikk, trossfor alle våre forsikringer om mulighetene for en trygg fordeling i Norge. En del har vi da allikevel oppnådd, f.eks. 9 000 ton sukker og 1 000 ton smør, og store mengder havregryn, erter og forskjellige slags grønnsaker. Barnebespisningene utvides stadig, og hele systemet med Svenska Norgehjälpen og Donator-Komiteén fungerer etter vår mening helt fortreffelig. Nu later det imidlertid til at det seiler opp store vanskeligheter, idet Riènes ikke lenger vil la Bache og Vik stille med Nasjonalhjelpens affærer, men vil nasjonalisere hele apparatet. Svenskene er heldigvis helt stalle på dette punkt. Situasjonen er meget spent, og vi må regne med den mulighet at hele den svenske hjelpevirksomheten innstilles hvis Riènes ikke gir seg. Det kan få følger også for medikamentenes vedkommende.

Ellers har vi nu etterhånden fått en ganske svær medisinsk administrasjon her i Sverige. Jeg sitter som en slags sjef og Medisinaldirektörens representant, og arbeider samtidig i Relief-Centralen. Alle administrative spørsmål hører inn under meg, mens den rent praktiske legevirksomhet her i Stockholm skjøttes av Flyktningkontorets legekontor med Sverre Schjelderup

Fig. 7: The first of a three page letter from Hans Jacob Ustvedt to Borek Johansen, 30 November 1943, where he summarizes his duties and responsibilities for the Norsk Legasjon in Stockholm. NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ee/L0028-0004

Ole Jacob Malm had to leave Norway only six days after Ustvedt on 14 November 1942 under very tragic circumstances. Besides his commitment to coordinate the civil resistance from Oslo throughout the country, Malm had actively supported the rescue of persecuted Jews into Sweden. In an undated interview (preserved in the archive of the Norwegian Resistance Museum) he described how an old couple of Austrian refugees (the husband being Jewish, while his wife was labeled "Aryan") had found temporary shelter at the house of Malm's father, Erling Malm, before they were brought to the woods along the Norwegian-Swedish boarder.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, there they ran into German soldiers and the immediate attempt of the old Jewish refugee to commit su-





Malm's papers reveal that the resistance movement always believed in the allied victory against Hitler and consequently discussed controversial political matters in an anticipated liberated Norway. One important topic was, as indicated by the list of regime representatives who should be arrested immediately after the liberation, how to deal with traitors and collaborators, how to define their status after the war, and how to find criteria for judging their behavior during the years of 1940-45. On 10 February 1943 Malm gave an introduction to a discussion in London, entitled *Norske fellesproblemer – hjemme- og utesyn* (roughly to be translated with "Problems of the Norwegian Community – Opinions at Home and Abroad"):

What should be done with the Nazis [the original term "nazistene" addresses the Norwegian National Socialists]?

How – in which form should an evaluation take place?

What about the contaminated persons ["stripete"] – what should their position be after the war?

Can we be unbiased enough at home when judging individuals based on their attitude and commitment during these times, so that we do not act unjust? Or is it like little thieves are hanged, but big ones escape? How to deal with eventualities such as lynch law or other forms of vigilant behavior?

The political development after the war:

There is full agreement that the foundationst for political action which is expected to develop on a solid democratic basis, is the constitutional state, and the rebuilding of our economic life. Primarily the declaration No. 4 for Atlantic harbors ["Atlantehavsdeklarasjonens 4"] needs to be carried out so that we can begin to deliberate on how we think the real social community is supposed to be established.<sup>18</sup>

The report documents an intense discussion arising from Malm's presentation which also touched the sensitive topic of how to deal with children of German soldiers and Norwegian mothers ["tyskerbarnas"]. Different opinions were exchanged, for example by Aksel Bull Njå, Foreign Secretary Trygve Lie, Rolf Sannes, and Rakel Seweriin, arguing to keep these children in Norway and to raise them as "good Norwegians". Others, such as Ole Jacob Malm himself, and Arne Okkenhaug, highlighted the psychological difficulties that small children would have to bear throughout their childhood and youth:

It is difficult enough to be a bastard in rural municipalities and being a German child could become such a yoke that the question would be if the child, in spite of everything, might be better off in Germany. According to Hitler's decree of October 1942, children of German soldiers and Norwegian or Dutch mothers fall under German jurisdiction and this might be the smartest way to follow. The atmosphere in Norway today is still so enraged against "German bitches" ["tysketöser"] that one has to fear a radical reaction of the scene, which also could include the children. The question is if in reality – and in the long run – this would result in an inhuman humanism to let the

children stay in Norway. We think that there has to be a change of public opinion so that these children will not become discriminated outcasts for all of their lives.<sup>19</sup>

While the members of the Norsk Legasjon and the exiled government in London were critical about the future Norwegian reactions, they were just as suspicious against possible NS-traitors among their fellow countrymen. It would be misleading to think, however, that the exiled politicians and bureaucrats were united in the mutual attempt to fight Hitler and Quisling. It is a common phenomenon that the secret services abuse the diplomatic status of their embassies for their own purposes. The Norsk Legasjon was no exception to this rule and supported Norwegian citizens also in matters taking place against the Swedish administration's will. Behind the scenes, Malm himself collected information about rivalries within the Stockholm administration. When he had to learn, however, that some of the secret information routes, which had been set up only after lengthy precautions, were being jeopardized by the forwarding of private mail, he was very much upset.<sup>20</sup>

The surveillance of Norwegians in Sweden, however, as well as the censoring and spying out of their mail was most irritating for representatives of the resistance movement in Sweden.<sup>21</sup> Foreign minister Trygve Lie in London, from 1946 to 1952 serving as the United Nation's first general secretary, was mentioned personally in a *Warning to the Home Front to be Handled with Greatest Care* ["ADVARSEL TIL HJEMMEFRONTEN BEHANDLES MED STØRSTE FORSIKTIGHET"], which was found in Malm's papers (cf. fig. 10). He considered him the svengali, the obscure person in the background, trying with all the means in his power to control and influence the public opinion of all fellow countrymen inside and outside of Norway:

In agreement with the government, Secretaty Bull established extensive censorship and control organizations in Stockholm which not only observe Norwegians outside of Norway, but also the sentiments and opinions of Norwegians inside of Norway. The man behind this governmental secret service is Trygve Lie who commands:

- 1) the political coordination of the Home Front,
- 2) the full leadership and control of the Home Front's forces and working modes. Enough Norwegians inside and outside of Norway have gotten on the government's Black List with frank oral and written statements, and many Norwegians within the government's reach already had to feel the consequences and were disgraced. Trials against these good countrymen took place contrary to paragraph 100 of the constitution and the general democratic principal that both parties shall be heard and that the culprit gets the opportunity to defend himself.

The censorship, which has been established in Sweden by the Norwegian government, works in complete secrecy and without control. Letters that were sent by good Norwegians to Norwegians abroad and which were sent by hitherto reliable illegal channels were directed into the censor's office where they were photocopied hastily as evidence to be used as a document for accusations against the sender, possibly against the recipient as well. [...] As the

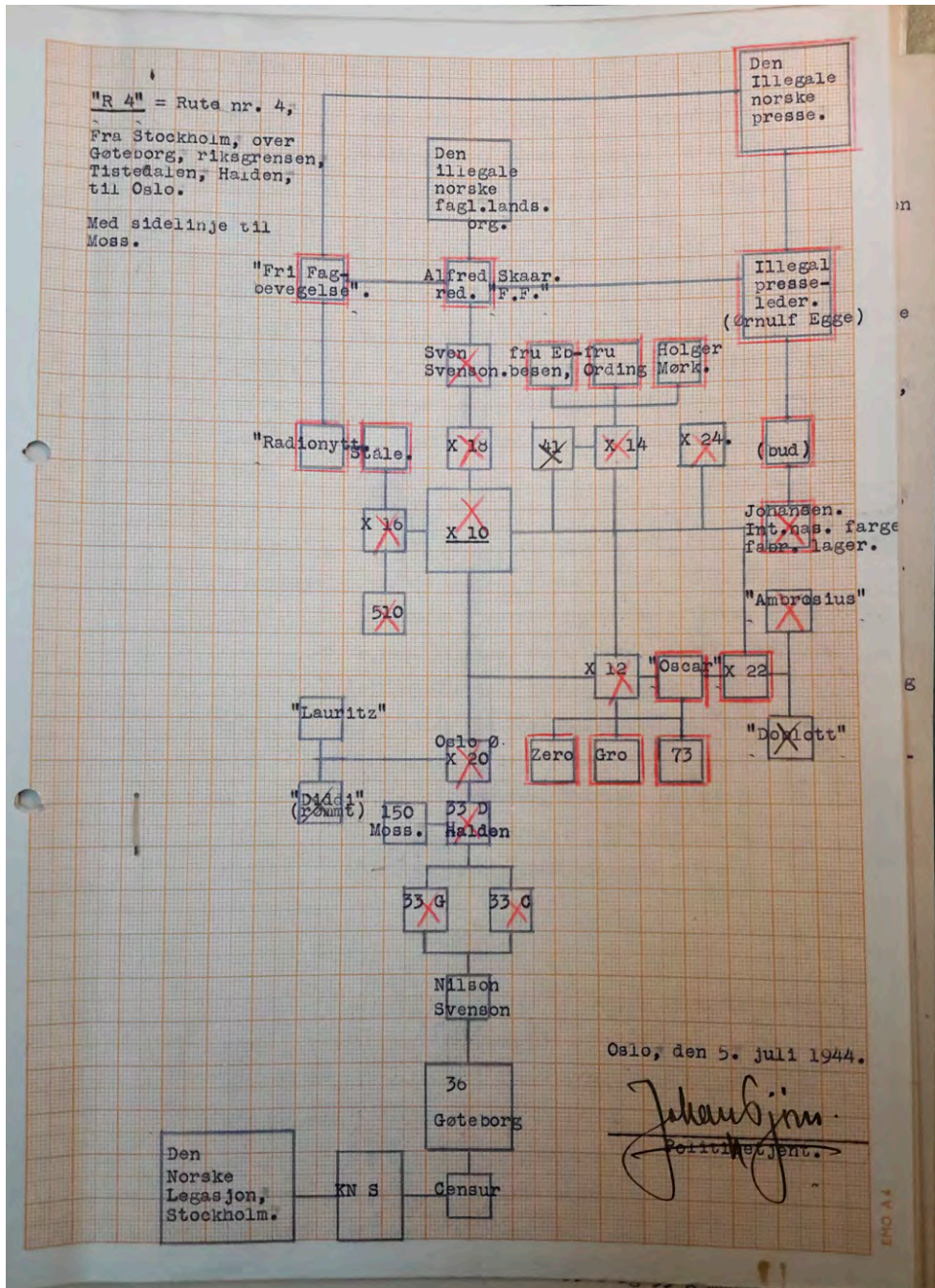


Fig. 9: One example for the exact planning of secret mail connections between connecting points of the resistance movement in Norway and Sweden, here the so-called route "R 4". To protect the undercover identity of the people behind the different connecting points the list of real names to decode these sketches was kept a secret. NAN, RA/S-1329/F/L0087 kurerforbindelser mellom Stockholm legasjon og motstand

government has shown absolute reluctance to stop these National Socialist [“nazistiske”], undemocratic and directly unconstitutional rules of behavior, as the government further legitimized and directly contributed to the scandalous assault against fully honorable Norwegians who have “uncovered” the government’s intelligence service, and as the connection between the legal Norwegian authorities and the Norwegians outside of Norway on the one side, and the Home Front on the other side where these circumstances are damaging in a degree that reaches insincerity, a group of Norwegians after personal consultation of well oriented Norwegians in Sweden decided to send an urgent warning to the Home Front.

[...] Build up new communication channels and take care that they will not be known to the government’s agents. Inform your trustworthy friends and support all attempts to uphold uncensored connections with honorable Norwegians outside of Norway.

The Home Front’s fight against Nazism is consequent also when National Socialist [“nazistisk”] principles are employed by the government.<sup>22</sup>

Summarizing his impressions from a journey to England and Scotland in January and February 1943, Hans Jacob Ustvedt made similar remarks about the depressing atmosphere among the Norwegian political elite in London, lacking idealism and protecting their individual power base, instead of standing together against the mutual enemy in Oslo:

In general I have to say that meeting the emigrated Norway was depressing, but meeting England was very uplifting. If I had not made the trip to Scotland, the general impression of the Norwegian situation would have been even more oppressing. Of course, many of the depressing elements can be found in any emigrant community, especially all these mutual quarrels, the aggravating opposition, defamations. But the contrast to the situation in Norway was so uncomfortably strong. Of course, it is easier to live back home in Norway these days in a sense. Because the situation there calls for the best in everybody, there is in general agreement on the goals, the mutual danger enforces cohesion and one is filled with idealism. It was this lack of idealism that felt most depressing. You could feel nothing like a raise. The majority of the Norwegian community looked grey and the people were busy with their own matters. Besides the lack of idealism a feeling of party-spirit was most irritating. Against ones will the assumption comes up that “the government” seeks to set up an administration with people that are loyal primarily to it, thus to the members of the Labor Party [“AP-folk”]. As far as I understood, the criticism facing the government was the lack of free exchange of opinions. The government fights every attempt of criticism, assuming that any kind of disunity would be highly destructive. The Norsk Tidende [“Norwegian Times”] offers no access to a free discussion. Neither does the paper represent a high standard: Censored letters and the effectiveness of the E-office contributed additionally to a feeling of lacking the freedom of speech. [...] Most upsetting to me personally was the attitude in leading circles to-

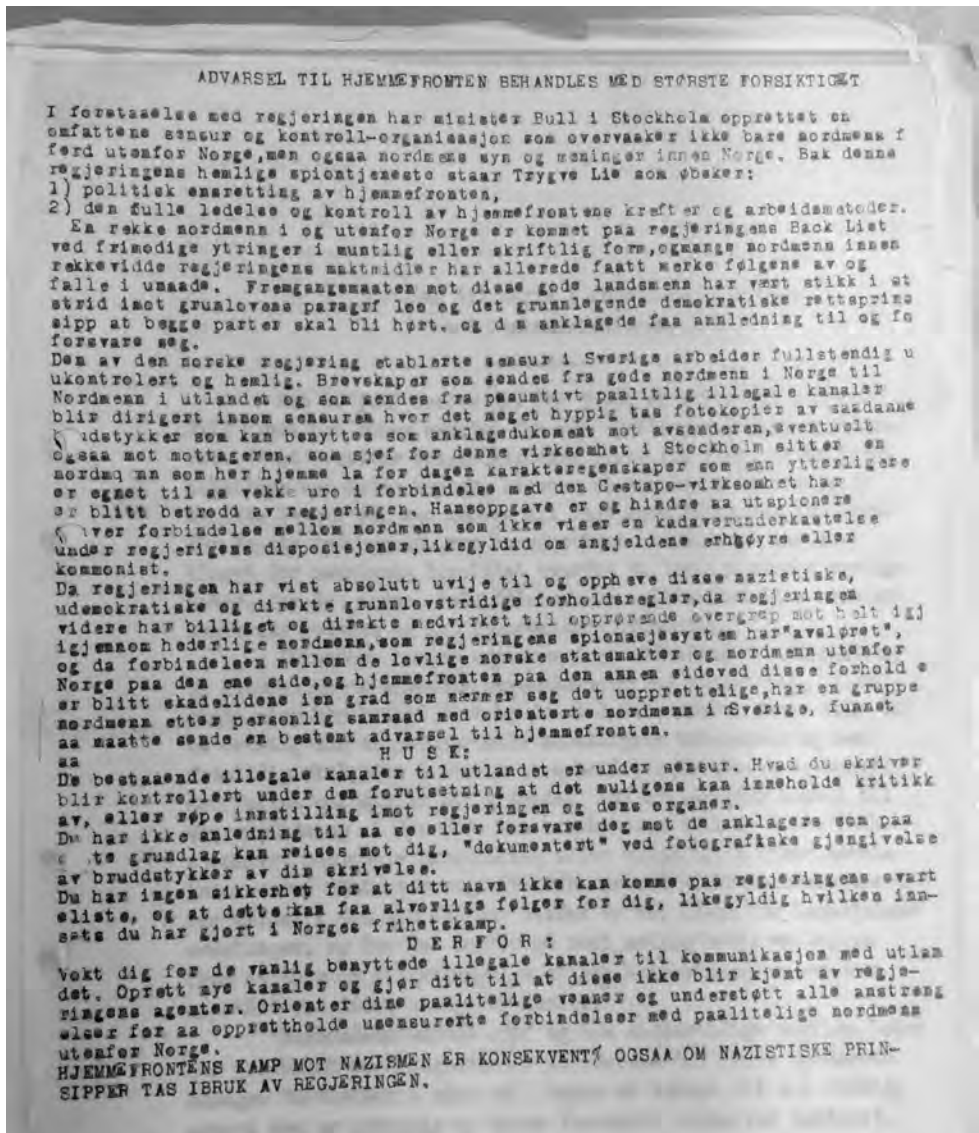


Fig. 10: A warning to the home front to be handled with greatest care ["advarsel til hjemmefronten behandles me største forsiktighet"], found in Ole Jacob Malm's papers. NHM 498, folder *Div. Dokumenter vedr. Mundighetene ved Sambandskontoret (Juli – august 1944)*

wards the Home Front. Of course, it is deplorable that many of those, who did a good job at home, here in London fall for the temptation to brag about it and credit themselves of having been in a position more central than it really was. A system of separate groups without stable coordination and a leadership that has proven to be so pragmatic had to bring about a climate, in which each group increased its own importance. Nevertheless, this situation also comprises a valuable stimulus. However, the tendency of these peo-

ple who overemphasized their own importance does not give the government and its supporters the right to a scornful and ridiculing attitude towards the Home Front. The expression “Home Frontiersman” [“hjemmefrontinger”] is telling and Jeremias Jössing’s disgusting little satire which makes the representatives of the Home Front the targets of its wit all the time, is completely shameful and certainly will provoke controversy at home.<sup>23</sup>

Although these personal insights from Malm’s and Ustvedt’s papers can hardly be verified, they nevertheless deserve credibility. Ustvedt especially captured very different and also controversial observations from a critical perspective in his diaries, which can be consulted for further information. Furthermore, he enjoyed the respect and trust of his friends and colleagues in exile, because as a doctor he was bound to the Hippocratical Oath and had accepted many personal risks for the civil resistance, which finally resulted in his and his family’s exile. The sensitivity behind such a diagnosis of the observations Malm and Ustvedt had made in London correlated with a public initiative in Stockholm to found the Association of Norwegian Patriots (“Norske Patriots Forbund”). Its purpose was to strengthen the patriotic feeling of belonging together among the exiled Norwegians by successfully uniting 1,400 active supporters. After ten months of preparations and negotiations, the first issue of the Forbund’s newspaper presented its mission: “Aktiv kamp! Vakt om konstitusjonen!”<sup>24</sup>

## Expatriates from Norway

A complicated political macrocosm is made visible in the biographies of exiled musicians in Stockholm. Here we gain insights into the complexity of remote resistance, of the desire to keep up the memory of a free, independent Norway among the international anti-Hitler-coalition, of the need to strengthen the collective morale and setting a counterpoint against the strong German influence in Sweden’s bourgeois concert life.

### Hans Jørgen Hurum

A striking example is Hans Jørgen Hurum, well-known for his legendary book about Norway’s music life during the German occupation, published in 1946. Although his profound knowledge as an insider can be recognized on every page, the biographical background of its author is as unclear as the conditions of its genesis; Hurum himself only mentioned in the preface of 1946 that the book had been commissioned three years earlier by his publishers Aschehoug. As members of the civil resistance movement Olav Gurvin and Øyvind Anker were very well informed about any political chapters in their contemporaries’ biographies when they wrote their *Musikkleksikon* (published by Dreyers Forlag in October 1949). Their fellow authors were Klaus Egge, Trygve Fischer, Øystein Gaukstad, Liv Greni, Eivind Groven, Pauline Hall, Kristian Lange, Bjarne Th. Larssen, Trygve Lindeman, Finn Lundt, Ragnvald Moe, Ludvig Nielsen, Trygve Præstun, Børre Quamme, Reimar Riefling, Ole Mørk Sandvik, Arild Sandvold, Leif Saxegaard, Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe and Dag Winding-Sørensen. The article dedicated to Hurum in the *Musikkleksikon* only indicated his years of exile by indicating the gap between the years 1942 and 1946: “Musikkritiker i Norges Handels- og

57608 Hurum	Brynjulf Sverre	221299 020545
25264 Hurum	Hans Jørgen	200506 050344
18810 Hurum	Rolf Fredrik	031219 100941

Fig. 11: Hans Jørgen Hurum's name on the list of registered Norwegian refugees in Sweden. NAN, *Den Kl. Norske Legasjons Flyktningsskontor*, V/Va/L0002: Kjesäterkartoteket

Sjøfardstidende 1932-42, i Aftenposten fra 1946.” Nevertheless, the short article gives an implicit political statement by referencing Hurum's book *Musikken under okkupasjonen*.<sup>25</sup>

More information can be gained from the records of the Norsk Legasjon's Refugee Office where he was registered after crossing the border from Norway to Sweden on 5 March 1944. His questionnaire reveals some surprises: Hans Jørgen Hurum had been born on 20 May 1906 in Oslo to his parents Hans (born 11 December 1869) and Anna (née Ording, born 2 March 1876, living in Ula pr. Larvik at the time of his escape) as the second of four children. His siblings were Lilanna (born on 11 July 1903, married to M. C. Despard and living in England at that time), Per (born 2 June 1910, “billedhugger” in Oslo) and Sven (born on 23 April 1912, “forrettingsmann”, living in England at that time). He was married to Lucie Trozelli Krefthing (born 4 July 1896), who had a son from an earlier relationship, named Jonas Collett (born 23 September 1928). Jonas was a pupil in Oslo at the time of his stepfather's arrest.<sup>26</sup>

After finishing school in 1924 and having served the armed forces the next year, Hurum studied law and continued his studies of music for two more years after his Juridikum in 1930. Then he found 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. With the beginning of Norway's occupation Hurum additionally contributed to radio programs and worked for L'ambulance Norvegienne when he was arrested by German soldiers. After having been imprisoned in camp “Hehmer i Ruhr” until New Years in 1941,<sup>27</sup> he was sent home to Norway where he continued to work for the newspaper *Sjøfartstidende*.<sup>28</sup> Without further specifications Hurum additionally mentioned that he had participated in illegal actions of the resistance movement (“illegalt arbeide i forbindelse med nyhetstjenesten”). When several of his comrades were arrested, the German Sicherheitspolizei paid him a visit in February 1944, and it was then high time for him to leave the country. As the final statement in the report suggests, Hurum was considered to be very trustworthy.<sup>29</sup>

Soon after his arrival in Stockholm Hurum was hired by the Norsk Legasjon's Press Office and was – as we know from Ustvedt's diaries – well connected to the leading circles of Norwegian artists as well as to critical Swedish musicians such as the Jewish composer Moses Pergament (his choir symphony *Den judiska sången* will be discussed in Chapter V). Considering these facts, one can estimate that his famous manuscript was not written inside occupied Norway but with the well informed view from the outside. However, it is impossible to say how many documents or notes Hurum could have taken with him and how much information he collected in Sweden benefiting from the steady stream of news that came in from Norway through the Hjemmefront's secret channels.



25264.

R A P P O R T

til Kgl. Norsk Legasjon, Rettskontoret,  
avgitt av pol.konst. Melbostad den 6.3.1944.

25264, Hurum, Hans Jørgen, f. 20.5.1906 i Oslo.

Stilling: Journalist.  
Bopel: Oscarst. 44, III, Oslo.  
Tilhører statskirken, døpt i Frogner, konf. s.s.  
Ingen politisk innstilling, ikke medlem av NS.  
Far: Hans, f. 11.12.1869, grosserer, død.  
Mor: Anna, f. Ordning, f. 2.3.1876, bor Ula pr. Larvik.  
Brødre: 1. Per, f. 2.6.1910, billedhugger, bor i Oslo.  
2. Sven, f. 23.4.1912, forretningsmann, bor i England.  
Søster: 1. Lilanna, f. 11.7.1903, g.m. M.C. Despard, bor i England.  
Gitt med Lucie, f. Krefling, f. 4.7.1896, bor i Oslo.  
Stesønn: Jonas Collett, f. 23.9.1928, skoleelev, bor i Oslo.  
Ingen i fam. er eller har vært medlem av NS.  
Avtjent verneplikt i Garden i 1925.  
Har førerkort.  
Ikke straffet.  
Medbringer kr. 500.- i norske penger.  
Norsk statsborger.

Personlig forhold før invasjonen:

Avt. tok middelskoleeksamen ved Vestheim skole i 1921, artium ved latinlinjen ved samme skole i 1924, juridikum i 1930; hvoretter han studerte musikk til 1932, da han fikk stilling i Norges Handels- og Sjøfartstidende. Han arbeidet der til 1939, da han ble sendt til Frankrike, hvor han representerte flere institusjoner, Landlaget for reiseliv i Norge, og Frank-Norsk Handelskammer. Han var i Paris da krigen kom til Norge.

Personlig forhold under okkupasjonen:

9. april 1940 var avh. i Paris, og opptrådte i den første tiden etter krigen kom til Norge som hallmann i frnaks radio til sendingene måtte slutte. Han begynte da i L'ambulance Norvegienne, hvor han arbeidet til han ble tatt tilfange av tyskerne. Han satt i tysk krigsfangenskap i Behmer i Ruhr til nyttår 1941, da han kom hjem til Norge. Han fortsatte der i sin stilling i Sjøfartstidende, som han har hatt inntil avreisen. Han har ikke vært arrestert av tyskerne eller statspoliti siden han kom hjem fra fangenskapet, og har ikke vært i Sverige tidligere under okkupasjonen.

Reisen til Sverige:

Grunnen til reisen til Sverige er at han hadde deltatt i illegalt arbeid i forbindelse med nyhetstjenesten, og da fler av hans medarbeidere var blitt tatt, fant han det best å forlate landet. Han kom sammen med 4 andre, og han kjente ingen av dem fra før.

Referanser i Sverige:

Jørn Ordning, Halfdan Christensen.

Opplest og vedtatt.

*Hans Jørgen Hurum*

Konklusjon: Ganske troverdig, mulig riktig rapport.

*Gjerdhustad*

Fig. 12: Hans Jørgen Hurum's report for the Swedish authorities. NAS, Kjesäter Vol. Ell 13, # 25264

### Kari Aarvold and Ernst Glaser

Another extraordinary case, in which the files about Norwegian musicians in Swedish exile can contribute new details, is the Glaser family. Much is known already about Ernst Glaser (24 February 1904-3 April 1979), who had been put under pressure and persecuted in Norway before he came to Sweden in November 1942, but little research has been done so far on his wife Kari Aarvold Glaser (4 January 1901-3 October 1972). She was the daughter of Jens Aarvold (1856-1927) and Mimi, née Kindblad (1876-1968). The parents also had a son Reidar. She studied with Nils Larsen and Leonid Kreutzer (1921-1922) and celebrated her concert debut in 1921. In 1929 she married Ernst Glaser and the couple had two daughters, Berit (born 5 September 1933) and Liv (born 23 September 1935).<sup>30</sup> Not only did she keep up a demanding performing career herself, but she also looked after her two daughters and was responsible for the family life. Five days after his escape Kari Aarvold Glaser followed her husband into exile with the girls on 10 November 1942.

A short summary of their previous life in Norway shows interesting details. Born in Hamburg in 1904 as the son of merchant Felix Glaser and his wife Jenny, née Rosenbaum, Ernst Glaser studied music with Robert Müller-Hartmann in Hamburg, who due to his classification as a so-called “Volljude” went into English exile in 1937 with



Fig. 13: Kari Aarvold and Ernst Glaser with their daughters Liv and Berit, probably in the late 1940s. JMO, collection # 144 *Ernst Glaser*

his family.<sup>31</sup> Glaser also studied with musicologist, music-ethnologist and short-term editor of the legendary journal *Melos* Hans Mersmann in Berlin, with cellist Karl Andersen in Oslo and finally with renowned violinist Carl Flesch at Berlin's famous Musikhochschule in 1924. At the same time, he had begun touring through Germany and Italy. Two years later at the age of 22, he was offered the position of Konzertmeister in Bremen. In 1928, he moved to Oslo to succeed Max Rostal, his friend from his time in Berlin, as concert master of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra. One year later, Ernst Glaser married Kari Aarvold, already being a successful pianist. This marriage proved to be helpful for him when he applied for the Norwegian citizenship in 1934.<sup>32</sup>

Being a Jew, Ernst Glaser very soon became a prominent target for propagandistic attacks with the Nazi-takeover in Norway.<sup>33</sup> The most explicit one, often referred to in literature,<sup>34</sup> was an incident in Bergen on the occasion of the local orchestra Harmonien's 175<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Glaser was scheduled for 16 January 1941 to perform with the orchestra under Harald Heide and play one of Ole Bull's pieces on his famous Guarnerius del Gesù-violin from 1742, which had been given to the orchestra by Alexandra Ingier, the legendary Bergenser's granddaughter.<sup>35</sup> Glaser had already performed with great success on this violin in Oslo in the fall 1940. The Hird-youth (the Norwegian equivalent to the Hitlerjugend) had spread a leaflet protesting against the "Jewish profanization of national heritage" shortly before the concert. Glaser, however, insisted on performing. When it was his turn to enter the stage, the Hird-youth among the au-

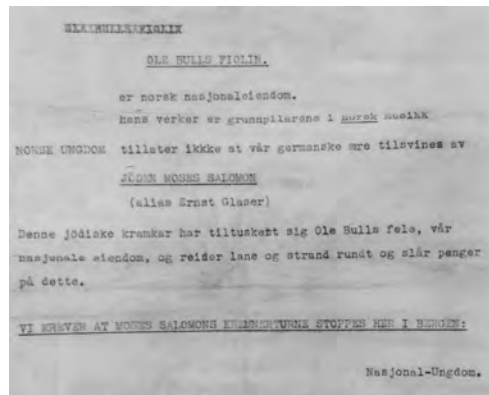


Fig. 14: Program for Ernst Glaser's concert in Bergen, 16 January 1941, and the Hird-flyer aspersing him as "Jude Moses Salomon". NNL, *Krigstrykk 10.C.5, I Norge: Kulturkamp*

dience aroused a major scandal shouting and protesting against the artist. Finally, conductor Harald Heide managed to clear the situation by starting to play the Norwegian national anthem, so that the young militant protesters had to jump to attention and join the singing. Meanwhile Glaser's supporters took the chance and escorted him out of the building through the back door.

In its huge collection the National Library in Oslo preserves numerous documents related to music during the time of the German occupation. One folder not only contains an original copy of the insulting Hird-flyer against Glaser but also a letter of Synnøve Louise Krogness (5 September 1915-4 October 2006) to her friend Alfild Thallauf Olsen, dated 22 January 1941, in which Krogness described the incidents of the Glaser-concert as an eye witness. This letter, which was donated to the library together with an original copy of the flyer by Krogness' daughter Hilde Holbæk-Hanssen, describes the atmosphere at the concert in such detail, that it deserves to be quoted at length with its central passages:

Thursday last week I went to the concert at Harmonien. Heide conducted, and Ernst Glaser (concert master at the Philharmonics in Oslo) was the soloist. He was supposed to play a very difficult composition, Polacca guerria? (the Polish war or something like that) by Ole Bull, on Bull's own violin [...]

Appr. fifteen minutes after the concert had begun – they were busy with a symphony by Haydn and the soloist had not come on stage yet, a crowd of young boys at high-school age [“gymnasiatalderen”] rushed in and dispersed to all empty seats. I thought, well, it is nice to see so many music lovers among the youth, but I also thought they really could have come on time. But then Eva whispered: this surely is the Hird coming to demonstrate, because Glaser is a Jew. She had been to the conservatory a little before the concert and had got to know that the newspapers were not allowed to bring any review of the concert due to the given reason. Order by N.S. [Nasjonal Samling]

Meanwhile they had finished the Haydn – and the next piece was supposed to be something of Sinding with Glaser as the soloist (Polacca was written in the program notes). There was a long break – it turned out that Heide had been visited by a delegation explaining what would happen if Glaser should perform. So Heide came back in and explained that there would be a change in the concert program, and then came another piece without soloist.

The audience did not comprehend and nodded “The Flute from Sanssoussi” through. Then came a long break. Heide did not return to the podium but strolled back and forth in front of the orchestra and looked confused, and the members of the orchestra looked at each other and at him in surprise. In the end he came back to the podium, and told us he was awfully sorry but the concert had to be ended. He was very sorry. Some of the scoundrels [”kanaljene”] who had placed themselves behind us (on the gallery) shouted: Damn it. He does not show up? They had waited for him the complete previous piece, and now they thought the party had been spoiled.

But then someone in the concert hall said out loud: Is it because Glaser is a Jew? And then everything broke loose, with whistling and “down with the Jews”, and the leaflets. Up on the gallery there was a small scuffle, and I hit one on the head with the handle of my umbrella. But he did not take it too hard, they do like to behave as martyrs. Then the whole orchestra got up and Heide conducted “Ja vi elsker” [the Norwegian national anthem] and we sang like never before. The Hird or “the national youth” with hands up in their “Heil Norway” salutation.

So the rumpers began, and you know, then they saw red! Close the doors! they shouted and they lined up in front of the exits. But then they realized that they were too few and called for help: Hird come here! [“Hirden hit!”] We could not do anything but laugh – we laughed so hard that we cried and whistled at them – the guardians of culture who tried to teach a very educated audience a lesson. One man shouted “break the barriers” ha ha – obviously some of them got a slap in the face. And so we went out.

This is the simplest thing I have ever experienced. To demonstrate at political meetings is understandable, because politics are quarrels all the time now – but this here was idiotic. [...] The funny thing is that at the Monrad Johansen-concert in Oslo in fall Glaser was the soloist as well. There, he received a huge bouquet from the Minister of “Culture and Folk Enlightenment” Lunde. And there he played Bull’s violin as well, without any disturbance by the National Youth.

[...] PS Glaser has lived here in Norway for at least for 15 years. And by the way, it is just silly to try to create a Jewish problem [“jødeproblem”] we simply do not have.<sup>36</sup>

Soon after the concert, in February 1941, the German authorities demanded Glaser’s dismissal as Oslo Philharmonic’s concert master. Nevertheless, for the moment this could be prevented both by his colleagues in the orchestra and Statsråd Gulbrand Lunde.<sup>37</sup> The reasons for Lunde’s personal involvement are unclear and contradictive: although Lunde was an art-lover and the son of a German-trained singer, Inga Lunde,<sup>38</sup> he was also a frenetic anti-Semit. It was not Lunde’s only commitment to Glaser however. His admiration finally paved the way for the artist’s flight to Sweden, when NS-Norway began the violent persecution of Jews that had been going on in Central Europe for years already. In September 1942 the German Sicherheitspolizei ordered the Norwegian authorities to arrest and deport all Jews in Norway.

The traditional romantic separation between musical and political matters now came to an end, because even Glaser’s high-ranking admirers could no longer protect him. Accordingly, Hird-music leader Jim Johannessen warned him (as Glaser remembered in 1975 in an interview with Ragnar Ulstein)<sup>39</sup> and offered to personally organize his transfer to Sweden,<sup>40</sup> including the use of Oliver Mystad’s car, the leader of Hird and deputy head of the Norwegian Sicherheitspolizei. Glaser refused the offer and still hoped for a chance to be spared from sanctions in Norway. Johannessen indeed insisted and even arranged a meeting for Glaser with Lunde, who had come into office as Secretary for the Culture and Public Enlightenment (“kultur- og folkeopplysningsde-

partement”) in February 1942. Lunde also asked Glaser to leave the country until the war was over. He even offered to shelter the Glasers’ children Berit and Liv (formally so-called “Halbjuden” and in danger as well) and Glaser’s parents, who had come to Norway after 1933. Though Glaser still did not believe in the urgency of such matters, all predictions came true just four weeks later. On Friday, 23 October 1942, the State Police decided upon a large-scale operation the next Monday to arrest all Jewish men between 15 and 65. Although these plans were supposed to be kept secret, Wehrmacht-officer Theodor Steltzer (spying against the NS-authorities) spread the news to Wolfgang Geldmacher,<sup>41</sup> a German music-loving merchant married to his Norwegian wife Randi and sympathisant of the resistance, so that 850 endangered Jews could be brought to Sweden.

By coincidence Gulbrand Lunde and his wife Marie drowned on Sunday, 25 October 1942 so that Glaser had lost his most powerful protector at the most crucial moment. Nevertheless, and despite all good advice, he insisted on fulfilling his duties to perform the very night, right before he was scheduled to leave to Sweden on 27 October. He did give the concert,<sup>42</sup> escaped through the back door and immediately disappeared underground. With the help of Robert Riefling and his wife Amalie Christie (1913-2010, a pianist as well and educated in Berlin, whose two brothers Johan and Werner and her sister Katrine actively served in the military forces on the British side) Ernst and Kari Glaser managed to reach Swedish exile travelling separately to lower the risk of being recognized and caught.<sup>43</sup> With the support of Ester Barrat Due (a sister of the well-known pianist and teacher Mary Barrat Due) Glaser’s parents safely made it into exile, too.<sup>44</sup> It was a huge advantage that Glaser had been to Sweden before for concerts, the last time in 1939,<sup>45</sup> so that he could renew his previous contacts to leading protagonists in Sweden’s music life.<sup>46</sup>

11332 Glaser	Berit	050933 101242
10173 Glaser	Ernst	240204 051142
32199 Glaser	Felix Salomon	060268 291142
32200 Glaser	Jenny Henriette	090773 291142
11331 Glaser	Kari Marie Aarvold	010401 101242
11333 Glaser	Liv	230935 101242

Fig. 15: The registration document naming the Glaser family: After Ernst had escaped first on 5 November 1942, his parents Felix and Jenny were next on 29 November 1942. His wife Kari and their daughters Berit and Liv followed on 10 December 1942. NAN, *Den Kl. Norske Legasjons Flyktningkontor, V/Va/L0002: Kjesäterkartoteket*

Kari Aarvold Glaser’s brother Reidar had sold his spinet to pay for her escape to Sweden, agreeing to take her Grøndahl piano as a deposit. He tried to keep the family’s apartment in Oslo’s Colletsgate 8 as long as possible.<sup>47</sup> However, 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 parts of the Glaser household, while the apartment was given to the musician Willy Fredriksen.<sup>48</sup> The reason for this “legal” transfer was that Ernst Glaser was a German Jew, therefore a German inhabitant, so that SS Hauptsturmführer Wagner at the Viktoria Terrasse-headquarters

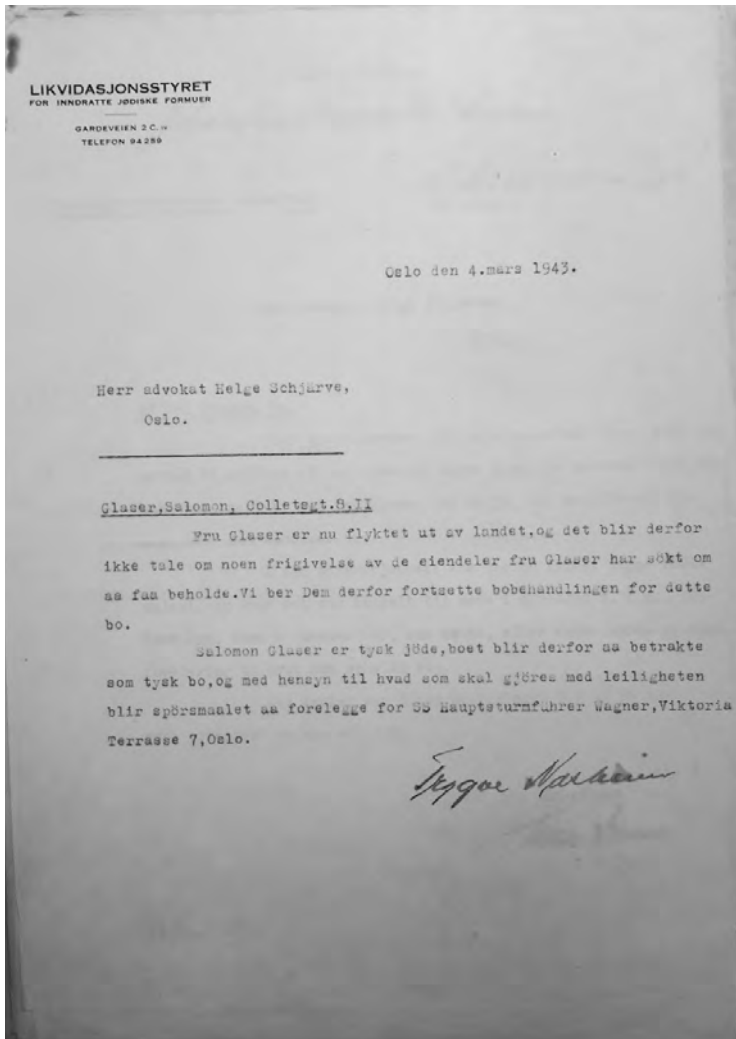


Fig. 16: Official report concerning the “Arisierung” of Ernst Glaser’s personal belongings, dated 4 March 1943. NAN, S-1564/H/Hc/Hcc/L0937

declared the matter to be a German issue (cf. fig. 16).<sup>49</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.

### Robert Levin and his family

Another well documented case features the pianist Jacob Robert Levin who was also of major importance for the exiled Norwegians’ music life in Sweden. Here, the archival files confirm and contour his own retrospective view mentioned in his memoirs. Levin was born on 7 June 1912 in Oslo into the Jewish family of David Levin and his wife Marie, née Scheer. In a file from lawyer (“Overrettssakfører”) Leopold Hersson, who crossed the Swedish border together with Levin on 24 November 1942,<sup>50</sup> there

are reports about Levin's reasons for leaving the country. Obviously it was the intensifying persecution of Jews in Norway that motivated the former Kapellmeister of Oslo's Revue theater *Chat noir* to go into exile.<sup>51</sup> Since 1938 Robert Levin was married to Solveig Margareta née Bernstein, born 12 December 1914. The couple had a daughter, Mona, born 19 November 1939. Robert Levin had not wanted to believe that the persecution of Jews in Norway could be more than a dark, unlikely option, until he was faced with the mortal danger.<sup>52</sup>

He reached Sweden together with six other Norwegians on 24 November 1942.<sup>53</sup> As Solveig was also of Jewish descent, it was just as important for her to reach the safety of Swedish exile with Mona as it had been for her husband. Both Solveig and Mona had been living undercover in Oslo for a month before they could leave the capital. On the last part of the journey through the winter forest, Mona grew so anxious that the group they were travelling with became afraid of being caught by a border patrol and severely threatened Solveig and the little girl to be quiet. After all had finally safely crossed the border, the tension dissolved.

It took several days before the small family Levin was reunited in Kjesäter, where Robert was waiting desperately for news. Since his arrival he had learned that on the day Solveig and Mona had begun their journey, 26 November 1942, all Jewish women and children had been rounded up on board the *Donau* and deported. His memoirs (published together with his daughter Mona in 1983) offer insights into the daily life of this reception camp, where time was filled with waiting, working, distraction in a small library, and playing piano in the meeting room.<sup>54</sup> It took another few days after



Fig. 17: The public hall with a small stage and a piano at castle Kjesäter. NAN, RA/PA-1209/Uc/65-1/2-S5497



the three Levins had been reunited, before they got permission to move to Stockholm, the only place Robert Levin would be able to find enough opportunities for making a living for his family as an artist.

According to the records of the Swedish authorities, Robert Levin began to teach at Gunnar Sönstevold's Pianoskole when he came to Stockholm and was immediately given permission by the Norsk Legasjon to travel through Sweden to perform. His first tour on behalf of the Swedish Help for Norway ("Svenska Norgehjälpen") through the central part of Sweden started on 20 January 1943 in Örebro and ended six days later in Jönköping, including stops in Filipstad, Karlstad, Skövde, Borås, and Huskvarna, with concerts every single day. Three weeks after his return from this tour, on 15 February 1943, he and his family could move into their own apartment in Alingsåsagatan 20, Stockholm.<sup>55</sup>

### **Felix Theodor Levi**

On 30 March 1919 Felix Levi was born in Hamburg as the younger child of Richard and Gertrud Levi, who already had a daughter Lieselotte, born 15 March 1917.<sup>56</sup> His father had been born in Hassloch, while his mother belonged to a well-to-do merchant family in Hamburg. After his chemical studies in Karlsruhe with Fritz Haber, Nobel Prize Winner in Chemistry of 1918, Richard Levi had started a very successful career in the oil industry. At the time of Felix's birth his parents had become quite wealthy, thanks to his father's position as oil inspector of Hamburg's port authorities. In the testimony he contributed to the Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive on 4 May 1998, he described the political attitude of his father at this time as "deutsch-national", which did not prevent the family from being exposed to the tightening grip of National Socialism soon after 1933. Therefore, his mother convinced her husband to send Felix abroad who had loved sports and music since early childhood and even thought of becoming a violinist.

After a short agricultural training in Denmark, his parents considered sending him to Canada in 1936, but this destination seemed too far away for seventeen year old Felix. A trip through different European countries was the compromise, which brought him to Norway. This country appealed to him so much that he decided to stay. Strikingly he even took some violin lessons in Oslo with Ernst Glaser.<sup>57</sup> Although unable to speak one word of Norwegian at that time, Felix enrolled in a school in the area of Levanger to continue his agricultural studies. Studying in Norway until graduation, however, meant further financial support by his family so that Felix returned to Germany to arrange the transfer of his fundings to a Norwegian bank. His situation changed fundamentally when his parents left Hamburg themselves in 1937.

Richard Levi, Felix's father, was considered indispensable in the German petrochemical industry because of his expertise and went on international business trips regularly. Despite his pro-American attitude, developed since his involvement with the oil industry, he was reluctant to leave Germany without a solid professional perspective. When the Reichsluftfahrtministerium (Ministry for Aviation) sent him to Toulouse, France, in 1937, he organized his return trip via Great Britain and stayed there with his wife who was accompanying him. He was immediately offered the position of executive chemist in Manchester's Oil Refinery Ltd.

Felix Levi meanwhile had settled in Levanger and enjoyed his new life. A school friend from the Okkenhaug family introduced him to one of his elder brothers, Arne (1922-1975), and invited him to stay on the family farm outside of Levanger for the summer. The father of the family was Fredrik Paulsen Okkenhaug (born 13 January 1880), a music loving farmer. The mother was Sigrun Johansdatter Okkenhaug, née Vestrum (born 10 September 1889-1939), a local politician and one of the most influential female authors of her generation in Norway.<sup>58</sup> They raised their ten children with a strong sense for the arts and national heritage. With the political turn of April 1940 the Okkenhaug family took a firm stand against the German occupation, most devotedly Arne Okkenhaug who joined forces with Hans Jacob Ustvedt, Ole Jacob Malm and Kåre Norum to build up the civil resistance movement (as described in Chapter I).

One of the other siblings Felix Levi met during his summer on the Okkenhaug farm was the composer Paul Okkenhaug (1908-1975) who had studied organ at the conservatory in Oslo and additionally composition with Bjarne Brustad, David Monrad Johansen and Geirr Tveitt, and with Dagmar Borup in Copenhagen.<sup>59</sup> Besides his duties as organist, choir conductor, composer and organ teacher at the College of Education in Levanger, Paul Okkenhaug was in charge of the family farm.

Arne Okkenhaug was killed in a tragic airplane accident together with his son Ragnvald when their glider crashed near Kragerø in 1957. The newspaper *Bergens Arbeiderblad* published an obituary on 14 July 1975 and summarized his biography:

Program editor Arne Okkenhaug was one of the most valued colleagues the broadcasting service had and a veteran of public enlightenment in our mass media. He was a farmer's son from Frol in the district of Northern Trøndelag. After a training as a teacher in Levanger, he studied broadcasting and public enlightenment in several countries, and he joined NRK [the Norwegian broadcasting company] as editor for school programs in 1935. During the war Arne Okkenhaug had an important honorary post in the resistance movement's executive board. He had to flee to Sweden and in Stockholm it was his job to maintain the connection between the resistance movement's executive board and the cabinet in London. In 1945 Arne Okkenhaug became head of the schools' broadcasts. In 1959 he became the editor of the department for public enlightenment and in 1964 the head of this department. He held this position until he changed to a special position for television without administrative obligations.<sup>60</sup>

The opportunity to live with the Okkenhaug-family meant support for Felix Levi during the time after April 1940 when the money his parents had sent was used up. With a strong sense of loyalty for his new home, Felix joined the Norwegian forces and helped to install a military hospital.<sup>61</sup> At that time, he was still a German citizen and Arne Okkenhaug, as a letter from him to Felix from 2 September 1940 reveals, helped him to get his passport renewed. Nevertheless, when Arne picked up the papers at the German embassy ("tyske konsulatet"), the old passport was retracted and a new one issued. Okkenhaug asked why and the German office employee responded: "This is a German passport, and a German passport needs to be renewed every five years. They cannot be older than that." When Okkenhaug then flipped through the new document, he saw that

Levi still was classified as “Auswanderer” (“emigrant”), asked for a reason and got the response “Well he is a Jew.” (“Er ist ja Jude.”) “Well”, Okkenhaug replied, “in the previous passport it said that Levi had emigrated”. Thereupon the man just shrugged his shoulders and answered that he did not know what else to say in this matter.<sup>62</sup>

It seems that Paul Okkenhaug shared his brother Arne’s critical attitude towards the Nazification of Norway, including the collaboration and double moral standards of certain fellow countrymen. In a letter from 27 April 1941, Paul wrote to Arne:

I was, when I replied the last time, just as certain as today about that the labor service [“arbeidstenesten”] is supposed to be the biggest propaganda machine of the “new time”. My sincerest hope is that the propaganda succeeds! If it would become a fiasco with such an attempt here in this country – that the people would take care, distrustful against anything (while accepting German jobs at the same time with double pay) the new government introduces, then we would not have the nose above the mudd soon. Because the people want to work for the military. They are home, celebrating and agitating against the labor service and other things in new dresses and suits and shoes, gold watches, radios of 7-800 Kroner, paying 50 Kroner for a licence to burn spirits etc. I see that. So are 1,000 to 1,000 of Norwegians today. Is Norway at war? Who is biggest prey of the overall bewildering propaganda? You must not answer me before you come home. There is one thing I really would like to experience: To stand shoulder by shoulder with you and the other brothers in the fight for justice and truth. But first we have to clean up among ourselves. I was a witness during the whole winter. Despicable passiv!<sup>63</sup>

Felix, now without support from home, took a job in a photo shop in Levanger, which also made reproductions for the Wehrmacht. For quite some time he managed to make secret copies for the military resistance, until he had to flee to Sweden in the Winter of 1941/42. According to the records kept by the Swedish authorities he crossed the border on New Years Eve and was registered on 1 January 1942. Fortunately, he was able to bring his violin with him. He was able to inform his friends in Norway, who had heard German rumors that he had died during his attempted escape, and also his parents in England, before he continued on his way to Stockholm.

As Levi described in his testimony from 1998, he had to do lumber work for several months at first, the alternative obligation for all Norwegians who could not do military service in England. Afterwards the Norsk Legasjon covered all costs for him to finish his school education in Stockholm. Nevertheless, as a small file in the National Archives in Oslo reveals, the Norwegian administration did not accept his application to become a naturalized citizen.<sup>64</sup> In the wake of his passport affair in 1940 Felix Levi had lost his German citizenship and was “staatenlos” (“stateless”). Therefore, to gain the rights of a citizen and enjoy the protection only a state can offer, it would have been crucial for him to become a Norwegian. But despite of the time he had spent in Norway, the education he had received and his commitment joining the Norwegian Armed Forces in the spring months of 1940, which he summarized in several papers (cf. fig. 18), and in spite of several advocates who certified his honest, reliable character his application was declined without reasons.

i. no. 187  
Na = 6 1/2

Avskrift.

Pelix Levi, f.t. c/o Benzian, Rigsgt. 6, Stockholm.

25/1-42.

St.holm 3/1	18/4
Nr. 176	bil.

Det Kgl. Norske Justisdepartement,  
London.

Herved tillater jeg mig å søke en norsk statsborgerrett. Jeg er født 30 mars 1919 og kom til Norge 28 oktober 1937 som tysk lsd. I Norge gikk jeg til å begynne med på vinterla dbrukskolen i Oslo for å ta agronomeksamen, hvilket jeg fikk i april 1939.

I februar 1938 reiste min mor og far til England. Min far er ing. Richard Levi til England hvor han ble ansatt ved Manchester Oil Refinery Ltd., Twinning road, Barton - Manchester som Chief Chemist. Før hadde han sitt eget laboratorium i Hamburg. Min far er fortsatt Chief Chemist ved Manchester Oil Refinery.

Da jeg ikke fikk lov til å praktisere i landbruk som søren 1938 arbeidet jeg som volontør ved Norges Statsbaners kjemiske laboratoriu. Etter bestått agronomeksamen reiste jeg til Levanger hvor jeg fikk arbeide i gårdsbruk hos Paul Okkenhaug, Okkenhaug gård, som er bror til en klassekamerat av meg.

Helt til 9 april 1940 fikk jeg understøttelse av far og mor, men på grunn av avrytelsen av normale forbindelser med England var finansiell understøttelse av min far umulig. Jeg hadde julen 1939 ved siden av gårdsbruk bestemt meg til å ta eksamen artium som privatist ved Levanger landsgymnas.

Da jeg ble innrullert i den norske mar holder vernepliktsnummer 1525/39 meldte jeg meg 9 april tross at jeg hadde utsettelse med utskrivningen til 1/1-41, men fikk ikke være med under operasjonene, men hjalp under innretning av lasarett.

Etter den 9 april fikk jeg understøttelse av gode normenn som fullt ut skjønnte min vanskelige situasjon. Jeg bodde på Bekkehuset pr. Levanger, c/o Okkenhaug, hos snilde folk som jeg hjalp med havarbeid og vedarbeid.

Da tyskerne stadig forfulgte meg som tysk jøde fikk jeg aldri ta tysk arbeid, men igjen hjalp loyale nordmenn meg og jeg begynte i 4 gym. på Levanger landsgymnas. 1941 gikk jeg opp til eksamen artium og bestod eksamen unntatt norsk hovedstil hvor jeg fikk måtelig. Jeg gikk opp som privatist.

Da jeg ble 6 ganger forhørt av tyskerne og truet med de værste straffer så jeg meg tilslut nødt til å flykte fra Norge. Min oppholdstillatelse utløper 31/12-42.

Det er sikkert lett å forstå at jeg både tenker og føler norsk etter den gode behandling jeg har fått i Norge og etterat 3 norske gutter for å redde meg har hjulpet meg til grense.

Jeg er nå statsløs, men ville være stolt over å kunne regne meg som norsk borger.

Derfor håber jeg De vil imøtekomme mitt ønske. Herr Myrreen ved Den Kgl. Norske Legasjonen har mine personalia. Dessuten vil mine foreldre ved ymse spørsmål stå til disposisjon.

Arbødigst  
Felix Levi (U)

Oversendes med et vedlegg Det Kgl. Norske Venerisdepartement, p.t. London.  
Den Kgl. Norske Legasjon i Stockholm, 31 januar 1942.

(S) C. F. SMITH  
Charge d'affaires a.i.

Fig. 18: NAN, RA/S-1725/1/D/Da/L0272 Felix Theodor Levi

In Stockholm, however, Felix Levi found new supporters who helped him to build up a new existence.<sup>65</sup> Notwithstanding his lacking Swedish citizenship he was accepted as a student of chemistry. Besides his studies, he still found enough time for his musical interests and got in touch with the Swedish broadcasting company. Among the members of the Jewish Students' Club, he met his future wife Agneta, a survivor of Auschwitz. They married in Stockholm in 1949. Later, Felix and Agneta settled in Manchester to be near to his parents. They had two children, daughter Eleanor and her elder brother Erik, who we know today as a musicologist and renowned author on the subject of "Music and Nazism".

### Various Artists

Several persons could be identified in archival findings who have not been described yet as Norwegian artists in Swedish exile. Although this information is still rudimentary, it might be helpful some day for further research.

Young composer Edvard Hagerup Bull, born 10 June 1922 in Bergen and a pupil of Ludvig Irgens Jensen, fled to Sweden on 29 June 1944 to avoid duty in the "Arbeids-tjenesten" (Compulsory Labor Service, the equivalent to the German "Reichsarbeitsdienst").<sup>66</sup> To explain his reasons to the Swedish authorities, he summarized his previous living conditions during the German occupation and described his motivations to escape:

Home on 9 April 1940 [the day the Germans attacked Norway]. Did not take part in combat. Continued to go to school. Took final exam ("eksamen artium") in the fall of 1941. Studies after that. Studied at the university and took preparation exams for philosophy and Latin, and studied music besides. This was his occupation until he started out to the Swedish boarder. [...] He did not answer the mandatory call to register. This was the reason for coming to Sweden.<sup>67</sup>

Music teacher Inger Lunde, born on 1 August 1921 in Sandar, came to Sweden on 22 December 1944, after she had spread illegal newspapers, together with her fiancé, Erling Morris Hansen. The report for the Norsk Legasjon, dated 26 May 1944, ends with the result "makes a good impression" ("Gir et bra inntrykk").<sup>68</sup>

Jan Henry Berg, born on 6 October 1919 in Steinkjær, received a musical education in the school of the 5<sup>th</sup> division in Trondheim. When the war broke out he joined the Norwegian forces against the Wehrmacht in the area of Trøndelag around Trondheim. He worked in a factory and travelled to Trondheim once a week to continue his musical education until May 1943, when he gave up his job and made music his profession. As the report for the Swedish authorities mentions, he neither participated in entertainment for Nasjonal Samling or the Germans, nor did he perform in the radio which was forbidden by the paroles the resistance movement kept circulating regularly (as discussed in Chapter I). Due to his participation in underground resistance work, he had to expect his arrest and escaped to Sweden on 12 October 1944.<sup>69</sup>

Thanks to the research of Lars Hansson about exiled Norwegian in Sweden during the years 1940-45 and the *Lexikon verflogeter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit* a

few more artists could be identified who had fled from Central Europe to Norway after 1933 and had escaped into Swedish neutrality after 1940:

- Peter Valentin Brown, born on 16 October 1921 in Flisbaken, passed the Swedish boarder on 25 January 1943 as a “stateless” (“statslös”). According to the records of the Swedish authorities Brown was a member of the Rowvalnde & Grenbergs Jazzkapell in Oslo. The reason for his escape was racial persecution, as a longer comment in a terminology typical for that time reveals: “Brown is a mulatto. It has occurred recently that several mulattos were arrested and sent to concentration camps in Germany. As Brown was afraid of being sent there he fled to Sweden. Brown was born in Norway and has always lived there with short periods abroad, visiting Sweden for example. His father was a stateless Negro and his mother a Swedish citizen. His father and mother, who were not married, are both dead.”<sup>70</sup>

12435	Brown	Gerd Milly	200623 230143
12434	Brown	Peter Vallentin	161021 23014
16017	Brown	Tom James	160242 17044

Fig. 19: Registration of Peter Val(l)entin Brown, born 16 October 1921, when he crossed the Swedish boarder on 23 January 1943, together with Gerd Milly Brown, who probably was his wife, born 20 June 1923. According to the birth date on 16 February 1942 Tom James Brown could have been their child, who came to Sweden three months later on 17 April 1944 (the reasons are not known). NAN, *Den Kl. Norske Legasjons Flyktningskontor*, V/Va/L0002: *Kjesäterkartoteket*

- Moritz Mayer-Mahr, born on 17 January 1869 in Mannheim, Germany, grew up in Mainz and became a concert pianist and piano teacher. From 1892 until 1937 he taught at the famous Klindworth-Scharwenka-Konservatorium in Berlin and was a renowned member of the Berlin Academy of the Arts until 1933. On 19 August 1935 he was excluded from the Reichsmusikkammer because of his Jewish descent. After a rejected complaint, he was forbidden to continue his professional life but was allowed to go on teaching foreign students and members of the Jüdischer Kulturbund. In 1940 he and his second wife Paula Mayer-Mahr, née Sternberg were permitted to leave Germany, while his son Robert Mayer-Mahr (from his first marriage) was not able to escape; he was arrested in Drancy on 4 September 1942 and deported to Auschwitz. Moritz and Paula Mayer-Mahr first went into exile in Norway, where they arrived on 24 March 1940, just a few days before the German attack. On 7 November 1942 they went into Swedish exile, where Moritz Mayer-Mahr kept on teaching and performing. He died in Göteborg on 30 July 1947 at the age of 78.<sup>71</sup>
- Moritz Joseph Leventhal was born on 22 March 1911 in Valbo (Gävleborg) to Jewish parents who had migrated from Russia to Norway. Until the Nazification of the Norwegian labor regulations he had different jobs as a musician, but then had to work for a steal company (Foss Järngjuteri i Akder).<sup>72</sup> He was arrested and imprisoned in Grini on 23 June 1941 (# 255) and released on 14 July 1941.<sup>73</sup> He was categorized as “stateless”. Together with dental technician Viktor Leventhal (maybe his brother) and Viktor’s wife Alma Leventhal he escaped to Sweden on 17 October 1942.

09693	Leventhal	Alma	020114	171042
09693	Leventahl	Moritz Josef (Joe)	X	220311 171042
60934	Leventhal	Oscar	040907	070545
22953	Lewenthal	Tove	170244	
09692	Leventhal	Viktor	140415	171042

Fig. 20: Registration of Moritz Josef (Joe) Leventhal, born 22 March 1911, when he crossed the Swedish boarder on 17 October 1942, together with Viktor Leventhal (maybe his brother) and Viktor's wife Alma Leventhal. NAN, *Den Kl. Norske Legasjons Flyktningkontor, V/Va/L0002: Kjesäterkartoteket*

- Robert Richter was born on 7 August 1908 in Budapest into the Jewish family of Martzell and Laura Richter. According to a file from the Swedish authorities in Charlottenberg dated 13 November 1942, he married Grethe Fleischner in 1933, who lived in Vienna at that time. She was a singer at the same theater in Vienna in which he was engaged as conductor. After an unspecified time they moved to his hometown Budapest. Probably because of rising anti-Semitic tensions, they left Hungary and were permitted to stay in Belgium from November 1938 until January 1939. From there they moved to Copenhagen until 30 July 1939 when they received a permit to go to Norway. Both found work at the Chat noir-Theater in Oslo. When the war broke out in Norway on 9 April 1940, Richter enlisted with the Norwegian Army and was in battle until the middle of May. Both continued to work as artists, until this was forbidden by the German authorities because of their Jewish descent. In consequence Robert Richter tried to continue at the Chat Noir as a photographer, while his wife assisted the ballet. When the persecution of Jews in Norway intensified they decided to leave, took a car from Oslo to Östmarka and crossed the boarder to Sweden probably on 11 November 1943.<sup>74</sup>
- Albert Spiwak (Spiwaroff / Spitzer) was born on 14 April 1899 in Smela (Smila), Ukraine (today Russia).<sup>75</sup> According to a record from the Australian Red Cross, preserved in the archive of the University of Melbourne Library he was a pianist living in Dagaliveien 8, Slemdal, Oslo. The first note from 17 February 1943 says that he was a Russian born Jew, naturalized in Norway approximately in 1938, the second note documents a request for further information, sent to Geneva on 15 March 1943.<sup>76</sup>

I. S. S.		INDEX No. 47239		CASUALTY	WELFARE	DIV. ENO.	VIC.
SURNAME		SPIWAROFF		OTHER NAMES		Albert	
Dagalliveien 8, Slemdal, Oslo		NORWAY		REG. No.		UNIT	
POW CAMP				M/K AND ADDRESS			
DATE	NORWEGIAN born Russian JEW INFORMATION			AGE: 42			
17-2-43	Enq. from Vic. "Welfare and whereabouts - REQ. Cable. Naturalised for about 5 yrs. born Russian Jew. Born - Smela, Ukraine Russia, AGE: 42 Yrs - Pianist"						
15-3-43	Cable BGS69 to Geneva req. inf.						

Fig. 21: Search Document from the International Office of the Australian Red Cross for Albert Spiwaroff. UMA, Spiwaroff, Albert, Missing, Wounded and Prisoner of War Enquiry Cards, Australian Red Cross Society, National Office, 2016.0049.50862

## A Nordic Casablanca

During all the years between 1940 and 45, both German and Norwegian musicians were present in Sweden.<sup>77</sup> A basic evaluation of newspapers clearly documents their activities. The Nordic Music Festival celebrated in Stockholm in the presence of members of the Royal Family, featured the music of such different musicians as Kurt Atterberg, Tor Mann, Leevi Madetoja, Jean Sibelius, Sparre Olsen, Arne Eggen, Poul Schiebeck, Ture Rangström and Julia Claussen: "Konserten bevistades av kronprinsessan Louise, prinsessorna Ingeborg och Margareta och prins Eugen."<sup>78</sup>

The major concern of most of the articles, as long as they pertained to music, was to avoid any connection to politics. One can find articles on radio broadcasts with grammophone-recordings of "norska romanser" by Arne Eggen, Pauline Hall and Agathe Backer Gröndahl, followed up by a program *Vårt ansvar för demokratiens värden. Från kvinnoföreningarnas opinionsmöte i Konserthuset*,<sup>79</sup> which underlines the attention political issues could attract while they were strictly distanced from the arts.<sup>80</sup> As a tribute to their international fame, which originated in the 1920s, much attention was payed to leading German performers and conductors such as Wilhelm Backhaus and Karl Böhm who gave acclaimed recitals. Not a single word was added though that these famous artists were traveling abroad in the role of cultural diplomats on behalf of the National Socialist "Auslandspropaganda". As a proof of Sweden's neutrality, newspaper printed advertisements announcing the concerts of Norwegian artists in exile and supported by Swedish colleagues right next to the advertisements for the German propagandists Karl Böhm and Walter Giesecking.<sup>81</sup>

**KONCERTFÖRENINGEN**  
Söndag kl. 20 (Seris B).  
Dirigent: **KARL BÖHM**  
Verker: Griegs III "Overture".  
R. Strauss: "Tid och Vackslöring".  
Brahms: Symfoni nr 2, D-dur.

**NORDISK MUSIK**  
Konserthusets Utsal  
1 dag kl. 16 (Öst 1943)  
**ANSEL SCHÜTZ**  
Emet Källberg  
Tora Wiberg  
Brahms: Sonat A-dur i. valda 2. del.  
Schubert: "Die schöne Müllerin".  
Stämningssyftet från Lundsala  
kl. 8, 2.30, 3.15 o. kl.

**AFTON KONCERTHUSET**  
Lilla Teatern kl. 20.30  
Jubileumsafton  
**SIGURD WALLENS**  
★ ENMANS-TEATER ★  
Albert Engeströms  
**ROSPIGGAR**  
ETT FATAL ÅTERST. BILL.  
Konserthus, Söndag, kl. 8. 1943.  
KONCERTBLAGET

**NORDISK AFTON**  
Onsdagen 13 oktober kl. 20.15  
**ATTEKSALEN, Konserthuset.**  
Arrangörer: Tyde Njånes och  
Svend Ungdem.  
**PROGRAM:**  
Hilföreläsning följande av Vivi Lærness.  
Tidningen.  
Musik av de norska violinisterna  
Johan Casberg och Ernst Glass.  
Andrep. Fra Glass.  
Sång av konsertångaren Ole Bjør-  
Rag och norsk dubbelkvartett.  
Deklamation av Ingvald Galling.  
Supplikor av Leandere rym.  
Drottens 4-mannakvartett.  
Hilföreläsning nr 2: 19. Innehåller både en  
Söndag kl. 10.15, kl. 12.15 och kl. 14.15.  
Föreningenskonserter, Söndag kl. 10  
Innehållningen är tillgänglig  
i alla kyrkor.

**KONCERTHUSET**  
Söndag kl. 20  
Lördagen den 9 okt. kl. 20.15.  
**Till ära och Herads för de  
DANSKA FLYHTNINGARNA**  
given under beskydd av  
H. K. H. prinsessan Ingeborg  
**SOIRÉE**  
S:ta Maria Magdalena kyrka  
Söndag kl. 10.15, kl. 12.15, kl. 14.15.  
Kyrkan slungar  
Hilföreläsning i den svenska stämningen.  
Söndag kl. 10.15, kl. 12.15, kl. 14.15.  
S:ta Maria Magdalena kyrka, Söndag kl. 10.15, kl. 12.15, kl. 14.15.  
André, Tid språk i Götting.

**S:ta Maria Magdalena kyrka**  
Söndag kl. 10.15, kl. 12.15, kl. 14.15.  
**"Kyrkan slungar"**  
Hilföreläsning i den svenska stämningen.  
Söndag kl. 10.15, kl. 12.15, kl. 14.15.  
S:ta Maria Magdalena kyrka, Söndag kl. 10.15, kl. 12.15, kl. 14.15.  
André, Tid språk i Götting.

Fig. 22: Svenska Dagbladet, 9 November 1943



Nevertheless, Wilhelm Furtwängler's appearance in 1943 stood out among all the other events.<sup>82</sup> Some German refugees and Swedish young intellectuals, however, protested against Furtwängler's appearance. As Henrik Rosengren argues,

Curt Berg in *Dagens Nyheter* was the only music journalist to demand a boycott of his concert. By this stage, attitudes towards Germany had been inflamed by the Nazis' closure of the University of Oslo and the deportation of Norwegian academics on 30 November, both of which incidents contributed to the intensification of resistance both in the Academy of Music and in the Swedish parliament against German guest performances. In the wake of this debate, numerous German musicians, researchers and actors were denied entry permits into Sweden. However, Furtwängler had signed an annual contract for his appearances in Stockholm and made his appearances as planned, although his Beethoven performance proved to be the last he conducted in Sweden up to the end of the war.<sup>83</sup>

The image shows a page from the Swedish newspaper Svenska Dagbladet, dated 6 December 1943, featuring several theater and cinema advertisements. The ads are arranged in a grid-like fashion. At the top, there are three main advertisements: 'PALLADIUM' for 'Münchhausen', 'SIBYLLAN · GÖTA LEJON' for 'Fula Filurer', and 'Stormy Weather'. Below these are smaller ads for 'DER SVARTA SVANEN', 'MANHATTAN', and 'AN LEVER ADAM'. The bottom section contains 'Sista veckan på ALCAZAR' and 'BAMBIS'. Each advertisement includes illustrations, titles, and promotional text in Swedish. For example, the 'Fula Filurer' ad features a cartoon illustration of Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy. The 'Bambis' ad features a cartoon of a dog on a star. The 'An lever Adam' ad features a cartoon of a man in a suit. The 'Sista veckan på Alcazar' ad features a photograph of a group of people. The 'Münchhausen' ad features a cartoon of a man in a military uniform. The 'Stormy Weather' ad features a photograph of a man in a military uniform. The 'Der Svarta Svanen' ad features a photograph of a swan. The 'Manhattan' ad features a photograph of a man in a military uniform. The 'An lever Adam' ad features a cartoon of a man in a suit. The 'Sista veckan på Alcazar' ad features a photograph of a group of people. The 'Bambis' ad features a cartoon of a dog on a star.

Fig. 23: Svenska Dagbladet, 6 December 1943

## Kurt Atterberg

Swedish musicology has contributed several case studies about the generation of composers who dominated the domestic music life during the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>84</sup> Among them Kurt Atterberg was credited to being the most influential one, not only because of his prestigious position as the secretary of the Royal Music Academy, including the privilege of having his own compositional class, but also regarding his intimate involvement in international associations. His private papers preserved in the archive of Stockholm's Music Academy document the extent of his correspondence with colleagues and political elites especially in Germany. One example is Hans Sellschopp, head of the Foreign Affairs Office ("Leiter der Auslandsstelle") in Joseph Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda.<sup>85</sup> Atterberg's music was performed regularly in Germany, for example his opera *Aladin* at the opera in Chemnitz.<sup>86</sup> He supported a concert of the Winterhilfswerk des Deutschen Volkes on 17 October 1941,<sup>87</sup> and he was invited to the propagandist Mozart-week 1941 in Vienna.<sup>88</sup>

Papers in Berlin's Bundesarchiv further indicate that the Nordische Verbindungsstelle, another office within the Propagandaministerium, was in touch with Atterberg. Its purpose was to coordinate the import of "pure" Nordic content and the export of ideological messages employing trustworthy persons ("Vertrauensleute") such as Hermann Kiy in Copenhagen and Dr. Paul Grassmann in Stockholm to collect useful information.<sup>89</sup> As Kurt Atterberg mentions in the memoirs he began writing in 1963 and which are preserved in the archives of the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm,<sup>90</sup> the Germans ran a small propaganda office in Stockholm's Lilla Kaptensgatan.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, due to Goebbels' promotion of the actresses Kristina Söderbaum (married to Veit Harlan, one of the leading directors of propaganda movies) and Zarah Leander in German movies and propaganda programs, Swedish artists were well represented in German media.

According to Atterberg's memoirs, he was known to Furtwängler from previous occasions. His memoirs mention a meeting 1941 in Vienna, while the earliest reference of Atterberg in Furtwängler's legacy, preserved in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, is dated to 1926; furthermore, Atterberg welcomed the famous conductor at home when he came to Stockholm with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.<sup>92</sup> Additionally, we find Atterberg in close correspondence with Heinz Drewes, the head of the music department in Goebbels' ministry,<sup>93</sup> with the Nordische Gesellschaft in Lübeck (another Nazi-agency), and with Herbert Gerigk (1905-1996), 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 territories (such as scores, instruments, libraries, letters etc.). Although today a name like Herbert Gerigk might look like a minor figure in terms of music history, he was not only an aggressive anti-Semite music critic, party member since 1932 (# 1,096,433), and functionary serving Alfred Rosenberg's ideological agenda.<sup>94</sup> He also used his influence in 1936 for his own promotion by Prof. Werner Korte in Münster thus gaining the status of a "Privatdozent", marked by title "Dr. habil." (as an abbreviation of "Habilitation").<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, he was never called to account for his doings after 1945 and maintained a career as music critic in the Ruhr-area. As a passage in his memoirs indicates, Atterberg knew Gerigk since his first visits to international mu-

sic festivals. They met again years later at a press conference for a performance of Atterberg's *Sinfonia visionaria* in Dortmund under Generalmusikdirektor Rolf Agop on 1 March 1962. When Atterberg spotted Gerigk among the other journalists, his only reaction is to have been (according to his own memoirs): "Gerigk, ich glaubte, er wäre aufgehängt". ("Gerigk, I thought he had been hanged.") On the other hand, Atterberg tried to insinuate that he himself had only been occupied with cultural matters.<sup>96</sup>

It was one of Goebbels' strong ambitions to do away with the International Society for Contemporary Music in which numerous artists were members who the Nazis had insulted for years as being "degenerated" ("entartet") or "Jewish-Bolshevik". In its stead Goebbels established the "Ständige Rat der Komponisten" as an ideologically proper alternative featuring Richard Strauss and organizing international exchanges for the artistic improvement of musicians and for the synchronization of copyrights. Atterberg's membership in this committee as Sweden's representative was quite controversial so that he had to explain his participation in a conference in Berlin 13-15 June 1942 at an Academy meeting.<sup>97</sup> This dispute did not prevent him, however, to continue his engagement and he travelled to Berlin. The conference offered the participation in an audience with Joseph Goebbels for the members of the council.<sup>98</sup>

Atterberg also supported the traditions of Nordic Music Festivals and the board meetings of the Nordic Composers' Associations, which were scheduled for Stockholm in 1941 respectively 1942.<sup>99</sup> Although his memoirs tell of difficulties in including participants from Norway (Sverre Jordan, David Monrad Johansen and Thorolf Voss), his contacts to the authorities in Norway and his connection to the German embassy in Stockholm proved to be rather helpful. He was active on his behalf as well, for example when the actor Fridtjof Mjösen (1897-1967, the brother of actress Sonja Mjøen 1898-1993, who was living in Stockholm since 1942 with her husband Axel Kielland and their daughter) needed a permission to come to Sweden from Norway for a visit.<sup>100</sup> In a letter to "Präsident Müller-Scheldt" (referring to the high-ranking bureaucrat in the propaganda department of Georg Wilhelm Müller in Oslo) on 31 March 1942 Atterberg could come back to a meeting hosted by the German representative in Stockholm, Dr. Hermann Kappner, to speak on Mjösen's behalf, who had been engaged at the Preußisches Staatstheater in Berlin a few years before and at that time was teaching at the Norwegian National Theater in Oslo:

He has received an offer to work with the Swedish Terrafilm, but unfortunately Leif Sinding, Oslo, rejected his permission to leave the country. But to my concern compelling reasons would need to be considered. Because Mr Mjösen is married to a cousin of my wife who works here as a film journalist and incidentally is very active for German film. He has not seen his wife in almost 12 months. Mrs Mjösen neither can visit her husband in Norway, because she is depending on her work and would risk – being a Norwegian citizen – to being rejected by the Swedish authorities on her return to Sweden. I have known Fridtjof Mjösen very well for years. His parents are the well known racial biologist Jon Alfred Mjösen and Claire Mjösen, née Berndt from Magdeburg. I can fully guarantee for his loyalty to our contemporary political situation. You would do me an enormous personal favor if you could help my relative Fridtjof Mjösen in this matter.<sup>101</sup>

In the fall of 1942 rumors spread that Nasjonal Samling had decreed a ban on Swedish music in Norway. This topic even made it into the Swedish news and Svenska Dagbladet reported on 30 October 1942:

Oslo reports that recently the NS-authorities prohibited the performance of Swedish music. Works by Russian and Jewish composers have been banned earlier from Norwegian concert halls already.

Bandmaster Jim Johannessen, the “Reichsmusicleader” [“riksmusikledare”] of the Hird is responsible for the rearrangement of the music life, since he was appointed to join the new council for culture [“kulturrådet”]. During the past half year Johannessen had weakened the influence of the state music consultant, Geirr Tveidt. He now sent a letter with his resignation to the Ministry for Culture and Folk Enlightenment.

The situation of concert musicians has been very difficult during this fall when new regulations were implemented one week and taken back the next week. One regulation demands that singers have to send in their lyrics for approval. A rule for musicians, which of them would have to perform for Oslo radio, was abolished however.<sup>102</sup>

The same day Atterberg found this note in the newspaper, he wrote directly to Berlin, contacting a Dr. Gast at the Propagandaministerium in Berlin on 30 October 1942.

Dear Doctor, just returning from the interesting days in Berlin I find a small article in one of the newspapers here, Stockholms-Tidningen, which is very precise in all political matters. In short NS, which means Nasjonal Samling, is supposed to have forbidden all public performances of Swedish music in Oslo. I assume this report is wrong. Nevertheless, I would like to ask you to examine this matter, because such actions will surely cause undesirable effects. With cordial thanks for all your hospitality in Berlin.<sup>103</sup>

Four months later Atterberg received an answer from Berlin via the Deutsche Gesandtschaft (cf. fig. 24). According to inquiries of the Reichskommissariat in Oslo such a prohibition did not exist. In fact this was definitely a misinformation, because the general ban for Swedish music was only lifted in 1943, if it did not dominate a concert program, not at the time of Atterberg’s inquiry in late 1942 (details about censorship in Nazi-occupied Norway are discussed in Chapter III).<sup>104</sup> On 4 February 1943, Hermann Kappner of the German embassy wrote:

In the past fall we spoke about the note in the local press that the performance of Swedish music was forbidden in Norway. Meanwhile several disclaimers have been published. I am now able to inform you about the results of an inquiry at the Reichskommissariat in Oslo. It has emphasized that no Norwegian office, neither on part of the government, nor on part of the party and certainly not on part of a German authority, ever issued a ban or even a partial ban against Swedish music in Norway. Even though this affair has actually been settled in all the points concerned, I did not want to miss informing you personally about the outcome as you are known for your interest in upholding the international music relations.<sup>105</sup>

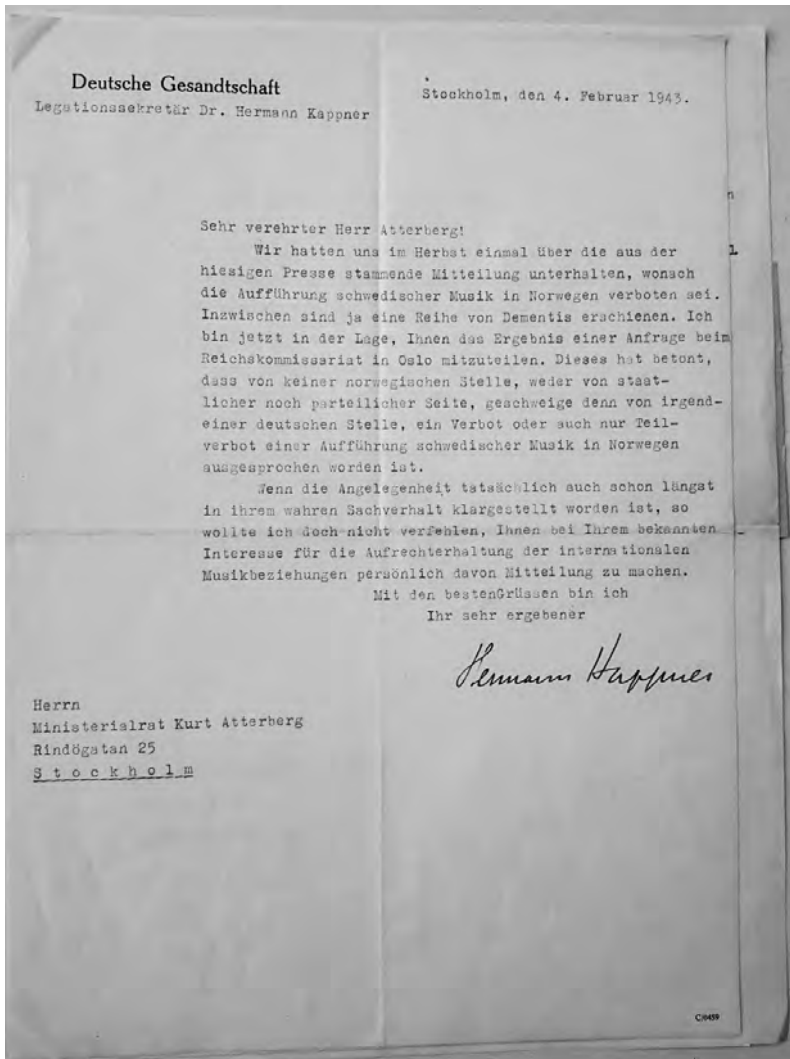


Fig. 24: Letter of Dr. Hermann Kappner to Kurt Atterberg, 4 February 1943. RMA, ATT-0054

In spite of Atterberg's willingness to expand the Swedish-German music relations during the years after 1933, including extensive political commitments, his personal political motivation remains obscure. This was already a controversial issue for his contemporaries. Doubtlessly he was an anti-modernist,<sup>106</sup> taking the side of Hans Pfitzner who accused Arnold Schoenberg of "musical impotency".<sup>107</sup> This explicitly included traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes. Furthermore, he acted as a protectionist on behalf of Swedish artists, which in the case of the Russian born Jewish-Norwegian conductor Issay Dobrowen aroused a public debate in 1941. In his own words Atterberg was simply shielding artistic positions in Sweden against foreign competitors when in his position as the Swedish Royal Academy's secretary he petitioned against a residence permit for Dobrowen with the result that the conductor could not be engaged by the Gotenborg Symphony Orchestra.<sup>108</sup>

Several times after 1945 Atterberg had to defend himself against allegations of anti-Semitic sentiments, and in the privacy of his memoirs he referred to the Jewish grandmother of his wife and an anecdote that the favorite friends of childhood-days were Jewish to prove his honorable persuasion.<sup>109</sup> Nevertheless, it created a considerable scandal when the press in Oslo found out that Atterberg was invited to contribute to the Norwegian Music Week (“norsk musikkuke”) in the fall of 1945 that was designated to celebrate works “that could not be performed – or were voluntarily held back – during the occupational regime”.<sup>110</sup> Instead, a committee was installed in Sweden to clarify or falsify Atterberg’s affiliation with fascism between 1933 and 1945, which judged in his favor. On several pages of his memoirs he also described in detail questions he had to answer for Mathieu Berckenhoff (1888-1966) in March 1946 on behalf of the Norwegian Copyright Organization TONO, for example regarding his participation in a gala dinner on 29 September 1940 in company of Christian Sinding, Cally Monrad, David Monrad Johansen and Gulbrand Lunde, representing the official NS-Norway.<sup>111</sup> Further questions tried to find out if one could foresee in 1940 the political attitude of Monrad Johansen, Sinding, and Cally Monrad, which (to no surprise) Atterberg denied, and if Wagner-soprano and Bayreuth-veteran Ellen Gulbranson (1863-1947) was a Nazi-sympathizer in 1940 and now (1946) could be regarded a “nazi”, which he denied as well.

There was Atterberg’s controversial networking on the one side, but Swedish institutional solidarity for a liberated Norway and open or, at least, diplomatic distancing from Hitler-Germany and its representatives as well. One example can be found at the Royal Music Academy in Stockholm where German-friendly Atterberg was a strong, but not the only influential voice. The first remarkable initiative dates back to the year 1943, a turning point for the German warfare and NS-politics in Norway. After Vidkun Quisling’s installation as prime minister the year before had not resulted in increasing support among the Norwegian population, and the arrest of thousands of teachers who had refused to join the official professional organisations had turned into an international scandal, the disaster of the 6<sup>th</sup> army in Stalingrad in the winter of 1942/43 had proven that the Wehrmacht could be defected. The next public disaster for the NS-propaganda was the mass arrest of more than 1,000 students after deliberately setting fire to the University’s ceremonial hall in Oslo on 28 November 1943. More than 600 male students were deported to concentration camps in Germany and the University was closed, by orders of Reichskommissar Josef Terboven. International protest was strong and the Royal Academy in Stockholm discussed a formal response of solidarity to the Norwegian academia. Paragraph 20 in the minutes from 16 December 1943 reports about a proposal by the members Melchers, Lindberg, Wibergh, Skarby, Mann and Runnquist to publish a collective public protest note, which was accepted by the board: “The Royal Academy of Music, gathered for the December meeting, expresses its deep sorrow and legitimate resentment over the outrageous act of violence that the German occupation authorities have allowed themselves against Norway’s foremost scientific and cultural institution by detaining teachers and students and abducting much of the latter to foreign countries.”<sup>112</sup> Nine months later the Academy was getting into practical business discussing the idea to employ Danish and Nor-

wegian refugees in its central office for writing scores in Uppsala. The board agreed to refund its own librarian's travel costs without finally deciding upon the matter.<sup>113</sup>

### Swedish Regulations

Whatever the Norwegian musicians might have wanted to achieve for the sake of their occupied homeland and themselves, or whatever they experienced while trying to make a living, it could not be fully understood without considering the atmosphere in Sweden both in general during the Second World War and especially concerning their Nordic neighbors. The more the recent years after 1933 had led the European continent towards war the more difficult the situation had become for Sweden. After 1939 it needed even greater exertion to maintain the state doctrine of political neutrality; balancing the traditionally good relationship to Germany with that to the other Nordic states, where the neighbors in Norway and Denmark were forced meanwhile under Nazi-control, while Finland temporarily joined forces with Germany in an anti-Soviet coalition war was an ambitious goal. At the same time Sweden itself had a strong parliamentary fascist fraction, so that Hitler's position had a remarkable backing.

Not every refugee from Norway was permitted to enter Sweden. Authors such as Lars Hansson and Eirik Veum have documented how Swedish authorities rejected expatriates and "stateless", for example Leif (Leiba) Wolfberg, born in 1914 in Lithuania and making a living in Norway as a musician. After having been arrested on 3 April 1942 for several months he was released during summer and tried to escape to Sweden. While the Swedish authorities allowed his four comrades to cross the boarder, Wolfberg, however, was sent back. Soon afterwards he was arrested in Oslo on 3 October 1942 and was deported six weeks later to Auschwitz on the ship Monte Rosa, where he survived along with only a few other Jews from Norway.<sup>114</sup>

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Name: (bei Frauen auch Geburtsname)									
Vormname: <b>Wolfberg</b>								Bild m. 12814 12814 7-12 1942	
Nachname: <b>Leiba</b>									
Geburtsort und -ort: <b>10.10.14 Lithauen</b>								Oslo Ruitfeldtgt. 36/2	
Beruf: <b>Musiker</b>									
Familienstand: <b>led.</b>								Note:	
Staatsangehörigkeit: <b>norw.</b>								Schriftprobe:	
Geschl. Name: _____ Adresse: _____								116	
Politische Einstellung: _____ Glaubensbekenntnis: <b>Jude</b>				Sachverhalt:				Staatspolizeistelle Gefährtsachen	
Datum der Auftragung: <b>3.4.42 1.45 Uhr</b>		<b>Bekämpfung eines Deutschen.</b>						<b>2016 Dauerdienst Bieber</b>	
<i>Grim 3285</i>								6. St. Nr. 33	

Fig. 25: Leif (Leiba) Wolfberg's "Haftkarte" from Møllergata 19. NAN, RAFA-5969/E/Ea/L0010

On the other hand, the Norwegian authorities in Sweden did not accept everybody who tried to leave Norway either. Malm's papers contain the transcription of an order to reject refugees:

1. in case he or she had been a member of Nasjonal Samling or any other of its sections after 9 April 1940,
2. in case of supporting the German invasion,
3. in case the refugee was a provocateur or poser ("angiver"),
4. in case of private support for Nasjonal Samling or a pro-German attitude, or
5. in case of supporting the NS-"Neuordnung" or taking part in related events.<sup>115</sup>

A memorandum for Anna Beate Asserson (refugee #33285) exemplifies this practice. She had performed in Berlin in the summer of 1944 for a German audience and had participated in a tour for German soldiers to gain concert experience: "If one considers the personal sacrifices the Norwegian artists have made for their commitment to the Norwegian liberation fight ('holdningskamp'), the personal preference of Miss Assarson in favor of her own artistic interests seems like a national betrayal. I think it would be alarming to accept Miss Assarson as Norwegian refugee, and I think she should not get Norwegian refugee documents."<sup>116</sup>



Fig. 26: *Svenska Dagbladet*, 30 October 1942



In practical terms the Swedish government was torn between expectations to keep up its political and moral standards and the military realities, to accept German demands for uncontrolled troop transports, for informational access regarding Norway and for tolerating pro-German, anti-Bolshivik politics. Like the microcosm of a Nordic Casablanca Stockholm's cultural life represented all these different, sometimes rivaling aspects, including propagandistic events supporting either Nazi-Germany or anti-Quisling Norway. On one hand, German propaganda even tried to establish its own journal in Swedish called *Signal*.<sup>117</sup> From April 1940 to March 1945, first in issues of 50,000 copies, which later declined to 14,000, short articles and high-gloss pictures glorified German military and cultural achievements. A paperclip from *Svenska Dagbladet*, dated 30 October 1942 and advertising suits for the fashionable resistance fighter,<sup>118</sup> is an example of the wide range of topics in everyday life (cf. fig. 26).

According to the 13page long manuscript for a public speech entitled *Post-war reconstruction as reflected in the underground press of Norway*, which Ole Jacob Malm gave in London on 28 September 1943,<sup>119</sup> many Norwegians felt neither safe nor very much appreciated by the Swedish public. In several aspects this paper is a notable summary of the general development of the civil resistance fight in Norway so that it deserves to be presented in larger passages. First, Malm referred to the clandestine press as an answer to the need of solid information:

The birth of the Underground Press did not coincide with the completion of the German occupation of Norway, though the suppression of the free printed word was a very immediate consequence of the situation in Norway during that fatal spring and summer, 1940. The chains that enslave the Norwegian people militarily and materially did not, after all, tie up the tongue of the same people at once. So long as you can talk and write in your private correspondence in the same way as had been the uncensored privilege of my countrymen for hundreds of years, and you can listen to the B.B.C. without being imprisoned and punished, there is no burning need for underground communication. To cut it short, it was in fact not until the seizure of the wireless receivers that started in Oslo on the 10<sup>th</sup> September, 1941, under the martial law put into action at that time, that we all were faced with the situation of being completely cut off from reliable information – that is the very situation which in all occupied countries has given birth to this strange press operating in the dark, but carrying the bright and encouraging lights of hope and freedom.

After describing in detail the diversification of clandestine information in Norway and the importance of British news services he concluded by asking for the consequences of the current situation on the future relations of Norway to its Nordic neighbors. Concerning Sweden he made a remarkable distinction between the political agents and public opinion:

Our relationship with Sweden is much more complicated. I am again quoting a recent issue of a clandestine paper: “The transportation during three years of German troops as well as irritating incidents of different treatment of Finnish and Norwegian refugees in Sweden has worn down our friendship. Swe-

den's opportunistic and calculating foreign policy has been felt as treachery against the common cause. Certain general aspects in relation to post-war problems are outstanding. In Norway we are strongly against the idea of any kind of a Northern Federation of the States, and we are opposed to a policy of Northern isolationism. This war has separated the Nordic states so strongly that the first thing is to join together the ties that have been severed by the war and recreate an atmosphere of confidence and understanding in Scandinavia. We don't see the future in any romantic rose-colour. We are prepared to stand privations and make sacrifices for a long time to come, to regain the economic, social and political position of our country. To attain this aim it is essential to have a reliable and extensive co-operation between the Nordic and all other nations." This was written just before the transit of German men and material was stopped. [...] And I will add that it is often expressed in the clandestine press that in Norway we do not blame the Swedish people for the rather un-neutral, anti-Scandinavian policy of the present Swedish Government. We have a strong and ever-growing feeling that the spirit of the Swedish people is definitely pro-Ally and pro-Norwegian.

The situation of being abroad, fighting for Norway's liberation and against the German propaganda, while trying to keep up the international interest in Norway's fate and culture, was reflected by Hans Jacob Ustvedt as well. As his diaries reveal, this became especially evident when he travelled in the United Kingdom. During a trip through England and Scotland, he combined his daytime duties of being responsible for public health and medical affairs with his love for music as often as possible, noting for example on 5 January 1943 that a Scottish guard taught him Scottish folk songs,<sup>120</sup> that he sang for soldiers in Scotland during a visit on 1 February,<sup>121</sup> and that he met Molly Sands at the British Council on 5 February who lent him gramophone recordings of characteristic English, Scottish and Irish folk songs.<sup>122</sup> He also went to concerts as often as possible in the company of his colleagues, on 31 January listening to conductor Sir Basil Cameron and soloist Solomon Cutner, performing Beethoven's piano concerto No. 3 in C minor, opus 37 in a concert which also included Beethoven's symphony No. 7 in A major, opus 92. Together with Ole Jacob Malm he listened to Iso Elinson at the Royal Albert Hall executing Johannes Brahms' piano concerto No. 2 in B<sup>b</sup> major, opus 83 on 7 February. According to his diary one concert on 17 January 1943 must have been especially impressive to him:

Have been to a concert at Albert Hall with Ole Jacob [Malm] and Arne [Okkenhaug], listening to Händel's Wassermusik ["water music"], Beethoven's Ess-dur concert [concert for piano and orchestra No. 5, opus 73] with Solomon, and Tschaiowsky's 4<sup>th</sup> [symphony No. 4 F minor, opus 36]. The brass sound was fantastic, while the strings did not really get through. It has been a while since I have listened to music, and as depressed as I was it made an overwhelming impression on me, for one thing because the orchestra and the several thousands in the audience in the elegant concert hall rose to sing "God save the King"<sup>123</sup>

After Ustvedt had heard during a pleasant evening at Royal Victorian Patriotic School on 7 January 1943 for the first time that Norwegians were very popular although they talked too much,<sup>124</sup> he came back to that impression in his London diaries, mentioning with pride that the Norwegians were quite welcome in England, including the prime minister of the Norwegian government in exile in London, Johan Nygaarsvold, and his foreign minister, Trygve Lie:

Without any doubt the Norwegians are popular in England, both with the man in the street and the high society. One is instantly aware of how helpful people are when you wear the Norwegian flag on the lapel. Most English people know about the commitment of the Norwegian mercantile fleet and about the resistance movement, especially the fight of the Church and the teachers. But often the Norwegians are considered to be talkative, and that they know a little bit too well how smart they are. Allegedly, the Norwegian government has a very good position, because the exiled government has at least not washed its dirty laundry in public. But it would be fun to hear [Anthony] Eden's and Churchill's comments after they had lunch with Nygaarsvold and Lie.<sup>125</sup>

Regarding the situation in London, he especially admired the English women's contribution to the common cause: "The women's commitment was very present in England. The streets abounded with uniformed women, WAAFs [Women's Auxiliary Air Force] or whatever they are called. Sometimes you could see them marching in small units, just as in the movie 'This above all'. Of 16 millions women between 18 and 65 years old, 10 million are mobilized one or the other way, with 6.5 million in the working force, 1 million volunteering, and 300,000 in the air force. They seem to be effective, pragmatic and with a good sense of humor."<sup>126</sup> But most of all Ustvedt esteemed the love for music in England to get through tough times:

You would never hear any bragging about the heroic behavior during the Blitzkrieg, but conversations often turn to this time and then you can hear many anecdotes that demonstrate the phantastic calmness and naturalness with which they persevered. At the beginning of the Blitzkrieg, Myra Hess, the pianist, started her lunch concerts at the National Gallery, which are now so popular. During one of her own concerts a brutal attack at daytime began. People remained seated calmly and she kept playing for six or seven hours without any break and kept her audience enthralled until the air raid was over. – One day a member of the British Council on his way to work passed by the burning Queens Hall, which had been hit during the night. Sir Henry Wood and all of his old musicians stood outside while what remained of their precious instruments was recovered from the burning building. He said that hardly any other scene left such a deep mark than this one.<sup>127</sup>

A view quite contrary to this one and full of disappointment and criticism, written eight months after these observations, can be found in a letter from Ustvedt, dated 30 October 1943. It might have coincided with his personal mood at that time, or have been a characteristic of the private atmosphere of a letter that Ustvedt was more out-

spoken than Malm in his public lecture. Having been in Sweden now for one year, he explained, his efforts to bring about a better understanding between the Norwegians and the Swedes became more and more exhausting. He blamed the Swedes for having no idea about what was going on in the world, but nevertheless he preferred being in Stockholm to being in London, because the steady stream of information coming in with all the refugees at least kept him informed about what was happening back home:

I have been here for one year now and while I was very busy trying to create a better understanding between the Swedes and the Norwegians during the first half of the year, I had to experience so many disappointments in these matters during the recent half of the year that I am getting tired. The Swedes are very different from us, and basically I have learnt surprisingly little about what has happened. It is rather scary to be here. One misses an eerie home, and the more evil that happens at home, the more one believes desperately to be in safety here. At least it is a blessing to be busy with things that the ones at home benefit from. Personally, I definitely prefer being in Sweden, because here among all the new refugees, one can stay in contact constantly with everything that happens at home. The advantage in England is to be among allies, but there one is rather far from home.<sup>128</sup>

## Norwegian Counterpropaganda

Members of the Swedish Royal family granted impressive support in the struggle with words and diplomacy for a free Norway. They not only attended cultural events such as exhibitions, concerts and lectures, they even openly displayed their personal opinions. The idea of a pan-Scandinavian identity may have helped the cause as much as the fact that two of the three Scandinavian parliamentary monarchies, sharing close family bonds, were under the control of the Germans (in the case of Denmark) and respectively in exile to fight the Germans militarily and resist them morally (in the case of Norway). There had also been a musical ingredient to the fight for Norway's political independence some thirty years ago because Norway's struggle over decades to leave the union with Sweden had generated the extraordinary matrix for Edvard Grieg's career, just as Finland's desire to escape Russian servitude initiated Jean Sibelius' mission to prove Finnish singularity in musical terms.

The time span after February 1942 was crucial when Quisling was appointed prime minister and obviously the German threat to Norway was not diminishing but even intensifying. With the year turning to 1943, numerous events can be found in Sweden with Royals speaking on behalf of Norway. For example, on 15 January 1943 – the arrests of Oslo's students had just happened a month before and had been answered by solidarity meetings, supported by Kari Aarvold Glaser<sup>129</sup> – Prince Wilhelm read his own poems at a lyric night in Stockholm's concert hall for the benefit of the Norwegian Child Care (“norsk barnehjelp”).



Fig. 27 and 28: The Royal Swedish family attending events on the behalf of Norway and Prince Wilhelm reading his poem *Til Norge* (“For Norway”) on 7 February 1942. NAN, RA/PA-1209/UC/66-2

Among other participants the theater directors from Bergen and Oslo Hans Jacob Nielsen and Knut Hergel recited Norwegian poems, actress Sonja Mjøen sang Norwegian folk songs to Robert Levin’s piano accompaniment, while Ernst Glaser with his violin and Stockholm’s chamber orchestra performed under the direction of Tobias Wilhelmi.<sup>130</sup> Days later, the papers still reported about the event and highlighted especially Ernst and Kari Glaser’s performance of music from Kreisler, Halvorsen and Lie.<sup>131</sup>

Today the word “propaganda” has ambivalent and even negative implications, but during WWII it was seen with positive connotations emphasizing the will to produce impact for one’s mission by means of attaining influence.<sup>132</sup> Furthermore, Norwegian artists and cultural ambassadors hardly had any other chance for winning attention than by addressing the largest possible audience with traditional Norwegian music. At home concert programs had always been a combination of traditional and international repertoire, including classical German pieces by Bach, Mozart and Beethoven. The repertoire of Norwegian musicians in their Swedish exile narrowed down to Norwegian music, mostly by Grieg, with some additions by Svendsen, Irgens-Jensen and other moderate contemporaries. Robert Levin commented on this: “Concerning scores, I first had to build up a Norwegian repertoire – I played almost only Norwegian music.”<sup>133</sup> Another reference is given in a letter from Hans Jacob Ustvedt asking Sigurd Kielland (a supporter of the civil resistance movement) at Musikkhuset Publishers in Oslo on 21 September 1943 to send scores and cover a growing demand by Swedish institutions wishing to perform younger Norwegian composers such as “Säverud, Valen, Egge, Andersen, Sparre-Olsen, Irgens-Jensen, Groven, Brustad, Pauline Hall, Backer-Gröndahl”<sup>134</sup>

It is not clear whether this was a decision of strong anti-German feeling or rather a pragmatic solution adapted to the new surroundings where the market for international compositions was dominated by many other domestic and foreign competitors. This question needs to be discussed first considering the demands of the explicit Norwegian

market. A second, complimentary perspective portrays the exile government's strategies to reach Norwegians throughout Sweden with concert tours by soloists and small ensembles for the purpose of strengthening the public moral and maintaining the mutual "holdningskamp".

As far as sources can tell, concerts with Norwegian artists were common all the time. One example is singer Unni Bugge-Hansen (born on 28 March 1910) who came to Sweden in the summer of 1940 with a stipend to study at Stockholm's opera academy. An application at the Royal Social Service ("Kungl. Socialstyrelsen"), dated 6 October 1941, gives her name on a list for permission to participate in a concert at the concert hall four days later for the benefit of the Association for the Blind ("Sentralkommittén för de blindas dag"): "Miss Bugge-Hansen participates voluntarily and receives no refund for her performances."<sup>135</sup> In the same year of 1941 (one year before he was imprisoned in the camps Bredtveit and Grini for several months for resistance activities) a concert given by Robert Riefing was announced in *Svenska Dagbladet* portraying him with a separate article as one of the most wonderful instrumentalists of the North followed up with an advertisement by Riefing for Steinway pianos.<sup>136</sup>

Ustvedt's diaries give an impression of how intensely he felt committed to Norwegian culture and his fellow countrymen's fate, and how deeply he was engaged in music and the music life in Stockholm.<sup>137</sup> Despite many duties and a high number of publications, lectures, performances and travels, he attended concerts, exhibitions and readings of Norwegian artists and scientists and listened for example to Mozart, Tschaiakowsky, Beethoven, Grieg, Svendsen, Irgens Jensen, Brustad, Brahms, Wagner, Atterberg, Verdi, Händel, Debussy, and others on the radio and in concert.

Among the numerous activities mentioned in Ustvedt's papers, there is an invitation to the International Club ("Internationella Klubben") for a dinner on 28 February 1944 where he sang English folk songs.<sup>138</sup> In the same year Maj and Gunnar Sønstevold founded a Norwegian choir in Stockholm, which had its first performance on the national holiday, 17 May 1944, with both a church concert and an evening program at the Concert Hall. There Ustvedt gave a speech and filled in spontaneously for the solo part in Edvard Grieg's *Landkjenning* with the Swedish art loving Princes Wilhelm and Eugen listening in the first row.<sup>139</sup>

This steady pulse of events during the years of exile reached a first peak in 1943. The first major event was an immense exhibition, presenting artefacts of Norwegian culture and life style for several weeks, flanked with many concerts, lectures, theater performances, and cabaret shows. The Norway Exhibition 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 Louise, Princess Ingeborg and Prince Eugen, as well as the Norwegian ministers Bull and Günther who had come from England as representatives of the government.<sup>140</sup>



Fig. 29: Prince Eugen opening the Norway Exhibition on 10 March 1943. NAN, RA/PA-1209/Uc/66/4/S340



Fig. 30 and 31: A picture of the Norway Exhibition in March 1943 and a clip promoting the event. NAN, RA/PA-1209/Uc/72/2/S1001 and Svenska Dagbladet, 9 April 1943

Several occasions with political topics stood out among the numerous cultural and entertainment events.<sup>141</sup> By now the impact of Quisling's attacks against Bishop Berggrav and the State Church as well as Quisling's mass incarceration of teachers in the spring of 1942, and the students' arrests in December of the same year could be determined. The exhibition included an evening with Bishop Gustav Aulén about the Norwegian Church's fight (*Den norska kyrkans kamp*) and a lecture by Per Johnsen about the teachers' fight (*De norska lärarnas kamp*).<sup>142</sup> Two days later, on 20 March 1943, a report about this event was flanked by an announcement for the next event presenting Gunnar Sönstervoll at the piano, a literary contribution by Gunnar Reiss-Andersen and a lecture by exiled Willy Brandt, the future German Social Democratic Federal Chancellor. Close to it on the same newspaper page and revealing once again Stockholm's uniqueness as a Nordic Casablanca there was a public notice for a lecture in German by Walter Lindenthal on *Christian Morgenstern in Wort und Galgenlied* and for a Beethoven-program featuring Georg Kulenkampff.

The other major event in 1943 was the centennial of Edvard Grieg.<sup>143</sup> Hans Jacob Ustvedt had just published a biography about the "Composer, Norwegian, Democrat Grieg", amidst diverse initiatives to defend the legendary composer against the Quisling regime's propagandistic attempts. Three months before the official birthday the Norge Exhibition already included a Grieg-day, on 24 March 1943, in its program with two concert slots,<sup>144</sup> one in the afternoon with Ernst Glaser, Robert Levin, Sonja Mjøen, and Lauritz Falk, the other in the evening with Unni Bugge-Hansen, Kari Aarvold, Ernst Glaser, and Lars Vang.

Tisdagen den 15 juni 27

Kl. 20—21. Grieg-Konsert i Skogaholm anordnad av Svensk-norska föreningen.

- Hälsningsord av borgarrådet fil. dr YNGVE LARSSON.
- Kort anförande om Edvard Grieg av dr med. HANS JACOB USTVEDT
- Pianokompositioner utförda av pianisten STINA SUNDELL.  
Aften på höfjället.  
Humoreske.  
Bondens sång.  
Dans fra Elster.
- Romanser sjungna av konsertsångare FOLKE SÄLLSTROM.  
Min tanke er et nægtigt fjeld ..... H. C. Andersen  
Jeg ved, min tanke, ved ..... Gebel  
Borte! ..... Ibsen  
Med en primula veris ..... J. Paulsen  
Og jeg vill ha mig en hjertens kjæ ..... V. Krag
- Sonat för fiol och piano e-moll op. 45 utförd av konsertmästare ERNST GLASER och KARI GLASER.  
Allegro molto ed appassionato.  
Allegretto espressivo alla Romanza.  
Allegro animato.

Biljetter säljas genom Svensk-norska föreningen.

Kl. 20,30—23. Gammal dans för allmänheten på dansbanan vid Bollnästorget, anordnad av Föreningen Brage Gille. Musik av Dalaflickorna.

Kl. 20,30—24. Modern dans på Gamla Tivoliområdet. Thore Ehrlings orkester.

Kl. 21 (omkr.). Flaggparad på Solliden.

28 Tisdagen den 15 juni

GRIEG-AFTON

anordnad i samarbete med Svensk-norska föreningen.

Kl. 21,15. "Edvard Grieg — en norsk ledargestalt", kort anförande av dr med. Hans Jacob Ustvedt på Solliden.

Kl. 21,30. Edv. Grieg: Landkjending.  
Kungl. Flottans musikkår. Norsk Korforening.  
Dirigent: musikdirektör IVAR WIDNER.

Kl. 21,45. Allsång ledd av Sven Uljå.  
Sångblad nr 79.

Fig. 32: NAN, RA/PA-1209/E/Ee/L0028



The official celebrations on 15 June 1943 took place in the Skansen Park, a public area for entertainment and recreation, and included all the major Norwegian protagonists (cf. fig. 32). On behalf of the Swedish-Norwegian Society (“svensk-norska föreningen”) Yngve Larsson, Hans Jacob Ustvedt, Stina Sundell, Folke Sällström, Ernst and Kari Aarvold Glaser participated and Ustvedt held another speech honoring Edvard Grieg as a Norwegian leader figure (“en norsk ledaregestalt”) at 9.15 pm at the Restaurant Solliden. The Flottans Choir (“musikkår”), the Norwegian Choir Society (“norsk korforening”) with Ivar Widner, and Sven Lilja also took part in this program.<sup>145</sup> Stockholm was not the only city to commemorate Grieg. Five months later together Unni Bugge-Hanssen, Kari Aarvold Glaser and Ernst Glaser dedicated one more event to Grieg and his legacy, celebrating the 8<sup>th</sup> Norwegian-Swedish Artists’ Night on 21 November 1943 in Uppsala.<sup>146</sup>

As a few references in Ustvedt’s and Malm’s papers indicate, concerts on behalf of Norway were given regularly in London as well, especially on the national holiday, 17 May. In 1943 this was a gala event with music, speeches and poems in the Royal Albert Hall. There George Weldon conducted the London Symphony Orchestra, of course including Grieg’s music (cf. the program in fig. 33).<sup>147</sup>

Also the BBC paid tribute, in 1942 featuring a 15 minutes program *In Memory of Edvard Grieg – 99 Years after his Birth* (more details about the related series *The Spirit of the Vikings* will be discussed in Chapter V),<sup>148</sup> and again for his centennial in 1943.<sup>149</sup> Ole Jacob Malm also honored Grieg accompanying actress and singer Gerd Grieg on the piano in London’s British-Norwegian Institute on 16 September 1943. The program included

13 popular Norwegian Melodies from opus 66; the sonata E minor opus 7; funeral march, in memory of Rikard Nordraak (1866); Lyric Pieces opus 54 (Norwegian March / Gangar), Notturmo, Bell ringing (Klokkeklang); Lyric Pieces opus 68 (At Your Feet; Evening In The Mountains; At the Cradle); Peasant’s Sances (Slaater) opus 72 (March / Gangar Tussebrurefaera på Vossevangen; March / Gangar Skuldalsbruri; Röttnamsknut / Halling; The Dance of John Væstafae / Springdans; Bridalmarch of “The Miller” / Bruremarsj etter Myllarguten Torgeir Audunson); and Bergljot opus 42.<sup>150</sup>

All the musicians we have met so far as ambassadors of “true” Norwegian culture were not characterized in Swedish newspapers as representatives of a civil resistance against Germany’s occupation of their homeland. They were perceived in the political vacuum of aesthetic autonomy, which kept music apart from political matters even under these extreme conditions. There is only one exception to this rule when Edvard Grieg’s Piano Concerto was given by Kari Aarvold Glaser. On 16 October 1943 a first article sketched her biography as an outstanding performer since her debut in 1921, promoting her concert a few days later when Kurt Atterberg’s Eighth Symphony was scheduled as well, conducted by Court Music Director (“Hovkapellmäster”) Wiklund.<sup>151</sup> The day after the concert Svenska Dagbladet credited her artistic abilities in a detailed article. Here also her political fate as a refugee was only indicated, but it could be clearly understood by all informed readers and music lovers:

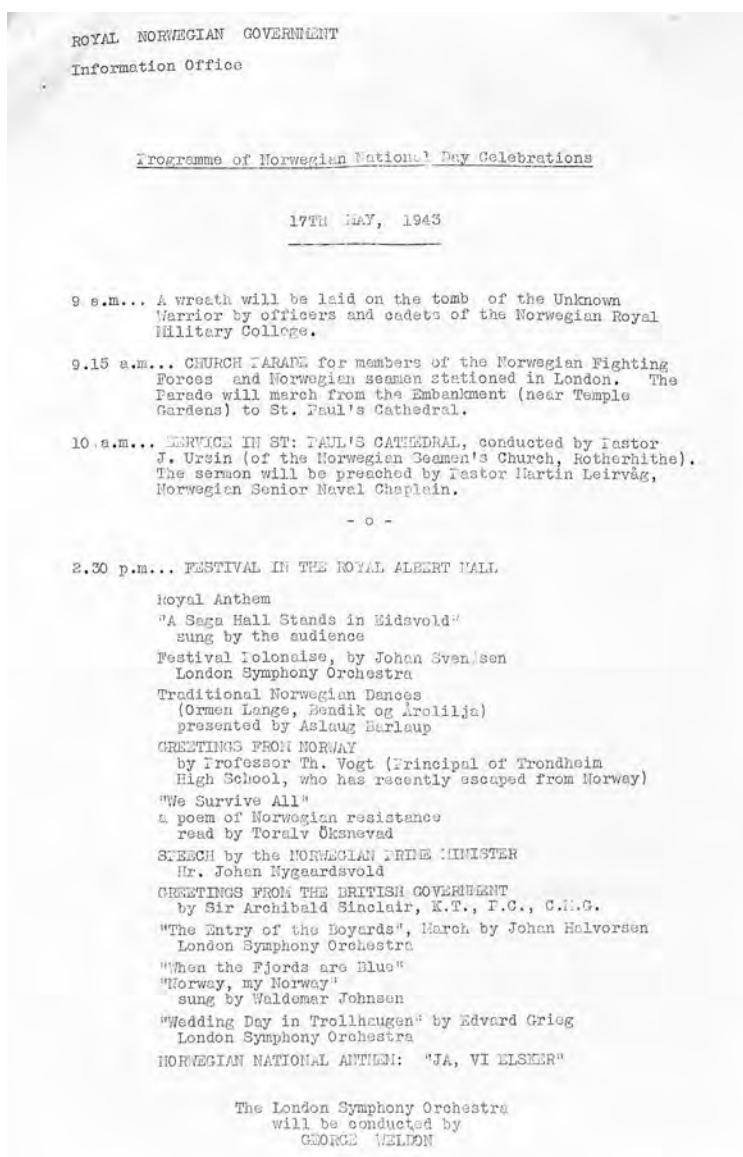


Fig 33: NAN, RA/S-1576/E/Ea/L0001 NRK London

When she performed in the Sunday's C-concert series as soloist in the Konserforeningen, one understood that it was a heartfelt wish for her to play Grieg's piano concerto and nothing else. Far away from the bitter reality of our present days, this performance is so truly Norwegian, filled with enthusiasm and inner folk poetry. One also got a strong impression of Kari Glaser's playing; she formed it so naturally and convincingly being familiar with this concerto all of her life.<sup>152</sup>

Acting on a different cultural basis and concerned with the promotion of Norway's liberation and at the same time supporting the mutualities of the Norwegian refugees, the Norsk Legasjon organized both tours throughout the country and informational campaigns. Ustvedt's papers include numerous music related invitations, sometimes to give lectures to which he added some folk songs, sometimes for purely musical purposes. Most of the events took place in 1943 (his first year in Sweden after his escape in November 1942) with some for the following year. For unknown reasons the months of 1945 before Norway's liberation in May are hardly documented; he might have been just too busy with matters concerning the oncoming German defeat. On 8 July 1943, for example, Ustvedt was invited by F. J. R. Bottrall on behalf of the British Council to present an evening of folk songs:

My dear Ustvedt, Peter Tennant told me yesterday that you would very much like to come up and sing some English folk-songs at the Course. This is a splendid idea and I should be very grateful if you could come up on the 25<sup>th</sup> July for supper at 6 o'clock and sing in a small concert which we are arranging afterwards. A good train leaves Stockholm at 3.45 p.m. I should much appreciate it if you sent up a list of a dozen or 15 songs that you would be able to sing so that I can select the ones best suited to the course.<sup>153</sup>

Ustvedt's destinations covered mostly the southern regions of Sweden where he accepted, for example, an invitation by the Royal Norwegian consulate in Göteborg in November 1943 to a Swedish-English song program in the local Norskehjemmet.<sup>154</sup> As a letter from 16 September 1943 indicates, Ustvedt had proposed this event himself, because he had to come to Göteborg anyway and was to give a similar recital in Stockholm "where I am supposed to sing English, Scottish, French, Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian folk songs with short comments to introduce each section. Therefore, I was wondering if you might be interested to arrange something like that in Göteborg."<sup>155</sup> According to Fuglesang's reply from 22 September 1943, this plan was not put to work, because, as he explained, Göteborg at this time did not show much interest in Norway. He added: "Meanwhile I think it would be rather helpful if the Norwegian authorities would issue a statement about their refugee policies to the local authorities and the press in reaction to many current misunderstandings."<sup>156</sup>

Ustvedt's general interest in international folk songs seemed to have been a neat means of cultural diplomacy as it also offered him the opportunity of staying in touch with the British Council in Stockholm where he gave a recital with English folk songs on 25 July 1943.<sup>157</sup> Half a year before, he had done the same while visiting England and Scotland. His diaries describe how this musical networking made a casual atmosphere for the exchange of news and the discussion of politics possible.<sup>158</sup> The same was the case, when Ustvedt paid his visit to camps for Norwegian refugees in Baggböle, Holmarudden, Bäckehagen and Stråtenbo in the summer of 1944 to inform about healthy nutrition and sexual hygiene and also offered to speak about Norwegian folk music.<sup>159</sup> In October 1944 Ustvedt received an invitation to lecture on tuberculosis at the National Institute for Race Biology. This institute was located in Uppsala where Carl Linné had been the first to set up a scientific system for classifying fauna and flora in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It might be interesting to learn more about this institute, founded in 1922,

which also attracted ideologists such as Hans F. K. Günther who was connected with the ideological turn of genetics and evolutionary theory since the 1920s.<sup>160</sup>

It would be misleading to regard Ustvedt's frequent travels as the common right of all Norwegian refugees. This was not the case. Ustvedt possessed a general travel permit issued by Swedish authorities and was therefore exempt from the normal obligation to procure an approval for each trip. Only few musicians could find constant employment as this was usually based on the international reputation they had acquired in the years prior to their exile. Such an example is Robert Levin who was hired officially by Gunnar Sönstevold to teach at his piano school after his escape to Sweden on 24 November 1942. With this contract he was allowed to settle in the capitol,<sup>161</sup> where he was also listed in an agency scheduling artists for Stockholm's pleasure ground in 1943.<sup>162</sup>

Kari Aarvold's and Ernst Glaser's papers contain many short term travel applications, supported by confirmations by the Norsk Legasjon or Swedish music institutions which in retrospect help to reconstruct Kari's performing career and the funding of exiled artists in general.<sup>163</sup> Beneficial for Ernst Glaser was the fact that he was already known to Swedish music authorities. In January 1939, Göteborg's Orchestral Society ("Göteborgs Orkesterförening") had applied to the Royal Social Office in Stockholm ("Kungl. Socialstyrelsen Stockholm") for permission to give a concert with him.<sup>164</sup> When he entered the country again as a refugee in 1942, he first went to the Swedish Music Union where he had to learn that he would not be allowed to be permanently employed by any institution.<sup>165</sup> Glaser himself had thought of giving concerts with the Swedish Radio and Stockholm's Concert Society as sources in Stockholm's Riksarkivet confirm.<sup>166</sup> Only Georg Schneevoigt, the acclaimed Finnish chief conductor of Malmö's orchestra, went to the trouble of helping Glaser. In the spring of 1943, Schneevoigt proposed to Glaser to join the orchestra as concert master and actually looked after all the legal affairs himself in spite of the massive institutional opposition against Glaser's employment also as a violin teacher in the conservatory linked to the orchestra.<sup>167</sup> Corresponding archival files are listed for Glaser's employment at Stockholm's conservatory for September 1944. Schneevoigt's personal political opinions, mentioned in Glaser's interview from 1975, were rather ambivalent. He commented on Schneevoigt's musical German socialization and on his naïve love for Knut Hamsun and Christian Sinding, both admirers of Hitler.<sup>168</sup>

As already mentioned, such employments were unusual and the normal way to find work was to sign a contract with Norsk Legasjon, which tried to make sure that every Norwegian had sufficient financial support. It is known that Ernst Glaser earned about 460 NKR a month with an additional 225 NKR so that his children could attend the liberal Christian boarding school "Viggebyholmsskolan". This boarding school made it possible for Kari Aarvold Glaser to continue her career as a pianist.<sup>169</sup> Robert Levin also joined the artistic staff of the Norsk Legasjon in solidarity with the mutual goal to represent a free, liberal Norwegian culture. The women of his family worked in factories and cared for the daily needs of the family while he went on tour as often the Norsk Legasjon asked.<sup>170</sup>

A small group of artists, instrumentalists as well as singers, performed regularly in distant towns and even under uncomfortable conditions. Ernst and Kari Glaser, Sonja

Mjøen, Solveig Ballarini, and Unni Bugge-Hansen, to name only a few, gave concerts in different places for a general public, for special audiences like the “Gutta på Skauen” – resistance fighters who received their training in Sweden for partisan activities –, for students or refugees in one of the different camps.<sup>171</sup> These trips were quite exhausting for the travelling artists. A tour plan found among the materials in Robert Levin’s file in Stockholm’s Riksarkivet names seven different places within seven days, 20-26 January 1943: Örebro, Filipstad, Karlstad, Skövde, Borås, Huskvarna and Jönköping.<sup>172</sup> Despite the full coverage and planning of these tours by the Norsk Legasjon the musicians needed permits issued by the Swedish authorities to travel and enter different areas of Sweden. Usually, this was nothing more than a formality.<sup>173</sup> A typical justification would be, submitted here by Ernst Glaser: “I am one of the Norwegians who is supposed to participate in these tours which have been organized by the Svenske Norgehjelp and which are scheduled for 20. I. 1943, and therefore I would like to refer to Sv. N.’s proposal for travel permission in Sweden (outside of the border zone) for the listed artists. Additionally, allow me to remind you of my request for work permit of 28. XII. 1942.”<sup>174</sup>

In his memoirs, Robert Levin mentioned having participated in eleven of such tours meeting many different people and collecting many memories as well as news from home.<sup>175</sup> Of course, one of the purposes of such remote propaganda in distant regions was entertainment and community building. But more than that, the musicians provided important cultural values in difficult times experiencing the intense needs of their audience. These people were under an enormous huge pressure after they had had to abandon their former lives and now had to wait in exile for peace and their return home. Many personal friendships began during this time or grew stronger. Many future networks had one of their starting points in the mutual experience of exile: Robert Levin met viola player Hugo Kramms, who later became the National Norwegian Broadcasting’s music director, or Hans Jacob Ustvedt – being in touch with all of the mentioned individuals – who later was appointed the NRK’s director.

## Sentiments

If concert settings in Sweden included Jewish musicians, these artists often had to experience anti-Semitic tensions among their audience. Ragnar Ulstein’s book about Jewish Norwegians in exile, *Jødar på flukt*, includes several examples of anti-Semitism among Norwegian exilants as well as circulating rumors about Jewish refugees from Norway and general prejudices against Eastern-European Jews.<sup>176</sup> Similar reports about convinced National Socialists who made it into Kjesäter camp can be found in Robert Levin’s memoirs.<sup>177</sup> In his interview with Ragnar Ulstein in 1975, Ernst Glaser also got back to these times and told about an invitation to perform in Malmö, although the Swedish South had a bad reputation for being very much nazified.<sup>178</sup> A query at Norsk Legasjonen confirmed this impression and he was encouraged to give the recital anyway, because it would be great to have a good Norwegian among all these Nazis: “Southern Sweden was pretty much nazified at all: Malmö. I went up to the legation at the time when I got that offer to hear what the authorities in Stockholm thought

and then Mayor Gram said, Dear just travel, there are so many Nazis there – it's good to have some good Norwegians there."<sup>179</sup> A Swedish police report that described Glaser when he entered Sweden from Norway in November 1942 (cf. fig. 34), illustrated how common anti-Semitic stereotypes were when dealing with Jews. After documenting his height, weight, clothing, the color of his eyes and other characteristics, point 20 is left open in the form scheme for additional remarks. Here the official remarked "has got no Jewish look" which indicates that most people had an idea of what Jews ought to look like.

The Norsk Legasjon, in its role as the central administrative institution for Norwegian affairs, was well aware of this situation. Ustvedt himself was asked in 1944 by the publishers Mendelsohn and Krogsrud from Uppsala if he could contribute to a volume against such anti-Semitic propaganda or at least recommend a reliable author.<sup>180</sup> He took the matter very seriously, as notes in his diaries and several letters indicate, though due to his many other obligations, he himself had to decline the offer. With respect to the urgency and importance of the matter, he asked his friend Sigurd Hoel to take up the task: "Can't you, who can write so easily and well, take care of this matter. Korizinsky at the Office for Refugees ('Flyktningskontoret') also has some material about the Jews here in Sweden. This matter is really serious. I just cannot find any time to go into this question sufficiently."<sup>181</sup> As with many other questions such sources have to be considered to be fragmentary, because much substantial research about the Norsk Legasjon and the community of exiled Norwegians in Sweden still has to be done.<sup>182</sup>

It is not clear if 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 for treason ("rettsoppgjøret") on his arrest the day after the liberation, being accused 1) of having approved the nazification of Norwegian cultural life, 2) of having been a representative at the Kulturtinget, 3) and having been a member of the Norwegian Nazi party since October 1941 and of the SS since spring 1942 (his case is discussed as well in the Chapters I and V).<sup>183</sup> In his defence, David Monrad Johansen declared that he had never persuaded others to apply for a 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>184</sup>

Monrad Johansen's attitude concerning anti-Semitism has been rather vague and uncertain as the access to his correspondence is still restricted. Yet, two examples may show 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>185</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 "Ent-

P-akt: \_\_\_\_\_ lid. \_\_\_\_\_

Familjenamn: G l a s e r

Förnamn: Ernst

Födelseid: 24/2 1904

Födelseort: Hamburg, Tyskland

Yrke: konsertermästare

Nationalitet: norsk jude

Varaktig bostad: \_\_\_\_\_

Tillfällig bostad: \_\_\_\_\_

Kyrkoskriven: \_\_\_\_\_  
artifärg" \_\_\_\_\_

Signalement.

(Obs.! Det som passar understrykes.)

1. Kroppslängd, omkring 170 cm.

2. Kr.-byggn: ord., smärt, klen, kraftig, korpulent.

3. Ansikte: ovalt, långt, smalt, brett, koppl., rektangul., fylligt, magert.  
Hy: blek, brun, röd, fräknig (kopp-  
ärr, kvisslor) rödlett

4. Skuldror: breda, smala, sneda, hori-  
sontala \_\_\_\_\_

5. Hals: lång, kort, smal, grov, framskj.  
struphuvud \_\_\_\_\_

6. Hår: ljusbl., mellanbl., mörkbl.,  
brunakt., svart, ljusrött, mörkrött,  
starkt rött, gråspr., grätt, skallig  
(över pannan, i hjässan, från pan-  
nan över hjässan, totalt).

7. Skägg: ljusbl., mellanbl., mörkbl.,  
brunaktigt, svart, ljusrött, mörk-  
rött, starkt rött, gråspr., grätt.  
Form: \_\_\_\_\_

8. Panna: hög, låg, bred, smal, tillba-  
kalutande, vertikal, framskjutande.

9. Ögon: blå, gråakt., gulakt., ljus-  
bruna, mörkbruna, stora, små.  
Egend. "koljögön"

10. Ögonbryn: höga, låga, närsk.,  
fjärrbågade, rätliniga, långa, kor-  
ta, små, breda, sammanväxta \_\_\_\_\_

11. Näsa: rak, konkav, konvex, vägg,  
liten, stor, tjock, bred, smal.  
Egend. \_\_\_\_\_  
Näsbas: horisontal, upp, ned.

12. Mun: ord., liten, stor.  
Läppar: tjocka, tunna.

13. Tänder: friska, defekta, fattas,  
glesa, skeva, löständer  
Egend. \_\_\_\_\_

14. Haka: låg, hög, vertikal, tillbaka-  
lutande, framskj., bred, smal, grop,  
kluvan, dubbelhaka.

15. Öron: stora, utstående.  
Egend. \_\_\_\_\_

16. Gång och hållning: \_\_\_\_\_

17. Händer: stora, små  
Fötter: stora, små, hjulbent, kobent

18. Språk och dialekt norska  
Egend. stammar, läspar: \_\_\_\_\_

19. Klädsel: mörk kostym med röda,  
och grå smala ränder

20. Särsk. kännet. har icke något  
judiskt utseende

Förestående anteckningar gjorda  
5 / 5 1943 av: Georg Sundberg

Fotografi.

27 juli 1942 2000 ex.

Fig. 34: RA, Säkerhetspolisen (SÄPO) med föregångare, HD 605-43 Ernst Glaser

judung" of Edition Peters in 1938.<sup>186</sup> Probably due to the uncertain circumstances during the war, the manuscript was never published although two typewrite copies have survived in Berlin and Leipzig. As correspondence indicates, Monrad Johansen and Schmitz both exchanged letters with Peter's managing director Johannes Petschull and with Heinz Drewes. These letters show that the publication was expected to arouse some propagandistic attention.<sup>187</sup> It is, therefore, no surprise that all traces to Grieg's Jewish publisher Dr. Max Abraham and the later Jewish owner of Edition Peters, Henri

Hinrichsen, who was murdered in Auschwitz in 1942, were purged in Schmitz' translation, which adapted Monrad Johansen's manuscript to the anti-Semitic doctrines of National Socialism. Until now, it is not known how Monrad Johansen responded to such serious changes in his text. But according to his correspondence with Schmitz and Petschull, in which he proved his willingness for unlimited compromises, there is little doubt he would have agreed to such measures. Within his official positions in the Norwegian-German Society, in the Kulturthing and Kulturråd as well as his office as State Music Consultant for Vidkun Quisling's regime Monrad Johansen showed no distance to official anti-Semitic actions such as the implementation of an "Arierparagraf" in the statutes of the Norwegian Musicians' Association after 1941.<sup>188</sup> Quite a different example for reservations against Monrad Johansen's position concerning anti-Semitism is Ernst Glaser's apparent unwillingness after 1945 of being acquainted with him "explicitly for political reasons",<sup>189</sup> which underlines once more the necessity of further, in-depth research especially concerning difficult and controversial matters.

## Notes

- 1 Robert Levin and Mona Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, Oslo 1983, p. 251.
- 2 Ole Jacob Malm, *A brief survey of Norway in past and present*, presentation at the *International Youth Centre* in London on 23 October 1943, in: NHM 498.
- 3 Lars Hansson, *Vid gränsen. Mottagningen av flyktingar från Norge 1940-1945 [At the Frontier. Sweden's Reception of Refugees from Norway 1940-1945]*, Göteborg 2019, pp. 16 and 131, relating to Ole Kristian Grimnes, *Et flyktningsesamfunn vokser fram. Nordmenn i Sverige 1940-1945*, Oslo 1969, pp. 24-25.
- 4 NAN, RA/S-1677/E/L0106 *Flytningskontoret Stockholm*.
- 5 NAN, RA/PA-1248-E-Ee-L0028-0004.
- 6 NHM 498.
- 7 Eirik Veum, *Det svenske sviket. 1940-45*, Oslo 2017, p. 162.
- 8 NAS, SE-RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-4302 *Hans Jacob Ustvedt*.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 NHM 498, Ole Jacob Malm, *Bestemmelser om forbindelsen mellom den norske administrasjon i Stockholm og Norge*, 10 December 1943: "Militærkontoret for militære saker, pressekontoret for allminnelig informasjonsvirksomhet og propaganda, det handelspolitiske kontor for innhentelse av økonomiske opplysninger, finanskontoret for saker angående finansiering og pengeforsendelser, rettskontoret for saker vedkommende overvåkning"
- 11 NAN, RA/PA-1248/G/L0045 *Hans Jacob Ustvedt – Identifikasjonspapirer*.
- 12 NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ee/L0028-0004, *Diverse brev i Sverige-tiden 1941-1945*, letter from Ustvedt to a man named Borek Johansen, 30 October 1943: "Ellers har vi nu etterhånden fått en ganske svår medisinsk administrasjon her i Sverige. Jeg sitter som en slags sjef og Medisinaldirektørens representant, og arbeider samtidig i Relief-Centralen. Alle administrative spørsmål hører inn under meg, mens den rent praktiske legevirksomhet her i Stockholm skjøttes av Flytningskontorets legekantor med Sverre Schjelderup og Lars Linneberg. Rundt omkring på forlegningene har vi en rekke leger og sykepleiersker, dessuten har vi i sommer og i høst gjennomført en svår legeundersøkelse med koppe- og tyfoidefebevaksinasjon av foreløpig ca. 9 000 flyktinger. Dette spesielle arbeide ledes av et Helsekontor, hvor Semb er sjef. Det arbeider for tiden i vår tjeneste ca. 20 norske leger og ca. 30 sykepleiersker. Dessuten har vi vårt eget tannlegevesen."
- 13 Cf. NHM 16 J – 0008, undated interview with Ole Jacob Malm by Ragnar Ulstein, and the radio program *Grenseløse under siste krigen – pioniertida. Dokumentarprogram med Ragnar Ulstein*, 20 december 1974, [http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb\\_dra\\_1994-24785P](http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_dra_1994-24785P) (10 January 2021).
- 14 NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-2573 *Agnete Helweg Malm*.
- 15 *Ibid.*: "Enår vare sig hon eller maken kunde underordna sig den nu rådande regimen i Norge beslöto de sig att var för sig lämna landet och försöka begiva sig över till Sverige. På grund härav lämnade hon tillsammans med yngsta barnet Brita den 5 november 1942 sitt hem i Oslo och reste med bantåg till Halden, varifrån hon färdades mot svenska gränsen, vilken hon den 8 i samma



- månad illegalt overskred i trakten av Strömstad. Därstädes blevo hon och dottern omhändertagna av svensk gränsbevakning och förda till landsfiskalen i Strömstad, som för dem utfärdade nödfallsvisering och beordrade deras avresa till Kjesätters förläggning. Efter en dags uppehåll i denna förläggning erhöles de tillstånd att resa till Stockholm och vistades de sedermera här i staden till i slutet av november månad, då de reste till Bettna i Sörmland och vistades på en därvarande lantgård som anvisad vistelseort. Under maj månad erhöles hon av Socialstyrelsen permission för resa till Stockholm enär hon erhöles inresetillstånd till England, i vilket land hennes make sedan den 11 december 1942 och fortarande vistas. Denna permisson var gällande till den 20 september 1943 och reste hon vid ett par tillfällen upp till Stockholm för med flyg företaga den tillämnade resan till England, men måste vid samtliga tillfälle uppskjuta denna resa på grund av inställd flygförbindelse. Hon beräknar nu att till instundande julhelg kunne företaga denna resa och skall därvid dottern Brita åtfölja henne. Hennes båda andra amnämnda barn befinna sig hos morföräldrarna i Norge. I avvaktan på resan till England erhöles hon den 24 augusti tillfällig anställning som biträdande telefonist vid norska legationen och kommer att bibehålla denna anställning till inresan till England. Hennes lön från denna anställning uppgår till 380,- kronor per månad och erhåller hon dessutom 50,- per månad till dotterns underhåll.”
- 16 NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-2574 *Ole Jacob Worm-Müller Malm*.
- 17 NHM 498, *Ole Jacob Malm*, folder *Suspekt liste*.
- 18 *Innledning til diskusjon i Norsk Ungdomslags diskusjons gruppe*, London 10 February 1943, entitled *Norske fellesproblemer – hjemme- og utesyn*, p. 6, in: *ibid.*, folder *Korrespondanse og manus til foredrag / taler*: “Hva skal en gjøre med nazistene? Hvordan – i hvilke former skal oppgjøret finne sted? Hva med de stripete – hvordan blir deres posisjon etter krigen? Vil vi hjemme kunne vaere tilstrekkelig objektive i det en kan kalle klassifiseringen av individene paa basis av deres holdning og innsats i denne tiden, til at vi ikke virker til urettferdighet? Blir det her som ellers at man henger de smaa tyver og lar de store lope? Hvordan ser man paa eventualiteter som en slags lynchjustis eller annen form for selvtekt? Den politiske utvikling hjemme etter krigen: Det er full enighet i at basis for en politisk virksomhet slik som en venter den skal utvikle seg paar et sundt demokratisk grunnlag, er rettsstaten, og gjenreising av vaart økonomisk liv. Atlanterhavsdeklarasjonens 4 absoluter maar i det vesentlige realiseres for vi kan begynne differensieringen av hvordan vi mener at det virkelig sosiale samfund skal bygges opp.” (Translation by the author.)
- 19 *Ibid.*, page 7: “Interessant var diskusjonen om ‘tyskerbarnas’ stilling. Det ble fra forskjellig hold (Njaa, Lie, Sannes, Seweriin, Hasvold) fremholdt at barna fikk en beholde i Norge og gi dem en slik oppdragelse at de ble bra nordmenn. Fra annet hold (Malm, Okkenhaug) ble det sterkt betonet de psykiske vansker som slike barn faar aa slepe med i barn- og ungdommen; det aa vaere lausunge er ille nokk paa landsbygden, og er en tyskerunge, kan det bli et aak som gjør det til et sporsmaal om ikke barna tross allt vil faa det bedre i Tyskland. Etter Hitlerforordning av oktober 1942 sogner visstnokk barn av tyske soldater med norske eller hollandske modre under tysk jurisdiksjon, og det var kanskje den klokeste linje aa folge. Stemninger i Norge idag er stort sett saa opprørt overfor tysketøser at en krever en radikal opprydding av miljoet, dette maa ogsaa kunde implisere barna. Sporsmaalet er om en ikke viser en i realiteten- og paa lengre sikt – inhuman humanisme ved aa la barna bli i Norge. Vi trodde at det er maatte ennu en omstilling i holdningen hos folk for at disse barna ikke skulde bli diskriminerte pariaer for livet.” (Translation by the author.)
- 20 NAN, RA/S-1329/F/L0087, *kurierforbindelser mellom Stockholm legasjon og motstand*. The graphics in this folder are dated 5 and 11 July 1944.
- 21 NHM 498, *Ole Jacob Malm*, folder *MP 1 Sambandskontoret*, including the folder *PM om Kurer-virksomheten*, notes dated 6 November 1944 and 26 April 1945.
- 22 *Ibid.*, folder *Div. Dokumenter vedr. Mundighetene ved Sambandskontoret (Juli – august 1944)*, document *Advarsel til Hjemmefronten behandles med største forsiktighet*. (Translation by the author.)
- 23 NAN, RA/PA-1248/H/L0047 *Hans Jacob Ustved – Dagbøker*, folder *London-dagboken 1943*, pp. 34-35: “Som helhet må jeg nærmest si at møtet med det emigrerte Norge stort sett var deprimerende, mens møtet med England var meget oppmuntrende. Hadde jeg ikke fått turen til Skottland, ville helhetsinntrykket av de norske forholdene vært ennu mer nedslående. Det er sikkert så at en hel del av de tingene som slo en så sterkt ned er ting som nødvendigvis vil finnes i ethvert emigrantsamfund, spesielt alle de innbyrdes stridigheter, de tilspissede personlige motsetninger, bakvaskelsene. Men kontrasten til forholdene hjemme i Norge var så uhyggelig sterk. Selvsagt er det meget enklere å leve hjemme i Norge idag i en viss forstand. Situasjonen der kaller på det beste i alle mennesker, det er stort sett enighet om målene, den felles fare tvinger en til samhold og man er gjennensyret av idealisme. Det var aldri noen som helst løftning å spore. Størstedelen

av det norske samfund virket grått og personene selvopptatt. Ved siden av mangelen på idealisme var det nok fornemmelsen av partiånd som var det mest generende. Man fikk uvilkårlig bekræftet sin formodning om at 'regjeringa' søker å bygge opp et administrasjonsapparat sammensatt av folk som først og fremst er lojale mot dem, altså av AP-folk. Kritikken mot regjeringen gjaldt såvidt jeg forsto i adskillig grad mangelen på fri meningsutveksling. Regjeringen bekjempet ethvert forsøk på kritikk, ut fra den tankegang at all uenighet ville virke skadelig utad. I Norsk Tidende er der ikke adgang til fri diskusjon. Bladet representerer heller ikke noe særlig høyt nivå: Brevsensuren og E-kontorets virksomhet bidro også til fornemmelsen av mangel på ytringsfrihet. Det er utvilsomt langt større frihet i det engelske samfund enn i det emigrerte norske. Det som virket sterkest opphissende på meg personlig var de ledende kretsers syn på hjemmefronten. Det er selvsagt beklagelig at mange som har gjort et godt arbeide hjemme, i London har falt for fristelsen til å skryte av det og til å tilkjenne seg selv en mere sentral posisjon enn de har hatt. Systemet med adskilte grupper uten fast koordinasjon og overledelse som har vist seg så hensiktsmessig har jo måttet føre til at hver enkelt gruppe har tillagt seg særlig betydning. Og i dette har det sikkert også ligget en verdigfull ansporing. Men dette at disse folk etter emigrasjonen har hatt en tendens til å overvurdere sin egen betydning berettiger ikke på noen måte regjeringen og deres tilhengere til den litt hånende og motvillige holdning som er inntatt overfor hjemmefronten. Uttrykket 'hjemmefrontinger' er karakteristisk og Jeremias Jössing's motbydelige petisatirer, som praktisk talt alltid bruker hjemmefrontrepresentantene som skyteskive, er helt uverdige og vil sikkert vekke opphisselse hjemme." (Translation by the author.)

24 Ibid., folder *Norske Patriots Forbund*.

25 Hurum, *Musikken under okkupasjonen*. Preface. Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, col. 491.

26 NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-1494 *Hans Jørgen Hurum*, document dated 19 May 1944.

27 According to the research literature about Camp Hemer (Hurum's spelling by memory was wrong) and the appraisal of Eberhard Thomas, Hurum's case was unusual and lacks material from German archives so far. The author would like to thank Eberhard Thomas at the Stadtarchiv Hemer cordially for his support.

28 NAS, Kjesäter vol. EII 13 25264 *Hans Jørgen Hurum*, report to the Kgl. Norsk Legasjon, Rettskontoret, 6 March 1944.

29 NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ea/L0028-0004, letter from Ustvedt to Hurum on 6 September 1944.

30 NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-988 *Ernst Glaser and Kari Aarvold Glaser*.

31 [https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm\\_lexmperson\\_00002793?wcmsID=0003](https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00002793?wcmsID=0003) (20 December 2020).

32 NHM 16 J – 0006, interview with Ernst Glaser by Ragnar Ulstein on 14 January 1975.

33 According to his questionnaire in Sweden Glaser was not practicing his faith. NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-988 *Ernst Glaser and Kari Aarvold Glaser*.

34 Reitan, Selvik, Vollsnes and Stooras (edit.), *Harmonien i fire satser 1765-2015*, p. 250.

35 Ibid.

36 Letter by Synnøve Louise Krogness to Alfhild Thallauf Olsen, dated 22 January 1941, in: NNL, *Krigstrykk 10.C.5, I Norge: Kulturkamp*: "Torsdag i forrige uke var det konsert i Harmonien. Heide dirigerte, og Ernst Glaser (konsertmester i Filharmoniske i Oslo) skulle være solist. Han skulle spille en meget vanskelig komposisjon, Polacca guerria? (den polske krig eller noe sånt) av Ole Bull, på Bulls egen violin – var utsett av fagfolkene på musikkens område til dette ærefulle hverv. (Fagstyre er jo tidens løsen har jeg hørt si av og til). Ca et kvarter etter at konserten er begynt – de holdt på med en symfoni av Haydn og solisten var ikke inne, så stimer det inn en masse unge gutter i gymnasiastalderen og sprer sig rundt omkring på ledige plasser. Jeg syns jo det var hyggelig med så megen musikkinteresse blant de unge, men syntes nok de kunne ha kommet presis. Men så hvisker Eva: det er sikkert hilden som skal demonstrere, for Glaser er visst jøde. Hun hadde vært på konservatoriet like før konserten og fått vite at avisene ikke skulle få lov til å ta inn noen kritiker av konserten av ovennevnte grunn. Beskjed fra N.S. Imidlertid spilte de Haydn ferdig – og neste nummer skulle være noe av Sinding med Glaser som solist (Polacca stod sist på programmet). Det ble litt lang pause – det viste sig at Heide da mottok en deputasjon som fortalte hvad som ville skje hvis Glaser skulle spille. Så kom han (Heide\*) inn, og fortalte at det ble en programforandring, og så kom et annet nummer uten solisten. Og publikum visste jo ingenting og nod 'Floyten fra Sanssoussi' helt ut. Men så ble de(t) lang pause. Heide kom ikke opp på podiet igjen. men ruslet frem og tilbake bak orkestret og så rådvill ut, og orkestret så forbauset på ham og hverandre. Til slutt kom han imidlertid opp på podiet og meddelte oss at han beklaget meget, men konserten måtte avbrytes. Han beklaget meget. Et par av kanaljene som hadde plas-

sert sig bak oss (på galleri) bante og sa: Ka faen. Kommer han ikke inn? De hadde ventet på ham under hele forrige nummer, og nå trodde de hele moroen var spolert. Men så spør en i salen høyt: Er det fordi Glaser er jøde? Og dermed brot det los med piping og 'ned med jødene' og flyveskrifter. Oppe på galleri var det litt basketak, og jeg dengte en i hodet med paraplyskaffet. Men det tok han ikke så tungt, de liker jo å være martyrer. Så reiste hele orkesteret sig og Heide dirigerte 'Ja vil elsker' og vi sang som aldri for. Hirten eller 'den nasjonale ungdommen' med henda til værs i 'heilnorsk hilsen'. Men så begynte forsamlingen på Kongesangen, og da vet du de så rodt! Steng dørene! ropte de og fløy og stilte sig foran utgangene. Men da oppdaget de at de var altfor få og ropte på hjelp: Hirten hit! Da kunne vi ikke annet enn le – vi lo så vi hylte og pep av dem – kulturens voktere som ville oppdrage dette fra før av ganske opplyste publikum. En mann 'forserte barrikaden' ha ha! – gav visst noen av dem trøkk i trynet. Og så toget vi ut. Det er det simpleste jeg har vært med på. At man demonstrerer på politiske møter er forståelig, for politikk er nå stort sett krangel – men dette her var idiotisk. Det skapte jo et rasen av en annen verden, blant hele dette publikum – ; det er jo for så vidt greit – de klarer sjøl å holde folk fra bevegelsen – aldri så snart har noen hørt en eller annen luring i radio – og er begynt å lure på: det er kanskje ikke så dumt dette her – så finner de på slikt og vi skremmes 10 mil vekk igjen. De bør i allfall selv oppføre sig veldisiplinert hvis de vil holde kustus på et helt folk, hjelpe sin fører med å oppdra det! Og hvis de censurerer dette og leser det, så er det all right – for det ser ut som om de trenger å få vite littegrann om folkeskikk. Bør få vite hvordan folket – den gemene hop reagerer overfor påvirkningen deres. Sender med flyveskriftet – de kan ikke skrive rent engang. Der morsomme er forresten, at under Monrad-Johansen-konserten i Oslo i høst var også Glaser solist. Da ble der overrakt en diger blomsterbukett fra 'kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepetet' Lunde. – Og der inne har han spilt på Bulls violin, uten at nasjonalungdommen våknet til dåd. Dette ble kanskje litt langt, og vel mange kommentarer – men når en blir sint så skummer det litt, vet du. Forresten fikk jeg utløsning ved å donke han der i hodet – man blir roligere da, det er vel noe i dette med den rå makts betydning-. PS (opp-ned, øverst på første side): Glaser har bodd i Norge i 15 år minst, sier Mosby. For øvrig er det jo bare tåpelig å ville lage et jødeproblem som vi ikke har." (Translation by the author.)

- 37 James A. Grymes, *Die Geigen des Amnon Weinstein*, [2014] Leipzig 2017, p. 154.
- 38 *Custodis, Master or Puppet?*, in: Custodis and Mattes, *The Nordic Ingredient*.
- 39 NHM 16 J – 0006, interview with Ernst Glaser by Ragnar Ulstein on 14 January 1975; Grymes, *Die Geigen des Amnon Weinstein*, pp. 156-159.
- 40 Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt*, p. 37; NHM 16 J – 0006, interview with Ernst Glaser by Ragnar Ulstein on 14 January 1975, p. 4.
- 41 Cf. Bruland, *Holocaust I Norge* for Wolfgang and Randi Geldmacher's key role for the Norwegian resistance. These numbers can only be estimated according to existing registers and files and need to be corrected when further evidence and information are discovered.
- 42 Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt*, pp. 123-125.
- 43 In an interview-based biography Ingeborg Solbrekken summarizes these events. Unfortunately she pays little attention to indicate and contextualize her sources regarding the historical facts about the persecution of Jews in Norway, as well as to indicate literal quotes. Therefore, her description of Amalie Christie's engagement is often hard to distinguish from her interpretation. Solbrekken, *Med empati som våpen*, pp. 46-48.
- 44 Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt*, pp. 191-192.
- 45 NAS, SE-RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-988 *Ernst Glaser and Kari Aarvold Glaser*.
- 46 *Ibid.*, report dated 5 November 1942: "Jeg har i sin tid drevet en ganske omfattende virksomhet som fiolinpedagog i Norge. Flere av mine elever er eller har blitt ansatte i Filharmonisk Selskaps Orchester i Oslo, Harmoniens Orkester i Bergen, og Symfonieorkester i Trondheim, andere er blitt konserterende musikeren hvilket bl.a. härvärende norske musikere kan bekrefte."
- 47 NAN, S-1564/H/Hc/Hcc/L0937-0014. Letter of Reidar Aarvold to the lawyer Helge Schjærve, Oslo, dated 16 March 1943, and a letter of the lawyer association Thor Haavind and Finn Arnesen to the restitution office concerning the confiscated belongings on behalf of Ernst Glaser, dated 9 October 1946.
- 48 *Ibid.*, report dated 5 July 1945 by Steen Puljen to the Oslo police.
- 49 *Ibid.*, letter by Trygve Narheim to Helge Schjærve, 4 March 1943.
- 50 NAS, SE-RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-1388 *Leopold Hersson*.
- 51 NAS, SE-RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-2384 *Robert Levin*, report of Stockholm's police, 11 May 1943, stamped by the social department on 13 May 1943.
- 52 Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt*, pp. 191-192.

- 53 NAS, SE-RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-2384 *Robert Levin*, report of Stockholm's police, 11 May 1943, stamped by the social department on 13 May 1943.
- 54 Levin and Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, pp. 224-226.
- 55 NAS, SE-RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-2384 *Robert Levin*, report of Stockholm's police, 11 May 1943, stamped by the social department on 13 May 1943.
- 56 Felix Theodor Levi, interview # 43842 in English, 4 May 1998, SFVHA.
- 57 Erik Levi, whom the author cordially would like to thank for his support, mentioned this detail in an email on 17 February 2021.
- 58 [https://www.myheritage.de/names/sigrun\\_okkenhaug](https://www.myheritage.de/names/sigrun_okkenhaug) (17 January 2021).
- 59 Cf. the short biography by Rolf Diesen at <http://www.paul-okkenhaug.no/biografi.html> and the longer English version, <http://www.paul-okkenhaug.no/inenglish.html> (13 January 2021).
- 60 *Orbituary for Arne Okkenhaug*, in: *Bergens Arbeiderblad*, 14 July 1975: "Programmredaktør Arne Okkenhaug var en av Kringkastingens mest skattede medarbeidere og en veteran innenfor folkeopplysningen i våre massemedia. Han var gårdbrukersønn fra Frol i Nord-Trøndelag. Etter lærerutdannelse i Levanger studerte han kringkasting og folkeopplysning i flere land, og i 1935 ble han knyttet til NRK som sekretær for skolekringkastingen. Under krigen fikk Arne Okkenhaug viktige tillitsverv i hjemmefrontens ledelse. Han matte rømme til Sverige, og i Stockholm hadde han som oppgave å sikre forbindelsen mellom hjemmefrontens ledelse og regjeringen i London. I 1945 ble Arne Okkenhaug leder av skolekringkastingen. Han ble redaksjonssekretær for opplysningsavdelingen i 1959. I 1964 ble han leder for denne avdelingen, og hadde denne stillingen inntil han i fjor gikk over i en spesialstilling i fjernsynet uten administrative plikter." (Translation by the author.)
- 61 Cf. Felix Levi's application file for his declined naturalization, NAN, RA/S-1725/1/D/Da/L0072/0001.
- 62 Letter from Arne Okkenhaug to Felix Levi, 2 September 1940, NTNU, *Okkenhaug Family Archive*, A-0353-G-L0002-0007-0002.
- 63 Letter from Paul Okkenhaug to his brother Arne, 27 April 1941, *ibid.*, A-0353-G-L0002-0002-0020. "Eg var, da eg svare ja den gangen, akkurat like klår som i dag over at arbeidstenesten skulde bli eit av die største propagandaapparat fra den 'nye tid'. Mitt inderlegast håp er at propagandaen må bli vellykka! Bli det fiasko med slike tiltake her i landet framover – at folket steller seg steilt, misstruisk til alle ting (utan akkurat dette å kapre seg tysk arbeid med dobbel betaling) som ny regjeringa kjem med, så har vi snart ikkje nesen over myra ein gang. For arbeide åt militæret vil folk. Dei er heime på feire og agiterer mot arbeidstenesten og andre ting i nye dresser og frakher og sko, armbands ur av gull, radio til 7-800 kr, betaler kr. 50- fra eit brennevinsmerke o.s.v. Eg ser det. Slik er 1000 på 1000 nordmenn i dag. Er Norge med i kamp? Kvem er det som er største byttet fra den ålmenne propagandaforvirring? Du skal ikkje svare meg för du kjem heim. Det er ein liken ting er så gjerne vilde opplevd: Det og kunne strått skulder ved skulder med deg og andre brör i kamp for rett og sanning. Men först må vi ordne opp litt hos oss sjöl. I heile vinter har eg vore tilskuer. Forakteleg passiv! No glid det meir og meir dit med meg at eg bli mest forarga over Londonsendingane. Kanskje er eg dermed største byttet fra forvirringa?" (Translation by the author.)
- 64 NAN, RA/S-1725/1/D/Da/L0072/0001.
- 65 All these biographical details are based on Felix Levi's own explanations from 1942/43, *ibid.*, and his testimony from 1998 for the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive.
- 66 NAS, SE-RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-514 *Edvard Hagerup Bull*.
- 67 NAS, Kjesäter vol. EII 17, # 27.877, report dated 1 July 1944: "*Personlig forhold under okkupasjonen*: 9.4.1940 var han hjemme. Ikke krigsdeltager. Fortsatte skolegangen. Tok eksamen artium våren 1941. Etter den tid studert. Har studert ved universitetet og tatt forberedende prøver i filosofi og latin og ved siden av har han studert musikk. Dette har han arbeidet med til han nå dro over grensen til Sverige. *Reisen til Sverige*: Han meldte sig ikke til tvangsmobiliseringens innregistrering hjemme. Av den grunn dro han derfor hit til Sverige. Han kom over grensen den 29.ds. ilag med endel andre. Av disse kjente han ingen fra för. *Referanser*: Minister Ditled m/frue, legasjonen Stockholm. (Onkel og tante av avh.) *Konklusjon*: Alm. trov., mulig; riktig rapp" (Translation by the author.)
- 68 NAS, Kjesäter vol. EII 15, # 26793 *Inger Lunde*, report for the Norsk Legasjon, dated 26 May 1944.
- 69 NAS, Kjesäter vol. EII 29, # 35093 *Jan Henry Berg*.

- 70 NAS, Landsfiskalen i Strömstad arkiv, FII:7, report skrivelse 27 January 1943: “Brown vere mulatt. Det hade på senaste tiden förekommit, att flere mulatte blivit anhållina samt sända till koncentrationsläger i Tyskland. Då Brown befarade, att även han skulle bliv sänd dit, hade han flytt till Sverige. Brown vere född i Norge och hade alltid varit boende där med undantag för kortare perioder, som han vistate i utlandet bl.a. i Sverige. Hans fader hade varit statslöse neger och hand moder hade varit svensk medborgare. Fadern och modern, som icke varit gifte, vere båda avlidna.” (Translation by the author.) Cordial thanks to Lars Hansson for supporting this research.
- 71 Sara Janina Lengowski, article *Moritz Mayer-Mahr*, in: *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, Hamburg 2006 [2017], [https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm\\_lexmperson\\_00001524](https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001524) (15 January 2021).
- 72 NAS, Landsfiskalen i Strömstad arkiv, FII:4, report from 19 October 1942, p. 2.
- 73 *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 410.
- 74 NAS, Landsfiskalen i Charlottenberg arkiv, FV:6, report 13 November 1942.
- 75 Article *Albert Spiwak*, in: *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, Hamburg 2007, [https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm\\_lexmperson\\_00002322](https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00002322) (15 January 2021).
- 76 Document by the International office of the Australian Red Cross, UMA, Spiwarff, Albert, Missing, Wounded and Prisoner of War Enquiry Cards, Australian Red Cross Society, National Office, 2016.0049.50862, <https://digitised-collections.unimelb.edu.au/handle/11343/137297> (15 January 2021).
- 77 Cf. *Svenska Dagbladet*, 27 September 1940, p. 13 with the article *Tondiktarjubileum i Oslo* for the centennial of Johan Svendsen, including Arnulf Överland and David Monrad Johansen. The gala concert was conducted by Olav Kielland and Odd Grüner-Hegge, and included contributions by Kurt Atterberg, Erik Westberg, and Emil Carelius. Additionally cf. *ibid.*, 5 April 1941, p. 9: article *Urtidsmusik* about Monrad Johansen’s oratorio *Voluspaa*.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 20 March 1941, p. 12 *Nordisk festkonsert*.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 30 January 1941, p. 15.
- 80 In his article *Music Ciriticism in the Swedish Nazi Daily Press* Henrik Rosengren gives the example of Curt Berg, music critic for the largest Swedish Daily *Dagens Nyheter*, who “wrote an article titled ‘Music and Politics’, in which he questioned how German star musicians on a tour abroad could act neutrally with respect to Nazi politics and warfare. He cited the examples of Furtwängler, Eugen Jochum, Georg Kulenkampff, Carl Schuricht, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt, Hans Knappertsbusch, Wilhelm Backhaus and Hermann Abendroth, ironically – given their Nazi affiliations – denoted them ‘men of honour’. Berg believed that these musicians not only were promoted as cultural stars but also had a mission to ‘win political souls.’ Music and politics could not be separated under these circumstances, Berg wrote, referring to the escalating terror in Norway and Denmark that was taking place at this time.” Henrik Rosengren, *Music Ciriticism in the Swedish Nazi Daily Press. The Case of “Dagsposten”*, in: *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation, 1938-1945. Propaganda, Myth and Reality*, ed. by David Fanning and Erik Levi, London 2020, pp. 319-336, here p. 327, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315230610-17>.
- 81 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 22 August 1943. Cf. for the general context of censorship in Swedish newspapers the chapter *Informasjonskontroll og pressesensur*, in: Veum, *Det svenske sviket. 1940-45*, pp. 256-281.
- 82 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 31 January 1941, p. 12: program note for a concert of Wilhelm Backhaus; 14 February 1941, p. 11 with a review of Backhaus performing Mozart, Brahms, Schumann, and Chopin. On 22 August 1943 *Svenska Dagbladet* opened with an article about Furtwängler on the front page, advertised as “the music event of the year”. During the next days numerous articles were dedicated to Furtwängler’s concerts in Stockholm. Additionally cf. Johan Bengtsson and Henrik Karlsson, “*Ovan stridsvimlet*”. *Kungl. Musikaliska Akademien och Tyskland 1920-45*, Lund 2006, subchapter *Wilhelm Furtwängler och Beethovens nionde symfoni*, pp. 74-79.
- 83 Rosengren, *Music Ciriticism in the Swedish Nazi Daily Press*, p. 330.
- 84 Henrik Karlsson (edit.), *Anpassning, Motstånd, Naivitet. Svenskt Musikliv i den Bruna Slagskiggan 1930-45*, Stockholm 2000; Greger Andersson and Ursula Geisler (edit.), *Myt och propaganda. Musiken i nazismens tjänst i Sverige och Tyskland*, Stockholm 2007; 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?*

- 85 RMA, *Kurt Atterberg-Correspondence*, ATP-5956, ATT-0051 and ATT-0054. Cf. the description of tasks, "Dienstausweisung für die Auslandsstelle für Musik" (probably 1942), quoted in Tobias Reichard, *Musik für die "Achse". Deutsch-italienische Musikbeziehungen unter Hitler und Stalin bis 1943*, Münster 2020, pp. 432-433.
- 86 RMA, *Kurt Atterberg-correspondence*, ATT-0051, letter of the Deutsche Gesandtschaft, 22 October 1942, Folder *Berlin 1940*.
- 87 *Ibid.*, letter from Paul Potthoff, the Hilfswerk's representative for Sweden, to Kurt Atterberg, 28 October 1941.
- 88 RMA, Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens Deposition, Huvudarkivet, Kurt Atterbergs handl. 1924-1946, Ö2B:2: Kurt Atterberg, *Sju År för Lea. Akademi i krig och strid 1940-1946. Minnesanteckningat Del VI*, p. 83.
- 89 BArch, R55-387 *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda. Devisen für die Nordische Verbindungsstelle*.
- 90 Atterberg, *Sju År för Lea*, p. 1: "Denna del börjas den 13 juni 1963 i Saint-Jean-de-Luz. Den första delen startades den 3 april 1947 i flygplanet till Zürich, då jag var på väg till Arosa, där jag skulle hämta min hustru Margareta, som svårt vrickat en fot vid skidåkning."
- 91 *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83: "Den andre saken, som jag vill tillmätasgå mina bakdantere med, är något, som jag till deras förmån gärna förlägger till slutet av 1941, men jag tror nog, att det var mer eller mindre sent under 1942. Tyskarna öppnade nämligen en liten propagandalokal på den lilla Kapstensgatan av samma slag, som engelsmännen British Council gjorde något eller några år senare vid Birger Jarlsgatans västsida. Jag minns inte annat från den tyska invitationen än att det bjöds på något, som jag tror än i dag kallas Schwarzwald-tårta, samt att jag tyckte det var på sin plats, att bibliotekarien Morin var närvarande, eftersom det förde sig om bäcker och noter."
- 92 *Ibid.*, p. 105: "Men så kom Furtwängler med Berlinfilharmonien den 27/1 och den 6/2 och värmdede oss – mer än Mengelberg fjorten dagar tidigare med tre framförande av Beethovens nia. Jag minns inte, om det var någon mottagning på tyske legationen, men desto mer kommer jag ihåg, att Furtwängler var hemma hos oss den 30/1. Margaretas matsedelbok upplyser om undfågna-den samt att Eric Westberg och Natanael Broman med fru var närvarande. Dessutom utgjordes den sjuende gästen av en dr.-ing. Helmut Katz från Lübeck. Denne, som nu är svärfader till komponisten Laci Boldemann, hade en fabrik i Lübeck för impregnering av järnvägssyillar, till vilka min sväger Gustaf Lindegren fraktade träet med båt från Finland och Norrland."
- 93 Martin Thrun, *Führung und Verwaltung. Heinz Drewes als Leiter der Musikabteilung des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (1937-1944)*, in: Riethmüller and Custodis (edit.), *Die Reichsmusikkammer*, pp. 101-146.
- 94 Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933-1945*, pp. 1984-2050; Custodis, *Rudolf Gerber und die Anfänge der Gluck-Gesamtausgabe*; Boris von Haken, *Der Einsatzstab Rosenberg und die Erfassung musikalischer Kulturgüter in Westeuropa während des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, in: *Acta musicologica* 91 (2019), No. 2, pp. 101-125.
- 95 Werner Günnigmann, *Werner Korte und die Musikwissenschaft an der Universität Münster 1932 bis 1973* [= *Veröffentlichungen des Universitätsarchivs Münster* 9], Münster 2015.
- 96 Atterberg, *Sju År för Lea*, p. 19: "Jag hade fått en anmodat att abonnera på 'Die Musik' (den hade jag i min musikaliska ungdom), och invitationen var undertecknad: Doctor habil. Herbert Gerick. Denna person hade vi träffat flera gånger i samband med de internationella musikfester, som jag bevisat sedan 1935. Vid de som gavs i Tyskland, verkade Gerick, att 'vara i smöret', inte minst genoem att han var klädd i en finfin smörgul uniform. För att illustrera vår uppfattning av denna städse mycket prydliga och artiga person, gör jag ett hopp till den 1/3 1962, då min Sinfonia visionaria uppfördes i Dortmund under ledning av Generalmusikdirektor Rolf Agop. Denne utomordentligt musikaliske ock fine dirigent hade ornat en pressmottagning, och då han därvid nämnde Gerick, blev min enkla reaktion: 'Gerick, ich glaubte, er wäre aufgehängt.' när mannen infann sig, uttryckte jag också min förvåning över att han existerade, men han förklarade detta med att han bara sysslat med kulturelle angelägenheter." (Translation by the author.)
- 97 RMA, Records (Protokollbok) 1942, meeting on 28 May 1942, paragraph 13: "Sekretären förredrog skrivelse av den 30 april 1942 från presidenten, Richard Strauss, i ständiga rådet för det internationella samarbetet mellan kompositörer. I nämnda skrivelse, vari herr Atterberg inbjöds att deltaga i en konferens i Berlin den 13-15 juni, uttrycktes önskemål att Atterberg skulle medföra ett intyg från kompetent auktoritet om att han vore utsedd som representant för Sverige. Med anledning härav beslöt akademien att utse herr Atterberg som representant vid ovannämnda konferens i Berlin."
- 98 Atterberg, *Sju År för Lea*, pp. 130 and 137.

- 99 Ibid., pp. 65 and 145.
- 100 RMA, *Kurt Atterberg-correspondence*, ATT-0053, letter of the Deutsche Gesandtschaft, 22 October 1942, Folder *Berlin 1942*.
- 101 Ibid.: “Er hat ein Filmangebot von der schwedischen Terrafilmm bekommen, aber leider ist seine Ausreisebewilligung von Herrn Leif Sinding, Oslo, nicht bewilligt worden. Meines Erachtens liegen aber hier besonders zwingende Gründe vor. Herr Mjöen ist nämlich mit einer Cousine meiner Frau verheiratet, die hier als Filmjournalistin tätig ist und sich übrigens sehr für deutschen Film eingesetzt hat. Nun hat er seine Frau, die schwedisch geboren ist, in bald 12 Monaten nicht mehr gesehen. Frau Mjöen kann auch nicht ihren Mann in Norwegen besuchen, da sie von Ihrer Arbeit abhängig ist, und als norwegische Staatsbürgerin riskiert, von den schwedischen Behörden die Rückreise nach Schweden verweigert zu werden. Seit Jahren kenne ich Fridthjof Mjöen persönlich sehr gut. Seine Eltern sind der bekannte Rassenbiologe Jon Alfred Mjöen und Claire Mjöen, geboren Berndt aus Magdeburg. Ich kann seine Loyalität zu der heutigen politischen Situation völlig garantieren. Sie würden mir eine grosse persönliche Freude machen, falls Sie meinem Verwandten Fridthjof Mjöen in dieser Angelegenheit behilflich sein könnten.” (Translation by the author.)
- 102 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 30 October 1942, p. 6, *Svensk musik får ej framföras i Norge*: “Från Oslo meddelas, det att NS-myndigheterna för en kort tid sedan utfärdade förbud mot offentligt 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 musikkonulent, 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.” (Translation by the author.)
- 103 RMA, *Kurt Atterberg-correspondence*, ATT-0053 folder *Berlin 1942*, letter of Atterberg to Dr. P. Gast, Propagandaministerium Berlin, 30 October 1942: “Sehr verehrter Herr Doktor, Eben zurückgekommen von den interessanten Tagen in Berlin finde ich in einer hiesigen Zeitung, Stockholms-Tidningen, die sehr korrekt in allen politischen Dingen ist, den beigefügten kleinen Artikel. Der Inhalt davon ist kurz gesagt, dass NS, d.h. Nasjonal Samling, in Oslo die öffentliche Aufführung von schwedischen Musikwerken verbietet. Ich nehme an, dass diese Mitteilung falsch ist. Jedenfalls bitte ich Sie die Sache untersuchen zu wollen, denn so eine Massnahme wird sicher nur ganz unerwünschte Resultate mit sich führen. Mit herzlichem Dank für alle Gastfreundschaft in Berlin. In aller Eile Ihr sehr ergebener Kurt Atterberg” (Translation by the author.)
- 104 Bußmann, *Music Censorship in the Reichskommissariat Norwegen*, in: Rupprecht, *Persecution, Collaboration, Resistance*, pp. 17-30.
- 105 RMA, *Kurt Atterberg-correspondence*, ATT-0054, folder *Berlin 1943*.
- 106 Michael Custodis, *Der Beginn der neuen Musik in Schweden und ihr Bezug zur politischen Konsenskultur*, in: *Von Grenzen und Ländern, Zentren und Rändern. Der erste Weltkrieg und die Verschiebungen in der musikalischen Geographie Europas*, edit. by Christa Brüstle, Guido Heldt and Eckhard Weber, Schliengen 2006, pp. 337-353.
- 107 Atterberg, *Sju År för Lea*, p. 2. Cf. for an overview of this complex discussion Hans Pfitzner, *Futuristengefahr*, Munich and Leipzig 1917, and *Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz*, Munich 1920; Alban Berg, *Die musikalische Impotenz der “neuen Ästhetik” Hans Pfitzners*, in: *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2 (1920), No. 11-12 June, pp. 399-408; Jens Malte Fischer, *The very German fate of a composer: Hans Pfitzner*, in: *Music and Nazism. Art under tyranny, 1933-1945*, edit. by Albrecht Riethmüller and Michael H. Kater, Laaber 2003, pp. 75-89; Michael H. Kater, *Komponisten im Nationalsozialismus. Acht Portraits*, Berlin 2004, chapter *Hans Pfitzner*; Tobias Widmaier, *Diagnose “musikalische Impotenz”: Antimoderne Affekte am Beispiel Hans Pfitzner*, in: *Puppen, Huren, Roboter: Körper der Moderne in der Musik zwischen 1900 und 1930*, edit. by Katharina Hottmann and Sabine Meine, Berlin 2005, pp. 82-101; Birgit Jürgens, “*Deutsche Musik*” – *das Verhältnis von Ästhetik und Politik bei Hans Pfitzner*, Hildesheim 2009; Sabine Busch-Frank, *Hans Pfitzner und seine Stellung im Dritten Reich: Ein Außenseiter mit schlechtem Ruf*, in: *Kunst im NS-Staat: Ideologie, Ästhetik, Protagonisten*, edit. by Wolfgang Benz, Peter Eckel and Andreas Nachama, Berlin 2015, pp. 381-393.

- 108 Rosengren, *Music Criticism in the Swedish Nazi Daily Press*, pp. 324-325: "Another related issue that was much debated at the time was the attitude of the Secretary of the Academy of Music, Kurt Atterberg, who petitioned against allowing Dobrowen to get a residence permit in order to secure greater involvement in Gothenburg's musical life. The argument he used was an all-too-familiar tactic of protectionism: that Dobrowen's presence would restrict job opportunities for Swedish conductors." Cf. Atterberg, *Sju År för Lea*, pp. 67-69.
- 109 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
- 110 Arvid O. Vollsnes, *Rebuilding Norwegian Music. From Valevåg to Tanglewood and Darmstadt*, in: Custodis and Mattes, *The Nordic Ingredient*, p. 93.
- 111 Atterberg, *Sju År för Lea*, p. 44.
- 112 RMA, Records (Protokollbuk), 16 December 1943: "Kungl. Musikaliska Amademiens, samlad till decembersammanträde, uttalar sin djupa sorg och rättmätiga harm över de upprörande våldshandligat som de tyske ockupationsmyndigheterna tillåtit sig mot Norges främsta vetenskapliga och kulturella institution genom att häkta låtare och studenter och bortföra en stor del av de senare till främmande land." (Translation by the author.)
- 113 *Ibid.*, meeting 14 September 1944, paragraph 10: "Bibliotekarien meddelade, att byråchefen Nordström i Statens Arbetsmarknadskommision föreslagit, att han jämte bibliotekaren och sekreteraren företaga en resa till Uppsala måndagen den 18 september för att inspektera den notskrivningscentral, som upprättats för sysselsättande av danska och norska flyktingar. Enär sekreteraren var medlem i den kommission, som handlagt ifrågavarande, däremot ej för bibliotekariens. Beslötts att av enskilda gottgöra bibliotekarien kostnaderna för hans ifrågavarande resa."
- 114 Hansson, *Vid gränsen*, p. 240; Veum, *Det svenske sviket*, pp. 148-149.
- 115 *Ibid.* Cf. Levin and Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, pp. 246-247: "Men langt de fleste tok oss pent imot, og alt ble oppveiet av de mange bra folkene som slet i komiteer for Svenska Norgehjelpen, tok nordmenn inn i huset, samlet inn penger og nødvendighetsartikler og sendte pakker i tusenvis over grensen. De var forresten ikke like flotte alle nordmennene som kom over heller. Pusig nok, de som virkelig hadde ofret noe, satset liv og helse for sitt land, de sa aldri et ord om det. Men de som en gang hadde gitt en illegal avis eller hvisket en nyhet til en annen, de var fulle av fortellinger om sine heltegjerninger. Hvis alle som fortalte om det, hadde, hjulpet jøder over grensen, ville det ikke vært 600, men 6000 som var kommet til Sverige bare fra Norge. I Norge Nytt, vår norske avis, skrev Arne Skouen en meget ironisk artikkel om alle de norske heltene."
- 116 Report of the Norwegian authorities about Anna Beate Asserson's request to stay in Sweden, dated Stockholm, 7 November 1944, NHM 498: "Når en tat i betraktning de personlige ofre som storparten av de norske kunstnere har pålagt under sin deltagelse i den norske holdningskamp, fortener frøken Assarsons suverene ivaretagelse av sine personlige kunstneriske interesser seg som en betydelig nasjonal svikt. Jeg finner det betenkelig å godkjenne frøken Assarson som norsk flyktning, og mener at hun ikke bår få norsk flyktningpass." (Translation by the author.)
- 117 Klaus-Richard Böhme and Bosse Schön, *Signal. Nazitysklands Propaganda i Sverige 1941-45*, Stockholm 2005.
- 118 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 30 October 1942, p. 3.
- 119 NHM 498.
- 120 NAN, RA/PA-1248/H/L0047 *Hans Jacob Ustved – Dagbøker*, folder *London-dagboken 1943*, note on 5 January 1943, p. 3.
- 121 *Ibid.*, notes on 1 and 2 February 1943, p. 27.
- 122 *Ibid.*, note on 5 February 1943, p. 31: "[...] karakteristisk engelsk, skotske og irske folketonar, delvis tatt opp etter sang av gamle innfødte sangere, de siste i sitt slag. Hun lovet å sende meg til Stockholm en større avhandling om engelske folkemusik, kedsaget av en hel del gramofonplater."
- 123 *Ibid.*, note on 17 January 1943, p. 15: "Søndag 17. januar arbeidet Caspersen og jeg med alle spørsmålene vedrørende min rapport fra 10 til 1, spiste lunsj med Christian på den danske klubb, og var så på konsert i Albert Hall med Ole Jacob og Arne, hørte Händels Wassermusik, Bethovens [sic] Ess-dur konsert med Solomon og Tsjaikowskys 4de. Bleserakustikken var fabelaktig, med strykerne nådde ikke ordentlig frem. Det var lenge siden jeg hadde hørt musikk, og så nedtrykt som jeg var, gjorde den et overveldende inntrykk på meg, ikke minst til å begynne med da orkestret og de flere tusen tilhørerne i den smekfulle kjempesalen reiste seg og 'God save the King' ljomet i veggene. Etter konserten møtte vi Arthur Hansson og Schive som også hadde vært der." (Translation by the author.)
- 124 *Ibid.*, note on 7 January 1943, p. 5.



- 125 Ibid., p.36: "Nordmennene var utvilsomt populære i England, både hos the man in the street og i de høyere lag. Man merket tydelig hvilken hjelp man hadde av det norske flagget på oppslaget. De fleste engelskmenn var klar over den norske handelsflåtes innsats og over hjemmefrontens kamp, spesielt kirkens og lærernes. Men det ble ofte nevnt at nordmennene vor lösmunnet, og at de selv litt for godt visst om hvor flinke de hadde vært. Den norske regjering skulle angivelig ha en meget god posisjon, den er den av de emigrerte regjeringer som i minst grad har vasket sitt skittentöi offentlig. Men det skulle jo være morsomt å höre Edens og Churchills kommentarer etter at de hadde spist lunsj med Nygaarsvold og Lie." (Translation by the author.)
- 126 Ibid., p. 38: "England var i höy grad preget av kvinnes innsats. Det vrimlet av uniformerte kvinner på gatene, WAAFS eller hvad de heter. Enkelte steder så man dem eksersere i små troppe, ganske som på filmen 'This above all'. Av 16 mill. kvinner mellom 18 og 65 år er de 10 mill. mobilisert på en eller annen måte, derav 6 ½ mill. sp. arbeidsker, 1 mill. i frivillig tjeneste, 300 000 i luftvernet. Overallt virket de effektive, greie og med utpreget godt humör." (Translation by the author.)
- 127 Ibid., p. 39.
- 128 NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ee/L0028-0004, Folder *Diverse brev i Sverige-tiden 1941-1945*, letter from Ustvedt to a man named Johansen, 30 October 1943: "Jeg har nu vært her 1 års tid, og mens jeg det første halvåret var svært ivrig etter å söke å skape en bedre forståelse mellom svensker og nordmenn, har jeg i siste halvår hatt så mange skuffelser på det området, at jeg holder på å gå trett. Svenskene er svært forskjellige fra oss, og har i grunnen lärt forbausende lite av det som er skjedd. Det er temmelig färt å være her. En lengter uhyggelig hjem, og jo mere ondt som hender hjemme, desto verre synes en det er å være her i sikkerhet. Velsignet iallfall å kunne arbeide med ting som kommer dere hjemme til gode. Personlig foretrekker jeg så absolutt å være i Sverige allikevel, fordi en her gjennom alle de ferske flyktningene stadig er i intim kontakt med hva som hender hjemme. I England har en fordel av å være blant allierte, men der er en temmelig langt hjemmefra." (Translation by the author.)
- 129 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 2 December 1943, p. 11.
- 130 Ibid., 15 January 1943, p. 9, *Prins Wilhelm läser dikter för Norge*.
- 131 Ibid., 19 January 1943, p. 11. *Stor lyrikeraften för norsk barnhjälp*; 19 November 1943, p. 9, article *I Krigsfångemusik i lördagsprogrammet*.
- 132 Cf. for general aspects of Goebbels' foreign propaganda Reichard, *Musik für die "Achse"*, pp. 128-129 and Thymian Bussemer, *Propaganda. Konzepte und Theorien*, Berlin <sup>2</sup>2008.
- 133 Levin and Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, pp. 272: "När det gjaldt noter, måtte jeg først og fremst skaffe meg et norsk repertoar – jeg spilte så godt som bare norsk musikk." (Translation by the author.)
- 134 NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ee/L0028-0004, letter from Ustvedt to Arne Okkenhaug on 21 September 1943. "Her er stor interesse for nyere norsk musikk, men notemateriell mangler. Svenske institusjoner vil gjerne arrangere norske konserter, Radiotjänst er også meget interessert. Det vil være särlig önskelig om komponister Säverud, Valen, Egge, Andersen, Sparre-Olsen, Irgens-Jensen, Groven, Brustad, Pauline Hall, Backer-Gröndahl, kann sende materiell til komposisjoner som de önsker oppfört, til adresse: Konsertforeningen, Stockholm. Det garanteres at notene blir returnert etter denne sesongs eller etter krigens slutt, alt etter önske. Det er svenske organisasjoner som eventuelt skal arrangere konsertene."
- 135 NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-2347 *Unni Bugge-Hansen*: "Fröken Bugge-Hansen medverkar frivilligt och har inge ersättning för sitt uppträdande." (Translation by the author.)
- 136 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 23 March 1941, p. 13, article *Norsk gäst i Konsertforeningen*.
- 137 NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ee/L0028-0004, folder *Dagbok Stockholm: 10/4 – 28/9 1944* and folder *Dagbok – Stockholm: 30/9-1944 – 27/4-1945*.
- 138 Ibid., Folder *Diverse Innbydelser, 1942-44*.
- 139 Levin and Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, pp. 274-275. *Svenska Dagbladet*, 13 May 1943, p. 15, including an advertising for a concert on 17 May at the concert house, with speeches by Nils Ahnlund and Hans Jacob Ustvedt, including Konsertforeningens orkester, Körsång af Ce'Svenske och Stockholms folkskolars sängklasser.
- 140 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 10 March 1943, p. 15, article *Norge utställingen öppnas i dag*.
- 141 Ibid., 14 March 1943, p. 15, article *Norsk cabaret*.
- 142 Ibid., 18 March 1943, p. 16.
- 143 Ibid., 13 June 1943, p. 11. For the general context of Grieg-remembrances 1943 cf. Custodis and Mattes, *Celebrating the Nordic tone – fighting for national legacy: the Grieg Centenary, 1943*.

- 144 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 24 March 1943, pp. 11 and 18.
- 145 NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ea/L0028-0004, folder *Egne Opptreder – Musikk: Taler, 1943-45*.
- 146 *Ibid.*
- 147 Ustvedt also referred to a meeting with Gerd Grieg, when he visited London and heard her singing on 26 January 1943: “Kl. 5 musikalsk hyrde-time med Gerd Grieg hos Strandenæs. Fru Grieg, hvis varme hjerte var smeltet da hun så meg som blek pasient ved lunsjen i hotellet en av de dagene jeg lå, hadde overveldet meg med bilde, folkeviser, brev, telefonoppringninger og romtodd på sengen. Hennes sang var nokså bedrøvelig nu, undtagen tonene over F som var flotte. Hun bar seg nokså ille når hun sang og jeg var full av medlidenhet med henne.” RA/PA-1248/H/L0047 *Hans Jacob Ustved – Dagbøker*, folder *London-dagboken 1943*.
- 148 NNL, *In Memory of Edvard Grieg – 99 Years after his Birth* [BBC 1942], [http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb\\_lydsikringkopi\\_6248](http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_lydsikringkopi_6248) (21 January 2021).
- 149 *Ibid.*, *In Honor of Edvard Grieg On His Centennial* [BBC 1943], [http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb\\_lydsikringkopi\\_6343](http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_lydsikringkopi_6343) (21 January 2021).
- 150 NHM 498, *Edvard Grieg-Evening*, 16 September 1943.
- 151 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 16 October 1943, p. 13.
- 152 *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.” (Translation of the author.)
- 153 *Ibid.*, letter of the British Council, F. J. R. Bottrall, Stockholm, 9 July 1943.
- 154 *Ibid.*, folder *Korrespondanse – Diverse, 1943-44*, letter of the Royal Norwegian Consulat in Gotenborg, Konsul Fuglesang, 5 November 1943.
- 155 *Ibid.*, letter from Ustvedt to Konsul Fuglesang in Gotenborg, 16 September 1943: “[...] hvor jeg skal synge engelske, skotske, franske, danske, svenske og norske folkeviser med små opplysende innledninger for hver avdeling. Jeg er da kommet på den tanke om dere kunne ha noen interesse av at det ble arrangert en slik aften i Göteborg.” (Translation by the author.)
- 156 *Ibid.*, letter from Fuglesang to Ustvedt on 22 September 1943: “I det jeg henviser til Deres brev av 16.ds. og behagelig telefon samtale av i går, er jeg av den oppfatning at det ville være mest hensiktsmessig å utsette Deres påtenkte ‘folkeviseaften’ til senere f.eks. til våren. Interessen for Norge er for tiden liten, d.v.s. hva ‘Norges aftener’ angår, og jeg er redd for at en ‘Norges aften’ foreløpig ikke vil vekke nêe særlig interesse blant ‘Göteborgare’. Imidlertid anser jeg at en redegjørelse fra norsk auktoritativt hold angående flyktningsarbeid overfor byens myndigheter og pressen vil være av stor betydning da det hersker en hel del misforståelser.” (Translation by the author.)
- 157 *Ibid.*, *Diverse brev i Sverige-tiden*, letter of the British Council, F. J. R. Bottrall, Stockholm, 9 July 1943.
- 158 *Ibid.*, folder *London-dagboken 1943*.
- 159 *Ibid.*, *Diverse brev i Sverige-tiden*, letter of the organisation committee at the Kgl. Norsk Legasjon, 1 June 1944, to the camp commander at Norsk Innkvartering.
- 160 *Ibid.*, letter of Gunnar Palleberg, Statens Rasbiologiska Institut, Uppsala 13 October 1944, to Ustvedt to speak about tuberculosis.
- 161 NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-2384 *Robert Levin*.
- 162 *Ibid.*, 11 June 1943 with the details “Artist inom för utl. Tillåt omr. Ag: Folkparkernas Artistförmedl. St. Eriksg. 86 Stockholm”. Cf. Levin and Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, p. 233.
- 163 NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-988 *Ernst Glaser and Kari Aarvold Glaser*. NAS, SUK-FIABA-988 *Kari Glaser*, proposal of Kari Glaser on 26 October 1943 to play in Gotenborg two days later.
- 164 *Ibid.*, proposal of Gotenborg Orkesterforening at the Kungl. Socialstyrelsen Stockholm on 23 Januar 1939 for Ernst Glaser: “Härmed få vi vördsamt anhölla om befrielse från arbetstillstånd för norske undersåten Ernst Glaser, bosatt i Oslo, för medverkan vir vår konsert i Konserthuset lördagen den 22 April 1939.”
- 165 NHM 16 J – 0006, interview with Ernst Glaser on 14 January 1975 at the Conservatory Ålesund, p. 12.
- 166 NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-988 *Ernst Glaser and Kari Aarvold Glaser*.
- 167 *Ibid.* A comparable support came from Erik L. Magnus, Ordf. i Göteborgs Orkesterforening, 31 December 1942 to the Kungl. Socialstyrelsen: “Det har kommit till min kännedom, att violinisten, konsermästare Ernst Glaser hos Eder ämnar söka arbetstillstånd i Sverige, och får jag med

- anledning därav på det livligaste tillstyrka hans begäran. Jag känner konsertmästare Glaser sedan mangå år, då han ju varit anställd som förste konsertmästare i Oslo Philharmoniske Selskap, och jag kan intyga, att han är en framstående violinist. Från min bästa vän i Norge, fabrikssejer Christian Schou, som under många år varit ordörande i Oslo Philharmoniske Selskap har jag fått de bästa rekommendationer om honom, vilket jag ej velat underlåta meddela Eder.” (Translation by the author.)
- 168 Ibid.
- 169 NHM 16 J – 0006. The Levin family earned the same amount of money and support, cf. Levin and Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, p. 242.
- 170 Ibid., p. 238.
- 171 Ibid., p. 235.
- 172 NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-2384 *Robert Levin*. Tour plan of Robert Levin for Svenska Norgehjälpen.
- 173 NAS, SE/RA-420393-01-FF/1-F/1/A-F/1/AB-F/1/ABA-988 *Ernst Glaser and Kari Aarvold Glaser*; Grymes, *Die Geigen des Amnon Weinstein*, pp. 171-173.
- 174 Ibid., report 14 January 1943: “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 bør 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 arbeidstilstand av 28. XII. 1942.” (Translation by the author.)
- 175 Levin and Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, pp. 258-260 and 276.
- 176 Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt*, pp. 226-228.
- 177 Levin and Levin, *Med livet i hendende*, pp. 228 and 245. See additionally for the Swedish perspective Carl-Gunnar Åhlén, *Moses Pergament*, Möklinta 2016, chapter *Mot mørknande och ljusnande tider* and Åntligen accepterad.
- 178 NHM 16 J – 0006. For the overall context cf. Birgitta E. Almgren, *Drømmen om Norden. Nazistisk infiltrasjon i Sverige 1933-1945*, Stockholm 2005 and concerning the situation of Jews in Sweden: Bob Moore, *Survivors. Jewish Self-Help and Rescue in Nazi-Occupied Western Europe*, Oxford 2010, chapter *Swedish Havens*, pp. 71-98.
- 179 NHM 16 J – 0006: “Sydsverige var i det hele tatt temmelig nasifisert: Malmø. Jeg gikk opp i legasjonen den gangen da jeg fikk det tilbudet for å høre hva myndighetene i Stockholm mente og da sa byfogd Gram, Kjære bare reis, der er så mange nasister der – det er godt å ha noen ordentlige nordmenn.” (Translation by the author.)
- 180 NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ee/L0028-0004, letter by lector Johs. Krogsrud, Uppsala, to Ustvedt, 12 October 1944.
- 181 Ibid., letter by Ustvedt, 23 October 1944, to Sigurd Hoel, Ulvsunda: “Kan ikke du som skriver så lett og godt ta deg av dette spørsmålet. Korizinsky på Flyktningskontoret sitter inne med en del materiale om de norske jødene her i Sverige. Saken er jo høyst alvorlig. Det er meg bare ikke mulig å få tid til å sette meg tilstrekkelig inn i spørsmålet.” (Translation by the author.)
- 182 Alf Skjeseth’s recent book *Nordens Casablanca. Nordmenn i Stockholm under krigen*, Spartacus forlag, Oslo 2018, is based mainly on newspapers and only sparsely on archival sources. In consequence, many aspects are described more in the manner of an anecdote and less as an analysis.
- 183 NAN, Landssviksarkivet, D/Da/L0178: Dommer, 1945-1948, *David Monrad Johansen*.
- 184 NAN, Sig. Oslo politikammer, Dommer, Dnr. 1232 – *David Monrad Johansen*, as well as Hansen, *Mot fedrenes fjell*, pp. 453-456.
- 185 Stadtarchiv Leipzig, Sig. P 3621. Cf. for the general context Custodis and Mattes, *Celebrating the Nordic tone – fighting for national legacy: the Grieg Centenary, 1943*.
- 186 Monrad Johansen’s translator Eugen Schmitz came to the Peters music library in 1939, from a position as professor at the TU Dresden. Cf. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933-1945*, pp. 6242-6244, Sophie Fetthauer, *Musikverlage im “Dritten Reich” und im Exil*, Hamburg 2007, pp. 178-179; Albrecht Dümmling, *Musik hat ihren Wert. 100 Jahre musikalische Verwertungsgesellschaft in Deutschland*, Regensburg 2003, p. 217; Erika Bucholz, *Henri Hinrichsen und der Musikverlag C.F. Peters*, Tübingen 2001, pp. 301-302 as well as Custodis and Geiger, *Netzwerke der Entnazifizierung*, pp. 113-114.
- 187 “Dr. Drewes der zur Zeit in Norwegen ist als Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels Repräsentant sagt heute in einem Interview in ‘Aftenposten’ dass eine seiner Aufgaben bei dieser Gelegenheit ist dafür zu sorgen dass seine deutsche Ausgabe meiner Grieg-Biografie zustande kommen kann. Die Bio-

- graphie wird bald möglichst in deutsche Übertragung erscheinen, fügt Dr. Drewes hinzu." Letter from David Monrad Johansen to Johannes Petschull, 17. Juni 1943, in: Staatsarchiv Leipzig, Sig. L 3664. (All errors in syntax and orthography within the letter have not been corrected.)
- 188 NAN, RA/S-6010/D/Da/Daa/L0014/0012 *Kulturtinget. Norges musikkforbund. Kultur- og folkeopp-lysningsdepartementet. Den alminnelige avdelling. 1940–45.* Folder *Kulturtinget. Norges musikkforbund ca. 1939–43, Part Vedtekter for Norsk Musikkforbund.*
- 189 Liv Glaser in an interview with the author on 13 March 2019.

## V. Different Modes of Consolidation

If resistance is understood as the critical moment when theory and practice coincide and the belief in the righteousness and necessity for showing opposition turns into action, this very moment accentuates the crucial aspect of temporality. According to the first hypothesis in the preliminary model “music as resistance” in Chapter I, resistance demands active involvement and the acceptance of risks that may result from this plea for action. Such anticipation of future consequences further implies the factor of time: Options, changes, threats or dangers that have not occurred yet already influence decisions that need to be taken now or soon. Furthermore, the moment when resistance turns into action includes memories of the past thus again accentuating the crucial aspect of temporality – of better days gone by when for example a country and its people had enjoyed national and individual freedom, when there had been no crimes and injustices, when evil foreign powers had not forced anyone into dependency or established an alternative, dismal and unwanted future.

All decisions, especially those made under the extreme circumstances of a global war and an occupation regime, combine a multiplicity of other decisions including different levels of temporality: Habits and values which are taken as references during the process of decision making – once resistance has been accepted as inevitable serve – as a memorized connection to individual socialization and collective history. These internalized habits and values now determine the present to achieve an attempted positive change in the future. Asking where music comes into the picture, it is again through the aspect of temporality which marks one of music’s specific qualities: From the aesthetical perspective of artistic production music can reflect, preserve and catalyze experiences of resistance, occupation, loss, victory, despair, and hope. Regarding the aesthetic reception of such pieces, it is again the nature of music as a “Zeitkunst” unfolding its emotional and intellectual strength at the moment of its performance. It further offers a cause for like-minded people to gather and enjoy each other’s company, and in later days to remember these times.

For such an interconnection of “Produktionsästhetik” and “Rezeptionsästhetik” music under Norway’s political circumstances between 1940 and 1945 offers numerous and heterogeneous examples. Regarding the hypothesis in the preliminary model that musical resistance is chiefly more a chain of singular events than one continuous action, this final chapter will include the aspect of temporality. In four topics it will discuss how these multiple singularities affect different modes of artistic and cultural consolidations:

1. Three different genres – a recording of Norwegian resistance songs produced 1942 in New York, a Hollywood movie from 1943 featuring Errol Flynn and Ann Sheridan as Norwegian resistance fighters, and an operetta celebrating Edvard Grieg produced in 1944 – will demonstrate the range of popular stereotypes regarding Norwegian culture and resistance work.
2. A unique compositional statement will represent the mourning expressed by the Swedish composer Moses Pergament for the victims of anti-Semitism and his es-

teem for Jewish musical heritage in his choir symphony *Den judiska sången* (1944/45).

3. The procedures of penalization and consolidation in the field of music will serve as an example how different values and modes of evaluation collided. While the resistance against the German occupants had united heterogeneous ways of thinking as long as there was a mutual enemy to fight, the domestic conflict after the liberation of how to deal with traitors turned into a persistent difficulty.
4. Remarks about the Norwegian-German relations after 1945 will indicate further perspectives for future research. Strikingly the Nordic countries and especially Norway turned into a field of conflict for the rivalries of West- and East-Germany, with music as a preferred means of cultural diplomacy.

### **Media and Occupation. *Fighting Men of Norway* (1942), *Edge of Darkness* (1943), and *Song of Norway* (1944)**

Files attributed to the Norwegian exile government's Information Office ("regjeringens informasjonskontor") indicate that the administration in London had its own service for spreading news, which reached Norway through the support of allied radio stations. Furthermore, this office also developed scripts for information and fictional programs about Norway. However, lists of program titles and some manuscripts, which are preserved in the National Archives in Oslo, only give a general idea about topics and typical plots. If any of these stories, or how many of them were ever produced remains unclear so far. One example is a 14 pages script entitled *Norwegian Saga*, credited to Stephen Black, Ealing Studios, Ealing Green, W. 5 London, dated 17 May 1943 (Norway's national holiday).<sup>1</sup> In the opening scene Norway is established as the nation of peace ("keyword Peace Nobel Prize") to the music of Edvard Grieg before two whale chasers – father and son – are introduced. Out at sea on their boat *Kosmos Six Gamlingen* and *Olaf* had been surprised by the outbreak of World War II. They decide to sail to Scotland and enroll in the fight against Germany. Several scenes should present "typical" impressions in combination with the memories of the sailors of historical and modern Norway, of landscapes, buildings, social achievements in health care and transportation, with the singing of patriotic songs and folk tunes; these are contrasted with traditional dances from Scotland and Norway in a fraternizing scene at a tavern bar.

During the film the fishing boat is turned into minesweeper to emphasize Norway's naval importance and its determination to win the war. On its return to Scotland after a successful mission in Norwegian waters the open end is to give hope and encouragement:

For'ard [sic] one of the men brings out his concertina – (perhaps it is the same man who played before) – and as the strains of the Norwegian sea shanties go out over the waves, the men just escaped from Norway, and the whalers who never got home, stand together on the bridge – with them are

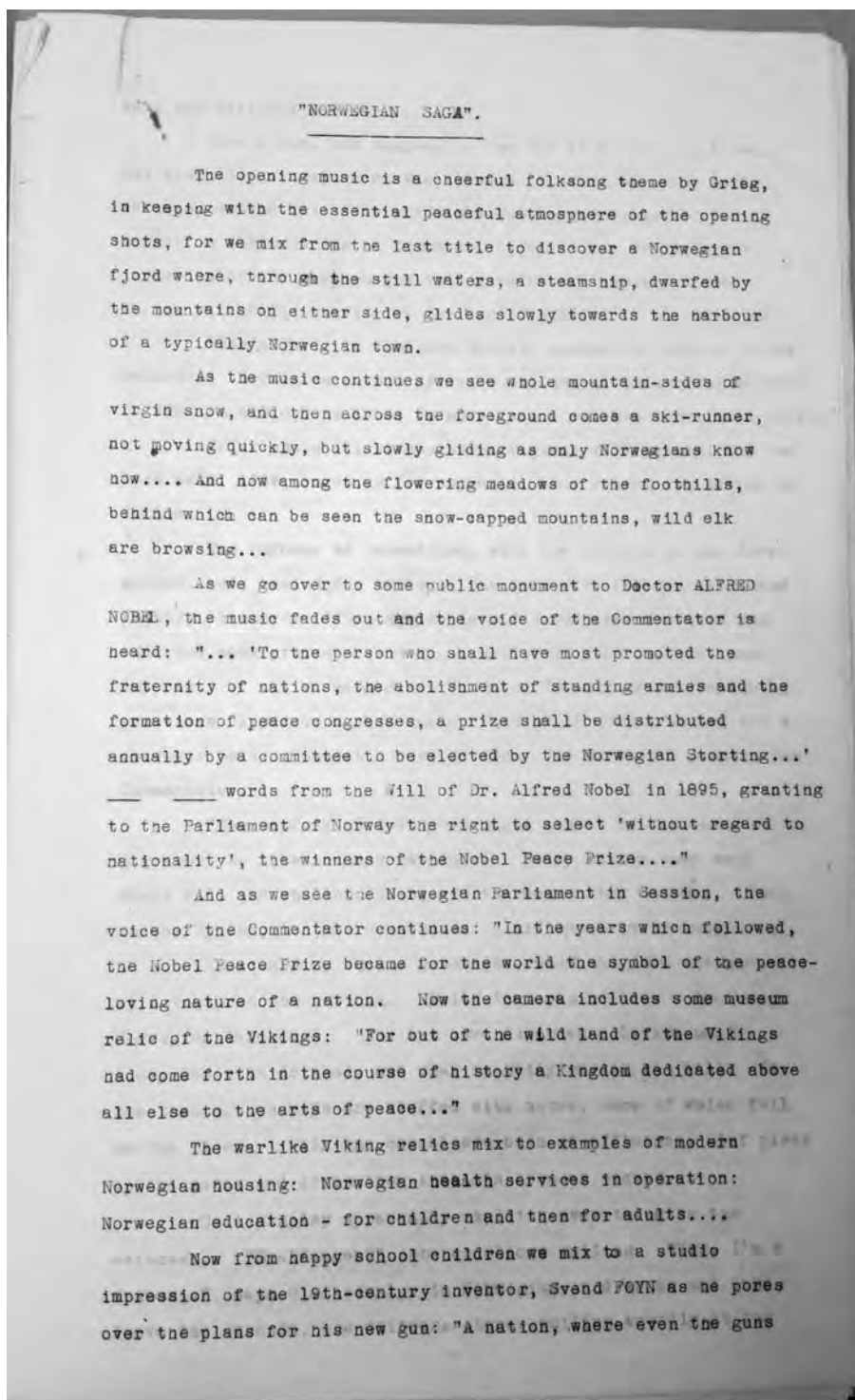


Fig. 1: The first page of the film script *Norwegian Saga* by Stephen Black, dated 17 May 1943. NAN, RA/S-2057/2/E/Eb/L0001/0011 *Regjeringens informasjonskontor* London. Film: *Art in Exile*

Gamlingen and Olaf, both thinking of Sandefjord. – Olaf perhaps thinking of Inge, and Gamlingen of his home, and the farm, which he never bought...

“... For one day these whale chasers, turned minesweepers, will go back to Sandefjord... back to Norway... back to sweep once and for all the horror of Nazi military occupation from the fair face of the Land of Peace...”<sup>2</sup>

Other drafts and production notes of the Information Office concerned topics like *Art in Exile*, *Norwegians in Sweden*, and *Hjemmefronten*.<sup>3</sup> Other productions were labeled “finished”, bearing titles such as *Ski Patrol*, *Arctic Patrol Norwegian A.T.S. in Training*, and *Norwegian Army Workshops & Ski-troops*. Titles of additional programs such as *Norsk Månedssrevy Nr. 5* and *Norsk Månedssrevy Nr. 6* indicate that these productions may have been included in newsreels. Further important information, however, that could explain i.e. details about the frequency of their viewing, of their civil and military use, or of potential exchange of productions between Norwegian institutions and facilities in Sweden, Great Britain, the U.S., or Canada are not included in these files.

### **Voicing Resistance in New York – *Fighting Men of Norway* (1942)**

An example, in which the actual media production is preserved but only fragments of information about its genesis have survived, is a box set called *Fighting Men of Norway. Norwegians Songs of Freedom*, produced in 1942 in New York for Keynote Records, featuring the Zion Norwegian Lutheran Chorus, conductor Agnes Forde, the Keynote Orchestra, as well as Gunnar Östby and Gunnar Martin as soloists. The cover art work (cf. fig. 2) combines popular symbols of Norway with the Norwegian resistance movement such as the national flag and a Viking ship with a “H7” painted on its sail, the abbreviation of the exiled King Håkon VII. On their six sides the three 10-inch records present six songs, summarizing the mission-statement of the fighting men of Norway: the love for their country is represented by three traditional melodies – *Ja, vi elsker (National Anthem)*, “*Alt for Norge*” (*All for Norway*), and *Vi vill os [sic] et land (Song of Freedom)*; the faith in God is represented by Martin Luther’s most famous choral which has always been a hymn during times of conflict, rebellion, and resistance – *Vår Gud han er så fast en borg (A Mighty Fortress)*; the will to carry out resistance is represented by two other songs – *Hjemmefrontens Sang (Song of the Home Front)* and *Norske Flygere (Norwegian Flyers)*.

Although meanwhile the records are accessible on the internet, only a few details can be derived from the stickers on the records (cf. fig. 3) about the contributing artists and the history of this production.<sup>4</sup> Further information about the soloists Gunnar Östby and Gunnar Martin cannot be provided beyond the fact that their names are found in other concert programs of the time, which were related to Norwegian cultural matters. The same goes for Agnes Forde and the choir she conducted at the Zion Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in Brooklyn which had been established in 1908.

Nevertheless, the Norwegian community in New York City and its neighboring areas must have been quite large, at least large enough to found a weekly newspaper in 1891. This *Nordisk Tidende*, which nowadays is available online at the Norwegian National Library, was one of several specialized papers in the United States (the Library of Congress enlists 23 different newspapers).<sup>5</sup> Most of the articles were written in Nor-





Fig. 2: The front cover of the record box *Fighting Men of Norway. Norwegian Songs of Freedom*, produced as Album No. 114 for Keynote Recordings, New York 1942. NHM



Fig. 3: The six stickers of the three records *Fighting Men of Norway. Norwegian Songs of Freedom*, produced as Album No. 114 for Keynote Recordings, New York 1942. NHM

wegian and offered information both about events and developments concerning Norwegian Americans in the United States as well as reports about the situation in their native country. Information about the record label Keynote Recordings adds more details to the puzzle. Based on an obituary for its founder, which was published in the *New York Times* on 5 November 1968, one learns that Eric Bernay had been born on 25 March 1906 in Odessa, Russia under the name Bernstein. It is not known when he came to the United States, but possibly as a Jewish refugee. In New York he founded Keynote Records in 1937, which he sold to Mercury Records in 1948. As it seems, he had a special interest in political topics producing, for example, a record with political songs from the Spanish Civil War called *Songs of the Lincoln Brigade*. While he had featured prominent Jazz and Folk musicians in the years before such as Paul Robeson and Pete Seeger, he founded the music division of the United Jewish Appeal in 1963. Additionally he had managed several “prominent theatrical figures, among them Robert Clary, Eartha Kitt, Dorothy Dandridge, James Kommack and Charlotte Rae”.<sup>6</sup>

Additional information provided by the National Library in Oslo where the records are listed as well,<sup>7</sup> includes Harris Breem, Gladys Petch, Frank Nelson, Gunnar Nygård and The Royal Norwegian Information Service as part of the production, which named two recording dates on 15 February and 22 October 1942 for the series *The Spirit of the Vikings*. Now it becomes clear that the records *Fighting Men of Norway* were not simply a record production by music lovers with an interest in Norway’s present fate, they were part of the propaganda machinery of the exiled Norwegian government. Gunnar Nygård (1897-1997) was a Norwegian radio pioneer who had had to flee from Norway in June 1940 and had made his way to the East coast. Working as a radio host in Boston, he established the international voice of the Norwegian Broadcasting Company NRK transmitted via the short wave frequencies of World Wide Broadcasting and soon had a world wide community of listeners especially among the sailors out at sea.<sup>8</sup> Gunnar Martin was his alias when he appeared on air and this identifies him as the musician who contributed the solo parts to the patriotic songs *Alt for Norge* and *Hjemmefrontens Sang*. The connection to Gladys M. Petch (originally Evelyn Mary Salesbury “Gladys” Petch Shugrue, 1897-1966) is easy to find. She was one of the most prominent voices on the international Norwegian program. Born in London, she had worked in Europe for many years and even been to Norway for a while as an English teacher before she moved to the United States. Maybe her most famous program was *The Spirit of the Vikings*, in which she presented compact news from Norway and explained Norwegian culture. Her broadcasts included several features on Edvard Grieg and his music, which are online at the Norwegian National Library.<sup>9</sup> Shortly after the war Ruben Jarkstedt summarized her work in a newspaper article for the *Sarpsborg Arbeiderblad*:

The news of the war in Scandinavia was given in concentrated form. There was much to tell about the Germans’ humiliating attack and Norway’s brave resistance. The first programs, which were broadcast over a broadcasting station in New York, were of a strictly informational nature. The measures taken by the Norwegian government in connection with Norwegian shipping outside the German barrier were clarified. It was also sent via shortwave for seamen on board Norwegian ships. As the programs grew in scope, Ameri-

cans became interested in “The Spirit of the Vikings”, as the series was called. Soon, 80 broadcasting stations decided to broadcast the program, then 115 stations, then 160 spread across the American continent. The summer of 1945 sent approx. 250 stations programs, and the number of listeners was reported to 5 million. And the programs spread further, to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Alaska and Iceland. All available “talents” were used to tell about Norway’s struggle – sailors, pilots and high officials who were visiting. Norwegian folk music became popular on an international scale, and one heard the voices of King Haakon, Crown Prince Olav, Crown Princess Märtha, Sigrid Undset, Karl Evang and other famous Norwegians.<sup>10</sup>

Although it is impossible to give figures for the commercial success and the level of public attention created by these productions on behalf of Norway’s liberty, it attracted the notice of the press. Notably the *New York Times* reserved a prominent place in its Sunday issue on 6 September 1942 for an extensive review by Howard Taubman which is worth quoting in detail:

Norway fights on, at home against the invader by underground means and abroad openly through its official government, its seamen, fliers, soldiers and sailors. Keynote’s new album is a tribute to the *Fighting Men of Norway*, containing half a dozen *Songs of Norwegian Freedom* (No. 114, three 10-inch records). If the songs of a people can tell you something about their valor and spirit – and they do – this album is a further celebration of the unflinching courage of the Norwegian people. The singing is done by the Zion Norwegian Lutheran Chorus directed by Agnes Forde. It begins with the Norwegian national anthem and follows with Martin Luther’s hymn, *A Mighty Fortress Is Our God*, which was sung by the soldiers of Gustavus Adolphus during the Thirty Years’ War. Dr. Frank Nelson, who prepared the translation of the texts of the songs and the explanatory notes for the accompanying booklet, recalls that this hymn was sung by the Norwegian people in front of the Trondheim Cathedral on Feb. 1, 1942, when the Gestapo denied the worshipers entrance to the church; it was also sung by the crowds on the docks as the “hell ship” Skjerstad “carried Norwegian teachers to slave labor in the Arctic because they refused to be traitors to their calling.” [...] There is the moving *Norske Flygere (Norwegian Fliers)*, dedicated to the Royal Norwegian Air Force, which has been operating from Allied bases and which expects to lead the way back home. The words are rousing and the music is aptly chosen. The tune served as one of the songs sung by those early fighters against fascism and Nazism, the men of the international brigade who fought on the side of the Loyalist government in Spain. That song will be found in “Six Songs for Democracy”, Keynote’s memorable collection of the songs of the defenders of democratic Spain.<sup>11</sup>

### Featuring Norway in Hollywood – *Edge of Darkness* (1943)

In the fall of 1942 first press reports appeared that Warner Brothers was shooting a movie about the Norwegian resistance movement. As one could learn from the *New York Times* much of the outdoor shooting was done on the Monterey Peninsula in California, in the neighborhood of prominent residents such as John Steinbeck and Salvadore Dali.<sup>12</sup> The film, called *Edge of Darkness*, starred Hollywood legends Errol Flynn and Anne Sheridan under the direction of Lewis Milestone (originally born as Lev Milstein, 1895-1980) who had become famous with movies such as *Der blaue Engel* with Marlene Dietrich in 1930 (where he was responsible for the musical direction), the Marx Brothers' film *A Day at the Races* from 1937 or *Women of the Year*, the movie from 1942, which was the beginning of the legendary collaboration of Spencer Tracey and Katharine Hepburn. Furthermore, his direction of *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930) had won him two of his Oscar Academy Awards and founded his reputation for critical and passionate war time stories. Even more important for the context of this chapter is the musical contribution to *Edge of Darkness* by Franz Waxman (1906-1967, who originally spelled his last name Wachsmann). He had started his career as a film composer in the German-speaking film industry and had taken the chance of an invitation to Hollywood in 1935 to escape the persecution of Jewish artists in Nazi-Germany. Waxman had gained much critical acclaim for his work and had been nominated for five Oscar Academy Awards already (i.e. in 1940 for *Rebecca* with Alfred Hitchcock; for *Suspicion* again with Hitchcock and for *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* with Victor Fleming, both 1941) when he joined the production of *Edge of Darkness*.

In general, his score is based on the established principals of film music, especially when it comes to creating suspense by means of traditional techniques, using trumpet signals and drums to characterize the German troops etc. His score is also based on two leitmotifs dedicated to the Norwegian protagonists: the Norwegian national anthem *Ja, vi elsker* to emphasize moments of strong patriotism, and the famous chorale *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* ("A Mighty Fortress is Our God") in its Norwegian version *Vår Gud han er så fast en borg*. For generations authors have examined the exceptional importance of this chorale, and in his dissertation from 2014 Michael Fischer summarized its ideological impact in political conflicts especially in 19<sup>th</sup> century German nationalism. Here the militarization, which had accompanied the chorale since its creation by Martin Luther (with the support of Johann Walter) around 1529, increased and turned it into a war hymn aggressively placed against France (the external enemy) and Roman Catholicism (the internal threat).<sup>13</sup> Along with the successful implementation of Protestantism in northern Europe the different state churches also integrated Martin Luther's musical heritage of hymns and chorales into their own cultural vocabulary. Therefore, it seemed natural for Halvdan Koht, a scholar in history and Norway's foreign secretary in the years 1935 to 1941, to explain the importance of *Vår Gud han er så fast en borg* in an elaborate article for the Norwegian-American newspaper *Nordisk Tidende* on 22 October 1942 and to compare different chapters of European history with the present aggression against Norway. According to Koht Luther had written the lyrics in reference to psalm 46, but under the immediate impression, which the Turkish army had left in the Christian European countries after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, which would match the current situation:

The advance of the Turks put the whole of Europe in fear, and there was a cry that the whole of Christendom should rise to unanimous opposition. The internal strife between countries and countries or Catholics and Protestants had to give way to the common danger. In this situation, Luther wrote the poem "A Mighty Fortress is Our God". [...] And as he sang it then, unbelievers would storm forth and break with Christian folk life, so we sing it today in spite of hard-hearted, ruthless enemies who want to break all the most sacred for us, – sing it in an indomitable hope for victory.<sup>14</sup>

It is easy to follow how these historical implications were utilized in *Edge of Darkness*. The front credits present already the passionate collective singing of the choral to introduce the setting of the film, a tiny village of nearly 800 people and 150 German soldiers stationed there. The story begins with a German plane flying along the west coast of Norway and spotting a Norwegian flag in Trollness. A troop of soldiers, which a little later was sent to investigate, finds dozens of dead people both Norwegian inhabitants and members of the Wehrmacht. In a devastated hotel nearby, which has served as the military headquarters, they discover Hauptmann Koenig who obviously has committed suicide. Now the troop leader begins to dictate a report about the incidents in Trollness which takes the audience back in time to learn about what has happened.

First we meet Hauptmann Koenig, starring Helmut Dantine (1918-1982, born as Helmut Guttmann), who explains the situation in Trollness, a fictional village located north of Trondheim in the vicinity of Namsos according to a map, which can be seen a little later in the film. As a bitter irony Dantine's dashing impersonation of devoted Nazi officers in Hollywood relied on bitter reminiscences from his youth in Vienna. There he had been a leader in an anti-Nazi youth movement and had been interned after the "Anschluss" of Austria to Germany in the police prison Roßauer Lände. With the help of friends he was released in June 1938 and could flee to Los Angeles where he had an uncle and found his way to the film industry.<sup>15</sup> Thanks to his distinct look and his language skills he became a preferred actor in Hollywood to play German officers, for example in *Desperate Journey* (1942), *The Navy Comes Through* (1942), *Casablanca* (1942), *Northern Pursuit* (1943), *Watch on the Rhine* (1943), and *Mission to Moscow* (1943).

In general, the atmosphere in Trollness is rather tense, with German soldiers patrolling the streets and an almost solidary community of proud Norwegians: The resistance movement is led by the hotel owner Gerd Bjarnesen (Judith Anderson), whose father was killed by the Germans, by Gunnar Brogge (Errol Flynn), the head of the fishermen's union, and his fiancée Karen Stensgard (Ann Sheridan), the daughter of the doctor in Trollness, Dr. Martin Stensgard (Walter Huston), and his wife Anna Stensgard (Ruth Gordon). With news spreading, that very soon a British submarine will deliver weapons everything is set in motion.

The emotional conclusion of important scenes is always delivered through Waxman's score: When the dialogue speaks of "good Norwegians" one can hear fragments of the national anthem, when menacing predictions become too frightening, a line of "God help us all" is supported with the *Mighty Fortress*-chorale. When the rumor of British weapons becomes a reality, the villagers gather in the church to make up their

minds if they should take the risk and start to fight or to be cautious and back off. Just then a German patrol marches by outside the church, but the village's priest Aalesen (Richard Fraser) begins singing the *Mighty Fortress*-chorale with the congregation joining in and pretending to conduct a religious ceremony. As soon as the majority of villagers decides to take up military action against the Germans, their confidence is confirmed with Luther's words: "A mighty fortress is our God, a bulwark never failing." A moment of melancholic retrospection is also covered musically, once even with diegetic music when Karen is sitting at the piano and her brother Johann Stensgard (John Beal) is singing. One scene earlier the audience learned that Johann had left Trollness for Oslo a while ago where he had become a "Quisling", collaborating for his personal benefit. He now returns to assist his uncle, the owner of the local fish factory Kaspar Torgesen (Charles Dingle) who makes a small fortune in doing business with the Germans. Johann's and Karen's mother Anna seems to be the only one who is happy to see Johann return, and one evening the family gathers to give in to their mother's nostalgia. Karen at the piano accompanies Johann who just finishes the last words of the popular song *Sætergjentens Søndag* when their uncle Kaspar enters and brings the superficially peaceful get-together back to reality by talking business with Johann. The contrast between nostalgic memories of the good old days and the family's dramatic internal conflict either to fight or support the Germans can be compared to the piano scene a few moments earlier: Based on a melody by Ole Bull, the legendary violin virtuoso and Norway's first international musical celebrity, the song was arranged by Johan Diederich Behrens to words by Jørgen Moem in 1851 and further popularized by Friedrich August Reissiger with an arrangement for male choir and piano. While Johann has just sung of longing for home and the company of family and friends, Karen at the piano reminds him without a word that these days are over and that time has come to take a stand.

After days of desperate waiting the British weapons finally arrive. This at first boosts the motivation for resistance and action, highlighted musically with fragments of the Norwegian national anthem. But as soon as the guns are buried in the woods to be concealed until the signal for attack is given by the regional military resistance, the chorale melody dominates the soundtrack to symbolize the will to fight and persevere, for example, when all fisherboats are confiscated by Hauptmann Koenig to increase the pressure against the villagers. A first moment of determination has come, when the retired teacher Sixtus Andresen (Morris Carnovsky) is dragged to the market square by the Germans behind a wagon carrying all his possessions after he has refused to accept the confiscation of his house by the Wehrmacht. After his belongings had been burned in public and he has been knocked unconscious, it is Pastor Aalesen who enters the scene. Before, he had hesitated to take action against the oppressors, but now he starts singing the national anthem *Ja, vi elsker* and his fellow countrymen join in to form one voice of unity and strength. He then takes Sixtus in his arms and carries him away. The villagers' growing determination not to accept such humiliations any longer is further accented with the *Mighty Fortress*-melody as a *cantus firmus* against threatening timpani.

The next scene shows Sixtus on his deathbed. After Dr. Stensgard has looked after him one last time, Gunnar wants to bid him farewell. Soft strings accompany his way

from the hallway to Sixtus' bed where candles are lit and create a warm, cozy atmosphere. The string melody quotes the passage from the Norwegian national anthem that sings of Norway's thousands of homes ("med det tusen hjem") and uses the appealing modulation of Rikard Nordaak's harmonization to underscore the tension of Gunnar's feelings, both to mourn for his beloved teacher and old friend and at the same time not to give in despite such painful sacrifices.

The necessity of maintaining the collective feeling and pursuit of resistance dominates the following scenes. The first step is that Dr. Stensgard and his wife, who so far has been reluctant to join the resistance. Both attend a secret meeting where the group is waiting in front of a radio receiver for the news from London. The rhythm and some melodic reminiscencies of the *Mighty Fortress*-chorale's introduction guide into the scene. Karen enters reporting she has just been raped by a German soldier. For obvious reasons Gunnar, her fiancé, is furious, but Karen urges him to curb his anger and to stick to the plan in spite of all the sufferings asking him with his own words: "In these times we must be like steel. Were these just words, Gunnar?" In his stead the music gives the first answer presenting the chorale now with the brilliant sound of trumpets which helps to calm the temper. A second confirming answer comes from the radio with Winston Churchill's voice: "Do not despair, brave Norwegians; your land shall be cleansed not only from the invader but from the filthy Quislings who are his tools." Just like the national anthem, the *Mighty Fortress*-chorale, and Ole Bull's song *Sæterjentens Søndag* this quote contributes a larger context, in this case pertaining to a radio speech Churchill had given on 24 August 1941, actually one year before the plot of *Edge of Darkness* takes place.<sup>16</sup> In this famous and long speech the British prime minister summarized his meeting with Theodore Roosevelt on 14 August 1941 when the American and the British Heads of State decided upon the goals and aims for the current warfare and the postwar world, later called the "Atlantic Charta". Before Churchill addressed the Norwegians directly and continued with mentioning the Czech, French, Dutch, Belgians, Luxembourgers, the people of Yugoslavia and Greece, he admitted that the ordeals "of the conquered peoples will be hard", so that they would need hope and solidarity: "We must give them the conviction that their sufferings and their resistances will not be in vain. The tunnel may be dark and long, but at the end there is light. That is the symbolism and that is the message of the Atlantic meeting."<sup>17</sup>

Towards the grand finale of the film Hauptmann Koenig accelerates the events by ordering the arrest of all the people he has accused of being leading figures in the resistance movement. He forces them to dig their own graves in the market square while his soldiers hold the shocked and angry crowd at bay. At the very moment the ringleaders are supposed to lay down their shovels to be shot, one can hear a crowd approaching singing the *Mighty Fortress*-chorale with dozens of self-confident voices marching into the village, armed and determined to fight. Franz Waxman's score reacts first and accompanies the singing with the orchestra, while the main Quisling, the owner of the fish factory Kaspar Torgesen who is afraid to lose his lucrative business with the Germans, is the first one to die under the boots of his marching fellow Norwegians. While the villagers fight their way down to the harbor to bring most of the women, children and elderly to safety in England, the resistance members under the leadership of Gerd Bjarnesen liberate the teacher's block house with the orchestra

marking her yell “Free Norway” with a fanfare of *Ja, vi elsker*. Meanwhile Hauptmann Koenig and his men await the Norwegian attack in their headquarters, Gerd’s hotel, among them Karen’s undecided brother Johann. While Johann stares into the forest, one can hear again the *Mighty Fortress*-chorale transformed into a minor key and played by a flute in a pastorale style which matches the tension and setting quite well in musical terms.

In the meantime Gunnar, Karen, and their comrades keep marching, bidding farewell and confident of their victory. According to the traditional dramaturgic concept, it is of course Gunnar’s turn to insist “We stay here. These fascists will never drive Norwegians out of Norway!” while the little flute one can just barely hear and associate with Johann’s doubts and fears now accompanies Gunnar with the opening phrase of *Ja, vi elsker*. With the next cut back to Johann the movie confirms this musical connection between Karen’s fiancé and her brother as the orchestra returns to the chorale, this time assuring the audience of the anticipated Norwegian victory. Johann takes his last chance to change sides and prove that he still is a loyal Norwegian. He warns the approaching resistance fighters of hidden German machine gun positions and for this he pays for with his life when a German soldier silences him. Above all noises of the out-breaking gun battle the *Mighty Fortress*-chorale sustains the just cause of the Norwegians.

To portray the awaited moment most dramatically when Hauptmann Koenig has to admit his defeat Franz Waxman resorts to a most symbolic quotation: In synchronicity to Koenig’s steps upstairs to his office, hesitating and uncertain yet of the inevitable consequence an officer has to face to maintain his honor, the music suddenly changes elegantly into the famous accents of *Siegfried’s Tod* from Richard Wagner’s *Götterdämmerung* (cf. fig. 4). For a moment the orchestra rests in a string sound and allocates the sonic attention to the noise of the guns and explosions. On the way to his office Hauptmann Koenig passes by a portrait of The Führer, again marked by the accents of Hitler’s admired composer. To dispel any doubts about the future justice concerning the Third Reich and the German occupation of Norway, the forthcoming death of Koenig, the proud representative of Hitler’s German master race, is anticipated symbolically by musical means. This puts the simple message of the movie most effectively and enthusiastically in a nutshell.

The end of this dramatic scene is left once more to music when the Norwegian fighters enter the hotel and the *Mighty Fortress*-chorale contrasts one last accent from *Siegfried* when we watch Koenig in a gloomy state of mind finishing a resigned farewell letter to his brother and hear the sound of his pistol-shot afterwards as he chooses the heroic death of an officer.

The scene now returns to the military patrol that started the flash back in the story line, and shows the soldier dating his report about Trollness to 28 October 1942. Assuming that all villagers have been killed during the gun battle, the German patrol replaces the Norwegian flag over Trollness with the German banner. Not all resistance fighters, however, have left the scene and Karen shoots the soldier from the distance. The descending Svastika-flag covers his dead body. While Gunnar, Karen and their comrades return into the woods to continue their task to free Norway, the orchestra intones the chorale *Vår Gud han er så fast en borg* one last time. After Gun-



Feierlich. 3

The image shows a page of a musical score for Wagner's 'Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds'. The score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for Kl. (Clarinets), Bkl. (Bassoons), Fg. (Fagotti), Hrn. (Horns), Btr. (Trumpets), Pos. (Posaunes), Pk. (Percussion), Vl. (Violins), Br. (Violas), Vo. (Violoncelli), and Kb. (Kontrabass). The tempo is marked 'Feierlich.' and the dynamics range from *ff* to *p*. The score is in 3/4 time and features complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth notes. The key signature has two flats. The score is numbered 'E. E. 3846' at the bottom.

E. E. 3846

Fig. 4: Extract from Richard Wagner's *Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds*. Ernst Eulenburg publishers (creative commons)

nar has helped up his future father-in-law, Dr. Stensgard, who had tripped and assured him that no one has to walk alone, the final words in the movie are left to the probably most prominent statement about the braveness of Norwegians: "If there is anyone who still wonders why this war is being faught, let him look to Norway. If there is anyone who has any delusions that this war could have been averted, let him look to Norway, and if there is anyone who doubts the democratic will to win, again I say let him look to Norway."

These words by Franklin D. Roosevelt originate from a public speech on 16 September 1942, when a Norwegian battle ship was given over to the allied forces in the Washington Navy Yard.<sup>18</sup> In the movie's time frame this speech was given only a month earlier. It seems that the movie could benefit from the very positive international view on Norway at that time. On the one hand even the New York correspondent of the Stockholm newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* could report about a "typical Hollywood-melodram and thriller" which attracted Norwegian Crown Princess Märta to attend a gala presentation at Carnegie Hall together with Edvard Hambro, the president of the Norwegian Storting.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand a note in the *New York Times* on 26 September 1943 indicates that any public viewing of the movie was prohibited in Buenos Aires "because of its strongly anti-Nazi tone".<sup>20</sup> However, the reception among critics was mixed. A review from the *New York Times* by Bosley Crowther got into more details and questioned an issue that deserves further discussion, the appropriateness of movies to take complicated political matters and convert them into stylized plots for melodramatic and therefore entertaining purposes:

To the recent run of pictures having to do with Norway, the Warner Brothers, ever topical, have naturally added theirs – and it turns out to be a lengthy, no-quarter action film entitled "Edge of Darkness," which came to the Strand yesterday. If its flavor is strongly melodramatic, if its conflict is simple and direct and if Errol Flynn, Ann Sheridan and others in it seem off sort of folk for Norway, it is still a finely jointed motion picture in the craft ways of Hollywood and one that projects some brisk excitement, which is right down the box-office groove. [...] Naturally, the story of Norway should stimulate eloquence, but it seems that Lewis Milestone, the director of this picture, and Robert Rossen, the writer, have been over-inspired. Apparently they drank deep of Ibsen (and a little Chekhov) before they went to work, for an obvious stylization of speech and character is detectable throughout the film. As a consequence, most of the actors – but notably Ruth Gordon, Art Smith, Mr. Bohnen and Mr. Carnovsky – perform in oddly confusing ways. And Mr. Flynn and Miss Sheridan, on the contrary, act mainly by looking alert. Mr. Huston is singularly expressive; he is one of the few you can take on face value. As a Hollywood picture about Norway, "Edge of Darkness" gets across some salient points, despite a few silly inconsistencies, such as having a Norwegian anthem sung in the native language while all the dialogue is in English – and some of it slang. And it concludes with a ringing transcription from President Roosevelt's "look-to-Norway" speech. But basically it is melodrama – strong melodrama, to be sure – and only a surface conception of the complicated tragedy of Norway.<sup>21</sup>

Dealing with facts and fiction has always been a delightful affair for artists and at the same time a starting point for connections to the world in which they live or wish to be distinguished from it. The degree of balance between fictional and factual parts of an artistic work regularly leads to intense and sometimes fierce aesthetic debates whether certain works should be assessed only as art or how they – in the case of historical topics – affect the collective perception of history. The overlap of facts and fic-

tion implies a superimposition of the lifeworld and of art: Created topics span a framework of fictional reality within which certain developments may be possible (whether in the past, present, or future). In consequence, the plot and the people are understood and classified and can be integrated into one's own imagination. At the moment when the subject which has been conceived, for example in the form of a text, is released into the public, recognized there as a possibility of interpreting reality and thus incorporated into this reality as a potential variety, the fictional object can become a fact to be referred to as a standard. In this sense, fictional characters such as Cervantes' Don Quixote can be used as a prototype to characterize human actions and real people.

It is irrelevant if this referential character has ever lived. It is sufficient that people are familiar with this example and understand the allusion to the implied character. This underlines that there are genres in which fictionality is not only possible and permitted but is an essential part of the entire conception, especially in the arts. Therefore, the appreciation of successful fiction also depends on the sophistication and skill with which fictionality is created, conveyed and experienced. The social backgrounds and mechanisms that are effective in artistic fiction, depending on the degree and presence of the fictionality, arouse interest and make it possible to integrate the artistically negotiated matters into one's own reality. This effect is independent of whether and how many of the fictional or factual connections are recognized and how these are evaluated. In terms of the objectively determinable dependence on cause and effect, the possibility to be influenced by this knowledge is predominant, not the degree or quality of the influence.

In the case of scientific statements, the standards and normative requirements to adhere strictly to the facts in the act of representation are different and higher than in fictional contexts. It is particularly interesting, however, to see how fictional creations can have a factual effect on science due to their usually much greater distribution. In such cases, the experts have to deal with external opinions that are taken to be historical facts, instead of the experts claiming the sovereignty of interpretation. In this sense, the fictional is often based on the factual. For example, a film such as *Edge of Darkness* can start from historical events, reinterpret them with artistic means and extrapolate them in directions that do not correspond to the original real conditions. In such cases there is often a dispute about the aesthetic success of the fictional interpretation as well as about the correctness or truth of the execution. The consequences of such factually acting fictions can reach so far that other, for example scientifically verified information might appear like fiction.

Recently a series about those members of the Royal Norwegian Family that spent the years during World War II in the United States – *Atlantic Crossing* (2020), produced for the Norwegian Broadcasting Company NRK – opened a new chapter in this dispute about limits and liberties of fictionalized history programs in Norway.<sup>22</sup> While the directors Alexander Eik and Janic Heen together with script author Linda May Kallestein wanted to emphasize Crown Princess Märtha's impact on Norway's political fate and speculated about romantic feelings between her and the American President, historians such as Tom Kristiansen and Tore Rem criticized the unabashed invention of historically unverified facts:

In fact *Atlantic Crossing* not only presents a great deal of mistakes. It conveys a general untrue description of the war. [...] The sum of all the small errors creates a distorted version of the historical course. But the series creators' interpretation of history is more important. What about the main idea, that Märtha was much more significant than we thought? [...] The series' presentation of the relationship between the king, the crown prince and the government, as well as the formulation of Norwegian war and alliance policy, contains serious disinformation. [...] On the whole, it is difficult to accept that the king and the crown prince are made props in the series' war fantasies, across all the knowledge we have about their real roles. [...] That Norway is assigned a leading role in the Great World War is embarrassingly provincial. Well, it is typically Norwegian to be good. But we were not so good that it was our royals who got the United States on the side of the Allies and changed the course of history.<sup>23</sup>

Although these debates seem very prevailing in times of "alternative facts" and "fake news" that already unveil their lasting impact on social cohesion and democratic cultures, they can be traced back as well to the example of *Edge of Darkness*. In a long review of the original novel, published in early 1942 by William Woods, Marianne Hauser reflected on exactly these issues, questioning the author's responsibility for the consequences of his assumptions. Because of the preciseness of Hauser's arguments her review in the *New York Times* needs to be quoted with longer extracts:

Before September, 1939, we were told from many sides that Hitler could not risk a war lest his country should break into open revolution. Too many among us felt safe believing in an underground movement which was presented in fiction and movies with all the heroic pomp, obscuring the fact that these movements are everything else but romantic, that they are slow and tedious, involving countless small activities which would appear on the surface almost insignificant amid Nazi tanks and planes. This is merely a broader criticism of a book which possesses many strong, breath-taking moments. Woods's tale about a far-off Norwegian village and the determined fight of its people is written in simple, powerful prose, and one would like to describe its literary merits at greater length. However, there are a few points that one cannot let them go by unmentioned. [...] We know well that those books which make Nazism a racial issue and depict every German as a born gangster do not differ in principal from the Nazis' own propaganda line and help us little in our fight for a freer world. But Mr. Woods's book, though thoroughly honorable in its intentions, is not too helpful either. For it gives us the impression that one can be both a loyal Nazi and a decent human being. [...] It is a political book, coming out at a crucial and highly political moment when we should clear our minds of the last remnants of sentimental thinking and distinguish clearly between two worlds, so that we may fight this war well, and win it well.<sup>24</sup>

Another comment about Woods and his novel gives his storytelling another remarkable twist.<sup>25</sup> On his way to interview the twenty-five years old William Woods for the *Nordisk Tidende* in July 1942 reporter Karsten Roedder first summarized the informa-

tion he had gotten from Woods' publishers. Accordingly, the writer had been educated in Europe and the United States before he travelled as a newspaper correspondent through many European countries extensively such as Germany, Norway, Austria, France, and England. When the reporter arrived, the novelist opened their conversation with the striking confession never to have visited Norway, despite the detailed sceneries and atmospheres in *Edge of Darkness*. Instead, he had kept up this legend to make his manuscript seem more plausible to the publishers. Nevertheless, Norway and the Norwegians' fate under German rule seemed unique to him so that he could not have thought a better setting for his plot of evil German occupiers and patriotic, dedicated Norwegian resistance fighters.

As it seems, Bosley Crowther was quite right in his review quoted above to sense inspirations of Ibsen in the figures of *Edge of Darkness*. Especially the distinctive character of the female protagonist Gerd Bjarnesen, the hotel owner whose father had been shot by the Germans, definitively was inspired by Ibsen's Hedda Gabler, as Woods reveals. His father had already been a devoted reader of Norwegian literature and handed this passion down to his son who tried to get hold of all available books from Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Jonas Lie, Sigrid Undset, Knut Hamsun and others. If he was able, though, to read this literature in Norwegian or had to resort to an English translation is left open in the article. The adaption of his novel for the movies by Lewis Milestone and Robert Rossen and the cast with Errol Flynn and Ann Sheridan as the main characters nevertheless fully measured up with his expectations.

Regarding the heroic exaggerations Milestone chose for his portrait of "average" resistance work in the periphery of rural Norway, it is difficult to argue against the strong impression such a fictional storytelling can leave for historically undocumented circumstances. It seems as if Franz Waxman found the most reliable solution to characterize at least the daily routine of Norwegian villagers at the time: The outstanding importance of Rikard Nordraak's melody that became the national anthem, and the extraordinary impact of the Lutheran chorale *Vår Gud, han er så fast en borg* including the military chapters in its history are well-known facts. The singing of a popular song by Ole Bull is rather likely. Therefore, the musical contributions to *Edge of Darkness* highlight what hypothesis 5 in the model for music as resistance summarized more abstractly: "The story of musical resistance can hardly be told along spectacular events or thrilling stories of paramilitary agents such as partisans. Instead, a few prominent artists and an invisible crowd of supporters and activists keep up the public morale both at home and among the fellow women and men in exile."

### **Edvard Grieg on Stage – *Song of Norway* (1944)**

It is hardly a surprise that New York's Norwegian community understood Edvard Grieg's centennial in 1943 as a chance to keep up the awareness on behalf of Norway's fight for liberty, just as the exiled Norwegians in Stockholm and London did (cf. Chapter IV). On 10 June 1943 *Nordisk Tidende* proudly announced special programs with Grieg's music on several radio stations in New York, including the most influential series *The Spirit of the Vikings* mentioned above.<sup>26</sup> In Carnegie Hall a large program was staged for the exact birthday on 15 June, including a commemorative speech by ambassador Wilhelm Morgenstjerne under the patronage of Crown Princess Märtha (cf. fig. 5).

**GRIEG - KONSERT**

I CARNEGIE HALL  
7. Avenue og 57. Street, New York

**TIRSDAG DEN 15. JUNI**  
Kl. 8.30 aften

*På hundreårsdagen for komponistens fødsel*

Under H.K.H. KRONPRINSESSE MÄRTHAS beskyttelse

★

80 medlemmer av NEW YORK PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA  
Dirigent **OLE WINDINGSTAD**

Solister: **KARIN BRANZELL**, Metropolitan Opera  
**STORM BULL**, First Musician U.S. Navy

★

**HELT GRIEG program**

HOLBERGSUITEN PEER GYNT SUITEN, 4 satsler  
PIANOKONSERTEN HØSTOUVERTYRE  
Sanger: VÅREN - EN DRØM - EN SVANE

★

**TALE AV AMBASSADØR WILHELM MORGENSTIERNE**

★

Auspices  
NORSK FYLKING  
NORWEGIAN RELIEF, Inc.  
CAMP LITTLE NORWAY  
AMERICAN FRIENDS OF NORWAY

Konserten arrangeres av Regjeringens informasjonstjeneste

★

<b>BILLETTPRISER:</b>	Tax 10c	Total \$1.10	\$2.50	Tax 25c	Total \$2.75
	Tax 15c	Total \$1.65	\$3.00	Tax 30c	Total \$3.30

BROOKLYN	BILLETTER SELGES	MANHATTAN
"Nordisk Tidende", 5415 Fifth Ave., telefon 8Eckert 8-1100. C. A. Hansen & Bro., 3024 og 4711 Fifth Ave., telefon 5Hore Road 8-7300 og Windsor 5-2422. Norwegian Seaman's Church, 22 First Place, telefon Cumber- land 9-5345. Norwegian Seaman's Center, 136 Manhattan St., telefon MAin 4-2915, og Norwegian Seaman's Association, samme adresse og telefon.	Det norske Generalkonsulat, 115 Broad St., 1 etg., li. stalle, telefon WEstside 4-4524, ext. 15. Næringsliv, 80 Broad St., telefon 3Eanover 2-6700, ext. 20. Norsk Styremedlemsforening, 44 Whitehall St., rom 502, telefon 5OWling Green 9-0357. Norsk Informasjonskontor, 20 Rockefeller Plaza, telefon COlumbus 5-7124. American Friends of Norway, Inc., 45 West 37. St., telefon Circle 8-9320. Carnegie Hall, 7. Ave. og 57. St., telefon Circle 7-7482.	

Fig. 5: Advertisement for a gala concert in New York's Carnegie Hall to honor Edvard Grieg's centennial, under the patronage of Crown Princess Märtha and the participation of members of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. *Nordisk Tidende*, 10 June 1943. NNL

As other newspaper adds reveal, Carnegie Hall had already been used previously on a regular basis for public events concerning Norway, for example to commemorate the second anniversary of the German occupation on 9 April 1942. In the presence of Crown Prince Olav and his wife Märtha and Sigrid Undset (1882-1949), Nobel prize laureate for literature in 1928, numerous musicians contributed to the program, such as Fred Axman, Gudrin Ekeland, Magnhild Fjeldheim, Herman Ivarson, Lawrence J. Munson, Nancy Ness, Gunnar Østby, Ellen Repp, Augusta Tollefsen, and Carl H. Tollefsen.



Fig. 6: Title page of the Brooklyn-based Norwegian newspaper *Nordisk Tidende*, 9 April 1942, presenting the gala program to commemorate the second anniversary of the German occupation of Norway. NNL

Probably one of the largest Norwegian events in Carnegie Hall took place on 30 May 1945 with the *Free Norway Festival* to celebrate the country's regained liberty. With pride the *Nordisk Tidende* announced on the front page of its issue of 24 May 1945 that again Ole Windingstad would conduct a 73-piece orchestra with members of the New York Philharmonics. Ellen Repp and Sven-Olof Sandberg would contribute to





Another production relating to Grieg came up in 1944, but not to pay him respect in accurate historical dimensions. Instead, the fictionalization of historical figures as previously discussed reached out for Norway's musical icon in the operetta *Song of Norway*. The distance of this production to Norway's current fate was a clear decision to keep Grieg out of all political matters, and in contrast to *Edge of Darkness* the plot was so exaggerated and focused on entertainment and enjoyment that any audience could tell the anti-realistic, fictional character of this artistic production.

Although the catalog of literature concerning this operetta is very small, the booklet notes by Richard Ouzounian provide much information; they were published in a reissue in 2009 of a recording that had been made with the original cast between 12 and 19 November 1944 in New York.<sup>27</sup> After Edwin Lester had started the Los Angeles Civic Light Opera company in 1938 and soon opened a branch in San Francisco, he could attract very large audiences with his idea of entertaining music theater productions: "He was a lover of operetta who had stars in his eyes, schmaltz in his heart and – most importantly – money in his pocket." To pursue his ambition and conquer the Broadway, Lester made plans for an operetta about the life of Hans Christian Andersen, accompanied with music by Edvard Grieg. Historical contradictions to the fact, that neither men nor their arts shared many connections, did not matter to him. To avoid a lawsuit against Samuel Goldwyn who was already working on a cinematic biography about Andersen, Lester finally abandoned his plan and concentrated solely on Grieg. Producer and playwright Homer Curran imagined a story about Grieg, his friend Nordraak, the love story with his cousin and future wife Nina Hagerup, and an annoying opera diva who nearly thwarted all of these plans. Author Milton Lazarus turned this plot in a libretto, which then was passed on to Robert Wright and George Forrest, two experienced songwriters in the film industry specialized on cinematic operettas, to be put in music. Additionally, Lester hired ballet master George Balanchine for a grand choreography which included the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, headed by Alexandra Danilova.<sup>28</sup> Irina Petina was contracted for the important part of the extroverted opera diva Countess Louisa Giovanni. In later years she won a Tony nomination for the role of the Old Lady in Leonard Bernstein's *Candide*. After the production had been staged highly successfully on the West Coast and had gained a profit of \$ 130,000 in Los Angeles and \$101,000 in San Francisco,<sup>29</sup> *Song of Norway* finally came to the Broadway where it lasted for 860 performances, after "no less than eight of New York's most affluent producers"<sup>30</sup> had been bidding for the performance rights in New York City.

The production aroused some attention in the daily press, and after Lewis Nichols had complimented staging, costumes, music, dances, and the artistic performance in a detailed review for the *New York Times* on 22 August 1944, he also commented on the story:

In random notes on operetta it is customary to reserve the third paragraph for an attack on the book. That contributed on the present instance by Milton Lazarus, from a play by Homer Curran, is not the best feature "Song of Norway" can boast. Dialogue in operetta mainly is the space between songs, and some of the spaces currently are pretty long. The plot, such as it is, is about

the composer and his friend, Rikard Nordraak, Grieg's wife and an opera singer. However, the plot, such as it is, does offer the branches on which can be hung "Peer Gynt," "To Spring," the "A-Minor Concerto," "Ich Liebe Dich" and many more. Such a plot will do, and they can cut a bit of the conversation.<sup>31</sup>

For obvious reasons it is difficult to imagine what this spectacle might have looked like on stage. Even though the recorded songs hardly offer enough content for conclusions about the libretto they leave a valid impression of the arrangers' talents. Significantly George Forrest (responsible for the musical adaptation and lyrics) and Arthur Kay (orchestral and choral arranger and conductor) did not use many of Grieg's songs. Instead, they relied on instrumental melodies where they did not have to wipe out pre-existing lyrics. Documented on the recording are 13 numbers which included some of Grieg's most famous compositions (quoting in italics the references from the 1944-recording):

1. *Prelude And Legend (Piano Concerto in A minor, opus 16)*, featuring Rikard Nordraak who praises the wild beauty of Norway
2. *Hill Of Dreams (Piano Concerto in A minor, opus 16)*, featuring Edvard Grieg, Nina Grieg, and Rikard Nordraak, celebrating the blooming of Edvard's and Nina's love story
3. *Freddy And His Fiddle (Norwegian Dance No. 2, opus 35)*, presenting a comic scene about a peasant blessed with a natural music talent
4. *Now (Waltz, opus 12; Violin Sonata No. 2, opus 13)*, introducing the capricious Italian diva Countess Louisa Giovanni
5. *Strange Music (Nocturne; Wedding Day At Troidhaugen)*, watching Edvard in the moment when he proposes to Nina
6. *Midsummer's Eve—March Of The Trollers (Cake Lottery) ('Twas On A Lovely Eve In June; Scherzo in E minor – Mountaineers' Song; Halling in G minor; March Of The Dwarfs)*, featuring Countess Louisa Giovanni who convinces Edvard to accompany her on a solo tour through Europe which brings him into conflict to his fiancé Nina
7. *Hymn Of Betrothal—Finale of Act 1 (To Spring)*, a group scene with Edvard's mother, Nina, the Countess, and Rikard on behalf of Edvard's farewell when leaving for the concert tour
8. *Bon Vivant (Water Lily)*, presenting Count Peppi Le Loup in Paris in conversation with Edvard about his international success and fame
9. *Three Loves (Albumblatt; Poème érotique)*, picturing Countess Louisa Giovanni in intimate conversation with Edvard
10. *Finaletto – Nordraak's Farewell – Three Loves: Reprise*, featuring the Countess, Rikard, Nina, and Edvard in the historical moment when he decides to compose the music to Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*
11. *I Love You (Ich Liebe Dich)*, Nina's private love song to her Edvard
12. *At Christmastime (Woodland Wanderings)*, presenting Edvard's father and mother with Nina, imagining an ideal Christmas scene for Edvard
13. *Finale*, returning to Edvard, Nina, and Rikard when they celebrate their first Christmas at Troidhaugen

Critics such as Lewis Nichols for the *New York Times* stressed the quality of the arrangements, the talented cast and the overall charm of the production, diplomatically omitting a general tendency towards many a doggerel verse.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, *Song of Norway* served its purpose of pleasing a huge audience and keeping up the attention for Norway during the Second World War. Once again Crown Princess Märtha representing the Norwegian Royal Family attended a show on 1 September 1944 in support of the national cause.<sup>33</sup> Attempts in later years to revive the enormous success of this operetta failed, also the effort of a cinematic adaptation in 1970.<sup>34</sup> It seemed that this operatic fictionalization of Edvard Grieg stayed time-dependent, attracting an audience when the allied unity against Hitler-Germany in the United States provided an ideal surrounding for cultural propaganda on behalf of Norway's liberty.

### **A Voice of Pride and Compassion – Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången* (1944/45)**

Although Norway's occupation by Germany was narrowly watched by the international community, it is difficult to perceive how Scandinavian artists reflected the historical situation in their music. Nevertheless, the example of Moses Pergament in Stockholm – mourning for his fellow Jewish brothers and sisters – offers revealing insights into how a non-Norwegian composer made a musical statement composing consolation in regard to Jewish culture in the Nordic countries.

When Moses Pergament at the age of 50 began to sketch a choral symphony in 1943, he was less known for his compositional work, but predominantly as a music writer and concert critic for newspapers in Stockholm. He was born in Helsinki (called Helsingfors at the time) on 21 September 1893, when Finland was a grand duchy of Russia. He grew up in a Jewish-orthodox household and began to study violin and conducting in St. Petersburg (1908-1912) and continued at the University of Helsinki (1913-1915) for studies in the humanities, before he moved to Sweden in 1915. Still he kept up his work as a conductor and a violinist in his hometown, which he had begun in 1913. In 1917 he was able to continue his musical career in Stockholm (1918-1920) where he became a Swedish citizen in 1919. In the following year he travelled to Central Europe, first to Paris in 1920 where he came in touch with radical modernism and from 1921 to 1923 to Berlin where he studied conducting at the Stern'sche Konservatorium. For the next decades Moses Pergament's daytime business was connected to journalism, amongst others for *Svenska Dagbladet* (1923-1964) and *Aftonidningen* (1942-1956), so that all of his compositional ambitions were limited to his free time.<sup>35</sup> Finally, in 1942 he was elected into the Swedish Composers' Association.<sup>36</sup>

As early as the 1920s Pergament had to witness anti-Semitic attacks because of his political opinions and his Jewish heritage. However, this did not prevent him from dealing explicitly with Jewish and political topics in several of his probably more than 200 works, for example in his *Rapsodia ebraica* (1935), the "Subhumanly Songs" *Nedanförmänskliga visor* (1936), and *Kol Nidre (Yom Kippur)* for violin and orchestra (1949). Moses Pergament's papers, preserved in Stockholm's Music and Theater Library, enclose several biographies for concert programs with handwritten comments

and corrections. They all highlight his artistic lineage from traditions of Jewish and Nordic music:

The music of Moses Pergament contains the legacy of two musical cultures – the Jewish and the Nordic. The youth years in Helsingfors naturally brought good familiarity with the Jewish-musical tradition and especially with the synagogue music. His thematic material often bears traces of the Hebrew cantilena and the personal treatment of the melismas of the Bible recitation permeates his entire musical production. Pergament's melodies, both vocal and instrumental, are strongly rooted in this ancient vocal tradition.<sup>37</sup>

Concerning the situation in Stockholm during the years of World War II, it is difficult to perceive how Moses Pergament followed the events in Nazi-occupied Norway and especially the persecution of Jews before and after the main deportations in late 1942. Nonetheless, his access as a journalist to many sources of information, his contacts with refugees who came from Norway (several indications can be found for example in the diaries of Hans Jacob Ustvedt, cf. Chapter IV), and his strong roots in the Jewish community of Stockholm might offer enough reasons for his desire to compose a large work for orchestra, choir, and solo parts for Soprano and Tenor which finally became "The Jewish Song", *Den judiska sånger*. In program notes for a concert on 9 March 1955 in Stockholm's concert hall, where a suite of several parts of the work was performed, he described the genesis of this composition in detail, which allows quoting his summary in length:

It was in 1944 that Moses Pergament wrote his great choral symphony, *Den judiska sången*, "under the impression of the inhuman cruelty to which the Jews were subjected in the Third Reich", "in an almost feverish mood during six weeks of night work after reviewing duties." For the choir parts, the composer and Ragnar Josephson had compiled texts from Josephson's collections of poems *Kedjan* ("The Chain", 1912) and *Judiska dikter* ("Jewish Poems", 1916). The work was premiered on 19 November 1947 at a concert arranged by the Concert Association and Radio Service. In this original condition, *Den judiska sången* was a powerful all-night work of thirteen movements. Three of these movements are purely instrumental, you could say that they support instrumentally the choir movements. The composer has mentioned the first, that it is "a lament over the six million Jews who fell victim to the cruelty of the Third Reich". *Intermezzo drammatico* is characterized as "a quick sketch of the bloodthirsty Deutschland-über-alles mentality and the indescribable horror it aroused in all Jews in the world". [...] *Den judiska sången* is a central work in the creation of Moses Pergament, both musically and emotionally. In almost everything he has written there is a close connection with the ethos of Jewish art; the fierce accents and the painfully intense singing have both in nature and expression that derivation. The choir symphony *Den judiska sången* is therefore not only considered a time document – the poems were written 30 years before the music! – but as an artistic and moral summary of tendencies that are individually or in groups as a background to work after work, from the ballet *Krelantems* and *Eldeling* in the early twenties to the op-

era *Himlens hemlighet* ("The Secret of Heaven") or the concerto for two violins and orchestra, which premiered for a few weeks then.<sup>38</sup>

According to Carl-Gunnar Åhlén's biography Pergament began his intense preparations for this work in 1943, including the song for piano *Vårnatt i Ajalon* which had been composed in 1941 and was arranged for orchestra as movement No. 4. The score was finished in November 1944, edited and reworked until 1945. Åhlén's interpretation is quite convincing that Gustav Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde* (1907-08) served as a model for organizing a large choir, an orchestra and two solo parts.<sup>39</sup> The origins of many melodies, however, that Pergament related to in the several movements, are still rather undiscussed in Swedish musicology, although Gunnar Larsson already also mentioned several starting points in an article in 1979: "The Jewish stylistic elements have been described in several articles by Moses Pergament's close friend, the cantor of the Synagogue of Stockholm Leo Rosenblüth, and are also summarized by K. Hybnette in an unpublished study. According to these it is possible to differentiate between elements of incantillation in the tenor passages and an askhenazian folksong style in the soprano songs."<sup>40</sup>

Originally Pergament had planned 12 parts and Åhlén believes that the *Intermezzo drammatico* was added in the final revision of the score in 1945 as the new movement No. 10.<sup>41</sup> The author of the poems Pergament used for *Den judiska sången*, Ragnar Josephson (1891-1966), was a close friend of his and the brother-in-law of

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Kör: DEN FORSTÅSÅTTA RADIOKÖREN.

**PROGRAM**  
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"Den judiska sången", körstycken för sopran- och tenorsolo, blandad kör och orkester till dikt av Ragnar Josephson. (Uruppförande)  
Förspel (in memoriam). — Den judiska sången (tenor). — Ariol (kör och tenor). — Vårnatt i Ajalon (sopran). — Bransers i Hebron (kör).  
P a r t i.  
Adagio (orkester). — I fiendeläret (tenor). — Må med armade präka... (tenor). — Bön som ett bält slänt (tenor). — Intermezzo drammatico (orkester). — Det förskämda ordet (sopran). — Bön för smidande sabbat — Vi tacka Dig, Herre.  
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Fig. 8: Details about Moses Pergament's choir symphony *Den judiska sången* in the concert program for the premiere on 19 November 1947. MTS, *Moses Pergament-Collection A747*, # 5694 Vol. 6 *Den judiska sången*

composer Hilding Rosenberg. Josephson was professor for art history at the University of Lund (1929-1957), thanks to his writing ambitions also director of the Royal Theater in Stockholm (1948-1951) and held a seat in the prestigious Royal Swedish Academy since 1960.

A letter from Ivar Schachtel to Pergament reveals, dated 26 February 1945 and preserved among Pergament's papers, two parts of *Den judiska sången* were already performed in early 1945 under Issay Dobroven.<sup>42</sup> The composition as a whole was premiered in Stockholm on 19 November 1947, with Carl Garaguly conducting the Stockholm Symphony Orchestra, the Swedish radio choir as well as Birgit Nilsson and Gösta Bäckelin as soloists.

In its final version *Den judiska sången* included 13 movements:

1. *Förspel. In Memoriam* [instrumental]
2. *Den judiska sången* [with tenor solo]
3. *Ariel* [including choir and tenor solo]
4. *Vårnatt i Ajalon* [with soprano solo]
5. *Brunnen i Hesboen* [including the choir]
6. *Adagio* [instrumental]
7. *I fiendelägret* [with tenor solo]
8. *Må med armods piska* [with tenor solo]
9. *Bön om ett mildt sinne* [with tenor solo]
10. *Intermezzo drammatico* [instrumental]
11. *Det förhånade ordet* [with soprano solo]
12. *Bön for stundande sabatt (attacca)* [including the choir]
13. *Vi tacka Dig Herre* [including the choir and both solo voices]

After having attended the premiere of *Den judiska sången*, the Norwegian composer and music critic Pauline Hall sent Moses Pergament a very personal letter on 26 November 1947 and enclosed a review she had published in the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet* a few days earlier.<sup>43</sup> Although it had originally been her task to write more from a “musical-technical” perspective, she was so moved by the piece that she had also tried to describe his style more generally so that the impression Pergament's music had made on the audience becomes clearer:

In the time that has passed since the end of the war, one has heard a number of works that have expressed feelings the war evoked, or that have tried to depict events and memories from the hard years. But I do not know of any work – before the choir symphony of Moses Pergament – that has portrayed so directly the passionate, painful experience of the greatest tragedy of the war years, no work has been unleashed by the despair of a disgrace so utterly irreparable. Here a composer who himself belongs to the Jewish people, gives a view of what happened, but not only that – he also gives a glimpse of the history of his people, of its state of mind in good and bad times. And he does so in a tonal language that rises to shocking accusations, but which never whines, never gets a drop of something resembling sentimentality into its

tone. [...] Moses Pergament is a modernist, one of those who have a firm attitude and a convinced musical view, what one must bow to in respect whether one now shares it or not. He is not an atonalist, but his conception of tonality and line play [“linjespill”] and the basis for building harmonies is brave and bold without violating the very principle of tonality, giving many of the choral symphony's passages a peculiar double light that seems immediately captivating. When I mention names like Samuel Barber and Bartok, it is to indicate the direction so that one has some small clues for his attempt at musical characteristics. For Moses Pergament moves in a rich fantasy universe that is his own.<sup>44</sup>

The following analysis of three movements of *Den judiska sången* picturing scenes of persecution and resistance most intensely confirm the general topic of this book about music and resistance. As these parts mainly feature aspects of violence and military threat, they do not include the softer, more lyrical tones in Pergament's vocabulary, which nevertheless are necessary to understand the scope of his compositional articulation. To give at least an impression of how many more colors are to be found on his musical palette, a detail from the fourth movement *Vårnatt i Ajalon* (“Spring Night in Ajalon”) might be illuminating: After a few bars of soft, impressionist sounds by the strings and a few wood winds the soprano begins to praise the beauty along the river Ajalon (originating in the Judean Hills and flowing into the Yarkon River, which today is located in the area of Tel Aviv). Here Zilla, the second wife of the biblical figure Lamechs, is strolling. Pergament's papers also contain an English adaption of his lyrics which sometimes differ in meaning to match the melody's rhythm.

Vinden står still i Ajalons lund.	Hushed is the wind o'er Ajalon's plain.
Liljorna binna vita.	White are the lilies, burning;
Fängslad vid muren söker en hund	Only a watchdog rattles his chain,
Kedjorna slita.	Restlessly turning.
Men Zilla går fram mellan cederstammar,	But Zilla is forth through the cedars going,
Och den röda kortelen flammnar.	And her scarlet kirtle is glowing.

Several times important words are decorated with melismas that resemble the vocal tradition of Jewish cantors. These melismas, however, are written out in detail (cf. fig. 9 on the word “Zilla”), and contrasted with chords that keep up the memory of tonality without committing them too tight to a harmonic structure: After a soft G minor has been established before cipher 1, the melody continues in this key while the strings dissolve a diminished chord F-A<sup>b</sup>-B into F minor (with a ninth) and along a chord C-B-D-F<sup>#</sup> via C-A-C-F back into G minor. What might sound like a very abstract solution when it is described in words, sounds very natural and appealing in its musical version.

Fig. 9: Extract from movement 4 *Vårnatt i Ajalon* in Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*, bar 2-5 after cipher 1, p. 104. MTS, *Moses Pergament-Collection A747*

The following analysis will focus on the complex of resistance and persecution from three different points of view: in movement I *Förspel. In Memoriam*, remembering the mortal threat to the Jewish people; in movement VII *I fiendelägret*, picturing the situation in the adversarial camp as the title indicates; and in movement X *Intermezzo drammatico*, characterizing the brutality of Hitler-Germany.

### ***I. Förspel. In Memoriam***

The prelude begins the whole piece with a soft, trembling timbale, suddenly bursting into a deconstructed forte chord and establishing the key of B<sup>b</sup> minor in the orchestra. Equally important is the rhythmical pattern for this triad as it is easy to remember and reappears at crucial moments during the movement. To affirm this importance, the timbale repeats this triad, this time with F<sup>#</sup>, E and B which in a nutshell presents Pergament's adherence to the tonal concept of the cadenza. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that the first impulse starts on the fifth F<sup>#</sup>, confirming the ground note B which is extended to a whirl, swelling from pianissimo into fortissimo and back towards the edge of audibility.

Fig. 10: Extract from movement 1 *Förspel. In Memoriam* in Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*, first bars, p. 1. MTS, *Moses Pergament-Collection A747*



This dynamic impulse is accompanied by the full orchestra, with a run of quick whole steps heading for an intense chord of B<sup>b</sup> minor (with additional seventh and ninth). This set of elements – the rolling timbale, the run of quick notes bursting into a tutti chord – is repeated twice, and each time with additional material that follows the moment of silence before the next wave of the timbale piles up. During these episodes in the aftermath of each B-chord in tutti Pergament establishes harmonic descendings of the wood and brass instruments where the rhythmical motif of three very short notes percolates the orchestral voices.

This introduction of only 12 bars, indicated by short impulses in the bass instruments, establishes enough core material for the rest of this movement. Now, after hardly a minute of music, the first melody can set in. Considering that Pergament did not choose a classical term for this prelude – as he did for the *Adagio* and the *Intermezzo* (movements 6 and 10) – but instead opted for the very descriptive title *Förspel. In Memoriam* it is obvious that the audience is invited to anticipate programmatic interpretations.



Fig. 11: Extract from movement 1 *Förspel. In Memoriam* in Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*, first bars after cipher 1, pp. 4-5. MTS, *Moses Pergament-Collection A747*

The melody appears in the wood winds and the majority of the strings, while the double bass, the timbale and the brass section highlight and at the same time confront the changes of the melody with sharp accents. These resemble the previously presented rhythmical motif and establish an ostinato of the tonic B minor with chords of two or three 32<sup>th</sup>-notes that add their number of harmonic variants and moderate dissonances like in bar 5 and 9. The characteristics of this melody, surrounding the fifth F<sup>#</sup> to this ostinato tonic with small intervals and some dissonant frictions in an alternation of long notes and short impulses, throughout the movement becomes a symbol of the Jewish music tradition Pergament mentioned in the program notes. Therefore, the rhythmical motif becomes the steady pulse for the rest of the movement and can be understood as the German military force, constantly attacking and menacing the Jewish melody.

Pergament takes much time to build up this frightening tension (ciphers 2-4 in the score) until the situation culminates when the choir sets in (three bars before ciphers 4, cf. fig. 12). The emotional impact of this passage is enormous: While the traditional representation of the military with brass section and percussion (here including the double bass) perpetuates the threatening reality, the choir joins the remaining strings and the wood winds in the melody and reveals itself as the voice of the Jewish people. This statement, however, does not need words. Instead the choir's energy emanates

The image shows a musical score extract. At the top, there are five staves for a trumpet part, labeled 'Trp F.'. Below this is a section for strings, consisting of six staves. The string section is marked with 'A' on each staff, indicating a multi-voiced yell. The score is divided into three measures, each containing complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

Fig. 12: Extract from movement 1 *Förspel. In Memoriam* in Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*, three bars before cipher 4, p. 11. MTS, *Moses Pergament-Collection A747*

from a multi-voiced yell on the vowel “A”, exclaimed in fortissimo against the noise of the “military section” of the orchestra, while the wood winds support the Jewish cause.

The compositional solutions Pergament found to transport this conflict are striking: On the harmonical level diminished and alternated chords on the long notes of the choral voices always return to the tonic B minor on the short accent of the eighth-note in each bar (cf. fig. 12-13). At the same time the invasive “military” rhythmical motif captures the supporting strings and wood winds in the very moment the choir falls silent (cf. fig. 14). This seems to be the dominant impression and this moment was anticipated harmonically in bar 3 and 4 after cipher 4 (cf. the passage from fig. 13 to 14): a slightly alternated cadence on C<sup>#</sup> and F<sup>#</sup> marks the following first tutti accent of the orchestra on B minor (bar 4 after cipher 4) as the ending of this passage which symbolizes the dramatic consequences for the Jewish community represented in the choir. Of special importance to strengthen this effect is the descending scale of the double bass from G downwards towards the omnipresent B (cf. fig. 12-14).

Fig. 13: Extract from movement 1 *Förspel. In Memoriam* in Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*, cipher 4, p. 12. MTS, *Moses Pergament-Collection A747*

Nevertheless, the aggressive military impulse does not upset all of the orchestral voices. Instead the horns, which so far supported the militarization of the atmosphere, change fronts just at the moment when the choir falls silent (cf. the passage from fig. 13 to fig. 14). In consequence, the warm timbre of the horns protects and preserves the Jewish melody within its own brass section against the trumpets and trombones who have managed to mobilize the strings. This conflict comes to a preliminary end during the bars until cipher 5 with a provisional climax two bars after cipher 5 in a strong tutti-chord of B minor (with additional ninths and the fifth of F# in the bass instruments such as bassoon and double-bass). During the following passages of cipher 5 to 7 the strings return to the melody, accompanied by the wood winds, while the softening of the brass instruments calms the atmosphere. The military motif, which reappears in the bassoon and the double bass around cipher 6, leads the movement near-

Fig. 14: Extract from movement 1 *Förspel. In Memoriam* in Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*, three after cipher 4, p. 13. MTS, *Moses Pergament-Collection A747*

ly into silence, but four times soft strings and whirling impulses on timbale and gong keep the movement in slow motion. These moments of reappearance are important for the dramatic impression of this ending: The four short interventions of the strings always present fragments of the melody's first notes. In terms of the military aggression against the Jewish culture (symbolized by the distinct rhythmical motif which opened the movement with the voice of the timbale) the representation of Jewish music is kept alive in the orchestra's memory against all attacks and distortions, and though almost extinguished and scarcely audible it still survives.

### VII. I fiendelägret

After the prelude (*Förspel*) has described the difficult situation of the Jewish people in Pergament's own time with instrumental means, the following four movements present different facets of Jewish culture and tradition. Divided by another instrumental section entitled with the neutral musical term *Adagio*, the following seventh movement returns to the dark and cruel chapters in Jewish history. The telling title "In the Enemy Camp" (*I fiendelägret*) leaves no doubt that Pergament turns the focus here to the present times although Ragnar Josephson's lyrics – written decades earlier – took a more general point of view. Again the English version differs from the Swedish original for musical reasons but nevertheless gives an idea about its content:

De svarta bödlarna grina.	The cruel butchers are ready,
De slipade svärden vina.	Their sharp-edged swords held steady.
Jag fruktar ej död och pina.	Death's visage will never cow me,
Jag fruktar ej järn och brand.	I fear not the red-hot brand,
Stick mitt öga, förbränn min hand.	Pluck my eyes out, burn my hand,
Men kasta mig bland de mina!	But 'mongst my own people throw me!

Right from the beginning the atmosphere of military drill is present in the marching character of the groups of three quarter notes, each halting its bar with an equal quarter pause (cf. fig. 15). While the meter enforces a fixed structure for all orchestral voices, the harmonical setting becomes the musical battle ground: Although the key of B<sup>b</sup> minor seems inevitable for all the voices, the crossing of ascending and descending lines characterizes individual motivations of competing groups. While the bass clarinet and the string section of violin 2, violas and violoncelli move downwards in chromatic pairings, the bass clarinet together with the harps move upwards in half tone and whole tone steps. The second violin is voice leading and helps to assert the tonic (the first time directly in the first bar in the first string chord), while the middle voices electrify the harmonic structure with thirds, fourths, diminished fifths, sixths, and sevenths.

In contrast to the harmonically enriched accompanying chords the melody itself is crafted in pure B<sup>b</sup> minor (cf. fig. 16). In alliance to the steadily increasing strength of the words, to the drastic metaphors and depicted violence, each new line stretches the compass. The repeated self-assurance of not being afraid of death, torture or being branded with a red hot iron is already performed in forte so that the tenor yells against the full orchestra. With the only wish of the victim to be cast among his comrades the melody reaches its climax with an extended high B<sup>b</sup> in forte fortissimo that literally falls down a full octave before it falls silent.

**VII.**  
*I fiendelägrät.*

*Allegro moderato ma molto risoluto*

Fl.  
Ob.  
Klar. B  
Basklar. B  
Fag.  
Ktrfag.  
Harpa  
Tenor  
Vl I  
Vl II  
Vla.  
Vcl.  
Kth

De var-ta köd lar-na gri-na. De

Fig. 15: Beginning of movement 7 *I fiendelägrät* in Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*, p. 180. MTS, *Moses Pergament-Collection A747*

Tenor  
Tenor  
Tenor

De var-ta köd lar-na gri-na. De  
si-pade vär-den vi - - na. Jag fruk-tar ej  
död och pi-na. Jag fruk-tar ej järn och brand. Stiek mitt ö-ga för  
bränn min hand. Men kas-ta mig bland de mi - - - - - na!

Fig. 16: Melodic line of movement 7 *I fiendelägrät* in Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*, pp. 180-183. MTS, *Moses Pergament-Collection A747*

To intensify the impression of these words, the orchestra begins a complete repetition with the trumpets as the tenor's substitutes taking over the melodic leadership. After hardly one minute of music with only 31 bars altogether the movement is over. It leaves a very strong impression with a very strict marching rhythm on one hand that could be interpreted as the maltreatment of Jews in prison camps. On the other hand Pergament again chooses the emotional impact of harmonies and melodies to revolt against this strict order which in turn would correspond to the Jewish creed of offering resistance and insisting on their individuality.

### **X. *Intermezzo drammatico***

The third episode in Pergament's choir symphony showing another variation of how to deal with Hitler-Germany's aggression is the tenth movement. Leaving enough room for a bitter satire, this intermezzo is built upon a strongly formalized structure of A / A' / B / C / A'' / C' / D / E / D / A'''. It sets in with a short prelude of four bars introducing a military-style setting with snare drums beats and blaring trumpets, commented by short ascending lines in the wood winds, which end in an accent-like chord – a gesture that already was established at the beginning of the first movement. For the following first part (A) one might expect to be introduced to the first theme with a spirited marching beat from average military music (cf. fig. 17).

Although Moses Pergament somehow meets such expectations, he ridicules this habit at the same time with two simple and extremely effective decisions: 1) The meter now is changed to 5/8-time which results in a metric unbalance that contradicts all military purposes of marching music. Accordingly, the audience immediately loses all ability to find orientation along strong and weak accents. 2) According to the standards for a typical march a melody begins, and the full orchestra even assists in splendid C major. However, the line that is supposed to be appealing is anything but sufficient. When we take a closer look at the design of this melody (cf. fig. 18, where all repetitions have been erased to achieve a better view on the melodic structure) it is apparent that such a line cannot accept the responsibility of a memorable, catchy melody: After the first four bars (where the line ascends along a C major chord, rests for a moment in a small figure around G and reaches the octave with a jump from G to E), it somehow gets lost in an unmotivated chain of whole steps and a few chromatic alterations while accelerating from eighth-notes to sixteenth-notes. And although the melody at first sight is repeated in segment A', the repetition hardly makes any sense for melodic purposes, because the harmonical accompaniment does not apply to the chromatic alterations of central tones such as the C# in bar 9 (instead of the original C in the first bar) and the G# in bar 13 (instead of the original G in the fifth bar).

276.

Fl.  
 Picc.  
 Ob.  
 Klar.  
 Basskl.  
 Fag.  
 Kontraf.  
 Horn  
 Trp.  
 Posaunen  
 &  
 Tuben  
 Pucke  
 Triangel  
 Schl.  
 Becken  
 Gs. Cam.  
 Allegretto  
 Vl. I  
 Vl. II  
 Vla.  
 Vcl.  
 Kb.

Fig. 17: The beginning of part A in movement 10 *Intermezzo drammatico* bar 8 to 4 before cipher 1 in Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*, p. 216. MTS, Moses Pergament-Collection A747





Fig. 18: The essence of the main melody in part A and A' of movement 10 *Intermezzo drammatico* in Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*

After the marching melody has come to a typical end with a noisy chord in the tonic C major the following section B (ranging from cipher 2 to 4) presents a contrast of unsteady lines with mainly eighth-notes in the strings and the wood winds with a few quarter and sixteenth-notes in between, sometimes resembling the beginning of the previous melody. Beginning with cipher 3, the brass instruments begin to add chords whose upper, melody-like line shares similarities with the main melody of the Jewish people in movement I *Förspel* (cf. fig. 11). With the following part C the movement reaches its parodistic center when Moses Pergament begins variations of the German national anthem “Deutschland, Deutschland, über alles”, now returning to a regular 4/4-meter. It has to be taken into account that such variations indirectly pay tribute to Joseph Haydn's *Kaiserquartett*, opus 73 No. 3 where the second movement presents four variations on the famous melody that first became the hymn for Kaiser Franz in Austria before it was adapted by Hoffmann von Fallersleben for *Das Lied der Deutschen* four decades later. Pergament's variations are neither flattering nor complete but abbreviated and some even ablated, for example at cipher 5 (cf. fig. 19) where the horns begin the first tones of the melody for several bars. Soon they get stuck in a tutti-chord while the violins contribute different groups of three notes each from different segments of the melody.

As spontaneously as this parody of the German national anthem begins, it is finished just as surprisingly at cipher 7 when the movement returns in segment A” to the beginning in 5/8-time. This episode, however, lasts only 9 bars and omits the satirical marching melody, before segment C takes over again with fragments of the *Deutschlandlied*, with blaring trombones repeating the melodic passage for the word “über alles” in hysterically escalating transpositions.

After a few dramatic crescendo figures in the string section with corresponding brass interventions, segment D (5 bars after cipher 9) begins to build up a very strong tension with hectic chains of eighth notes in the strings played *sul ponticello* while a combination of horns, tuba, timbale and cymbals expand a thick layer of a soft but distracting sound. The bitter wish to ridicule the German desire for military drill and marching pomp has passed long ago; the threat of Nazi-Germany is far too real meanwhile and becomes more and more menacing each moment. The instant when the movement leaves its satirical approach behind and turns into an urgent warning is segment E at cipher 10 (cf. fig. 20): A solo trumpet, accompanied only by an ominous snare drum, gives signals that usually mark the beginning of a battle.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for an orchestra and voice parts. The instruments listed on the left are: Trp (Trumpets), Basuner & Tuba (Basses and Tenors), Pucka (Pucka), Triang (Triangles), Mil. Tr. (Military Drums), Becken & Gong (Becken and Gong), VI (Violins I), VII (Violins II), Vla (Viola), Vcl. (Violoncello), and Ktrb. (Kontrabaß). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'tr', 'mf', 'p', 'f', 'div.', 'uniss.', and 'cresc.'. A small box with the number '5' is visible at the bottom right of the score.

Fig. 19: An extract from the parodistic variations on the *Deutschlandlied* in part C of movement 10 *Intermezzo drammatico* at cipher 5 in Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*, p. 224. MTS, Moses Pergament-Collection A747

Unfortunately, it seems the orchestra – which could be interpreted as the public opinion in Europe – disregards the warning. After a modified repetition of segment D with its strong dissonant tutti chords the general attention returns to the hysterical marching beat of segment A”, now again with Pergament’s distorted version of a marching melody. In consequence, the movement ends in melodic and rhythmical turmoil. It will be up to the three final movements to reestablish a spark of hope for the Jewish people. Moses Pergament found the answers to his question of how to end *Den judiska sången* in the religious poems of Ragnar Josephson. After movement XI *Det förhånade ordet* turns the focus back to God’s word and movement XII recovers the strength to say a prayer for the coming sabbath (*Bön for stundande sabatt*), the final movement XIII envisages the moment of salvation when the full ensemble of orchestra, choir and the two solo voices can exclaim their overjoyed thankfulness “We Thank You Lord” (*Vi tacka Dig Herre*).

238.

1. & 2.  
Fl.  
3.  
Ob.  
Klar.  
Bassoon  
Fag.  
Kbass.

Horn

Trp.  
Baroner  
&  
Tuba

Pucka  
Tamtam

VI  
Vla  
Vcl  
Kb

10

Ob! Gör vara en kvint!  
Allegro moderato

1. Gör sound  
2. Gör sound  
3. Gör sound

Inga vägen

Inga kvart-intervall!

\* Sordinen drages ifrån!

10

Fig. 20: The passage from segment D to E in movement 10 *Intermezzo drammatico* at cipher 10 of Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*, p. 238. As the handwritten corrections indicate Pergament changed the trumpet signal from intervals of fourths to fifths. MTS, Moses Pergament-Collection A747

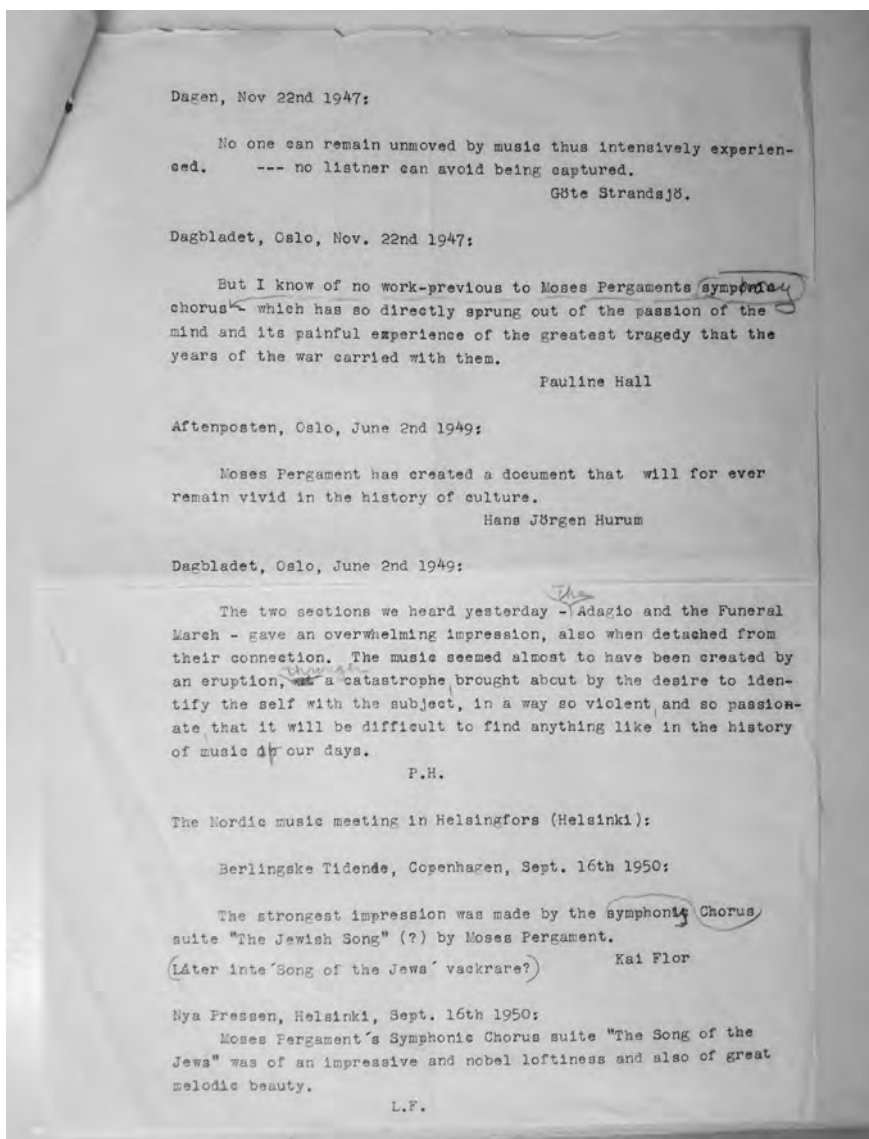


Fig. 21: An extract of translated concert reviews and press notes about Moses Pergament's *Den judiska sången*. MTS, *Moses Pergament-Collection A747*

The collection of material in Stockholm's music and theater library that had belonged to Moses Pergament stands for the international success he earned with this composition. Paper clips from concert reviews and English translations of quotations from newspaper articles (cf. fig. 21) indicate the enormous pride he must have felt for this work. One year before Arnold Schoenberg premiered *The Survivor from Warsaw*, opus 46, Moses Pergament's *Jewish Song* had already created an impressive monument of Jewish dignity and suffering, which would deserve a rediscovery, especially as it features an extremely sensitive topic in the Nordic countries from a contemporary point of view.

## Musical Resistance and Perseverance

Concerning the situation in Norway during the summer 1945, conflicts between ethical, political, cultural and aesthetic standards became apparent: The beginning of the resistance had been brought about by the political circumstances and had led to consider individual and collective responsibilities and possibilities. A set of indispensable national and cultural values had been drawn up and negotiated and had finally been implemented in daily routines. The resulting rules had been adhered to even under the pressure of the occupational German regime and its loyal Norwegian authorities. As various examples in the different chapters have shown, music had become an important factor supporting the individual and collective stamina.

At the moment of victory the situation suddenly changed with new questions at stake: What means should be taken to transform a wartime society into a peaceful social order? What should happen after years of suppression, deprivation and perseverance when the goal is reached, liberty, freedom and independence regained? There was a longing for normality and stability. The suppressed population was now the winner, but what about the victims to be mourned, the many who had suffered, the prisoners with their traumatic experiences returning home, while the whole country and the social cohesion had to be rebuilt? Legal and moral codes demanded that the perpetrators should account for their doings. As far as political matters were concerned – and here a membership in the Norwegian Nazi party *Nasjonal Samling* or any other political organization such as the SS was the decisive factor – trials for treason were brought to court and carried out in legal proceedings. But as far as the aesthetic autonomy of music was concerned which accused musicians referred to in their efforts for their exoneration, standards for the evaluation of misconduct and appropriate measures for punishing guilt had to be defined first before they could be enforced in court. In Germany, the “Land der Täter”, these rules were implemented by the allied forces, executed by national denacification boards (the so-called “Spruchkammern”) and their sentences formally approved or corrected by the military authorities.<sup>45</sup> In Norway the situation was different: Here the impulse for revenge or consolidation came from the Norwegians themselves and had its roots in the wartime when the resistance movement with its internal papers and the nationwide distribution of paroles had communicated the warning that all collaborators and traitors would be called to account for their deeds. These preparations, however, applied primarily to political matters and prominent figures, but did not fit the average and trivial deeds of most of the artists. Furthermore, at the moment of victory the ability of resistance to unite very heterogeneous social groups and bind rivaling cultural groups began to decline.

The restoration of one’s personal national pride was the most outstanding result of having survived the Nazi-occupation. The resistance against this tyranny and the strong belief in the own nation’s survival now prevented a critical view and judgement of the nationalistic strategies that had been considered legitimized both pragmatically by their success and morally by their anti-fascism. But in practical terms the organized resistance movement and its coordinated actions had not argued against National Socialism in general, but made out two different enemies: the German occupation forces and its own fellow citizens. As far as the Germans were concerned, the leading

figures had committed suicide like Josef Terboven or were brought to court or imprisoned like Georg Wilhelm Müller, while ten thousands of soldiers and Wehrmacht personnel were deported to their home country. But concerning the fellow countrymen, a decision about responsibilities and sanctions was pressing. In this case the resistance had been directed against fellow Norwegian citizens and was therefore a difficult and controversial task that could neither be ignored nor postponed. The issue had been repeatedly discussed and needed to be carried out now, although it soon became very clear that the consequences of too harsh punishments or too lenient verdicts would be passed on to future generations. Only in retrospect it would become evident where a strategy to taboo, suppress or conceal incriminating knowledge had been effective; on a European scale with generations shifting in the 1960s, 1990s and recently in our own times, issues suddenly developed into controversial and often accusatory debates, especially when collective myths were questioned.

Although music had proved to be a very effective means for civil disobedience during the years of occupation, political matters and everyday concerns like supplying for the daily needs seemed more urgent during the time immediately after the liberation than questions concerning the arts. Accordingly, most debates with strong public impact are hardly attached to music. Nevertheless, music is linked closely to memory culture, both concerning compositions reflecting upon traumatic experiences and those connected with commemoration ceremonies. Therefore, music can offer some exemplary information for the temporality of musical resistance along three different historical chapters:

- *Anticipating Reckoning. Debates before May 1945*: Expectations for an early victory kept rising and preparations were made for the arrest of perpetrators, while the Hjemmefront ordered the perseverance of strict self discipline to continue boycotting propagandistic offers made by the regime (concert, movies etc.).
- *Organizing Transformation. Early Cases in 1945*: During the first weeks after the liberation harsh rules were drawn up and the expectation of their strict observance were high so that the press could report in detail about actions against prominent representatives of the Nazi-regime.
- *Normalizing Consolidation. Routines after 1945*. Aside from the publicity of prominent traitors the rulings and sanctions against a large number of average collaborators among Norwegian musicians soon required a more pragmatic handling.

### **Anticipating Reckoning. Debates before May 1945**

Standardization, the application of norms, is a principle of order that can be found in all fields of human thought and action. It defines rules, guidelines, and regulations as evaluation criteria.<sup>46</sup> In the field of technical standards, compliance with or violation of these norms leads to certain consequences in the form of success or failure.<sup>47</sup> In the case of social norms of action there is also the necessity of complying with them. The possibilities for sanctioning in the event of disregard are manifold and can range from clearly defined punishments for violating the law to moral censure or social exclusion. As a certain form of social regulation norms as codes of unwritten law therefore influence human relations beneath the level of justice. When necessary they exert a direct

influence on our behavior as guidelines for action. Even if sanctions for misdemeanor are only considered as a theoretical option, the consequences associated with the norms have their potential impact. Correspondingly, norms are stable in the sense of a binding guideline, on the other hand they are changeable, since they are adapted to individual and collective needs and temporal circumstances on a larger scale.<sup>48</sup>

In the case of Nazi-occupied Norway the resistance leadership had to communicate in different ways to monitor and influence the public opinion and collective behavior of the Norwegians. If the communication took place within Norway it had to be clandestine, mostly in the documented paroles and illegal newspapers, where norms played a major role. As a form of ethical codes and reminiscences to the democratic past these norms relied on a threat of future sanctions for acts of collaboration, unsolidarity or growing rich at someone else's expense. If the codes for correct behavior towards the Nazi regime were presented outside of Norway in newspapers and at public events, the arguments could hardly rely on the collective pressure that norms can create inside a national community. Accordingly, current behavior is always oriented towards possible changes; it is pervaded by a high degree of normativity in order to make sure that in future situations you will act according to the standards valid at that time.

Behavior oriented towards normativity is thus an act of individuals at a certain moment, shaped by past experiences, current calculations and assumptions about future developments.<sup>49</sup> Several volumes of the illegal newspaper from Bergen *Norges Demring* exemplify regular appeals, for example, to keep up the will for resistance, to stick to the norms provided by the resistance leadership for correct and patriotic behavior, or for dealing with Germans and fellow Norwegians.<sup>50</sup> Sometimes music was used to rekindle the spark as on 29 January 1945 when the title page introduced the song *Look Ahead! Go On!* ("Se Fram! Gå På!") with a few lines about a young poet among the resistance supporters: "A young patriot has formed this battle cry and turned it into poetry. This is a battle cry for the entire Norwegian people today. It is aimed at the future, but requires courage and willingness for sacrifice in the current situation. The battle cry calls to duty. No one will be left when called: Go on! This may not be the case for everyone today. But the moment can come, and it is important to be morally prepared." Then, without a given melody, the paper presented the lyrics to this song:

Listen then hunter, Norway's new battle cry applies:  
 Look ahead! Go on!  
 It's you and me that the new battle cry calls!  
 It's you and me that matter now.

Listen then, hunter, to the peal of every bell ringing.  
 Look ahead! Go on!  
 It is the message of victory that the clock strikes for us.  
 It's you and me for whom every bell tolls.

Then go, hunter, to the last big test.  
 Look ahead! Go on!  
 Show that there are claws left on Norway's old lion's paws,  
 Remember it's you and me it trusts!<sup>51</sup>

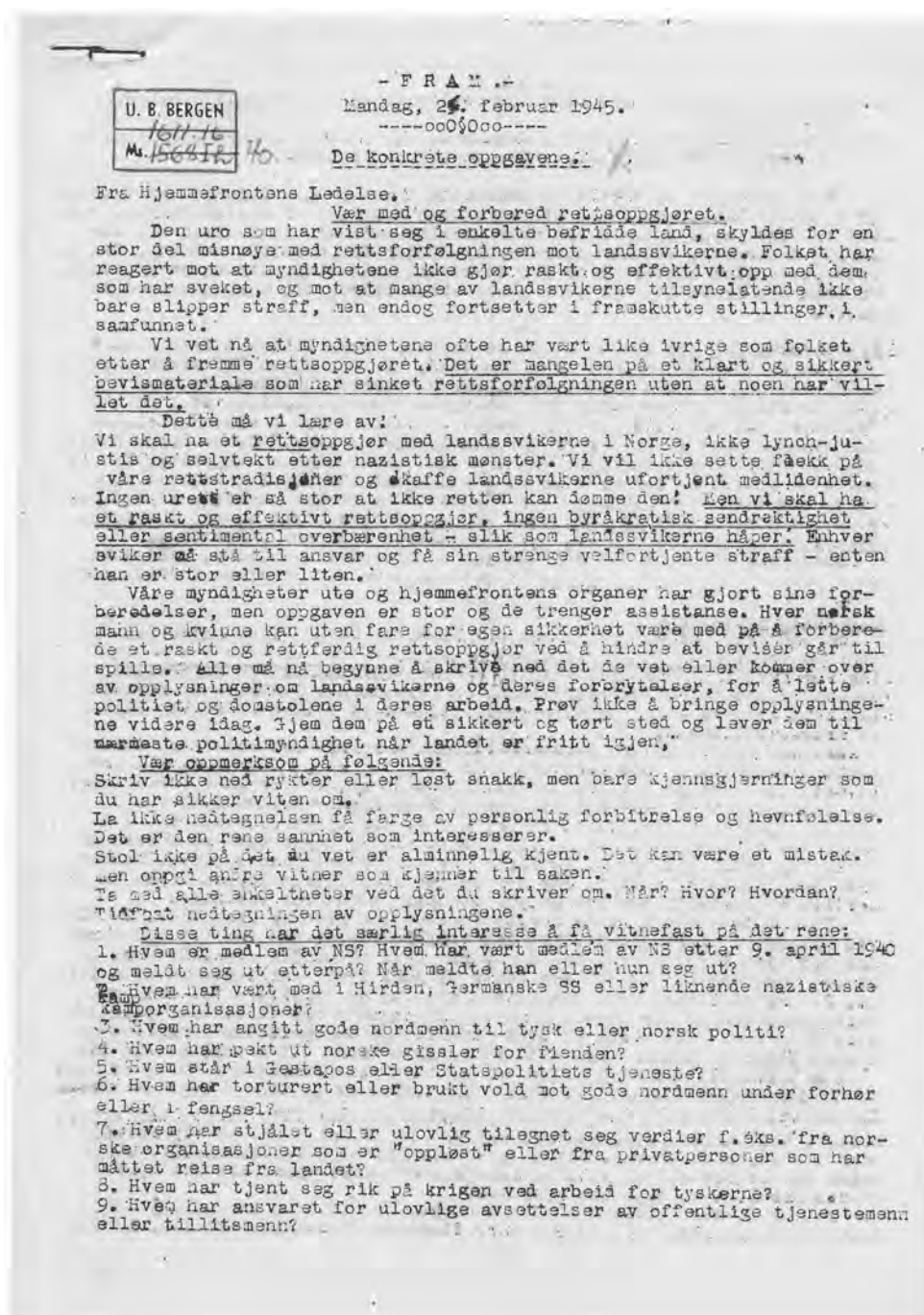


Fig. 22: Order to collect material about traitors for future trials for treason, printed in the secret newspaper from Bergen *Fram*, 26 February 1945, p. 1. BLA



Keeping up patriotism by issuing such inciting texts was one of the objects of propaganda work. But now in the early months of 1945 the responsibility of exercising control over the compliance with the Homefront's norms was shifted from a hierarchical structure with an anonymous leadership and a network of informants to a collective. The patriotic community was called upon to take notes of all misdemeanors so that the sanctioning of Quislings could set in immediately after the liberation. The resistance leaders, legitimized by the exiled government, raised the significance of this norm to binding justice explicitly for the purpose of preventing lynch justice (cf. fig. 22) by introducing quick and efficient court procedures with little bureaucracy and no mercy for the traitors.

A warning example for the resistance movement's ruthless determination to defend Norway for the sake of (self-)justice was the shooting of Rolf Schüttauf, a German musician who had come to Norway during the early 1930s, radicalized after April 1940 and finally had affiliated with the Gestapo as one of their extremely vicious supporters. The news that Schüttauf had been killed in early 1945 during a Gestapo campaign in Haugsbygd near Oslo gained international attention and was discussed in detail for example in the *Nordisk Tidende*, Brooklyn's Norwegian-speaking newspaper, on 1 February 1945.<sup>52</sup> First the author Bjørn Stallare credited Schüttauf as one of the best flutemists in Europe who had received a contract in Oslo. Soon he began to feel at home in Norway, found many friends among fellow musicians and started a family. When the Wehrmacht established Josef Terboven's regime in the summer of 1940, his insider knowledge predestined him as a Gestapo-spy in the Norwegian music community, which seduced Stallare to the cynical comment "The combination is rather ludicrous: Haydn and Himmler." According to witnesses and surviving victims, he turned into a sadist during questionings and torture, especially as he knew his former friends so well whom he now hunted down mercilessly. The article closed pitilessly with an anecdote about Schüttauf's daughter:

The children in the neighborhood where he lived in Oslo obviously did not want to play with the Gestapo breed. They hailed Hitler and were very race-conscious. The last thing one of the Norwegian playmates said before he died, was this: What are you going to do when the Germans have lost the war? Then, father says, we're going to America in a submarine, replied little Miss Schüttauf. So it was good for America that he failed. Otherwise, he might have appeared in front of the Statue of Liberty one day, with the flute under his arm and a quiet smile on his face and letters of recommendation to the New York orchestras. Mozart and Haydn and Himmler and Schüttauf.<sup>53</sup>

## Organizing Transformation. Early Cases in 1945

This paragraph returns to the overview of Norway's music history during the years immediately following the liberation. In Chapter I Olav Gurvin was named as one of the hardliners, who as an advocate of the so-called icefront ("isfront") argued against the so-called silkfront ("silkefront"), which opted for reconciliation and amnesties.

On 16 February 1946 the newspaper *Sarpen*, published in the district where he had been active as a choir conductor for the “Sarpsborg Sangforening”, quoted in detail from an article (cf. fig. 23), which Gurvin had written in the journal *Norsk Musikkliv* which he edited himself. In the introduction *Sarpen* named all of the artists who had been excluded from the Composers’ Association, namely David Monrad Johansen, Per Reidarson, Trygve Torjussen, Geir Tveit, Signe Lund, Fridtjof Kristoffersen, Johan Kvandal (David Monrad Johansen’s son), Gudrun Nordraak Feyling, Oscar Gustavson, and Haldor Bauner. Regarding these names the article paraphrased Gurvin’s comments:

During the German times these Nazi composers have acted in such a way that they can never again become leading personalities in Norwegian culture. They were such great traitors to culture, they are now despised by their countrymen to the extent that the vast majority of us will unvoluntarily transfer some of these feelings to their works of art.

David Monrad Johansen has received his sentence from the authorities – 5½ years imprisonment – and that says enough. Per Reidarson, who was a “music employee in the government press”, changed over to the Nazis one of the very first days after the Germans had arrived in the country, joined the NS, and immediately made himself useful to the new rulers and became an employee of “Fritt Folk”. In the fall of 1940, he joined the Nazi Cultural Council together with David Monrad Johansen and Geirr Tveit. The latter was chairman of the cultural council and became the Nazis’ “national music consultant”. Reidarson also participated in the big propaganda competition and won the first prize of 10,000 kroner with his play “Last Scream”. The Jøssings did everything they could to prevent this collaboration from being performed at the National Theater, where good Norwegian actors were to be forced to play it, and the theater fire was set to prevent the performance. [...]

It is difficult to say how long such a boycott of the works of Nazi composers will last. As far as I know, none of the artists’ organizations have made any decision about it. One thing is certain, the Nazi books have left the bookstore, Nazi painters are not allowed to participate in exhibitions, etc. Therefore, the Nazi compositions must also leave the repertoire. In Oslo and in many other places this has probably already been done, but there are some places where such works are still used, probably out of ignorance.

Then we also have two famous composers who died during the occupation, but who got lost in Nazism in their old days, namely Christian Sinding and Iver Holter. In 1940 they were 84 respectively 90 years old, and the old age is a strong reason for excuse, although both were completely sane until recently. Still, there are many who react to their works, “they were Nazis then”, and it is probably best therefore not to play their works in the first time either – at least not perform them. While it is very likely that these compositions will soon be both tolerated and enjoyed by the vast majority without unpleasant associations.<sup>54</sup>



Fig. 23: An article about Olav Gurvin's critical demand to boycott the music of Nazi-collaborators, *Sarpen*, 16 February 1946. NNL

Monrad Johansen was presumably the most prominent composer, teacher, author, critic, and official Gurvin attacked so directly in public and a rare example that he even included the political chapters of Monrad Johansen's biography in the article for the *Musikkleksikon*, which he edited with Øyvind Anker in 1949: "musikkanm. in Aftenposten 1925-45, Komponistgasje 1921-45, medl. av N.R.Ks programråd 1933-45, av Kulturtinget 1942-45."<sup>55</sup> Although it is difficult to estimate the reaction to Gurvin's statements, especially from people beneath the level of prominent musicians, he could be sure, however, that the public attention to these issues was enormous, not just at home but also in the international Norwegian community. In the *Nordisk Tidende* the column "Arrested Traitors in Norway" (*Arresterte landssvikere i Norge*) even mentioned on 2 August 1945 other musical professions besides composers, namely the musician Ragnar Odmund Birkedal and the singer Henrik Dahl. Nevertheless, this newspaper also covered the trial against David Monrad Johansen with a large article on 6 December 1945:

By his actions he has continued to render assistance to the enemy. When he joined the NS, and especially when he glorified the front efforts on the German side in his article about the Norwegian legion, he had to be aware that his name was good propaganda for the NS, and that he thereby did the NS, and thus also the enemy, a great service. Monrad-Johansen argued that the motives for his actions had to be sought in his great interest in music, but

the court did not find that this could serve as an excuse for the damage he had inflicted on his fatherland. Monrad-Johansen requested time to think. Oddly, the benches for the audience were sparsely occupied during the trial. Monrad-Johansen clearly seemed annoyed by the interest he aroused in the photographers, and did not seem to particularly appreciate publicity. [...] The public prosecutor read i.a. an article written by the accused, in which he rebuked the Norwegian people in strict words and asked: "How long shall we stone our prophets?" The composer looked very thoughtful at this confrontation with "old days". It did not get any better when the public prosecutor read out loud a propaganda article in which the accused calls the Norwegian Legion Norway's pride. Monrad-Johansen has also been enrolled in the SS and has paid a membership fee there, – for the purpose of being able to travel to Germany more easily. Called upon as witnesses were Ingeborg Refling Hagen and Eyvind Groven.<sup>56</sup>

The names of Ingeborg Refling Hagen and Eyvind Groven are important as they show that David Monrad Johansen also had supporters on his side. This group representing the attitude of a "silkfront" also included Amalie Christie and Hans Jacob Ustvedt, who had been a friend of the composer at least since 1938 when he performed the song cycle *Nordlands trompet* ("The Northland's Trumpet") on the occasion of Monrad Johansen's 50<sup>th</sup> birthday with the composer accompanying him on the piano in Oslo's concert hall.<sup>57</sup> Postcards in Ustvedt's papers document that both men stayed in touch at least until 1964.<sup>58</sup> During the first days of Monrad Johansen's arrest Ustvedt tried to help him with a medical certificate dated 18 July 1945. Strikingly, he neither mentioned his own musical ambitions (which probably had been the initial reason for their contact) nor his important role in the civil resistance movement; several newspaper articles document Ustvedt's own prominence during the turbulent months after the liberation where he regularly not only spoke on behalf of the civil arm of the Homefront but also represented musical matters together with Gurvin.<sup>59</sup> He limited his role in the case of the medical certificate strictly to his medical profession: "Upon request, I can testify that in 1938 I learned that the composer David Monrad-Johansen suffered from epilepsy. I have prescribed medicine for him, and it was my impression that he could have quite severe seizures."<sup>60</sup> However, the head of the medical department at Ilebu Fengsel did not share this pessimistic assumption and referred to the fact that although David Monrad Johansen was suffering from epilepsy since his 13<sup>th</sup> year of life, many years have passed by meanwhile between critical episodes.<sup>61</sup>

Using different arguments, the composer regularly asked to be pardoned or at least to be granted privileges which finally resulted in rather comfortable conditions so that he could read and even compose.<sup>62</sup> Right from the beginning his lawyer Jon Simonsen had asked senior prosecutor Brynjulf Bull on 13 July 1946 to postpone the prison sentence so that Monrad Johansen could work on a large-scale composition (probably his *Symphonic Variations and Fuge*, opus 23). This was refused:

I hereby allow myself, on behalf of David Monrad Johansens, to apply for a postponement until 1/9 this year with the enforcement of the sentence upon him. The reason is as follows: Since his release this spring, he has been work-

ing intensely on the completion of a very large musical work – a work of variations in several movements, which he has not finished. A statement has been made to me confirming that he is engaged in such a work, that this is of very significant dimensions and is one of the most significant works he has worked on. This statement was signed by Ingeborg Refling Hagen, Henrik Sørensen, Else Christie Kielland, schoolmaster Johan Evje, music publisher Sigurd Kielland and others. Unfortunately, this letter has vanished and I cannot present it today, and the persons mentioned have left. However, I am so familiar with the case that I can also personally testify that he is in the middle of completing this, which he considers one of his main works.<sup>63</sup>

After the Norwegian parliament had passed a general amnesty on 9 July 1948 for all traitors who had been sentenced to less than eight years of imprisonment and had served more than half of their penalty, David Monrad Johansen was released from prison. There he had composed songs for piano on words from the Holy Bible,<sup>64</sup> *Fem bibelske sanger*, opus 25 which give an impression of his mood at that time. The five songs and the context of the particular bible words are (in the English equivalent):

- I. Luke, 11.46 (Jesus in an argument with a Pharisee): And he said, “Woe to you lawyers also! For you load people with burdens hard to bear, and you yourselves do not touch the burdens with one of your fingers.”
- II. Matthew, 23.27-33 (from the Seven Woes to the Scribes and Pharisees): “Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!” For you are like whitewashed tombs, which outwardly appear beautiful, but within are full of dead people’s bones and all uncleanness. So you also outwardly appear righteous to others, but within you are full of hypocrisy and lawlessness. “Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!” For you build the tombs of the prophets and decorate the monuments of the righteous, saying, “If we had lived in the days of our fathers, we would not have taken part with them in shedding the blood of the prophets.” Thus you witness against yourselves that you are sons of those who murdered the prophets. Fill up, then, the measure of your fathers. You serpents, you brood of vipers, how are you to escape being sentenced to hell?
- III. Matthew, 23.37-38 (Lament over Jerusalem): O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the city that kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to it! How often would I have gathered your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you would not! See, your house is left to you desolate. For I tell you, you will not see me again, until you say, “Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.”
- IV. Mark, 13.24-27 (The Coming of the Son of Man): But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light, and the stars will be falling from heaven, and the powers in the heavens will be shaken. And then they will see the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory. And then he will send out the angels and gather his elect from the four winds, from the ends of the earth to the ends of heaven.
- V. John, 14.1-4 (I Am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life): Let not your hearts be troubled. Believe in God; believe also in me. In my Father’s house are many rooms. If it were not so, would I have told you that I go to prepare a place for you? And

Sjunde, Norge, 27 april 1949

Kurt Atterberg!

Det blev ikke en lille bølge der var på vej til  
 Stockholm. Det var efter dig og din frue den kvædet i  
 teateret, men fandt det ikke. Og de følgende dage  
 var jeg bare optaget af den grammofonindspilningen  
 af musikken for dig. Det var fem sange til lærer  
 fra bibelen og når jeg oplyste dig, hvilket nummer  
 jeg havde behandlet så vil du forske at "ikke hand-  
 le" om vanlige sange, end vi sangene!  
 Har du engang en ledig stund og en bibel for  
 hånden så er teksten hentet fra følgende ste-  
 der: I Lukas evangelium 11. 46. I Markus'  
 ev. 23. 27-33. III Matteus' ev. 23. 32-38.  
 IV Markus' ev. 13. 24-27, 32. V Johannes' ev.  
 14. 1-4. — Disse er strevet ind i mit fjerde  
 opløst album 1946. Dagen efter jeg så dig og din  
 frue i teateret hørte både Broman og direktøren  
 for His Master's Voice (Nordpress) sangene som  
 var optaget på provisoriske plader. Nordpress var  
 meget stærkt interesseret men og ville gerne  
 købe dem for et beløb. Men så kom jo  
 naturligvis denne velkendte politiske in-  
 debat der op. Men han forklarede at "for os  
 her i Sverige spilles det absolut ingen rolle"  
 men det var en engelsk direktør som havde  
 den endelige myndighed og dagen efter fik vi  
 da også besked om at han havde sagt  
 nei. England havde været i krig a. s. v.

Fig. 24: Letter from David Monrad Johansen to Kurt Atterberg, 27 April 1949, first page, in: RMA, correspondence of Kurt Atterberg, ATO-3370

if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and will take you to myself, that where I am you may be also. And you know the way to where I am going.

On 27 April 1949 David Monrad Johansen explained in a letter some details about the songs to his friend Kurt Atterberg. Although he was very proud of his opus 25, its reception was overshadowed by his political past:

These were written during my imprisonment in the fall of 1946. The day after I saw you and your wife in the theater, both Broman and the director of His Master's Voice (Nordpress) heard the songs recorded on provisional records. Nordpress was very interested and would like to get them for their company. But then, of course, this political issue is in the way there as well. But he underlined that "for us here in Sweden it does not matter at all", but it was an English director who had the final decision and the next day we were told

that he also had said no. England had been at war and so on. But there was so much interest that the “songs” were still recorded with a descent recording by private initiative and this was done a few days later by the radio service at the Academy. In 14 days, the records should be finished. I really wanted you to hear them and I hope it will happen someday.<sup>65</sup>

## Normalizing Consolidation. Routines after 1945

After years of preparations, after collecting evidence and information against regime supporters, and after demanding via illegal newspapers and paroles that all traitors will be called to justice, the resistance movement did not waste any time. As soon as the German Reichskommissariat and the Norwegian Nazi-reign had broken down, action was taken immediately. A rather small group of war criminals and prominent civil traitors was arrested, brought to trial and their past misconduct as well as their further fate discussed at length in public and in the press. But what about the predominant group of nominal members, profiteers and less compromised people and their daily lives, in our case people in the field of music? The paroles had announced their removal from all public positions and their exclusion from the musical community, especially in the professional organizations and trade unions concerned. Was there a comparable phenomenon of a silk-front versus an ice-front with interest groups and lobbies that supported their concerns? Although research in Norway seems to be in an early stage regarding such questions, the materials of orchestras and professional organizations at least allow a rough survey which indicates a doctrinaire beginning soon turning into a pragmatic handling.

The reaction against incriminated musicians in the first days after the liberation was the immediate removal of German musicians and Norwegians who had been members of Nasjonal Samling. An example can be found in the minute books of the Bergen philharmonic orchestra Harmonien. On 30 May 1945 the executive board decided on excluding the following members: Georg Behrschmidt (German), Otto Haubold (German), Paul Dittrich (NS), O. Foss-Bergesen (NS), Kurt Horn (NS), Evald Niegisch (NS), A. Steinar Christiansen (NS), and Sverre Tvedt (NS). Other members were to be quarantined but it turned out that more detailed rules did not exist and that legal considerations by professionals were necessary. Therefore, the board meetings' records summarized urging questions that seem to have had a close connection to very practical matters:

It has been decided to suspend several members of the association until further notice (quarantine). Further investigations into the problems are being made. Regarding the latter, we would like to ask for your opinion on the following: What rights do these members lose during a suspension? Among other things, do they lose the right for insurance payments during the period of suspension, eg. funeral allowance (union and our association). The question has been submitted to a lawyer who, in case of doubt, believes that if the provided contingent expires during the period of suspension the claim to the funeral allowance would probably also expire.<sup>66</sup>

Initially the Bergen chapter of the musicians' organization, Bergen Musikerforening, had informed the headquarters of the Norsk Musikerforbund in Oslo one week after the liberation already that several members of Harmonien's executive board had been instructed immediately "to stay away from their workplace until further notice", namely Emil Baresel (first trumpet), Victor Schuster ("konsertmester"), Fritz Hoffmann (first clarinet), Emil Mader (first bass), "all not member" of Nasjonal Samling. Additionally, Paul Dittrich (first oboe), Kurt Müller (solocellist), Kurt Hoen (second horn), Georg Behrschmitt (trombone), and Otto Haubold (first bassoon), who were all NS-members.<sup>67</sup> The report further concluded that the loss of these instruments caused a difficult situation for the orchestra not only in the near future but also in the long run, because oboist Bjarne Larsen and clarinetist Leif Christoffersen would resign at the end of the season. Other orchestra members and amateurs were supposed to fill these vacant positions temporarily for the next two scheduled concerts, and the future demand for new musicians needed to be considered soon.

As can be seen from the executive board's minutes, the whole matter was controversial and needed a quick solution. According to the records, an emergency meeting was called for 16 May 1945, but first of all on this day, the former chairman Lange Berg-Olsen was welcomed back cordially after his release from the concentration camp in Grini.<sup>68</sup> The reason for this hastily called board meeting was that three of the excluded orchestra members, Leif Christoffersen, Hans Stenseth, and a man called Walle, had not accepted their removal. They could even refer to the executive board of Bergen's Musikerforening, which demanded that this decision should be taken back so that all three could participate in the music program for the upcoming national holiday the next day, 17 May. Furthermore, the report continued, they had engaged lawyer Olav Hatland who had written to the Chief of Police on their behalf and in copy to Kapellmeister Harald Heide. "However, the police chief dropped the letter"<sup>69</sup> and no directive was given to Harmonien's management for further decisions.

Due to a lack of evidence, Stenseth and Walle returned to the orchestra while the dismissal against Christoffersen was kept up. Among the reasons given for his exclusion was his decision in his position as the chairman of Bergen's musicians' organization to contact Nasjonal Samling's representative for culture Sverre Tveito in the fall of 1941 "to discuss with him a reorganization of Bergen and Western Norway's music life and thereby an improvement of the musicians' salary conditions"<sup>70</sup> without informing the orchestra about his intentions. Strikingly, as the minute book further reports, the letter to the orchestra members Baresel, Behrschmitt, Dittrich, Haubold, Hoffmann, Horn, Mader, Müller, and Schuster from 9 May 1945 had been initiated by the resistance movement: "This letter was prompted by inquiries to 'Harmonien' from Hjemmefronten's representatives in Bergen the same day. The mentioned musicians were not wanted and were to be removed from their activities after their contract with the Music Society [Harmonien], which immediately caused the requested rehearsal to be canceled on the same day and the concert announced for 10 May had to be canceled, too."<sup>71</sup> As a letter from 18 December 1945 indicates (which is included in the files of the Norwegian Labor Movement), Christoffersen kept up his objections against his removal from the orchestra.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, during a meeting of the Harmonien executive board on 4 July 1945 he spoke on behalf of the excluded German musicians to



treat them differently and not like the Norwegian musicians who had been expelled because of their political activities: "Christoffersen again asked for the right to speak to emphasize that the suspended German musicians had to be treated as leniently as possible so that they would not get the impression that they were leaving their positions in the orchestra as criminals. However, the matter has been sent to the authorities by Harmonien as the orchestra management itself has no mandate for any arrangement with the suspects."<sup>73</sup>

At the same time, when Harmonien sent several of their members into political quarantine, Bergen's Musikforeningen asked Oslo's Musicians' Union for further inquiries (cf. fig. 25) if certain names could be detected in lists from Nasjonal Samling if people had joined the Labor Service ("Arbeidstjeneste"). The general attitude towards cases of contaminated biographies was merciless, sometimes probably even hostile. In either case the Norwegian Musicians' Union executive board instructed Bergen's Musikerforening, for example in a letter on 19 December 1945, to conduct intransigence: "However, the board emphasizes in principle that excluded N.S. members must not be treated more leniently than those union members who are only suspended for a limited time. After all, it is actually the membership of the N.S. which must be considered treason."<sup>74</sup> One rigorous consequence was that the traditional rule "in dubio pro reo" could be overridden, for example for the musician Fritz Müller in May 1945: "Fritz Müller does not currently receive an additional pension as there is reason to believe that his circumstances during the occupation have been unational, unless he can prove otherwise. His pension from the theater's pension fund was stopped on 31 May."<sup>75</sup>

When Norwegian collaborators were excluded from the musicians' organizations and removed from their jobs, the most urgent question for them was how to get back into the system and regain their permission to work as professionals. Again this matter stood in contrast to general ethical questions in democratic societies granting every criminal who has served his or her sentence to regain the civil rights and to be reintegrated into all public affairs. Furthermore, the demand for musicians in Norway needed to be covered just as much as potential unemployment had to be avoided. Accordingly, the dogmatic position of the early days of liberation of the "icefront", which demanded shunning people who had shown unpatriotic behavior, needed to compromise with the pragmatic and reconciling position of the "silkfront". Bergen's Musikerforening argued in this spirit when it wrote to the Norsk Musikerforbund on 7 February 1946:

Our general view of the case is that when a man has taken his punishment, he should be given the opportunity to begin a new life. Of course, a reservation could be that those who then get the chance to join the association will not receive any positions of trust within the association for a certain period of time. We are aware that there may be some injustice in this view, as people who have been suspended for a certain period of time are still excluded. In order to possibly find a solution here, it could be an idea to proclaim an amnesty for these, where conditions make it necessary and where the idea of creating relief for the suspended is helpful.<sup>76</sup>

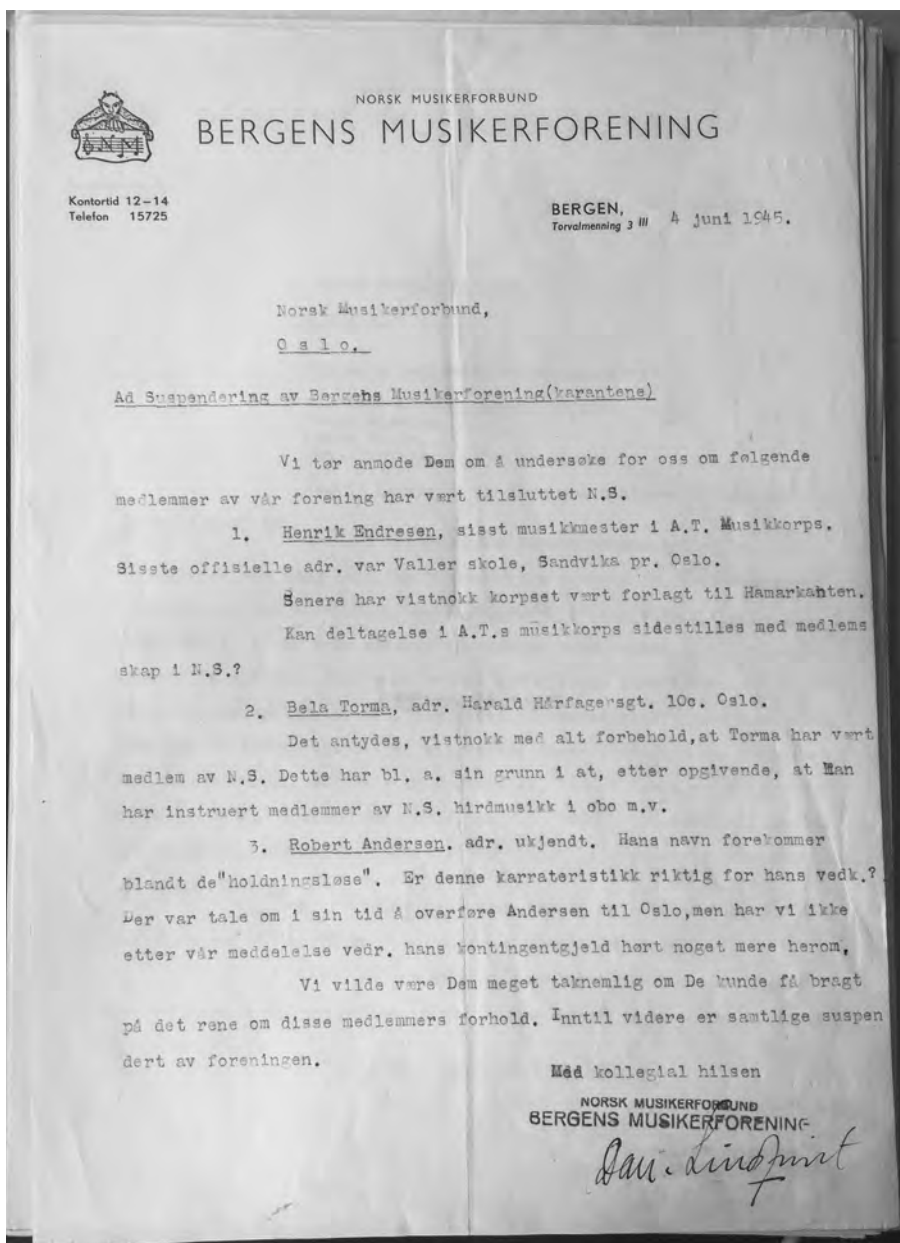


Fig. 25: Letter of Bergens Musikerforening, 4 June 1945, to the Norsk Musikerforbund Oslo, in: ARBARK, AAB/ARK-1671/D/Db/0001 Norsk Musikerforbund. Bergens Musikerforening

The answer from Oslo on 20 February 1946 was rather reserved and did not make a difference between a membership in Nasjonal Samling and “unnational”, unpatriotic behavior when considering a renewed membership in a professional organization. Here one can assume a promising point of attack for lawyers defending musicians in political quarantine: A membership in the NS-party was a clear fact which could be proven with documents by the accusing party so that the defendant could only explain and interpret his or her motives to a certain degree. The allegation of “unnational” behavior still was based on facts, but primarily on interdictions made by the resistance leadership in form of norms and ethical codes announced in paroles and clandestine newspapers, such as the prohibition to participate in propaganda concerts, to perform for the NS-radio, or to break concert boycotts. Nevertheless, these norms were turned into legal rulings only in retrospect. The resistance movement itself had always made allowances for professional musicians who had to perform propaganda concerts so that the paroles had always included certain exceptional clauses. Accordingly, the modeling of rules in postwar times to ban or legalize and prosecute in retrospect norms the resistance movement had decreed under different political conditions proved to be more complicated in detail than previously anticipated in the paroles. For the controversial case of an Alf Steinar Kristiansen the central organization in Oslo argued:

In principle, we believe that a man who has been a member of the N.S. can not be admitted as a member of our organization at an earlier time than a member who is suspended for unational attitude. Having been a member of the N.S. must be judged more strictly. The fact that the Attorney General has decided not to prosecute Alf Steinar Kristiansen must then be due to the authorities having information about Kristiansen that we do not know about. We have also discussed the very question of the readmittance of N.S. members into our organization. The state authorities announced that within 4 to 6 weeks there will be a notification. – However, there are already some N.S. members who have begun to work. It then happens that the N.S. worker must first be approved by those he is to work with, by the employer. If he is approved by these, the case must be approved by the association, union, and the workers’ professional national organization [“arbeidernes faglige landsorganisasjon”].<sup>77</sup>

After such questions and comparable requests had increased the need for clear directives, regulations were established that had been bargained between the employers’ association and the trade unions on the national level and early in 1946 were translated into rulings for the different professional sub-organizations. In short, the procedures mainly followed a certain form: At first all musicians who either had been members of Nasjonal Samling or had shown an “unnational” attitude lost their membership in their professional organizations. The central administration of Norsk Musikforbund played a major role in the orientation and coordination of local organizations, who regularly asked for advice, for example from Trondheim on 4 September 1945:

As our “traitor committee” will now finally take up the work, we would like some guidelines from the association. We have heard that in Oslo a ban to perform has been issued for a shorter or longer period of time for those

members who have shown a nationalist attitude during the war. As I cannot find that the National Organization has any rules for such a case, we would be grateful to receive the rules used by the Oslo Musicians' Association in such cases, preferably with copies of such cases.<sup>78</sup>

At the same time the head organization Norsk Musikerforbund had inquired into relevant cases addressing all regional associations, which might be affected by these sanctions, for example from Stavanger, where the local Musikforening replied on 23 May 1945: "On behalf of the board of the Stavanger Musicians' Association, we hereby send our most sincere greetings and congratulations on the occasion of peace and liberation. We have received letters concerning the exclusion of unreliable members and we will notify you as soon as the exclusions have been rectified. There are some unclear things that must be clarified first."<sup>79</sup>

When expelled musicians applied to reenter their professional organization, they had to accept a considerable fee and further possible restrictions in their membership. In a letter to Bergen's Musikerforening from 7 June 1946 these procedures were explained in detail:

According to the resolution of the Congress, the readmission of former N.S. members is decided by the A.f.L's secretary. This will of course depend on the recommendation given by the local association and the federal board.

Furthermore, the Secretariat has laid down such general rules: The relevant union's provisions for the readmission of strike breakers or others excluded shall then apply to these, and a reentry fee must be set, which should be between kr. 25.- or kr. 100.-.

According to a decision made at the national meeting last year, the new enrollment fee of NOK 50.00. § 20, point f, of the Federal Act further states ... will be immediately excluded and loses all rights in the organization. § 22, point c, says an excluded member can only be readmitted into the association after approval by the board of the local association he is excluded from and on the terms approved by the association board.

The person in question must acquire new rights. The enrollment should in all cases be at least twice the ordinary enrollment fee.

Care must be taken that the matter will be presented at an extraordinary general meeting. It will probably be almost a summary of the Congress' decision, in that it is the Secretariat that has the decision. It may be members who have served the sentence that the officials have imposed on them. On the other hand, it has been claimed that there may be some members who have damaged the organization so severely that it does not feel right to admit the person in question as a member of the trade union.<sup>80</sup>

## Transforming the Nordic – Norwegian-German Music Relations after 1945

Between the 1930s and the 1960s aspects of the “Nordic” attracted controversial cultural and political attention for Norway and moved the attention for the country from the periphery at the northern edge of Europe into the center of European affairs. Two of these episodes caused severe ideological friction and changed the Norwegian-German relations substantially, at first to the worse, then finally to the better: The undesired nobilitation of Norwegians in the Third Reich to represent descendants of an ancient Germanic-Aryan masterrace catapulted Norway into the center of National Socialist ideologies and turned the traditional cultural-geographic understanding of the “Nordic” into an ideological concept. Since then this “transformation of the Nordic” into multi-layered, often unreflected terminology produces interferences and contradictions between musical and political modes of understanding.

While Germany changed the course of Norwegian history during the first transitional phase (1930-45), influences from Norway became relevant for German history during the second major transitional phase (1945-60): After Willy Brandt (1913-1992) had had to escape to Norway via Denmark in 1934, he immediately started a political career in the Norwegian labor movement. Soon after the German attack on Norway on 9 April 1940 he fled to Sweden where the Norwegian embassy granted him the Norwegian citizenship he had applied for. Besides his work as a politician and journalist Brandt published several manuscripts about the political situation in Norway, among others *Krieg in Norwegen* (“War in Norway”) and *Norwegens Freiheitskampf 1940-1945* (“Norway’s Struggle for Freedom 1940-45”).<sup>81</sup>

When he returned to Germany from his exile, first in 1945 as a correspondent to report for Scandinavian newspaper about the Nuremberg trials, he considered himself both a Norwegian anti-fascist and a European Social Democrat. Only after deciding to reenter German politics in 1948/49, he changed his passport and became a German citizen again to fulfill all civic norms. Brandt’s impact as president of Berlin’s City Parliament and soon as the mayor of Berlin (1957-1966), as a leading figure in the Social Democratic Party in Bonn, as foreign minister (1966-1969) and chancellor of Western Germany’s first socio-liberal cabinet (1969-1974) made history. Among many honors his reconciliation with Eastern Europe was rewarded with the Peace Nobel Prize in 1971 and it seems Brandt was very proud to be able to give parts of his acceptance speech in fluent Norwegian. His political efforts enjoyed strong credibility in Norway, which, for example, motivated town twinnings between Münster and Kristiansand (1967), Trondheim and Darmstadt (1968) as well as the opening of a Goethe-Institute in Oslo (1968).

Historical research about the German cultural policy during the time of Konrad Adenauer as chancellor of the FRG has begun while neither the era of Willy Brandt nor the musical relations between Norway and Germany in postwar Europe have been examined yet. Furthermore, the numerous political changes implemented by Willy Brandt show how strongly the postwar years had been overshadowed by Adenauer’s agenda. The Norwegian public met the Bonn republic with great scepticism.<sup>82</sup> Even though Norway was depending on good economic relations to the Federal Republic of Germany and both countries became partners in the NATO when the FRG joined the

military alliance in 1955, Norway's relationship to Germany remained complicated, a natural consequence of the historical experience of the German occupation.<sup>83</sup>

In 1946 the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) celebrated its first postwar festival in London and took a firm stand on behalf of Nazi-persecuted, exiled and anti-fascist musicians, featuring works by Richard Mohaupt, Sergej Prokofiev, Ernst Krenek and Arnold Schoenberg. The festivals of the following two years in Copenhagen (1947) and Amsterdam (1948), when Harald Sæverud joined the jury, were held in countries which only a few years earlier had been occupied by Hitler-Germany, until the ISCM-celebrations in Oslo in 1953 drew the attention to the northern edge of the avant-garde hemisphere for the first time. Additionally, the festivals in Brussels (1950), Frankfurt (1951) and Haifa (1954) presented several works by Klaus Egge and Fartein Valen, before the radical serialism of the younger generation labeled their moderate modernism as outdated and old fashioned.

While Willy Brandt's policy of appeasement accelerated the relations between Norway and the FRG, composers such as Knut Nystedt (1915-2014), Finn Mortensen (1922-1983) and Arne Nordheim (1931-2010) brought contemporary art music from Norway back to the international stage. Directly after the Second World War Nystedt approached Ernest White and Aaron Copland in the United States, while Mortensen and Nordheim came in contact with the European avant-garde. One of the key figures was Karlheinz Stockhausen, engaged at the International Summer Courses in Darmstadt as well as in the Studio for Electronic Music in Cologne. With his legendary electronic compositions Stockhausen had already been present in Norwegian newspapers and on radio programs from Cologne since 1954; probably the first concerts he gave with his ensemble were performed following invitations from Bergen (1967) and Oslo (1968). While Great Britain and the United States developed into centers of global importance for Jazz and Pop, Norway's re-connection with the hotspots of contemporary European art music revitalized the traditional connections to Germany. It was the explicit dedication of the New Music scene in Darmstadt, Donaueschingen, and Cologne to aesthetic autonomy, which rejected any political or propagandist engulfment of its music and which accepted the legacy of the Nazi-persecuted "Entartete Musik" ("degenerated music"), that provided new confidence in the German postwar music and accessed the enormous resources of the broadcasting corporations in Cologne (WDR), Frankfurt (HR), Hamburg (NDR), Bremen (RB), Munich (BR), Baden-Baden (SWF), and Berlin (SFB and RIAS).

The German Democratic Republic (GDR), however, also discovered the Nordic countries as important partners and converted especially Norway into a field of competition between the rivaling systems in Bonn and East Berlin.<sup>84</sup> But Norway not only shared an international boarder with the Soviet Union, a NATO opponent, but also a history as victim of National Socialism.<sup>85</sup> The deportation of more than 100,000 Soviet prisoners of war to Nazi-occupied Norway offered the GDR an opportunity to rely on this anti-fascist friendship. The FRG's international claim to the sole representation of Germany resulted in the diplomatic isolation of the GDR until the early 1970s. Therefore, East Berlin eagerly pursued a Scandinavian agenda including "crypto-diplomatic activities".<sup>86</sup> In consequence, the Baltic Sea served as a means of creating a collective identity through cultural work,<sup>87</sup> secret service-monitored friendship societies and

exchange programs. One example for this endeavor is the town twinning between the Hanseatic cities of Bergen and Rostock in 1965.<sup>88</sup>

While research on music in the Soviet Occupied Zone of East Germany (1945-49) and its successor the GDR so far has mainly focused on power structures, aesthetic issues, the persecution of artists within the country and the GDR's competition with the FRG,<sup>89</sup> historical studies on foreign policy and diplomacy towards the North have so far hardly included aspects of art and culture.<sup>90</sup> A few topics, however, can be summarized that characterize the first decades before the East German regime manifested its totalitarian claim to power unmistakably in 1961 by building the Berlin Wall.

1. *Grieg and the Nordic*. In 1947, forty years after Edvard Grieg's death, a considerable appreciation of his music becomes apparent in East Germany. In order to keep up the idealized perception from the pre-war and war years of Grieg as a master of musical landscapes and to adapt it to the guidelines of Russian-Soviet cultural policy, a comparison was drawn to Mikhail Glinka (1804-1857), who had developed an "intuitively grasped Russian style".<sup>91</sup> With reference to Grieg's student years in Leipzig his music was attributed with a persistent "fresh" and "vigorous" quality, especially when considering his *Peer Gynt*-suites and various of his *Lyrical Pieces*, although some traits of his art were thought "too soft and emotional for present times" ("zu weiche, gefühlsselige Züge seiner Kunst").

The culture policy of the young GDR came to a head after the workers' uprising of 17 June 1953. Although two years later the FRG joined the NATO and the Warsaw Pact was signed, the official view of Grieg as a representative of Norwegian culture remained unchanged in the years to come.<sup>92</sup> In this context two trips to Germany that Olav Gurvin undertook in the 1960s are of interest: First, he traveled to Kiel in 1963, where he was in contact with Walter Wiora and the young Carl Dahlhaus and gave a lecture on the relationship between German and Norwegian music (*Über Beziehungen zwischen deutscher und norwegischer Musik*).<sup>93</sup> In 1965 when this essay was printed in the series *Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft*, Gurvin also accepted an invitation by Hella Brock in Greifswald, who at that time had not yet actively participated in Norwegian music research.<sup>94</sup>

2. *Exchanging musicians*. Considering articles printed in GDR daily newspapers as a starting point of how cultural diplomacy and musical exchange with Norway were handled in practice, it is not only easy to understand how seriously the GDR leadership took its close contact with the North as a political field. But, the use for specific political goals can also be made out, with a preference for moderate styles, light music, youth work and commitment to activities in the province. In particular articles are dealing with folk dance groups, music corps and classical musicians such as the violinist Ørnulf Boye-Hansen, the composer Tore Sinding, the conductor Sverre Bruland, the tenor Egil Forstmann, the pianist Kjell Bækkelund and the musicologist Lennart Knudsen,<sup>95</sup> who were guests in the GDR. Occasionally return visits are mentioned, for example when Soviet artists traveled to Norway in 1954,<sup>96</sup> Götz Friedrich from the Komische Oper Berlin reported on his work in Denmark and Norway in 1970<sup>97</sup> and the Berliner Ensemble made a Brecht guest performance in 1974 at the XXII International Festival in Bergen.<sup>98</sup> Jazz also had its place in this concept, but not with artists who are commonly associated with a spe-

cifically “Nordic tone” (e.g. Einar Iversen, Jan Garbarek, Mari Boine and Nils Petter Molvær). This confirms the impression from the field of contemporary music that modern western and avant-garde currents were too contrary to the doctrine of socialist realism.<sup>99</sup> The overwhelming amount of popular music used for propaganda concentrated on light entertainment (“Schlager”), for which the towns of Stralsund, Bad Doberan and Rostock, all located on the Baltic Sea coast of the administrative area of Mecklenburg, were considered bridgeheads on the “Sea of Peace”.<sup>100</sup> Often embedded in the supporting program of the “Baltic Sea Week” (“Ostseewoche”)<sup>101</sup> which was held annually from 1958 onwards, and featured with TV programs like “Klock acht, achtern Strom” an international field of participants – among them the Norwegian singers Kirsti Sparboe, Wencke Myhre and Torill Ravnas – competed at the “Song Festival of the Baltic States” (“Liederfest der Ostseeländer”),<sup>102</sup> which was held for the first time in 1961 in direct rivalry to Western European events such as the Grand Prix Eurovision.

If one thought could summarize what “transforming the Nordic” meant historically, one could turn to music for its exceptional qualities representing the continuities and changes in the Norwegian-German relations: the ideological occupation of the “Nordic” for myths of racial supremacy in the 1920s and 1930s, the defense of a specific Norwegian cohesion by means of musical resistance, the decontamination of “Germanic” culture during the era of Willy Brandt as a new kind of politician symbolizing experiences of exile and anti-fascist resistance, the first public debates about German supporters of the Shoah in coincidence with the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem in 1961 and the beginning of legal proceedings against Nazi criminals in the Auschwitz-trials (1963-65), with instigator Fritz Baur in Frankfurt a.M.

A different chapter in this saga of de- and re-politicized culture with “Nordic” content and international impact was contributed by music itself, but for the first time not in the tradition of Edvard Grieg, but rooted in popular music. For successful Pop from Nordic countries, such as Abba from Sweden and A-ha from Norway, an explicit “Nordic” identity was much less important than the ambition to meet the international musical standards that were set in the Anglo-American world.

After the end of the Nazi-occupation in Denmark and Norway an ideological understanding of “Nordic” continued to exist parallel to the original cultural understanding. But only at the moment, when openly fascist, neo-pagan, satanic or other extremist movements entered youth culture and formed a coalition with rock and metal sounds, these tendencies became visible outside of the underground scene in the early 1990s. Pioneers among Norwegian Black Metal-bands are the well-know examples *Burzum* and *Mayhem*, but with a striking difference regarding their fusion of “Nordic” ideology and music: In contrast to Nazi-musicians of the first generation such as Per Reidarson the alignment to the “Nordic” was not implemented by references to traditions of folk music. Instead, the eclectic collage of elements from the Nordic sagas referred to Odin and the heritage of ancient myths in modern sounds as deliberate resistance against the adult world with a state church and the culture of social-democratic consensus in a Nordic welfare state.<sup>103</sup>



When bands such as *Einherjer*, *Satyricon*, *Enslaved*, *Heilung* and *Wardruna* began to fuse elements of folk and metal successfully with inspirations from Nordic mythology since the mid 1990s the unsettled terminological haziness of the “Nordic”, existing since the 1920s, sometimes could become problematic. Yet the flirt of Vidkun Quisling’s regime with folklore and traditional folk music including post-war consequences is still waiting for a thorough investigation.<sup>104</sup> With both scenes resorting to the same myths, sagas, pagan rituals and folk elements, it is difficult sometimes to tell pure artistic and folklore motivations apart from ideological radicalizations. A striking example for a resulting misreading was the shocked reaction of the Norwegian folk singer Helene Bøksle when she had to learn in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in Oslo and on the small island of Utøya on 22 July 2011 that assassinator Anders Behring Breivik was a devoted fan of hers.<sup>105</sup> Naturally, art is free to leave the audience without an explanation and to find its own interpretation. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to see how and where the complex, rich and sometimes contradictory history of the “Nordic” will live on in music.

## Notes

- 1 NAN, RA/S-2057/2/E/Eb/L0001/0011 *Regjeringens informasjonskontor London. Film: Art in Exile*.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid., folder *Norwegian Government Film Unit – Survey of Productions to 1st November, 1943*.
- 4 A recording is accessible without further explanation at the internet archive under [https://archive.org/details/78\\_vi-vill-os-et-land-song-of-freedom\\_gunnar-martin-keynote-orchestra-zion-norw-lut\\_gbia8002393/01+-+JA%2C+VI+ELSKER+-+KEYNOTE+ORCHESTRA+-+Zion+Norw.+Luth.+Chorus.flac](https://archive.org/details/78_vi-vill-os-et-land-song-of-freedom_gunnar-martin-keynote-orchestra-zion-norw-lut_gbia8002393/01+-+JA%2C+VI+ELSKER+-+KEYNOTE+ORCHESTRA+-+Zion+Norw.+Luth.+Chorus.flac) (11 March 2021).
- 5 [https://www.loc.gov/newspapers/?all=true&c=50&dates=1940-1949&fa=subject\\_ethnicity:norwegian&st=list](https://www.loc.gov/newspapers/?all=true&c=50&dates=1940-1949&fa=subject_ethnicity:norwegian&st=list) (11 March 2021).
- 6 Orbital for Eric Bernay, in: *New York Times*, 5 November 1968, p. 44.
- 7 Cf. [https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb\\_lydsikringkopi\\_6347](https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_lydsikringkopi_6347) and [https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb\\_lydsikringkopi\\_6040](https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_lydsikringkopi_6040) (11 March 2021).
- 8 Hans Fredrik Dahl, article *Gunnar Nygaard*, in: *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (2009), [https://nbl.snl.no/Gunnar\\_Nygaard](https://nbl.snl.no/Gunnar_Nygaard) (11 March 2021).
- 9 A keyword search for “Gladys Petch” at [www.nb.no](http://www.nb.no) displayed 275 different contributions (11 March 2021).
- 10 Ruben Jarkstedt, “*Norges stemme*” høres av 2 millioner amerikanske lyttere, in: *Sarpsborg Arbeiderblad*, 11 April 1946, p. 3: “Nyhetene om krigen i Skandinavia ble gitt i konsentrert form. Det var meget å berette om tyskeres nedrige overfall og Norges tapre motstand. De første programmene, som ble sendt ut over en kringkastingstasjon i New York, hadde strengt informatorisk karakter. De forholdsregler som ble tatt av den norske regjeringen i forbindelse med den norske skipsfarten utenfor den tyske barrieren ble klarlagt. Det ble også sendt pr. kortbølge for sjøfolk ombord i norsk skip. Etter hvert programmene økte i omfang ble amerikanerne interessert i ‘The Spirit of the Vikings’, som serien ble kalt. Snart bestemte 80 kringkastingstasjoner seg til å sende programmet, så 115 stasjoner, så 160 spredt over hele det amerikanske kontinent. Sommeren 1945 sendte ca. 250 stasjoner programmene, og antall lyttere ble anmeldt til 5 mill. Og programmene bredte seg videre, til Kanada, Australia, New Zealand, Alaska og Island. Alle tilgjengelige ‘talenter’ ble brukt til å fortelle om Norges kamp – sjøfolk, flygere og høye embetsmenn som var på visitt. Norsk folkemusikk ble populær i internasjonal målestokk, og en hørte stemmene til kong Haakon, kronprins Olav, kronprinsesse Märtha, Sigrid Undset, Karl Evang og andre kjente nordmenn.” (Translation by the author.)
- 11 Howard Taubman, *Records: Songs of Norway’s Fighting Men*, in: *New York Times*, 6 September 1942, Section X, p. 6.
- 12 Ezra Goodman, *Norway to Monterey*, in: *New York Times*, 27 September 1942, section X, p. 3.

- 13 Michael Fischer, *Religion, Nation, Krieg. Der Lutherchoral "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott" zwischen Befreiungskriegen und Erstem Weltkrieg* [= *Populäre Kultur und Musik* 11], Münster 2014, p. 67.
- 14 Halvdan Koht, *Den gamle salme "Vår Gud han er så fast en borg"*, diktet i en tid som ligner våre dager, in: *Nordisk Tidende*, 22 October 1942, title page and p. 16: "Tyrkernes framgang satte hele Europa i redsel, og det reiste seg et rop om at hele kristenheten måtte reise seg til enig motstand. Den indre stridigheter mellom land og land eller katolikker og protestanter måtte vike for den felles fare. I denne situasjonen vat det Luther diktet 'Vår Gud han er så fast en borg'. [...] Og slik som han sang den da ville vantro stormet fram og ville bryte med kristend folkeliv, slik synger vi den idag i trass mot hjertehårde, nådeløse fiender som vil knekke alt det helligste for oss, – synger den i et ukuelig håp om seier." (Translation by the author.)
- 15 A short biography of Helmut Dantine can be found at the International Movie Database, [https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0200626/bio?ref\\_=nm\\_ov\\_bio\\_sm](https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0200626/bio?ref_=nm_ov_bio_sm) (13 March 2021).
- 16 A complete transcription of Churchill's speech can be found at numerous places on the internet, for example cf. <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/churchill-broadcast-regarding-his-meeting-with-roosevelt-august-1941> (14 March 2021).
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Tom Kristiansen, *The Norwegian War Experience – Occupied and Allied*, in: *Nordic War Stories. World War II as History, Fiction, Media, and Memory*, edit. by Marianne Stecher-Hansen, New York and Oxford 2021, p. 49: "In a speech in September 1942, the American wartime leader President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked rhetorically if anyone was still wondering why the war was being fought. His answer – 'Let him look to Norway' - instantly became one of the most celebrated passages in Norwegian history and has been proudly referred to ever since."
- 19 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 11 April 1943, p. 11.
- 20 Note *Anti-Nazi Film Barred*, in: *New York Times* 26 September 1943, section L, p. 35.
- 21 Bosley Crowther, "Edge of Darkness," *Melodrama of Norway, With Errol Flynn, Opens at Strand*, in: *New York Times*, 10 April 1943, section L, p. 12.
- 22 <https://tv.nrk.no/serie/atlantic-crossing> (14 March 2021).
- 23 *NRK gir serene en grunnleggende usann fortelling om krigen*, comment by Tom Kristiansen and Tore Rem, 17 November 2020, <https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kronikk/i/86BQr2/nrk-gir-seerne-en-grunnleggende-usann-fortelling-om-krigen> (14 March 2021): "I virkeligheten skjemmes *Atlantic Crossing* ikke bare av en mengde faktafeil. Den formidler en grunnleggende usann fortelling om krigen. [...] Summen av alle småfeilene skaper en forvrengt versjon av det historiske forløpet. Men serieskapernes historiefortolkning er viktigere. Hva med selve hovedideen, at Märtha var mye mer betydningsfull enn vi har trodd? [...] Seriens fremstilling av forholdet mellom kongen, kronprinsen og regjeringen, samt utformingen av norsk krigs- og alliansepolitikk, inneholder graverende desinformasjon. [...] I det hele tatt er det vanskelig å akseptere at kongen og kronprinsen blir gjort til rekvisitter i seriemakernes krigsfantasier, på tvers av all kunnskapen vi har om deres virkelige roller. [...] At Norge tildeles en hovedrolle i den store verdenskrigen, er pinlig provinsielt. Vel er det typisk norsk å være god. Men så gode var vi ikke, at det var våre kongelige som fikk USA med på de alliertes side og endret historiens gang." (Translation by the author.)
- 24 Marianne Hauser, *The Secret War, a review of "The Edge Of Darkness" by William Woods*, in: *The New York Times Book Review*, 12 April 1942, p. 6.
- 25 Karsten Roedder, *Forfatteren av "The Edge of Darkness" kjenner Norge gjenneom norsk litteratur*, in: *Norsk Tidende*, 2 July 1942, title page.
- 26 Cf. [http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb\\_lydsikringkopi\\_6248](http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_lydsikringkopi_6248) and [http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb\\_lydsikringkopi\\_6343](http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_lydsikringkopi_6343) (15 March 2021).
- 27 Richard Ouzounian, booklet notes to *Song of Norway. Music of Edvard Grieg. Adaptation and lyrics by Robert Wright & George Forrest. Original Cast Recordings 1944-45* for DECCA 29162/7 in album DA 382, re-released by Naxos 8.120879 (2009). Several recordings are documented at Discogs, cf. for example <https://www.discogs.com/de/Edvard-Grieg-Song-Of-Norway-release/12255334> (15 March 2021).
- 28 Ibid. and Sam Zolotow, "Song of Norway" *Arriving Tonight. Operetta on Life of Grieg to Open at the Imperial – Irra Petina in Broadway Debut*, in: *New York Times*, 21 August 1944, p. 9.
- 29 Sam Zolotow, "Song of Norway" *will open Aug. 21*, in: *New York Times*, 4 August 1944, p. 10; Mark A. Schubart, *Behind Norway's Song. A Few Notes About Edwin Lester and Broadway's Latest Operetta*, in: *New York Times*, 3 September 1944, section X, p. 1.
- 30 Note *Crown Princess at Show. Martha With Party of Norwegians Attends "Song of Norway"*, in: *New York Times*, 1 September 1944, p. 11.

- 31 Lewis Nichols, *The Play*. "Song of Norway", in: *New York Times*, 22 August 1944, p. 20.
- 32 Lewis Nichols, *End of Summer. The New Operetta*, "Song of Norway", *Closes a Dreary Time for the Theatre*, in: *New York Times*, 27 August 1944, section X, p. 1.
- 33 Note *Crown Princess at Show. Martha With Party of Norwegians Attends "Song of Norway"*, in: *New York Times*, 1 September 1944, p. 11.
- 34 Directed by Andrew L. Stone for ABC Pictures, [https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0066393/?ref\\_=fn\\_al\\_tt\\_1](https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0066393/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1) (15 March 2021).
- 35 Cf. Hans Åstrand, article *Moses Pergament* (2001), in: *Oxford Music Online*, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21321> and Henrik Rosengren, article *Moses Pergament* (2005), in: *MGG Online*, <http://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/52271> (18 March 2021).
- 36 MTS, *Moses Pergament-Papers A747*, # 5694 Vol. 6, folder *Den judiska sången. Texter m.m.*, undated document with handwritten corrections to a short biography, probably for a concert program. Cf. <https://calmview.musikverk.se/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&tid=A747> (31 March 2021).
- 37 Ibid.: "I Moses Pergaments musik finns arvet från två musikkulturer – den judiska och den nordiska. Ungdomsåren i Helingsfors medförde naturligtvis god förtrogenhet med den judisk-musikaliska traditionen och i synnerhet med den synagogale musiken. Hans tematiska material bär ofta spår av den hebreiska kanten och den personliga behandlingen av Bibel-recitationens melismer genomsyrar hela hans musikaliska produktion. Pergaments melodik, såväl den vokala som den instremantala, är starkt rotad i denna uråldriga vokaltradition." (Translation by the author.)
- 38 Program notes for a suite from *Den Judiska Sången*, 9 March 1955, Stockholm Concert Hall, in: MTS, *Moses Pergament-Papers A747*, # 5694 Vol. 6 *Den judiska sången*.
- 39 Åhlén, *Moses Pergament*, p. 138.
- 40 Gunnar Larsson, *Moses Pergaments "Den Judiska Sången"*, in: *Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Årsskrift*, Stockholm 1979, pp. 28-40, here p. 35.
- 41 Åhlén, *Moses Pergament*, p. 135.
- 42 Letter from Ivar Schachtel to Moses Pergament, 26 February 1945, in: MTA, *Moses Pergament-Papers A747*, # 5694 Vol. 6 *Den judiska sången*.
- 43 Letter from Pauline Hall to Moses Pergament, 26 November 1947, in: *ibid.*: "Jeg sender i dag deg Dagblad hvor jeg har skrevet om 'den judiska sången'. Egentlig skulle jeg har skrevet mer fra rent musikalisk-tekniske synspunkt, men på den annen side har jeg villet vekke den alminnelige leseres interesse, ikke utelukkend musikernes. Det gjalt også saken for meg. Jå håper jeg Du selv er fornøyd så noenlunde med det jeg har skrevet. Det med Barber og Bartok er, som Du forstår av sammenhengen, bare en rettleiding for leseren med hensyn til klang og musikalsk syn, ellers føler jeg meg så hjelpeløs når jeg skal skrive om musikk og forklare hvordan den klinger osv." (Translation by the author.)
- 44 Pauline Hall, *Moses Pergaments Kor-symfoni "Den judiska sången"*. *Et musikalisk storverk*, in: *Dagbladet*, 22 November 1947, in: *ibid.*, Vol. 6, folder *Den judiska sången. Klipp*: "I den tiden som er gått siden krigens slutt, har en hørt en del verker som har gitt uttrykk for følelser krigen vakte til live, eller som har prøvd å skildre hendinger og minner fra de harde årene. Men jeg vet ikke om noe verk – før Moses Pergaments korsymfoni – som er sprunget så direkte ut av sinnets lidenskapelige, våndefulle opplevelse av den største tragedien krigsårene førte med seg, ikke noe verk som er løst ut av fortvilelsen over en skjensel som er så aldeles uopprettelig. Her gir en komponist som selv tilhører det jødiske folket, et utsyn over set som hendte, men ikke bare det – han gir også glimt av sitt folks historie, av dets sinnelag i gode og onde tider. Og han gjør det i et tonespråk som vel heves til rystende anklager, men som aldri klynker, aldri får en dråpe av noe som ligner sentimentalitet inn sin klang. [...] Moses Pergament er modernist, en av dem som har en fast holdning og et overbevist musikalsk syn, det en må bøye seg for i respekt enten en nå deler det eller ikke. Atonalist er han ikke, men hans oppfatning av tonalitet og linjespill og grunnlaget for oppbygningen av harmonier er djervt og dristig uten å bryte med selve tonalitetsprinsippet, og gir mange av korsymfoniens avsnitt et eiendommelig tvelys som virker umiddelbart fengslende. Når jeg nevner navn som Samuel Barber og Bartok er det for å antyde retningen slik at en har noen små holdepunkter for sin forsøk på musikalsk karakteristikk. For Moses Pergament beveger seg i en rik fantasiverden som er hans eget eie." (Translation by the author.)
- 45 David Monod, *Settling Scores. German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945-1953*, Chapel Hill and London 2005; Andreas Linsenmann, *Musik als politischer Faktor. Konzepte, Intentionen und Praxis französischer Umerziehungs- und Kulturpolitik in Deutschland 1945-1949/50*, Tübingen 2010; Custodis and Geiger, *Netzwerke der Entnazifizierung*.

- 46 Cf. Gerhard Krüger, article *Normung*, in: *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie*, Vol. 7, Stuttgart et al. 1961, p. 618.
- 47 Cf. Georg Henrik von Wright, *Norm and Action. A Logical Enquiry*, New York 1963.
- 48 H. Hofmann und W. H. Schrader, article *Norm*, in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* 11, Basel 2001, p. 616.
- 49 Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit. Eine Theorie der Wissenssoziologie*, Frankfurt am Main 1980, p. 152 and Klaus Hurrelmann, *Einführung in die Sozialisierungstheorie*, Weinheim et al. 2002.
- 50 Cf. for example *Norges Demring* Nr. 16, 25 March 1945 with the article *En korrekt holdning – Ki-noen*.
- 51 *Norges Demring*, 25 January 1945, p. 1 (Translation by the author.): “En ung patriot har formet dette kampropet og omsatt det i poesi. Dette er et kamprop for hele det norske folk idag. Det er rettet mot framtiden, men krever pågangsmot og offervilje i den nåværende situasjon. Kampropet forplikter. Ingen vil stå igjen når det kreves: Gå på! Dette er kanskje ikke aktuelt for alle idag. Men det øyeblikk kan komme, og det gjelder å være moralsk forberedt. Vi gjengir fra originalmanuskriptet:  
 Se Fram!  
 Hör da jeger, Norges nye kamprop gjaller:  
 Se fram! Gå på!  
 Det er deg og meg det nye kamprop kaller!  
 Det er deg og meg det gjelder nå.
- Hör da jeger, i hvert klokkeklemt som klinger.  
 Se fram! Gå på!  
 Det er seirens budskap klokken til oss bringer.  
 Det er deg og meg hver klokke ringer på.
- Gå da jeger til den siste store prøve.  
 S E F R A M ! G Å P Å !  
 Vis at der er klör igjen på Norges gamle löve,  
 Husk at det er deg og meg den stoler på!”
- 52 Björn Stallare, *Fløytisten og Gestapomannen, tjente på Mozart, Haydn, Hitler*, in: *Nordisk Tidende*, 1 February 1945, title page, continued on page 7.
- 53 Ibid.: “Han var en ypperlig musiker. Og et beskjedent menneske. Stillferdig, smådrømmende, med et godt smil. Det var ikke lenge før han hadde venner i Oslo, særlig da blant kunstnere, og det varte heller ikke lenge før han slo seg ordentlig til ro i byen, med leilighet og kone og barn. Og så snakket han så vakkert om Mozart og Haydn når han var hos venner og venner kom til ham. I grunnen var han visst laget av et altfor skjørt materiale for denne verden. Dette robuste albu er ligger ikke nettopp for fløytister. [...] Kombinasjonen er jo ganske pussig: Haydn og Himmeler. [...] Det viste seg snart etter invasjonen at han ikke hadde ligget på latsiden. Han hadde vært en effektiv og systematisk Gestapomann. Rett som det var ble folk han hadde hatt omgang med arrestert og tatt i forhør, han hadde gjerne en liten finger borti det meste. Det kom av det lokale kjennskapet hans, han visste hva hver enkelt tenkte om politikk, visste åssen det så ut hjemme i leiligheten, kjente kone og barn, visste hva de pleide lese, hva de likte til middag. Kunne gjøre seg opp en mening om den eller den var sannsynlig som aktivt medlem av unnergrunnsbevegelsen. Siden forhør ble nevnt: han introduserte noe nytt i faget. Han pleide kommandere ofrene ned på gulvet med magen opp. Så satte han seg på magen og begynte å spørre. Og kom ikke rette svaret, husket han behagelig opp og ned. Kom ikke det rette svar da heller, reiste han seg og hoppet litt på magen, inntil den kanskje ikke talte mere. Det å hoppe på magen til gamle venner er en yndet Gestapo-sport. Men nå er han altså død. Han ble advart nå og da, men vilde ikke oppføre seg ordentlig allikevel. Så gikk det som det gikk. Han døde forresten i en pen bygd, Haugsbygd liker oppe på Ringerike og ikke langt fra Oslo. Men han var vel så opptatt med å skyte at han ikke fikk tid til å beundre noe før det endelig ble svart omkring ham. Barna i nabolaget der han bodde i Oslo ville selvfølgelig ikke leke med Gestapo-ynglet. De heilet Hitler og var meget rasebevisste. Det siste en av de norske lekekameratene sat til en av dem før han strøk sin kos, var dette her: Hva skal dere gjøre for noe når tyskerne har tappt krigen? Da sier far at vi skal reise til Amerika i ubåt, bæda, svarte vesle frøken Schüttauf. Så det var jo godt for Amerika at han strøk med. Ellers

- kunne han kanskje dukket opp utenfor Frihetsstatuen en dag, med fløyta under armen og stillferdig smil i ansiktet og anbefalingskrivelser til New York orkestrene. Mozart og Haynd og Himmeler og Schüttauf.” (Translation by the author.)
- 54 Article about Olav Gurvin's demand to boycott the music of Nazi-collaborators, in: *Sarpen*, 16 February 1946 (translation by the author): “Disse nazistiske komponistene har opptrådt slik i tyskertiden at de aldri mer kan bli ledende personligheter i norsk kultur. De har vært så store kultursvikere, de har fått sine landsmenns foreakt i den grad at de aller fleste av oss uvilkårlig vil overføre noe av disse følelsene på deres kunstverker. David Monrad Johansen har fått sin dom av myndighetene – 5 ½ år fengsel – og det sier tilstrekkelig. Per Reidarson som var ‘musikkmedarbeider i regjeringsorganet’, hoppet over til nazistene allerede en av de første dagene etter at tyskerne var kommet til landet, meldte seg inn i NS, og stilte seg straks til disposisjon for de nye makthavere og ble medarbeider i ‘Fritt Folk’. Høsten 1940 gikk han inn i det nazistiske kulturråd sammen med David Monrad Johansen og Geirr Tveit. Den siste var formann i kulturrådet og ble nazistenes ‘riksmusikkonsulent’. Reidarson delte også i den store propaganda-konkurransen og vant førstepremien på 10.000 kroner med sitt skuespill ‘Siste skrik’. Jøssingene gjorde alt de kunne for å hinder at dette makkverket ble oppført på Nasjonalteatret, hvor gode norske skuespillere skulle tvinges til å spille det, og teaterbrannen ble påsatt for å hindre oppførelsen. I disse krigsårene har vi opplevd så meget nazistiske styggedom, mange har lidt forferdelig her hjemme, og fra de tyske fangeleirene er det rullet opp så meget fælt at vi føler en dyp og inderlig assky for nazismen og alt dens vesen. Når en da vet at en komposisjon er skapt av en mann som stilte seg i fiendens tjeneste og gikk inn for nazismen, så vil de aller fleste forbinde verket med skaperen, og ubehagelige følelser melder seg. En reagerer uvilkårlig og mister mer eller mindre av kunstgleden. Det ødelegger kunstopplevelsen. En kan ikke holde kunstneren og hans verk fra hverandre når vi har nazitiden så nær inn på livet. En som oppfører en nazikomposisjon, vil også risikere at publikum ikke vil finne seg i det, og det kan oppstå ubehageligheter. Det er vanskelig å si hvor lenge en slik boikott av de nazistiske komponisters verker skal vare. Så vidt jeg vet har ingen av kunstnerorganisasjonene tatt noen bestemmelse om det. Ett er iallfall sikkert nazistbøkene er gått ut av bokhandelen, nazimalerne får ikke være med på utstillinger osv. Derfor må også de nazistiske komposisjonene gå ut av repertoaret. I Oslo og på mange andre steder er nok dette allerede gjennomført, men det fins enkelte steder hvor man fremdeles, antagelig av uvitenhet, bruker slike verker. Så har vi dessuten to kjente komponister som døde i okkupasjonstiden, men som rotet seg bort i nazismen på sine gamle dager, nemlig Christian Sinding og Iver Holter. Disse var i 1940 henholdsvis 84 og 90 år, og den høye alder er et sterkt unnskyldende moment, selv om begge var fullstendig åndsfriske helt til det siste. Likevel er det mange som reagerer overfor verker av dem, ‘de var da nazister’, og det er vel derfor best ikke å bruke deres verker heller i den første tiden – iallfall ikke oppføre dem. Mens det er meget sannsynlig at disse komposisjoner om ikke så lenge både kan tåles og nytas av de aller fleste uten ubehagelige assosiasjoner.”
- 55 Gurvin and Anker, *Musikkleksikon*, p. 535.
- 56 *Nordisk Tidende*, 6 December 1945, p. 11, *En av Norges store komponister, Monrad-Johansen, fikk 5 ½ års tvangsarbeid for høforræderi*: “Ved sine handlinger har han fortsetlig ydet fienden bistand. Da han meldte seg inn i NS, og særlig da han i sin artikkel om den norske legion forherliget frontinnsatsen på tysk side, måtte han være klar over at hans navn var en god propaganda for NS, og at han derved ydet NS, og dermed også fienden, en stor tjeneste. Monrad-Johansen hadde gjort gjeldende at motivene til hans handlemåte måtte søkes i hans store musikkinteresse, men retten fant ikke at dette kunne tjene som unnskyldning for den skade han hadde tilføyd sitt fedreland. Monrad-Johansen begjærte betenkningstid. Under rettsforhøret var tilhørerbenene merkelig tynt besatt. Monrad-Johansen virket tydelig sjener av den interesse han samlet hos fotografene, og så ikke ut til å sette særlig pris på publisitet. [...] Statsadvokaten leste bl. a. opp en artikkel av tiltalte, hvor han refset det norske folk i stringe ord og spør: ‘Hvor lenge skal vi stene våre profeter?’ Komponisten så svært betenkt ut ved denne konfrontasjonen med ‘gamle dager’. Det ble ikke bedre da statsadvokaten leste opp en propagandaartikkel hvor tiltalte kaller Norske Legion for Norges stolthet. Monrad-Johansen har også vært innmeldt i SS og har betalt kontingent der, – i den hensikt lettere å kunne reise til Tyksland. Bland de inkalte vitnene var Ingeborg Refling Hagen og Eyvind Groven.” (Translation by the author.)
- 57 Fidjestøl, *Lyden av Oslo*, p. 169.
- 58 NAN, RA/PA-1248/E/Ea/L0004 *Ustvedt correspondence*, folder *Korrespondanse med Kunstnere, 1942-73* with letters and postcards from David Monrad Johansen to Ustvedt on 24 November 1958, 5 September 1962 and 12 September 1964.

- 59 Ustvedt's papers enclose several newspaper clippings, often undated, that document his participation in numerous panels and boards. Cf. for example the article *Hjemmefrontens sivile ledelse holder det første samlede møte*, probably from June 1945, about a meeting of 150 representatives from Tromsø, Harstad, Narvik, Bodø, Trondheim, Kristiansund, Molde, Ålesund, Høyanger, Bergen, Haugesund, Stavanger, Kristiansand, Skien, Arendal, Notodden, Larvik, Tønsberg, Drammen, Ål, Lillehammer, Hamar, Gjøvik, Eidsvoll, Kongsvinger, Fredrikstad and Oslo. The participants included "For juristene: Advokatene Finn Arnesen, Erik Poulason, C. A. Gulbranson; For prestene: Conrad Bonnevie Svendsen, Alex Johnson, Arne Fjelberg; For den høyere skole: Lektorerne Nygaard og Magnus Jensen; For folkeskolene: Arne Okkenhaug, Kåre Norum, Frieda Dalen; For ingeniørene: Overingeniør C. F. Mathiesen; For lægene: Dr. Hans Jacob Ustvedt; Dr. Ole Malm, Overlæge Peter M. Holst, Overlæge Olaf Bang; For landbrukt: Konsulent Reidar Tønnesson; For det faglige utvalg: Sekretærene Halfdan Jønsson og Frank Hansen; For industri og handel: Disponent Tor Skjønsberg og direktør Egil Effenberg; For offentlige og kommunale funksjonærer: Sekretærene Leif Hassel og Inge Seip, ingeniør Realf Ottesen, ekspedisjonsjef Andreas Schei; For de fri yrker: Redaktør Chr. A. R. Christensen; For Universitetet: Prorektor Jan Jansen. Dessuten møtte høyesterettsjustitiarius Pål Berg, høyesterettsdommer Ferndinand Schjelderup, direktør Gunnar Jahn og høyesterettsdommer Solem. Som gjestevær inbudt representanter fra Milorgs distriktsledelse." Ibid., RA/PA-1248/E/Ee/L0028-0004 *Diverse brev i Sverige-tiden*. Additionally cf. the article *Kjente menn i den norske undergrunnen tret nå fram i lyset*, in: *Nordisk Tidende*, 7 June 1945, p. 2: "Andre grener av kulturfronten: Sekretær i Oslo Journalistklubb Arne Falk, forfatter Claes Gill, journalist Ragner Kringlebotn, forlegger Henrik Groth, dr. Olav Gurvin, sekretær Fritz von der Lippe, [...] dr. Hans Jacob Ustvedt."
- 60 "På anmodning kan jeg bevitne at jeg i 1938 fikk kjennskap til at komponisten David Monrad-Johansen led av epilepsi. Jeg har utferdiget resept till ham på legemidler mot denne sykdom, og det var mitt inntrykk an han kunde ha ganske svære anfall." Medical certificate by Dr. med. Hans Jacob Ustvedt, dated 18 July 1945, in: NAN, Landssviksarkivet, D/Da/L0178: Dommer, 1945-1948, *David Monrad Johansen*.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Cf. Hansen, *Mot fedrenes fjell*, chapter 13.
- 63 Ibid., letter from Jon Simonsen to Brynjulf Bull, 13 July 1946: "Jeg tillater meg herved på vegne av David Monrad Johansens å søke om utsettelse til 1/9 d.å. med fullbyrdelsen av dommen over ham. Begrunnelsen er følgende: Han har siden løslatelsen i våres arbeidet intenst med fullførelsen av et meget stort musikkverk – et variasjonsverk i flere satser, som han ikke er blitt ferdig med. Det er avgitt en uttalelse til meg som bekrefter at han er beskjeftiget med et slikt verk, at dette er av meget betydelige dimensjoner og er et av de betydeligste verker han har arbeidet med. Denne uttalelse er undertegnet av Ingeborg Refling Hagen, Henrik Sørensen, Else Christie Kielland, overlærer Johan Evje, musikkforlegger Sigurd Kielland og flere. Dessværre er denne skrivelse kommet bort, og jeg kan i dag ikke fremlegge den, og de nevnte personer er bortreist. Jeg er imidlertid så meget kjennskap til saken at jeg også personlig kan bevitne at han står midt oppe i fullførelsen av dette, som han betrakter som et av sine hovedverk." (Translation by the author.) Also a petition addressing King Håkon, dated 4 August 1947, asking for David Monrad Johansen's amnesty was not successful. Ibid.
- 64 Cf. for his situation inside the prison *ibid.*, pp. 468-469.
- 65 Letter from David Monrad Johansen to Kurt Atterberg, 27 April 1949, in: RMA, correspondence of Kurt Atterberg, ATO-3370: "Disse er skrevet under mit fengselophold hösten 1946. Dagen efter jeg så dig og din frue i teatret hørte både Broman og direktören for His Masters voice (Nordpress) sangene som var optatt på provisoriske plater. Nordpress var meget sterkt interessert og vilde gjerne tatt dem for sit selskap. Men så kom jo naturligvis denne velsignede politikum i veien der også. Men han forsiktet at 'for os her i Sverige spiller det absolut ingen rolle', men det var en engelske direktör som hadde de endelige avgjørelse og dagen efter fikk vi da også beskjed om at han hadde sagt nei. England hadde vært i krig o.s.v. Men der var vakt så stor interesse at 'sange-ne' allikevel blev optatt med en orntlig indspilling på privat initiativ og det blev gjort etpar dager efter av Radiotjänst på Akademien. Om 14 dager skulde platene være ferdige. Jeg vilde så veldig [?] gjerne du skulde hört dem og jeg håper det vil skjer engang." (Translation by the author.)
- 66 Styreprotokoll Musikselskabet Harmonien Bergen, HA, meeting on 30 May 1945: "Flere medlemmer besluttetes å suspendere av foreningen inntil videre (karantene). Nermere undersøkelser vedr. disse pågår. Ang. disse siste tør en anmode om Deres uttalelse vedr. følgende: Hvilke rettigheter taper disse medlemmer under en suspensjon? Taper de bl.a. retten til forsikringsbidrag unders suspensjonstiden, f.ex. begravelsesbidrag (forbundets og vår forenings). Spørsmålet har

- vært forelagt jurist, som under tvil uttaler at under forutsetning at kontingenten for disses vedk. utgår i suspensjonstiden skulde vel også retten til begravelsebidragene utgå.” (Translation by the author.)
- 67 ARBARK, AAB/ARK-1671/D/Db/0001 *Norsk Musikerforbund. Bergen Musikerforening*, letter from Bergens Musikerforening to the Norsk Musikerforbund, 14 May 1945: “Følgende musikere ble ved fredsslutningen tilstillet brev fra ‘Harmonien’s styre, o, inntil videre å holde seg borte fra arbeidsplassen: Emil Baresel, 1 trompet, Victor Schuster, konsertmester, Fritz Hoffmann, 1 klarinett, Emil Mader, 1 bass, samtlige ikke medlemmer. Samt Paul Dittrich 1 oboe, Kurt Muller, solocellist, Kurt Hoen 2 horn, G. Behrschmitt, Trombone og Otto Haubold 1 fagott. Disse 5 siste er medlemmer. Som man vil se er tapet av disse viktige instrumenter, mege følelig for ‘Harmonien’s virke. Vi forsøker nu i første omgang å remplasere dem dels med våre medlemmer og dels med amatører. Dette kan til nød gjøres ved de to kommende planlagte konserter. Skulde ‘Harmonien’ finne ut at det bør holdes flere konserter i denne sesong, vi har 8-9 igjen ifølge avtalen, går vi ut fra ‘Harmonien’s styre eller kapelmester kommer med en henvendelse enten direkte til Norsk Musikerforbund eller gjennom vår forening, om å skaffe nye folk på disse instrumenter. I alle tilfeller må vi ha dem fra den nye sesong av. Nu har forøvrig bade oboisten Bjarne Larsen og klarrinnettisten Leif Christoffersen sagt seg op til fratredelse ved sesongens slutt, så her blir behov for nokså mange folk.”
- 68 HA, styreprotokoll Musikselskabet Harmonien Bergen, meeting on 16 May 1945.
- 69 Ibid.: “Der burde reist seg en storm av protester mot denne beslutning, – særlig hadde Bergens Musikerforenings styre vært energisk for å få omgjort beslutningen, slik at disse 3 kunne delta på nasjonaldagen, den 17. mai. Videre hadde advokat Olav Hatland på vegne av de 3 musikere innsendt en lengere skrivelse til Politimesteren, av hvilket brev kapellmester Heide hadde fått gjenpart. Advokaten krevet stands i orkestrets virksomhet hvis de 3 ikke ble gjeninntatt. Politimesteren la imidlertid skrivelsen hen og det ble ikke gitt musikkselskapet noe direktive.”
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Ibid.: “Dette brev var foranlediget ved henvendelser til ‘Harmonien’ fran Hjemmefrontens representanter i Bergen samme dag. De nevnte musikere var ikke ønsket og måtte fjernes fra sin virksomhet etter kontrakten med musikkselskapet, som straks foranlediget den tillyste prøve samme dag avlyst og ennvidere innstillet den til 10. mai annonserte konsert.” (Translation by the author.)
- 72 ARBARK, AAB/ARK-1671/D/Db/0001 *Norsk Musikerforbund. Bergen Musikerforening*.
- 73 HA, styreprotokoll Musikselskabet Harmonien Bergen, meeting on 4 July 1945: “Christoffersen bad på ny om ordet for å fremholde at man måtte behandle de suspenderte tyske musikere så lempelig som mulig, så de ikke fikk inntrykk av at de forlot sine stillinger i orkestrer som forbrytere. Forholdet er imidlertid av Harmonien oversendt myndighetene, da selskapet selv ikke har mandat til noen ordning med de suspenderte.” (Translation by the author.)
- 74 “Styret framhever imidlertid prinsipielt at ekskluderte N.S. medlemmer ikke må behandles mildere enn de forbundsmedlemmer som kun er suspendert for et begrenset tidspunkt. Til syvende og sist er det jo egentlig medlemsskapet i N.S. som må betraktes som landssvik.” (Translation by the author.) Letter of Norsk Musikerforbund to Bergens Musikerforening, 19 December 1945, in: ARBARK, AAB/ARK-1671/D/Db/0001 *Norsk Musikerforbund. Bergen Musikerforening*.
- 75 “Fritz Müller erholder foreløbig ikke ytterligere pensjon utbetalt idet man har grunn til å tro at hans forhold under okkupasjonen har vært unasjonalt, med mindre han kan bevise noe annet. Hans pensjon av teatrets pensjonsfond ble stoppet den 31. mai.” (Translation by the author.) HA, styreprotokoll Musikselskabet Harmonien Bergen, meeting on 1 June 1945.
- 76 “Vårt prinsipielle syn på saken er når en mann har tatt sin straf så bør der gis ham anledning til å leve livet pånytt. Der kan jo tas det forbehold at disse som da muligens etterhvert kommer inn i foreningen i et vist tidsrum ikke får belkæ tillitsposter innen foreningen. Vi er opmersksom på at der kan bli endel uretfærdighet i dette syn, idet folk som er suspendert for et visst tidsrum fremdeles holdes utenfor er skadelidende fremdeles. For å muligens skape en vei her, kunde det være en tanke å gi et amnesti for disse, hvor forholdene gjør det nødvendig og det er roendlig med tanken om å skape lettelse for de suspenderte.” (Translation by the author.) Letter of Bergens Musikerforening to the Norsk Musikerforbund, 7 February 1946, in: ARBARK, AAB/ARK-1671/D/Db/0001 *Norsk Musikerforbund. Bergen Musikerforening*.
- 77 Letter of the Norsk Musikerforbund to Bergens Musikerforening, 20 February 1946, *ibid.*: “Prinsipielt mener vi at en mann som har vært medlem av N.S. ikke kan optas som medlem i vår organisasjon på et tidligere tidspunkt en et medlem som er suspendert for unasjonal holdning. Det å ha vært medlem av N.S. må bedømes strengere. At riksadvokaten for Alf Steinar Kristiansen har besluttet påtaleunntatelse må da bero på at myndighetene sitte inne med opplysninger om

- Kristiansen som vi ikke kjenner til. Vi har også drøftet selve spørsmålet om N.S. medlemmers gjenopraking i organisasjon. Den meddeler at det i løpet av en 4 til 6 uker vil komme en melding om dette fra statsmyndighetene. – Det er imidlertid allerede en del N.S. medlemmer som har begynt i arbeide. Dette skjer da på den måte at vedkommende N.S. arbeider først må godkjennes av de han skal arbeide sammen med, av arbeidsgiveren. Blir han godkjennes av de han skal arbeide sammen med, av arbeidsgiveren. Blir han godkjent av disse skal saken godkjennes av forening, forbund, Arbeidernes fagl. Landsorganisasjon.” (Translation by the author.)
- 78 “Da vår ‘landsvikerkomite’ nu endelig skal ta til med arbeidet vil vi gjerne ha noen retningslinjer fra forbundet. Vi har hørt at der i Oslo er utstett spilleforbud for kortere eller lengere tid for de medlemmer som har vist unasjonlig holdning under krigen. Da jeg ikke kan finne at Landsorganisasjonen har noen regler for slikt vil vi være taknemlig for å få tilsendt de regler Oslo Musikerforening har brukt i slike høve, gjerne med eksemplar på slike saker.” (Translation by the author.) Letter of *Trondhjems Musikerforening* to the *Norsk Musikerforbund*, 4 September 1945, in: *ibid.*, AAB/ARK-1671/D/Db/0009. *Norsk Musikerforbund – Lokale Foreninger (Trondheim)*.
- 79 Letter of *Stavanger Musikerforening* to the *Norsk Musikerforbund*, 23 mai 1945, in: *ibid.*, AAB/ARK-1671/D/Db/0007 *Norsk Musikerforbund. Lokale Foreninger*: “Vi vil herved på vegne av styret i Stavanger Musikerforening få sende forbundstyret vår hjerteligste hilsen og gratulasjon i anledning freden og befrielsen. Vi har mottatt brev om eksklusjon av upålitelige medlemmer og vi vil underrette Dem så snart eksklusjonene er bragt helt i orden. Der er nemlig noen uklare ting som først må bringes på det rene.” (Translation by the author.)
- 80 Letter of *Norsk Musikerforbund* to *Bergens Musikerforening*, 7 June 1946, in: *ibid.*, AAB/ARK-1671/D/Db/0001 *Norsk Musikerforbund. Bergen Musikerforening*: “I henhold til vedtaket av Kongressen skal gjenopptakingen av tidligere N.S. medlemmer avgjøres av A.f.L.’s sekretariat. Dette blir selvfølgelig avhengig av den innstilling lokalforeningen og forbundetsstyret gir. Videre har Sekretariatet fastsatt sådanne almindelige regler: Vedkommende forbunds bestemmelser for gjenopptakingen av streikebrytere eller andre ekskluderte skal da gjølds gjeldende for disse, og det må fastsettes en gjenninntredelseavgift som bør være mellom kr. 25.- eller kr. 100.-. I henhold til vedtak på landsmøte i fjor er ny innskrivningskontingent minimum kr. 50.00. Forbundslovenes § 20, punkt f, sier videre ... ekskluderes det øyeblikkelig og taper alle rettigheter i organisasjonen. § 22, punkt c, sier ekskluderte medlem kan bare gjenoptas i forbundet etter godkjenning av styret for den lokalforening han er ekskludert fra og på de vilkår forbundetsstyret godkjenner. Vedkommende må opparbeide gelt nye rettigheter. Innskrivningen bør vel i alle tilfelle være minst det dobbelte av ordinære innskrivningskontingent. Ser at saken skal framlegges på ekstraordinær generalforsamling. Det blir vel nærmest som referat av Kongressens vedtak, i og med at det er Sekretariatet som har avgjørelsen. Det kan være medlemmer som har sonet den straff som det offentlige har i lagt dem. På den annen side er det hevdet at det kan være enkelte medlemmer som har skadet organisasjonen så meget at den ikke finner å den vil oppta vedkommende som medlem av fagorganisasjonen.” (Translation by the author.)
- 81 Willy Brandt, *Krieg in Norwegen*, Zürich 1942 and *Norwegens Freiheitskampf 1940–1945*, Hamburg 1948.
- 82 Karl Christian Lammers, *The Nordic Countries and the German Question after 1945*, in: *Contemporary European History* 15 (2006), No. 4, pp. 443-452, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777306003481>; Robert Bohn, *Dänemark und Norwegen in der bundesdeutschen Nachkriegsdiplomatie*, in: Bohn, Cornelißen and Lammers, *Vergangenheitspolitik und Erinnerungskulturen im Schatten des Zweiten Weltkriegs*. Very fertile are the protocols from the meetings of Konrad Adenauer’s cabinet, online at the Bundesarchiv, cf. [https://www.bundesarchiv.de/cocoon/barch/0000/k/k1952k/Datei/rtf-k1952k-0000219170.rtf/A197.\\_Kabinettsitzung\\_am\\_22.\\_Januar\\_1952\\_TOP\\_F\\_Nationalhymne.rtf](https://www.bundesarchiv.de/cocoon/barch/0000/k/k1952k/Datei/rtf-k1952k-0000219170.rtf/A197._Kabinettsitzung_am_22._Januar_1952_TOP_F_Nationalhymne.rtf) (20 November 2020).
- 83 Cf. chapter 3.2.1 *Eine “schwierige Partnerschaft” – die deutsch-norwegische Kooperation in der NATO bis Mitte der 1960er Jahre*, in: Allers, *Besondere Beziehungen*, especially p. 90.
- 84 Robert Bohn, Jürgen Elvert and Karl Christian Lammers (edit.), *Deutsch-skandinavische Beziehungen nach 1945*, Stuttgart 2000; Hans Otto Frøland, *Distrust, Dependency and Détente: Norway, the Two Germanys and “the German Question”, 1945-1973*, in: *Contemporary European History* 15 (2006), No. 4, pp. 495-517, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777306003511>; Jan Hecker-Stampel (edit.), *Nordeuropa und die beiden deutschen Staaten 1949-1989. Aspekte einer Beziehungsge-*



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