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Michael Custodis, Arnulf Mattes (eds.)

The Nordic Ingredient

European Nationalisms and Norwegian Music since 1905

WAXMANN

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The "Nordic Ingredient" – Introduction

The overall idea of these proceedings is to clarify how the "Nordic ingredient" in Norwegian music history after 1905 reflected or refused nationalistic images. As academically distanced as the formula of a "Nordic ingredient" might seem, it is present in everyday communication, in specific branding of values and achievements in sports, design and politics, and in political theories among which the "Nordic Model" of a social democratic welfare state may be the most prominent. Norway's redefinition as an independent nation state in 1905, coinciding with Edvard Grieg's death two years later symbolizes the underlying musical-political synergies: In the same manner that Norwegian composers had to step out of their great idol's footsteps and find their own voice, between European modernism and national traditions, the Norwegian people also had to stand on their own feet. The dream of an independent state, honoring their individual national character, now had to be legitimized by pioneering social achievements, such as the general right to vote for men and women. The leading social democratic government had to unite all political factions, and envision political projects that could define a progressive future for Norway.

The German occupation by the self-proclaimed "Nordic" *Herrenmenschen* unsheathed the dark, brutal and ugly connotations of the "Nordic" narrative, and left a legacy of contradictions for post-war generations. The domain of classical music was confronted with this paradox, not being modern enough to join the radical central European avant-garde, while modest modernism was not fashionable enough compared to the easy, accessible alternatives distributed by the record industry and radio stations. In consequence, respected dignified national composers soon lost touch with their traditional national following. Nevertheless, the popular music sector received a significant rise of attention and creativeness as in all the other European countries and built up an international audience by means of explicitly "Nordic" characteristics, after the first post-war generation had laid a solid foundation in jazz, pop and rock music. As stylistically different as Jan Garbarek, A-ha or Mayhem and Burzum might be, all of them developed successful strategies to respond to the European curiosity for exotic sounds from the North, delivering melodies, atmospheres, stories or a certain "coolness" that were attributed to "Nordic" characteristics. In consequence, the "Nordic ingredient" still proves a) to be a vital factor in gathering attention for music "made in Norway", similar to the times of Ole Bull and Edvard Grieg, although the sounds might be different; and b) to incorporate both pure aesthetics and explicit ideological opinions that keep overlapping, interacting, contradicting or ignoring each other. This volume aims to discuss, and help to understand, the relations between national culture and European influences, and between musical autonomy and political dependency.

In music, as with any other part of European culture in the 20th century, no artistic and aesthetic development could be described without considering how the political and social developments fundamentally changed all fields of modern society. Like any other social group, musicians and their audiences were affected by the wars, the scientific revolutions, and the societal changes. National policies and nationalist ideologies profoundly influenced the preconditions of artistic production, reception, and con-

sumption, and can be examined in all their different forms and expressions, depending on the country, artist or work one is taking into account. On the other hand, 20th-century composers, musicians, and their audiences often maintained the Romantic ideal of aesthetic autonomy, trying to resist the forces of music's instrumentalization, commodification, and politicization. Thus, even under the most severe political conditions, the "non-semantic", "non-referential" nature of music makes it legitimate to consider music as an "unpolitical" artform.

This dialectic circle – focusing on the interaction of the spheres of music and politics and studying their contradictions – was the starting point for the Norwegian-German research project *"Nordic Music Politics". Resistance, Persecution, Collaboration, and Reintegration in Norway's Music Life, 1930–1960* in 2015. Taking a closer look at textbooks on Norwegian music history, one could hardly find any valid information about the dramatic political turnovers during the 1930s and 40s in Europe, and their consequences for music in Norway. On the other hand, the numerous international publications that deal with the interwar years, the Third Reich and the fate of exiled, persecuted and annihilated artists never included Norwegian case studies. Accordingly, the project took up some ambitious tasks: a) to bring the example of Norway (as a model of a Nazi-occupied country) in closer contact with international musicological research about Music and Nazism; b) to support the interdisciplinary dialogue of musicologists, historians and other disciplines in the humanities; and c) to tackle the lack of research based on archival sources, which show a significant gap between Hans Jørgen Hurum's legendary book *Musikken under okkupasjonen* (1946) and the first critical examinations that were carried out by Arvid Vollsnes, Per Vollestad, Lorentz Reitan, Ivar Roger Hansen, Terje Emberland, Hans Fredrik Dahl and others, starting in the early 2000s.

With the generous support of the Norwegian National Library in Oslo, the Grieg Research Centre in Bergen, the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in Münster and the Goethe-Institut Oslo, the project presented its first investigations in 2016, at conferences in Manchester, Leipzig and Mainz, as well as in its own seminars in Bergen and Oslo, inviting colleagues such as Bjarte Bruland, Ingrid Loe Landmark, Friedrich Geiger, Tore Helseth, Rolf Hobson, Christhard Hoffmann, Tom Kristiansen, Lorentz Reitan, Sigurd Sandmo, and Arvid Vollsnes for contributions, critical debate and advice.

One of the first, rather striking results of the project was that Norway could be seen to serve as an exemplary case, including both singular national conditions and reflecting European developments. The centuries of German-Norwegian cultural exchange, particularly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the remarkable shift of emphasis after 1945 speak for themselves. Additionally, the domestic peripheries in the middle and north, Bergen as a local center and the metropolis region of Oslo reflect, on a micro-level, Norway's relation to its closest neighbors, Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark; and also continental Europe on a larger scale.

The second result was the publication of the project's first article, "Zur Kategorie des 'Nordischen' in der norwegischen Musikgeschichte 1930–45", which discusses the transformation of the "Nordic" from a cultural and geographical category into an ideological one during the 1930s. It evaluates numerous articles from Scandinavian and

other historical studies that describe in detail the stability of stereotypes about "the North" since Greek antiquity, and their radicalization into race ideologies, that were promoted between the generations of Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Hans F. K. Günther. In consequence, the article contrasts Nazi politics with musical realities in occupied Norway, where the original, non-ideological understanding of "Nordic music" did not disappear, but instead was defended by artists, journalists and teachers, including the civil resistance movement, in Norway and in Swedish exile.

After the German part of the project in Münster, entitled *The German Dominance of Music in Norway, 1930–1945*, was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for three years, the decision was made in 2017 to host three annual conferences. The first event took place in Bergen in March 2018, and was dedicated to the question of how different understandings of "The Nordic" – from pure aesthetics to explicit ideology – overlap, interact and contradict each other during the different waves of European nationalisms, that have influenced Norwegian music since the country's independence in 1905. The second conference, scheduled for March 2019, will focus on the years 1940–45, and discuss political and artistic settings in the "Reichskommissariat Norwegen"; while the third conference in 2020 will readdress the example of Norway, in comparison to other Nazi-occupied countries.

The present book consists of contributions from the "Nordic Ingredient" conference took place in Bergen on 20–21 March 2018. Comprising of different approaches taken by the authors, it documents accordingly a constellation of historical overviews, theoretical essays, and analytical case studies. Two of the papers that the editors presented at a seminar in Oslo's Litteraturhuset in May 2016 – the Norwegian approach to monumentalism in the 1930s (Mattes), and the official cultural propaganda under GW Müller, Gulbrand Lunde and Rolf Fuglesang (Custodis) – were added to this volume, as they belong to this first phase of historical overviews. The other contributions illustrate the historical development and the stylistic variety of Norwegian music. Ina Rupprecht's opening article describes the passage into the post-Grieg époque, and the national self-reflection of musicians along the central narratives of biographer Gerhard Schjelderup; while Andreas Bußmann describes the opposite point of view, by portraying the Norwegian love for Wagner between 1910 and 1940 as a tradition, and yet ultimately as a fascination, for German "Hochkultur". Ingrid Loe Landmark continues with instructive observations from the interwar years, when Norwegian composers tried to merge classical techniques and influences from folk music with modernist approaches, while Arnulf Mattes reflects on Norwegian attempts to establish Nordic variants of European monumentalism in Norway. Friedrich Geiger's analysis of Harald Sæverud's *Kjempeviseslåtten* explains how the piece follows typical patterns of a resistance composition, and why this is such a central piece for Norwegians in remembering World War II. From this historical starting point, Arvid Vollsnes develops a fascinating overview of how young Norwegian composers tried to emancipate themselves from the established and internationally isolated generation, to reconnect instead with the modernist progression that happened in Tanglewood, Paris and Darmstadt. Michael Custodis transfers such a relation of national mannerisms and international trends into different areas of popular music, where a "Nordic" branding is an essential part of Norwegian identity, discussing the political and apolitical consequences that

culminated prototypically in Anders Breivik's neo-nationalism. Arnulf Mattes closes this historical overview of diverse trends in Norwegian music, by discussing how the sustaining fame of Edvard Grieg is based on unreflecting national stereotypes.

All contributions reflect the individual author's opinions, and not every argument would agree with the editor's position, but were highly welcomed in order to achieve a broad and colorful picture. Furthermore, the essay by literature scholar Boris Previšić, on resistance to totalitarianism, represents both the project's interdisciplinary approach to certain topics under different artistic or historical conditions, and to transfer the findings about Norway into another national and political setting. It is a common phenomenon that conference proceedings cannot document the liveliness of the event, and that certain editorial and auctorial decisions change such a documentation, so that not every contribution is included afterwards in such a volume. The highly inspiring critical comments from historians Christhard Hoffmann, Rolf Hobson and Tom Kristiansen, for example, about the influences of World War II on Norwegian culture and politics, already anticipate the following "Reichskommissariat"-conference in 2019, where they will summarize and amalgamate the different expected musical examples.

Finally, the editors would like to thank all supporters of the project *Nordic Music Politics*, all contributors to the project's seminars, lectures and conferences, and especially all the authors in this volume. They are also grateful for the generous support of the Goethe-Institut Oslo, the International Erasmus Office and the Institute for Musicology at Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, the team at Bergen Offentlige Biblioteket, the Universitet i Bergen and the Grieg Research Center, Riksarkivet and Hjemmefrontmuseet in Oslo, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), Jean Kavanaugh for critical proofreading of the English manuscripts, the Publikationsfond at Münster's University Library, and Melanie Völker at Waxmann Publishers.

Ina Rupprecht

Manifesting the National Idea: Edvard Grieg or How His Biographers Saw Him

Visiting Norway's Vestlandet as a tourist, it is often quite hard to escape the music and myth of Edvard Grieg. He and his music seem to be constantly used to underline the Norwegian scenery, thought to represent "true Norwegianness". In other words, whenever one goes on a fjord cruise and passes a waterfall, a cave, or just a fishing farm, Grieg's music is played through the ship's loudspeakers. Mostly used are widely known melodies from his *Peer Gynt Suites* and the piano concerto. It even seems that Grieg's music can be used without further contextualization, synonymous for the storytelling about Norwegian landscape, rural wilderness, and traditional life by the fjords. To grasp the phenomenon of Grieg's continuing popularity as composer, one must ask oneself how and when Edvard Grieg became a Norwegian musical icon, as he was neither the only successful Norwegian composer of his time, nor the first one who incorporated traditional elements in his works.

Grieg's development to a nationally and internationally renowned superstar can be assessed from several positions. On the one hand, his emergence as composer came at a time when Norwegians were attempting to define themselves through their distinction from the other Scandinavian and European countries. On the other hand, Grieg was highly influenced by central European music traditions from his time at the Leipzig conservatory, and struggled to find his own voice as a composer, to such an extent that both Norwegians and Europeans could understand and cherish his music. The way we see Grieg and his compositions was molded through the storytelling of the articles, stories and biographies written about him and his music. The first monographic Grieg biography in Norwegian was written by Gerhard Rosenkrone Schjelderup in 1903. He tried to relate the composer's life and work to the historical development of Norway. In this context, this biography serves as an outstanding example of how meticulously the presentation of Grieg was designed, supporting a certain idea of him and the Norwegian nation.

Cultural development in Norway

At the same time as Edvard Grieg arrived on the international scene, Norway surfaced in the recognition of continental European people. Even though the cultural exchange between the countries had been a successful instalment on both sides, the continental ideas and fashions dominated, and the question of who influenced who can, in many areas, not be answered sufficiently. Everything outside the continent was stamped rural, exotic, and inferior. After the 400-year union with Denmark, the Norwegian state was first founded in 1814, and, despite the new union with Sweden, remained quite free, with wide domestic political autonomy. With federal law from 1814, which incorporated many liberal ideas, and the parliament Stortinget, two important Norwegian national symbols were introduced. They built the foundation for the future Norwe-

gian national identity. In this specific context, it is important to consider the role of the rural population, and in particular the relevance that peasants should have in building one unique nation state. They were attributed with an ideological function as the true embodiment of the Norwegian. This image of a free Norwegian peasant was not only a romantic construction, but also a reality to the Norwegian people.[1] As the nineteenth century proceeded, the quest for a national Norwegian culture evolved. One of the main ideas was the resurrection of Norway as it was supposed to have been in the glorious ancient Norse age, before it was corrupted by the Danish. In consequence, cultural nationalistic movements claimed that the real and untainted Norway could best be found in peasant culture. Ironically, this idea was inspired by foreign, mostly German, national romantics and their idealization of peasant culture. A different concept pictured Norway as a double-culture state, where a Danish-influenced urban elite existed side by side with a purer Norwegian rural population.[2] Although this theory was discarded towards the end of the nineteenth century, it had a significant impact on Norwegian nationalism.

The Norwegian nation was formed through cultural elements that had been imported from abroad, rather than from internal movements. Culture and education, though quite international in their nature, became important pillars of Norwegian nation building.[3] The more Norway was discovered as a tourist destination due to easier and cheaper travel conditions, the more distinct the Norwegian became, a concept that the Norwegian poet Johan Sebastian Welhaven signified as "det 'Ægte' norske" in contrast to the European,[4] thought to be found inside the remote areas of the country.[5] For those promoting true Norwegianness, the strong influence of European and German art was problematic. Therefore, some of the influential authors such as Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Aasmund Olavsson Vinje chose a rather radical approach to support Norwegian national culture by campaigning against Danish actors and German musicians, despite their endeavours for true Norwegian music.[6] Moreover, although generations of Norwegian musicians could only build a solid career with a proper education at the prestigious Leipzig conservatory, they were now expected to stay home and focus on the country's own musical heritage.

The popularization of national traditions started early in the search for distinct Norwegian characteristics. Folk tunes found their way into popular and light music,[7] especially into stage music. From the 1850s on, incorporating folkloristic elements into compositions was fashionable. Music director Friedrich August Reissiger, an import-

1 Øystein Sørensen, "Hegemonikamp om det norske. Elitens nasjonsbyggingsprosjekter 1770–1945", in: Øystein Sørensen (ed.), *Jakten på det norske. Perspektiver på utviklingen av en norsk nasjonal identitet på 1800-tallet*, Oslo 2007, p. 24; Anne-Lise Seip, "Nasjonsbygging – folkestyre – idékamp. Utviklingslinjer på 1800-tallet", in: Jan-Erik Ebbestad Hansen (ed.), *Norsk tro og tanke*, bind 2 *1800–1940*, Oslo 1998, p. 15–21.

2 Sørensen, "Hegemonikamp om det norske", p. 28–32.

3 Ibid., p. 37.

4 "Das 'echt' Norwegische", Seip, *Nasjonsbygging – folkestyre – idékamp*, p. 21.

5 Ivar Sagmo, "Norge – Et forbilde eller et utviklingsland? Folk og land i første halvdel av 1800-tallet – sett med tyske reisendes øyne", in: Sørensen, *Jakten på det norske*, p. 90–91.

6 Anne-Lise Seip, "Det norske 'vi' – kulturnasjonalisme i Norge", in Sørensen, *Jakten på det norske*, p. 106.

7 Seip, *Nasjonsbygging – folkestyre – idékamp*, p. 109.

ant figure in the Norwegian music world, who had immigrated from Germany, arranged folk melodies that achieved great popularity among Norwegians and foreigners, from all walks of life.[8] During the last third of the nineteenth century, the focus changed from national to regional aspects, as one result of the continuing development of tourism, once more to further emphasize the distance between Denmark and Norway. Denmark, as the late oppressor, stood for a plain, cultivated and centralized country closer to Central Europe, whereas the peripheral and rugged Norwegian landscape matched the image of its independent, untamed inhabitants. Through numerous publications of folk tales, folk music collections, sagas, fairy tales, and anthologies about Norwegian history, a collective national narrative of myths and legends spread into everyday life.[9] Even today, those folk art collections are part of the national heritage, and familiar to almost every Norwegian, especially the stories about Askeladden. Asbjørnson and Moe's *Norske Folkeeventyr* was published between 1841 and 1844. These stories are considered to be the foundation of the Norwegian engagement with folk art, containing a broad spectrum of different fairy tales and adventures. Other collections of regional and national folk art followed, and were continuously published until the end of the 1920s.[10] They also included collections of music material. The most popular and best known are probably the collections of Ludvig Mathias Lindeman, who published his collections between 1850 and 1867. Other collectors also travelled through Norway and compiled different works of folk music.[11] Even though these collections were and are considered an important treasure of Norwegian folk music, one must keep in mind that most of them are arranged or edited by the collectors, and therefore not authentic. Nevertheless, they were used by Norwegian composers as a basis and inspiration for their folkloristic compositions.

Redefining Norwegian history relied on famous historical and contemporary figures that were credited to manifest and embody true Norwegian virtues. In our case, it is the biographic depiction of musician and composer Edvard Grieg. Before discussing him and his biography, a closer look at the development and history of music biographies in the nineteenth century is helpful.

The nineteenth century represents the climax of music biography. As with other biographical genres, a music biography can be seen as the adaptation of exemplary persons for historical, political, social or ethical purposes.[12] Music biographies especially balance strong tensions between self-staging and foreign-staging, often resulting from

8 Harald Herresthal, *Med spark i gulvet og kvinter i bassen. Musikalske og politiske bilder fra nasjonalromantikkens gjennombrudd i Norge*, Oslo 1993, p. 94.

9 Gudleiv Bø, "'Land og Lynne' – norske diktere om nasjonal identitet", in: Sørensen, *Jakten på det norske*, p. 123–124; Miroslav Hroch, *Europeisk nasjonalhistorie*, in: ibid., p. 226–227.

10 Other examples of collections are: Peter Christen Asbjønrsen and Jørgen Moe: *Norske folkeeventyr* (1841–44); Asbjørnsen: *Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn* (1845&1848); Rikard Berge and Sophus Bugge: *Norske eventyr og sagn* in two volumes (1909–1903).

11 Collections (with arrangements) are for example: Sophus Bugge: *Gamle Norske Folkeviser* (1858); Catharinus Elling: *Norske folkeviser for sang og klaver* (1908–25); Catharinus Elling: *Våre folkemelodier* (1900); Magnus Brostrup Landstad: *Norske folkeviser* (1952/53); Ludvig Mathias Lindeman: *Norske Folkeviser udsatte for 4 mandsstemmer* (1850); Ludvig Mathias Lindeman: *Ældre og nyere norske fjeldmelodier. Samlede og bearbeidede for pianoforte* (1853–67).

12 Melanie Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte. Wandlungen biographischer Konzepte in der Musikkultur und Musikhistoriographie*, Köln 2014, p. 7.

a close relationship or cooperation between the author and his subject.[13] Despite their ambiguous status between fictitious writing and scientific credibility, music biographies were important for the development of musicology. They became essential for the music industry, as well as for publishers to promote their artists, for artists to promote themselves, and for the audiences to get a grasp of who composed their favorite pieces, as well as to simulate a connection between composer and audience outside the concert halls.[14] While music biographies changed their character from an anthological to a monographic genre, they gradually became more monumental in order to idolize the male genius, again incorporating influences from historic biographies and current literary and general social ideals. Due to the biographic genre's ambivalence, it accessed both academic and popular readers, and helped to transport the subtext of the respective biography, functioning as a way of forming history and collective memory.[15] Even though the use of anecdotes decreased over the years, and was regarded as somewhat problematic, they still served their purpose, due to their long tradition and social code as relevant vehicles to stress stereotypical traits in a person's life.[16] Even today, biographies play an important role for readers. For most persons of greater public interest, a biography exists, or is expected to be written. A look at bestseller lists illustrates this, as almost every month at least one biography enters these lists in a high-ranking position.[17]

Edvard Grieg og hans værker: et festskrift i anledning af hans 60årige fødselsdag

This biography was published in 1903, on the occasion of the composers 60th birthday, by the Danish publisher Gyldendal, and written by Gerhard Rosenkrone Schjelderup, a Norwegian-born composer and music writer, who emigrated to Germany in the 1880s. Despite living in Germany for most of his productive life, Schjelderup is seen as probably the most productive Norwegian opera composer, with 12 operas, several of them in Norwegian, and numerous songs. While his works received considerable attention, he never gained lasting success as composer. Aside from that, he lectured in Munich and Dresden, wrote several articles and music criticisms, and published a Norwegian biography about Richard Wagner. This, in contrast to the one about Grieg, is closely connected to the previous musicological storytelling, and contributed to Ole M. Sandviks *Norges Musikkhistorie* in 1921. Gerhard Schjelderup and Edvard Grieg had been in contact since 1886, at the latest, and in 1898, Schjelderup participated as a conductor in Grieg's music festival in Bergen. The letters to Grieg prove that their ongoing correspondence was rather unilateral, coming mostly from Schjelderup. Nevertheless, these

13 Ibid., p. 9.
14 Ibid., p. 15 and 199.
15 Ibid., p. 27.
16 Ibid., p. 118–120.
17 See for example the *Spiegel Bestsellerliste* that compiles weekly book rankings for different genres for the German market. For other countries the listings of biographies are similar.

letters provide an interesting source into contemporary nationalistic views on politics and society in Norway and Germany.[18]

When writing his Grieg biography, Schjelderup also corresponded with Grieg's publisher, C. F. Peters, in Leipzig, and explained the title of his book *Edvard Grieg og hans værker: et festskrift i anledning af hans 60årige fødselsdag*.[19] He states that "[…] handelt sich übrigens nicht um eine gross erschöpfende Biographie, sondern um eine Art von Festschrift zum 60jährigen Geburtstag des Künstlers."[20] Obviously, he avoided the label "biography", as he did not intend to write a definitive account of Grieg's life. But it could also be an explanation and an apology towards those critics, and even Grieg himself, who would come to criticize its imperfections and compare it to other academic music biographies that were published around the same time. The label "Festskrift" also put weight and pressure on the book. In an academic context, into which Schjelderup apparently wanted to fit his writing about Edvard Grieg, a festschrift was, and still is, dedicated to persons of outstanding merit, most often on occasion of a decadal birthday, or commemorating a special occasion. In the music field, writing a festschrift for an individual person became popular towards the end of the nineteenth century. The content of such a work could differ widely, and Schjelderup chose the approach of an appreciation of Grieg's life and work.[21] Taking this into consideration, Schjelderup's argument seems rather inadequate that the book would not be a complete biography, and therefore should be entitled "Festskrift".

The writing process itself must have been more of a hasty rush than the sum of thorough examinations. Schjelderup had asked Henri Hinrichsen for support in the beginning of May 1903.[22] Henri Hinrichsen had, after the death of his uncle and publisher Max Abraham in 1900, inherited the publishing house C. F. Peters, and continued the good relationship both his uncle and the firm had with Edvard Grieg.[23] In a later letter, Schjelderup revealed that the publisher Gyldendal in Copenhagen wanted to publish the biography in October 1903.[24] So for whatever reason, they had only given Gerhard Schjelderup about six months to conduct his research and write a sufficient biography on Edvard Grieg. Schjelderup tried to collect as much information as well as advice on how to structure the biographical chapters during the few months he has had left for completing the manuscript. Due to an agreement between Edvard Grieg and Max Abraham, the legendary director of Peters, all inquiries about biographic and music materials regarding Grieg were directed to the publisher, who then decided how

18 See Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, Griegsamlingen, Korrespondanse: Schjelderup, Gerhard.

19 Gerhard Schjelderup, *Edvard Grieg und seine Werke: eine Festschrift aus Anlass seines 60. Geburtstags*, Leipzig 1908.

20 Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Staatsarchiv Leipzig, 21070 C. F. Peters, Leipzig, Nr. 893. He states that "[…] it is after all not a great exhaustive biography but some kind of festschrift for the artist's 60th birthday."

21 Imogen Fellinger, article "Fest- und Gelegenheitsschriften, I", in: *MGG Online*, ed. by Laurenz Lütteken, Kassel, Stuttgart and New York 2016.

22 Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Staatsarchiv Leipzig, 21070 C. F. Peters, Leipzig, Nr. 893.

23 Klaus Burmeister and Bernd Wiechert, article "C.F. Peters, Geschichte II", in: *MGG Online*. See also the correspondence between Hinrichsen and Grieg at Griegsamlingen, Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek.

24 Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Staatsarchiv Leipzig, 21070 C. F. Peters, Leipzig, Nr. 893.

to deal with the matter.[25] Nevertheless, Schjelderup also corresponded with Grieg directly for material concerning his personal life. A letter, probably written in late august 1903,[26] sums up his struggles to get enough information when he asked, aside from the general request for material about him, and for permission to read through Grieg's correspondence with Benjamin Johan Feddersen, a Danish author and close friend of the composer. Grieg denied this request, which led to a rather harsh comment from Schjelderup about Grieg's privacy issues in the biography, when he complains that "he [Grieg] in this regard is all too reserved, when it comes to holding his private life protected, that he does not even allow a biographer to publish other letters than the known letters from his youth […]." [27]

Furthermore, Schjelderup was curious about Grieg's childhood, his parents and family, as well as his problems in Kristiania and his relationship to Johan Svendsen. Additionally, he asked for several photographs. To justify his complaints about the unwillingness of Grieg's friend, Frants Beyer, to support his literary biography project, Schjelderup tried to strengthen the necessity to share some intimate information in a popular biography. In contrast to his popular approach, Schjelderup considered the discussion of Grieg's work the most important part,[28] which became indispensable after most of his requests regarding biographic material had been denied. Again, this popular approach can be seen from two sides. On the one hand, he uses it as a shield against any possible critique, due to a lack of approved and new scientific material about Grieg. On the other hand, one can interpret the biography as Schjelderup's attempt to show himself as a skilled biographer, even outside the academic field, and to Grieg's significance as a national composer for all readers.

Strikingly, he asked Grieg to read the finished book as "an improvisation of one artist about another"[29] rather than as an average biography or festschrift. Perhaps, but this is just speculation, by calling it an "improvisation", he wanted to express his frustration with Grieg, his role in the Norwegian and international music scene, and the unfortunate surroundings of the development of the book. Nevertheless, he attempted to outshine all previous Grieg biographies by giving a more detailed and a broader approach both to Grieg's life and his work.[30] Accordingly, he wanted to fit his Grieg biography into the list of numerous articles and biographic sketches, which were published from the 1880s on, to meet the great interest in the Scandinavian composer's life.[31]

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25 Letter Grieg to C. F. Peters, Copenhagen, 25 March 1895 and 5 March 1903, Griegsamlingen, Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek.

26 Letter Schjelderup to Grieg, Dresden, 24 [month unclear] 1903, Griegsamlingen, Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek.

27 Gerhard Schjelderup, *Edvard Grieg og hans værker: et festskrift i anledning af hans 60årige fødselsdag*, Copenhagen 1903, p. 25: "[…] han [Grieg] i så henseende er så altfor tilknappet, når det gælder at holde privatliv fredet, at han ikke en gang tillader en biograf at offentliggøre andre brevet end de bekendte ungdomsbrevene […]."

28 Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Staatsarchiv Leipzig, 21070 C. F. Peters, Leipzig, Nr. 893.

29 Letter Schjelderup to Grieg, Dresden, 10 April 1903, Griegsamlingen, Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek.

30 Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Staatsarchiv Leipzig, 21070 C. F. Peters, Leipzig, Nr. 893.

31 Already in 1892, the Belgian musicologist Ernest Closson had published a book entitled *Edvard Grieg et la musique Scandinave*. The title takes great care to establish a connection between the single musician Edvard Grieg and his importance to Scandinavian music in general. For although Grieg's name is in the title, he and his music are only briefly discussed in the book.

Obviously, neither Schjelderup's preparations nor his inquiries were very successful. How did this affect the results, and what kind of portrait did he design of his famous colleague? To set the mood for the historical context of Grieg's music, the manuscript begins with a description of Norway's nature, history and cultural life. Such a close connection between landscape and composition was essential for Schjelderup to explain how artists naturally incorporate the essence of their homeland into their works. Turning to Grieg's family tree, and the resulting influences on young Edvard, the summary of Grieg's life centered on places in Norway and abroad.[32] The fact, that Grieg grew up in mid-nineteenth century Bergen, the largest Norwegian city at that time, and was born into a relatively wealthy family, within somewhat elitist surroundings, is completely ignored by Schjelderup.[33]

Schjelderup's writing strategy, to highlight the mystical influences of nature and heritage, can be found in many aspects of the biography. Accordingly, the description of Grieg's family boils down to two anecdotes, one on each side of his parents, wherein Schjelderup suspects the driving forces behind Grieg's character. As was usual at the turn of the century, he only concentrated on the grandfathers, and left out the female ancestors, except for Grieg's mother, who is acknowledged as having had some impact on Edvard Grieg's musical development. Ironically, these men he had credited as having passed on their unfaltering energy, willfulness and pure Norwegian beliefs, were not actually Norwegian. The paternal ancestor, Alexander Greig, had emigrated from Scotland after having supported the defeated party during an uprising against the king, while the maternal ancestor, Kjeld Stub, had migrated from Denmark and supported the Danish elite in Norway.[34]

Taking the political and social debates during the nineteenth century into consideration, one might find it odd that Schjelderup chose these two family branches to emphasize Edvard Grieg's Norwegianness. However, regarding the maternal family heritage as more influential and "ægte norsk",[35] Schjelderup wanted to legitimize Edvard Grieg as a pan-Scandinavian composer, which goes along with the idea of a Norwegian nation developed through the incorporation of useful foreign elements, which in fact he did not. Neither did Schjelderup sense a contradiction in attributing Grieg with character traits from his "non-Norwegian" ancestors in order to stylize him as a pure Norwegian artist that refused all Danish and German music traditions. The elaboration of his Danish heritage might also be related to the fact that the biography was commissioned by the Danish publisher Gyldendal. It is therefore no surprise that Schjelderup also referred to the popular anecdote of Grieg meeting Danish national composer, Niels Wilhelm Gade, after his studies in Leipzig – "When Grieg showed the master [Gade] his first violin sonata, he concluded that there was surely a lot of talent in it, but that 'it was too Norwegian'. Grieg on the other hand promised himself quietly that the next should be even more Norwegian – and he kept his word."[36] – to underline

32 Schjelderup, *Edvard Grieg og hans værker*, p. 1.
33 Ibid., p. 15.
34 Ibid., p. 10–12.
35 Ibid., p. 11.
36 Ibid., p. 20: "Da Grieg viste mesteren [Gade] sin første violinsonate, mente denne, at der vistnok var meget talent deri, men at ‚den var altfor norsk'. Grieg derimod lovede sig selv i al stilhed, at den næste skulde blive endnu norskere – og han holdt sitt ord."

both the importance of the Danish composer for Grieg and the ongoing cultural disruption between the countries. When Gade credited Grieg's composition overly Norwegian, Grieg promised himself to make it even more Norwegian.[37]

Once more, Schjelderup utilized Norwegian nature to depict Grieg's working process. However, it is not just any Norwegian nature or landscape he referred to, but the periphery of the rugged Vestlandet, where Schjelderup sensed the true source of Grieg's nationalism. In the famous landscape around Hardangerfjord, Schjelderup was convinced he had found the essence of Grieg's character, which again could be confirmed by "all people", though not through rational arguments, but emotional reception. He recounted that "when seeing the place [= Lofthus at the Hardangerfjord] and thinking about his music, one feels why it is like that, and understands why all people, when speaking about Grieg's music, always ends with: he is so Norwegian." [38]

To support his argument – of the Norwegian peripheral nature as the distinct Nordic ingredient of Grieg and his music – Schjelderup referred to the composer's conflict with urban bourgeoisie cultural life, or lack thereof, both in Kristiania and in Bergen. But he neglected to point out Grieg's own childhood in these circles, as mentioned before, to support his own nationalistic interpretation. Instead the description of Grieg's early life in Bergen focused on the lively merchants at the fish markets, and the formative weather changes, both distinct features of the Norwegian west coast.[39] To amplify the correlation of music and Norwegian nature, Schjelderup mystified Norway by repeatedly calling it a "mighty dreamland" (mægtig drømmeland)[40] thus, supporting the idea of nature as an important ingredient in defining the distinct Norwegian characteristics.

Schjelderup's depiction of Grieg's nationalism might seem a little excessive, and his reasoning is rather more emotional than fact-based. However, one can find some of those traits Schjelderup attributes to Grieg, in the composer's correspondence,[41] to which Schjelderup, with the exception of his own letters, had no access to. Not to leave any stereotype unnoticed, Schjelderup – aside from suggested empowerment through Norwegian nature – attends to Edvard Grieg's health problems. Whereas they do not appear suitable to strengthen the argument of Grieg as a true Norwegian warrior,[42] they do so exactly by reflecting his life as a constant struggle for the next composition, or barely having the strength to give concerts, which he only could achieve due to his willfulness and the determination which he gained, amongst other things, from the remote landscape of west Norway. This is basically summed up early in the biography, when Schjelderup states: "His health was weakened by this awkward tentativeness in himself and his purpose in life. […] But the worst was that he was in poor health forever, so for his whole life he had suffered from a weak constitution, that only

37 Ibid., p. 20.
38 Ibid., p. 87: "[…] når man ser stedet [= Lofthus ved Hardangerfjorden] og tænker på hans musik, så føler man, hvorfor det er så, og man forstår, hvorfor alle mennesker, når de taler om Griegs musik, alltid slutter med dette: han er så norsk."
39 Ibid., p. 15–16.
40 Ibid., p. 63.
41 See Korrespondanse, Griegsamlingen, Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek.
42 Schjelderup, *Edvard Grieg og hans værker*, p. 19.

his iron will could give a mysterious strength."[43] Furthermore, Gerhard Schjelderup returned several times over the course of the biography to the aspect of Edvard Grieg's poor health, and emphasized it with descriptions like "endlessly frail nature" (uendelig svag natur),[44] "weak health" (svag helbred), and "delicate constitution" (zarte Konstitution)[45] to remind the reader of Grieg's dramatic but mostly successful struggle against his physiological and psychological challenges. Schjelderup simply takes up the "per aspera ad astra" idea of the hero-biographic model and adapts it to his needs. Accordingly, only through Grieg's compositions and his compromise between German forms and Norwegian folk art could later Norwegian composers fully embrace national confidence in their works.[46] Grieg is thereby stylized as the gatekeeper of Norwegian national music and its international promoter.

Turning back to the social and political discourses during the nineteenth century, Schjelderup's festschrift for Grieg fits right into those debates. He absorbed the controversies about a mono- or dual-culture state of Norway through his clear distinction between the urban bourgeois society and the rural peasant culture, one representing the Danish and the other the distinctly Norwegian elements. Inside of Grieg's life story, Schjelderup located this conflict, and the quest for true Norwegianness, in Grieg's preference for remote hiking locations, his safe haven at Hardangerfjord, and the summer home, Troldhaugen, outside of Bergen. With no timidity for contradictions, Gerhard Schjelderup portrays Edvard Grieg as having united the urban elitists and the primitive peasant culture in one national identity through the strength of his music, which – on an international scale – fused traditional European forms with distinct Norwegian topics and melodies. Underlining his strong beliefs in Grieg's music as truly Norwegian, he resorted to quite flowery and national romantic language in the description of Edvard Grieg's compositions. In general, Schjelderup offered his readers a blueprint of distinct Norwegianness, resulting in the simple and still perpetuated formula, "Norway+music=Edvard Grieg"; something, that was passed on through the following Norwegian and German biographies on Grieg.

This image was still valid to David Monrad Johansen, who wrote in 1934 the largest biography of Edvard Grieg.[47] Even with access to Grieg's correspondence and private materials, he managed to write a biography that concurred with the previous ones, even though his primary goal was to present the Norwegian music as equal to European music, if not superior. In his approach, he often referred to Schjelderup's Grieg biography, both approving and disapproving of his findings, methods and conclusions. Still, his writing strategy follows the same path as Schjelderup's.

Today, Grieg biographies try to present a more objective view on Edvard Grieg and his works, but when Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe and Finn Benestad, in their Grieg biog-

43 Ibid., p. 19: "Hans helbred svekkedes af denne pinlige usikkerhed på sig selv og sin livesoppgave. […] Det værste var dog, at hans helbred for bestandig havde faaet et knæk, så han hele sit liv har lidt under en svagelig konstitution, som blot jernvillie kunde give en mærkelig motstandskraft."
44 Ibid., p. 62.
45 Ibid., p. 119.
46 Ibid., p. 66.
47 David Monrad Johansen, *Edvard Grieg*, Oslo 1934.

raphy, neglect to discuss problems of previous biographies,[48] one must wonder how that many publications can exist without reflecting on each other, and if there ever is a scientific value to them, or if scientific value is even necessary. Therefore, for future attempts on portraying Edvard Grieg, it would be interesting to try to examine him without the ideological national romantic baggage of nature as enabler of great art. But that might only stay a wish.

48 Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg. Mennesket og kunstneren,* Oslo 1980; German transl.: *Mensch und Künstler*, Leipzig 1993.

Andreas Bußmann

Expressing "Nordic" Greatness: Wagnerism in Norway 1905–1945

1. Wagnerism in Norway – Remarks on music historiography

Exploring Wagnerism in Norway necessarily raises historiographical questions: Although it has been pointed out in Norwegian music histories that the music and aesthetics of Richard Wagner have had an immense impact on Norwegian music life during the late 19th and early 20th century,[1] no individual study of Wagnerism in Norway has been carried out yet. Recent surveys on Wagnerism in Scandinavia tended to exclude Norway persistently from their scope.[2] As Wagner is first and foremost associated with opera, Norway was often perceived as "peripheral" due to its long dependency on Sweden, and consequently having no aristocracy to offer patronage for expensive opera houses. Opera in Norway was however not as "uneventful" as was recently postulated in an article titled "Wagnerism in the North", which failed to reveal new sources on this topic, paradoxically questioning Norway's relevance in opera by pointing out its sparsely researched situation.[3] This is even more deplorable, as previous inquiries were obviously not taken into consideration, such as Karen Austad Christensen's study concerning the *Opera Comique* theater,[4] that provided new insights into post-World War I opera life and Wagnerism in Kristiania around 1920. Wagner's music was alive in Norway in many aspects, such as in military and concert music. Even here, despite many obstacles, a considerable amount of his operas could be staged in the early 20th century, especially in the years 1919–1939. Under these historiographical circumstances, a recapitulation of Norwegian Wagnerism remains highly fragmentary for now, with several topics being unaffected, such as the compositional reception of Wagner within the works of Norwegian composers.

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1 E.g. Harald Herresthal, *Norwegische Musik von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Oslo 1987, p. 47–48.

2 Hannu Salmi, *Wagner and Wagnerism in Nineteenth-Century Sweden, Finland, and the Baltic Provinces. Reception, Enthusiasm, Cult*, Rochester 2005. Salmi arguably examined the region of conjoined Norway and Sweden as a whole up to 1905 but does not actually consider Norway part of his field research.

3 Martin Knust, "Wagnerrezeption im Norden – Wagner in der Musik Schwedens und Finnlands", in: Reinhard Schäfertöns and Rüdiger Pohl (eds.), *'Kinder, macht Neues!' Beiträge zum Wagner-Jahr 2013*, Tutzing 2013, p. 89–114, p. 90: "Das norwegische Opernleben im frühen 20. Jahrhundert ist zum einen noch wenig erforscht und zum anderen – verglichen mit dem in Stockholm, Helsinki oder Kopenhagen – nicht sonderlich ereignisreich gewesen." (Opera life in early 20th century Norway is on the one hand still scarcely researched and was on the other hand – compared to Stockholm, Helsinki or Copenhagen – not particularly eventful.)

4 Karen Austad Christensen, *Opera Comique. Forutsetninger for Operavirksomheten 1918–1921*. Master thesis, University of Oslo (2006).

2. Early stages of Wagnerism in 19th century Norway

Richard Wagner's music gained a greater degree of popularity in Norway as early as 1842, when newspapers reported on the premiere of *Der Fliegende Holländer* in Dresden, flanked by very short biographical details based on the composer's own writings.[5] In the following years, his music was introduced to the domestic scene by means of piano arrangements of his most popular tunes, as was the common practice in the 19th century.[6] Publicly, Wagner's music could for the first time be heard when the Villa-Colonna Capellet of Oslo and a big choir performed the march from *Tannhäuser* in 1852.[7] *Tannhäuser* itself premiered for the first time in the autumn of 1876 in Christiania as an evening-long performance.[8] That same year, Edvard Grieg personally reported on the first Bayreuth Festival, which marked a further step towards Wagnerism in Norway, by him drawing attention towards Old Norse mythology in Wagner's music.[9] Towards the end of the 19th century, two of Wagner's earlier operas, *Lohengrin* and *Der fliegende Holländer*, had their premieres.[10] Certainly, the connection to Bayreuth remained an important part of Norwegian Wagnerism, as several domestic vocalists were involved in the Bayreuth festival, such as Elsa Wiborg, who sang the role of Elisabeth in *Tannhäuser* (1891, 1894), and Olive Fremstad in the role of Flosshilde (*Rheingold*), the 1. Norn (*Götterdämmerung*), and Rossweiße (*Die Walküre*) in 1896. Vocalist Ellen Gulbranson (1863–1947) gained massive popularity after she was introduced to Cosima Wagner by advocacy of Johan Svendsen, and for the first time acted the role of Brünnhilde in *Die Walküre*, *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung*, which was also the first re-staging of the *Ring* cycle after 1876. For these roles, Gulbranson remained a permanent act until 1914, becoming one of the most well-known Norwegian Wagner singers in Bayreuth of that time. An early myth emerged about her, when she was described as "an awkward Norwegian farm girl, [that] became one of Cosima's finest creations. Arriving in Bayreuth with little or no experience, she launched her career as Brünnhilde. After each season she returned to her farm, leaving only to attend the next festival."[11]

Taking pride in seeing Norwegian vocalists succeed at Bayreuth was one of the important traits of Norwegian Wagnerism, as there was no constant domestic opera at home. This dedication to Wagner's music and especially the alleged "suitability" of

5 *Den Constitutionelle,* April 3, 1843, p. 3. The newspaper cited Wagner's autobiographical work *Mein Leben*.

6 An exemplary catalogue listing arrangements for piano can be found in the national library of Oslo: *Catalog over Musikalier i F. W. Thorschlags Leiebibliothek i Arendal*, Arendal 1848. In this catalogue titles like "Tannhäuser de Wagner", "Venusberg aus Tannhäuser" and "Vorspiel. Ouv. Lohengrin", could be found. Regarding the popularization of Wagner's music see also: Nils Koschwitz, *Die Bedeutung der Bearbeitung bei der Verbreitung von Richard Wagners Werken im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, Münster 2007.

7 Harald Herresthal, "Det borgerlige musikkonsum i Christiania på 1850-tallet", in: *Nordisk musikkforskerkongress Oslo, 24.–27. juni 1992. Innlegg og referater*, Oslo 1992, p. 169.

8 Ingeborg Eckhoff Kindem, *Den norske operas historie*, Oslo 1941, p. 45.

9 Patrick Dinslage, "Edvard Grieg als Auslandskorrespondent bei den ersten Bayreuther Festspielen", in: *'Kinder, macht Neues'. Beiträge zum Wagner-Jahr 2013*, p. 77–87.

10 Ingeborg Eckhoff Kindem, *Den norske operas historie*, Oslo 1941, p. 82.

11 See "Nordmenn i Bayreuth" (http://www.wagneropera.net/norge/bayreuth-nordmenn.htm, last access 27.09.2018).

Norwegian singers to perform his music – because they had their origins in the North – would not diminish in the years to come.

3. Post 1905: Military and orchestral music

With no permanent opera institution in sight, Wagner's monumental works (as well as other composers' operas) were often performed in fragments and excerpts. Military music was part of an everyday culture, and functioned to popularize opera tunes all over Europe. During the tenure of Ole Olsen as inspector of the military music since 1899,[12] the repertoire shifted from a more French-Italian preference, favored by his predecessor Paolo Sperati, to a rather German-oriented one. After his musical education in Germany, Olsen maintained good connections, and was well informed about new editions of military band arrangements. Verification can be found in the archives of the museum for military defense in Oslo,[13] where a vast amount of Wagner scores has survived (an overview of the Wagner repertoire in Norwegian military bands is presented in the table on p. 24).[14] Two types of contemporary Wagner scores can be determined. The first type are printed scores of Wagner arrangements, either purchased in or ordered from Germany,[15] which contain added handwritten scoring information for the actual military band line-ups in Norway. Those adjustments were often necessary, as the Norwegian military brigades were equipped with fewer instrumentalists than were demanded for playing the score. The other type are self-crafted arrangements by Norwegian military musicians, which will be discussed below.

Among the other type of Wagner scores, which are self-crafted arrangements by Norwegian military musicians, one particular piece stands out: Wagner's *Rule Britannia Overture*.[16] The original autograph by Wagner was considered lost since 1837, but was rediscovered in 1907 and directly edited and published by *Breitkopf&Härtel* in Leipzig. The political background setting of the Norwegian arrangement is quite interesting, as it is dated 2 February 1908. Considering Norway gained its independence in 1905, and afterwards sought political coalitions among the pre-World War I European powers, the performance of the *Rule Britannia Overture* in late April 1908, during the visit of King Eduard VII, can therefore be seen as an official reverence to the British crown. The monumental outline of the piece regarding its brass instrumentation is suited to outdoor performance, as Wagner had intended it to be.[17] Regarding his operas, Wagner was highly skeptical of military band arrangements, because he never

12 Arvid O. Vollsnes, *Norges Musikhistorie 3, 1870–1910*, Oslo 1999, p. 221.

13 Niels K. Persen at the Forsvaarsmuseet in Oslo kindly granted permission to conduct research in the archive in September 2017.

14 The repertoire was extracted from the card catalogue by Niels K. Persen in September 2017. The repertoire for the 5th division (Trondheim) could not be included, as it was not available.

15 Niels K. Persen, *Militærmusikken i Norge. En kort oversikt med særlig vekt på de faste profesjonelle musikkorps*, in: Eddi A. Ingskog (ed.), *Norske Musikkorps 2*, Oslo 1990, p. 57.

16 Alf. Johannsen (arr.), *Rule Britannia! Ouverture,* 38-page manuscript, dated 2.2.1908, Forsvarsmuseet Oslo/Akershus.

17 John Deathridge, Martin Geck, and Egon Voss, *Wagner Werkverzeichnis (WWV). Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke Richard Wagners und ihrer Quellen*. Erarbeitet im Rahmen der Richard Wagner-Gesamtausgabe, Mainz et al. 1986, p. 154.

Table 1: List of performed Wagner pieces with their original titles in the scores.

a) **Operas**	
Rienzi (1842)	*Ouvertüre, Chor aus Rienzi, Friedensmarsj, Inntr. u. Gebet, III. akts finale, Inntr. u. Chor der Friedensboten*
Der Fliegende Holländer (1843)	*Ouvertüre, Fantasi, Styrmannssang og matroskor*
Tannhäuser (1845)	*Ouvertüre, Einzug der Gäste auf Wartburg, Tannhäusermarsch, Pilgrimschor og sang til aftenstjernen, Erinnerung*
Lohengrin (1850)	*Vorspiel, Fantasi aus Lohengrin, Scenen aus Lohengrin, Kriegsfanfaren und Königsgebet, Brautlied, Potpurri, Finale 1. Akt, Zug der Frauen zum Münster, Innledning, og bruderkor*
Tristan und Isolde (1865)	*Nachtgesang, Isoldens Liebestod*
Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg (1868)	*Vorspiel, Walther vor der Meisterzunft*
Das Rheingold (1869)	*Fantasi, Nibelungenmarsch*
Die Walküre (1870)	*Wotans Abschied und Feuerzauber*
Götterdämmerung (1876)	*Einzug der Götter in Walhall, Sørgemarsj*
Parsifal (1882)	*Vorspiel, Charfreitagszauber, Gralsritter-Marsj*
b) **Instrumental Music**	Huldigungsmarsch Das Liebesmahl der Apostel Faust Ouvertüre Rule Britannia Ouvertüre Trauersinfonie

opted his pieces to be suited for arrangement in the first place.[18] In what context the arrangement was actually performed during the king's visit cannot be said with absolute certainty.[19]

Orchestral music

Orchestral music was another means of expression for the appreciation of Wagner's music. The repertoires of the main orchestras in Oslo and Bergen during the 1920s–1940s were continuously dominated by excerpts from Wagner's operas. Statistical proof can be found in the newspapers, where the Oslo Philharmonic Society reported about their annual meetings, that regarding repertoire "[…] by Wagner we have performed 29 compositions, by Grieg 21, by Beethoven 20, Saint-Saëns 17, Brahms 16, Tchaikovsky 13, Mozart 11, Svendsen, Liszt, and Sibelius 9 works. These are the 10 composers we have performed the most […]."[20]

18 See for Wagner's relation to military music Eugen Brixel, "Richard Wagners Beziehung zur Militärmusik", in: Wolfgang Suppan (ed.), *Bläserklang und Blasinstrumente im Schaffen Richard Wagners. Kongreßbericht Seggau/Österreich 1983*, Tutzing 1985, p. 180.

19 According to Niels K. Persen, it was played during a banquet of the two royal families.

20 *Aftenposten*, 18 February 1924: "[…] av Wagner har været opført 29 kompositioner, av Grieg 21, av Beethoven 20, Saint Saëns 17, Brahms 16, Tschaikowsky 13, Mozart 11, Svendsen, Liszt, og Sibelius hver 9 verker. Dette er de 10 komponister, som har været mest spillet."

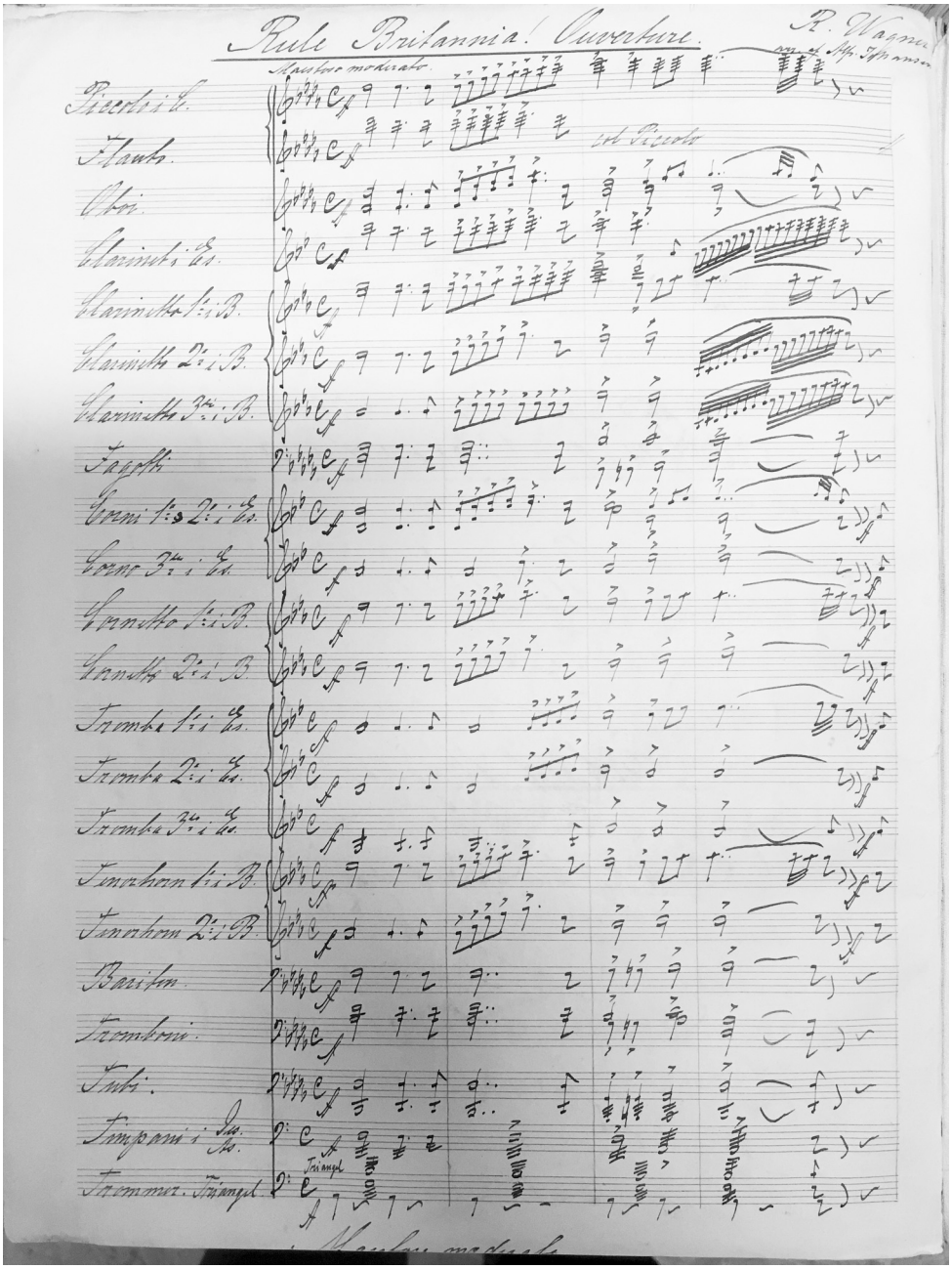

Figure 1: Facsimile of *Rule Britannia! Ouverture*, arr. for military band. Copyright with kind permission by Niels K. Persen, Forsvarsmuseet, Oslo.

For early 1940 there is proof that this situation had not changed much throughout the years: Wagner's oeuvre remained at its peak in February 1940 for being the most performed composer by the Oslo Philharmonic society, with 19 performances, followed by Mozart (9), Beethoven (8), Brahms (8), and Bach (7).[21] Over these two decades, Wagner's music was exuberantly celebrated in countless *Wagner-evenings* or *opera-evenings* with Norwegian vocalists and guest vocalists, who sang the most popular arias or duets of his operas. A special event marked the year 1922, when Siegfried Wagner visited Oslo to give a series of concerts containing a repertoire from his father's oeuvre (mostly the popular overtures from *Rienzi*, *Meistersinger*, *Fliegender Holländer* and the *Siegfried-Idyll*), and a few of his own compositions. Critic Johann Beholm was proud to write that one of the greatest representatives of the "most prominent musical dynasty the Germanics ever possessed"[22] took the stand on Norwegian orchestral podiums. This adoration of Wagner's person and music, that is reflected in the enormous frequency his works were performed, nevertheless had its downside. Since most of Wagner's music is multi-layered, in terms of being connected through leitmotifs, Norwegian Wagnerites were often quite displeased with the practice of only hearing these fragments detached from their original dramatic contexts. They uttered their deepest resentments, knowing the audiences would never understand the piece's greater dramatic functions. In their eyes, the audiences were deprived of an aesthetic experience that could only be understood if the opera or musical drama was experienced as a whole. Hjalmar Borgstrøm, critic for *Aftenposten*, wrote about a church concert in 1922 during which the *Trauermarsch* from *Götterdämmerung* was played:

> To me it seems more questionable that this genius passage, that marks one of the peaks of the entire Ring of the Nibelungs, cannot be understood by the audience without precognition. The majority of the audience will be able to enjoy this grand music, that is quite true, but only those, who know about the previous events in the drama, will understand.[23]

4. Expressing greatness and frustration: Wagner stagings 1919–1939

Artistically and economically challenging operas – especially by Wagner – remained exceptional cases in Norway. In her history of Norwegian opera, Kindem described the country as the "barbaric province"[24] when it came to opera. However, hastily prejudging Norway's opera history in the early 20th century as "insignificant"[25] by comparing it with central European standards of opera culture, would inevitably lead to a distorted image. With the founding of the first permanent opera house, the *Opera Comique*

21 *Aftenposten*, 15 February 1940.
22 *Bergens tidende,* 25 April 1922.
23 *Aftenposten*, 2 May 1922: "Betænkeligere synes det mig, at dette geniale afsnit, et af de musikalske højdepunkter i hele 'Ring des Nibelungen', umulig kan opfattes af et publikum uden forkundskaber. Flertallet af tilhørerne vil vel kunne nyde denne pragtfulde musik, det er sandt nok; men forstaa den kann umulig andre end de, som er saa lykkelige at kjende de forundgaaende tildragelser i dramaet."
24 Kindem, *Norges Opera historie,* p. 11.
25 Knust, *Wagnerrezeption im Norden*, p. 90.

Theater, established in Kristiania in 1918, the idealistic hope of many Norwegian enthusiasts to finally close the gap between central Europe and Norway, had taken form. For the opening premiere in August 1918, even King Håkon VII and Princess Maude took their seats among the most prominent representatives of Norwegian music life to listen to Saint-Saëns *Samson and Dalia*.[26] Norwegian composer Gerhard Schjelderup, who had previously published the first Norwegian biography on Wagner,[27] in the tradition of the hagiographic depictions by Glasenapp and Chamberlain,[28] had written a "Festschrift" for this special occasion, giving insight into the personal staff of the new institution and Norway's opera history.[29] Being an ardent worshipper of Wagner's music, he was feverishly expecting to see the master's operas performed in this new establishment. He would not be disappointed. The premiere of *Tannhäuser* was scheduled for the 21 May 1919, directed by Hungarian-born Alexander Varnáy and sung in Norwegian; the libretto being translated by none other than Kirsten Flagstad's father, Michael.[30] The vocal parts were rehearsed under supervision of vocal coach Arne van Erpekum Sem.[31] Schjelderup realistically mentioned that Wagner, on a small-scale stage as in the *Opera Comique*, was difficult, and experimental.[32] Those difficulties arose when, in one scene, the knights were supposed to storm towards Tannhäuser (Act I, Scene 2). The space on stage was too small to match the music, so that the actors had to wait for a very long time to execute their movements. It was even suggested they cut the music in order to adjust to these kinds of indispositions.[33] In the aftermath of *Tannhäuser*, Schjelderup joyfully exclaimed: "finally, a great true masterpiece",[34] expressing his hope that this would mark the starting point of Norway's opera history, with a golden future, with more sophisticated stagings to come. *Tannhäuser* would be performed 32 times at the *Opera Comique*, but – according to newspaper reports – its late premiere at the end of the season led to decreasing ticket sales for the following shows.[35] Some critics argued that had it not been set up so late in the season, then its success would probably have been even greater.[36] Originally, *Tannhäuser* was intended to be the opening act for 1918, as it would probably have been a more suitable work for avoiding accusations of too profane a repertoire.[37] This idea was, however, postponed due to technical difficulties during the rehearsals in 1918.[38] Nevertheless, the Opera Comique Theater had set the bar high with *Tannhäuser*, and in order to keep things this way, Wagner's *Die Walküre* was scheduled for August 1920, an opera more difficult to perform than *Tannhäuser* in many aspects. In contrast to the *Tann-*

26 Christensen, *Opera Comique*, p. 38.
27 Gerhard Rosenkrone Schjelderup, *Richard Wagner. Hans liv og værker,* Kjøbenhavn and Kristiania 1907. For further details about Schjelderup, see Ina Rupprecht's contribution in this volume.
28 See for Wagner historiography Udo Bermbach, *Richard Wagner in Deutschland. Rezeption – Verfälschungen,* Stuttgart and Weimar 2011, especially p. 3–31.
29 Christensen, *Opera Comique*, p. 38–39.
30 Ibid., p. 72.
31 Ibid., p. 74.
32 *Norske Intelligenssedler,* 26 January 1919.
33 Christensen, *Opera Comique,* p. 75.
34 *Norske Intelligenssedler*, 23 May 1919.
35 *Aftenposten*, 24 May 1919.
36 *Tidens Tegn*, 22 May 1919.
37 Christensen, *Opera Comique,* p. 73.
38 Ibid., p. 74.

häuser staging, which was purely a Norwegian domestic performance, the *Walküre* was given as a guest performance by the Hamburgian city theatre, in cooperation with some of the vocalists and instrumentalists of the *Opera Comique* ensemble. Conductor Arnold Winternitz had the task of leading the small orchestra, consisting of only 30 instrumentalists, through the difficult piece. Nevertheless, he was awarded praise by critic Hjalmar Borgstrøm for having realized at least a "decent part of that Wagnerian ecstasy."[39]

Although the *Opera Comique* had a splendid start, it had to cope with severe financial difficulties due to the overall economic crisis after World War I, and had to close its doors after only three seasons, in 1921. Consequently, the process of active stagings was – again – put to a halt. It took ten years before a Wagner opera was put on stage again, this time not in Oslo, but in Bergen. For the premiere of *Der fliegende Holländer* the city newspaper proudly announced: "Første gang en Wagner-opera opføres i Bergen!"[40] It was scheduled for March 1930. Wagner's inspirational origins for this opera – his experiences during his escape from Riga to London via ship in 1837, and the capsizing in the bay of Skagerrak – should become one of the most constantly perpetuated anecdotes by the Norwegian newspapers whenever this opera was to be performed.

The symphonic performance of *Der fliegende Holländer* in Bergen was evaluated as a great experiment, and expectations were always quite realistic. Dismay was always uttered when the aspect of the orchestral performance as substitute for an actual dramatic staging was addressed. Two years later in 1932, another premiere was announced. Conductor Odd Grüner-Hegge was to put Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* on stage at the National Theatre in Oslo. For this grand event, nothing would be left to chance. It was reported that the orchestra of the Philharmonic society would be reinforced by certain vocal "specialists"[41] that were recruited from Covent Garden, the Metropolitan Opera and Bayreuth, just to indicate the seriousness of the project. This, in the words of critic Sverre Hagerup Bull, "had to silence even the last disbelievers",[42] who did not think Wagner would work on Norwegian stages. The performance, which was attended by the royal family in Oslo's National Theater, was an immediate success. With just a little friendly help, Wagner was conquered. At least it seemed so.

Thinks looked quite different in February of 1933, which marked the 50th anniversary of Wagner's death. This day, in honor of the great master, should become memorable in Norway's opera history. With a pompous performance of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, hopes were high to eliminate the long-term reputation of being "peripheral", as Kindem later would describe it. The preparations seemed to be an act of physical effort from many artists, when even a public call in the newspapers asked for the help of amateur singers to form a choir of 120 voices, that should participate in the performance. The performance was only given as an orchestral version without dramatic staging, which was followed by harsh criticism the next day:

> It is for the theater Wagner has created his genius works and it should have been there where we should have celebrated him yesterday. With the good

39 *Aftenposten,* 24 August 1920, p. 2.
40 *Bergens tidende*, 22 March 1930, p. 2.
41 *Dagbladet*, 16 June 1932.
42 Ibid.

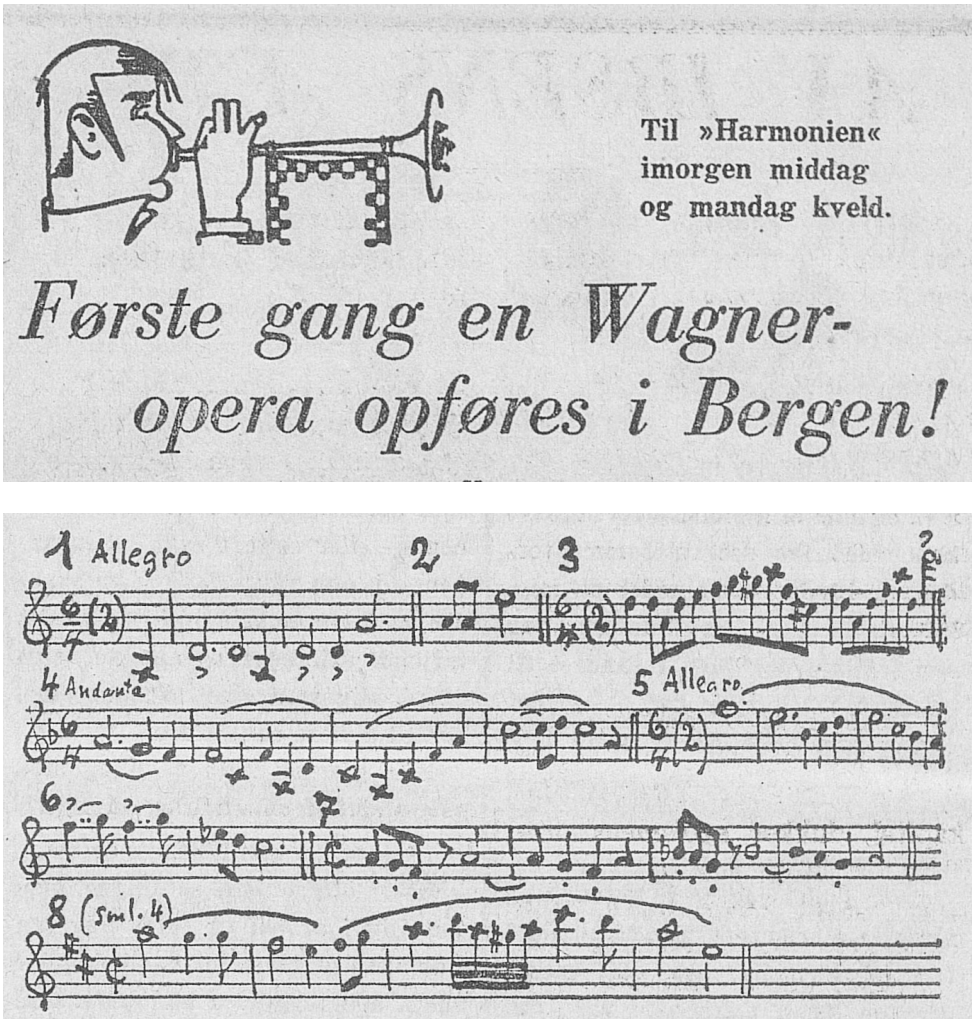

Figure 2: Excerpts from newspaper ads with main themes of *Der fliegende Holländer. Bergens Tidende*, 22 March 1930.

cooperation that has emerged between the Philharmonic society and the national theater in regard of opera, it should have been with far-sightedness – and the day did not come surprisingly – to establish a cooperation so that we could have had an opera performance in memory of the great master. Our good capital would have been released from wearing the mark of periphery which is tiresome to bear, as we were forced to celebrate his remembrance in the concert hall.[43]

43 *Aftenposten*, 14 February 1933: "Det er for teatret Wagner har skapt sine geniale verker, og det er der vi skulde feiret ham igår. Med det gode samarbeide som er kommet istand mellem Filharmoniske og Nationaltheatret i operasaken, måtte der med litt fremsyn itide – og dagen er jo ikke kommet overraskende – kunne været etablert et samarbeide slik at vi igår hadde fått en operaopførelse viet minnet om den store mester. Vår gode hovedstad vilde da været befridd for det provinsstempel den må slet å ha på sig, når man igår var nødt til å feire minnet i konsertsalen."

Staving off this "provincial burning mark", with the help of Wagner as the epitome of supreme late-romantic opera, could be regarded as a nation trying to express cultural greatness. Or at least it was seen this way, in the eyes of many Norwegian Wagnerites. Only one year before the invasion of Norway by the German Wehrmacht, *Parsifal* would be the last opera by Wagner that was performed untouched by propagandistic means. It was performed on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the choir *Cæciliaforeningen*, and conducted by Arild Sandvold. To balance the highly favorable verdicts on Wagner in the Norwegian press up to this point, at least one critical voice has to be cited. Pauline Hall was skeptical of Wagner's music, especially in the aftermath of the *Parsifal* staging. She wrote: "*Parsifal*, Wagner's last and also weakest work. His technical mastery has reduced – the ability to interweave motifs. […] But the same musical material he works with is worth less, the sensitivity of melodic lines has gotten lost, everything has become scanty, which cannot even be concealed by opulent orchestral colorings."[44]

5. Expressing "Germanic-Nordic" greatness: Wagner in occupied Norway 1940–45

After the invasion of Norway, Hitler sent his newly appointed Reichskommissar Josef Terboven to Oslo, with the mission to "win over the Norwegians" for the idea of a "New Europe" under German rule. To fulfil this task, a massive campaign of cultural propaganda was launched, with cooperation between the Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin under Joseph Goebbels's reign, and Terboven's administration in Oslo. Within the racial ideology of the "Nordic Thought" in Germany during the 1920s–1940s it seemed fitting that the occupiers would use the long-held adoration of Wagner in Norway as grounds to begin this propagandistic campaign of fraternization. Shortly after battles ended in late summer of 1940, Terboven's propaganda leader in his administration in Oslo – SS-Officer Georg Wilhelm Müller[45] – organized an enormous guest appearance by the Hamburgian state opera[46] centering around Wagner's *Die*

44 *Dagbladet,* 5 May 1939: "*Parsifal*, Wagners siste verk, er også hans svakteste. Ikke sånn å forstå hans tekniske mesterskap er blitt ringere – evnen til å veve motivene sammen […]. Men selve det musikalske stoffet han arbeider med er mindre verdt, melodilinjens følsomhet har tapt seg, alt er blitt så mye fattigere, det kann ikke skjules av den overdådige orkestrale fargeblandingen."

45 For further details on Müller see in this volume by Michael Custodis, "Master or Puppet" as well as Robert Bohn, *Reichskommissariat Norwegen. 'Nationalsozialistische Neuordnung' und Kriegswirtschaft* (= *Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte*, edited by the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, Vol. 54), München 2000, p. 63–65; see further for propaganda issues in Norway during the occupation Martin Moll, *Das Neue Europa. Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Auslandspropaganda in Europa 1939–1945. Die Geschichte eines Fehlschlages,* Graz 1986; and Martin Moll, "Norwegens Hauptstadt Oslo 1940–1945. Eine besetzte 'germanische' Stadt im Kampf um kulturelle Deutungshoheit", in *Evropská velkoměsta za druhé světové války: Kazdodennost okupovaného vlekoměsta. Praha 1939–1945 v evropském srovnání* [*Europäische Großstädte während des Zweiten Weltkrieges. Alltag der okkupierten Großstädte. Prag 1939–1945 im europäischen Vergleich*], Praha 2007, p. 513–546.

46 The role of the Hamburg State Opera within Nazi politics was just recently critically recovered, however not in its function as a touring orchestra during the war. See Hannes Heer, "Die Machtergreifung in der Oper. Nationalsozialistische Musikpolitik am Beispiel Hamburgs", in: Beatrix Borchard and Heidi Zimmermann (eds.), *Musikwelten – Lebenswelten. Jüdische Identitätssuche in*

Walküre.[47] Correspondence between the Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin and Müller in Oslo[48] reveals the ideological importance of this performance. During the preparations, Dr. Lang from department T (Theater) of the Reichskulturkammer in Berlin proposed a possible program for Oslo, including Mozart's *Zauberflöte, Daphne* by Richard Strauss, *Julius Cäsar* by Händel, Mozart's *Figaro* or *Entführung aus dem Serail*, as well as *Der Fliegende Holländer* and *Tristan und Isolde* by Wagner.[49] Müller probably knew about the long tradition of Wagner enthusiasm in Norway, and urged the department in Berlin to insist on a performance of Wagner's *Die Walküre* while the negotiations with the Hamburgian state opera continued. On September 11, 1940 Müller telegraphed Dr. Lang in Berlin:

> Habe Hamburger Staatsoper […] heute mitgeteilt, entweder Walkuere oder Daphne und Ballet Don Juan hier moeglich. Am liebsten Walkuere, von der […] grosser Erfolg erwartet wird. Nur wenn Walkuere unmöglich, Daphne und Ballett. Figare [sic] vor 1 ½ Jahren eine Serie von Auffuehrungen hier, wuerde infolgedessen zurzeit nicht notwendive [sic] Zugkraft haben.[50]

Dr. Lang, however, replied that the Hamburgian state opera uttered concerns about *Die Walküre*, as it would be impossible to perform it with only a mere 47-piece orchestra that was to fit into the national theater in Oslo. At least 60 instrumentalists were required, and Müller should check again, if additional musicians could be seated in the boxes next to the orchestra.[51] After further negotiations, Müller was granted his wish to have *Die Walküre* performed twice by the Hamburgian state opera in Oslo, as a public performance, and as part of the *Truppenbetreuung* for the Wehrmacht. The specific reason why the Hamburgian state opera was approached by the Nazis to travel to Oslo and give a guest performance was proposed by Alfred Noller – general director of the state opera – in the program notes to the guest performance. He wrote that the Hamburgian opera was the first non-aristocratic opera house of Germany, and thus a real "Volkstheater".[52] By this reasoning, the Hamburg State Opera had splendidly managed to evolve and become a real competitor for aristocratic-privileged operas houses in Germany.[53] Considering Norwegian opera history, this was exactly what Norway's opera life had suffered from in the 19th century.

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der deutschen Musikkultur, Köln et al. 2009, p. 323–338. See additionally a short overview about the Hamburg State Opera's function as a touring ensemble during the war: Ursula Fremy, "Die Hamburgische Staatsoper als Frontbühne: Ideologischer Rahmen, Eindrücke von der 'inneren' und 'äußeren' Front", in: Hanns Werner Heister (ed.), *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland*, Frankfurt am Main 1984, p. 91–97.

47 Alfred Fidjestøl, *Trass alt. Det Norske Teatret 1913–2013,* Oslo 2013, p. 246.

48 Bundesarchiv (= BArch), R55/20543.

49 BArch R55/20543, fol 18, Dr. Lang to Müller, 2 September 1940.

50 BArch R55/20543, fol. 32, Müller to Dr. Lang, undated. Translation: "Informed Hamburg State Opera today that either Walküre or Daphne and Ballet Don Juan are possible here. Preferably Walküre which is expected to be a great success. Only if Walküre impossible, then Daphne and Ballet. Figare [sic] had a series of performances $1^{1/2}$ years ago, would therefore not have the required impact."

51 BArch R55/20543, fo. 33, Dr. Lang to Müller, 12 September 1940.

52 BArch R55/20543, fol. 53v.

53 Ibid.

The program notes further contained ideologically tainted articles. And, even this early, a prominent figure of Norway's music life, Arne van Erpekum Sem – a singer, vocal coach and music critic – supported this fraternization, writing about *Forbindelser mellom Tyskland og Norge på musikkens område* (Relations between Germany and Norway in the Field of Music). After reporting about Norwegian musicians, such as Ole Bull, learning their craft in Germany, he stated about Wagner:

> The same goes for our singers, who prefer their education in Germany. Many of them have been employed by German operas and several have participated in the Wagner festivals in Bayreuth. Wagner retrieved most of his substance to the Nibelungen ring from the Nordic mythology, such as in the two Edda poetry. Therefore, it is natural that Norwegian artists are particularly suited for bringing these Wagner characters to life.[54]

This initial instrumentalization of Wagner continued throughout the years of German occupation. This was, for example, the case for the second anniversary of the establishment of the Reichskommissariat, which was celebrated on 21 April 1942, at the National Theater in Oslo. After Wagner's *Rienzi* overture was played by the orchestra of the Deutsches Theater, which was established in 1941, Terboven took the stand, and in his speech "warned all those who held on to the past"[55] not to stand in the way of the new movement. The list of official state events where Wagner was propagandistically employed was long. A few examples can be mentioned here. During the visit of Reichsfrauenführerin Gertrude Scholz-Klink to Oslo in September 1942, the ideal piece to be played on this occasion was *Zug der Frauen zum Münster* from Wagner's *Lohengrin*.[56] At another instance, during a commemoration service held between the Occupying German regime and the Nasjonal Samling to honor the fallen Norwegian soldiers, the philharmonic orchestra played the "fittingly" *Einzug der Götter in Walhalla* from *Götterdämmerung*,[57] to elevate those deceased into the mythologic realm of heroic gods.

6. Consequences

Since the independence of Norway in 1905, expressing cultural greatness was an important part of seeking status, acceptance and legitimization among the European states.[58] With great effort, parts of the Norwegian music elite attempted to express this particular Norwegian greatness through Wagnerism as the epitome of supreme culture. The "Nordic" relationship to Wagner's oeuvre made this mission even more patriotic and important. Wagnerism was not an entirely aesthetic muse in Norway, but

54 BArch R55/20543, fol. 54: "Det samme gjelder våre sangere og sangerinner, som fortrinsvis søker sin utdannelse i Tyskland. Mange av dem har hatt fast ansettelser ved tyske operaer og flere har medvirket ved Wagner-festspillene i Bayreuth. Wagner hentet det meste av sitt stoff til Nibelungen-ringen fra den nordiske mytologi, slik som den foreligger i de to Edda-diktninger. Derfor er det naturlig, at norske kunstnere i særlig grad egner sig til å gi disse Wagnerske skikkelser liv."

55 *Dagbladet,* 22 April 1942.

56 *Porsgrunns Dagblad,* 16 September 1942.

57 *Aftenposten,* 22 March 1943.

58 See additionally Arnulf Mattes's text about "Norwegian monumentalism" in this volume.

also part of patriotic matters. The ideological instrumentalization of Wagner by the Nazis and their Norwegian collaborators, turning him into a musical advocate of racial superiority, caused the disregard for this dark chapter of Norwegian music history. The associations all too easily drawn between Wagner and Nazism after 1945 led NRK executive Hugo Kramm to announce, in December of 1945, that German composers such as Wagner and Strauss, but also other Norwegian "Nazi composers" such as Sinding and Monrad-Johansen would be withdrawn from broadcasting programs, as they would only cause "unnecessary moments of irritation."[59]

59 *Ringerikes Blad*, 14 December 1945.

Ingrid Loe Landmark (neé Dalaker)

Ideas on National Music in Interwar Norway

From the mid-1920s, the new generation of Norwegian composers who dominated the music scene in the decades to come, such as David Monrad Johansen, Eivind Groven, Geirr Tveitt, Bjarne Brustad, Klaus Egge, and later on Harald Sæverud, presented ideas on how to create a national music, which did not stand in the tradition of Grieg.[1] These composers still used Norwegian folk music as their point of departure, but at the same time they applied several characteristics of contemporary European art music.[2]

During the same period, Norwegian society gave rise to a new discussion about "the national", both on a socio-political and a cultural level.[3] The previous period, the resolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union in 1905, was characterized by a gathering around Norwegian symbols, like the flag, the development of Norwegian state institutions, and Norwegian art. However, the period following the interwar period opened up new discussions, focusing on "the national" and the meaning of different national symbols. These observations raise interesting questions to be discussed:

1. Is it possible to connect the idea of a new national music in the interwar period to the developments taking place on the cultural and socio-political levels?
2. What kind of relations had the interwar composers to the national romantic tradition? Are their plausible relations with cultural nationalism before 1905, before Norway's independence, the so-called golden era of national romantic music?
3. How did these composers apply the idea of "the national" in their compositional practice? And how did they deal with the influence of contemporary European art music in their individual quests for a new style influenced by national ideas?

"The national" in modernizing Norway – a changeable concept

The reception of new philosophical ideas, first of all with Johann Gottfried Herder's, was of great importance for the cultural nationalism emerging in Norway from the 1840s on, and is therefore crucial for the understanding of "the national" in Norwegian arts and music, too.[4] One of the very first Norwegians to transmit Herder's ideas into Norwegian culture was Moltke Moe (1859–1913), professor at the University of

1 Arvid O. Vollsnes (ed.), *Norges musikkhistorie*, Vol. 4, Oslo 2000, p. 38.

2 Ingrid Loe Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskaping? Nasjonale spor i norsk musikk. Brustad, Egge og Groven*, Trondheim 2011, p. 291.

3 The concept "the national" was used by both liberals, social democrats, and fascists. In Norway, like in many other countries, great changes took place on the socio-political and economical arenas during the interwar period, see Hans Fredrik Dahl, *Norge mellom krigene. Det norske samfunn i krise og konflikt 1918–1940*, Oslo 1973, and Svein Ivar Angell, *Frå splid til nasjonal integrasjon*, KULTs skriftserie 29–4 *Nasjonal identitet*, Oslo 1994.

4 Frederick Mechner Barnard, *J. G. Herder on Social and Political Culture*, Cambridge 1969, p. 2–60. Important inspiration came from Danish historians Laurids Engeltoft (1771–1851) and Christian Molblech (1783–1857) whose writings were deeply influenced by Herder's ideas.

Kristiania (Oslo).[5] In 1888, he was appointed professor of the new Norwegian written language, Nynorsk, and from 1899, in folklore and medieval literature. For Herder, folk art and folk music were the true expression of a people's character. To build people's consciousness of a common culture and history, knowledge of this folk character was regarded as an important means. As such, language, folk art, ethics and moral were seen as expressing this common national spirit. In this process, the artist was seen as a specifically gifted medium who could show the true folk character through his art. Unlike the previous century, the artist now had to have the same nationality as the folk character he was expected to express. This meant you had to be a native-born artist to create authentic national art.

Norwegian national romanticism broke through in the 1840s. The influence of these ideas reached a peak in the decades after 1850, and can be characterized as a broad cultural movement, focusing on the people and the nation, and making use of several elements taken from Norwegian peasant culture.[6] Already at this time, folk arts were regarded as a means to prove Norwegian individuality, and were seen as a foundation for national art. Herder's ideas are reflected in several ways in Norwegian culture during the 1850s, for instance in the widespread collecting of fairy tales and folk tunes, the endeavor to construct a specific Norwegian literary language and "typical" rural scenes within the area of painting. In the decades after 1840, musician and folk tune collector Ludvig Mathias Lindeman (1812–1877) carried out extensive work to find and document folk tunes. Lindeman's recordings of folk and dance tunes came to be of great importance for Norwegian composers in the 19th century, who exploited rhythmic and melodic motifs in their art music compositions. Composers like Halfdan Kjerulf (1815–1868), Johan Svendsen (1840–1911), Otto Winter-Hjelm (1837–1931) and Edvard Grieg (1843–1907) all wrote works in a national romantic style, using elements from Norwegian folk music to illustrate a specific Norwegian character.

From the mid-19th century to the late 20th century, "the idea of the national" was strongly focused on Norwegian art and culture. Literature by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Henrik Ibsen were used as important cultural markers, in the years leading up to the establishing of Norway as an independent nation state in 1905. Of the several composers who exploited elements from folk music, Grieg's music expressed these kinds of ideas in the most successful way internationally. During the second half of the 19th century, various countries in Europe fused Herder's ideas with political nationalism in the fight for political independence. Since the mid-19th century, the idea of a unique Norwegian culture and identity gained a strong and persistent hold on Norwegian society. In Norway, like in many other European countries, where underprivileged and bourgeois classes lacked political sovereignty, Herder's ideas became highly influential. The idea of a specific folk character was merged with ideas of the free and independent

5 Moltke Moe was son of the well-known collector of fairy tales, Jørgen Moe. See Brynjulf Alver, article "Moltke Moe", in: *Store norske leksikon* (https://snl.no/Moltke_Moe, last access 27.09.2018).

6 See Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskaping*, p. 288–289; Olav Christensen, "En nasjonal identitet tar form", in: Øystein Sørensen ed.), *Jakten på det norske*, edit., Oslo 1998, and Ørnulf Hodne, *Det nasjonale hos norske folklorister på 1800-tallet*, KULTs skriftserie 24–2, Oslo 1994.

Norwegian peasant.[7] The free Norwegian peasantry was seen as a symbol of continuity from the Middle Ages. This heritage was supposed to be found in the 19th century peasant society, and core values were believed to have survived more than four hundred years of Dano-Norwegian union.

In the first phase after 1905, until around 1920, the young nation's main efforts were directed at consolidating "the national" through the creation of political institutions and the evolution of Norwegian industry. However, new ideas of "the national" flourished in the following decades. In the 1920s and 30s, several written sources, for instance newspaper discussions, show what was viewed to be the most appropriate character of national culture.[8] These debates contributed to establish an understanding of "the national" in modern Norway. Over the same period, we also observe all the political parties, striving to gain power and influence, taking a serious interest in "the national" idea. In this period, the discussion went through two different sociopolitical lines. One line intended to preserve the old values connected to the peasant's culture. The other line wanted to develop a modern nation by uniting the values of the urban and the farmer's culture.

This phenomenon can be exemplified by the development taking place in the Norwegian Labour Party, *Arbeiderpartiet*. While presenting itself as a revolutionary party with a formalized connection to the *Third Communist International* in the 1920s, *Arbeiderpartiet* turned away from this course in the early 1930s.[9] At the hand of its leading ideologist, Professor of History, Halfdan Koht (1873–1965), the party presented ideas intended to "integrate the national ideas of the 1860s with Marx's ideas".[10] This change of course established the premise for the party's success in the years following World War II, and has remained a continuous influence on Norwegian society up to the very last part of the 20th century.

In the process of forming a social democratic nationalist ideology, Koht made use of his private interpretation of Marxism. He argued that the peasant and the worker had several interests in common. Koht claimed that the peasants had formed the basis for Norwegian democracy and that their class struggle had several traits in common with the class struggle of the industrial worker. *Arbeiderpartiet* saw the chance to create a broad coalition of workers and peasants against the old upper classes. This pro-

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7 Images of Norwegian territory, Norwegian folk character and culture existed already in Greek antiquity. These ideas were strengthened by topographical studies in the 18th century, describing Norwegians as an individual ethnical group. These romantic speculations experienced a sustaining ideological turn when race ideologists claimed the "Nordic" and "Norwegian" to prove Germanic supremacy. Ottar Dahl, *Norsk historieforskning i 19. og 20. århundre*, Oslo 1959, chapters 1 and 3, Kåre Lunden, *Norsk grålysing. Norsk nasjonalisme 1770–1814 på allmenn bakgrunn*, Oslo 1992; Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes, "Zur Kategorie des 'Nordischen' in der norwegischen Musikgeschichte 1930–45", in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 73 (2016) Nr. 3, p. 169–172.

8 Angell, "Frå splid til nasjonal integrasjon".

9 Ibid, p. 131 and 136, Dahl, *Norge Mellom krigene*, p. 32; Stephen Ernest Eccles, *The Norwegian Labour Party and the welfare State. Changing Attitudes Towards the Market*, Oslo 2004; Thor Viksveen and Vivi Aaslund, *Den lange veien. Oslo arbeiderparti 1910–2010*, Oslo 2010; Roy Vega, *Når ideologien blender. Arbeiderpartiets ideologiske reise – fra Komintern til Fedynsky High*, Levanger 2014; Eirik Wig Sundall, *Gerhardsens valg: Arbeiderpartiets tunge avskjed med Sovietunionen 1917–1949*, Oslo 2016.

10 Tor Ragnar Weidling and Knut Are Tvedt, article "Halvdan Koht", in: *Store norske leksikon*, (https://snl.no/Halvdan_Koht, last access 10.09.2018).

cess of forming a national ideology reflects a modernizing process that involved a reinterpretation of ideas from the previous Norwegian culture. "The national" was given a new content, which was more in tune with contemporary society. Koht's ideas inspired the party's slogan from the 1933 election "By og land, hand i hand" (Town and country, hand in hand).

These changes in public opinion also influenced music. As mentioned above, the use of elements from folk music was a characteristic trait of Norwegian art music since the mid-19th century. Around 1920, several composers still found themselves in the tradition of Grieg, by postulating a national tone in music.[11] However, many composers of the younger generation had no need or desire to perpetuate a national romantic tradition. Their intention was, like several composers from other countries in Europe, to create something new by combining new harmonic techniques with elements taken from the structure of folk music, instead of using certain melodic and rhythmical motifs which were defined as "national" in the national romantic style. Accordingly, structural elements from folk music inspired new harmonic, melodic and formal solutions.

The idea of creating a new national music was first presented in the mid-1920s. One important influence was David Monrad Johansen. He conveyed his ideas in public lectures such as "On 'the national' in Music", given in May 1925, which were published in the national newspaper *Aftenposten* a few months later.[12] From the latter part of the 1920s, young composers such as Eivind Groven and Geirr Tveitt, were picking up Monrad Johansen's ideas, and started discussing the possibility of creating a new, "national aesthetics" in music, exchanging letters, and finding individual solutions.[13]

The same ideas were also expressed compositionally during the same years. Eivind Groven, Bjarne Brustad, and Klaus Egge all found their highly personal solutions to the problem by using elements found in the structure of folk music, and in the idiomatic playing of the Hardanger fiddle.

Eivind Groven (1901–1977)

When Groven attended the Music Conservatory in Oslo in 1925, he had long been working on theories concerning pure tuning.[14] His formative years in an active folk music environment had made him aware of the non-tempered intervals in vocal and instrumental music.[15] As with many composers, Groven was inspired by Hermann von Helmholtz's theories. This, together with his knowledge of folk music, later gave input

11 For instance, Christian Sinding (1856–1941), Per Reidarson, (1879–1954), Iver Holter (1850–1941), Trygve Torjussen (1885–1977). See Vollsnes, *Norges musikkhistorie*. Vol. 4, p. 38.

12 The lectures were published in *Aftenposten*, 5, 6, 7, and 9 July 1924. Additionally, see Vollsnes, *Norges musikkhistorie*, Vol. 4, p. 95–107.

13 Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskaping*, p. 67–73.

14 Dagne Groven Myhren, "Life and art", in: Ingrid Loe Dalaker, Anne Jorunn Kydland and Dagmara Łopatowska-Romsvik (eds.), *East of Noise. Eivind Groven Composer, Ethnomusicologist, Researcher*, Trondheim 2013, p. 24; Eivind Groven, "Eivind Groven fortel", in: Olav Fjalestad (ed.), *Eivind Groven. Heiderskrift til 70-årsdagen 8. oktober 1971*, Oslo 2001, p. 53.

15 Ibid., p. 37 and 47; Yisrael Laban Daliot, *Samtaler med Eivind Groven* 1969–1971, transcribed from the tape machine by Anne Jorunn Kydland, copy in Norsk folkemusikksamling, Nasjonalbiblioteket Oslo, p. 2.

to research on a very broad scale. During his adult life, he wrote three dissertations on tuning and temperament.[16] He also constructed instruments capable of reproducing pure intervals. In addition, his efforts to transfer acoustic, rhythmic and structural traits from folk music to art music must all have had their origin in his ideas on pure intonation. Groven's intention of proving that folk music had its tonal basis in the overtone series, should also be seen as part of the ongoing process in modern art music.[17] In an interview given on his 70th birthday in 1971, Groven extended his perspectives from the 1920s: "I believed I would be able to find new systems for music. It's worth noticing that during this time this world was full of speculations similar to mine. It was also during these years that atonalism appeared in music!"[18]

Groven had a strong desire to exploit the overtone series in art music contexts, and to create an expanded tonality through micro tones and overtone inflections.[19] In the same interview from 1971, Groven goes on to say: "I was concerned with exploring new lanes, I experimented with scale formations which were not the usual major-minor ones, but might also involve harmonic laws and structures completely different to the ones we were familiar with. I felt I had ended my relationship with all classical music."[20]

The song *Moen* from 1923 is an early example of Groven's transferring of elements from the harmonic overtone series to art music. When *Moen* was first played in public, several people noticed the particular timbre, and asked whether Groven had now chosen an atonal course in music.

> I had already made a little bit of use of this [an altered scale] in *Moen*. In this song, which, I had based on the willow flute; the higher tones in the natural scale, from 14 to 18. This brought about a harmony and a melody that gave the impression of something new. Some people asked: Well, are you an atonalist? [21]

Moen is written for a solo voice with piano accompaniment and is based on a poem found in Hans E. Kinck's novel *Herman Ek* from 1923.[22] In the setting of the poem to

16 *Naturskalaen. Tonale Lover i norsk folkemusikk bundne til seljefløyta* (1927) and *Temperering og renstemming* (1948) deal with different tuning systems. *Renstemningsautomaten* (1968) deals with principles for Groven's own invention, the pure tuning device. See also Anne Jorunn Kydland, "Eivind Groven's pure-tuned organ in historical and aesthetic perspective", in: Dalaker, Lysdahl, Lapotowska, *East of Noise*, p. 153–169.

17 Ingmar Bengtsson, *Modern nordisk musikk*, Stockholm 1957, p. 15, Anne Jorunn Kydland Lysdahl, "Eivind Grovens arbeid med det renstemte orgelet i historisk perspektiv", in: *Norsk Kirkemusikk* (1999) Vol. 4, p. 5–13 and Vol. 5, p. 5–15.

18 Groven, *Eivind Groven fortel*, p. 47.

19 Helmholtz's book also gave support for Schönberg's ideas. The liberation of the dissonance and the idea of understanding the difference between consonance and dissonance as only a matter of degree, were presented by Helmholtz in his explaining of the overtone series. See Arnold Schönberg, *Theory of Harmony*, translated by Roy E. Carter, London 1978, p. 9 and 27.

20 Finn Benestad, "Tanker om musikk. Komponisten, folketoneeksperten, vitenskapsmannen Eivind Groven i samtale med Finn Benestad", in: *Norsk Musikktidsskrift* (1971), Vol. 4, p. 142.

21 Translation by Ann Stackpole/Yngvill Vatn Guttu, in: Ingrid Loe Dalaker, Anne Jorunn Kydland and Dagmara Łopatowska-Romsvik (eds.), *East of Noise. Eivind Groven Composer, Ethnomusicologist, Researcher*, p. 237. In Norwegian printed in: Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskaping?*, p. 94.

22 About *Herman Ek* see Aslaug Groven Michaelsen, "Under en urolig himmel", in: Kjell Heggelund et al. (eds.), *Forfatternes litteraturhistorie*, Vol. 2, Oslo 1980, p. 90–102. The songs *Moen* (1926), *Du maa lyse* (1926), both texts by Hans Ernst Kinck, *Natt* (1925), *Tøvær* (1925), both texts by H. Underberget, were published as separate prints under the title *Sange* (Songs) in 1926.

music, Groven chooses to combine tones closely related to those of the overtone series, with a modal foundation. By using these elements, he creates his own individual sound. Very few of the tonal and harmonic elements used in *Moen* can be seen within the framework of a traditional functional harmony. To explain Groven's technique, the harmonic overtone series on C can be taken as a starting point (see. pic. 1). In particular, he makes use of the tones from 14 to18 and reaches up to the 24th partial:

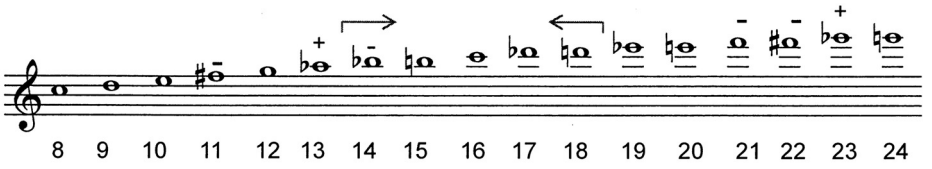

Figure 1: Harmonic overtones, tones 8–24.

The tones F sharp, B flat, B, C, D flat (C sharp) and D, which are all prominent in the melody, can easily be attached to the overtone series. This group of tones has an accompaniment, based on the scales F sharp Phrygian, B Dorian, B Mixolydian, B Aeolian and E Aeolian. Not surprisingly, the tones that make up these scales are closely related to the partials. The accompaniment is dominated by modal progressions and altered chords, in which the altered tones either belong to, or are closely related to, those of the overtone series, especially the 14th to the 18th partials. In this way, Groven creates a harmonic picture which is neither based on a pure major-minor system nor on modality. Instead it can be characterized as a type of extended tonality (see fig. 2):

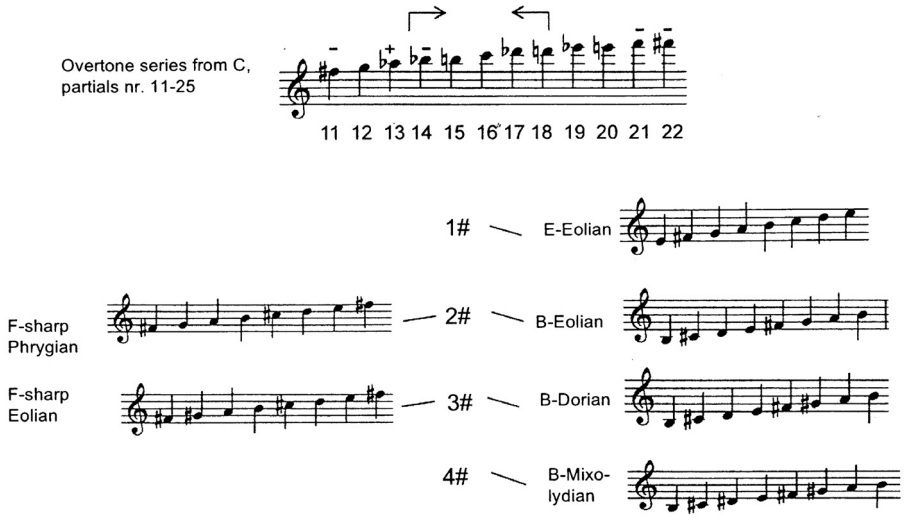

Figure 2: Different Scales in *Moen*.

In his harmonic technique, Groven exploits the use of tones common to the various scales to facilitate smooth modulation. By choosing scales with several tones in common, some chords will naturally take on a prominent role in the harmonization. The triads E-minor, B-minor and F-sharp minor can be made from the tones found in the scales F-sharp Phrygian and B-Aeolian. Likewise, the first two of the three chords mentioned above, can be made from the tones in the E-Eolian scale. This technique brings forward a very smooth way of modulating. To obtain other central chords in this piece, for instance E major chords and the B major chord, Groven just had to make chromatic alterations of a few tones.

In this way, Groven exploits the number of common tones in the chosen scales to move from one tonality to another. By adding tones close to the natural scale, he also creates an extended tonality. The melody, which for longer periods has F sharp as its tonal center, also ends on an F sharp chord. The tempered F sharp is close to the 11th partial on C; a bit lower than the tempered F sharp. Groven's wish to employ the natural series is clearly expressed in the first bars of the vocal part (see fig. 3). In bars 4 and 9, F sharp is marked with *1/2 (meaning a bit higher than notated):

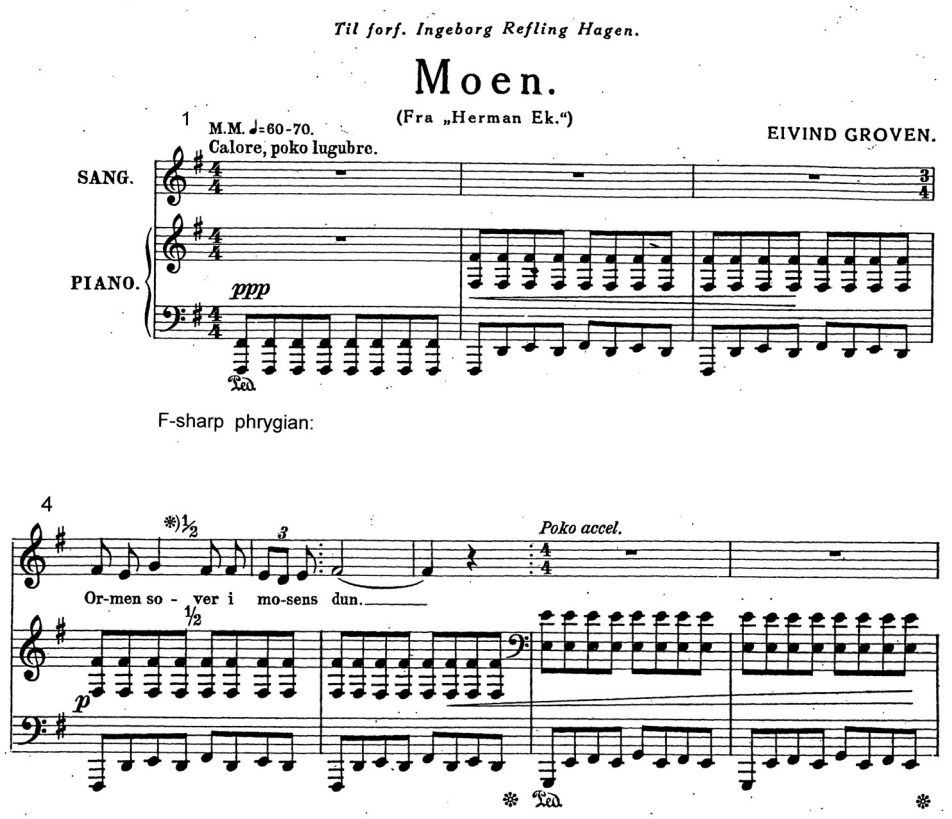

Figure 3: *Moen*, bars 1–7 (printed with kind permission).

An F sharp Phrygian base is indicated in bars 1–5 (introduction and the first phrase). In bars 15–16, C sharp and D sharp are introduced in the solo voice. This indicates a movement towards B-Mixolydian. Simultaneously, the tones G sharp, B flat and C (b. 15), E, F sharp, G sharp and G (b. 16), F and E (b. 17) and E flat and D (b. 18), occur in the accompaniment. These tones can be related to the overtones 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 19. In the following bars, D sharp and D are added in the melody line. Together these alterations make up an ambiguous tonal picture (see fig. 4):

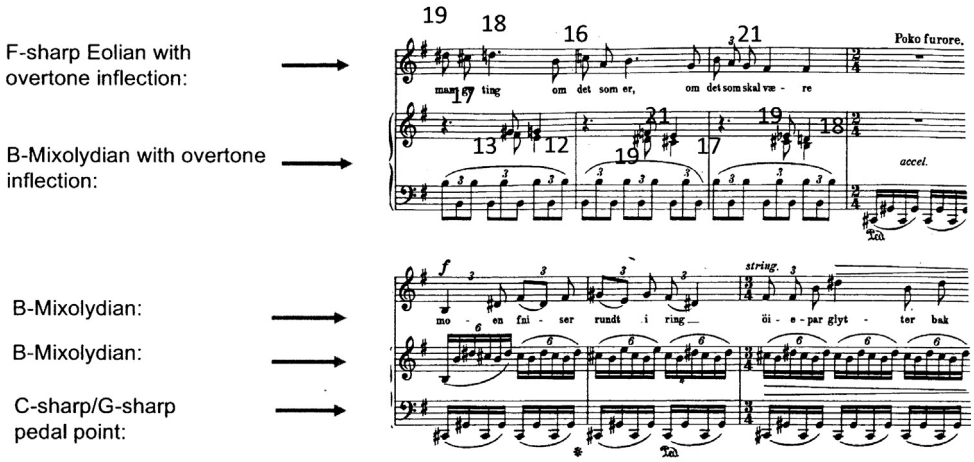

Figure 4: *Moen*, bars 16–22 (printed with kind permission).

Groven's techniques, as expressed through his early songs, were later used extensively in his larger works. However, most of these techniques were formed by the time he wrote the piano composition *Marihand* (1926–27).[23] This work is built upon a huge number of motifs, and gives several examples of polyphony and complicated harmony.[24] The equal tempering of the piano inspired Groven to look for timbral solutions which compensated for the piano's acoustic limitations.

This brief glimpse into Groven's harmonic technique, shows signs of a composer working seriously to find an adequate way to express his ideas. Groven's lifelong striving for reproducing the overtone series, and his ideas of transferring elements of the overtone series to art music, attaches him to an experimental school in art music mod-

23 A performance of *Marihand* takes about 40 minutes. The work was first performed at Groven's *second composition evening* (komposisjonsaften) in 1928. The work builds on the novel *Marihand* by Ingeborg Refling Hagen (1895–1989). See Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskaping*, p. 90–95.

24 *Marihand* was later to be a reservoir for ideas in other compositions. Its rich motific material is the starting point for several themes in other works, for instance the orchestral work *Skjebner* (1937) and *Piano Concerto Nr. 1* (1947). See Daliot, *Samtaler fra 1969–1971*, p. 42–46; Groven, *Eivind Groven fortel*, p. 50–51 and 76; Wolfgang Plagge, *Komponisten Eivind Groven – 100 år men ikke glemt*. Radio program with Tone L. Kværne Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK), 15 November 2001.

ernism.[25] Also, his use of other elements from the deep structural layers of folk music connects him to another trend in modernism – the national school of Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály.

Bjarne Brustad (1895–1978)

The use of quarter harmony and polytonality was a characteristic of Brustad's striving for a modern musical language.[26] At the same time, he was consciously creating solutions which he regarded as uniquely Norwegian. During the 1920s, Brustad studied and collected Norwegian folk tunes, and conducted extensive studies of the playing techniques of the Hardanger fiddle. His knowledge of foreign folk music and recent harmonic techniques allowed him combine these with Hardanger fiddle techniques. Already, in his years as a music student in Berlin from 1914 to 1915, Brustad was interested in alternative scale materials. Together with the Norwegian composer Alf Hurum, he spent several days in the university library studying Chinese and Asian scales.[27] Brustad found that the tunings of the sympathetic strings of the Hardanger fiddle corresponded to several Chinese or Japanese pentatonic scales. Also, during his stay in Berlin in 1922, he got to know two Indian musicians who performed Indian folk music. This gave him the idea to combine melodic material used in the Hardanger fiddle playing with pentatonic, whole tone and other scale formations.

Brustad's technique is well illustrated in his *Capricci for violin and viola* (1931). In *Capricci III. Allegretto*, he exploits the similarities between the pentatonic scale, quarter harmonies, and Hardanger fiddle tuning and its idiomatic playing (fig. 5 and 6). The intervals starting and ending the piece are typical for the Hardanger fiddle and are easily transformed into quarter harmony:

25 For the terms "modernity" and "modernism" in Norwegians contexts see Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskaping?*, p. 287, Christopher Butler, *Early Modernism. Literature, music and painting in Europe 1900–1916* (1994), Oxford 2007 and Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity. Modernism, Avantgarde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*, Durham 1987, p. 13–92.

26 Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskaping*, p. 127–176.

27 Ibid, p. 129.

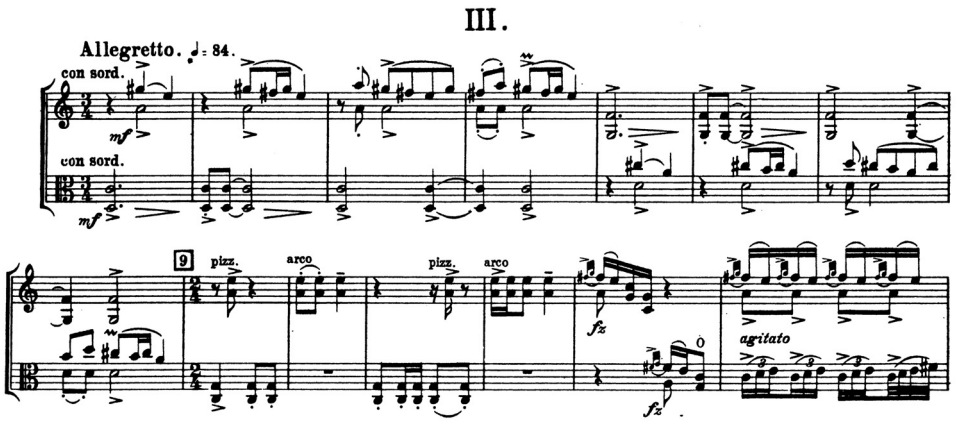

Figure 5: *Capricci III. Allegretto*, bars 1–12 (printed with kind ermission).

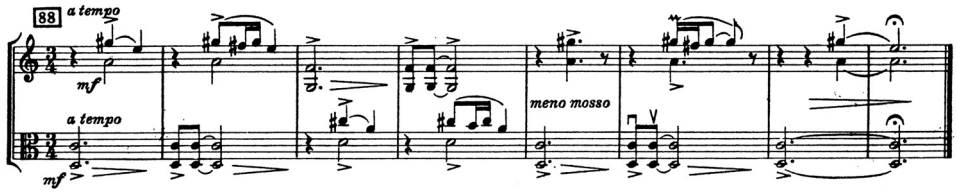

Figure 6: *Capricci III. Allegretto*, bars 88–95 (printed with kind permission).

A minor/A harmonic minor correspond to tones making up the central chords in the piece, the fifths a-e and c-g and the seventh c-d in bars 1–12. The same tones can easily be rearranged into quarter harmony (fig. 7):

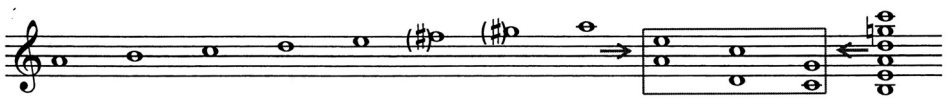

Figure 7: *Capricci III. Allegretto*, connections between a-minor, tuning and quarter harmony.

In his manuscript, "Tonerekker og deres praktiske anvendelse i musikalsk komposisjon" ("Tone rows and their practical use in musical composition"), Brustad shows the context between different pentatonic scales and the tuning of the sympathetic strings of the Hardanger fiddle.[28] The following examples (fig. 8) show Brustad's compliance between the tuning of the sympathetic strings and certain Chinese pentatonic scales numbered 1–5:[29]

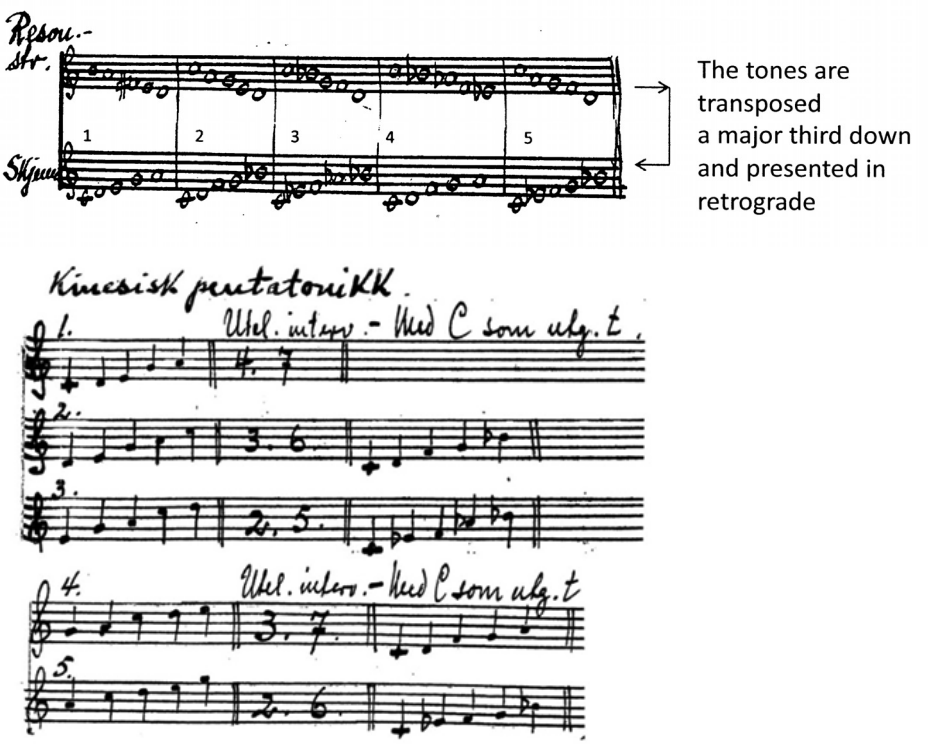

Figure 8: Compliance between tuning of the sympathetic strings of the Hardanger fiddle and Chinese pentatonic scales in Brustad's handwriting (printed with kind permission).

If we compare Brustad's choice of tunings with modern representation of common tunings for the Hardanger fiddle, one can observe clear correspondences.[30] As one can see in the following example (pic. 9), one of the most common tunings, tuning no. 1, is identical with Brustad's Chinese pentatonic scale no. 5.

28 Bjarne Brustad, *Melodisk og harmonisk analyse. Tonerekker og deres praktiske anvendelse i musikalsk komposisjon* (undated manuscript), National Library of Norway, Oslo. The content is: "Tone Rows. I. Pentatonic rows; II. Whole tone rows; III. Seven tone rows; IV. Synthetic seven tone rows; V. Twelve tone rows; VI. Divisions of the octave into 17- and 24 parts (Busoni-Hába) composition".

29 Bjarne Brustad "Stoffet, tonerekker", in: *Musikalsk komposisjon* (manuscript, dated 1955), National Library of Norway, Oslo, p. 12; Bjarne Brustad, *Melodisk og harmonisk analyse*, p. 12–13.

30 Bjørn Aksdal and Sven Nyhus, *Fanitullen, innføring i norsk og samisk folkemusikk*, Oslo 1998, p. 198.

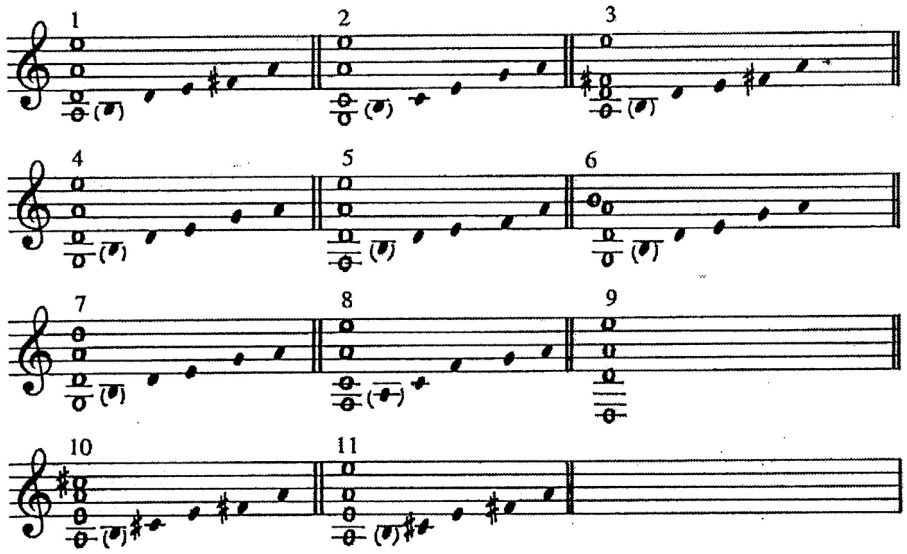

Figure 9: Tunings for the Hardanger fiddle.

In tuning no. 11 above, a very common tuning of the upper strings is a-e-a-e, combined with the tuning of the sympathetic strings; b-c#-e-f#-a. This tuning is identical with Chinese pentatonic scale no. 2 in Brustad's scheme. This tuning is exploited by Brustad in *Capricci III*. If tuning no. 11 is transposed a minor third up, the result is the tones d-e-g-a-c. Four of these tones are identical with the tones in the associated tuning of the upper strings (fig. 10):

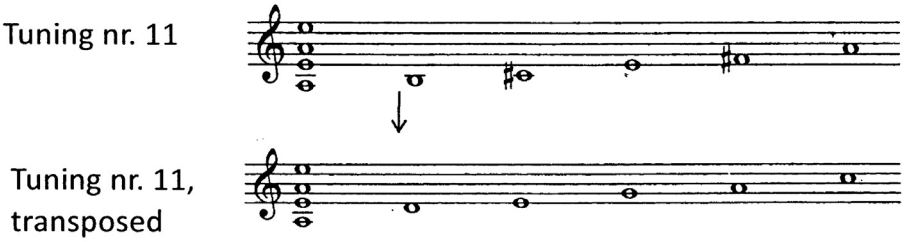

Figure 10: Tuning nr. 11, transposed.

Inverting the tones d-e-g-a-c will result in a quarter chord, e-a-d-g-c. This chord contains most of the tones making up central chords in the beginning of *Capricci III* (fig. 5). Also, these chords are easily combined with the different scales, which are used throughout the piece (fig. 11):

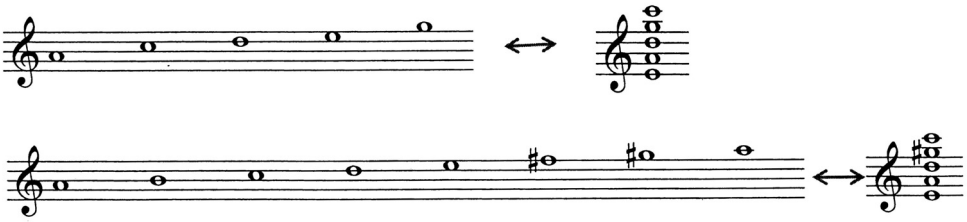

Figure 11: *Capricci III*, correspondence between tuning, atonalities and quarter harmony.]

Klaus Egge (1906–1979)

The youngest of the three artists discussed in detail here stepped onto the public music scene in September 1934, when he gave his debut concert as a composer.[31] From the very beginning, Egge intended to create a new Norwegian music, based on folk music combined with modern compositional techniques. As such, it is interesting to observe how his works also reflect the interwar cultural climate. In his debut concert in 1934, Egge presented three works for voice and piano. Here, he makes use of Medieval melodies, Hardanger fiddle tunes and even Inuit melodies. The lyrics were taken from Norse literature as well as from contemporary poems. Egge's choice of national elements gives an interesting picture of the culture of the time and shows different approaches to "the national".

Grønland, Op. 2 (1932), consists of three songs with lyrics by Idar Handagard and Hans Reynolds.[32] The two were well-known Norwegian authors of the time, and were both family friends of Klaus Egge. Both also had a common interest in Norwegian history and were eager to promote "Nynorsk". In choosing texts by these authors, Egge reflects his childhood culture and the dominating Zeitgeist. As the title indicates, these songs are connected to a political event, called Grønlandssaken (the "Greenland case"). This political fight for Norwegian sovereignty over Greenland took place in the last part of the 1920s and the early 1930s, and attracted a broad interest among the Norwegian population, politicians, authors and artists. Many Norwegians felt the case to be an unresolved issue inherited from the Danish-Norwegian Union. After the dissolvement of the Union in 1814, Denmark kept the old Norwegian territories of Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Greenland. The case was presented once more in 1921, when Denmark claimed sovereignty over Greenland and its territorial waters. The Greenland case now combined both economic and historical-national arguments. Eventually, the Norwegian government chose to annex the area and called it the *Land of Eirik Raude*, after the famous Viking king. In 1933 this conflict between Norway and Denmark was brought to the International Court of Justice in The Hague. The Norwegian Government lost its case.

31 Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskaping*, p. 180–202.
32 Ibid., p. 181–186.

Hans Reynolds (1876–1933) wrote the lyrics to "Vestre-Bygdi", the second of the three *Grønland* songs.[33] Reynolds took a strong interest in the Greenland case, and was an active member of Grønlandsnemdi, an organization founded in 1922 to support the Greenland issues. He also had a strong desire to write the history of this previous Norwegian territory, and published several smaller texts, as well as a book called *Grønland – Vestre Bygdi* (1926, fig. 12). The lyrics to the song *I Grønlands hav* (*In the Seas of Greenland*), by Idar Handagard (1874–1959), are to be found in his song-book *Grønlands-visor*, dated 1921.[34] Handagard had been studying Norse literature, Scandinavian languages and German poetry, and was part of a left-wing radical milieu promoting "the national".

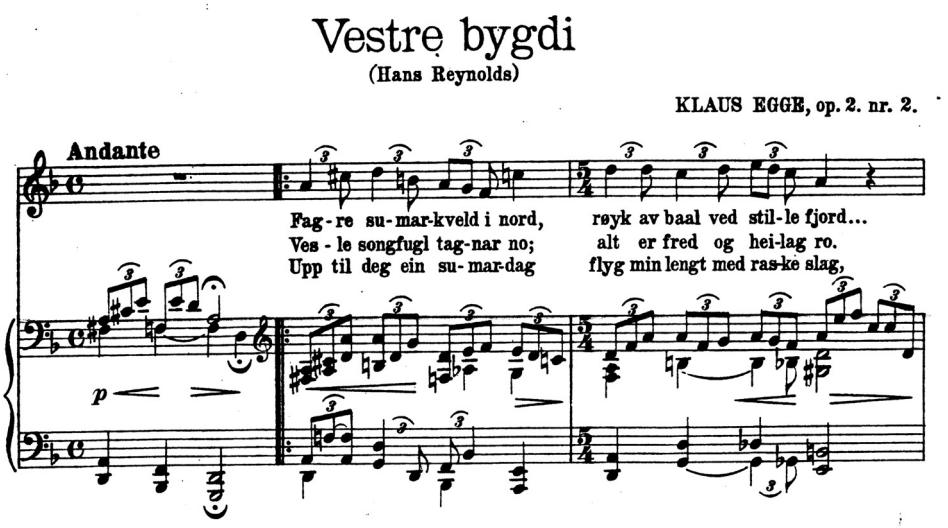

Figure 12: Klaus Egge, *Vestre Bygdi*, bars 1–3 (printed with kind permission).

In 1941, The Greenland case became relevant once more, through the initiative of the Norwegian National Socialist party, *Nasjonal Samling*.[35] Had the German victory been gained, they would have wanted to claim Greenland as Norwegian territory. In retrospect, Egge's choice of lyrics for his songs could seem compromising. However, Handagard's and Reynold's texts, as well as the composition itself, were written during the interwar years, when the future development of Norway's political history was unpredictable.

33 Ibid., p. 300–301.
34 Ibid., p. 297–298.
35 The Greenland case was a question of interest for Nasjonal Samling since the early 1930s so that in 1941 even its own committee (*Ishavskomitéen*) was established to intensify these efforts. Kirsti Laura W. Langsholdt: Å gjenerobre gammelt norsk land. Norsk ekspansiv nasjonalisme i Grønlandssaken og Nasjonal Samlings Austrvegs-prosjekt. Master thesis in History, University of Oslo (2016), p. 23–27 and p. 40–60.

Klaus Egge had a fascination for Paul Hindemith's works and music theory. In 1938 he left Norway to study with him in Berlin.[36] Unfortunately Hindemith had already left Germany,[37] so instead Egge spent a year in Berlin, studying with Professor Walter Gmeindl at Hochschule für Musik. The piano pieces *Fantasi i Halling*, Op. 12a, and *Fantasi i Springar*, Op. 12c (1939), were written after Egge's return to Norway.[38] In these pieces, he combines linear counterpoint with melodic and tonal liberty, which demonstrates how much he freed himself from traditional functional harmony. The pieces are constructed with two-part inventions, so that the thematic play between the different lines create the musical color and drive. In 1955, Egge gave an analysis of his violin concerto (1955), describing his linear way of thinking. The two pieces for piano from 1939 seem to build on the same technique: "I don't start with harmony, but make use of the musical line as point of departure. My contrapunctual lines create greater tension than what is usually given by the mutual relationships between the chords. My harmonies only function as timbral support."[39]

Like his colleagues, Eivind Groven and Bjarne Brustad, Egge was well acquainted with the Hardanger fiddle tradition. Accordingly, he developed techniques which originated from Norwegian folk dances for this instrument, concerning harmonical and formal principles. Egges' style can be described as a dissonant counterpoint based on extensions of the diatonic scale.[40] His tetrachord technique is derived from the Hardanger fiddle tradition, where the 1st playing position is the most common one. In the lower register, the use of a major tetrachord is preferred. Thus, starting on a D, the transposition of this tetrachord to the a- and e-string will form a D-major scale with Lydian color in the upper part, which is typical for Hardanger fiddle tunes (fig. 13).

36 Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskaping*, p. 179.
37 Günter Metz, *Der Fall Hindemith: Versuch eine Neubewertung*, Hofheim am Taunus 2016.
38 *Fantasi i Halling*, Op. 12a (Musikk-husets forlag, 1939/1941), *Fantasi i Springar*, op. 12c (Lyche forlag, 1939/1950). Egge also started composing *Fantasi i Gangar*, op. 12b ("Gangar" is a Norwegian folk dance in two-part time). This piece was never completed, and its sketch is kept in Musikksamlingen, National Library of Norway, Oslo.
39 Klaus Egge, "Fiolinkonsert 1953", in Ingmar Bengtsson (ed.), *Modern nordisk musikk*, Stockholm 1957, p. 96.
40 Dalaker, *Nostalgi eller nyskaping*, p. 202–227.

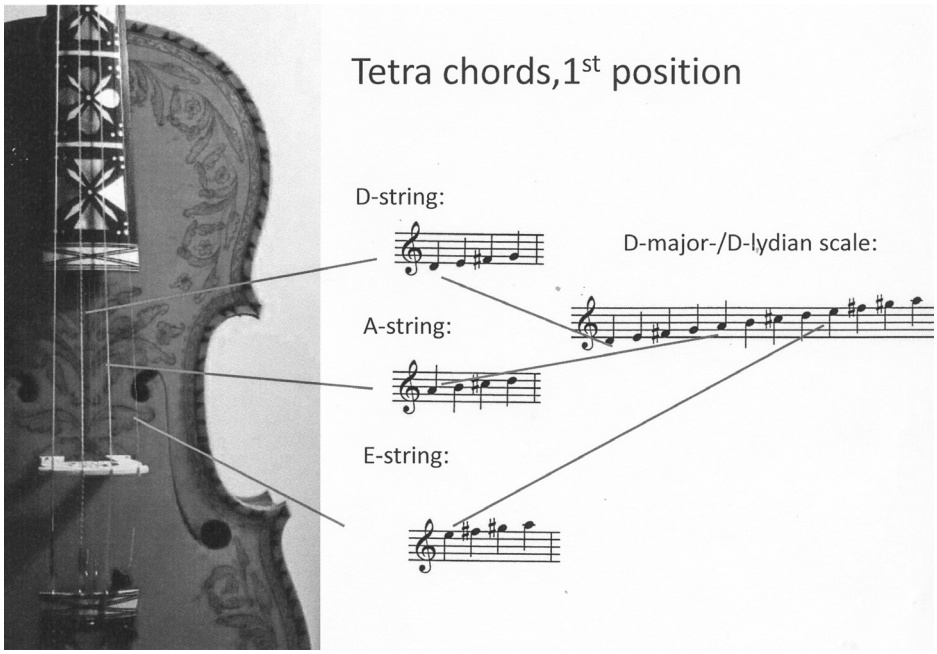

Figure 13: The Hardanger fiddle, Lydian flavor.

This method to merge different tetrachords enabled Egge to create different extensions of the diatonic scale. This contrapuntal dialog of segments from different tetrachords creates a constantly dissonant, bitonal tension. The piano piece, *Phantasy in Halling*, provides a representative example of this approach (fig. 14). Here, Egge strengthens the association to Norwegian folk music by using melodic motifs and rhythms characteristic of the folk dance *Halling*, and sonorities typical of the Hardanger fiddle.

The thematic material used in *Fantasi i Halling* and in *Fantasi i Springar* clearly reflects well-known melodic and rhythmic motifs in the Hardanger fiddle music (slåtter).[41] Olav Gurvin presented a detailed analysis of *Fantasi i Halling*, showing how several traits point back to the Hardanger fiddle music and its idiomatic playing style.[42] He further demonstrated how Egge's tetrachord technique serves as the basis for an extended tonality with whole tone inflections and the use of all twelve tones in the octave. Gurvin exemplifies Egge's different ways of extending the scales (fig. 15):

41 Hampus Huldt-Nystrøm, *'Det nasjonale tonefall'. Studier av motiv og motivkombinasjoner, særlig i norsk springar og svensk polka* (Doctoral thesis), University of Oslo (1966), p. 92, 167, 180, 190–191 and 197–203. See additionally Ingrid Loe Dalaker, *Thomas Tellefsen i norsk og fransk musikkultur. En resepsjonshistorisk og verkanalytisk studie* (Doctoral thesis), University of Trondheim (2005), p. 37.

42 Olav Gurvin, "Norske serdrag i musikken", in *Norsk musikkgranskning* (*Årbok 1940*), 1941, p. 45–57.

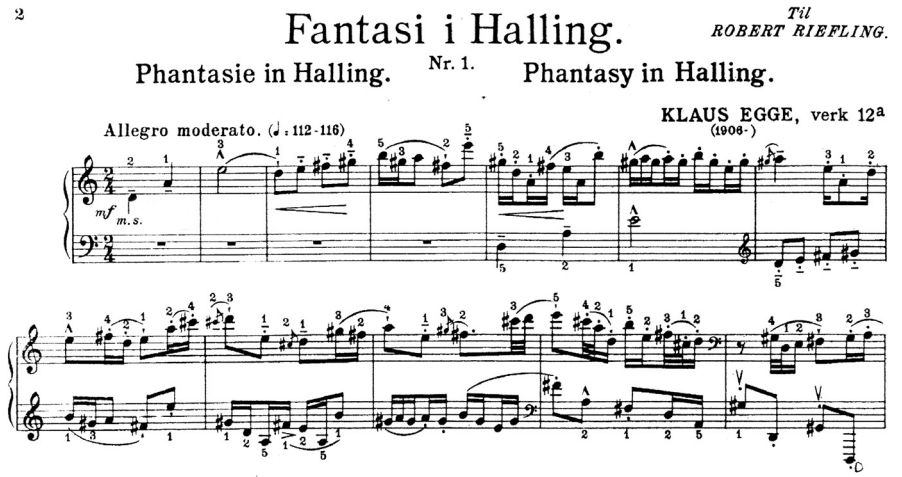

Figure 14: *Fantasi i Halling*, bars 1–12 (printed with kind permission).

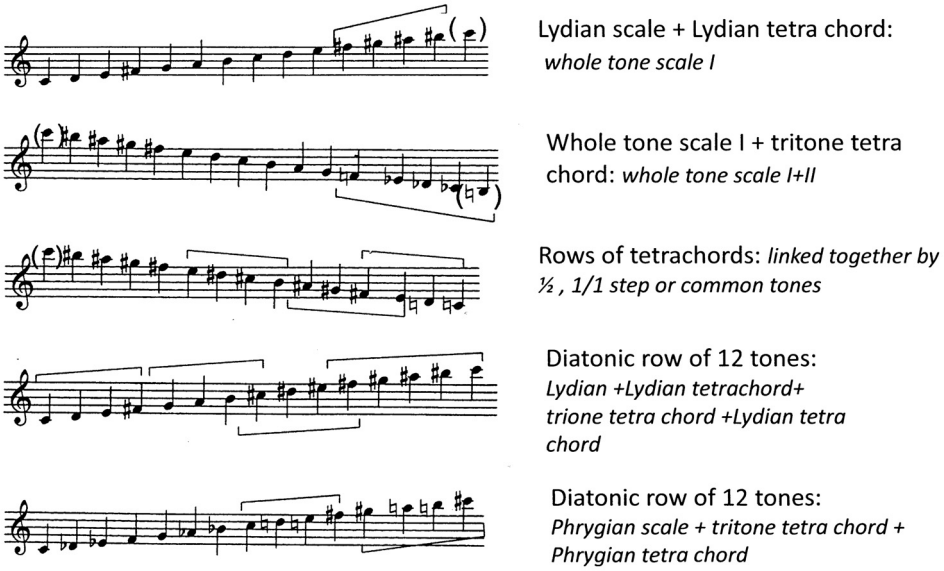

Figure 15: Extending scales by using tetrachords.

Fantasi i Springar, Op. 12c (fig. 16), is based on the same elements as *Fantasi i Halling*. The thematic material is related to typical "slåtte-motifs", in which the triplet and the punctuated quaver are central elements. Furthermore, the harmonic base is built on modality. The piece starts in E-Aeolian and quickly changes into different modalities, using the tone e as its base. The modulations are carried out by the tetrachord technique to extend the tonal character of the piece.

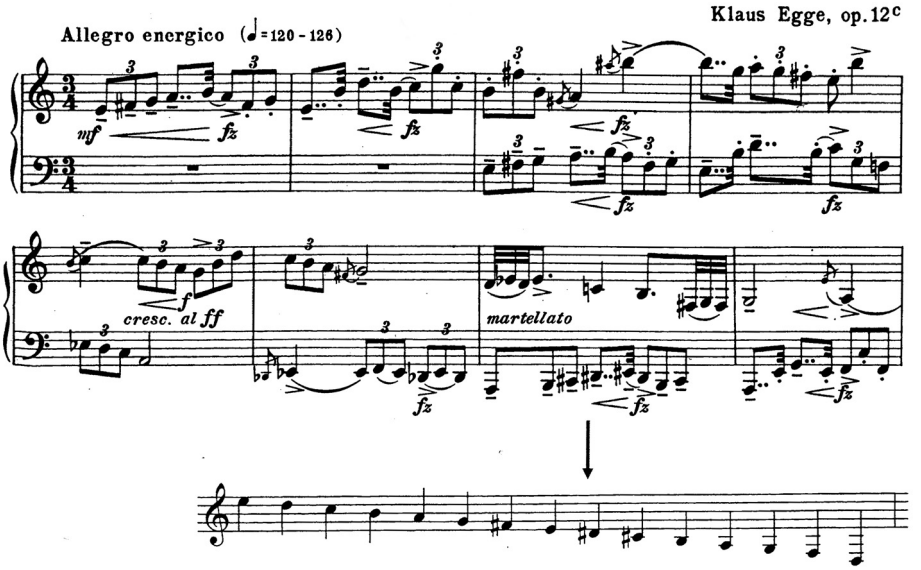

Figure 16: *Fantasi i Springar*, bars 1–8 with extended tonality (printed with kind permission).

The first twenty bars of *Fantasi i Springar* give several examples of Egge's tetrachord technique. From bar 10, the theme is presented in the discant in a nearly inverted variant (fig. 17), starting with an e-Lydian tetrachord. This extension leads to an inclusion of the whole tone scale.

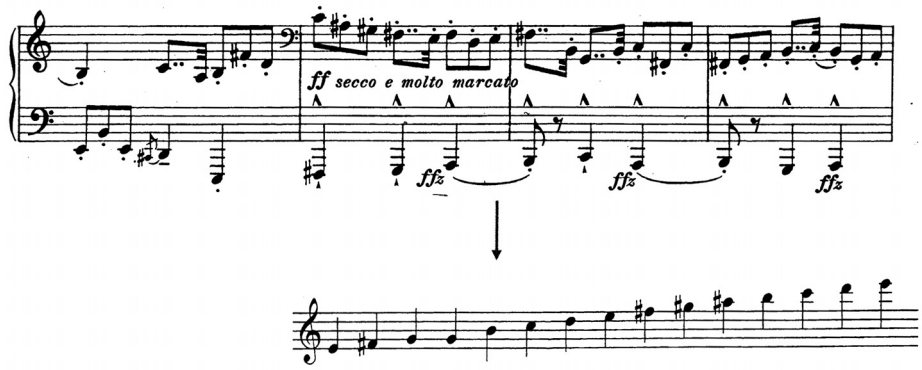

Figure 17: *Fantasi i Springar*, bars 9–12 with extended tonality (printed with kind permission).

Norwegian historiography revisited

Coming back to the initial questions, the discussion is still open as to whether there is a connection between the new ideas of the "national" on a socio-political level, and the new ideas of creating a different national music in Norway. Obviously, the continued focus on "the national" in Norwegian society in the interwar period made it con-

venient for composers to focus on national aspects. In 19th century culture, music had served as a purpose for the nationalist movement's fight for political independence, by inventing a unique national identity. The situation during the interwar period was different; Norway's independence was no longer a goal but a political reality, and social innovations such as the equal right to vote had been achieved for men and women. The intention was to now reinterpret and "broaden" the understanding of certain national symbols, to meet the demands of a modern society. Parallel to this, composers within a national modernist line made use of Norwegian folk music as a common point of reference, to create new and individual solutions in music, and not only to bring forth one monolithic national spirit.[43]

In the decades around 1900, because of what is described, in retrospect, as the tonal crisis in music, European composers were searching for new ways of expressing themselves. The central idea was to create something completely new, but without excluding tradition. Regarding the Norwegian composers Groven, Egge and Brustad, their motivation to take folk music as their common point of reference seems to be more related to a national line in music aesthetics, and only to a lesser degree connected to contemporary developments on a socio-political level. At the same time, these kinds of questions represent an area which is open to further research today.

To conclude, the presentation of three interwar composers' stylistic strategies and compositional procedures examined in this article sheds new light on their quest for a national aesthetic and compositional practice, incorporating folk music structures. Furthermore, it contributes to the reassessment of the problematic post-war historiographic reception of the interwar composers as a consequence of a dichotomic model of the "national" and the "modern" as conceptual dichotomies and oppositional ideologies. In this article, this model has been updated according to the new understandings of both concepts. In Norway, "nationalism", or "the national" was, since the end of the 19th century, regarded as a source for liberal, democratic, and progressive positions in society and politics, epitomized in the art of the cultural liberation movement's protagonists, such as Grieg, Ibsen and Bjørnson. After the Second World War, as a consequence of the race ideologies, "Blut und Boden" politics, transforming notions of the "Nordic" into a nationalistic propaganda tool during the Germans' occupation of Norway from 1940–45, the content of "the national" changed and was attributed to regressive and conservative attitudes.[44] A related development took place regarding the concept of "modernism". While, in the interwar period, modernism in Norwegian music brought relatively wide understandings, embracing several styles and techniques, the post-war years brought a narrower meaning. In post-war Norwegian music historiography, modernism is often depicted as a significant break with former traditions. Likewise, the national style in music is often depicted as a counterpart to modernism. As a consequence of this, many important nuances in the Norwegian music history from

43 The Norwegian composers Fartein Valen (1887–1952) and Pauline Hall (1890–1969) can be characterized as representatives of "international" modernist lines in music.

44 Ivar Roger Hansen, *Mot fedrenes fjell. Komponisten David Monrad Johansen og hans samtid*. Oslo 2013, Terje Emberland, *Religion og rase. Nyhedenskap og rasisme i Norge 1933–1945*, Oslo 2003; Custodis and Mattes, "Zur Kategorie des 'Nordischen' in der norwegischen Musikgeschichte 1930–1945".

the interwar period are erased. In several instances, the Norwegian line of national modernism is almost set aside. Instead, the composers who belonged to this direction were characterized as a continuation of the national romantic legacy. Therefore, it is of the greatest importance when interpreting music and music culture from the interwar period to be aware of the change of semantic meaning in concepts like "nationalism" and "modernism". If not, the chances of misunderstandings, and therefore drawing the wrong conclusions, are very likely. Such misinterpretations will, of course, contribute to the hiding of important traits in Norwegian music history.

Arnulf Mattes

"Monumentalism" in Norway's Music 1930–1945

I. Building a Nation after 1905

The year 1905, when Norway eventually became a fully independent nation and a sovereign state, put an end to the uneasy political union with Sweden. It apparently marks the moment when Norwegian cultural nationalism accomplished its goal. However, achieving independence in 1905 did not make the cultural nationalist movement obsolete. On the contrary, its protagonists were given the task to provide artistic expressions for cultural consensus and historical continuity of the young, Norwegian state at the turn of the 20th Century, aspiring to become a modern, economically thriving, and democratic society. This also meant finding the means of expression that suited this task. Therefore, many of the major artworks produced during the first decades of the 20th century tell a story about expressing "greatness", in a specifically Norwegian way. Additionally, they prevailed with the strong ties to Germany. German engineers helped to establish Norwegian infrastructure and industry, and during most of the 19th century, the Norwegians had taken advantage of the Germans' world-leading academies and universities to educate its own cultural and academic elites.

Taking this background into consideration, one can better understand the extent to which Norwegian artists felt ambivalent about their national responsibility. On the one hand, they had to acknowledge German cultural supremacy. At the same time, they aspired to create artworks which could match the standards of "masterworks" equal to the German models, adopting the highly-developed techniques most of them had learned as students at prestigious German institutions, the famous art and music academies in Berlin, Leipzig or Düsseldorf. Accordingly, many of them, as patriotic citizens of a young, independent country, joined the quest for building a modern nation state after returning home from their stays abroad. Whilst the economic and political aspects of this second phase of cultural and social nation building after the independence in 1905 have been examined by Norwegian historians,[1] the aesthetic forms of post-1905 cultural nationalism, expressed in the monumental, often historicist, features of Norwegian art and music have hardly been discussed.[2]

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1 Hans Fredrik Dahl, *Norsk idéhistorie V. De store ideologienes tid 1914–1955*, Oslo 2001, and Knut Kjeldstadli, *Aschehougs Norgeshistorie bind 10. Et splittet samfunn 1905–35*, Oslo 1994, belong to the Norwegian standard reference literature about this historical period.

2 In 2005, the centenary of Norway's independence, the musical contribution to the national commemoration was a grand display of major orchestral works composed by Norwegian composers since 1905, performed by the Norwegian Radio orchestra. This was a rare case of drawing the general public's attention to music, as a tribute to a 'forgotten' monumental tradition in Norwegian cultural history. A "Begleitbuch" was published, collecting short essays explaining the selection of the works: Erling Sandmo (ed.), *Et eget århundre: norsk orkestermusikk 1905–2005*, Oslo 2004. For further discussion of the event in the context of Norwegian cultural heritage policies, see Arnulf Mattes, "Geschichtsschreibung und nationales Kulturerbe: Zur Griegforschung in Norwegen", in: Gabriele Buschmeier und Klaus Pietschmann (eds.), *Beitragsarchiv des Internationalen Kongresses der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Mainz 2016 – Wege der Musikwissenschaft*, Mainz 2018 (https://schott-campus.com/griegforschung-norwegen/, last access 10.10.2018).

As easy as monumentality is to observe in the art and music of the 1920s and 30s, so is the understanding of its historical and cultural context fragmentary, and its ideological content and "burden" elusive. Accordingly, in Norwegian music historiography, the first half of the 20th century, from 1905 to 1945, is rather insufficiently researched. Obviously, there has been a certain reluctance in taking on this part of music history. One of the reasons for this might be due to the period of German occupation, when the affinities of some of the most dominating actors in music life were on the "wrong side" of the ideological divide. Among them was composer, critic, and cultural functionary David Monrad Johansen, considered a leading figure,[3] and this made it quite difficult to cope with the music in an objective manner. The political and aesthetic realms became mixed in a problematic way, and the obvious monumentality of the major, patriotic works for grand ensembles of the 1920s and 30s might have seemed too controversial, with the concept of "monumental" itself becoming ideologically charged. The apparent "solution" to this dilemma was to exclude this repertoire as much as possible from national music history, while exaggerating the much less conflicted, "heroic" national-romantic heritage of the 19th century, with Edvard Grieg as its protagonist. Another strategy was to aggrandize internationally-oriented composers of the post-war period, such as Arne Nordheim (1931–2010), thus attempting to minimize the role of the nationally minded, pre-World War II generation of modernists.

II. *Voluspå*: Opus Magnum of Norwegian Musical Monumentalism

David Monrad Johansen's *Voluspå*, premiered with huge success in 1927, sparked a national wave of monumental works. Sometimes labelled as the music of the "interwar period", this might be misleading. Since Norway was neutral during World War I, it did not go through the dramatic political revolutions and profound, social transformations Germany experienced, and which shaped the progressive cultural politics of the Weimar republic, and new musical movements such as "Neue Sachlichkeit" or the November Group's musical Dadaists. On the other hand, the "Great War" in Norway also incited a sense of insecurity and notions of loss, which as a consequence led to the rise of ideological conflicts.[4] In this situation, a monumental work such as Monrad Johansen's *Voluspå* can be interpreted as the aesthetic response of an artist committed to the cause of cultural nationalism, and as an attempt to restore the bonds between the tradition and modernity, past and future, in times of a social, cultural, and spiritual crisis. Accordingly, the content of this work is based on the first poem in Old Norse of Snorres' older Edda, dated to the 10th century, the period of transition between Paganism and Christianity in the North, evoking the ancient Norwegian (Norrøn) mythology of the Middle Ages. The narrative unfolding could not be more "grand" and was predestined to excite the sense of wonderment which could be expected from a

3 Besides Monrad Johansen, other composers such as Geirr Tveitt (1908–1981) were conferred important administrative roles during the occupation. See Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes, "Zur Kategorie des 'Nordischen' in der norwegischen Musikgeschichte 1930–45", in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 73 (2016), No. 3, p. 166–184.

4 Dahl, *Norsk idéhistorie*, p. 15–17.

true monumental work. It tells the prophecy of the seeress (volve), describing the genesis and creation myth of the world, its downfall, and the final battle of the old Gods, Ragnarok. In the end, a new world rises from the sea.[5] Monrad Johansen's music stages the transition from Paganism to Christianity, understood not as from an inferior, pagan culture to a higher state of civilization, the epoch of Christianity, but as a narrative of continuity. The old, genuinely Nordic culture transfers its wisdom about the cosmos and its deep, mystical relationship with nature to the new faith, the new religious and cultural paradigm coming from the South.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Monrad Johansen composed a series of works, conveying his quest for the mythical origins of a genuine, Norwegian identity. *Voluspå* was his breakthrough work and opus magnum, followed by several, monumental works for orchestra with soloists and choir.

Table 1: David Monrad Johansen's works published from 1927–1939.

Op. 15	*Voluspå*. *Dikt av Den eldre Edda* (*Voluspå. Poems of the Poetic Edda*) for soloists, mixed choir and orchestra). Norsk Musikforlag, Oslo 1927.
Op. 16	*Sigvat Skald*. *Efter Snorre* (*Sigvat Skald. After Snorre*) for soloist and orchestra [1928]), Musikkhusets forlag 1960.
Op. 17	*Tre mannskor*, (*Three pieces for male chorus: Aetter-Arv, Bånsull, En Fembøring under Seil*), Norsk Musikforlag, Oslo 1930.
Op. 18	*Me vigjer vår song. Kantate til Sunnmøre Songarlags 30-årsjubileum* (*Cantata for the 30th anniversary of Sunnmøre choral society*). Mixed chorus, 2 soloists, organ. Norsk Musikforlag, Oslo 1930.
Op. 19	*Tre mannskor* (*Three pieces for male chorus: Dei gamle fjelli, Gamle grendi, Gamle Norig*), texts by Ivar Aasen. Norsk Musikforlag, Oslo 1926–1935.
Op. 20	*Ignis Ardens* (*Burning fire*. *University cantata*), texts by Olaf Bull. Soloists, mixed chorus, orchestra. Unpublished manuscript [1932].
Op. 21	*Symphonische Phantasie*. C.F. Peters, Leipzig 1938.
Op. 22	*Pan. Symphonische Musik für Orchester*. Dedicated to Knut Hamsun. C.F. Peters, Leipzig 1939.

The amalgamation of images of North-Norwegian nature[6] with mystical, pan-religious experiences that Monrad Johansen applies in *Voluspå* reappear in a different, more subdued guise in Hamsun's novel *Pan*, which inspired Monrad Johansen to compose

5 In his introduction to a TV-recording of *Voluspå* from 1987, the Nordic literature scholar Carl Ivar Orgland emphasizes the "exceptional dynamic power" of the "Ragnarok" episode, beginning with the full choir singing verse 27 "Garm han gøyr" at the end of the second part (32'00"–35'10"): *Norsk konsert i Oslo Konserthus.* With the choir of the Cæciliaforeningen (Norway's oldest Oratorio choir), Akademisk Korforening (the official mixed choir of the University of Oslo), and the Norwegian Radio Orchestra, under Arnulv Hegstad. Soloists: Marianne Hirsti, soprano, Tone Kruse, alto, and Carsten Harboe Stabell, bass, NRK (Norwegian Broadcasting Company), 14.04.1987 (https://tv.nrk.no/serie/norsk-konsert/fmus20000887/14-04-1987#t=5m22s, last access 20.10.2018).

6 In a "collage" of interviews conducted during the 1960s edited by Øystein Gaukstad in 1968, Monrad Johansen expresses his fascination for the raw natural elements and monumentality of North-Norwegian nature and its importance for the conception of several of his works. Besides

his *Symphonic Music for Orchestra* in 1939. *Voluspå* might be considered a prototype of Norwegian musical monumentality expressing the national ideology of its period. As such, it is the perfect case for trying to develop a model of a particular musical monumentalism, as it dominated during the 1930s, taking its stylistic traits as a point of departure. To convey the neo-national "ethno-symbolistic" style Monrad Johansen envisioned, he had to comprise a) advanced, "state-of the-art" compositional procedures with b) archaic musical symbols, and c) mythical content:

A **Advanced Compositional Procedures**
- colourful orchestration – percussive instrumentation
- polyphonic linearity – homophonic textures
- leitmotif-semantics – thematic-motivic structure
- teleological development – rhapsodic dramaturgy

B **Musical References to Archaic "Nordicism"**
- drones
- modal scales
- parallel fifths
- melodic simplicity
- rhythmical repetition

C **Mythical Topics**
- the chosen individual as leader, hero, or prophet
- the epic struggle of elements
- the genesis from chaos to cosmos
- the cultivation of the primitive
- the rise and eruption of civilization in the North
- the eternal magic of nature
- fall and rise of worldly realms

III. Patriotic Gesamtkunstwerk: The Continuation of Cultural Nationalism Until 1940

With reference to Grieg, Monrad Johansen understood his own task as a Norwegian artist in releasing the innate power of the Norwegian culture. The means to accomplish this task are only given to those who master the most advanced procedures and techniques available – means which are considered the fruit of many generations of European cultures' efforts, most of all modelled on the great German masters, and their advanced techniques of combining linear voice leading with architectonic forms.[7] To achieve the state of synthesis as a true "Norwegian tone" (Monrad Johansen speaks of

Voluspå and *Pan*, he also mentions *Sigvat Skvad*, *Norlands trompet*, and the slow movement of his violin sonata. See Øystein Gaukstad and Ole M. Sandvik (eds.), *David Monrad Johansen i skrift og tale*, Oslo 1968, p. 27.

7 In the introductory paragraph of his immensely successful Grieg biography, published in 1934. Monrad Johansen describes the state of the art in music as "perhaps the beginning of a new era in history", where the ancient, linear techniques and the task of building architectonic structures is paired with the new freedom of harmonies and colours. In this book, Monrad Johansen casts Grieg's significance as artist as a struggle between "the two cultures", the one to be found in the relics of the ancient, Norwegian heroic times, hidden in the rural folk culture, and the other the official, urban culture, dominated by the Danish dignitaries and "rationalistic writers". See David Monrad Johansen, *Edvard Grieg*, Oslo 1934, p. 1–2.

a genuine "norsk toneføIelse"),[8] these "advanced techniques" ought to be amalgamated with the genuine simplicity of the Norwegian folk music tradition. In the case of a successful synthesis of these cultural stages, the Norwegian culture should achieve a leading position, equal to the German, French, and fellow Nordic neighbours it always had to be sub-ordinate to. In many of Monrad Johansen's essays and reviews,[9] this underlying quest for greatness and cultural equality shines through, alongside his self-stylization as a leader, a chosen individual, that can express the innermost feelings of the Norwegian people, their spirit and essence. The main topics he chose for his works overlap accordingly. A genius who envisions the genesis of the world, from chaos to cosmos, the evolution and elevation of Western civilization lead by the North, the creation of a local, heroic history, the cultivation of the primitive, and the eruptive event of "Ragnarok", marking the inevitable fall and succeeding rise of cultures in the most dramatic way, understood as the origin of true historical progression. Moreover, to Monrad Johansen, true culture always has its root in the local soil; it is "stedsbundet", as his premise, that is the psyche rooted in the local, Nordic environment, and shaped in the epic interaction of man with the sublime struggle of raw elements of (North-) Norwegian nature.

Figure 1: Oslo Rådhus (Oslo Town Hall). Photo: Jac Brun, ca. 1950, Oslo Museum Municipal Collection.

8 See the essay "Trekk av den norske musikks historie og hva den har å lære oss", published in the Norwegian *Allers familie journal,* No. 47, 21 November 1936, cit. in Gaukstad and Sandvik, *David Monrad Johansen i skrift og tale*, p. 89.

9 Ibid.; further: Bjarne Kortsen (ed.), *Musikkritikeren og skribenten David Monrad Johansen,* Bergen 1979.

The 1920s and 1930s certainly were a period where the young, modern Norwegian nation could establish its own cultural heritage. An important step towards cultural sovereignty was the establishment and consolidation of institutions responsible for the future ambitions, the effective organisation of the present, and the commemoration of the nation's past: the new campus of Oslo University, Oslo Town Hall, and the National Library. Each of these official buildings illustrates perfectly the modern, monumental architecture of the 1930s.

Accordingly, the revival of the celebration of new doctoral candidates, in 1933, was another opportunity for Monrad Johansen to produce a monumental work whose purpose was to elevate this ceremony to a national ritual.[10] Calling to mind the monumental design of his opus magnum *Voluspå*, Monrad Johansen's setting of Olaf Bull's cantata *Ignis Ardens*,[11] involved two soloists, two choirs, and symphonic orchestra. Announced as an "evangelism of our times", and received as an "overwhelming experience", Monrad Johansen's version of academic "Festmusik" was intended to inspire new generations by a monumental "epic narrative of the genesis of all things", evoking the audiences wonderment about the "mystical origins of all knowledge about the world", according to the reviews of its concert performance on 23 January 1933.[12] In this work, Monrad Johansen took another take on one of his favourite topics: the epic struggle of material and spiritual forces in man and nature. In the university cantata, he takes the step from *Voluspå*'s mythical visions and archaic Gods to the modern world's scientific revolutions, and the profoundly changing conditions of human cognition and artistic imagination. During the 1930s, celebrations and rituals like this, with cantatas arranged at historic or sacred sites on occasion of commemorative events, involving choirs, orchestras, and soloists, a specific, national "Gesamtkunstwerk" aesthetics evolved, whose aim was to bring the best and most advanced of Norwegian arts, architecture, and music together within the central institutions of the modern Norwegian nation.

10 The genre of "academic cantatas" or "Festmusiken" has a long tradition from Bach to Mendelssohn, Brahms etc., which Monrad Johansen could draw on. Yet, his contribution to this 'worldly' genre, which in the case of Brahms "vacillating between merriment, history, and politics", once more follows his model of monumetalism introduced in his earlier work *Voluspå*. See Albrecht Riethmüller, "Wagner, Brahms und die Akademische Fest-Ouvertüre", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 61 (2004), No. 2, p. 79.

11 Besides *Ignis Ardens*, Olaf Bull (1883–1933) wrote another monumental poem dedicated to a public, ceremonial act, *Oslo-hus*, on the occasion of the foundation ceremony of Oslo Town Hall (1930).

12 Sverre Hagerup Bull in *Dagbladet*, 24 January 1933, Arne van Erpekum Sem in *Tidens Tegn,* 24 January 1933, Jens Arbo in *Morgenbladet,* 24 January 1933.

1933

6 TIDENS TEGN mandag 23. januar 1933

Orkestret og korene fremfører „Ignis Ardens" under kapellmester Olav Kiellands ledelse.

PROMOSJONSFESTEN EN STORSLÅTT HØITIDELIGHET.

Den gamle ceremoni, som Universitetet lørdag gjenoplivet i moderne former.

Universitetets store promosjonsfest lørdag eftermiddag blev en stemningsfull og høitidelig begivenhet — til glede for dem, som hadde undfanget ideen og utarbeidet planene, og til glede for universitetets doktorer, for de mange fremmøtte og, sist men ikke minst, for universitetet selv. Når man så, hvordan doktorer av alle aldre var kommet sammen fra hele landet, må man gi rektor Sæland rett i, hvad han uttalte i sin tale under middagen, at universitetet hadde grunn til å føle sig større. Promosjonsfestene vil sikkert bli et middel til å styrke båndene mellem det gamle universitet og de mange videnskapelige krefter, som ikke lenger er knyttet direkte til institusjonen.

Det er ingen lett sak å gjenoplive gamle tradisjoner, men de, som har planlagt høitideligheten, har hatt en lykkelig hånd. Med flid hadde man undgått alt, som kunde smake av uekte anstaltmakeri. Programmet var valgt med sikker takt, — enkelt, høitidelig og vakkert. Og selv om resultatet ikke hadde vært annet enn den nye universitetskantate med tekst av Olaf Bull og musikk av Monrad Johansen, vilde det vært rikelig nok. Takket være universitetets initiativ er her skapt et verk, som vil komme til å høre til de store i norsk kunst.

Presis klokken 6, efterat professorene, de eldre doktorer og en rekke innbudne hadde inntatt sine plasser, toget doktorene fra de siste fem år inn i salen. I spissen gikk ceremonimesteren, museumsdirektør Kielland, tilslutt gikk universitetets rektor. Og da de hadde inntatt sine plasser stemte kantaten i.

Orkester og kor — de kvinnelige og mannlige studentersangere — fylte hele den øvre ende av salen. Koret bygget sig op mot Munchs praktfulle billede av Solen, og de andre veggbilleder virket i praktfull harmoni med musikken; — vi tror aldri festsalen har sett så strålende ut, som den gjorde lørdag, da „Ignis Ardens" bruste gjennem rummet. Vi skal ikke foregripe vår musikkanmelder, som får ordet, når kantaten skal opføres offentlig idag. Men vi risikerer neppe å bli desavouert når vi sier, at virkningen var overveldende. Takket være fremfor alt Monrad Johansens musikk blev promosjonsfesten hevet op på et nivå, som bare den store kunst kan gi.

Da kantatens første del var sunget, fant promosjonen sted. Promotor var professor Fredrik Stang, som også har de største fortjenester av, at høitideligheten er gjenoplivet. Han holdt først et litet foredrag om doktorpromosjoner og hilste så i hjertelige ord universitetets doktorer. Først blev de eldre promovert under ett ved å reise sig fra sine plasser nede i salen, så kom turen til doktorene fra de siste fem år. Promotor stillet dem først et par ubehagelige spørsmål, ett til humanistene, et annet til realistene og på vegne av sine kolleger svarte dr. Bugge og dr. Devik i humoristiske taler. Derefter blev doktorene, en for en, overrakt den nye doktorring.

Efter at annen halvdel av kantaten var opført, sluttet den vakre ceremoni. Den skal herefter gjentas hvert femte år og vil bli et fast ledd i universitetets liv.

*

Efter promosjonen samledes universitetets lærere og doktorer til en enkel fest i Rokokkosalen. Innbudt var blandt annet kirkeministeren og de tre nordiske lands ministre. Dr. Keilhau ønsket velkommen med et par tendende ord om videnskapens sannhetssøken, og professor Knut Dahl var toastmaster. Talen for universitetet blev holdt av professor Sverdrup fra Bergen. Han tok sitt utgangspunkt i den veldige frykt, som behersker det primitive menneske, og fremhevet åndfullt, hvordan videnskapens største seier hadde vært, at den hadde øket menneskets trygghet. På talen svarte rektor Sæland med en skål for universitetets doktorer. De var universitetets garde. Han fremhevet betydningen av, at universitetet i disse år, da det gjennemgår så store vanskeligheter, har en sikker krets av venner, som kan tale dets sak. Derefter hyldet professor Worm-Müller vittig og veltalende professor Fredrik Stang og denne svarte, sterkt falt, med en takk for alt det, videnskapen og universitetet hadde vært for ham, og med en skål for fedrelandet. Tilslutt fikk komponisten Monrad Johansen, som var tilstede, en velfortjent takk fra professor Otto Lous Mohr. Utenfor programmet bragte den danske dr. Ingerslew, som er en av de få utlendinger som har tatt doktorgraden i Oslo, en takknemlig hilsen til det norske universitet. Omsider kom turen til kirkeministeren, som takket for maten, meget vittig, men ikke uten brådd overfor de uttalelser om „kulturpausen", som forskjellige talere hadde latt falle.

Festen var meget vellykket og blev fortsatt i den beste stemning en god stund utover natten.

Figure 2: Report from the Oslo university's doctoral degree awards ceremony 21 January 1933, *Tidens Tegn*, 23 January 1933. David Monrad Johansen's papers. National Library of Norway, Oslo.

Figure 3: Alf Rolfsen's fresco in Oslo Town Hall (1938–1950). Photo: Jean-Pierre Dalbéra, 2010.

Fresco painters such as Axel Revold, Per Krogh, Alf Rolfsen, or Aage Storstein represent another group of artists committed to monumental art in the 1930s. During the occupation, their style, inspired by cubism and Bauhaus functionalism, became considered "degenerated".[13] Accordingly, these artists' monumental decorations of the Oslo Town Hall were stopped by hostile Nazi authorities during the years of occupation, and most of the expressions of "Norwegianism" in literature, arts, and music became victim to a more rigid censorship, culminating in 1943. With the University Aula burned down, the boycott of all concert life initiated by the civil resistance movement, and the University's closure caused by the uprising among students and teachers, the remaining spaces of intellectual freedom and ideological opposition were effectively eliminated.[14]

13 24 April 1942, Søren Onsager, the NS-appointed director of the National Gallery in Oslo opened an exhibition "modelled on two different types of official art show in National Socialist Germany: the annual *Great German Art* exhibitions held in Munich from 1937 on, and the exhibitions *Entartete Kunst,* likewise in Munich, in 1937 and 1938", see Line Daatland, "Art in Battle. Staging Power in the Art Museum", in *Art in Battle. Exhibition Catalogue*, Bergen 2015, p. 51.

14 See "Lærerstriden", in Hans Fredrik Dahl, Guri Hjeltnes et al. (eds.), *Norsk krigsleksikon*, Oslo 1995, p. 59–60. Further: Sverre S. Amundsen and John Bjørnstad (eds.), *Kirkenesferda 1942*, Oslo 1946.

IV. Monumentalism under Occupation: Celebrating National Myth after 1940

The question remains as to what extent the German occupiers were succeeding in their efforts to a) manipulate the Norwegian history and collective memory by turning monumentality into a propaganda instrument, and b) to what extent pre-war Norwegian monumentalism represents an ideology which could be "occupied" by the Germans invading the historical topics, spaces, rituals, and events.

Figure 4: Cover of *Tonekunst* No. 4, 1937, featuring Ludvig Irgens Jensen (with an essay on *Heimferd* by Klaus Egge). National Library of Norway, Oslo.

The fate of Ludvig Irgens Jensen's (1894–1969) major work, *Heimferd*, from 1930, and the events at the Olav wake ("Olsok") at one of the most mythical sites of Norwegian history, Stiklestad, might illustrate the gap that opened up between Norwegian pre-war

cultural 'neo-nationalism'[15] and the Norwegian NS-regime's (mis-)use of national symbols and historic sites in their propaganda. Irgens Jensen's monumental work, for six soloists, mixed chorus, male chorus, children's chorus, and full symphonic orchestra, won the competition announced by the committee organising a major event in the national myth building of the young, Norwegian nation after 1905: the Olav celebrations in 1930 in Trondheim, commemorating the rise of Christianity in Norway.[16] Stylistically and technically, this setting of a Nynorsk-text of Olav Gullvåg,[17] borrows elements used in German monumental works, such as Wagnerian leitmotiv procedures, Bruckner's symphonic layers, and Brahms's extensive melodic lines. These are blended with archaic, Norwegian elements, such as modal scales, signifying the Old Norse "saga-tone".[18] After its belated premiere performance in Oslo on 1 December 1930, it was praised as "a sensation as big as *Voluspå* some years ago"; critics such as Hagerup Bull and Erpekum Sem agreed on this work's essential Norwegianness, its true "Norwegian spirit eluding from all of its melodies and rhythms", and "its triumphant, monumental conclusion" – a "national monument of our music".[19]

In 1941, the newly established policies of the administration under the Norwegian cultural department, officially controlled by Nasjonal Samling, dramatically limited the autonomy of all aspects of musical life in Norway. As a rule, all performances had to go through a strict censorship regime, especially for works including text and vocal music. However, at this time, it still could happen that also some of the pre-war monumental works could be performed, as is documented by Arne Eggen's 60th birthday celebration, arranged on 10 October 1941 in Oslo, with excerpts from Eggen's own oratorio *Kong Olav* (also with libretto by Gullvåg), and his opera *Olav Liljekran*s.[20] This is quite remarkable, since Irgens Jensen's *Heimferd* had already, in February 1941,

15 See Jim Samson on neo-nationalism in Norway: "Chapter 4: Music and Nationalism. Five Historical Moments", in: Athena Leoussi and Steven Grosby (eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, Edinburgh 2006, p. 61–63.

16 The Norwegian bishop Eivind Berggrav (1884–1959), who became one of the leaders of the Norwegian church's resistance against the Nazi regime during the occupation, provides a critical, contemporary account of the myth-making mechanisms playing out in the background of the Olav celebrations in 1930: Eivind Berggrav, *Brytningene omkring Olav og Stiklestad*, Oslo 1930.

17 Together with Hans Henrik Holm (1896–1980), Olav Gullvåg (1885–1961) was a Norwegian poet and writer with great interest in ancient Norwegian mythologies, religion, and folk culture. Gullvåg became renowned after World War II for his *Spelet om Heilag Olav*, a historical spectacle performed every year on Olsok at Stiklestad. The content of Gullvåg and Holm's writings is reflected in the idiosyncratic, nynorsk language they used, often including archaic elements. Holm's *Jonsokspel* was set to music by Geirr Tveitt in 1936; *Sveinung Vreim* was a symphonic epos by Klaus Egge from 1938. Other texts of Holm were set music to in song cycles and choir works by composers such as Arne Dørumsgaard (*Skumring i tusseskog*, 1941) and Anne-Marie Ørbeck (*Vonir i bløметid*, 1942). Irgens Jensen's setting of Holm's *Ei Malmfuru*, composed in 1943, became a musical symbol of Norwegian resistance during the war (see Arvid Vollsnes, *Komponisten Ludvig Irgens Jensen. Europeer and Nordman,* Oslo 2000, p. 246–248. Engl. transl. by Beryl Foster: *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen: The Life and Music of a Norwegian* Composer, London 2014, p. 212). Holm was also an active member of the Norwegian resistance movement (Hjemmefronten), contributing to clandestine newspapers.

18 A detailed text-music analysis explaining the "saga tone"-conception of *Heimferd* is given in ibid.

19 Hampus Huldt-Nystrøm, *Fra munkekor til symfoniorkester: musikkliv i det gamle Christiania og i Oslo*, Oslo 1969, p. 270–272.

20 Arne Eggen (1881–1955) was the leader of the Norwegian Society of Composers from 1927–1945. His birthday celebration was arranged by the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra, the choir of the Cæciliaforeningen, and Oslo Cathedral Choir, under Odd Grüner-Hegge and Arild Sandvold.

been forbidden by the German censors to be performed, according to a protocol of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra. *Heimferd* was considered too risky; the Germans feared that associations to Olav's heroic struggle within the current situation might lead to demonstrations and uprising.[21] One might interpret this as a sign of civil resistance under the cover of performing nationally-minded Norwegian music. This still might have been a possibility in 1940 and 1941, since the Germans, to begin with, were hesitating to confront Norwegians too much, as far as the performed works supported the Nazi ideology and the idea of Nordic-Germanic brotherhood. The shared cultural heritage should demonstrate the "Gemeinschaft" of the "Brudervölker", the unity of the Nordic-Germanic people and race.

V. Coming to Terms with the Past? When Monuments turn into Propaganda Sites

The redetermination of the Olav myth was, since its beginning, a central ingredient of the Norwegian Nazi party Nasjonal Samling's historical and ideological framework. Already in the early 1930s, the party were using commemorative sites such as Borre, Hafrsfjord, and Stiklestad for legitimizing their nationalist agenda.[22] With the German occupation in 1940, Nasjonal Samling took over the national patriotic sites and rituals, using them for their propaganda, documented with the typical grandiose pathos by the Norwegian Filmavisen. In 1944, the Olav-cult of Nasjonal Samling culminated in the 10-year anniversary of their Stiklestad ceremonies. The central event was the grandiose unveiling of a new Olav monument, created by the NS member and sculptor, Wilhelm Rasmussen. The monument depicts a relief of the central scene of the battle of Stiklestad, where Tore Hund wounds King Olav, crowned by a monolith with the inscription of the Olav cross (which also was the symbol of Nasjonal Samling).

The clip from Filmavisen shows Norwegians in traditional folk costumes, attending the event side by side with German Nazi dignitaries. Quisling, and the Norwegian culture minister Fuglesang were giving speeches during the ceremony.[23]

However, the Norwegian Nazis' attempts to encroach the Olav commemoration during the occupation failed to be supported by the Norwegian people. The majority rejected the redetermination of Olav as a symbol of national, monumental history and its distortion a symbol of subjugation to the supreme leader of the Nordic race, embodied by Quisling.[24] As historical photographs of the events demonstrate, what had been a veritable mass event in the 1930s turned into a rather pathetic gathering of a

21 Huldt-Nystrøm, *Fra munkekor til symfoniorkester*, p. 342.

22 See Tor Einar Fagerland, "NS-bautaen på Stiklestad i et europeisk minneperspektiv", in: Eskil Følstad, Per Einar Raaen, Olav Skevik (eds.), *Stiklestad og andre minnesteder. Foredrag i 2004 og 2005*, Stiklestad kultursenter 2006, p. 91.

23 Filmavisen reports about Olsok at Stiklestad 1944, NRK web-archive. (https://tv.nrk.no/serie/filmavisen/fmaa44003144/07-08-1944#t=2m56s, last access 10.10. 2018).

24 See Olav Skevik, "Skal vi minnes det ubehagelige?", in: Følstad, Raaen, Skevik, *Stiklestad og andre minnesteder*, p. 117. The local "Fortidsminneforening" (Society for the preservation of historic monuments) at Stiklestad also opposed the Nasjonal Samling's plans to replace the existing Olav monument in 1944, sending a formal protest to the Kultur- og Folkeopplysningsdepartement in 9 June 1944. See Skevik, "Skal vi minnes det ubehagelige?", p. 120.

Figure 5:
Vidkun Quisling giving a speech at the unveiling of the new Olav monument, 29 July 1944, Stiklestad Nasjonale Kultursenter.

small group of dignitaries.[25] The erection of a new Olav monument at Stiklestad could not change this situation either. It never became accepted as a valid part of the rituals of commemoration at this historic site, and hence it was vandalized and destroyed right after the end of the occupation. It would take more than 60 years until a new effort was made to recover and restore the artefacts of this compromised part of Norwegian history. In 2014, a group of local historians suggested a move to excavate the remains of the monument and to restore it, as an artefact of recent history, challenging the observer to engage critically with the more recent past. It never happened. The public resistance against such a provocative idea was too strong, as well as the anxiety of offering an opportunity for neo-Nazi movements to re-invade the historical site of collective commemoration.[26] The erection of the Olav monolith in 1944, its destruction

25 See "NS-landsstevner på Stiklestad", in Morten Veimo, *Verdalsboka. Krig-Okkupasjon-Motstand 1940–1945*, Verdal 1987, p. 197–205. Further: Photos of the 1930 "Olavsjubileet", kept at the Municipal Archives of Trondheim (https://www.flickr.com/photos/trondheim_byarkiv/sets/72157612859778467/, last access 10.10.2018).

26 The plans for the restoration of the Olav monolith from 1944 raised a fierce debate pro and contra from 1995 on. In 2005, the Stiklestad national heritage site (Stiklestad Nasjonale Kultursenter) released their plans to uncover once more the remains of the Nazis' Olav monument. See Skveik's reflections on this issue in the conference proceedings on Stiklestad and other commemoration sites in Norway *Stiklestad og andre minnesteder* Verdal, 2006. Years later, these plans still remain

in 1945 after the liberation, and the following controversies about its legitimate place in national cultural memory, point to the central issue of monumental history and the aesthetic forms expressing it in architecture, sculptures, art, and music. After 1945, all the attempts of forgetting the "un-national" opportunists' monuments and "uncomfortable" artefacts could not prevent the idea that there was a dark layer added to the legacy of Norwegian monumentalism. Moreover, besides their opposing ideological positions (liberal-democratic versus Nazi-authoritarian), both sides were legitimizing their patriotism by using commemorative sites, ancient mythologies, national monuments, and monumental aesthetics as weapons in their symbolic warfare.

VI. Epilogue: Monumental History and National Myth-Making

Investigating the "political function of historical culture", Friedrich Nietzsche coins, in his reflections on the "practical use of history" in his "Untimely Meditations", a dialectical model of "monumental", "critical", and "antiquarian" understandings of the past.[27] Monumental history is the history of the victor; the strong-willed, creative and powerful individual. Moreover, it is about commemorating the heroes and their deeds, whose stories are told in order to construct idols and to strengthen the morale of the historical heroes' successors. Eventually, monumental history establishes a tradition connecting the great individuals of history, the heroes of the past, with the actors of the present.

Another, more cynical, aspect of Nietzsche's concept of the monumental is the sentiment of being "belated in history": the self-stylisation of the present actors as epigones, the elevation of the past as a heroic epoch, an ideal state in history which cannot be repeated or achieved by those born afterwards. Nietzsche's reflections also raise the question of forgetting and remembering: critical history, as a "destructive approach" opposed to monumental history, brings forth the aspects of history which either could or should be forgotten. Yet, both "practices" are not to be conflated with scientific historiography. Its ideal of "objectivity" obstructs the practical use of history, which is a "just" relationship to the past, empowering the new generations to actively shape a better future. Thus, true historians are not the academic professionals, but the artists: only artworks inspired by history can inspire new generations to participate in their own future, as well as to engage with their own roots in a productive and constructive way.

In many ways, these kinds of thoughts were integrated into the ideological frameworks of musical monumentality, as it emerged in the cultural climate of interwar Norway. Much more than functioning as a "totalitarian tool for subjugation of the

undecided, see Simen Meisdal et al., "Viktig å verne om nasjonale symboler", NRK Trøndelag, 21 July 2014. https://www.nrk.no/trondelag/_-ma-verne-om-nasjonale-symboler-1.11842080; Kristin Heggdal et al., "Nazibauta forblir i jorda", NRK Trøndelag, 1 September 2014 (https://www.nrk.no/trondelag/nazibauta-forblir-i-jorda-1.11908324, last access 10.10.2018).

27 See Christian Emden, *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of History*, Cambridge 2008, p. 150–152.

masses",[28] the monumentalism of Norwegian composers such as David Monrad Johansen, Ludvig Irgens Jensen, Klaus Egge or Geirr Tveitt has to be understood, too, as "a product of surprisingly complex cultural mechanisms".[29] Accordingly, the issues raised by the aesthetic presence of these composers' monumental works require a deeper and broader historical understanding of musical monumentalism in Norway. These works were meant to fulfil explicit purposes within the ideological climate of the interwar period, intended to commemorate a heroic past and to evoke collective connotations of community and participation. However, one has to remember that the monumentalist aesthetics of the interwar period once more became important, as the need for cultural consensus and common origins was even more precarious in the early post-war years. This explains, why Irgens Jensen's *Heimferd* in 1947, despite a somewhat faded fascination for its topic, the victory of Christianity over Paganism and barbarism,[30] could be restaged successfully in Oslo.[31]

Later on, the "national" genre of monumental oratorios, cantatas, and symphonies became a forgotten genre. A remarkable event was the Norwegian National Opera's decision to restage Irgens Jensen's *Heimferd* in 2018, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the new opera house in Bjørvika.[32] Aware of the need for explanation and contextualization, the concerts were carefully prepared by pre-concert talks and a public seminar, with presenters from the Norwegian Society of Composers, the Department of Musicology at the University of Oslo, and the Norwegian Music Academy. Performed in 2018, *Heimferd* raised new issues, relating to why and how to present historical expressions of monumentalism at times when nationalist sentiments again flourish.[33] Might the time have come for a revival of these kind of collective, musical acts of commemoration? Or should these works be treated critically as anachronistic artefacts, at times where cultural diversity and pluralistic, individualistic concepts of nationhood have substituted the concept of monumental history long ago?

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28 See Nicolas Attfield's review of Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality Commemroation and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany,* New York and Oxford 2009, in *Music and Analysis*, 31 (2012) No. 2, p. 242.

29 Rehding, *Music and Monumentality*, p. 37.

30 Tore Sinding, "Heimferd – norsk opera", review of the staging of *Heimferd* in Oslo, *Friheten*, 28 August 1947 (https://www.nb.no/items/36e2bc036955e30d5ae1766eaa0f129f?page=1&searchText=Heimferd, last access 10.10. 2018).

31 The 1947 version arranged for the opera by Sverre Hagerup Bull and adapted for the scene by Hans Jacob Nilsen, had its premiere 27 August 1947 at Det Norske Teatret. For a survey over the initiative behind and reception of the re-staging, see Vollsnes, *Komponisten Ludvig Irgens Jensen*, p. 357–359.

32 Concert performances 13 and 15 April 2018 with the Opera Choir, Opera Orchestra, and the Opera's Childrens' Choir under Peter Szilvay.

33 See Maren Ørstavik's review "Fra braksuksess til historisk document" (From major success to historical document) in *Aftenposten*, 16 April 2018, Camilla Helen Heiervang's review "Heimferd – en utdatert nasjonalarv" (Heimferd – outdated national heritage) in the journal *Minerva*, 21 April 2018, and Trond Olav Svendsen's review "Stiklestad i Operaen" (Stiklestad in the Opera), *Vårt land*, 17 April 2018.

Michael Custodis

Master or Puppet? Cultural Politics in Occupied Norway under GW Müller, Gulbrand Lunde and Rolf Fuglesang

Seven decades after the end of the Second World War, one still knows little about the cultural life in Norway under the conditions of the German Occupation. According to ongoing archive studies in Oslo, Berlin and Hamburg, the ideological approaches of Georg Wilhelm Müller, Gulbrand Lunde and Rolf Fuglesang (as the leading figures for cultural policy in occupied Norway) can be described in greater detail, as well as the network of loyalties, dependencies and rivalries that decided the civil and military framework for music, art and culture.

Facts and Ideologies I – GW Müller

To understand why and how Georg Wilhelm Müller (usually shortened to GW Müller, according to his own habit) could become one of the highest hopes in Joseph Goebbels' propaganda staff, one can find the first hints in a brief summary of Müller's political vita. Born on December 29, 1909 in Königshütte (Oberschlesien), Müller had already lost his father (school principal Dr. Kurt Müller) at the age of eleven, who had died from long-term injuries he suffered during World War I.[1] A few years later his mother, Olga Müller, married her brother-in-law, Eugen Müller (director of a provincial court), who died in 1932. At this time GW Müller had been studying law for three years, at the universities of Rostock, Marburg, Kiel and Frankfurt (Main), where he graduated with Erstes Staatsexamen (junior barrister) in 1933. Considering his records from NSDAP, SA and SS, his academic progress was not his primary concern. Already as a school pupil, Müller was an active member of pre-fascist youth organizations. He joined the Hitlerjugend in its founding days, and the SA at the age of 15. In consequence, he combined his academic ambitions with a career in the NS-Studentenbund, and from 1930, accelerated by his SS-membership, he coordinated and led highly aggressive actions against Jewish professors at the University of Frankfurt.[2] Two years earlier, on February 1, 1928 (#74380) he joined the NSDAP, and supported the party with public speeches. In the position as Frankfurt's NS-student leader, he concentrated on propaganda duties, first as a member of the press office in Gau Hessen-Nassau, before he became Reichshauptstellenleiter in the Reichspropagandaleitung of the NSDAP, along with a few courses of media studies he took in Berlin ("Zeitungswissenschaft").

1 File for Müller's Denacification, Bundesarchiv (= BArch), Sig. 42 II/2553. CV dated 8 February 1943, p. 3–6.

2 Petra Bonavita, "Die Karriere des Frankfurter NS-Studentenführers Georg-Wilhelm Müller", in: *Nassauische Annalen. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung*, 2004, Nr. 115, p. 441–460.

At the end of 1937, he got the chance to move to the very heart of NS-propaganda when he became Goebbels' second adjutant. His daily tasks included taking care of the minister's travels, correspondence and preparations for appointments and business meetings. Furthermore, he soon won Goebbels' trust while arranging his numerous liaisons with actresses in Potsdam Babelsberg's glamorous movie world.[3] In November and December of 1939, Müller completed his professional education within the army propaganda department in Potsdam. When Hitler decided in favor of Norway's occupation by means of Josef Terboven's Reichskommissariat, and against an independent Quisling Regime, it seemed obvious for Goebbels to accompany his old comrade Terboven, along with his loyal and ambitious protégé Müller.

A read through of the most popular Norwegian literature that deals with the Reichskommissariat and that mentions Müller (which some don't), could misinterpret his rank as "Ministerialrat" to be a subordinate position without responsibility and influence, compared to the competencies of the Norwegian propaganda minister. The opposite was true. During the spring and summer of 1940, Müller became Terboven's right hand man, and regularly served as his representative; for example during the first negotiations with the Storting parties' spokesmen and during the formation of the first Norwegian Statsråd.[4]

In retrospect, Müller divided his propagandistic work into two main phases, the first ending with the appointment of the Norwegian Statsråd in September 1940, and the second beginning with the appointment of Quisling's cabinet in February 1942,[5] which excludes the year 1941. Looking back, Müller described the first months as a very easy task. In respect to Norway's mutual ancestry in old Germanic times, attempts to germanize Norway seemed inappropriate. In consequence, and due to Hitler's military successes, the new masters tried to win over the Norwegian people with high-class cultural events, rather than demonstrating German superiority or offending Norwegian sensitivities. Accordingly, the majority of cultural endeavors were founded in 1940: Exchange programs for Norwegian workers to learn about German professions; exchange programs for Norwegian students with the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD); public libraries with literature in German and in translation; a German-speaking school and Kindergarten open to Norwegians; German movies and "Wochenschauen" (newsreels) in public cinemas; the journal *Deutsch-Norwegische Monatshefte* and the daily newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung in Norwegen*, with a variant for the troops in the far North *Deutsche Polar-Zeitung*; a German Academy with public language courses, a record archive and regular public cultural events; exhibitions for books, applied arts ("Kunstgewerbe") and political topics; the control of the Norwegian public radio NRK; a German theater, and regular concert tours of famous Ger-

3 Ralf Georg Reuth, *Goebbels*, München and Zürich 1990, p. 309: "Géza von Cziffra, ein bekannter Regisseur der Unterhaltungsbranche, berichtet, daß der persönliche Referent des Ministers, Georg Wilhelm Müller, dafür zu sorgen hatte, daß solche Rendevous, die häufig auch im Ministerium stattfanden, unbemerkt blieben."

4 Berit Nøkleby, *Josef Terboven – Hitlers Mann i Norge*, Oslo 1992, p. 101. Norges Hjemmefrontmuseum, Sig. NHM 8, folder F8c, file Georg W. Müller, pag. 87. Transcript of a protocol, Oslo, 13 June 1945, by "Kriminalbedienstete Mork and Torsnes".

5 Riksarkivet, Oslo, Sig. PA-1308-G-GC-L0015 – Rolf Ingebrigsten. Detailed report by Müller on German propaganda politics in Norway, dated 4 March 1946.

Figure 1:
GW Müller in 1942. Riksarkivet, Sig. RAFA-2174/E/Ed/L0063/0001.

man artists and ensembles. These latter events matched Müller's duties in troop entertainment ("Truppenbetreuung") which included cooperation with Robert Ley's "Kraft durch Freude" program.

In the second major phase after 1942, that Müller has mentioned, the formation of Quisling's first Norwegian government coincided with a steady and drastic decline of German military successes, and the accidental death of the Norwegian propaganda minister Gulbrand Lunde in October 1942. In reaction to Germany's changing strategic position on Europe's battlegrounds, the Norwegian resistance began to intensify its ambitions – in the civil cultural sector, mostly with boycotts that the German authorities could do nothing against – while the Norwegian public looked more towards Britain, King Håkon VII and the exiled government. At this point, one has to address the gap that Müller had left in his description for the year 1941. Right from the beginning of his duties in Oslo, he had wanted to leave his desk job to serve at the front. Already in 1939, Joseph Goebbels had not given in to this wish, but instead had sent him to assist Josef Terboven. There, Müller had soon gained the reputation of being very effective and authoritative. He had quickly earned the dislike of Wehrmacht's Oberbefehlshaber, Nikolaus von Falkenhorst. Müller was not used to opposition against his measures, and it was easy for him to get Gulbrand Lunde's administration to obey his will. Though Reichskommissar Terboven had given orders to let the Norwegian Statsråds have their own way, and only influence them by formal advice, or the exchange of "wishes", these tools were efficient enough to keep the hierarchy between the German

masters and their Norwegian brothers-in-arms intact. The only rivalry Müller had to face came from the Wehrmacht propaganda units. Therefore, it was no surprise when von Falkenhorst answered Müller's request for active military service, and ordered him to join the SS-troops at the Eastern front in Finland in May 1941. Only weeks into active service, Müller became heavily wounded in combat, on July 1, 1941 in Salla. With four fingers lost on his right hand, two damaged knees, shrapnel in his skull, and a resulting paralysis of facial nerves, it took him until December 1941 to recover, and return to Oslo to his former position (see pic. 2 for details about his SS-ranks). It seems he stayed professional, but unsatisfied in his routines, because Goebbel's diary is very explicit. On July 29, 1942 when the minister declined another of Müller's requests to leave Oslo, he states:

> G. W. Müller berichtet mir über Oslo. Dort haben die Verhältnisse sich allmählich wieder konsolidiert, Müller möchte gern auf die Dauer wieder in eine Dienststelle ins Reichsgebiet zurückkehren. Er sieht seinen Auftrag in Oslo mit Recht als erledigt an. Ich würde ihn natürlich ungern für mein Arbeitsgebiet verlieren, und ich biete ihm deshalb an, ihm in meinem großen Ressort eine Stellung zu verschaffen, die seinen Fähigkeiten und seinen Neigungen entspricht. Hoffentlich gelingt es mir, ihn zu halten.[6]

Goebbel's deep concern for Müller is also a key to the questions, a) how he managed to conduct his cultural policy in Oslo, and b) how he synchronized them with the propaganda ministry in Berlin. Just a few days after Müller had left for the Norwegian capital on April 21, 1940, we find him in an intense and familiar correspondence with Hans Hinkel, Joseph Goebbel's ruthless agent for all cultural matters. Although it is difficult to sketch Hinkel's activities in short, a few words about the dimensions of his duties are necessary. After first working with chief ideologist Alfred Rosenberg, it was a major coup for Goebbels when he managed to employ Hinkel in 1935 as managing director of the Reichsmusikkammer. Hinkel immediately got his own field of competence (a so-called "Sonderreferat") to seperate all Jewish activities from German cultural life in the "Jüdische Kulturbünde", including deportations, in close alliance with the Gestapo. Over the years, Hinkel spread his responsibilities over the Reichskulturkammer, until he was finally appointed vice president in 1944. Furthermore, Hinkel had opened a separate department for special cultural affairs in 1939, and had coordinated the ministry's department for Truppenbetreuung since 1940.[7]

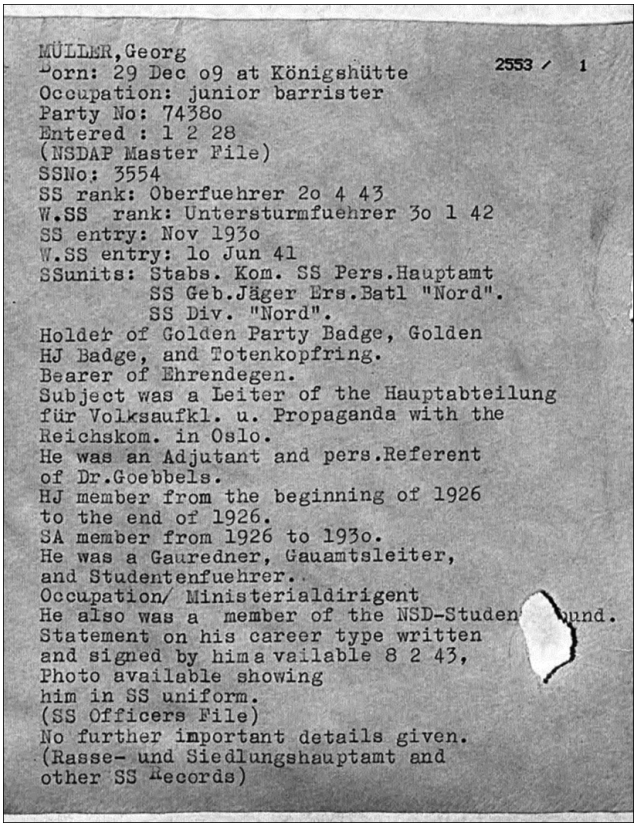
Müller shared with Hinkel not only a deep loyality for the SS (at the end of World War II Hinkel incorporated the third highest rank), but also a fundamental anti-Semitism. Müller took the liberty of corresponding with Hinkel in an offensive tone. It is

6 "G. W. reports to me about Oslo. Slowly circumstances have consolidated there again, Müller likes to return in the long run to a Dienststelle in the Reich's territory. He rightly considers his mission in Oslo to be completed. Of course I would lose him reluctantly for my domain, and therefore I offer him a position in my vast ressort that would fit his talents and interessts. I hope to manage to keep him." 29 July 1942. Elke Fröhlich (ed.), *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher*, Vol. II *Diktate 1941–1945*, No. 5 Juli–September 1942, Munich 1995, p. 202–208.

7 Friedrich Geiger, "'Einer unter hunderttausend'. Hans Hinkel und die NS-Kulturbürokratie", in: Matthias Herrmann and Hanns-Werner Heister (eds.), *Dresden und die avancierte Musik im 20. Jahrhundert. Teil II: 1933–1966*, (= *Musik in Dresden* 5), Laaber 2002, p. 47–61.

unclear how they got to know each other, but were very familiar, addressing each other with their family names and "Du". Their correspondence in Berlin's Bundesarchiv in July 1940 deals with details for the German Truppenbetreuung in Oslo and rural areas of Norway. To give an impression of the sums of money that the Propaganda ministry in Berlin was willing to invest, on September 11, 1940 Hinkel and Müller spoke of spending RM 1.700.000 for the winter season, which still had to be approved by the ministry of finance.[8] In later years, Müller named an annual sum of 8/9 million kroner for the entertainment of troops, in order to stay on good terms with the German army.[9]

To summarize Müller's ambitions and positions in Norway, it seems that he had an involvement in all dominant power circles, in order to keep control of his rivals in the Wehrmacht and the Quisling administrations, including their support from Rosenberg's clique. One major factor in maintaining his administrative strength was a close connection to SS-Hauptsturmführer Günther Falk, an influential figure of the Security Police SIPO in Norway, who had built up a network of informants throughout the country.



MÜLLER,Georg
Born: 29 Dec 09 at Königshütte 2553 / 1
Occupation: junior barrister
Party No: 7438o
Entered : 1 2 28
(NSDAP Master File)
SSNo: 3554
SS rank: Oberfuehrer 2o 4 43
W.SS rank: Untersturmfuehrer 3o 1 42
SS entry: Nov 193o
W.SS entry: 1o Jun 41
SSunits: Stabs. Kom. SS Pers.Hauptamt
SS Geb.Jäger Ers.Batl "Nord".
SS Div. "Nord".
Holder of Golden Party Badge, Golden
HJ Badge, and Totenkopfring.
Bearer of Ehrendegen.
Subject was a Leiter of the Hauptabteilung
für Volksaufkl. u. Propaganda with the
Reichskom. in Oslo.
He was an Adjutant and pers.Referent
of Dr.Goebbels.
HJ member from the beginning of 1926
to the end of 1926.
SA member from 1926 to 193o.
He was a Gauredner, Gauamtsleiter,
and Studentenfuehrer..
Occupation/ Ministerialdirigent
He also was a member of the NSD-Studen[illegible]bund.
Statement on his career type written
and signed by him available 8 2 43,
Photo available showing
him in SS uniform.
(SS Officers File)
No further important details given.
(Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt and
other SS Records)

Figure. 2:
Müller's CV, summarized during his imprisonment at Akershus, in: BArch Z 42II-2553.

8 BArch Berlin, Sig. R56 I-93. Correspondence by GW Müller with the Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin.

9 Riksarkivet, Oslo, Sig. RAFA-3915. Müller's questionnaire during his imprisonment at Akershus, dated 7 December 1945.

Facts and Ideologies II – Lunde

For generations, the ministry of religion and education had held the responsibility for all matters of culture and the arts in Norway, until the Reichskommissariat modeled the Norwegian bureaucracy on the German administrative structures, and formed a new ministry for Culture and Folkentlightment ("kultur og folkeopplysning"). In search of a first State Councilor ("Statsråd") with all the necessary competencies, Gulbrand Lunde seemed to be the ideal candidate for this new task, even resembling Goebbels in looks. Born on September 24, 1901, Lunde's background was from a national-conservative home, which incorporated both strong ties to Germany as well as to the arts.[10]

Figure 3: Joseph Goebbels with Gulbrand Lunde in 1941, in: Marie og Gulbrand Lunde, *liv i kamp for Norge*, Oslo 1942, p. 19.

His father, Sigurd Lunde, had studied architecture in Berlin and Prague, then started his own company in Bergen at the age of 24, becoming quite successful over the years. His mother Inga Lunde, 25 years younger than her husband, had studied in Berlin as well, and was a trained singer, giving lessons in later years, with a passion for the romantic German Lied. In 1920, at the age of 19, Lunde went abroad to study, and his journey brought him to Hamburg, Zurich, Freiburg im Breisgau, Vienna, Graz and Ge-

10 Jan Magne Arntsen and Thor Geir Harestad, *Triumf og Tragedie. Historien om NS-Minister Gulbrand Lunde*, Sandnes 2012, Chapter 1 by Jan Magne Arntsen, "Oppvekst og vitenskap", p. 10 and 13.

neva, before he completed his Ph.D. in biochemistry at the age of 24 in Freiburg, under the supervision of Nobel Prize winner, Geheimrat Heinrich Otto Wieland.

He returned to Norway and immediately got the position of director in a company in Stavanger, which specialized in vacuum-packing and preserving vitamins in canned food, and declined two offers for professorships (including one from Minneapolis, after he had returned from a lecture tour through the US).[11] While he continued to travel around Europe, he turned to politics and got acquainted with the NS-movement in Norway, joining Nasjonal Samling in 1932. With a knowledge of the arts and modern media (especially film), along with his natural talent for rhetoric, it seemed logical that Lunde became the head of propaganda for Vidkun Quisling's young movement in 1935. The year before, he had obtained a sensational 12 percent of the vote in communal elections for his Stavanger area, while Nasjonal Samling could generally not attract more than 3 percent of voters.[12]

As far as sources tell, music was an essential part of Lunde's political agenda from the beginning. When he set off on a steamboat cruise along the West coast, from Stavanger to Bergen in 1934, he took a military band with him. In Nasjonal Samling's journal, *Førerbladet*, in the same year, we find detailed information about the party hymn, called *Kampsang*, an official marching tune for parades and public gatherings, including a separate tune to raise and lower the flag.[13] At first it was Lunde's task to assure the few active party members of the righteousness of their political mission, and also to win new followers. But during the steady decline of public support for Nasjonal Samling in the following years, up to 1940, Lunde never decelerated his scientific ambitions, which were appreciated internationally; for example with his election into the Norwegian Academy of Science in 1938, and the German Academy in Munich in February 1940. Within days after Germany's invasion of Norway, the political matters for Lunde changed. After the Norwegian government had fled, and before the Wehrmacht established their reign, Quisling tried to fill the vacuum. He announced himself Prime Minister of a new national cabinet, and Lunde learned, in Quisling's radio speech on April 9, that he was the designated candidate for social affairs; as we know this did not come to pass. But when Terboven gathered the circle of Norwegian State Councilors in September 1940, Lunde accepted the offer to become head of the department of culture and folk enlightenment.

Though officially independent, it was clear right from the beginning that all of Lunde's major decisions had to be approved by the Reichskommissar. Therefore, Lunde quickly modeled his administration on the structure of GW Müller's department and Goebbels' ministry in Berlin. This included separate departments for the arts, with professionals from each sector as advisers, in the case of music with the composer Geirr Tveitt. After a long period of discontent and growing rivalry with Per Reidarson and Jim Johannessen (music activist for Hird), Tveitt resigned in 1942, and was

11 Jan Magne Arntsen, Del II *Stavanger-perioden 1929–1940*, in: ibid., p. 29.

12 Nina Drolsum Kroglund, *Hitlers norske hjelpere*, Oslo 2010, p. 171.

13 Riksarkivet, Oslo, Sig. PA-1193, Folder F-Fc NS-Presse- og Propagandaavdeling, Førerbladet. Praktisk og teoretisk tidsskrift for N.S. tillidsmenn. Utgift av N.S. Presse og Propaganda. Nr. 3, Oslo, January 1934, 2. årg. p. 7 and additionally "N.S. Propaganda-Meddelelser" from 23. March 1934, Nr. 2, keyword "Sang og symboler".

Figure 4: Gulbrand Lunde during his visit in 1941 to Beethoven's birthplace in Bonn. © Beethoven-Haus Bonn, published with kind permission.

succeeded by David Monrad Johansen.[14] Berlin was not only Lunde's model on a bureaucratic level, he also introduced some of the ideological goals, for full control of culture in general and the arts in particular. Therefore, one witnesses the introduction of obligatory professional organizations, including an "Arierparagraf" in their statutes, the support of official and the censorship of unwanted journals, books and newspapers, and so on. In September 1941, when the Norwegian State Councilors reviewed their first year in charge, Lunde explained his accomplished goals and further political visions.[15] In addition to this, he named the following projects: a) the reorganization of Norwegian public radio as a major challenge (which was ambivalent after the confiscation of all receivers in 1941 except for loyal party members); b) a new series of stamps with national motifs; c) the resurrection of Den Nasjonale Scene (Bergen's public theater, which had been damaged by British artillery in July 1940); d) the restoration of old buildings and monuments as national heritage; and e) a massive support of the arts with acquisitions and exhibitions of paintings, with grants and awards, concerts and subsidies for collections and editions of folk tunes.

14 Martin Moll, *'Das neue Europa'. Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Auslandspropaganda in Europa, 1939–1945. Die Geschichte eines Fehlschlages* (Doctoral thesis, manuscript) Karl-Franzens-University Graz (1986), p. 459; Riksarkivet, Oslo, Sig. S-1327-D-Dc-L0009 Protokoll for propagandarådet ledet av Gulbrand Lunde.

15 BArch Berlin, Sig. R-4902-9152. Material des Deutschen Auslandswissenschaftlichen Instituts. Press report "Ein Jahr kommissarische Staatsräte in Norwegen", September 25, 1941; Article in *Aftenposten*, 12 March 1941, "Statsrådenes virksomhet. Kultur- og Folkeoplysningsdepartementet", in a series about the new State Counselors.

Den store tanke om et nordisk-germansk forbund vil sikre freden i Europa.

AFTENPOSTEN 17. OKT. 1941

Aksen Rom–Berlin forlenget til Oslo.

Minister, dr. Lundes store tale i Berlin.

Som nevnt i morgennummeret idag holdt minister, dr. Gulbrand Lunde forleden dag efter innbydelse fra Auslandswissenschaftliches Institut i Berlin foredrag om den nasjonale revolusjon i Norge.

Til stede var en meget representativ forsamling.

Ministeren uttalte i sitt foredrag bl. a.:

Utviklingen av et folks kultur og civilisasjonen står aldri stille. De store tekniske fremskritt i de siste årtier førte med sig en større spesialisering på alle arbeidsfelter, for hvert enkelt individ i samfundet, og dette nødvendiggjorde en omlegning av hele det politiske liv. Men ifølge sin natur er et slikt gammelt politisk system stivt og uelastisk, og de politikere som identifiserer sig med systemet stiller sig næsten alltid fiendtlig til enhver tilpasning eller nydannelse, sa ministeren i sitt foredrag.

Et politisk system vil jo alltid bare være en form, en form som får sitt innhold ved at mennesker går inn for dette systemet. Disse mennesker blir da ett med systemet, med den nye form. Men det er med et politisk system som med alt annet i verden som har liv og innhold: det har vilje til liv og ønsker ikke å dø eller forsvinne. Det henger ved livet, slik som vi ofte erfarer at nettop gamle mennesker henger ved livet, kanskje sterkere enn de yngre.

Minister, dr. Lunde.

De reaksjonære kreftene

som vil opretthold det gamle systemet fordi de er grodd fast i det og også lever av det, de arbeider mot enhver forandring, og forsøker så lenge som mulig å hindre alt som kan fremme utviklingen av de nye tanker og ideer.

Derfor ser vi også næsten overalt at de forskjellige staters politiske system ligger efter i utviklingen. Når avstanden mellem det pulserende liv og den politiske organisasjon blir for stor, kommer det til en politisk krise.

Minister dr. Lunde omtalte så den krise de europeiske folk var inne i, og den fornyelse som skal bringe det politiske system i overensstemmelse med det levende liv.

Slike politiske nydannelser utvikler sig alltid hurtigere under krig, sa foredragsholderen videre, og han gikk derefter over til å behandle den

Figure 5: Clipping from *Aftenposten*, 17 October 1941, in: BArch R4902-5308.

Obviously, all plans would have been impossible without the good will of Germany, and Lunde's actions were flanked by promotional campaigns. The domestic propaganda, for example, reported extensively on an official journey Lunde completed through Germany in 1941, where press coverage shows him paying tribute to German titans, bending his head at the memorial sites of Beethoven and Goethe.

He also met with several officials, and had the honor of an audience with Goebbels. Additionally, he gave a speech, *Die Stellung Norwegens*, on 16 October 1941, in the famous "Schinkensaal" [sic, instead of Schinkelsaal], to representatives of the state, the party and the Wehrmacht, as well as his colleague in the Norwegian NS-government, State Councilor Jonas Lie.[16] In the center of the National Socialist world, Lunde seized the chance to repeat his hopes for a free Norway as an independent nation state, in a pan-Germanic Europe.[17]

16 BArch R4902-5308 Material des Deutschen Auslandswissenschaftlichen Instituts.

17 Thor Geir Harestad, Del IV. "Fascisme og propaganda. Om NS-politikkens ideologi og retorikk", in: Arntsen and Harestad, *Triumf og Tragedie*, p. 208–209.

Obviously, this dream was never considered to be realistic, nor were his prospective political actions very successful. Due to the growing boycotts, coordinated by the resistance movement, the audience response to official concerts and performances was weak, and did not change the traditional orientation towards England. The formal change on February 1, 1942 – when Quisling was promoted to become prime minister of an alleged independent Norwegian government, and Lunde's title was changed from State Councilor to State Minister – did not result in growing support for the presence of National Socialism in Norway. Lunde's accidental death brought his ambitions to an abrupt end on October 25, 1942, when his limousine slipped while boarding a ferry at the Romsdalsfjord, under unclear conditions, and he and his wife Marie were both drowned. During the following months it became clear that Lunde's prestigious institutions – the larger Kulturting and the smaller advisory board Kulturråd – had only been formed for representative purposes without practical function.

Facts and Ideologies III – Fuglesang

It took two months after Lunde's death to find a successor. When Rolf Fuglesang took the office in December 1942, the series of German victories had been disrupted, most symbolically with the 6th Army's siege of Stalingrad in January, 1943. To understand the reasons why the cultural sector in Norway was not Fuglesang's priority during the following two years, we have to consider both internal and external factors. Rolf Jørgen Fuglesang himself was a loyal member of Quisling's movement, but was neither a specialist for propaganda, nor interested in cultural matters. He was born in Fredrikstad in 1909, and graduated in law studies in 1933.[18] In the same year he joined Nasjonal Samling, being attracted to their historical approach to re-strengthen Norway's Germanic and peasant heritage, and was appointed the party's general secretary, a position which he held until May 1945. The party, its steering, its economy and its ideological development were his priority with Quisling, and the focus of his loyalty.

Fuglesang did not share Lunde's pan-Germanic or anti-Semitic positions, and he considered the Norwegian circumstances to be different. Instead, the individual and institutional fight against Bolshevism and Norwegian communism were more important to him. As archival reports and notes from SS officer Günther Falk show, Fuglesang's leadership aroused much discontent with other departments and political rivals.[19] Accordingly, the Reichssicherheitshauptamt, the headquarters of the SS secret service, ranked him as the biggest chauvinist and most fiercest fighter against German politics within the Nasjonal Samling.[20] Nevertheless we should not misinterpret this bad reputation as proof of hidden opposition, but as typical evidence of NS-rivalries. In a note from August 9, 1943, eight months after Fuglesang had taken over the Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Folkenlightment (de-facto the Norwegian propaganda ministry), Falk recapitulated critical comments within Fuglesang's department,

18 Nina Drolsum Kroglund, *Hitlers norske hjelpere*, Oslo 2010, p. 162.
19 NHM-8- Folder F8c, file "SS-Obersturmbannführer Günther Falk".
20 Moll, *Das neue Europa*, p. 458.

and concluded that it had become ineffective after Lunde's death.[21] Fuglesang's refusal to make time for meetings or give instructions, as well as his aggressive reactions to the slightest criticism provoked deep anger among his staff.[22] It is therefore no surprise that prestigious institutions such as the Kulturting and the Kulturråd, that his precursor had installed with propagandistic pomp, ran the risk of disappearing into insignificance. In consequence of numerous complaints Fuglesang convened the Kulturråd to gather for two days in September 1943. He even ordered the Kulturting in July 1944 to revise its statutes; these changes were accepted in January 1945, but presumably without large effect.[23] In conclusion, one has to note that due to a lack of alternatives, and with Quisling's vigorous support, Fuglesang stayed in office until the liberation of Norway, although the Reichskommissariat had made plans several times to replace him with a figure more loyal to them.

Epilogue

The end of the German occupation was celebrated in Norway as a big relief and joy, and with the support of Allied forces, paramilitary troops of the Norwegian resistance and units of the Norwegian Armed forces, the legal government (returning from its London exile) quickly turned the page of history. Some former protagonists were dead, others arrested within days of the liberation. Similar to the Nuremberg trials, the value of these prisoners as witnesses was as important as the evaluation of their personal guilt and responsibility.

Rolf Fuglesang was still a young man of 36 when he was arrested. In his trial for treason in February 1946, he escaped the death penalty and was sentenced to lifelong compulsory labor, and was prohibited from ever working again in his juridical capacity. During his imprisonment he became a skilled mason, and after his amnesty in 1956, he worked for years as a foreman in a building company. Until his death in 1988, he was open to questions about his past.

As in other comparable cases, the German way to deal with war criminals that were not main targets of allied jurisdiction was embarrassingly indulgent. Joseph Goebbels had ordered Müller from Oslo in March 1945 to report from the Western front. Goebbels had also taken him out of a major dispute with Vidkun Quisling. Thanks to his network of spies, Müller had discovered a conspiracy within Quisling's own administration, who was furious when he found out about it. To avoid a major scandal Goebbels had answered Müller's wish for a transfer, so that British and Norwegian troops arrested him on June 3, 1945 in Hamburg. He spent three years in several prisons in Norway without trial, and was interrogated continuously. When he was no longer of use to the Norwegian authorities, he was sent back to Germany, at the end of 1948. At this point the juridical instrument of denazification was already under German con-

21 NHM-8- Folder F8c, file "SS-Obersturmbannführer Günther Falk", note in the file ("Aktenvermerk") from 9 August 1943.
22 Ibid., file note from 9 August 1943 "Kulturthing und Kulturrat".
23 Riksarkivet, Oslo, Sig. S-6129-D-Da-L0077 "Kulturdept., Überarbeitung der Satzung des Kulturting, Stand Januar 1945".

trol. The tribunal accepted his Norwegian imprisonment as substitute for a punishment in Germany, so he was released. As one knows from a file in Hamburg's Staatsarchiv, Müller was even granted the security of keeping his status as a civil servant, although he had to accept that all promotions from the years after 1940 were not valid.[24]

Some of his correspondence was located from the 1960s and 70s, and it seems that he did not feel much guilt or shame. In a letter to Generalkonsul Ellef Ringnes in Oslo in November 1965, he wrote about his former years in Oslo: "It is joyful to observe that the evaluation of the former situation seems to have become more calm and objective in Norway, too. Certainly it stays a fact that for a long time after a lost war the so-called winners are the ones to write the so-called history. The real history probably will be written only in the next but one generation."[25] Unmentioned in his correspondence and the literature that took note of Müller, is an episode from the early post-war years: Due to the political nature of his businesses in the former Propagandaministerium and his physical handicap (assessed with 60% invalidity) Müller was rated an invalid.[26] Nevertheless he had to make a living for himself and his family of four children. His denazification file contains a document from March 1949, which shows that he first had a job as a delivery and storage worker in an import and export company.[27] The following year he changed professions, and was constantly on the road. This job did not bring him anywhere near to his old reputation. But in a strange twist of fate, he served again as an assistant to a puppet master, but this time it was for Gerhards' Marionetten-Theater, a group of string puppet players, traveling through the South of Germany.

24 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Bestand 131-11, Sig. 585 "Festsetzung und Zahlung von Versorgungsbezügen, 1957, 1975–1980".

25 Riksarkivet, Oslo, Sig. PA-1308-G-GC-L0015. Letter from GW Müller to Generalkonsul Ellef Ringnes, Fr. Nansenpl. 5, Oslo, on November 24, 1965, PA-1308 Teil 2: "Es ist erfreulich festzustellen, daß die Beurteilung der damaligen Situation anscheinend auch in Norwegen ruhiger und sachlicher geworden ist. Freilich bleibt es dabei, daß nach einem verlorenen Krieg, für relativ lange Zeit, die sogenannten Sieger, die sogenannte Geschichte schreiben. Die wirkliche Geschichte wird wohl erst in der übernächsten Generation geschrieben werden."

26 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Bestand 131-11, Sig. 585 Versorgungsakte Georg-Wilhelm Müller, 1957, 1975–1980, Dokument der Oberfinanzdirektion Hamburg, 11 May 1957.

27 BArch Sig. 42 II/2553, pag. 88/92.

Friedrich Geiger

Harald Sæverud's *Kjempeviseslåtten* – A Typical Resistance Composition?

Harald Sæverud was born in Bergen in 1897, were he died at the age of 95 in 1992.[1] He is ranked among the most important symphonic composers of his time in the Nordic countries. His music shares similarities with the free-tonal style of works from Béla Bartók and Igor Stravinsky that included folk music elements. But the dimensions of Sæverud's respect in Norway are different. Here many of his works are, as Harald Herresthal estimates, essential elements of the close canon of Norwegian cultural heritage.[2] For more than four decades, Sæverud was granted a public „kunstnerlønn", and after his death his estate south of Bergen was turned into a museum.[3] Obviously the importance of this composer for the national identity was and is significant.

Besides his compositional qualities, his positive image is supported to a large degree by the reception of Sæverud – to quote Herresthal once more – as a leading figure of the musical resistance against National Socialism in the Second World War. During the course of Norway's occupation, he composed the following pieces:

- *Lette stykker* for Piano op.14 nr.1–6 (1939)
- Symphony No.5 *Quasi una fantasia* op.16 (1941)
- Symphony No.6 *Sinfonia Dolorosa* op.19 (1942)
- *Galdreslåtten*, Symphonic Dance with Passacaglia op.20 (1942)
- *Slåtter og stev fra Siljustøl* for Piano, 4 Vol. op.21 (1942); op.22 (1943); op.24 (1944); op.25 (1966)
- *Kjempeviseslåtten* op.22a, Nr.5 (1943)
- *Romanza* for Violin op.23 (1942)
- Symphony No.7 *Salme* op.27 (1944/45)

Kjempeviseslåtten, written in 1943 in two versions for unacompanied piano and orchestra, and performed for the first time in 1946, has especially become a „symbolic piece of musical resistance".[4] Sæverud himself defined this context in the score that was published by Musikk-Huset in Oslo in 1946:[5]

1 The most comprehensive biography up to now was provided by Lorentz Reitan, *Sæverud. Mannen. Musikken. Mytene*, Oslo 1997. See also Reitan's article on the composer – first published in 2001 – in *Grove Music Online*.

2 Harald Herresthal, article "Harald Sæverud", in *MGG Online*, ed. by Laurenz Lütteken, Kassel et al. since 2016, first published 2005, online 2016 (https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/13534, last access 25.10.2018).

3 See the website of the museum (http://siljustolmuseum.no/, last access 25.10.2018).

4 Herresthal, article "Harald Sæverud".

5 Harald Sæverud, *Kjempeviseslåtten. The Ballad of Revolt. For Orchestra. Op.22a Nr. 5*, Study score, Oslo 1946.

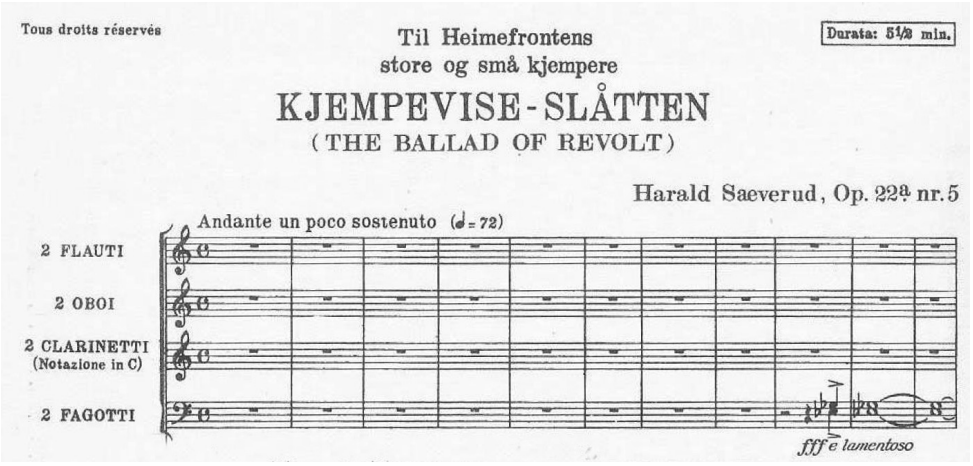


Figure 1: Harald Sæverud, *Kjempeviseslåtten*, Study score.

He added the English subtitle "The Ballad of Revolt" and dedicated the piece to the "big and small giants of Heimefronten", which, of course, is directed towards the Norwegian resistance movement against the German occupying forces. But besides this explicit paratext – which musical characteristics define *Kjempeviseslåtten* as an anti-fascist resistance composition? How typical is the piece for this special genre of works that were written between 1933 and 1945, and took a clear stand against Hitler's dictatorship?

With a closer look at the relevant repertoire, one can define seven criteria for resistance compositions:[6]

1. We are dealing mostly with vocal works, which means that a text exists. The usage of text provides a semantic clarity, and avoids uncertainty for the listeners that would impair the appellative potential. Hardly any resistance composition abdicates the direct message of words. Lyrics can even be found in instrumental genres such as the symphony, for example in Hanns Eisler's *German Symphony* (1937), or in the Symphony Number Six (1940), and the unfinished Number Eigth (1942) by Erwin Schulhoff.
2. Composers often chose words that were familiar to their fellow countrymen, for example from folk songs or popular poems. Such kinds of words, that are rooted deeply in the national cultural consciousness, address the national feeling of the listeners, reassure them of their individual and collective identity, and provide strength against the hostile attack.
3. Strikingly, many resistance compositions include chorals and hymns. Customarily, choral melodies are associated with church singing, which reminds one of a group united in faith and hope. Accordingly, these melodies create a feeling of communi-

6 For an elaboration of these criteria, which were drawn from a wide international repertoire between 1933 and 1945, see Friedrich Geiger, "Musikalischer Widerstand. Die Kantate 'Neustupujte!' von Miloslav Kabeláč", in: *Die Tonkunst* 3 (2009), Nr. 4, p. 428–437.

ty, dignity, and ceremoniousness, which also raises the composition's appellative potential.

4. Numerous composers turned to sacral genres such as the cantata, oratorio or mass. Famous examples are the *Field Mass* that Bohuslav Martinů composed in France for all anti-fascist soldiers in 1939,[7] or the *Deutsches Miserere* ("German Miserere"), a collective work that Paul Dessau and Bertolt Brecht had begun in 1944. The aspect of community building through music is equally important. Furthermore, religious genres estimated both the legitimacy as well as the moral necessity to offer resistance, and answered to possible pacifist doubts.
5. The use of folkloristic music material served a similar purpose to the application of popular poems. The audience could be approached with familiar native tunes that musically recalled the endangered national identity.
6. The instrumental setting of resistance compositions often cited military domains by means of male choirs, brass sounds and large drum sections. Such a musical design implemented aspects of collective severity, battle, authority and assertiveness to increase the affirmative power of the composition.
7. Another popular element of resistance compositions 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: idioms such as the elegy and funeral march; accentuated declamation to symbolize recollection; the *Maestoso*-Finale, and so on.

Comparing *Kjempeviseslåtten* with these typical aspects, one can find various similarities. But before getting into detail, I would like to call the short piece into mind by briefly summarizing its construction and design. The central element is a song-like theme, structured ‖: a b :‖: a' :‖, which appears in its entirety in bars 51 to 74 for the first time:

7 See Vladimir Karbusicky, "Von fremden Ufern, fern im Exil … Bohuslav Martinůs 'Feldmesse'", in: Friedrich Geiger and Thomas Schäfer (eds.), *Exilmusik. Komposition während der NS-Zeit*, Hamburg 1999, p. 333–372.

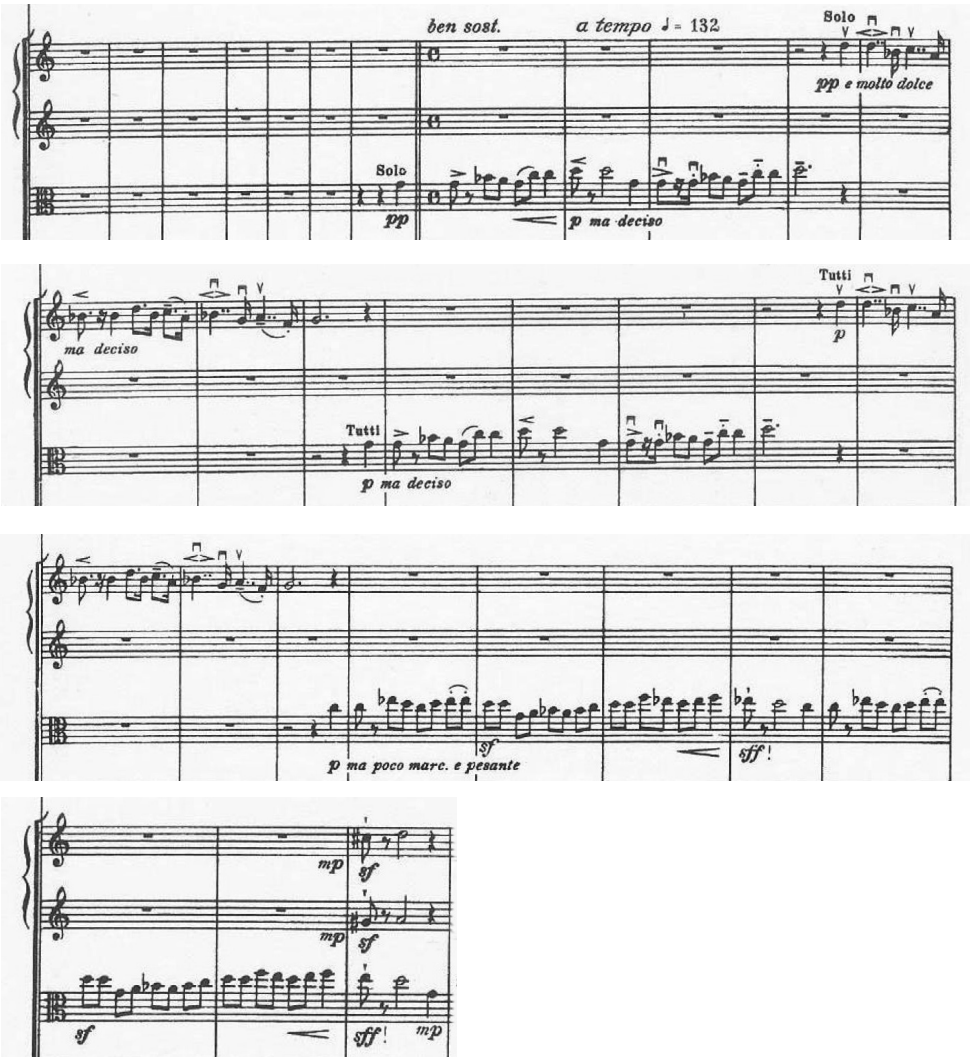


Figure 2: *Kjempeviseslåtten*, Bs. 51–74: Theme. Study score.

This first appearance of the theme is anticipated by a slow introduction, which already presents fragments of it. Afterwards, the theme is repeated seven times, during which the number of accompanying instruments grows steadily. In consequence, the intensity, loudness and harmonical density increase, too, until the theme is presented by the full orchestra in a rousing final apotheosis in quadruple forte:

1–50	**[Slow introduction]**	
1	Andante un poco sostenuto	Fragments of the theme, elegiac motifs
from 22 on	un poco più mosso ed agitato	Increasing tempo and dynamics
33	Subito	Triolic motif in the timpani
37	agitato molto, ritardando, poco lento	Reduction of tempo and dynamics, leading to the main part:
51–End	**Marcia agitata**	
51		Theme, first time
75		Theme, second time
91		Theme, third time
107		Theme, fourth time
123		Theme, fifth time, with military drums
139		Theme, sixth time, with full orchestra
151		Theme, seventh time "con estrema frenesia"

Among the typical elements of resistance compositions discussed previously, the dramatic escalation is of particular importance for the impact of *Kjempeviseslåtten* on listeners. Starting with a dark atmosphere of musical sighs and laments (in German terminology one would speak of "Seufzermotiv"), the musical journey takes us from a cautious origin to a triumphant ending. It is obvious that such a setting is related to famous models such as Maurice Ravel's *Bolero*, and is especially suitable for the semantics of resistance. Tiny and solitary elements are able to form something very powerful when many join in – the musical analogy is evident. Sæverud's decision to craft the theme in dialogues intensifies this message – thinking of questions and answers, mutual agreement, and the affirmation of a collective will.

Furthermore, the theme's vocal qualities are of special importance. Even though Sæverud neither used lyrics nor included singers, we face – as the title explicitly tells – a "Ballad of Revolt", which necessarily incorporates a song melody. At first it is presented by solo instruments, which stimulate the complete string section to follow, and of course this inspires typical associations of collective singing of chorals. The single voice is answered by a municipality that is defined musically by means of a particularly folkloristic melody: The modal Dorian key of G and the flexible rhythms mimic the sound of Norwegian folk songs and dances (referring to Sæverud's and Edvard Grieg's preference for "slåtter", typical peasant dances). The character of a decisive march, which Sæverud not only composed, but explicitly instructed with performance indications in the score, and the typical references to military music underline his strategy to imagine the marching of the glorious "Hjemmefront".

Additionally, Sæverud used a chiffre that is very popular for resistance compositions – the typical timpani motif short-short-short-long – placed in the transition from the introduction to the main part:

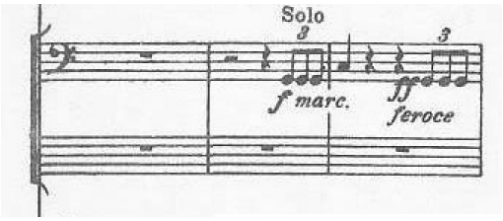


Figure 3: *Kjempeviseslåtten*, Timpani motif. Study score.

This motif had multiple and interconnected meanings during the Second World War.[8] In the Morse alphabet it symbolized the letter "V":

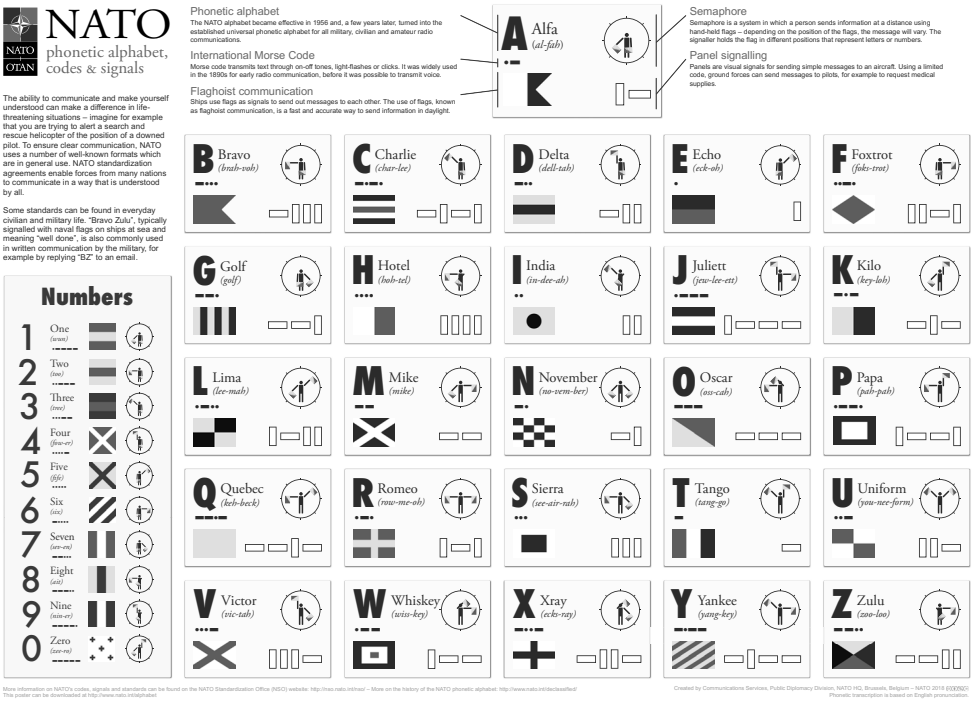


Figure 4: Morse alphabet (https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014, accessed 10.10.2018). Creative commons.

The BBC used this letter in Morse code with this exact timpani sound for their broadcasts into occupied countries, to send a sign of hope and desire for the allied victory against Nazi Germany – an acoustic aquivalent to Winston Churchill's famous gesture.

8 In detail, see Matthew Guerrieri, *The First Four Notes: Beethoven's Fifth and the Human Imagination*, New York 2012, p. 211–230.

Figure 5:
Winston Churchill's "Victory"-gesture on June 5, 1943. Photograph HU 55521 from the collections of the Imperial War museum. Creative commons.

Furthermore, the motif was coined by Ludwig van Beethoven in his Symphony No. V in c-minor Op. 67, the so-called "Symphony of Fate":

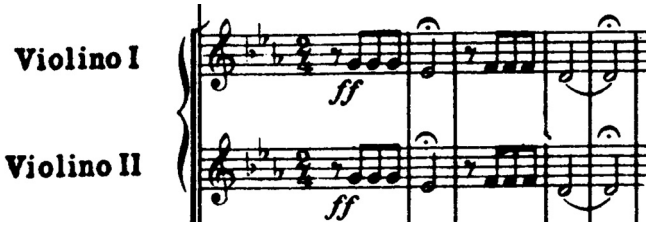


Figure 6: Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No V in c-minor Op. 67, opening motif.

Its number in roman numerals can also be read as the sign of "victory", which, as we know, was also an important sign of resistance in Norwegian everyday life. In consequence, this timpani motif can connect resistance compositions to the general ambition to achieve the final victory over Germany – the sooner the better.

As we have seen, *Kjempeviseslåtten* bears several characteristic ingredients of anti-fascist resistance compositions. But furthermore, it relates to the context of Norwegian sagas and fairy tales, which also support the collective identity of Sæverud's fellow countrymen during the German occupation. The one big difference between *Kjempeviseslåtten* and other resistance works is its nature as instrumental music. This is representative not only for Sæverud's other resistance pieces (especially his symphonies 5 to 7), but for his oeuvre in general, which consists exclusively of instrumental compositions.

In conclusion, one needs to add a few words to the early performance history of *Kjempeviseslåtten*. It can be reconstructed using the letters that Sæverud exchanged

with his publishers at Musikkhuset in Oslo, between May 1945 and October 1946. This correspondence has been discovered recently by Michael Custodis who kindly offered the chance to study the dozen of letters related to this topic.[9] It reveals that the piece was scheduled for Stockholm Radio on December 14, 1945, that soon should find further performances, one, for example, in Moscow in February 1946. Due to the very tight schedule, only a few days remained to engrave and print the score. The only man who could have helped Sæverud to solve this complex task was his approved engraver, named Edwin Quarg (1899–1956). But already on May 29, 1945, Sigurd Kielland, Sæverud's disponent at Musikkhuset and part of the civil resistance, had informed the composer that the German-born Quarg was no longer available, as he had been arrested by members of the Norwegian resistance movement, suspected of Nazi-collaboration and threatened to be expatriated soon. Three months later Kielland could report after all that Quarg had been reliefed and was granted a temporary residence permit. Nevertheless, the workers at the printing company "Moestue" refused to print all material he had prepared.[10]

For the following months Quarg's fate and accordingly the production of Sæverud's scores were unclear. Kielland tried to moderate in the background as much as he could and included the Composers's League to argue in favor of Quarg's competence and importance for the Norwegian music life.[11] This commitment even found its way into the press. On November 15, 1945 the leftist newspaper *Friheten* told a miraculous story about the German Edwin Quarg, engraver for Emil Moestue. According to neighbours Quarg had appeared in German military and Nazi-uniform, was associated with the SS regularly and threatened others to be sent to Grini, the prison camp near Oslo. Although he got arrested right after the liberation he was released soon afterwards. He got arrested once more by a man called Dybvik from the office for treason and returned home only a few weeks later, this time with a valid residence permit. Quarg's supporter was a person called Backer-Grøndahl,[12] who helped him to decline imprisonment another third and fourth time. Although the article's unnamed author made

9 The correspondence was discovered in the basement of Sæverud's publishers. A cordially thank you to Unni Boretti at Musikk-Husets Forlag for permission to take photographs from the letters and use them for research and publication purposes.

10 Letter from Sigurd Kielland to Harald Sæverud, 6 August 1945: "Det er enda noe uklart hvordan det går med Quarg. Han er kommet ut av leiren og har fått oppholdstillatelse foreløbig til slutten av august, men efter hvad han sier er det bare en formsak å få denne fornyet. Vanskeligheten står nå på at Moestues arbeidere nekter å trykke det han stikker. Han kunne muligens få de mindre trykkerier til å gjøre det, men det har jo sine betenkeligheter å gå til det før saken er ordnet med Landsorganisasjonen. Hvis ikke noe skulle foreligge som jeg ikke kjenner til skulle det imidlertid være godt håp om at han kunne komme i arbeide igjen. Det vil vel imidlertid enda ta en 3–4 uker til, tenker jeg."

11 Letter from Kielland to Sæverud, 11 December 1945: "Quarg tør vi overhodet ikke regne med, da det er overordentlig uvisst om han får lov til å bli i landet. Jeg vedlegger kopi av et brev som jeg har sendt Centralpasskontoret, og som sannsynligvis også Nordk Komponistforening vil underskrive på. Situasjonen synes temmelig kritisk, da Landssvikseravdelingen 30. november oversendte Quargs sak til Centralpasskontoret med påtegning om at 'En ikke kan anbefale at De og Deres hustru fortsatt får oppholdstillatelse i Norge.' Det synes dog som det ikke er fremkommet noe nytt mot ham, så jeg håper i det lengste at det er den manglende forståelse av Quargs betydning for musikklivet som gjør at Landssvikeravdelingen synes han like godt kan eksporteres."

12 It is unclear to whom this name relates to, despite the importance of the family name Backer-Grøndahl for Norwegian music history.

Opptrådte i uniform i nazitiden,

men får rett til å oppholde seg som sivil borger i landet. En affære med en notestikker hos Emil Moestue, som leieboerne mener trenger nærmere granskning.

Vi har mottatt følgende innlegg:

I Trondhjemsveien 111 B bor en tysker ved navn Quarg. Han er notestikker, visstnok landets eneste. Før krigen var han medlem av Oslo Arbeidersamfunn, men da tyskerne kom ble han nazist. Han har opptrådt i tysk militær- og naziuniform og hatt stadig omgang med SS-politiet. Han og hans frue (som også er tysk) har opptrådt truende overfor flere av medleieboerne, henvist til sitt tyske borgerskap og truet med at vi alle skulle komme på Grini. Det var nok av tyskere som ville ha leilighet.

Da kapitulasjonen kom ble han arrestert av hjemmefronten, men slapp straks etter ut igjen. Så ble han arrestert av en Dybvik ved Landssvik-kontoret. Etter å ha sittet et par uker kom han tilbake til sin leilighet igjen. Nå hadde han oppholdstillatelse. Det var en Backer-Grøndahl på Landssvik-kontoret som hadde ordnet den. Første gang skulle det være Moestue, hvor tyskeren arbeidet, som hadde søkt for ham.

Denne Backer-Grøndahl reiste opp i Trondhjemsveien og forhørte flere leieboere for å få det til at en del leieboere hadde laget komplott. Imidlertid arbeidet også Dybvik med saken og etter en stund ble tyskeren hentet. Og denne gang skulle han ikke komme ut. Det viste seg imidlertid at Backer-Grøndahl pøny arbeidet med saken og lørdag middag, 29. oktober, kom han ut igjen for tredje eller fjerde gang. Nå var han ledsaget av 2 tyske offiserer som hjalp ham og fruen med bagasjen.

Hva er det som foregår på Landssvikavdelingen? Er det to forskjellige interesser som krysser klinge der?

Det er blitt nevnt av **vi** skulle tape 20 000 kroner hvis Quarg reiste. Hvem **vi** er har man ikke fortalt.

Flertallet av leieboerne mener at tyske nazister bør ut av landet. Det er mange familier her i byen som ikke kan bo sammen på grunn av at de ikke har hus. På den annen side kan altså to enslige tyskere, som har opptrådt som fiender av landet, få en 2 værelsers leilighet til fortrengsel for gode nordmenn. Det tilføyes at i løpet av de mange år Quarg har vært her i landet har han ikke opplært noen andre. Etter hva jeg har fått opplyst har han ikke vært villig til det. Det tilføyes ennvidere at fru Quarg i de to siste årene har vært i tysk tjeneste.

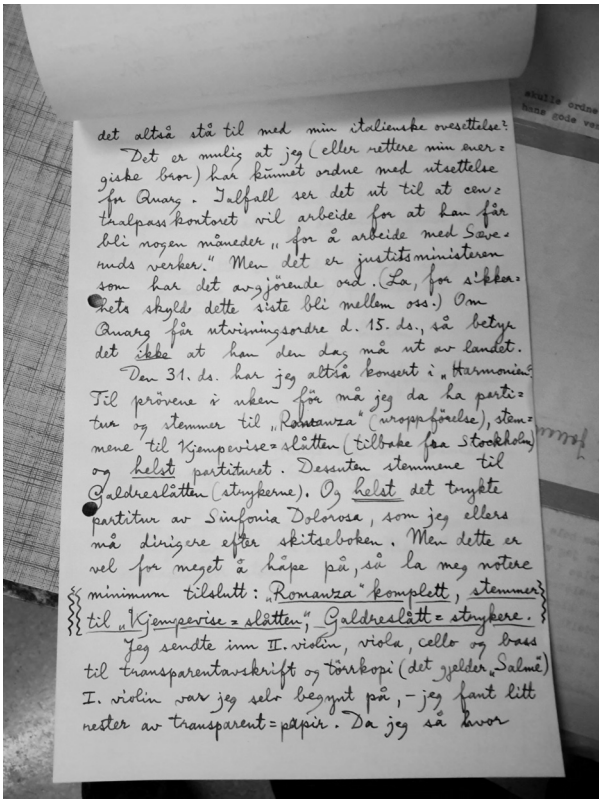
HVA FELLESKLUBBEN HOS MOESTUE MENER.

Vi har lagt artikkelen fram for formannen i fellesklubben hos Emil Moestue som forteller at saka har vært til behandling flere ganger siden mai i år. Sist var saka oppe på et møte 16. oktober.

Den redegjørelse som der ble gitt konkluderer med at Quarg har fått rett til å bevege seg fritt. Denne tillatelse er kortvarig og må fornyes. Sentralpasskontoret hevder på sin side at en tysker som har vært her i landet før 30. januar 1933 har rett til oppholdstillatelse såframt han ikke er straffet eller har forbrudt seg **vesentlig** under okkupasjonstia. Det er det man er i tvil om. Quarg hevder nemlig at når han opptrådte i uniform i den tia, så var det fordi han ble innkalt til pliktig tjeneste i hærmakten. Dertil er han nødvendig for norsk produksjon.

Det er et meget vanskelig spørsmål og saka ble som nevnt referert for fellesklubbmøte den 16. oktober og tatt til etterretning.

Figure 7:
"Opptrådte i uniform i nazitiden", *Friheten*, 15 November 1945.



det altså stå til med min italienske oversettelse?

Det er muligt at jeg (eller rettere min avergiske bror) har kommet ordne med utsettelse for Quarg. I alfall ser det ut til at censurhalpass-kontoret vil arbeide for at han får bli nogen måneder „for å arbeide med Sæveruds verker." Men det er justitsministeren som har det avgjørende ord. (La, for s'ikkerhets skyld dette siste bli mellem oss.) Om Quarg får utvisningsordre d. 15. ds., så betyr det ikke at han den dag må ut av landet.

Den 31. ds. har jeg altså konsert i „Harmonien". Til prøvene i uken før må jeg da ha partiturer og stemmer til „Romanza" (vroppførelse), stemmene til Kjempevise-slåtten (tilbake fra Stockholm) og helst partituret. Dessuten stemmene til Galdreslåtten (strykerne). Og helst det trykte partitur av Sinfonia Dolorosa, som jeg ellers må dirigere efter skitseboken. Men dette er vel for meget å håpe på, så la meg notere minimum tilslutt: „Romanza" komplett, stemmer til „Kjempevise-slåtten", Galdreslått = strykere.

Jeg sendte inn II. violin, viola, cello og bass til transparentavskrift og törrkopi (det gjelder „Salmé"). I. violin var jeg selv begynt på, – jeg fant litt rester av transparent-papir. Da jeg så hvor

Figure 8:
Letter from Sæverud to Kielland, 13 January 1946. Archive of Musikkhuset, Oslo.

intensive investigations among former neighbours and others who knew Quarg from the years during the Nazi-occupation, he could not find out who it was that held a protecting hand over the suspicious engraver.

It seems that it was explicitly Sæverud's own engagement that helped to solve the case, thanks to delicat diplomatic negotiations, as a letter to Kielland on January 13, 1946 indicates: „It is possible that I (or better my resolute brother) obtained an extension of time for Quarg. In any case it seems that the central passport office will take care that he can stay a few more months 'to work on Sæverud's pieces'. But it is the minister of justice that has the final say. (Let this last thing remain among only us as a precaution.)"[13]

The mentioned brother was Bjarne Sæverud (1892–1978), who had been a leader of the local resistance in Bergen and was a member of the Norwegian Parliament since 1945. Here he can be seen on the left side:

Figure 9: Bergen Train Station, 10 May 1945: British lieutenant Robert Chew (middle) is welcomed by resistance leader Bjarne Sæverud (left) and Milorg commander Roar Sannem (to the right of Chew in uniform). Photo: Leif M. Endresen. OHK-samlingen, University of Bergen.

13 "Det er mulig at jeg (eller rettere min energiske bror) har kunnet ordne med utsettelse for Quarg. Ialfall ser det ut til at centralpasskontoret vil arbeide for at han får bli nogen månader 'for å arbeide med Sæveruds verker.' Men det er justitsministeren som har det avgjörende ord. (La, for sikkerhets skyld dette siste bli mellom oss.) Om Quarg får utvisningsordre d. 15. ds., så betyr det ikke at han den dag må ut av landet."

Apparently, the intervention of Bjarne was successful. At least, Harald Sæverud could inform Kielland on February 4, 1946 that he "nearly expected that Quarg would be allowed to stay in the country. In any case the central passport office called my brother and reported the suspension [of the preceedings] until February 15 and I consider this a sign that everything will be fine."[14] By irony of fate, it turned out that the score for *Kjempeviseslåtten* was evidently engraved by one of those people that the purpose of this resistance composition was directed against.[15]

14 "Jeg har sendt 'Kjempeviseslåtten' til Nornotryk, – ellers regner jeg næsten med at Quarg blir i landet. Ialfall ringte Centralpasskontoret opp min bror og meldte av om utsettelsen til 15. febr., og det synes jeg var tegn på at der vil fires."

15 A few years later an orbituary, printed March 13, 1956 in Oslo's newspaper *Arbeiderbladet*, praised him as a capable man who had contributed much to Norway's music life: "Notestikker Edwin Quarg er bisatt i Det gamle krematorium under stor deltakeise. Med ham har norsk musikkliv mistet en dyktig mann. Han kom til landet for vel 30 år siden og har bodtd i Trondheimsveien 111 siden 1932. Der har han som formann for Trondhjemsveiens Boligselskap i åtte år nedlagt et stort arbeid som alle beboerne kan takke ham for. Han unte sine medmennesker alt godt. Det er nesten ikke til å fatte at han er borte. Måtte hans minne alltid lyse for oss som kjente ham."

Arvid O. Vollsnes

Rebuilding Norwegian Music

From Valevåg to Tanglewood and Darmstadt

On May 8, 1945, the Second World War ended in Norway, and the joy of liberty seemed universal and never-ending. Nevertheless, the consequences of five years of occupation, destruction, terror and social tensions between "Quislinger" and "Jøssinger" urgently called for quick but also sustainable solutions: Almost all areas north of Tromsø had been devastated and burnt down, and other parts of the country's infrastructure needed to be rebuilt. It was also a time for reflection on *how* to rebuild the country. There was a demand for strategic planners, workers, and thousands of tons of iron, concrete and wood.

But what about the peoples' minds? How should the social structures and the culture be rebuilt? Which of the latest incidents should be remembered or forgotten, which fellow countrymen accused and punished, or celebrated and decorated? One telling example how Norwegians tried to give a dignified answer to these issues is Oslo's famous town hall, which still keeps attracting visitors. While most of the building was erected in the 1930s, its interior was finished in the late 1940s. The unique wall paintings, decorations and reliefs on the outer walls tell of important episodes over centuries of Norwegian history, explicitly including the dark years, 1940 to 1945.

But while monuments and memorials take a tactile hold of history, how can one deal with the ephemeral nature of sound? The desire to play music had been intense during the war, and even stronger after liberation. In consequence, restarting the official music life offered chances, as well as burdens, to balance continuity and change. The following collage portrays major attempts to rebuild music in post-war Norway, when old elites embraced their favorite national aesthetic beliefs, while the next generation turned their backs on such domestic traditions, and sought international inspiration to be part of the "modern", the contemporary, for a better, or at least a different, future.[1]

Approved rituals

The first event the established composers hosted was a devoted look back, to inform themselves and the public about their recent productions. In the Fall of 1945, a concert series ("Norwegian Music Week") presented works that could not be performed – or were voluntarily held back – during the occupational regime. What had started with

1 Main sources for this essay were: Elef Nesheim, *Modernismens døråpner i Norge. Finn Mortensens musikk i lys av norsk etterkrigsmodernisme* (Doctoral thesis), University of Oslo (2001); Arvid O. Vollsnes (ed.), *Norges musikkhistorie. Vol. 5: 1950–2000. Modernisme og mangfold*, Oslo 2001, and Arvid O. Vollsnes, "L'Influence de la musique française sur la musique norvégienne au début du XXe Siècle", in: Danièle Pistone and Harald Herresthal (eds.), *Grieg et Paris*, Caen 1996, p. 199–210; Bo Wallner, *Vår tids musik i Norden: från 20-tal till 60-tal*, Stockholm 1968.

a few dedicated days in Oslo spread across the whole country, and lasted more than three months; thus, major orchestral and chamber music works could be heard in seven cities, with the support of the National Radio Broadcasting Company (NRK). The Norwegian Association of Composers stood behind these celebrations, and could rely on the royalties of TONO, the Norwegian Copyright Association, because the leading figures of the Composers' Association served as board members of TONO, working in close cooperation with them. Important works that had been composed in secrecy during the years of occupation included the *First Symphony* of the Association's newly elected chairman Klaus Egge; Ludvig Irgens Jensen's award-winning Symphony from 1942 with the motto "Dragsug" (Maelstrom); Thomas Beck's "Battle of Stiklestad", from the oratorio *Arnljot Gelline* (1937); and an aria from Arne Eggen's opera *Olav Liljekrans* (1939). Furthermore, they held church concerts, as well as some for choirs, and piano recitals, while the fourth concert was dedicated to traditional Norwegian music under the title "From Fiddle to Art Music". Of course, music by Harald Sæverud was performed, including his so-called "Resistance Symphony" No. 5, op. 16, as well as his "Ballad of Revolt" *Kjempeviseslåtten*, Op. 22a No. 5, which later became a symbol of protest. Sæverud contributed to this with his frequent talks about the genesis of *Kjempeviseslåtten*: One day during the war, he was returning to Bergen from Oslo and did not wish to take the train across the Hardanger Plateau, due to the German soldiers he would have met on board. He went by bus to Lærdal at the end of the Sognefjord, and was deeply moved once more by the beauty of the landscape he had seen so many times before. Discovering the dozens of barracks the Germans had erected for their troops marring the valley, he became extremely angry and had to vent his suppressed anger, and out came the theme. "*Kjempeviseslåtten* was my shot during the war."[2] Thus this *perpetuum mobile* composition, published in 1943.

A new musical life

In contrast to their honorable atmosphere, such events were not as representative as they were intended to be. Except for Klaus Egge, all governing and leading composers were born before 1900, and had already reached the second or third phase of their career. The Association of Composers was a closed community of elderly men trying to protect their privileges and hegemonic status. The way to enter this exclusive club was difficult, and depended on both recommendation and skills: As soon as a young talent had won a supporter to promote his membership, the individual output of works had to undergo a positive evaluation.

During the war years, only five new members had been elected, followed by two new ones in 1945. That year, some members were ejected, or their membership temporarily suspended, due to their pro-nazi or "non-national" activities. The Association then consisted of a group of barely seventy persons altogether, mostly of them men. Anne-Marie Ørbeck from Bergen had been elected before 1940. Two decades had to pass by before another female composer, Maj Sønstevold, was elected.

2 Jan Henrik Kayser, *Rondo Amoroso. Harald Sæverud og klavermusikken*, Bergen 1997, p. 99–100.

Table 1: Approved (elected) new members of the Norwegian Composers' Association 1940–1967.[3]

Year	Name	Life
1936	Anne Marie Ørbeck	1911–1996
1940	Conrad Baden	1908–1989
1940	Hallvard Johnsen	1916–2003
1941	Arnljot Kjeldaas	1916–1997
1942	Johan Kvandal	1919–1999
1943	Knut Nystedt	1915–2014
1945	Karsten Solheim	1869–1953
	Finn Ludt	1918–1992
	Leif Solberg	1914–2016
1946	Ludvig Nielsen	1906–2001
1948	Per Hjort Albertsen	1919–2015
	Edvard Fliflæt Bræin	1924–1976
1950	Finn Arnestad	1915–1994
1951	Øistein Sommerfeldt	1919–1994
	Edvard Hagerup Bull	1922–2012
1953	Egil Hovland	1924–2013
	Gunnar Sønstevold	1912–1990
1955	Finn Mortensen	1922–1983
1958	Sverre Bergh	1915–1980
	Arne Nordheim	1931–2010
1961	Tor Brevik	1932–2018
1965	Folke Strømholm	1941–
	Bjørn Fongaard	1919–1980
	Alfred Janson	1937–
1967	Maj Sønstevold	1917–1996

How can we understand what the musical life in Norway was like after the war? Pauline Hall, a legendary music critic and one of the few female Norwegian composers, gave, in 1948, a summary for a Danish-Norwegian book on the status of the arts, where she writes:

> The cultural country Norway will still – more than a generation after Grieg's death – appear as a musical robber state; without a decent music academy, no opera, without a decent music magazine with a professional direction, without a safe harbour where anyone seeking knowledge and understanding … But the picture has also its brighter streaks: it is growing in the Norwegian music of today; it is progressing towards new and better times.[4]

In addition, she might have added the very few and rather small professional orchestras, a limited music industry, a regrettable lack of a politically-founded strategy for a musical life in general, and educational reform. But who was in charge to decide about a future Norwegian musical life? During the war, some "amateur" organizations

3 Excerpt from lists in *Komponistforeningen årsberetning 2016* (The Composers' Association Annual Report), p. 70–74.

4 Pauline Hall, "Musikk", in: Haakon Shetelig, Fritiof Brandt and Alf Nyman (eds.), *Vår tids kunst og diktning i Skandinavia I*, Oslo 1948, p. 191–221, p. 191 (translation by the author).

like *Musikkens Venner* (Friends of Music) were strengthened or newly formed to keep up a "national" musical life. They expected to be participants in creating a new structure. The "professional" trade unions were quite outspoken in the same process, and particularly the composers, the members of the established Association, demanded to have an influence. And through their clever new leader, Klaus Egge, they were admitted to the advisory boards.

Young Europeans

But where, then, were the young composers, and what was their mission? Some young musicians had the strong urge to compose, to express themselves in various ways through music. But five years of isolation had not fueled their dreams of having this as a "trade", or way of earning a living. The state of musical life in Norway at this time could be quite discouraging, with only few opportunities for performances. Additionally, the few orchestras' program policy did not offer many possibilities for an aspiring, unestablished composer: Performances of contemporary art music composers were scarce, and gramophone recordings often beyond reach. Furthermore, Norwegian music publishers were as reluctant as their European colleagues to sign contracts with young composers.

Without performances and published scores, a composer had only a limited chance of any income. It might be safer to be an organist, and several composers chose this as their profession. After the first year of peace, however, the government and some private foundations restarted their scholarship programs. These scholarships could only be awarded to established composers, never to a young person pursuing a composition education. Such an education in Norway could only be given by a private tutor, a known composer, or at the only advanced conservatory in Oslo. The four leading teachers at this time were Per Steenberg, Bjarne Brustad, Arild Sandvold and Karl Andersen. All of them were, at some point, teaching at the Conservatory, with some students taking lessons privately:

Table 2: Leading compositions teachers and a selection of their students.

Per Steenberg:	Knut Nystedt, Egil Hovland, Rolf Karlsen, Johan Kvandal
Bjarne Brustad:	Sparre Olsen, Knut Nystedt, Edvard Hagerup Bull, Egil Hovland, Edvard Fliflæt Bræin, Arne Nordheim
Arild Sandvold:	Knut Nystedt, Egil Hovland, Rolf Karlsen, Ludvig Nielsen, Edvard Hagerup Bull
Karl Andresen:	Gunnar Sønstevold, Arne Nordheim

Obviously, several of the students were taught by more than one teacher. It is difficult, however, to ascertain how the classes were conducted. It is even harder to tell how the students' skills, choices in style, modes of expression, and aesthetics were influenced by this teaching, and if it corresponded with the student's dreams and expectations. To es-

tablish alternatives were of vital importance to them, because they felt they could be leaders in a new and different era without war.

We do see a few examples of patricide, particularly in the rejection of most German influences and any music "misused" by the Nazis. In general, we may simplify the young composers' quest for a direction to be similar to those of the generation before the war. The oversimplified dichotomy in values and aesthetics between "national" and "European" still found a parallel in "conservative" and "radical". But the change of sentiment towards the "national" during the war brought forward a tendency towards something Norwegian-European. But clouding this picture was the influence of all kinds of entertainment in movies, records and the radio. American jazz, fashion and style were especially influential. Actually, one could find a young generation with a different approach, which had an alternative ideology on the one hand, and different educational expectations on the other. What was not available in a small population in a poor country, with a narrow outlook and few possibilities, might be found in studies abroad.

Alternatives in Education and Aesthetics – the Nordic Connection

Some young Norwegian musicians chose the more radical path of modernism, openly arguing against the nationalist self-praise of their forerunner's generation. As a result of the years of occupation, German ideas were unpopular in the late 1940s, while Hungarian music – comparable to Norwegian tendencies of fusing folk traditions with moderate modernist techniques – might have been of interest, but was inaccessible due to being located behind the Iron Curtain. Instead, the youth were drawn towards fresh American and French ideas. Reconnecting with the excitement of the Jazz of the 1920s and 30s, music from the United States was fascinating and hot, as it combined the ambitions of a generation willing to take artistic risks with the apparatus of the entertainment industry. One could get a first glimpse of this from Sweden and Denmark, where cabarets, bar music, record stores, and movie theaters reached a large, enthusiastic audience. But American movies, musicals, and entertainment was the "real thing". Naturally, the first step for young Norwegians was to collaborate with like-minded Danish and Swedish colleagues.

Sweden

Visiting Stockholm, however, the young Norwegians were captivated by the modernist group of Stockholm composers. The charismatic Karl Birger Blomdahl (1916–1968) had gathered a group together, including composer friends like Ingvar Lidholm (1921–2017), and their former teacher Hilding Rosenberg (1892–1985). This group was known as the Monday Group (*Måndagsgruppen*), and was influential in the performance and debate institution *Fylkingen*, in convincing the Swedish Radio to publish the magazine *Nutida Musik*, and in creating a Radio Conservatory. The Swedes had kept their freedom during World War II, and continued to have a climate for de-

velopment of new ideas with no boundaries. Their tolerance even curtailed criticism against some politically contaminated, "German-brown" composers. The infrastructure and conditions in Stockholm could not be directly emulated in a poorer Norway, but the experiences from Sweden created idealistic goals and hopes, that were voiced several times by the young composers and performers.

Denmark

A different group of composers and performers chose Copenhagen as their starting point in Europe. Their Danish colleagues were more open and liberal than the Swedes towards the new ideas coming from the entertainment industry. In their stories, they mentioned the inspiration they got from composers Rued Langgaard (1893–1952) and Herman D. Koppel (1909–1998) and the organisation DUT (Danish Young Artist in Music). But when they sought education, this was given by Vagn Holmboe (1909–1996) and Niels Viggo Bentzon (1919–2000). Both had the idea of fitting unconventional ideas into a climate of "traditional" musical forms, genres and attitudes that might have seemed attractive to the younger post-war generation.

Valevåg

In a secluded farmhouse on the west coast of Norway, near the town Haugesund, lived the composer Fartein Valen (1887–1952). He was known for his atonal music and his vast knowledge, so he was a prominent teacher in Oslo before the war. Among his students, we find composers like Sparre Olsen, Klaus Egge, Harald Lie and Sverre Bergh. Valen taught harmony and counterpoint from a Bach ideal, but most probably only two of his students, his friend David Monrad Johansen and the young Sverre Bergh, were taught atonal counterpoint.

When Valen was awarded a life-long honorary salary by the Parliament, and felt the war was coming close, he left Oslo in 1938 to live in exile at his farmhouse to continue composing. In 1945, Valen was beyond the reach and interest of the young composers. But the young Swedes and Danes had embraced his approach with much greater respect and curiosity than in Norway. They started reading the few scores of his that were available and the president of the Norwegian section of ISCM, Pauline Hall, directed the Norwegians towards Valevåg in their search for their own modernist roots and trendsetters.

Only a few found their way to the distant Valevåg. The composer Øistein Sommerfeldt, and Valen's former student Magne Elvestrand, came by bicycle over the mountain to stay a couple of weeks. And the Swedish composer, Sven Eric Johansson, hitchhiked from Göteborg and stayed a few weeks in the summer. Valen's music was met with much greater respect and curiosity at festivals in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Amsterdam than in Norway. In response to this international reputation, the awareness of his fellow countrymen rose, and, in 1949, resulted in a society both in London and

Oslo dedicated to the promotion and performance of Valen's music, three years before he passed away.

Alternatives – France

Although the German influence on Norwegian music had traditionally been very strong, French aesthetics had also offered important influences before World War II, which sometimes is a little underestimated. France was not just synonymous with Debussy, Ravel, *Le Six* or later *Le Jeunes France*. French music and musical life also relied upon the many foreigners and refugees from Eastern Europe and Russia. In addition, a strong American influx was present in France before the war. These ideas and music found their way to Norway via Paris.

Nadia Boulanger, the pianist, composer, admirer of Strawinsky and legendary teacher, soon became an inspiring alternative in Paris. Eyvind Hesselberg had been the first Norwegian to attend her compositional class as early as the 1920s, and now could tell his young colleagues at home about this legendary teacher in the French capitol. The first one to travel to Paris was probably Finn Arnestad, who was in Paris around 1947 for a short term, after he had managed to get some funding – which was a major problem for young artists in post-war Norway. In later years, he returned several times. One major appeal was, of course, the domestic music of the French masters, from Claude Debussy to Olivier Messiaen. Another Parisian attraction was the chance to experience a vibrant cultural life, and music from other global regions that were situated there, anything from Eastern Asia, the African countries, the Middle East, Russia, and Eastern European cultures.

Table 3: Norwegian composition students in Paris.

1920:	Eyvind Hesselberg (1898–1986), our first student of Nadia Boulanger
1947 (?):	Finn Arnestad (b. 1915) in Paris
1950:	Conrad Baden (b. 1908), studies with Jean Rivier and Arthur Honegger
1950:	Edvard Fliflet Bræin (b. 1924), studies with Jean Rivier
1952/1954:	Øistein Sommerfeldt (b. 1919) with Nadia Boulanger
1952:	Edvard Hagerup Bull (b. 1922), with Charles Koechlin, Darius Milhaud and Jean Rivier (and probably Messiaen), lived in France for many years
1952:	Johan Kvandal (b. 1919), studies with Nadia Boulanger
1955:	Arne Nordheim (b. 1931), studied Musique concrète

The impact of the "tender tyrant", Nadia Boulanger, was great. Her incessant preaching of "neoclassical" ideals (music as music), stressing French clarity, architectural form and fluid counterpoint had a lasting effect on Norwegian composition.

Darmstadt

At the famous Darmstadt Music Courses, legendary modernists, experts and artists from the interwar years were invited to discuss new trends in European music, and perform the best current music. The founder of this biannual event, Wolfgang Steinecke, developed the rather radical idea of letting the participants from all corners of Europe mingle and hold discussions with the younger generation, thus forming a mighty "collective" improvisation, as opposed to visiting some great master in a secluded tower. The list of contributing participants is rather impressive, with people like Olivier Messiaen, René Leibowitz, Pierre Boulez, Luigi Nono, Luciano Berio, Herbert Eimert, Theodor W. Adorno, and Karlheinz Stockhausen. This event quickly developed a reputation in the early 1950s, for its energy and atmosphere for developing European collaboration and progress, rather than the national wars and struggles. This international attention also reached young Norwegian musicians, too.[5] Probably the first Norwegian composer to visit Darmstadt was Øistein Sommerfeldt in 1955. At the same time, the Norwegian pianist, Knut Wiggen, was teaching at the Conservatory in town, together with the Swedish pianist, Hans Leygraf. In the same year, the music scholars Kjell Skyllstad and Bjarne Kortsen went to the discussions and concerts in Darmstadt.[6] Two years later, the composers Finn Mortensen and Finn Arnestad attended the Ferienkurse. Here they found the much-needed inspiration to do something uncommon, which aesthetically was still difficult, or even impossible, in their domestic setting.

Across larger waters – Norwegian musicians in the US

Politically, Great Britain seemed to be the natural match for the English-speaking spirit for post-war Norway, considering both the centuries of connections across the North Sea, and England's support of Norway's case during the Second World War. But for young music lovers in the English-speaking world, the center of gravity was located across the Atlantic, where many Norwegian families had natural bonds, after extensive waves of emigration in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Now, with initiatives such as the Marshall Plan, and programs for scholarships, the United States of America enjoyed an excellent reputation as a rich and generous country. In the first years, only a few Norwegians took the chance to study in the US, but particularly New York, the East Coast universities, and the famous Tanglewood Festival were attractive destinations. Knut Nystedt took his chance to study there with Aaron Copland, and met another musician who was soon to become a celebrity, Leonard Bernstein. One historical document of their collaboration is Bernstein's recording of Igor Stravinsky's *Soldier's Tale* from Tanglewood in 1947/48, where you can find Nystedt as one of his fellow musicians. Back in Norway, Nystedt kept promoting works and ideas from America,

5 See for the general context Gianmario Borio and Herman Danuser (eds.), *Im Zenit der Moderne. Die Internationalen Ferienkure für Neue Musik Darmstadt 1946–1966*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1997; Michael Custodis, *Traditionen – Koalitionen – Visionen. Wolfgang Steinecke und die Internationalen Ferienkurse in Darmstadt*, Saarbrücken 2010.

6 See for additional sources the exchange of several letters by Kortsen with Wolfgang Steinecke and Hanns-Günther Demmel in the archive of the Internationales Musikinstitut Darmstadt.

which one can hear, for example, in his piece, *Spenningens Land*. The work premiered at the Nordic Composers' Festival in September 1948, but despite the American influences Nystedt had collected in the months before, the dedication in the score relates the piece to the latest tragedy in his Norwegian home: "This is dedicated to the people of Finmark in the northernmost part of Norway, who suffered most during World War II."[7] The title is taken from a book by bishop Eivind Berggrav, who had been an important figure in the national resistance against the German occupation and Vidkun Quisling's collaboration regime. In the late summer of 1944, the Wehrmacht had begun to withdraw from the Eastern front against the Soviet Union in the North of Norway, and conducted a remorseless scorched-earth policy. Accordingly, Berggrav's book on the pre-war people and landscape gathered much interest, and Nystedt tried to paint a picture of the devastated North. Considering modernist aesthetics, Nystedt's piece did not match the new compositional techniques he had experienced just recently. Instead, it relied on the romantic concept of a Symphonic Poem. The compositional approach of his American tutor, Aaron Copland, could help to explain how Nystedt nevertheless tried to reconcile modern international sounds with a traditional Norwegian style of storytelling, and there are unmistakable elements here reminding us of film music from Hollywood.

New Possibilities in Norway

The format of Nordic Music Days, which was established in 1888, proved to be a major force since its post-war reinvention in 1946 (in Stockholm), to reconnect composers from the different Nordic countries, and offer them perspectives on how to relate their Nordic individualism to leading continental tendencies. A further step towards such European trends was the ISCM-festival arranged in 1953 in Oslo, which included music from two Norwegian composers, Fartein Valen and Per Hjort Albertsen. The latter taught for many years at the Trondheim conservatory, and was a very skilled conductor and organist.

If we should make a representative list of Norwegian compositions that premiered around 1955, an attempt could look like this:

Knut Nystedt: *Brennofferet* (The Burnt Sacrifice)
Øistein Sommerfeldt: *Suite* for violin and piano
Finn Mortensen: *Wind Quintet*
Edv. Hagerup Bull: *Symphony (*later: *Trois Mouvements Symphoniques*)
Johan Kvandal: *Symphony #1*
Egil Hovland: *Music for 10 Instruments*
Arne Nordheim: *String Quartet*
Gunnar Sønstevold: *Concerto for Saxophone and Orch.* (partly included in the movie *Ni liv,* directed by Arne Skouen in 1957).

7 Eivind Berggrav, *Spenningens land: Visitas-glimt fra Nord-Norge*, Oslo 1937.

This would at a first glance look like a list of neoclassical compositions from any European country at this time, perhaps with the exception of Nystedt's biblical "melodrama" *Brennofferet*. But taking a closer look, we encounter vast differences in style and expression. The composers have found inspiration in many countries, and among different aesthetics, to remodel these elements into something of their own. You will hear a clear influence from France in many of these works, but taking as an example Hagerup Bull's "French" symphony, it also includes a post-Valen atonal, almost dodecaphonic, counterpoint. Hovland's chamber music bears more than a whiff of the US perfume (premiered in Tanglewood, USA). Arne Nordheim opened up new paths with his string quartet, with an admitted debt to both Bartók and Valen, without any "national" flavor. And interesting enough, Mortensen's quintet shows us, both in form and expression, clear reminiscences of Hindemith, and that the embargo against Germany is lifted.

The 1960s finally saw a generational shift, when established members of the old elite such as Klaus Egge could still protect their claims by means of their institutional influence within the Norwegian League of Composers and the Copyright Association TONO, although they had witnessed a declining presence of their works in concert programs, even at home. The post-war generation of Norwegian composers eventually contributed to establishing some currents of international "avant-garde" in Norway, at the same time emancipating themselves from the national neo-classicist mainstream of their predecessors. Norwegian composers such as Arne Nordheim, Finn Mortensen, or Pauline Hall saw themselves most of all as members of an international peer group of progressive artists; hence, they did not feel urged to blend national elements into their aesthetics and styles any more. At the same time, this generation, in terms of style and aesthetic philosophy, still holds some distance to the more radical, international avant-garde movements, up to the 1970s, and even the 80s. Calling to mind this monumental task, Pauline Hall described, as the most pressing for the post-war generation, the composers having committed their careers mostly to the further development of musical life, local audiences, and the establishment of music institutions in Norway. As a consequence, they might have cultivated another period of Norwegian exceptionalism, a more modest 'Nordic modernism', pedagogically adapted to the taste of the local audiences.

Michael Custodis

"Nordisk" – "Aryan" – "Identitär". Music for the New Right

It is a common practice among young artists to merge the strategies of distinction and imitation. They have to tread out of their idol's footsteps, find their own voice, and build up a public following. In retrospect, it was a visionary decision of the young New York musicians Gene Simmons and Paul Stanley (both sons of Jewish immigrants, Holocaust survivors in the case of Simmons) to combine their love for Rock'n'Roll with the popular imagery from comic culture. After a few years of uncertainty, the success of their band *Kiss* (founded in 1973) was overwhelming, attracting a worldwide audience with catchy tunes and a provocative, spectacular live show. The fictional qualities of their characters were transferred into different media settings. In 1977, the Marvel comic publishers dedicated an extra volume to them, next to their classics *Spiderman*, *The Fantastic Four*, *Hulk* and *X-Men*. Converting the Beatles into a cartoon series for US TV, reedited later into the movie *Yellow Submarine*, may have been a source of inspiration (1965–67). Similarly, Stanley's and Simmon's band acted in a fictional movie called *Kiss meet the Phantom of the Park* (1978), a trashy mixture of science fiction, fantasy and horror.

Hard Rock and Metal musicians of the next generation contributed medieval elements to this imagery of fictional worlds, especially Ronnie James Dio (the temporary voice of *Black Sabbath* and Richie Blackmore's *Rainbow*), who had a predilection for Dungeons, Dragons, Swords and Sorcery. Strikingly, many American artists turned European stories of knights, fairy tales, dwarfs and magicians into successful band concepts. It was Joey DeMaio's and Ross Friedman's group *Manowar* (founded in 1980) that added the spirit of the Vikings to this set of characters.[1] Guitarist Ross "the Boss" Friedman and bass player DeMaio had founded the band in 1980, named after the legendary American race horse Man O'War (1917–1947).[2] Together with singer Eric Adams and drummer Donnie Hamzik, they presented their debut album *Battle Hymns* two years later. Pictures from those days show the musicians as stylized, bare-chested warriors in leather costumes, with bolted shorts, gloves, fur boots, and swords. As it was, and still is, popular among rock and metal bands to develop fictitious characters, they chose the world of the Vikings, as Eric Adams revealed in an interview:

> We wanted to play music that was powerful – more powerful than anything out there. And we started to think about image – what was more powerful than anything out there, we thought. Jesus Christ, look at the Vikings, look at those guys! How they dressed and took their ships around the northern sea, conquering the world, in their day! […] That was pretty badass, and we thought 'that's what we wanna portray'.[3]

1 Michael Custodis, *Klassische Musik heute. Eine Spurensuche in der Rockmusik*. Chapter "Manowar und das Erbe Richard Wagners", Bielefeld 2009, p. 26–28.

2 Joey DeMaio in an interview with the author, 13 February 2009.

3 *Critical Mass interrogates Eric* 11 October 2006 (http://www.manowar.at/mwg//site/press/show_press.php?id=19, last access 20.09.2018).

On every album since, several of the songs have been inspired by Nordic myths and gods, enriched with modern elements such as motorbikes ("horses of steel") and a wild heavy metal lifestyle. For the album *Sign of the Hammer* (1984), Manowar established Thor's custom weapon as a band symbol, and transformed it into their own fan greeting: After the left hand has gripped the right wrist, the right hand closes the fist before both arms are raised above the head.

Up until their farewell tour (started in 2018), Manowar's Viking inspiration never attempted to emulate historical facts. Such artistic liberty can be traced back to another fictional character, well known among fans of fantasy and action movies, made famous by Arnold Schwarzenegger. In John Milius' film *Conan the Barbarian* (1981), Schwarzenegger played the role as a wild, mighty, untamed but sensitive warrior. Besides a coherence to Schwarzenegger's costumes, Manowar's song "Dark Avenger" was inspired by the opening part in Basil Poledouris' movie score. Furthermore, they hinted directly at the follow-up movie, *Conan the Destroyer* (1984), on the band's website, to promote their new album *Gods of War* in 2007:

> At the end of the film classic Conan the Destroyer, the title character sits on his throne. Though his thick muscles bear the scars of his many hard-fought battles, his steel-eyed gaze over his vast kingdom shows how proud and mighty he remains. His enemies vanquished, the challengers to his throne dispatched, it is time for the triumphant king to rest. This is the fate Manowar's members could have accepted in 2007.[4]

The Conan character, who was created by Robert E. Howard in 1930, inspired the invention of many other fantasy heroes in the so-called "Sword and Sorcery" style. With huge muscles and impressive weapons, these brave and fearless fighters stand up to mythic creatures such as monsters, dragons, and evil magicians. Until the 1980s, nearly all of these figures were male, until characters such as *Red Sonja*, and the hugely successful TV series, *Xena: Warrior Princess* introduced female protagonists. Strikingly, the episodes 119 to 121 in the sixth season of *Xena* (2000) were based on motifs from Wagner's *Ring des Nibelungen*, entitled *The Rheingold*, *The Ring* and *The Return of the Valkyrie*.[5]

In a voluminous study of the elements of Wagner in fantasy movies, Susanne Vill defines the juxtaposition of fictional-historical, culturally and technically aged worlds against technologically supreme, but decadent civilizations, as primary characteristics of this genre.[6] Often the barbaric communities featured are structured politically by strict hierarchies and charismatic leaders, who have to prove their extraordinary abilities through difficult challenges. Vill's study examines the fight of good against evil, including the rise of a savior character; from Wagner to modern sagas such as George Lucas' *Star Wars* cosmos and the *Matrix* trilogy by the Wachowskis.[7]

Another famous variant of an invented Nordic Nibelungen set can be found in John R. R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* cycle. In spite of the different outlines in plot –

4 http://www.manowar.com, on 1 November 2007.
5 Susanne Vill, "Wagner Visionen – Motive aus Werken Richard Wagners in Fantasyfilmen", in: *Wagnerspectrum* 4 (2008), No. 2 *Wagner und Fantasy/Hollywood*, Würzburg 2008, p. 73–74.
6 Ibid., p. 11.
7 Ibid., p. 70–71.

Wagner's focused music theater with a tragic ending, versus Tolkien's meandering novels with numerous side plots, dozens of characters and a glorious finale – both stories share many elements. Four decades ago, Robert A. Hall Jr. listed many similar requisites: a dragon protecting a treasure; a cursed golden ring; an item to gain invisibility; and a broken and reassembled sword.[8] Tolkien was familiar with Wagner's work, although he always denied there was any direct connection between the two cycles. Nevertheless, Tolkien's philological talent gave him a profound knowledge of German, French, Latin, Ancient Greek, Old English as well as Old Norse, so that he was able to read all of the sources in the original, from where Wagner had found his inspiration. Due to the happy ending of *Lord of the Rings*, Robert A. Hall had interpreted Tolkien's story as a precisely mirrored imprint of Wagner, including the liberty to assemble the main elements differently.

> The main themes of both Wagner's and Tolkien's works are the problem of how to get rid of a flawed ruler – Wotan in Wagner, Saruman, Théoden, and Denethor in Tolkien – and how to thwart the designs of an evil being (Alberich and Sauron, respectively) who seeks to achieve universal domination through a Ring which he has forged. This Ring confers power to its bearer, but inevitably corrupts and ruins him to the extent that he makes use of it. In each, the Ring passes out of the control of its maker. To prevent him from regaining it, it must be returned to its source, which is the only place where its evil power can be destroyed, so that a new beginning can be made. The quest and journey of the hero (Siegfried) or heroes (Frodo and Sam) is the mainspring of most of the action.[9]

Vill made a similar argument when she discussed analogies between Peter Jackson's Tolkien movies and Wagner's musical dramas. While Wagner embedded the political message of his *Ring* in criticism against authoritarian reigns and capitalism, Tolkien included the destructive impact of two World Wars and Nazism into his scenarios, with endless battle scenes, which are even more present in Jackson's movies.[10]

In the 1990s, a younger generation of metal artists in the Nordic countries changed the traditional Nordic narrative, and developed an ambition to preserve national heritage, based on domestic Viking topics. Groups like *Amon Amarth* (named after a mountain in *Lord of the Rings*) took great care with the historical accuracy of their lyrics and music videos, although their sound and songwriting is comparable to other international Death and Black Metal acts.[11] Nevertheless, as Florian Heesch emphasizes,

8 Robert A. Hall Jr., "Tolkien's Hobbit Tetralogy as 'Anti-Nibelungen'", in: *Western Humanities Review* 32 (1978), No. 1, p. 351.
9 Ibid., p. 353.
10 Vill, *Wagner Visionen*, p. 69–70.
11 See for terminological and stylistical differences between Death and Black Metal and the legacy of Norwegian bands in the Black Metal sector Sarah Chaker, Jakob Schermann and Nikolaus Urbanek (eds.), *Analyzing Black Metal. Transdisziplinäre Annäherungen an ein düsteres Phänomen der Musikkultur*, Bielefeld 2018.

they do not follow a political agenda, but stick to historical and mythical topics from ancient Nordic cultures.[12]

Of course, it is up to us to sense unwilling comedy in such a narrative. But one should remember that not everyone can avoid the use of stereotypes. They are to be found in different cultural arenas, and are underlined by competing strategies of social legitimacy, referring to various genre codes, traditions and conventions, as well as historical and cultural knowledge. Artists do not have to be historians, collecting facts from ancient times with lucid, objective precision, and placing them into a convincing jigsaw puzzle, despite lacking pieces. Instead, it is the fictitious filling in of those parts we do not know, with an entertaining story that might have taken place, which triggers our imagination. In consequence, we can take a look at film history in Hollywood, starting with the silent movie *The Viking* from 1928, featuring Donald Crisp, Pauline Starke and LeRoy Mason; followed by more than 200 other Viking movies (according to IMDB). One can rediscover versions of Richard Wagner's *Ring des Nibelungen*, in a movie version of *Die Walküre* by Paramount Pictures in 1938, featuring Kirsten Flagstad wearing historical costumes that nowadays might seem a little strange,[13] or enjoy Runer Jonsson's Swedish children's book series *Vivke Viking* (1963), which was turned into a very popular German-Japanese cartoon series *Wickie und die starken Männer* (starting in 1974, and known as *Vicky the Viking* in English). In any case, if one is happy with the result, one can deal with fictitious exaggeration quite well. Minor or major misinterpretations of historical facts interact with our sense of scientific consciousness and overlap our perception, even against our will.

Whenever the fields of "music" and "politics" collide, the social content of music changes and accumulates different opinions. In case of the "Nordic", the lack of knowledge or written sources have inspired people, since Greek antiquity, to come up with the wildest speculations about culture, habits, beliefs, values, power, and nature that characterize the Northern edge of European civilization. The first major terminological shift took place in the 1920s, when social darwinists and self-proclaimed race theorists, such as Hans F. K. Günther and Walther Darré, turned the "Nordic" from a cultural and geographical category into an ideological concept. The absence of valid sources from Germanic Viking cultures was essential to the further politicization of the "Nordic" during the years of Nazi reign in the Second World War, especially for hardliners such as Heinrich Himmler.[14]

12 Florian Heesch, "Nordisch – Germanisch – Deutsch? Zur Mythenrezeption im Heavy Metal", in: Dietrich Helms and Thomas Phleps (eds.), *Typisch Deutsch. (Eigen-)Sichten auf populäre Musik in diesem unserem Land*, Bielefeld 2013, p. 128.

13 https://digitaltmuseum.no/011012941604/rollebilde-kirsten-flagstad-som-brunnhilde-i-valkyrien-brunnhilde-in-die (last access 20.09.2018).

14 Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes, "Zur Kategorie des 'Nordischen' in der norwegischen Musikgeschichtsschreibung 1930–45", in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 73 (2016), No. 3, p. 166–184.

The consequences for music in Norway reached into all spheres of aesthetic and social concern:

1. The first transitional phase in the 1920s, turning the "Nordic" into a political, theoretical category, became a reality in Norway for five years under German occupation. Afterwards, a second transitional phase in Norway tried to depoliticize the ideological content by channeling it into democratic political structures, such as the Nordic Council. Nevertheless, the ideological content of the "Nordic" did not vanish. Instead it transformed into parallel layers of a "cultural versus ideological" meaning.
2. Until the terminological post-war transition, the "Nordic" in musical terms was closely linked to folklorism, cast into the concept of a specific "Nordic tone". One striking consequence of the contradictory post-war double meaning of the "Nordic", setting a political understanding next to a purely musical one, was the loss of a precise Nordic sound, preserved in the margins between folk music and traditional folk-inspired classical composing. The trademark of a Nordic sound found its way into other genres and became a success story, for example, the elegiac Jazz of Jan Garbarek. Due to the lack of historical knowledge about pure "Nordic" music, many folkloristic elements and arguments about a certain "Nordic tone" became common references, not precise musical facts.
3. With the weakening social foundation of classical music in post-war Europe, ideas of Nordic folklore and the "Nordic tone" migrated into popular genres, again both with and without links to political concepts of the "Nordic". Such a migration of convictions from one cultural sphere to a distant other is not limited to the arts, but is a general social phenomenon. This often happens in correlation with a generational shift, and redefines the dichotomy of music and politics under new conditions. One example of this is the strategy of young right-wing protagonists in European democracies to claim the attitudes of legal resistance and radical opposition, which were formerly linked to an anti-fascist heritage. Again, these new movements rely heavily on music as a means for political messages, and use the terminological discrepancy of the "Nordic" as a naive folkloristic habit versus the aggressive postulate of Germanic supremacy, for smartly designed, provocative campaigns.
4. These political interpretations ranged from preserved fascist opinions to renovated Social democratic concepts, which were able to coin their own phrase with the "Nordic Welfare State", again including music. In consequence, associated musicians adapted this strategy, and conquered folkloristic and pop stylistics that used to be either left-wing or apolitical.
5. Recently, the "Nordic" once more experienced a shift of aesthetic content back into musical realms. The Nordic ingredient changed its focus from a certain musical color to the sound of Nordic tongues. On the basis of either conventional pop sounds, or the wide panorama of orchestral film scores, it is the sound of lyrics in Old Norse and other ancient Nordic dialects (even in Tolkien's fictional, Nordic inspired languages for elves and dwarfs) that creates the impression of a typical "Nordic" atmosphere.

Musical idioms

The difference between "authentic" ancient music and its conservation in folk music traditions is small, and often depends more on image, costume and promotional statement than on musical fact. This can be emphasized by the difference between Einar Kvitrafn Selvik's band from Bergen, *Wardruna*, and Helene Bøksle, a successful young singer, and daughter of the folk musician Ivar Bøksle.

In the trilogy of albums, *Runaljod*, starting in 2009 with the first part, Einar Selvik combined traditional Nordic instruments with lyrics in Norwegian, Old Norse and Proto-Norse tongues. The lyrical content as well as the poetic meters relied on elements, he had found in the old runes of the Elder Futhark tradition. Archeological replicas of different flutes, harps, goat horns and drums suggest historical authenticity of the music.[15] But one simply does not know what the music of these former times actually sounded like. *Wardruna*'s solution to fill this lack of knowledge is a transformation into modern sounds of folk and pop, including microphones, amplifiers, sound effects, layers of soft keyboards, and a Harding-fiddle. The resulting compositions are often elegiac, mid-tempo pieces with three-beat meters, parallel voices in thirds and fifths, chords using cadence harmony, with a preference for minor scales as well as a trance-like atmosphere, resembling ethnic meditational and ritual music. Creating a Nordic aura, with old tongues, and the re-enactment of an imagined tribal music is, in fact, a pop strategy used to invent one's own historical heritage. As can be seen in their videos and on promotional images, the staging of the band with requisites and costumes from the Viking era is as important as their purist lighting concept, with shadows, twilight and only a few color spotlights. Accordingly, they favor locations with an inherent Viking spirit. Spectacular examples of Viking craftsmanship, like the ancient ships, express *Wardruna*'s ambitions best, where authentic Nordicism does not have to be explained in a concert setting. One can rely on overwhelmingly emotional, pre-conscious impressions.

Turning fiction into violence

After Robert Spencer, head of the American Alt-Right movement, attempted to incorporate the music of the legendary British synthesizer band, *Depeche Mode*, as the sound for his own political agenda (which the band explicitly rejected in Rolling Stone magazine),[16] the awareness rose that there "is an alt-right version of everything".[17] The New Right's attempt to articulate the silent majority of new mainstream conservatives meant they incorporated the mainstream music they grew up with, instead of cultivating obscure underground trends, as former generations of Hippies, Punks and

15 All this information, including various pictures and videos, easily can be found on the band's website www.wardruna.com.

16 Jason Newman, "Depeche Mode Reject Alt-Right Leader's Band Praise", *Rolling Stone Magazine*, 23 February 2017 (https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-news/depeche-mode-reject-alt-right-leaders-band-praise-124411/, last access 20.09. 2018).

17 Caroline Sinders, *There's an alt-right version of everything*, posted September 27, 2017 on Quartz Media LLC (https://qz.com, last access 20.09.2018).

Hip-hoppers did. In consequence, bloggers for altright.com also quoted David Bowie's provocative flirtation with fascist aesthetics, and his criticism of liberalism in the 1970s as a historical reference for the contemporary righteousness of their own cause.[18]

One essential quality of music as an art form is the liberty to articulate controversial issues within a given fictional framework. Therefore, an artistic message could, but does not always have to represent an artist's personal opinion. But how can one decide which musical message is meant to be real, and which is just an ironic, provocative or naive exaggeration? And how can one tell what folk music is devised as a political statement, preaching Nordic supremacy, and what represents the opposite of traditional, unpolitical ambitions to keep an old cultural heritage alive? One answer is easy to give, when musicians willfully incorporate unmistakable political messages. A second answer replaces individual actors with arguments, and transfers these arguments to different political circumstances. As far as Himmler's love for Nordic folklore seems to be, in musical terms, from contemporary fascist metal, folk and pop (regarding bands such as *Death in June*, *Sol Invictus*, *Fire + Ice*, *Allerseelen* and *Waldteufel*), they are similar in their belief in a Germanic, Pagan, Aryan supremacy, and in their desire to turn their subculture into a mainstream mass movement.

Fantasies of Nordic supremacy, and the annihilation of enemies, turned into brutal reality in Norway with Anders Behring Breivik's attacks in 2011. After years of clandestine preparation and radicalization, he committed two attacks on 22 July 2011, leaving eight people dead and ten seriously injured after a homemade bomb exploded outside of Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg's office building. Afterwards, he drove out of Oslo to the small island of Utøya, where the social democratic youth organization held its annual summer camp, and killed 69 teenagers and adults within 90 minutes. He then surrendered to the police, and claimed to have fulfilled an act of occidental resistance, against the threat of cultural Marxism and the Islamic colonization of Europe. A few hours before the attacks, Breivik had sent a crude "manifesto" of 1,518 pages to more than 7,000 online contacts he had collected while working on the manuscript for several years.[19] Additionally, he had prepared a 12-minute video version in the style of a PowerPoint presentation (where he summarized his main points on slides with underlying soundtrack music). He uploaded the video onto several platforms, including YouTube. Breivik obviously had expected to be sentenced to lifelong imprisonment and subsequent preventive custody, which was confirmed by Judge Wenche Elizabeth Arntzen on 24 August 2012, after a four-month trial. Breivik's statements in court, which were put online by an anonymous sympathizer,[20] document how keen he was during the months of the trial to be taken seriously, and not be considered insane. In her cele-

18 Article by Hannibal Bateman, *Fascination*, posted 18 January 2017 on altright.com (last access 20.09.2018).

19 Andrew Berwick [Anders Behring Breivik], *2083. A European Declaration of Independence*, London 2011.

20 https://sites.google.com/site/breivikreport/transcripts/anders-breivik-court-transcript-2012-04-19-live-report; see additionally https://antifascistnews.net/2016/02/13/neofascist-heathen-harvest-neofolk-and-fascist-subcultural-entryism/; https://heathenharvest.org/?s=norwegian+neofolk; https://lovdata.no/static/file/1016/toslo-2011-188627-24.pdf; http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/rettssaken/; https://lovdata.no/info/22juli; https://www.domstol.no/globalassets/upload/da/internett/domstol.no/aktuelt/2012/toslo-2011-188627-24.pdf; https://www.domstol.no/no/Aktuelt/Nyheter/Dom-i-22-juli-saken/ (last access 20.09.2018).

brated semi-biographical novel, *One of Us: The History of a Mass Murderer*, the Norwegian journalist Åsne Seierstad reconstructed his obsession for elaborately crafted myths.[21] Strikingly, the gap was huge between his poker face – pretending to be a successful businessman and internationally networking political activist on the one hand – and his youth as an isolated, moody child, and only a half-respected member of local Hip-hop gangs in Oslo's graffiti scene on the other hand, as Sierstad reconstructed it. In fact, he was never much more than the founder of crooked internet companies and a short-term member of the established right-wing Progress Party (fremskritspartiet), before he became addicted, for five years, to computer games, with the titles *Call of Duty: Modern Warfare 2*, *Age of Conan*, and most intensely, *World of Warcraft*. The deeper he immured himself into his private ideology, the more important music became to him, appeasing his isolation, simulating a virtual connection to like-minded activists as well as supporting his self-motivation and indoctrination during regular walks around the neighborhood.

Besides a passion for the Eurovision Song Contest, Breivik developed musical preferences over the years that matched the patchwork style of his political beliefs: pompous film scores, folklore-inspired soundtracks to video games, and politically aggressive songs wrapped in mellow sounds. In all three categories, one finds music that does not fit traditional concepts of the "Nordic tone", but instead relates to the thesis of Nordic images meandering between different popular music sounds.

Breivik had hoped for soulmates to follow his example, and tried to reach them via his manifesto and the video. Its solemn opening scene, introducing the emblem of his self-invented order of the European Templar Knights, was accompanied by the track "*The Dreaming Anew*" from Knut Avenstroup Haugen's *Age of Conan* soundtrack: Against a deep synthesizer pedal point, the luring voice of Helene Bøksle sets in with the distance of a fifth, taking her melisma softly over a sixth and a minor seventh back to the drone, anticipating all popular images of epic fictional Nordic landscapes that we know from computer games, and Peter Jackson's *Lord of the Rings* movies with Howard Shore's impressive film scores.

The video is separated into four thematic chapters, "The Rise of Cultural Marxism", "Islamic Colonization", "Hope" and "New Beginning", alternating between pictures and text. After Bøksle's voice accompanies the overture to introduce the threatening force of Cultural Marxism, the second part of the video portrays the enemies deployed outside of Norway, with spies and secret agents already infiltrating the homeland. Of course, in such simple storytelling, the soundtrack has to offer acoustic confirmation, so that at minute 3.30, a melisma based on an Arabic scale sets in. Again, this is not authentic music with traditional instruments, but an assembly of synthesizer layers with a voice on top, this time a male singer, reinforcing the gender division of fighting men and endangered Norwegian women. At minute 6.55, the third part, "Hope", begins, bringing Helene Bøksle's voice back into the scene with the *Age of Conan* track *Nighttime Journey*. After a long instrumental intro, building up a dramatic atmosphere, the song bursts into an uplifting battle style with impressive drums, an archaic melody of synthesizer violins and lyrics which can be easily recognized by their

21 Åsne Seierstad, *Einer von uns. Die Geschichte eines Massenmörders*, Zürich and Berlin 2016 [*En av oss*, Oslo 2015].

Nordic pronunciation. The fourth part, *A New Beginning* (beginning at 10.33), once more relies on the *Age of Conan* soundtrack, with the title *Ere the World Crumbles*. In the same dramatic mode as *Nighttime Journey*, it calms the mood with elegiac lines, before it finally turns into dramatic battle music, while the slide images show muscular crusaders ready to fight, culminating in the well-known self-portraits of Breivik in self-invented uniforms and armory.

Obviously, Breivik considered himself a director and an artist, who had produced a discomforting documentary about dramatic social dangers. According to this logic, he thought to advertise an event that would soon make his courage eternally famous, to stand up against these grievances. Evidence for this interpretation can be found outside of the *2083* video in another of his musical recommendations, again leading back into the worlds of Nordic-inspired movies and games. One of his favorite inspirational tracks to maintain mental strength and build up persuasive power is Clint Mansell's *Lux Aeterna* theme. It was very popular in the early 2000s, not only for the TV shows *Britain's got Talent* and *The X Factor*, but also for a trailer of Peter Jackson's *Lord of the Rings* movie, *The Two Towers.*[22] With archaic marching drums and epic melodies, we follow the small group of heroes, facing their fate, to fight the overwhelming majority of Saruman's evil forces. Because a happy ending can be assumed for Tolkien's story by most of today's viewers, the storytelling in the trailers can focus on how the impossible goal will be achieved, rather than if the heroes succeed at all. We do not know if Breivik had exactly this illustration of Mansell's *Lux Aeterna* in mind. The many similarities in the Nordic scenery, the confrontation of good and evil, as well as the enormous popularity of Jackson's movieseries would nevertheless support this interpretation.

Several of Breivik's musical recommendations are worth noticing. Some lead into fictional worlds, while Helene Bøksle follows an opposite strategy. She proved her connection to mainstream youth culture with appearances in casting shows and for Norway's representation in the Eurovision Song Contest in 2011. Besides writing well-received folk pop and re-crafted Christmas tunes, she gained huge popularity with vocal contributions to Knut Avenstroup Haugen's soundtrack for the fantasy video game, *Age of Conan.* Neither her preference for passionate cantilenas nor her style of clothing – both comparable to the British singer Adele – illustrate explicit Nordic qualities. One typical element, though, is the sound of her Norwegian pronunciation, easy to recognize with a rolling "R", set over video clips with domestic landscapes.

Besides claiming, in a fake interview with himself,[23] to be a fan of classical music, such as Wagner, Verdi and Mozart, he also mentioned a soul mate in the world of political action. In his manifesto he praised the Swedish singer Saga to be "a courageous, […] female nationalist-oriented musician who creates pop music with patriotic texts. She is, as far as I know, the best and most talented patriotic musician in the English-speaking world. And for those of you, like myself, who hate 'metal', Saga is one of

22 See the related article in New Musical Express from 26 July 2011 (http://www.nme.com/news/music/pop-will-eat-itself-1279725, as well as http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/norway/8660877/Norway-shooter-Anders-Behring-Breivik-listened-to-Clint-Mansell-during-spree.html and the article by Joe Stroud *The Importance of Music to Anders Behring Breivik* (https://jtr.st-andrews.ac.uk/articles/10.15664/jtr.620/print/ (last access 20.09.2018).

23 Breivik, *2083. A European Declaration of Independence*, p. 1378.

the few sources available that offers quality patriotic pop-music with brilliant texts."[24] His personal favorite was *Drömmarnas Stig* which, to everyone not capable of understanding a Nordic language, could sound like any other ordinary pop song.

Looking at the musical and political difference between Bøksle and Saga, the Nordic ingredient is the decisive element. In musical terms, Helene Bøksle's style contributes to Nordic folk, while her lyrics abstain from any political message. Quite understandably, she was in shock when she learned, in the aftermath of July 22, that Breivik was a devoted fan. To dissociate herself from his motifs, she published a press release and emphasized her deep sympathy with the victims and their families. Even more important than this gesture was the support she immediately received from the Norwegian press, testifying to her honesty, and accusing Breivik of abusing the values and the positive energy her music stands for.[25] Hence her participation in memorial ceremonies was warmly received, and understood as an effort to reclaim the meaning of her music.

For Saga, the situation was more complicated. Of course, she tried the same strategy of public disassociation from Breivik in a press statement,[26] which did not convince, either musically or politically. In musical terms, she went the opposite way of Bøksle. She had not located her sound in any national or geographical context by means of folkloristic elements. Since the beginning of her career, shortly before the millennium's turn, Saga had been associated instead with the British White Power movement, and made herself a name underground with cover versions of Ian Stuart Donaldson's songs for his band *Screwdriver*.[27] The sound on her albums was always much softer than in her live-appearances, to reach explicitly the audience of mainstream pop, which matches her pop-girl image on the album cover artwork. Her accent in English is American, and her musical sound is internationally standardized to support her political message. In a rare interview for the British Discovery Channel (dated before 2010), she had admitted to this strategy, and declared her devotion to the Swedish fascist movement. In contrast to her public distancing from Breivik, she nevertheless kept on performing and releasing music in her usual habit, at least until her 2014 album *Weapons of Choice*.[28]

24 Ibid. p. 837–838, "Motivational music tracks, artist: Saga".

25 https://www.dagbladet.no/kultur/helene-boksle-misbrukt-i-breivik-video/63567707 and http://arkiv.nrk.no/lydverket/jeg-ble-livredd/ (access September 20, 2018).

26 http://www.thisissaga.com/new-index.html (access September 20, 2018).

27 Benjamin Teitelbaum, "'The Path of Dreams': Breivik, Music, and Neo-Nazi Skinheadism", in *Musikk etter 22. Juli*, edit. by Jan Sverre Knudsen, Marie Strand Skånland and Gro Trondalen, Oslo 2014, p. 121–122.

28 After the events of July 22, 2011 videos appearances by Saga at Skinhead concerts and raising her right arm for the Hitler-Gruß in 2006 (while singing *Skrewdriver*'s "evergreen" *Hail the New Dawn*) could easily be found, as she continued performing her underground hits such as *Ode to a Dying People* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PN1_stdHxR0, last access 20.09.2018).

Frequently Asked Questions

Among debates about alternative facts, fake news and a general loss of trust in scientific research, we have seen a dramatic change to the communication of knowledge and truth within only a few years. Additionally, the New Right, like the American Alt-Right Movement and the European "Identitäre Bewegung" (Generation Identity), are trying to build up their own theoretical frameworks that specifically deal with culture, the preservation of traditional values, and music.[29] As long as they send out messages using only a few hundred characters, they might convince their target group. But as soon as self-proclaimed philosophers like Frank Lisson try to write on a larger scale about art and music, the intellectual weakness of their poetry unveils itself, for example, when he expatiates about the "disindividualizing in Musik" (*Über das Entindividualisierende in der Musik*): "The one who understands how to listen to music, is never completely alone. He can even renounce God, as long as he has Bach or Beethoven. Because, all of a sudden, man becomes reunited with the world, everything opens itself up to him in a more pleasing way: nature, history, existence. Through music, man is carried into vastness, he overcomes space and time, and even experiences that which lies outside of himself."[30] Unfortunately, though, one cannot ignore such literature. The addressed audience, willing to believe in the political force of resistance against established consensus, meanwhile uses its electoral force and offers demagogues considerable parliamentary access all across Europe.

Though the use of Nordic tones to transport political messages has changed over the years in musical terms, the ideological content, relating back to the 1930s, is intact, and has become more attractive in recent years. Again, music is a preferred tool, which brings us back to questioning established methods, obstacles and stylistic specifics. To some observers, Breivik's terror attack appears to be a singular event, although the underlying radical forces had been present in subcultures, and tolerated by the majori-

29 Paddy Tarleton (https://altright.com/2017/06/28/an-interview-with-paddy-tarleton-the-volkish-folk-singer/, last access September 20, 2018); Andreas Vonderach, *Gab es Germanen? Eine Spurensuche*, Schnellroda 2017; Frank Lisson, *Widerstand. Lage – Traum – Tat*, Schnellroda 2008; as well as numerous articles on https://altright.com/2017/08/10/aging-swedish-hags-dance-for-afghan-rapefugees-while-cursing-their-kin/; https://altright.com/2017/12/17/how-albion-got-blacked/; https://qz.com/1086797/theres-an-alt-right-version-of-everything/ http://www.doobeedoobeedoo.info/2017/08/14/an-analysis-of-the-music-of-the-alt-right-know-your-enemy/; https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/10/09/alt-right%E2%80%99s-new-soundtrack-hate; http://www.nme.com/news/music/popular-music-vlogger-accused-pandering-alt-right-separate-channel-2147022. The article by Vincent Law, "Aging Swedish Hags Dance for Afghan Rapefugees while Cursing their Kin. This is why they used to burn witches in Medieval times", (published on 10 August 2017 on https://altright.com, last access 20.02.2018) is especially mean, associating female Swedish activists today with mob excesses against Norwegian women accused of fraternization after the country's liberation in May 1945.

30 Frank Lisson, *Homo Absolutus. Nach den Kulturen*, Schnellroda 2008, *Über das Entindividualisierende in der Musik*: "Wer Musik zu hören versteht, ist nie mehr völlig allein. Er kann sogar auf Gott verzichten, wenn er nur Bach oder Beethoven hat. Denn plötzlich ist der Mensch wieder vereint mit der Welt, alles öffnet sich ihm in einnehmender Weise: Natur, Geschichte, Dasein. Der Mensch fühlt sich über die Musik in sphärische Weiten getragen, er überwindet Raum und Zeit, und bekommt ein sonderbares Gespür für das, was außerhalb seiner selbst liegt.", p. 201. One of the smartest intellectual responses was contributed by François Jullien, *Es gibt keine kulturelle Identität. Wir verteidigen die Ressourcen einer Kultur*, Frankfurt am Main 2017 (2016 as *Il n'y pas d'identité culturelle. Mais nous défondons les ressources culturelles*).

ty of society for many years. The open semantics as to what "Nordic music" is, could, or should be, is constantly being filled with alternative facts, enabled and catalyzed by the lack of terminological precision and historical research. One cannot escape these debates, neither would a substitute like "music of the Nordic regions" supersede proper specifications. Territorial definitions are also historical minefields incorporating the Nazi postulate of "Blut und Boden". Obviously, it is time for a new debate about the "Nordic" as an ideological concept of culture and history. In their daily routines, teachers, museums, archives, public broadcasting institutions, libraries and many other cultural protagonists are constantly having to give pragmatic answers to the question of what defines national culture and Norwegian heritage. The need for academic support seems urgent.

Arnulf Mattes

No Escape from Politics? On Grieg's Afterlife in Norwegian Memory Culture

Grieg's idealization as a national icon began during his lifetime, for example, at the celebration of his 60th birthday in 1903, and continues after his death, as a constant in Norwegian cultural life. Thus, Grieg lives on in collective memory, unscathed by the dramatic political and social upheavals of the 20th century. Today, his anniversary is celebrated on a national level, apparently without losing its popularity. Grieg's significance goes far beyond the impact of his music. From the beginning, his agency has not been limited to that of the composer. Instead, it expanded to that of the national "moral conscience", with Grieg considered as a humanist, a hero of Norway's struggle for independence, and a committed fighter for democracy. Since the late 19th century, the reception of Grieg has been embedded in domestic cultural politics and transnational cultural diplomacy. His music became politicized as a national idiom, and "depoliticized" as "universal" music, according to the romantic ideal of artistic and aesthetic autonomy. At the same time, Grieg's conception of many of his works contributed from the beginning to tie emotional effects to the cultural value system he felt committed to, and which contributed to assert his music in a stable and dominant position, in both collective musical memory and national commemoration.

The image of the masses attending Grieg's funeral in Bergen on 9 September 1907 illustrates the exceptional cultural position which Grieg had achieved by that time. The funeral was celebrated as a collective ritual, which shows that Grieg has already been firmly rooted in national and collective culture. Two years after Norway finally gained its political independence, Grieg's funeral commemorates the symbolic fulfilment of the cultural-nationalist quest. At the concert on 28 November 1905 celebrating Norway's independence, it was Grieg's most "national" work that represented the founding myths of the young Norwegian state, *Sigurd Jorsalfar*, in the presence of the composer, and the new King and Queen of Norway, King Haakon VII and Queen Maud.[1]

To achieve this extraordinary status in the collective consciousness of the young nation was, among other things, owing to Grieg's skill in positioning himself as an artist committed to cultural nation state building. Since the 1870s, culture and art had been elevated to an ingredient of nation state building.[2] Whilst the unified political effort was aimed at political independence, the greatest, most promising Norwegian artists were now eagerly encouraged by the means of state-subsidized national cultural politics. The major tool was the awarding of scholarships to the best talents in the country. In addition to private patronage or inheritance, these fiercely contested state scholarships were the only way to help artists secure a basic, economic (and social) se-

1 According to Grieg's diary entry from 28 November 1905, the "first encounter with the King and the Queen of the free Norway felt like something beautiful and significant", see Finn Benestad (ed.), *Edvard Grieg. Dagbøker 1865, 1866, 1905, 1906 og 1907*, Bergen 1993, p. 99–101.

2 Harald Herresthal, "Edvard Grieg og politikken i Stortinget", in: Eilif B. Løtveit (ed.), *Edvard Grieg and 1905*, Troldhaugens skriftserie 2005, p. 11–39.

Figure 1: Grieg's funeral, 9 September 1907. Griegsamlingen, Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek.

curity. In return, they were required to serve the nation as promoters of the national cultural heritage, providing artistic contributions to official occasions and celebrations in the form of commissioned compositions, through involvement in building national cultural institutions, as leaders of national concert life, and so on.[3]

As already mentioned, it may well be justifiable for Grieg to be assigned a central place (continuing through the 20th century and up to the present) not only in Norway's musical life, but also, far beyond the musical sphere, in official commemorative politics. Very few other cultural personalities have been able to maintain such a prominent position in the collective consciousness (also beyond Norway) over so long a time. Grieg was the only musician and composer to be mentioned in the same breath as the other classics of Nordic culture, Ibsen and Munch; unlike his Norwegian contemporaries, such as Johan Svendsen, Christian Sinding, Gerhard Schjelderup or Hjalmar Borgstrøm, all of whom created an oeuvre based on a solid, German education equal to Grieg's, although containing the far greater weight of "grand forms", such as symphony and opera.

As shown in the following chronology of Grieg anniversaries, in contrast to the "forgotten" contemporary colleagues (competitors, protegees), Grieg's position in Norwegian culture has been repeatedly confirmed and renewed on such occasions, seemingly untouched by the dramatically changing historical and political conditions.

The thesis is that the secret of Grieg's sustained significance is that it finds its way into individual and collective musical memory, and ultimately institutionalized public commemoration, in a variety of different ways. One component lies in the aforementioned conception of his works: in these, the step from personal to collective memory is already "built in". Grieg's music appeals to the listener in an apparently unmediated way on an affective-emotional level. Grieg does this by merging melodic pregnancy and recognizability with nature and landscape images, tokens of vernacular culture and mythological elements (fairy tales and legends). The result is an idiom perceived as genuinely Norwegian ("Det norske tonefall"). Thus, Grieg's music connects private memories and personal, musical experiences with collective symbolic content and cultural topoi. In addition, Grieg's music of the "small forms" facilitates the impact of his music in the domain of domestic life. More easily than most of his competitors, it finds its way into everyday musical culture (as domestic music at home, at school, in amateur choirs and orchestras, in commercial ads and jingles on TV, and so on).

In terms of musical memory culture, repetition is an important factor.[4] In Grieg's case it is plausible to assume that the ubiquity and availability of Grieg's music has contributed to making his music more naturally embedded in communicative memo-

3 Ibid, p. 19.

4 Lena Nieper and Julian Schmitz, "Zur Methode und Medeinspezifik von Musik als Medium der kulturellen Erinnerung", in: Nieper and Schmitz (eds.), *Musik als Medium der Erinnerung: Gedächtnis-Geschichte-Gegenwart*, Bielefeld 2016, p. 24. Nieper and Schmitz's aim is to develop a model for "musical memory culture" ("musikalische Gedächtniskultur"), drawing on memory theories in cultural studies with references to Jan Assmann, Pierre Nora, Maurice Halbwachs and others.

ry and thus, a part of collective cultural practice.[5] Grieg's interest in the mass dissemination of his popular pieces made him also one of the first composers and performers of his time to recognize the power of new technologies of mechanical reproduction. In 1903 and 1906, he recorded a set of short pieces for the gramophone and piano roll in sessions at his home in Bergen, and in Leipzig and Paris.[6] The frequently repeated performances of his works, not least by himself during his active career as a performer, and by amateurs and professionals alike, in addition to the accessibility of his recorded music, reactivate again and again the cycle of memory culture: listeners' emotive responses to his music create private moments of remembrance, and music-related memories are shared through oral transmission, as part of communicative memory. As a result of all this, Grieg's music, as with any other oral medium permanently threatened by oblivion, has been preserved in collective memory, which is what few of his contemporaries have been granted. However, there are additional factors to consider, which can explain, why Grieg's music entered the realm of collective memory and eventually became a cherished part of national cultural heritage. This happens in a multi-dimensional process. Music, as a transient sound event, can at first only find its way into memory culture, if it manifests itself in cultural artefacts, objects, and media reports (editions, media reports, reviews, music historiography, and so on). Moreover, the social dimension of music has to be institutionalized, such as in archives, and through institutionalized social practice, such as concert repertoires (canon), or commemorative rituals such as the artists' centenaries. This multiple, institutionalized and medialized "memorizing system" of music is indispensable for its reproduction; so music can be retrieved again and again from the stored stocks.[7]

To the "material" and "social" dimension of musical memory culture can be added a 'mental' dimension: the diffuse field of cultural codes and schemata that shape the music and through which it operates, depending on prevailing values, patterns of thought and perceptions. Accordingly, remembrance does not come from nothing: the decisions about which music is codified and archived, considered worthy of being remembered ("erinnerungswürdig"),[8] and which is forgotten, are preceded by a social and mental process, which in turn is closely related to the fluctuating meaning of music for a society.

5 The term "communicative memory" refers to Jan and Aleida Assmann's theory of memory, presented in the 1980s. Among their most influential publications are Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 1992, and Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, München 1999. In 2018, Jan and Aleida Assmann were awarded the prestigious Piece Prize of the German Book Trade.

6 In 1992, the Norwegian label *SIMAX* released the complete, remastered recordings of Grieg's piano pieces. The CD was launched at the Grieg 150th anniversary in 1993. See *Edvard Grieg. The Piano Music in Historic Interpretations.* SIMAX CLASSICS PSC 1809.

7 This "heuristic model" presented by Nieper and Schmitz, *Musik als Medium der Erinnerung*, p. 15, and by Melanie Unseld in the chapter "Musikwissenschaft und Erinnerungsforschung", p. 34, recurs on Astrid Erll's "cultural-semiotic of memory cultures", see Astrid Erll, *Medien des kollektiven Gedächtnisses, Historizität-Konstrukivität-Kulturspezifität*, Berlin 2004.

8 Unseld, in Nieper and Schmitz, *Musik als Medium der Erinnerung*, p. 33.

I. Commemoration and Crisis: The Grieg Anniversaries 1917–1945

Figure 2: Official unveiling of Grieg monument, Bergen 1917. [Photo: Knudsen&Co., 04.09.1917, Spesialsamlingene ved Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen]

Since his 10th anniversary in 1917, Grieg's afterlife in collective consciousness has been revived time and again as an ingredient of Norwegian commemoration politics. National anniversaries are understood here as situations and events that serve to reconstruct and reactivate history. In such events, certain notions of the significance of the past for the present and the future are put on stage and negotiated collectively: "it is never just about celebrating, but always about politics!"[9]

Correlating with Grieg's anniversary in 1917 was the end of World War I. In Norway, too, the "Great War" had a social, ideological and economic impact, although the neutral country had not been involved directly. While not as tumultuous as in the German Weimar Republic, the 1920s and 1930s in Norway bred notions of insecurity. Ideological polarization driven by partisan movements (communism, the social democratic movement, conservative liberalism, and right-wing authoritarianism) became a political reality.[10] At the same time, industrialization and a rapid urbanization changed Norwegian society, and lead to a redistribution of regional resources from rural to urban regions. Moreover, the young Norwegian state struggled with the reorientation of

9 See Olaf Aagedal, "Kunsten å jubilere. Dyrekjøpte erfaringer frå unionsjubileet", in: *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift* 23 (2006), No. 2, p. 118. Aagedal, a cultural sociologist, draws in his critical review of the 2005 centenary of Norwegian independence on the work of historian Annette Warring, and her study of "Constitution celebrations": *Historie, magt og identitet, Grundlovsfejringer gjennom 150* år, Aarhus 2003.

10 See Hans Fredrik Dahl, "De store ideologienes tid, 1914–1955", in: Hans Fredrik Dahl (ed.), *Norsk Idéhistorie*, Bd. 5, Oslo 2001.

its foreign policy in a new Europe. In such times of crisis, Grieg once again fulfilled the function of a symbol of continuity, stability, and community. Equally popular in the cities and the countryside, among amateurs and professionals, in the North and in the South, West and East, among the poor and the rich, the well-educated and 'ordinary people', Grieg's music became part of a national self-assertion, and the composer continued his agency as one of the nation's 'founders' and hero of nation state building. At the same time, a young generation of Norwegian composers began their careers, trying to steer away from a national-romantic folklorism considered outmoded, and developing their individual styles inspired by the modernist currents in European metropoles such as Berlin and Paris.[11]

With the German occupation of Norway on 9 April 1940, the generation of inter-war composers suddenly found themselves in a paradoxical as well as a traumatic situation. The German invasion marks a pivotal point in the centuries-old relations to Germany, and the Nazis' embracing of the Nordic race made it inevitable that artists would take a political stand. Already by the 1930s, Norwegians were familiar with race-ideological ideas, and the newly founded Norwegian Nazi party began its quest for the redetermination of Norwegian history. However, the majority of Norwegians rejected totalitarianism and authoritarianism, too afraid of more suppression after centuries of it. This mental disposition fueled the Norwegians' moral resistance during the five years of German occupation, and revitalized the notions of community and equality, gathering together all groups in society, peasants, teachers, artists, journalists, students, and workers.

Within this context, it does not come as a surprise that the celebration of Grieg's 100th anniversary, taking place right in the middle of the young Norwegian nations' most critical situation, should be staged as a major, patriotic act of national commemoration. Alas, the Germans' intervention turned the whole event into propaganda for the alleged Nordic-Gemanic brotherhood, as the nationwide arrangements became controlled, manipulated, and censored by the so-called Department for Culture and Public Education.[12] However, the main official events taking place in Bergen and Oslo in June 1943 conveyed all the ingredients of commemorative rituals: wreath-laying, festive concerts, pathos-filled radio speeches. A historical document that illustrates the remarkable efforts by the Germans and Norwegian Nazis to "capture" the anniversary is the Filmavisen, reporting extensively from the events in Bergen and Oslo.[13]

The goal of the German occupying regime and Norwegian Nazi party was to exploit Grieg's cultural value among the Norwegians for their own cause. However, they only succeeded in drawing Grieg into the center of a virtual "tug of war", with the one side "elevating" Grieg as an "Aryan" composer genius, and the other celebrating Grieg as a true Norwegian and democrat, with both sides claiming to represent legitimate nationalists and patriots. Eventually, the Grieg centenary in 1943 ended with a fiasco

11 See Arvid O. Vollsnes and Ståle Kleiberg, "En ny nasjonal musikk", in: Arvid O. Vollsnes (ed.), *Norges musikkhistorie*, Vol. 4, Oslo 2000, p. 95–146.

12 Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes, "Celebrating the Nordic Tone – Fighting for National Legacy. The Grieg Centennial 1943", in: David Fannings and Erik Levi (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation*, London 2019 (forthcoming).

13 *Filmavisen* from 28 June 1943, NRK (Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation) archive (https://tv.nrk.no/serie/filmavisen/194306/FMAA43005943/avspiller, last access 10.10. 2018).

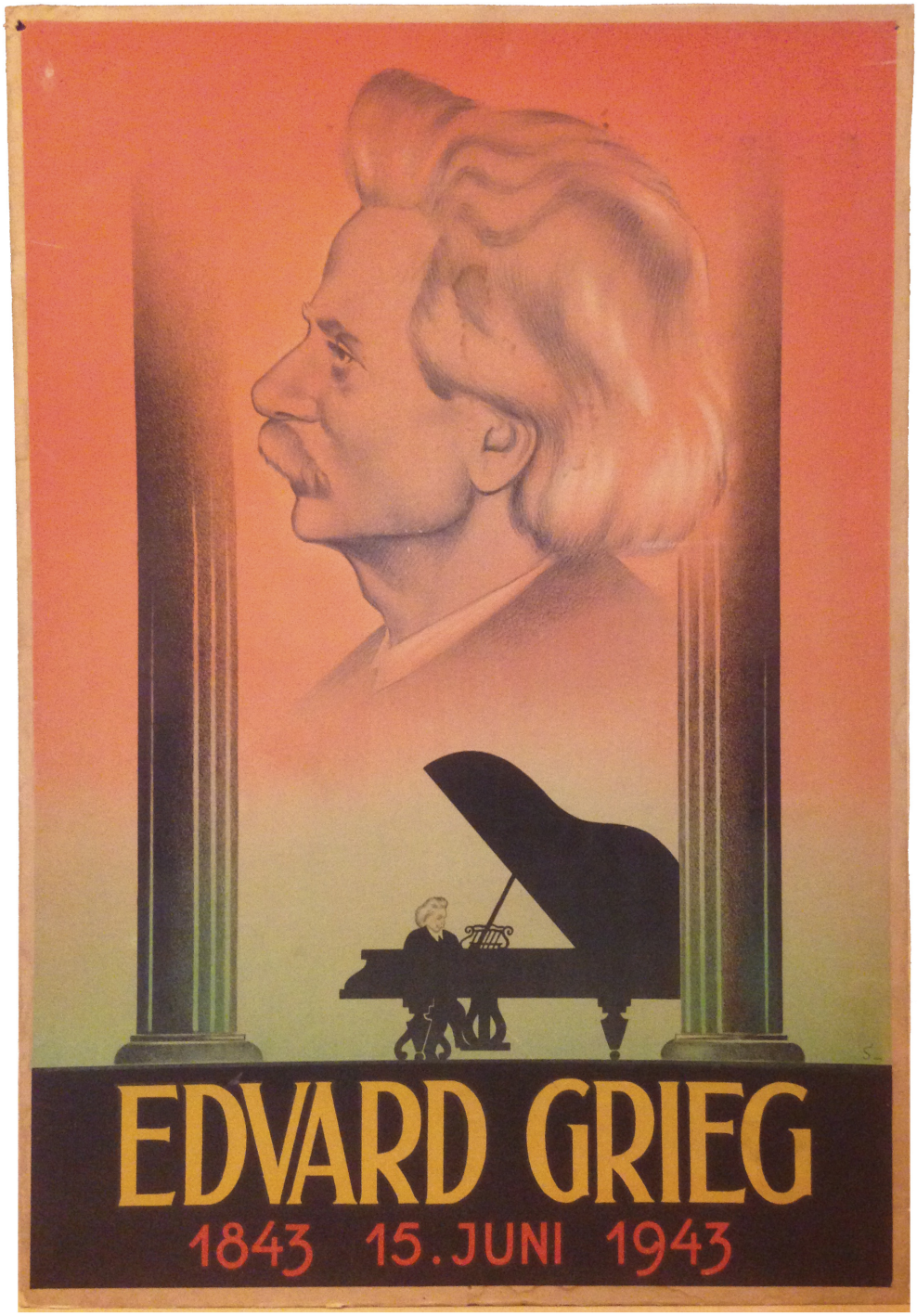


Figure 3: Grieg Anniversary 1943, official propaganda poster. Griegsamlingen, Bergen, Offentlige Bibliotek.

for the occupiers. The valorization of Grieg as a symbol of Nordic-Germanic brotherhood failed.

II. Grieg Commemorations after 1945: 1993 and 2007

After 1945, the task expected from artists and everyone else was to contribute to the "reconstruction" of Norway, economically, politically, and mentally.[14] As we have seen, in Norway, the Germans' occupation only strengthened Grieg's status as a symbol of community, embodying the liberal, democratic values the civil resistance movement defended in the "dark years". Grieg appeared once more as an anchor in a phase of re-orientation, where, despite of the efforts of progressive voices to modernize Norway and bring it into accordance with the latest, international currents, the conservative, "national" style of the prominent interwar composers could prevail. Not surprisingly, Grieg and other national-romantic composers were given a prominent position in the programs of the celebrations of Norway's liberation on 8 May 1945, besides works of "national modernists" and international composers (Jewish, Russian etc.), who for the first time could be performed in Norway after years of suppression and censorship.

However, in the early phase of re-establishing Norwegian cultural diplomacy after 1945, there is a certain ambivalence towards the application of Grieg.[15] For Norwegians, there was an uncertainty about expectations abroad. One might assume that since Grieg after the years of propagandistic instrumentalization and the Germans' efforts to redetermine the notion of the Nordic,[16] some anti-modern connotations might have clung to Grieg's music, which would stand in the way of a transnational understanding.[17]

In 1993, almost 50 years after the end of World War II, the celebration of Grieg's 150th anniversary was quite a different situation. Up to the early 1990s and marking the end of the post-war era, Norway has gone through a transformative phase of economic prosperity beyond any comparison in the history of the nation, and was about to achieve a self-confident position in the post-national era. According to the new year's speech of the Statsminister, Gro Harlem Brundtland, in 1992, it was "typically Norwe-

14 See Elef Nesheim, "Et kulturliv i endring", in: Arvid O. Vollsnes (ed.), *Norges musikkhistorie. 1950–2000: modernisme og mangfold*, Vol. 5, Oslo 2001, p. 13–39.

15 Among the rare studies of Norwegian cultural diplomacy in the early post-war years, see Svein Ivar Angell, "The Office for Cultural Relations: Representing Norway in the Post-War Period", in: Louis Clerc, Nicolas Clover, Paul Jordan (eds.), *Histories of Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding in the Nordic and Baltic Countries*, Leiden and Boston 2015, p. 81–101.

16 See Michael Custodis and Arnulf Mattes, "Zur Kategorie des ‚Nordischen' in der norwegischen Musikgeschichte 1930–45", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 73 (2016) No. 3, p. 166–184.

17 Angell cites a publication of the Office for Cultural affairs, which "presented an alternative vision of Grieg and the cultural nationalism he represented. The composer was now portrayed as an obstacle to the breakthrough of modernism, which was being experienced in other European countries at beginning of the twentieth century. For the author, Arne Østvedt, it was "a composer like Harald Sæverud (born in 1897) who represented a new generation of Norwegian composers freed from the confines of national romanticism – and, by implication, the confines of Edvard Grieg", Angell, "The Office for Cultural Relations: Representing Norway in the Post-War Period", p. 97.

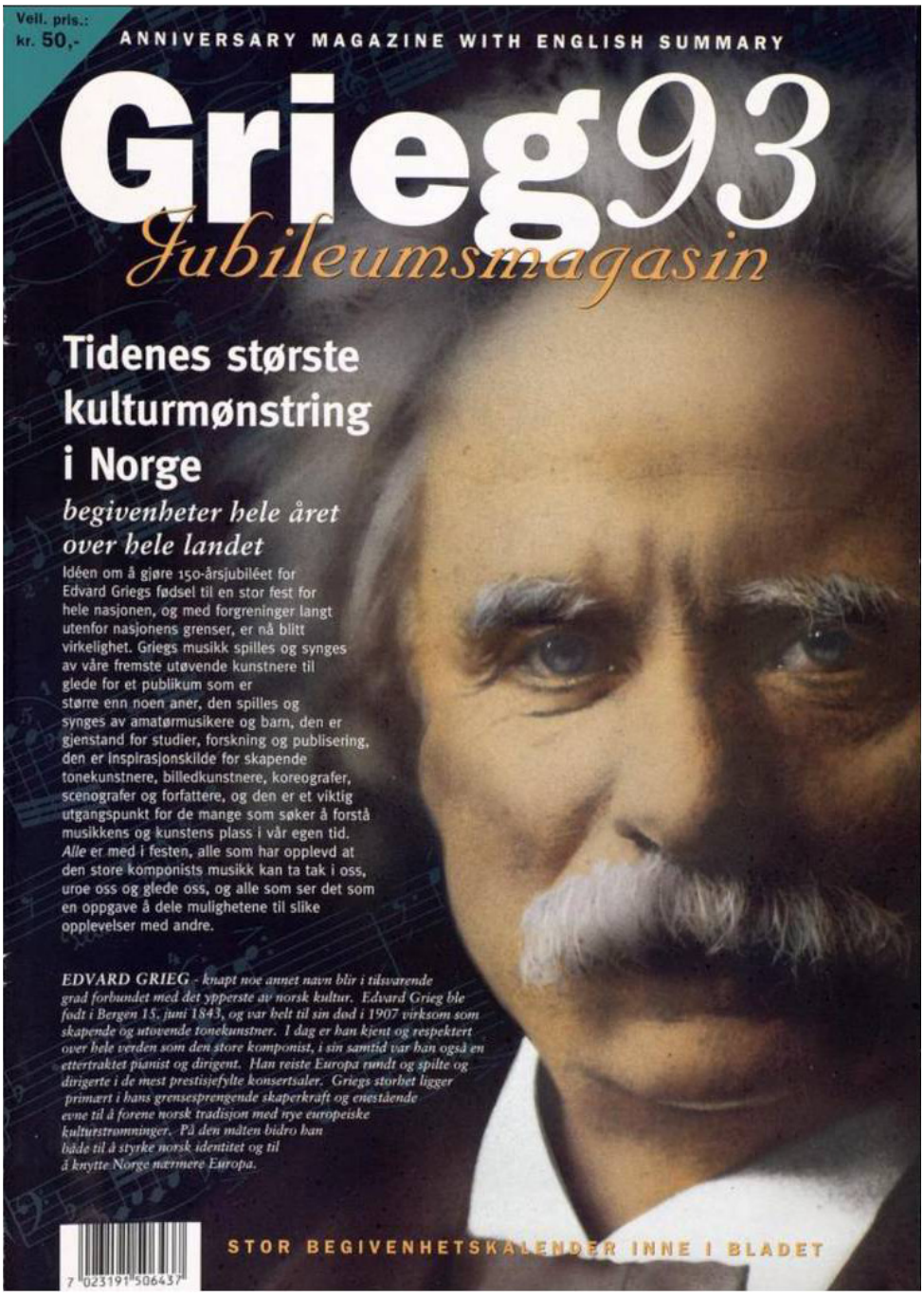


Figure 4: Grieg 93 Anniversary Magazine, title page. Vestlandske kunstindustrimuseum, Bergen.

gian to be good", referring to the economy, but also to the great success in sports and culture.[18]

The 1993 Grieg celebration fits in with this optimistic "Zeitgeist": Never had more money been spent on a national cultural event. After the opening concert in Bergen, with the "Homage March" from *Sigurd Jorsalfar*, Op. 56 on the program (the same piece was performed in 1905 at the celebration of Norwegian independence), an extensive series of arrangements were facilitated by a sensational budget of over 24 million Norwegian Kroner (ca. 40 million today). Including all contributions and resources allocated for the extensive activities, the amount rises to an estimated 70–80 million Kroner![19] Moreover, as part of Grieg's 150th anniversary, an architectural competition has been announced, whose aim was to upgrade the Grieg Museum at Troldhaugen to a modern cultural heritage site with a modern visitors' center. With this project, Grieg was given a state-funded, modern composer's museum, designed to welcome Grieg's ever-growing number of global fans and tourists. With the unveiling of the rehabilitated concert hall at Troldhaugen by the Norwegian Statsminister in May 2015, Grieg was finally established permanently in national cultural memory, symbolized by the new architecture, and revitalized time and again by a local concert series, and, from 2012, by an internationally renowned music event: The International Edward Grieg Piano Competition, arranged at the venue.

The impressive facts and figures of the many activities and events arranged during these celebrations show that the organizing committee had achieved its goal in accordance with its assumptions, that Grieg's music continued to demonstrate its widespread effect; and its popularity and sympathy values among all social groups were still considered as high. As pointed out in the evaluation report, the festival's strategy of staying close to the objectives of the dominant cultural policy paid off: decentralization and democratization, by delegating control to local arrangers, and the cross-sectional cooperation of cultural and economic interests to support tourism. Moreover, the festival was supposed to preserve the national cultural heritage, at the same time as it promoted cultural "innovation". The groundbreaking, unconventional, inventive capacity of art should be an inspiration for other areas of society. The Grieg celebration in 1993 was a contemporary artist's festival that did not want to be one. As a national "kulturmønstring", it was a common, inclusive cultural event, involving grassroots workers and amateurs, that should not serve as an end in itself, but as a catalyst for a wide range of innovative and creative activities involving as many groups as possible.[20]

18 "Women's football, women's handball, our male Ski athletes, and the Oslo philharmonics. All of these are world leading. The Norwegian economy will achieve the same international position. Do we need a new motto? It's typically Norwegian to be good." (author's translation) "Fotballjentene, håndballjentene, skigutta og Oslofilharmonikerne. De hevder seg i verdenstoppen. På samme måte skal vi vise at norsk næringsliv klarer seg internasjonalt. Trenger vi kanskje et nytt slagord? Det er typisk norsk å være god." *Statsministerens nyttårstale 1992,* Regjeringen.no, Historisk arkiv, 01.01.1992 (https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/nyttarstale-1992/id563159/, last access 10.10. 2018).

19 The festival committee's budget overview reveals that Bergen Municipality and the Regional County Council of Hordaland were the major contributors to the event, illustrating a local and regional bias regarding the value of Grieg as a common, national heritage. See Harald Jørgensen, Monica Nerland, Jon Helge Sætre (eds.), *Grieg-jubiléet 1993. En evaluering.* NMH publikasjoner 1995, No.3, p. 25.

20 Jørgensen et al., *Grieg-jubiléet 1993*, p. 52–54.

Accordingly, with the domestic cultural policy, the burgeoning "artist commemoration culture" of the 1990s and 2000s coincided with a new policy that was entering cultural diplomacy at this time: the so-called public diplomacy.[21] An important concern of the state was now national branding in a globalized event economy. An extended circle of involved actors, the tourism industry, the export industry, the media industry, publishers, and so on, were now invited to participate in the "commemoration industry" as sponsors and co-organizers in the course of transnational image building.

The question arises as to whether the historical reference to artists of the past centuries is not counterproductive with such a policy. A lucid analytical report by the Foreign Ministry on the new strategies of cultural diplomacy from 2000 poses exactly this question:

> Despite the fact that Norwegian society went through an apparent transformation at the end of the 20th century, the prevailing images of the country are more or less the same as before. To the extent that the foreign public has a certain notion of Norway at all, traditional ideas of Norway as the land of mountains and fjords, Vikings and trolls, Northern lights, the folk art of rosemaling, and blonde people in peasant clothes still dominate – except for some modern elements of oil and industry.
>
> The majority of Norwegians would have difficulty in recognizing themselves in these scenarios: the image of Norway no longer conveys the reality it is meant to reflect. Some would even contradict the fact that it ever existed and propose that these stereotypes were a product of 19th century's nation state building. This would mean that the discrepancy between cliché and reality – which in many cases can be understood as a biased relationship of cultural heritage and contemporary cultural expressions – can be adjusted: If the established image of Norway is a construction, it also can be re-constructed. [22]

Nevertheless, it seems as if this kind of reflection from the Foreign ministry, as a powerful agent of "nation branding", did not prevent a whole series of artist commemorations to blossom in the years to come: the Ibsen festival of 2006, Grieg in 2007, Hauge/

21 Frode Lerum Boasson, "I nasjonens tjeneste? Norske forfatterjubileer 2006–2010", in: *EDDA* 104 (2017), No. 4, p. 317–337.

22 "Til tross for at det norske samfunn har gjennomgått noe i nærheten av en transformasjon mot slutten av det 20. århundre, er de rådende bildene av landet i det store og hele de samme som før. I den grad et utenlandsk publikum overhodet har noen bevissthet om Norge i dag, dominerer forestillingene om et tradisjonsbundet land av fjell og fjorder, vikinger og troll, nordlys, rosemaling og blonde, bunadskledde mennesker – med olje og industri som det eneste mulige moderne innslag. De fleste nordmenn vil i dag ha vanskelig for å kjenne seg igjen i disse scenariene: Norgesbildene stemmer ikke lenger overens med den virkeligheten de er ment å reflektere. Mange vil bestride at de noensinne har gjort det, og hevde at de dominerende stereotypiene er et produkt av 1800-tallets nasjonsbygging. Dette betyr i såfall at diskrepansen mellom klisjé og virkelighet – som i mange tilfeller arter seg som et misforhold i vektleggingen av kulturarv og samtidige kulturuttrykk – kan korrigeres: Hvis det rådende Norgesbilde er en konstruksjon, kan det også rekonstrueres". Translated by the author. See *Oppbrudd og fornyelse Norsk utenrikskulturell politikk 2001–2005 Rapport*, The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 27.01.2000 (http://www.regjeringen.no/no/dep/ud/id833/, last access 10.10. 2018).

Tveitt in 2008, Hamsun in 2009, Bjørnson in 2010, and Munch in 2013.[23] Less than 15 years after the 150th anniversary of Grieg's birthday, it was followed by the anniversary of his death. The question to be raised is how the success of 1993 could or should be repeated. On the political level, the consensus on Grieg still seemed to exist. Once more, politicians belonging to both conservative and progressive parties could agree on Grieg's commemorative value. The discussion about a state-funded celebration in the Norwegian Parliament once more illustrates, how deeply Grieg is rooted in both personal and public memory.[24] However, one might ask to what extent do such well-known arguments represent the attitudes and ideas of the Norwegian "people" in 2007? Since the early 1990s, the social situation has changed. Norway is now much more ethnically diverse, after several waves of immigration, which also has consequences for official commemoration politics. Accordingly, it seems as if the rhetorical pathos of the Grieg '07 anniversary seeks to compensate for the notion of a declining consensus culture. Once again, there is the accumulation of qualities, constructing "Grieg" as a bundle of political, social, democratic, humanistic, and creative deeds.

In trying to fulfil its ambitious goals, Grieg '07 developed an up-to-date media profile and professional design strategy, which aim was to 'visualize the celebration's values and visions and give an impression of how we look at and experience Grieg today – anno 2007.'[25]

According to the organizers, the color scheme of the Grieg '07 consists of "crayfish red", "humanist orange" and "Gjende blue".[26] The colors should emphasize the set of values underlying Norwegian mentality. Crayfish red represents the "national temperament and zest for life", as the main color of the entire marking. Orange represents values such as freedom, democracy, and justice, and is the main color of the program "Grieg the humanist".

Eventually, Gjende blue represents nature and folk art, and illustrates the program "Grieg the sampler". The name of Gjende is not chosen by accident: it is the name of a rural region, with famous mountain scenery that Grieg himself visited several times on his holidays. The name can also be associated with the blue colour of the Gjende Lake. Most of all, it refers to a certain anecdotal event in the composer's own biographical narrative: the composer's reported encounter with a young peasant girl, Gjendine Slålien (1871–1972), living in this area, who left a deep impression on the composer.[27] To Grieg, Gjendine's voice represents the ideal of a natural life, in which music is naturally integrated into everyday life as a means of communicating feelings, stories, and memories. Later on, Grieg recast the simple, vernacular "lullaby" performed by

23 The literature festivals of Ibsen 2006 Wergeland 2008, and Hamsun 2009, and Bjørnson 2010 are discussed in more detail in Boasson, "I nasjonens tjeneste?", p. 323–325.

24 See "Sak nr. 8", protocol of the Norwegian Parliament, 29.05.2006 (https://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Publikasjoner/Referater/Stortinget/2005-2006/060529/8, last access 10.10.2018).

25 See "Visual identity" on the official website of Grieg'07 (http://www.grieg07.no/default.htm. Last access 10.10.2018).

26 See the concluding report, *Død eller levende? Grieg 07 oppsummerer*, p. 72 (http://grieg07.no/publish_files/Sluttrapport.pdf^PHPSESSID=f48d69856df66c2f0891ccb38bea294e, last access 10.10.2018).

27 The anecdote is told in considerable detail in Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup Ebbe's biography: *Edvard Grieg. Mennesket og kunstneren,* Oslo 1980, p. 271–272.

Figure 5: Grieg 07 Design toolbox. Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek.

Gjendine in her natural, uneducated voice, as one of his most popular pieces of music under the title "Gjendines's Lullaby" in his *Norwegian Folk Tunes* Op. 66.

Transformed and expanded harmonically into 'art music', the vernacular melody has been elevated into a manifestation of collective nostalgia, a compressed and emotionally charged expression of the Norwegian peoples' life and landscape. Since then, Gjendine's lullaby has found its way into individual memory, signifying personal emotions and memories. At the same time, it has been reproduced in many different ways, together with the accompanying well-known anecdote that has wandered into collective memory, too, thus charged with meaning as a cultural topos, a common place of remembrance. This example, bringing together an associative chain of colours, sounds, images, and memories, illustrates how powerful Grieg's conception is, making his music seem a natural part of the ongoing cycle of individual and collective memory, blurring the difference of apparently essential musical features and culturally constructed signifiers.

III. 2018 and Beyond

Another 12 years after the anniversary in 2007, on his 175th anniversary in 2018, Grieg's "commemoration value" still prevails. The celebration in 2018 was marked by a 30-hour-long program, presenting Grieg's entire works en suite, from Op. 1 to Op. 74, performed by over 600 musicians under the motto "Grieg – minute by minute" (Grieg Minutt for Minutt). The whole oeuvre was broadcast live on Norwegian state television, with the participation of both professionals and amateurs from several regions of the country and promoted as a national "dugnad" (collective voluntary work). The Grieg museum at Troldhaugen played an important role as a central venue, and the culminating closing ceremony at Grieg's grave, among the picturesque scenery outside his villa, evoked once again the whole dynamic of collective memory and commemoration culture. In 2018, however, the initiative allegedly did not come from the politicians this time, but from a Facebook group.[28] Such a nation-wide orchestrated voluntary event combined with a costly TV production, exclusively promoting the music of one composer, would not have been possible, if Grieg had not been embedded in all the dimensions of cultural memory.

Grieg's "afterlife" is a fascinating topic in critical historiography and commemoration studies, which shed new light on the dialectics of historical construction and re-construction, of Grieg as immaterial cultural heritage in a national context. Moreover, the turn from a "man and his work"-narrative to a "history of events", traced only in a provisional manner in this article, opens up for the further discussion of the autonomy of music and its entanglement in political, cultural and mental history. Finally, the study of Grieg as part of nation state building and branding opens up for a transnational perspective on cultural identity, and how the notions of "we" and "the other" become ingrained in the fabric of collective memory by means of music.

28 Elise Angell et al., "Skal sende 30 timar med Grieg minutt for minutt", NRK Hordaland, 31 January 2018 (https://www.nrk.no/hordaland/skal-sende-griegs-verk-minutt-for-minutt-1.13893993, last access 10.10.2018).

Boris Previšić

Resistance to Totalitarianism: The Polyphony of Literature and Music

This article can be conceived as a bridge between the specific regional topic of the conference *The Nordic Ingredient* – focusing on the German occupation of Norway, its cultural politics and national counterpoints during World War II – and the general issue of *Music and Resistance* in Europe's totalitarian periods of the 20th century, especially under the Nazi occupation of almost the whole continent. The aesthetic-political interactions during these times need a deeper semiotic insight from an inter-arts perspective, especially between music and literature, and vice versa, in order to deliver a theoretical framework. Various case studies and musical experiences form the background for further reflections. Therefore, the musical paradigm is always grounded on the artistic praxis and cultural framing of conflicts. In the thematic context of both *The Nordic Ingredient* conference and the international research network, *Music and Resistance*, that it refers to, we should always think of the *aesthetic* categories and the *ideological* means as being related. Accordingly, this essay broadens the conversation, by offering key concepts to understanding the artistic and political interrelation. Two further relations can support these concepts, both on the inter-medial level, between music and literature, and as a conceptual issue, between resistance and polyphony. But before entering the inter-medial level, we must reconceptualise the paradigm of polyphony: Polyphony is *not* a musical paradigm for literature, but, on the contrary, polyphony is a literary paradigm for music. At first glance, this inversion could seem strange, because we are not used to it – especially in musicology. So therefore, we ask the following three questions: Why should we "abuse" the musical term "polyphony" in literature? Why should this term not be first and foremost a musical one? And why shouldn't "polyphony" denote one of the most important compositional techniques of European music since the Middle Ages?

For polyphony as a literary paradigm, there are both *historical* and *material* reasons. As recently as the 19th century, the scientific term "polyphony" was introduced in order to denote the contrapuntal technique and a musical period. Additionally, one has to consider a *material* reason: Polyphony is derived from *poly* (many) and *phoné* (voice). Even in the instrumental polyphony of the 18th century, the musical voices are conceptualised as *vocal voices*.[1] The linguistic-emotional component, the most important figure for polyphony until the 18th century, took a back seat as recently as *after* 1800. Since then, voice has been also used as a metaphorical and purely technical term. By broadening the meaning of polyphony, we can open it up for more general reflections about voice itself: As we know from the theory of the voice, *le grain de la voix* (Roland Barthes), the voice occupies the non-semantic interface between human corporeality and performance, self-constitution and expression, in order to relate to

1 Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Hamburg 1739; Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexikon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, Vol. 40, Leipzig 1744.

the "other" or "otherness". Consequently, there is a *material* reason that the voice has its impact on the social-political sphere, including the concept of resistance.

Resistance (from the Latin offspring: *resistere*) has a remarkable span of meanings. Besides the political contexts, resistance always refers to materiality – waterproofed, anti-inflammatory, antibacterial, and so on. Resistance always implies two materials, the material to resist, versus the resisting material; water versus impermeable rubber, bacteria versus white blood cells. Dealing with the concept of resistance, we are forced to name the different and opposite political figures, but also the different materials or voices, as soon as we focus on artistic means. The voices do not have to be semantically defined by a specific wording. The reference – for example, the political system which resistance reacts against – does not have to be designated. Resistance is artistically articulated, when it refers to the "other" in its sheer materiality.

By combining polyphony in a more literal and literary sense with resistance, we can enhance the argumentation that every voice – which is meant to be resistant – refers to another voice, or to other voices, in a contrapuntal way. The historical part of this article's title – "Resistance to Totalitarianism" – opens three consecutive dichotomies, which can clarify the different fields of societal and political impacts of music – derived from literary theory and compared to other arts. We can juxtapose one argument with the other by presenting the following perspectives on the constitution of polyphony. The three perspectives can give us a theoretical insight into the multi-layered notion of "The Nordic Ingredient" – as an ambiguous figure of cultural resistance of civil movements and ideological mainstreaming – and for the richness of the different concepts of resistance during Europe's 20th century:

1. From the historical perspective of European Totalitarianism, we ask, what was the resistance towards it, and what could it mean today.
2. In order to link the theoretical issue of polyphony to artistic practise and research, we will define the centrifugal organisation, always aware of its own materiality, as a poetic function of acoustic and voice.
3. The political issue is crucial when it comes to the performance of testimony from the victims of Totalitarianism: How does art, particularly music, articulate the other voice that did not physically survive?

1

From the *historical* perspective of the 20th century, we see how Totalitarianism hinders every pluralistic approach. To understand how resistance reacts to current, vanquished or threatening Totalitarianism is already half the work. Focussing on European conflicts during the 20th century, the project *Music and Resistance* calls for theories stemming from the same period. Hannah Arendt defines only two political systems as totalitarian. She does not exclude other totalitarian forms such as the Italian, Greek, or Spanish Fascisms, the ruthless anti-Communist movement, or certain Eastern Bloc Socialisms, but she focusses on the most extreme forms of Totalitarianism in order to un-

derstand it in its pure form.[2] The aim of Totalitarianism consists of atomising the society into unconnected individuals in order to abuse them for its own sake:

- Totalitarianism firstly eliminates the controlling and balancing functions of different institutions within the state organisation.
- Totalitarianism secondly forces into line other political and cultural institutions (also called *Kulturkampf* or Cultural Revolution).
- Totalitarianism finally reaches every single individual by cultivating a climate of fear as a result of nature and history.[3]
- This absolute power streamlines every individual human action and thought. Totalitarian ideology aims to transform the nature of humanity itself.[4]

In order to clarify European culture around the time of World War II, we have to ask, what is resistance in this absolute, totalitarian framework? Already in her essay "On the Nature of Totalitarianism" (1954), Hannah Arendt distinguishes three forms of government: republic, monarchy and tyranny. Tyranny is not the same as Totalitarianism. Although the individual experiences a state of isolation and impotence,[5] it always refers to a *principle of action* as a guide for individual action – in order to establish relations of power between individuals acting and speaking together in a public realm of action, conceptualized for the first time in Montesquieu's *L'esprit des lois* (Geneva, 1748). Tyranny is not totalitarian as much as it cannot eliminate the principle of action. As soon as it is able to do so, it is totalitarian – independently of its political form (republic, monarchy or tyranny). The thesis by Michael Mann suggests that even so-called 'democratization' runs the totalitarian danger of erasing the "other" in genocide. The history of the 20th century is full of such frightening 'democratic' processes: Armenian genocide by the democratic movement of the Young Turks (1915–1917), Shoah (1933–1945), Rwanda (1994), Bosnia (1992–1995), and so on.[6] Resistance, however, depends on the principle of action.

What does the principle of action mean for the present day? Bearing in mind the violent European history of the 20th century, we ask two questions: On the one hand, where can we observe totalitarian tendencies threatening the public sphere? On the other hand, where can we see resistance to these tendencies? As interested observers of our time, we can determine three totalitarian tendencies in today's European politics. They are interconnected, or at least react to one another: Firstly, a populist Totalitarianism, which is comparable with Nazism, playing with the fear of the "other"; secondly, a neoliberal Totalitarianism, arguing that there is no alternative to the absolute commercialization and monetization of everyday life; thirdly, and strongly connected to this neoliberal tendency, is a digital Totalitarianism, virtualizing body, life, material as a digital effect, and excluding corporeality and naturality. Resistance nowa-

2 Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York 1951; Emilio Gentile, "Le silence de Hannah Arendt: L'interprétation du fascisme dans 'Les origines du totalitarisme'", in: *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 55 (2008), No. 3, p. 11–34.

3 Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State*, London 1946.

4 Hannah Arendt, "On the Nature of Totalitarianism" (1954), in: *Essays in Understanding*, New York 1994, p. 330.

5 Ibid., p. 337.

6 Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy. Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, Cambridge 2004.

days means having alternatives, opening new debates, and insisting firstly on the fundamental value of (human) life, secondly on the interconnection between human and (its) nature, and finally on self-reflection, dialogue and negotiation as key principles of action in the Enlightenment's sense, in the sense of Montesquieu. But in spite all aesthetic categories, the resistance of artists also implies the fundamental threats of persecution, imprisonment, torture, displacement and homicide, which means elementary dangers for oneself, one's relatives and one's comrades.

2

Before deepening the political implications of these outlined alternatives (or "resistances", we might say), we have to ask ourselves, what this has to do with artistic practice? Mikhail Bakhtin's literary theory of polyphony is due to an anti-totalitarian perspective during the dark Stalinist epoch, and formulates how ambiguous narration can be, through its centrifugal principals of indirect, sociolectic, sarcastic, ironic speech, and other intertextual processes. Bakhtin refers to the individual acoustic voice (*phoné*), articulated in tension with an official centripetal, unifying, and totalitarian version of narration. Polyphony – also as a musical technique – always implies more than one voice, and works by including a latent other voice.[7] By developing a consistent theory of *literary* polyphony, we can further learn about the impact on *music*. Edward Said was fascinated by the revolutionary contrapuntal techniques in different epochs of musical history. In his late essays, published in 2008,[8] he links his literary and cultural analyses of Orientalism to the musical paradigm of counterpoint and polyphony. There are two reasons to insist on the cross-media relationship between literature and music, in order to clarify the political implications of resistance: a) the poetic function, and b) the voice.

a) The poetic function in literary communication refers to literature itself. Literature holds a heuristic advantage, by simultaneously doing something and commenting on it, or, respectively, simultaneously doing what it is describing. Roman Jakobson calls this self-referentiality, and the doubling of the literary subject matter and the poetic function. I have already linked together literature and its acoustics with Jakobson.[9] As acoustic perception is pivotal in literature and music, and thus the function of the receiver, our method will make recourse to Jakobson's literary model of communication. Politics is a principle of communicative action. In every communication, you can refer to the context, the addresser (*destinateur*), or the addressee (*destinataire*). In accordance with the role in communication, Roman Jakobson speaks of different functions – the referential, emotive (expressive), and conative:

7 Mikhail M. Bakhtin, "Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics" (1963), in: Pam Morris (ed.), *The Bakhtin Reader*, New York 1994, p. 88–112.
8 Edward W. Said, *Music at the Limits* (with a foreword by Daniel Barenboim), New York 2008.
9 Boris Previšić, "Acoustic Micro- and Macroephemerities in Literature", in: *Sonic Studies* 2017 (13): (https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/322802/322803, last access 10.10.2018).

> The addresser sends a message to the addressee. To be operative, the message requires a context referred to […], seizable by the addressee, and either verbal or capable of something verbalized: a code fully, or at least partially, common to the addresser and addressee (or in other words, to the encoder and decoder of the message); and finally, a contact, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication.[10]

With this model, Jakobson augments previous communication models, such as the one by Shannon and Weaver, with the phatic function, which guarantees the contact between the addresser and addressee of the message, and the metalingual function, which in turn thematizes the code of linguistic expression.

But Jakobson's focus lies firmly on the poetic function, which is the most interesting in the political context: "We have brought up all the six factors involved in verbal communication except the message itself. The set toward the message as such, focus on the message for its own sake, is the poetic function of language."[11] The poetic function does not focus on the depicted object, that is, on the "context", but on the "message" itself: "This function, by promoting the palpability of signs, deepens the fundamental dichotomy of signs and objects."[12] The poetic function takes as its point of departure the linguistic sign, of which the *signifiant* does not coincide with its *signifié*, that is, its meaning. Thus, the poetic function underlines the semiotic contingency between *signifiant* and *signifié* – which is already precarious in language, and more precarious, or just non-existent, in music operating without content. The poetic function can refer to the acoustic signal itself. As Jakobson underlines: "The supremacy of poetic function over referential does not obliterate the reference, but makes it ambiguous. The double-sensed message finds correspondence in a split addresser, in a split addressee, and besides in a split reference."[13] In the splitting of the communicative situation, we can situate polyphony. We should emphasize two points. Firstly, the acoustic of the *signifiant* can split the frame of the communicative situation. Secondly, the poetic function consistently implements this split in literature as well as in music.

Both language and music are sound. The mode of linguistic expression refers to its artistic content. Literature and music choose the appropriate sound from the predesignated paradigmatic possibilities: "The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination."[14] In the case of resistance, ambiguity is the most important feature of communication, and is situated in the paradigmatic axis, in the axis of simultaneity. This axis implies equivalency, similarity, dissimilarity, synonymy, antonymy, irony, sarcasm, and so on. The selection criteria of the paradigmatic axis transform themselves in the sequence of sounds. This regards the poetic function.

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10 Roman Jakobson, "Closing Statement. Linguistics and Poetics", in: Thomas Sebeok (ed.), *Style in Language*, Cambridge (MA) 1964, p. 353.
11 Ibid., p. 356.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid., p. 371.
14 Ibid., p. 358.

b) In this context, we can ask ourselves what the poetic function means for the voice. As already mentioned, the voice very rarely has metaphoric meaning. On the contrary, the voice expresses mutual sensation in the communicative frame of political emancipation, as we can observe in the second half of the 17th century; for example, in French opera.[15] In consequence, one can summarize:

- Voice is *the* key means of poetic function, in order to split the communicative frame, the context, the addresser and the addressee.
- The voice is the material manifestation of the polyphonic communication.

The cross-media interface between music and literature is *not* metaphorical. It has its history in the Enlightenment. It is always both a material manifestation and a self-reflection of the communicative situation. A totalitarian approach would exclude the voice in order to avoid material awareness and material resistiveness – whereas resistance always has to deal with the splitting of the communicative situation via the poetic function, with the voice and its "otherness".

3

Political implication: The voice determines the individual, but not only in the sense of a person, but in the sense of a consistent, logical unit. This is fundamental, because the dialogic situation, the communication, the principle of action (as Montesquieu would say) is not only located between different subjects, but also within one and the same subject. In order to examine the conscience, one uses at least two equal voices. Polyphony depends on a tension of difference. Polyphony cannot deny the "other" or "otherness". This does not mean polyphony guarantees an equivalency between the voices. But polyphony creates a structure in which the non-articulated or the non-dominant voice or voices is/are present in the articulated or more dominant voice. The "other" is not cancelled out, but it is exposed in the dissonance, in the material resistiveness. The latency of the "other" can be exposed on stage, in the form of open dialogue, in the narrative or performative framing.

Nearly every narrative or performative form plays with the temporal difference between past and present. Thus, we can differentiate between two types of polyphony. A primary polyphony serves as specific mode in order to handle the material resistiveness. At the same time, the arts articulate at least two voices (that of the victim and the witness, of the official and non-official, of the text and the context, and so on). A secondary polyphony reflects this primary relationship in another thematic field (*mise en abyme* in literature or songs) or in a specific context of performance (music). We thus find the core theory of resistance in this two-layered polyphony.

What does this mean if we go back to the initial question of European politics and cultural heritage in the 20th century? And what does this mean for cultural politics itself? In the tension between Totalitarianism and resistance, we must add one point,

15 Veit Erlmann, "The Physiologist at the Opera. Claude Perrault's Du Bruit (1680) and the Politics of Pleasure in the Ancien Régime", in: Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson: *Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound and Listening in Europe, 1300–1918*, London and New York 2017, p. 31–52.

which seems to be the key concept: testimony. Testimony has a lot to do with polyphonic narrative structure. For Primo Levi, there is a radical difference between the "*sommersi*" and the "*salvati*", the "drowned" and the "saved".[16] This difference is the key problem of his own testimony concerning Auschwitz. He argues that only the people who are able to bear witness are the ones who did *not* survive. Testimonial literature has to give a voice to these people, and this is, necessarily, a voice of fiction – in the exemplary sense of Aristotle.[17] Primo Levi appeals explicitly to the artistic form of literary testimony. The voice of the "drowned" is articulated in the latency of the "other", in the voices of the "saved". Testimonial veracity is dependent on polyphonic literary processes, and performances on at least three levels:

- On the micro-textual level of specific rhetorical figures, which allow a paradigmatic simultaneity of different meanings – like irony.
- On the meso-textual level of narrative composition, such as dramatization, interruption, framing, exposition of the different layers.
- On the macro-textual or archi-textual level of intertextual reference to other testimonial structures – like Primo Levi referring to Dante's Hell in his È *questo un uomo?*

These three levels can be generalized for other arts, especially for music, not because it can be polyphonic in its structure of sound – as we would expect. It mostly operates without an explicitly named context or reference – so that the poetic function, the doubling of the communication situation, is even more accentuated than in literature. This leads us to the three features of music as means of resistance:

1. Resistance is articulated on the micro-textual level of its own language, with its own micro-structure of sounds. The key feature of musical polyphony is harmonic dissonance. But since we know that dissonance depends on the societal and historical contexts and usage, we have to ask ourselves which elements refer to "otherness" and which elements make visible and audible the concrete historical and local materiality of drowned voices. There is a difference in the re-articulation of so-called folk elements between Bartók on the one hand, and Brahms or Grieg on the other. This leads us to the second level.
2. Resistance is articulated on the meso-textual level of its own formal framing as repetition, development, modulation, interruption. At this level, we have to deepen the notion I already used: the notion of mainstreaming, which is a key feature of the modern episteme. The knowledge system has been based on temporality since 1800. Music, especially, has taken the role of pure movement and form (as we know from Hanslick). In brief, the symphonic form culminating in Wagner's Gesamtkunstwerk language and in national self-description does not give us resistance to

16 Primo Levi, *I sommersi e isalvati [The Drowned and the Saved]*, Torino 1986; Giorgio Agamben, *Homo sacer. Il potere sovrano e la nuda vita*, Torino 1995.

17 Elie Wiesel, "The Holocaust as a Literary Inspiration", in: *Dimensions of the Holocaust*, Evanston 1977, p. 5–19; Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony. Crises of witnessing in literature, psychoanalysis, and history*, New York 1992.

Totalitarianism. On the contrary, this form is the prototype of mainstreaming and of the exclusion of the "other".

3. Resistance is articulated on the macro-textual level of common and traditional patterns. Music is always referring to other traditions. Or on a more basic level, new music is always fed by other music. The three key questions are: How can music refer to the "other" by including the other voice without muting it? How can music guarantee that the new voice doesn't imitate the old one? How can it articulate "otherness"?

If we take polyphony as the key figure for resistance, we must narrow down the concept of resistance itself. Not every social movement (like the "*Identitäre*", the Neo-Nazis) – which declares itself as resistant – is polyphonic, centrifugal resistance, implying "otherness". Every resistance to any Totalitarianism defends and opens the public realm for the principle of action. This is the task of fruitful cultural politics. But this task is difficult.

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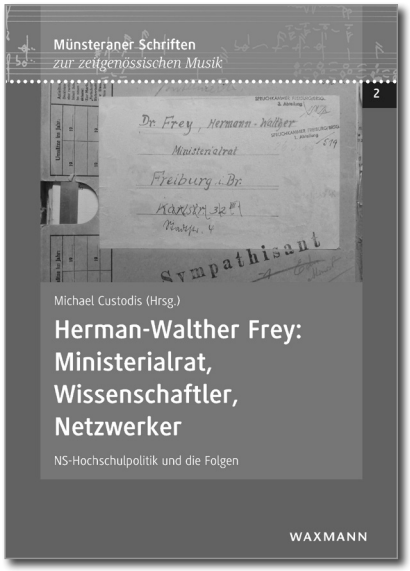

Michael Custodis (Hrsg.)

Herman-Walther Frey: Ministerialrat, Wissenschaftler, Netzwerker

NS-Hochschulpolitik und die Folgen

E-Book: 26,99 €,
ISBN 978-3-8309-8107-7

Der gelernte Jurist, Kunsthistoriker und Musikwissenschaftler Herman-Walther Frey war als Ministerialrat am NS-Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung tätig. Zuständig für Universitäten sowie die im Ausland betriebenen deutschen Forschungsinstitute betreute er die Fächer Musik- und Theaterwissenschaft, Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Orientalistik, Kunstgeschichte sowie katholische und evangelische Theologie. Obgleich er dabei die meisten Karrieren des entsprechenden akademischen Spitzenpersonals beeinflusste und zum Teil auch maßgeblich lenkte, ist bislang kaum etwas über Freys tatsächliche Machtbefugnis im Kontext der NS-Hochschulpolitik bekannt. Aufgrund der überwiegend ungebrochenen Karriereverläufe von Professoren prägten die Konsequenzen seiner Personalpolitik die Fächer bis weit in die Nachkriegszeit, was dem Thema hohe Aktualität und Brisanz verleiht. Mit Beiträgen aus Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Kunstgeschichte sowie Zeitgeschichte nimmt der Band unter Federführung der Musikwissenschaft die Spurensuche nach diesem einflussreichen Unbekannten auf.

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Michael Custodis (Hrsg.)

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Essays zur Musik Stefan Heuckes

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Im Sommer 2014 hatten Studierende der Universität Münster die Gelegenheit, die Entstehung der Oper „Iokaste" von Stefan Heucke zu begleiten. Im Verlauf der mehrmonatigen intensiven Beschäftigung mit Heuckes Musik und seinen Vorstellungen zur Bedeutung von Musiktheater heute entstanden viele Fragen. Vor Beginn der zweiten Iokaste-Aufführung ergab sich hieraus eine Podiumsdiskussion mit Stefan Heucke, Dr. Alfred Wendel als Kulturmanager und Intendanten der Duisburger Philharmoniker sowie Bundestagspräsident Prof. Dr. Norbert Lammert, in der über die Relevanz und die Aufgaben von zeitgenössischem Musiktheater debattiert wurde. Als letztes Kapitel der didaktischen Aufbereitung endeten die beiden Seminare mit einem Künstlergespräch mit Jörg Maria Welke und Veronika Maruhn. Die aus diesen Seminaren und Diskussionen entstandenen Arbeiten wurden hier zu einem kleinen Textband zusammengestellt. Damit werden zum ersten Mal Stefan Heuckes Arbeit, sein Selbstverständnis und seine Aufführungen im Zusammenhang wissenschaftlich beleuchtet.

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