Caught in a web of silence

Composers in Dutch music history 1920-1955 and the impact of World War II

Alders, C.M.

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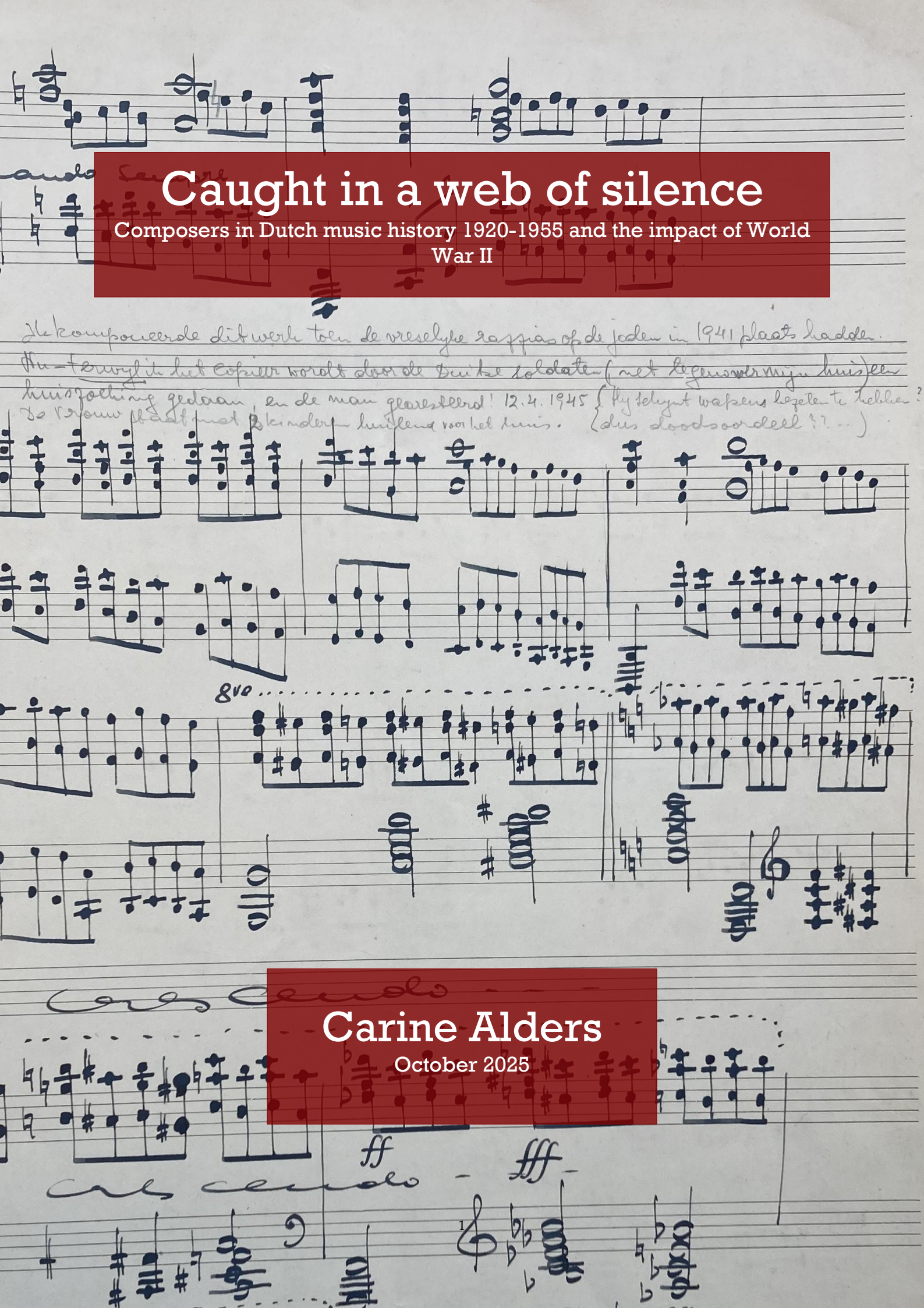

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Carine Alders

October 2025

Illustration cover:
An autograph of Ignace Lilien's *Toccata, Fuga e Corale*, copied by the composer in April 1945 for Mrs. Jos. van Breero in Apeldoorn, where Lilien spent the war years in hiding. The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute archive no 3009-01/160.

The text in the fragment reads: 'Ik komponeerde dit werk toen de vreselijke razzia's op de joden in 1941 plaats hadden. Nu – terwijl ik het copieer wordt door de Duitse soldaten (net tegenover mijn huis) een huiszoeking gedaan, en de man gearresteerd! 12.4.1945. De vrouw staat met 2 kinderen huilend voor het huis. Hij schijnt wapens bezeten te hebben? Dus doodsoordeel??' (I composed this piece when the horrible razzias targeting the Jews were taking place in 1941. Now – while I am making a copy – German soldiers search a house (in front of my house, on the opposite side of the road), the man is arrested! 12.4.1945. The wife is outside in front of the house, crying, with two children. He allegedly owned weapons? So a death verdict??)

Illustration backcover:
The same autograph of Ignace Lilien's *Toccata, Fuga e Corale*, copied by the composer in April 1945 for Mrs. Jos. van Breero in Apeldoorn, where Lilien spent the war years in hiding. The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute archive no 3009-01/160.

The text in the fragment on the backcover reads: 'Op het ogenblik dat ik dit copieer gieren granaten boven mijn huis. De bevrijdende legers worden elken ogenblik verwacht. 13.IV.1945.' (While I am copying this, grenades howl over my house. The liberation armies are expected any moment now. 13.IV.1945).

Het hier beschreven onderzoek/de uitgave van dit proefschrift werd mede mogelijk gemaakt door steun van het Mondriaan Fonds in het kader van het programma *75 jaar vrijheid*, met geld van het ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport.

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ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. ir. P.P.C.C. Verbeek
ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde commissie,
in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Aula der Universiteit
op woensdag 29 oktober 2025, te 14.00 uur

door Catharina Maria Alders
geboren te Velsen

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Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

Contents

Foreword

Being a woman from a working class background, the first in my maternal family to enjoy formal education beyond primary school, I've always identified with unrecognised, undervalued and hidden talents. Frustrated while reading biographies of people from privileged classes, I often thought that this was not what the past was really like for most people. This is probably why *Silencing the past; power and the production of history* by Michel-Rolph Trouillot touched a nerve. It is also why the fate of composers persecuted during the Second World War disturbs me so much and why the work of Eleonore Pameijer and the Leo Smit Foundation is so close to my heart. These composers weren't simply forgotten — a word that seems to suggest a natural process triggered by intrinsic qualities of the thing that is forgotten — but they were erased from history, both by deliberate actions of the Nazis and as a result of the way we produce history. While I started out to tell the stories that should lead us to rediscover silenced music and to restore persecuted composers to their rightful place in history, my research therefore also developed into a study of the way in which music history is produced and canons are built as well as a search for alternative approaches to narrate music history.

This dissertation is therefore not about proving forgotten compositions to be masterworks, although I do think that in many concerts over the years, Eleonore and colleagues have shown that there is quite some *very* good music that merits performance so that musicians and audiences can form their own opinion. Nor is this an improved and final version of Dutch music history. It is rather an alternative narrative from a different perspective.

The choice for a network perspective is also a lifelong fascination. Back in 1993, I co-edited a book on farmer networks.[1] Networks allow people to grow, to make an impact and influence the course of history. They are like the mycorrhiza that connect and nurture individual plants to grow and thrive. And just like the mycorrhizal threads become visible under a microscope, so will network links become visible with the help of digital technology. Building a network ontology, extracting and entering data and experimenting with analysing and visualising the links between these data not only allowed me to immerse myself in the interwar period, but also brought joy in further honing my skills in digital technologies. I encourage others to use the data I collected to further build on this alternative narrative on Dutch music history. The network database is therefore available for others to expand on and use for further analysis. As Ahnert and colleagues observed, 'the network

[1] Carine Alders et al., *Linking with Farmers: Networking for Low-External-Input and Sustainable Agriculture*, ILEIA

turn brings with it a set of research and publication practices that are inherently collaborative and dialogic.'[2]

In researching composers persecuted by the Nazis, I stand on the shoulders of giants. In Germany, fifty years after the Düsseldorf exhibition *Entartete Musik*, Albrecht Dümling started a long research career on composers and musicians suppressed by the Nazis with a an annotated reconstruction of the 1938 exhibition.[3] In 1990, Decca started a series of recordings with the same title, produced by Michael Haas, while Dümling became the president of the newly founded association *musica reanimata*, which now has staged and broadcast more than 150 *Gesprächskonzerte*, published more than hundred journals and nearly 25 books.[4] In 1993, Claudia Maurer Zenck, Hanns-Werner Heister and Peter Petersen published *Musik im Exil*, followed by an online *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit* in 2005.[5] In Vienna, Primavera Gruber started the Orpheus Trust in 1996, an association researching and publishing persecuted and forgotten art; Gruber has published many articles since. In the same year, in Amsterdam, Eleonore Pameijer and Frans van Ruth founded the Leo Smit Stichting, organising monthly concerts in the restored Uilenburg Synagogue. After organising some 200 concerts — many of them broadcast — the foundation has developed into a knowledge centre publishing biographical information and making sheet music accessible (online) in collaboration with the Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute at the The Hague Municipal Archives and publisher Donemus. I had the honour and pleasure of working alongside the artistic director of the Leo Smit Stichting, Eleonore Pameijer, from 2009 until 2019.[6] In the UK, the International Centre for Suppressed Music was established in 1999 by the Jewish Music Institute, based at the University of London, 'to bring together all those working in the field of suppressed music to promote the study and performance of music suppressed by the Nazis'.[7] Following the close-down of the Orpheus Trust in Vienna, Gerold Gruber was asked to found the Exil.arte Society, and was soon after joined by Michael Haas. In 2016, the rector of the Vienna University of Music and Performing Arts asked Gruber and Haas to start the Exilarte Center

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Readings in Sustainable Agriculture (London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 1993).

[2] Ruth Ahnert, Sebastian E Ahnert, and Catherine Nicole Coleman, *The Network Turn* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations, 2021), 9, http://public.eblib.com/choice/PublicFullRecord.aspx?p=6469523.

[3] Albrecht Dümling, *Entartete Musik: Zur Dusseldorfer Ausstelleung von 1938 Eine Komentierte Rekonstruction* (Albrecht Dümling und Peter Girth, 1988).

[4] 'Musica Reanimata', accessed 10 March 2025, https://musica-reanimata.de/. 'Forbidden Music', Forbidden Music, 7 January 2025, https://forbiddenmusic.org/.

[5] Hanns-Werner Heister, Claudia Maurer Zenck, and Peter Petersen, *Musik im Exil: Folgen des Nazismus für die internationale Musikkultur* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1993); 'Startseite @ LexM', accessed 10 March 2025, https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/content/index.xml.

[6] 'History', Leo Smit Foundation, accessed 10 March 2025, https://leosmitfoundation.org/history.

[7] 'JEWISH MUSIC INSTITUTE - Suppressed Music, IFSM', accessed 10 March 2025, https://www.jmi.org.uk/old-

for Banned Music. The centre has mounted numerous exhibitions, published many books, released a series of CDs and collaborates with major publishers to make sheet music available.[8] In 2003 in France, the Forum Voix Étouffées was founded by the late conductor and composer Amaury du Closel. The society has since organised many concerts to rehabilitate forbidden and forgotten composers. Also in Germany, in 2004, Volker Ahmels started a biannual competition for young musicians titled *Verfemte Musik*, followed by a research centre with the same title at the conservatory of Rostock in 2008. In the US, conductor James Conlon and Professor Michael Beckerman started the Orel Foundation in 2006, now led by Robert Elias. Through their website, the foundation published numerous articles and essays. They further promote the performance of suppressed and forgotten music by teaching, giving lectures and organising symposia.[9]

I would like to thank all these colleagues for their hard work over the years, it has been a true inspiration and a joy to collaborate with so many of them. I especially owe much to Eleonore Pameijer, who has worked tirelessly for almost thirty years now, to revive the music of Dutch persecuted composers and who has been a great colleague and friend. I also thank the board members of the Leo Smit Foundation for their support and inspiration, especially Dr. Philomeen Lelieveldt who not only encouraged me to start this research project but also advised me on how to secure funds and kindly agreed to be one of my supervisors. Her enthusiasm, encouragement, extensive knowledge as curator of the collections of the Netherlands Music Institute at the The Hague Municipal Archives and many messages after office hours leading to new finds have been invaluable. I also thank my supervisors Prof. Dr. Julia Kursell for her thought-provoking and challenging encouragements and Prof. Dr. Rob van der Laarse for his inspirational discussions and broad expertise. I would further like to thank Rik Hendriks and Paula Quint of the Netherlands Music Institute for never complaining when I asked them to bring out endless rows of boxes and folders. Many thanks also to Jan Jaap Kassies and Eric van Balkum for their excellent work on making the radio library collection of Muziekschatten accessible, and to all staff of archives around the world who so willingly scanned documents in times of COVID. I further thank my fellow PhD candidates of the Department of Musicology of the University of Amsterdam for their companionship, their interest in my work and valuable feedback, the staff at the Huizinga Institute for their warm welcome, and my PhD colleagues there for their companionship and interest in my work, Lotte Tavecchio of Be Eloquent for her inspirational writing workshops, Pim van Bree and Geert Kessels of LAB1100 for their

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archive/suppressedmusic/ifsm.html.

[8] 'Exilarte - Zentrum für verfolgte Musik', Exilarte, accessed 10 March 2025, https://exilarte.org/.

[9] 'The OREL Foundation | Rediscovering Supressed Musical Treasures of the Twentieth Century', accessed 10

generous support in working with Nodegoat software, the members of the Historical Network Research community for sharing their work during lunch talks and conferences, especially Ingeborg van Vugt and Liliana Melgar Estrada for their time and advice.

Last but not least, I am greatly indebted to family members of the composers in this study, who, over more than 15 years, trusted me with information and access to personal documents: Renée and Menno Nijkerk (granddaughter of Reine Colaço Osorio-Swaab and her husband), Tamara Linnartz (daughter Fania Chapiro), Mea Flothuis and Jan Brester (daughter and son-in-law of Marius Flothuis), Arthur Frid (son of Géza Frid), Corrie Hermann (daughter of Pál Hermann), Blythe Lawrence (granddaughter of Julius Hijman), Joyce Bergman-van Hessen (niece of Dick Kattenburg), Mirjam Krieg (daughter of Hans Krieg), Shirah Lachmann (granddaughter of Hans Lachman), Maria, Kees and Hans van Lier (children of Bertus van Lier), Joris Lilien (son of Ignace Lilien), Pierre Olman (son of Israël Olman), Andrea de Reeder (granddaughter of Jacob Levie de Reeder), Juul Muller (niece of Nico Richter), Suze van Loef (granddaughter of Ary Schuijer), Cees Smit Sibinga and Els Schijfsma (children of Theo Smit Sibinga), Maarten van der Heijden (grandson of Martin Spanjaard), George and Hans Beyer and Hannah van Duivenbode (grandsons and great granddaughter of Adolf Waterman). I also want to thank the following people for bringing composers to my attention: Riekje Kaptein (Carel Blitz), Frans van Ruth (Eliazar Blok), Richard Bossons (Isaac Snoek), Philomeen Lelieveldt (Ada Dassi) and M. Pastor-Dijkstra (Hans Bogk).

And finally, without the support of my partner Dirk Kistemaker, who generously suggested to invest part of his mother's inheritance in this research at a time when there was no promise of financial support, and my mother Jo Alders, who not only showed a great interest in the content of my research but also inquired after my progress every single day, I would not have been able to finish this dissertation.

All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

March 2025, http://orelfoundation.org/site.

1. Introduction

In 2015, seventy years after the Second World War ended, a box with ten CDs was released by Et'cetera Records, presenting music by composers in the Netherlands who had been banned and persecuted during the war. The release introduced nineteen Dutch composers to an international audience. 'Flautist Eleonore Pameijer has done a sterling job both in assembling such a fascinating collection of recordings, and in bringing to light a number of works from the first half of the 20th century that deserve far wider dissemination', Erik Levi wrote in BBC Music Magazine.[10] These works and their composers had been utterly forgotten until 1996, when Pameijer, artistic director of the Leo Smit Foundation, and other affiliated researchers and musicians started to rediscover their music through research and concerts. As executive director of the Leo Smit Foundation since 2009, I kept wondering why these composers, banned and persecuted under Hitler's regime, had been forgotten for so long. In other words, why were they absent from the postwar repertory for so many years and why were they almost completely neglected in music history? The objective of this thesis is to unveil and disentangle the various processes that influenced the presence of these composers in historiography and on stage.

The neglect of persecuted composers leads, unconsciously or unwillingly, to fulfilling the oppressor's wishes. The purpose of the Holocaust was not only to kill Jews, but also to erase them from history. This is why their books were burnt and their music was banned. Restoring the music to its rightful place in history and on stage repairs a small but important part of this inconceivable crime. Moreover, incomplete and biased history in general influences the present; unheard voices cannot contribute to present-day identities. Questioning history production and challenging the canon contributes to a more diverse perspective on the past.

Music history as we know it is the product of methodology and theory, not an inevitable outcome purely and solely driven by the quality of music or music's immanent path of development. The inescapable and straight line of music evolution from strictly tonal to bi-, poly- and atonality is a relatively recent invention. On hearing the music by Dutch Jewish composer Maurits Samehtini (1863-1943), Leo Samama concluded that there is no straight line from Pijper to Van Baaren to the 20th century avant-garde.[11] Rather, music

[10] 'Forbidden Music in World War II', Classical Music, accessed 10 March 2025, https://www.classical-music.com/reviews/orchestral/forbidden-music-world-war-ii.

[11] 'Het Verhaal - Beluister #10 - Hilversumse Muziekschatten | Maurits Samehtini: Precisie-tijdsein (1937) (S03) | Podcasts', NPO Klassiek, accessed 10 March 2025, https://www.npoklassiek.nl/podcasts/verhaal/63714/10-hilversumse-muziekschatten-maurits-samehtini-precisie-tijdsein-1937-s03. 'Er is veel van hem [Samehtini]

history unfolds along a multi-threaded continuity. It is a web of events, relationships, musical influences and traditions passed on or rejected.[12] This dissertation focuses on how World War II damaged this web in the Netherlands, which caused many composers — mainly Jewish, but to a certain extent also those who were banned because they refused to follow Nazi rule — to fall out of music history. In his book on German music history, Michael Haas put it this way: 'By banning Jewish artists, musicians and writers, the Nazis had not removed delusional fantasists but, instead, broken fundamental links in the chain that made up German musical continuity.'[13] I hope this dissertation puts the spotlight on unjustly forgotten composers by developing and applying alternative research methods leading to answers to the research questions and, ultimately, a more diverse music historiography.

1.1 Alternative approaches to music history

Music history doesn't write itself. The ways in which we think about history in general have changed from goal-oriented chains of battles and kings to microhistory and cultural history, open-ended stories of ordinary people. Likewise, a new music history developed, focusing less on a one-directional motorway of music evolution revealed by the analysis of masterpieces, and more on the musical U-turns, cul-de-sacs and by-roads that explore a music landscape of the past. Already in 1992, Don Michael Randel wrote: 'We systematically undervalue certain periods, composers, and works and privilege others because of the very nature of the conceptual and narrative tools that we apply.'[14] The more formalistic approach

bekend, met name in het lichtere genre wat hij heeft gedaan, maar hij heeft ook in Joodse kringen in Amsterdam een belangrijke functie gehad. Als je door zijn spullen heengaat kom je daar ook andere Joodse componisten tegen met wie hij heeft samengewerkt. Zelfs nog met het 'jochie' Hillesum, het jongere broertje van Etty. Daarmee heeft hij ook korte tijd even samengewerkt. Dat betekent: daar zit nog een heleboel muziek en Amsterdamse stadscultuur die nog onvoldoende ontgonnen is, waar Sim Gokkes tussen zit, en tal van anderen, Leo Smit, allemaal hebben ze zich daarmee beziggehouden. Als je luistert naar Leo Smit dan hoor je ook Darius Milhaud; Milhaud was heel erg populair in Nederland bij een bepaalde generatie componisten die met name bij Sem Dresden in Amsterdam hadden gestudeerd. Die gingen over het algemeen naar Parijs toe. Dus je merkt gewoon dat overal de kaart langzamerhand ingevuld wordt van dingen waarvan wij dachten dat die rechtlijnig was – hij loopt via Willem Pijper naar Kees van Baaren en via Kees van Baaren naar de avant-garde toe – blijkt dat, godzijdank, dat niet het geval was, en dat er dus heel veel zijwegen zijn en dat deze componisten voor een deel juist die zijwegen aangeven; hoe breed was de kennis van het Nederlandse muziekleven, of je zou kunnen zeggen, de vergaarbak van het Nederlandse muziekleven in de jaren tussen de twee wereldoorlogen was enorm groot.'

[12] For examples of earlier publications describing webbed music history in the Netherlands and addressing the social context of composing see pp. 17-8.

[13] Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2014), 5.

[14] Don Michael Randel, 'The Canons in the Musicological Toolbox', in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*, ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 20.

to producing music history — based on the believe that development of music as well as the reasons why some compositions entered the canon and others didn't can be traced solely by looking at the artistic quality of the notes on the paper — was dominant until well into the twentieth century and still guides many people's views on the musical past. To answer the main question of this thesis, why suppressed composers were forgotten for so long, the formalistic music analysis approach alone — favouring 'the work itself' and ignoring its social context — will not provide answers.[15] First of all, many music manuscripts were not accessible for analysis for a long time, and surviving scores may present an incomplete or false representation of a composer's output. Moreover, looking at the notes of a string quartet by Daniël Belinfante or Leo Smit's *Flute Sonata* will not provide a musicologist with information on how their music was banned from the concert hall or how they themselves were killed in concentration camps, robbing the music of its most important ambassador. Comparing surviving prewar scores with postwar scores, Leo Samama concluded that 'the war has not lead to any artistic or other breach in composing in the Netherlands.'[16] Such a comparison rather highlights the values underlying canon formation and history production instead of shedding light on the possible breach in continuity caused by war and persecution.

We need different tools in our musicological toolbox in addition to music analysis. To address canonical blind spots and find a way out of the rabbit hole of canonicity and analysis of masterpieces — moving away from the cyclic reasoning of the musical work as the sole motivator of transcendence and transcendence in turn as the sole reason for analysis — we need to shift our focus to the cultural history of music. To include the lives and work of suppressed composers in music history, we need to develop new research tools and perspectives, new methods of storytelling: a 'new carrier bag' to collect facts and innovative ways to interpret and present these facts in a meaningful and enticing way.[17] A different biographical perspective is needed to find events where music happened and to trace the actors involved, focusing rather on microhistory and network relationships, than on heroic and goal-oriented life stories. Since music manifests itself when different actors come together, a network approach is also likely to yield interesting input for an alternative approach to music history production. Both approaches are introduced below.

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[15] Ibid., 14.

[16] Leo Samama, *Nederlandse Muziek in de 20-Ste Eeuw: Voorspel Tot Een Nieuwe Dag* (Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 206. 'Dat de oorlog in het Nederlandse componeren inderdaad niet tot een artistieke of andere cesuur heeft geleid, blijkt direct uit de vergelijking van een aantal partituren dat voor, tijdens en na de oorlog gecomponeerd werd.'

[17] Donna Jeanne Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*, Experimental Futures: Technological Lives, Scientific Arts, Anthropological Voices (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 118, https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822373780.

1.2 Fragmented biographic narration, microhistory and a network approach

Biographical information does not always have to end up in a traditional goal-oriented, cradle-to-grave biography. When applied within the concept of microhistory, focusing on episodes, events or relationships, the biographical method can be a useful approach to researching the lost legacy of suppressed composers in the Netherlands. In her book *Biographie und Musikgeschichte; Wandlungen Biographischer Konzepte in Musikkultur Und Musikhistoriographie*, Melanie Unseld described different examples of dealing with what she called fragmented biographic narration (*Zersplitterung individueller Lebensläufe*).[18] This biographical approach — resulting in a decentralised history where different accounts are valid at the same time — has become accepted as a result of the way in which the Holocaust is remembered, where one single goal-oriented narrative doesn't do justice to the multitude of life stories that were abruptly and violently ended.[19] Unseld concluded: 'The shock that a human life can be uprooted, uprooted the confidence in holistic biography.'[20] In her examples, (auto)biographical fragments are either deliberately not synthesised into a narrative, or the construction of the narrative process is made explicit. Despite this experimentation with more open models of biography, often leading to results other than the traditional monograph, Unseld also acknowledged the renaissance of the traditional biography.[21] Since the last decades of the twentieth century, biography has also made its comeback in Dutch music historiography. Of the prewar composers, biographies have been published of Jan van Gilse (1980), Matthijs Vermeulen (1997), Leo Smit (2001), Henriette Bosmans (2002), Bob Hanf (2007), Julius Röntgen (2007), Willem van Otterloo (2009) Israel Olman (2011), Mischa Hillesum (2012), Alphons Diepenbrock (2012), the Andriessen family (2013, a group biography), Robert de Roos (2014) and Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman (2016, a double biography together with her husband Ferdinand Bordewijk).[22] A group biography on

[18] Melanie Unseld, *Biographie Und Musikgeschichte: Wandlungen Biographischer Konzepte in Musikkultur Und Musikhistoriographie* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 300, https://doi.org/10.7788/boehlau.9783412216979.

[19] Rob van der Laarse, *Nooit meer Auschwitz?: erfgoed van de oorlog na Europa's eeuw van de kampen* (Hooghalen: Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2013), 36–37. Van der Laarse noted that after the demolition of the Berlin Wall, which enabled people to visit former death camps, publication of repressed memories became a canonised form of trauma-storytelling. Since that time, several seemingly autobiographical publications turned out to be fiction. For example, Carl Friedman (author of *Nightfather* (Tralievader) and *The Shovel and the Loom* (Twee koffers)) turned out to be a pseudonym for Caroline Klop, a catholic woman from the south of the Netherlands, whose non-Jewish father had been incarcerated in several concentration camps on account of his resistance activities. The fact that she never renounced being referred to as the child of a Holocaust survivor was held against her.

[20] Unseld, *Biographie Und Musikgeschichte*, 317.

[21] Ibid., 316.

[22] Hans van Dijk, *Jan van Gilse: strijder en idealist : een bijdrage tot de kennis van de Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis in*

six women composers (Gertrude van den Bergh, Catharina van Rennes, Elisabeth Kuyper, Henriëtte Bosmans, Iet Stants and Tera de Marez Oyens) was published in 1991.[23] In 2021, a biography on composer and painter Gerard von Brucken Fock was published.[24] The first biography of Willem Pijper appeared in the spring of 2025.[25] In this biographical revival, suppressed composers are well represented. A closer look at the biographies of these suppressed composers — who had been almost completely eliminated from the dominant narrative of music history — provides some insight into the extent to which they reveal instances of what microhistorians refer to as 'normal exception'. The notion of 'normal exception' was introduced by Edoardo Grendi to bring attention to the value of individual experiences in understanding history.[26] Matti Peltonen compared this concept to Michel de Certeau's idea of 'significant deviation' and Ginzburg's and Levi's 'method of clues', explaining this method as 'starting an investigation from something that does not quite fit, something odd that needs to be explained. This peculiar event or phenomenon is taken as a signifier of a larger, but hidden or unknown, structure'.[27] This concept presents a way to link micro and macro levels in history. When designating an individual or event as 'typical' and aggregating this information to arrive at a grand narrative, diversity is lost. Instead of doing away with exceptions as non-representative and therefore irrelevant, historians may view

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de periode 1900-1944 (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1988); Ton Braas, *Door het geweld van zijn verlangen: een biografie van Matthijs Vermeulen*, De Bezige Bij biografie (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1997); G.N.M Vis, *Silhouetten: de componist Leo Smit 1900-1943* (Amsterdam: Donemus, 2001); Helen Metzelaar, *Zonder muziek is het leven onnodig: Henriëtte Bosmans (1895-1952), een biografie* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2002); Wim Van der Beek, *Bob Hanf, 1894-1944: veelzijdig kunstenaar* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007); G.N.M. Vis, *Gaudeamus. Het leven van Julius Röntgen (1855-1932). Componist en musicus* (Utrecht University, 2007); Niek Nelissen, *Willem van Otterloo (1907-1978): een dirigentenloopbaan* (Westervoort: Van Gruting, 2009); Pauline Micheels, *Israel J. Olman: componist en koordirigent (1883-1968)*, Miniaturen reeks ; dl. 51 (Amersfoort: Bekking & Blitz, 2011); J.W. Regenhardt and Leo Samama, *Mischa's spel: en de ondergang van familie Hillesum* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2012); Leo Samama, *Alphons Diepenbrock: componist van het vocale* (Amsterdam: University Press, 2012); Horst, *De Andriessens. Een kleurrijke familie van muzikanten en kunstenaars.* (Hilversum: Lias, 2013); G.N.M Vis, *Wanhoop niet!: biografie van componist en diplomaat Robert de Roos* (Utrecht: Van Gruting, 2016); Elly Kamp, *Ferdinand en Johanna: dubbelbiografie van schrijver F. Bordewijk en componiste J. Bordewijk-Roepman*, (Lubberhuizen, 2016).

[23] Helen Metzelaar et al., *Zes vrouwelijke componisten*, ed. Helen Metzelaar et al., Bibliotheek Nederlandse muziek (Hilversum: Centrum Nederlandse Muziek, 1991).

[24] Eric Matser, *De Hollandse Chopin: componist en schilder Gerard von Brucken Fock 1859-1935* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2021).

[25] Arthur van Dijk, *Een lied dat niet sterven zal; het leven van Willem Pijper (1894-1947)* (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 2025).

[26] Edoardo Grendi, 'Micro-Analisi E Storia Sociale', *Quaderni Storici* 12, no. 35 (2) (1977): 506–20. Quoted in Sabrina Loriga, 'The Plurality of the Past. Historical Time and the Rediscovery of Biography', in *The Biographical Turn*, by Hans Renders, Binne de Haan, Jonne Harmsma (London: Routledge, 2017), 37.

[27] Matti Peltonen, 'What Is Micro in Microhistory?', in *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory, and Life Writing.*, ed. Hans Renders and Binne De Haan, vol. 7, Egodocuments and History Series (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 106. Carlo Ginzburg and Anna Davin, 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method', *History Workshop*, no. 9 (1980): 5–36. Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 97–119. Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, European Perspectives (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 77–78.

them as clues that lead to alternative narratives. According to Peltonen, 'normal exceptions' reveal a 'double bind': they seem out of place when viewed from our historiographical perspective, but signpost an alternative narrative in which they function as perfectly normal.[28] For example, Rosy Wertheim (1888-1949) has long been an outsider in music historiography, whereas this study will show that she had an important role to play in the international music networks of her day. To find out more about these alternative narratives, researchers need to re-investigate archival sources. However, both the production and survival of sources and the assembly of archives are also prone to silencing, as Haitian American anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot has shown in his book *Silencing the past*.[29] I will further elaborate on this in chapter 2.

Especially music needs 'many allies required for music to sound and endure', from instrument builder to programmer, archivist, publisher, and — last but not least — musician.[30] Broken network links are likely to have influenced access to canonisation and music history production. To make the most of limited sources, in this dissertation I make use of network analysis and visualisation as a heuristic technique (see p. 24). Entering network data (retrieved from letters, compositions, publications and concert announcements and reviews) in a database to enable analysis and visualisation will yield information on the role of networks in providing performance opportunities, the production and survival of sources and the forging of narratives.

1.3 A cultural history approach

Writing music history from below, I aim to strengthen the focus on composing as a social and cultural phenomenon, acknowledging the cultural heterogeneity of composers under study. Both approaches to writing music history — a more formalist approach to music analysis, focusing on the work and the traditional canon and a more contextual, cultural history approach, focusing on the event and broader music life — are complementary.[31] The work-based approach is sometimes thought of as non-political, whereas the cultural history approach, inspired by music as an event and often focusing on neglected groups, is by some still seen as driven by politics, to repair the damage that a Western, male-centred approach

[28] Matti Peltonen, 'Clues, Margins, and Monads: The Micro-Macro Link in Historical Research', *History and Theory* 40, no. 3 (2001): 347–59.

[29] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995).

[30] Benjamin Piekut, 'Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques', *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014): 202.

[31] For a discussion on different forms of music analysis, see Arnold Whittall, 'Analysis', in *The Oxford Companion to Music* (Oxford University Press, 2011), https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780199579037.001.0001/acref-9780199579037-e-257.

has caused, rather than by aesthetic value. This dichotomy is false and doesn't do justice to music history. Before being able to study a body of works to unveil their quality, choices have to be made as to which works are worthy of attention. These choices are just as political as a contextual approach, and they are based on a multitude of external factors, including performances and the availability of scores, but also the reputation of a composer and the values and tastes of the person who analyses the music.[32] Although it is hard to deny that music included in the musical canon has quality, this does not mean that music *not* included in the canon lacks quality or is unworthy of performance or featuring in music history. Ignoring the fact that music history is determined by events as much as by works not only silences the history of a lively music culture, it also misses out on potentially good music, capable of living on in our times. A cultural history approach does not diminish the value of traditionally canonised works, nor does it deny the value of a canon for specific purposes; it challenges the traditional ways in which both the performance repertory and music historiography are formed. The history of western classical composing is more than the history of consecutive masterpieces.

A cultural history approach is sometimes critiqued because it refrains from analysis and value judgement. Indeed, in this dissertation I do not analyse compositions or place a value on the output of the composers discussed. I firmly believe music analysis does have a role to play in producing music history but it should include the performance of a composition. The score is only part of a piece of music; the auditory characteristics, adding the performer's interpretation to the score, are an integral part of it as well. This study focuses on documentary recuperation, the first step to make music accessible to performers. Once the music is out on the stage, analysis can follow. For example, two recent doctoral studies focused on the piano music by Daniël Belinfante and the influence of works by Kodály on cello-violin duos by Pál Hermann and Mátyás Seiber.[33]

1.4 Music historiography and the Second World War

The first postwar monograph on composing in the Netherlands was published in 1968 by

[32] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London [etc: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984). In *Distinction*, Bourdieu explains how different groups or classes distinguish themselves and oppose one another by sharing cultural preferences and tastes. Analysing the preferences of the actors (composers, critics, musicians) in the dominant group as opposed to the dominated group is beyond the scope of this research, but these distinctions definitely play a role in music history production and canonisation.

[33] Burges, Katharina, *Ästhetik der genuinen Differenz: Der Komponist Daniël Belinfante (1893–1945)*, 2022, https://slub.qucosa.de/id/qucosa%3A84181. Barnabás Baranyai, Kodály *Zoltán Hegedű-Cselló Duó; Jának Hatása Hermann Pál Vonós Kettes, Grand Duo És Seiber Mátyás Sonata Da Camera*, Doctoral thesis (Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music, 2024). (Zoltán Kodály's Duo for violin and cello; his impact on Pál Hermann's Vonós Kettes and Grand Duo and Mátyás Seiber's Sonata da Camera).

composer and music journalist Marius Monnikendam.[34] Born in 1896 and a contemporary of the composers featuring in this dissertation, Monnikendam based his guide for a wider audience both on his own experience and on the information gathered by Donemus, the postwar documentation centre for Dutch music.[35] He admitted that he lacked the necessary distance to oversee the entire field and that his opinions were a product of his time.[36] He was horrified by what he saw as the levelling of tones caused by twelve-tone music, a levelling he also recognised in modern architecture and in the promotion of gender equality.[37] Possibly inspired by the name of The Beatles, he referred to the younger generation as 'hordes of insects scurrying the asphalt of streets and squares'.[38] Illustrating his argument with fragments of scores, Monnikendam explained the development of music from modality and tonality to twelve-tone music. He grouped his protagonists according to schools in two generations, discussed their works briefly, and completely ignored the war and its effects. Monnikendam stated that women composers could not as much as stand in the shadow of their male colleagues, that they were predestined to bear children whereas only men could create something out of nothing, and that Henriëtte Bosmans' songs were a coincidental byproduct of the fact that she accompanied Noémie Pérugia.[39] For a long time, Monnikendam's rather conservative take on music history was the only monologue on Dutch music life during the interwar years.

Starting in 1962, musicologist Eduard Reeser (1908-2002), who had published his monologue on Dutch music between 1815 and 1915 in 1950, curated an anthology of Dutch music in three volumes.[40] The second volume dealt with composers born between 1892 and 1907 and was published in 1966, the third volume dealt with composers born between 1907 and 1935 and was published in 1977.[41] Being a collection of (fragments of) sheet music,

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[34] Marius Monnikendam, *Nederlandse componisten van heden en verleden.* (Amsterdam: A.J.G. Strengholt, 1968).

[35] Ibid., 13.

[36] Ibid., 12.

[37] Ibid., 110. 'Iedere toon is nu zelfstandig, dus zijn ze alle *gelijkgeschakeld*. Dit nivellatieproces in de toonkunst is geen geïsoleerd verschijnsel in de hedendaagse samenleving. Het ergste wat men zich in dit verband denken kan is de tendens om man en vrouw minstens naar hun uiterlijke verschijning in de samenleving gelijk te schakelen.'

[38] Ibid., 95. 'Provo's en nozems zwermen als insectenhorden over het asfalt van pleinen en straten. Velen hunner hebben een nieuw Gouden Kalf gevonden: de Beatles, waaraan zij zich vastkleven.'

[39] Ibid., 223–24. 'Door een goddelijk raadsbesluit is de vrouw uitverkoren kinderen te baren, terwijl volgens hetzelfde raadsbesluit het de man is voorbehouden iets uit niets voort te brengen, te scheppen met lijn en kleur, met woord en klank. […] Zo nam Henriëtte Bosmans (1893-1952) een belangrijke plaats onder haar in met een oeuvre dat min of meer door toevallige omstandigheden tot stand is gekomen. Zij schreef nl. Franse liederen omdat zij de piano-begeleidster was van de Franse zangeres Noëmi Perugia; zij kwam er toe twee Celloconcerten te schrijven en bovendien nog een Poème voor cello en orkest omdat zij bevriend was met de solo-cellist Marix Loevensohn.'

[40] Eduard Reeser, *Een eeuw Nederlandse muziek*, De Nederlandse eeuwreeks (Amsterdam: Querido, 1950).

[41] Eduard Reeser, *Stijlproeven van Nederlandse Muziek, 1890-1960 / II.* (Amsterdam: Donemus, 1966); Eduard Reeser, *Stijlproeven van Nederlandse Muziek, 1890-1960 / III.* (Amsterdam: St. Donemus, 1977).

selection mechanisms differed from regular monologues on music history. Reeser's selection encompassed a broad variety of instrumentations, favouring works for piano solo, and slow movements, as these works take up less space in a collection. To provide a wide view on composing in the Netherlands, Reeser included both innovative voices as well as composers who found their own voice in interpreting existing forms, although he admitted to favouring innovative composers in the second volume. He further stated that his personal taste was ultimately leading in selecting composers and works to be included. According to Reeser, only the future could tell which music would be of eternal value; his selection was 'merely a snapshot in time from the perspective of an interested contemporary'.[42] Reeser's 'snapshot' included none of the composers killed during World War II.

In 1986, composer and musicologist Leo Samama published *Zeventig jaar Nederlandse muziek 1915-1985: voorspel tot een nieuwe dag* (Seventy years of Dutch music 1915-1985: prelude to a new dawn).[43] Although Samama was one of the first musicologists to devote a full chapter on the social and economic context of composing and performance, in his opening paragraph, he quoted Willem Pijper's statement that 'music life in a certain era and region flourishes and survives only in the creations of composers in that country and age.'[44] With this quotation, Samama justified the book's main focus on scores, giving less prominence to context. He did not include composers who mostly 'wrote very melodious and harmonious music, well instrumented and formed, but heavily influenced by their time'.[45] Nevertheless, he dedicated his book to 'the unknown composer' and in the preface, he expressed the hope that it would stimulate not only recognition for the composers discussed, but also further research.[46] Like Monnikendam, Samama admitted that the limited critical distance to the subjects of his book made his task rather difficult.[47] He also assumed that his predecessors in writing about composing in the twentieth century took a mild position not to offend their colleagues, thereby 'unable to separate wheat from chaff'.[48] The paradox evolving is that eyewitnesses refrain from critically discussing what is happening in their time, while those looking back depend on surviving sources and existing narratives to tell their story. In 2006, Samama published an updated version of his book,

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[42] Reeser, *Stijlproeven van Nederlandse Muziek, 1890-1960 / II*, 8; Reeser, *Stijlproeven van Nederlandse Muziek, 1890-1960 / III*, 9.

[43] Leo Samama, *Zeventig jaar Nederlandse muziek 1915-1985: voorspel tot een nieuwe dag* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1986).

[44] Ibid., 13.

[45] Ibid., 26. 'De meeste namen zeggen ons driekwart eeuw later nog maar weinig. En niet ten onrechte. Het betreft kunstenaars die in de meeste gevallen bijzonder welluidende muziek schreven, goed geïnstrumenteerd, goed gevormd, maar met het kruis van de tijd zwaar op de schouders.'

[46] Ibid., 10.

[47] Ibid., 9.

[48] Ibid., 10.

adding new information but adhering to the original focus.[49]

Including social context

In November 1993, in line with the changing concepts of history production, Dutch historian Jan Bank suggested that KVNM, the Royal Society for Music History of the Netherlands should widen their focus from publishing renaissance polyphony to including the social aspects of music life in the Netherlands.[50] Three years earlier, musicologist Peter Lurvink had already published an article on Dutch composers and music policy during occupation in a journal of the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation. He described how, during the war, the Nazi government in the Netherlands tried to win composers for their ideology by awarding prizes and giving them commissions, and how composers resisting the new rule were banned, while others were promoted.[51] Still, Lurvink's conclusion showed the influence of the idea that music history is based on the analysis of masterpieces. He found that compositions paid for by the Nazis did not deviate in style from those composed before the war.[52] Already in 1991, Helen Metzelaar addressed the need for including the social context in her foreword to *Zes vrouwelijke componisten*, a book presenting six female composers (Gertrude van den Bergh, Catharina van Rennes, Elisabeth Kuyper, Henriëtte Bosmans, Iet Stants and Tera de Marez Oyens) who were underrepresented in music history as a result of extra-musical factors. The book not only describes their oeuvre 'but also the social circumstances in which they worked'.[53] In 1993, research on the functioning of Dutch symphony orchestras before and during the war years was published by historian Pauline Micheels.[54] Five years later, music historian Philomeen Lelieveldt published her research on the social and economic position of musicians in the Netherlands in the interwar period.[55]

The cultural history perspective in music history gained further momentum in the 21st century. *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (A music history of the Low Countries) presented a diverse collection of essays on a variety of topics in music history, written by a

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[49] Samama, *Nederlandse Muziek in de 20-Ste Eeuw*.

[50] Jan Bank, "Muziek: een vergeten hoofdstuk in de Nederlandse cultuurgeschiedenis" in Paul van Reijen, *Muziek en muziekwetenschap in de Nederlandse cultuur: beschouwingen bij het 125-jarig bestaan van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1994).

[51] Peter Lurvink, 'De Nederlandse componisten in de muziekpolitiek tijdens de bezetting', *Oorlogsdocumentatie '40-'45 : ... jaarboek van het Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* 2 (1990): 81–110.

[52] Ibid., 104.

[53] Metzelaar et al., *Zes vrouwelijke componisten*, 7.

[54] Pauline Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk: de Nederlandse symfonie-orkesten 1933-1945* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1993).

[55] Philomeen Lelieveldt, 'Voor en achter het voetlicht - Musici en de arbeidsverhoudingen in het kunst- en amusementsbedrijf in Nederland, 1918-1940' (Utrecht University, 1998).

large and diverse group of authors and curated by Louis Grijp. In the introduction, the editors explained that the book was 'not a chronological account of composers and their masterpieces', nor a 'history of styles analysing the development of composing' but 'rather embeds music in its social and cultural context'.[56] Published in 2016, in *Een behoorlijk kabaal; een cultuurgeschiedenis van Nederland in de twintigste eeuw* (Quite a riot; a cultural history of the Netherlands in the twentieth century) journalist and political scientist Jacqueline Oskamp linked 'musical ideas to social developments, historical events and the ever changing *Zeitgeist*.'[57] While these studies introduced a broader approach to music history, the canon of Dutch classical music, including the formation process behind it, remained largely unchallenged.

Dutch music history and World War II

Research on composing and the Second World War in the Netherlands started in the last decades of the twentieth century, with Marius Flothuis' chapter on music in a book on German exile in the Netherlands and Hans van Dijk's dissertation on composer Jan van Gilse.[58] In 1988, Flothuis and Van Dijk published a history of the *Genootschap van Nederlandse Componisten* (Society of Dutch Composers, Geneco), including the war years.[59] In 1995, based on the work by Micheels, Van Dijk and on his own book, Leo Samama wrote a chapter on Dutch musicians and World War II for *Rebel mijn hart*, a book accompanying an exhibition on artists killed during the war.[60] Despite the fact that the preface mentioned both those active in the resistance as well as those persecuted for ethnic reasons, in his essay Samama did not write about victims of the Holocaust — possibly also inspired by the title of the book. Discussing works composed as a symbol of resistance, or to commemorate injustice, Samama stated that 'music as a sign of resistance, as a symbol of a better, free world' is the highest achievement of an artist and therefore this music should be performed not only for

[56] Louis Peter Grijp, *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: University Press-Salomé, 2001).
[57] Jacqueline Oskamp, *Een Behoorlijk Kabaal Een Cultuurgeschiedenis Van Nederland In De Twintigste Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Ambo/Anthos, 2016), back cover.
[58] Marius Flothuis, 'Duitse musici in Nederlandse ballingschap', in *Nederland en het Duitse exil 1933-1940: Achttien essays*, ed. Kathinka Dittrich and Hans Würzner (Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 1981), 250–57. Dijk, *Jan van Gilse*. Marius Flothuis was arrested for his resistance activities and survived camps Vught, Oranienburg and the death marches.
[59] Hans van Dijk and Marius Flothuis, *75 jaar Geneco de geschiedenis van het Genootschap van Nederlandse Componisten* (Amsterdam: Genootschap van Nederlandse Componisten, 1988).
[60] Leo Samama, 'Musici in oorlogstijd, 1940-1945 Tussen collectief zelfbehoud en individueel verzet', in *Rebel, Mijn Hart: Kunstenaars 1940-1945*, ed. Jan van Adrichem and Max Nord (Zwolle: Waanders, n.d.), 82–91. Rebel mijn hart (Rebel my heart) is the first line of a poem by Jan Campert, writer and member of the resistance, who died in concentration camp Neuengamme on 12 January 1943.

its artistic quality but also for its symbolic value.[61] He then closed his essay with a quotation of Willem Pijper from July 1940, stating that music remained true to itself, and perhaps war would have 'the effect of a storm or night frost, shaking weaker fruits from the tree'.[62] A one paragraph biographical sketch of eight composers followed, six of them Jewish. A further biography of composer, writer and painter Bob Hanf was listed in the section on the visual arts.[63] In 2004, Emanuel Overbeeke and Leo Samama published *Entartete Musik; Verboden muziek onder het nazi-bewind*, a collection of essays accompanying a series of radio concerts programmed in collaboration with Michael Haas, curator of Decca's record series with the same title. In the preface, Samama stated that, within one generation, the Nazis had altered the cultural heart of Central Europe and only a fraction of what was lost could be restored after the war.[64] In 2008, Floris Don published his Master thesis on Dutch opera life under Nazi occupation, with special attention to composer Henk Badings (1907-1987).[65] In 2015, Eleonore Pameijer and myself edited a collection of 34 biographical essays of composers living and working in the Netherlands and banned by the Nazis.[66]

In addition to the revival of the genre of biography mentioned before, several musicians published autobiographies, in which they shared their war experiences. In line with the prevailing culture of remembrance — as we shall see in chapter 16 — early memoirs, such as soprano Jo Vincent's, described illegal house concerts but omitted stories on the persecution of Jews.[67] In his 1958 autobiography, Jewish violinist Theo Olof described the war period in one sentence: 'We silently skip six years….'[68] Only decades later, his colleague Jo Juda was able to publish his experiences as a prisoner.[69] In 1984, Hungarian-

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[61] Ibid., 87–88. 'Muziek als teken van verzet, als symbool voor een betere, vrije wereld. Dat is het hoogste wat de kunstenaar met zijn kunst kan verwezenlijken. Dat is de reden waarom deze kunst niet alleen om haar betekenis van zuivere en absolute kunst dient te worden uitgevoerd - de rechtvaardiging van die kunst zelf - maar ook om reden van haar symboolwaarde, als kunst in een tijd van oorlog.'

[62] Ibid., 88. 'De muziek blijft zichzelve, in oorlog of vrede, bij morele, physieke of economische voorspoed of tegenspoed. En het is zelfs niet gewaagd, aan te nemen dat tijden als die wij thans beleven voor de ontwikkeling van de toonkunst nuttig kunnen zijn. Even nuttig als stormen en nachtvorsten voor de oogst. Veel zwakke takken en vruchten zullen afgerukt worden, maar wat overblijft komt beter tot rijpheid.'

[63] Jan van Adrichem and Max Nord, *Rebel, mijn hart: kunstenaars 1940-1945* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1995), 131. Composers listed: Daniël Belinfante, Jan van Gilse, Charles Grelinger, Nico Richter, Samuel Schuijer, Paul Seelig, James Simon and Leo Smit.

[64] Leo Samama and Emanuel Overbeeke, *Entartete Musik: verboden muziek onder het nazi-bewind* (Amsterdam: University Press, Salomé, 2004), 8.

[65] Floris Don, *De Nachtwacht zal klinken in donkere tijden: de opera in Nederland tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog en de rol van Henk Badings* (Amsterdam: KVNM, 2007).

[66] Carine Alders and Eleonore Pameijer, eds., *Vervolgde componisten in Nederland: verboden muziek in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (Amsterdam: University Press, 2015).

[67] Jo Vincent, *Zingend door het leven: memoires van Jo Vincent* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1955).

[68] Theo Olof, *Daar sta je dan ...*, Ooievaar 91 (Den Haag: Bakker/Daamen, 1958), 18.

[69] Jo Juda, *Jantje Paganini: Häftling 2613, 1940-1945* (Nieuwkoop: Uitgeverij Heuff, 1979). Juda was not incarcerated for being Jewish but part of a group of well-known men taken hostage and threatened to be killed in retaliation for resistance attacks. This group was initially taken to Buchenwald, but after a year they were taken

Dutch composer Géza Frid published his memoirs, including the war years in Amsterdam.[70] Piet Heuwekemeijer, violinist of the Orchestra, published his memoirs in 2000.[71]

International research on music and World War II

International research and literature on music and World War II has mainly focused on migration and exile. Four decades after the war ended, the first studies were published. In 1993, Hanns-Werner Heister, Claudia Maurer Zenck and Peter Petersen published *Musik im Exil; Folgen des Nazismus für die internationale Musikkultur*. This pioneering collection of biographical essays, overviews per country and analyses of compositions written in exile was followed by an online lexicon in 2005.[72] Following the 1994 international conference 'The Musical Migration: Austria and Germany to the United States' at Harvard University, *Driven into Paradise* (1999) by Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff dealt with emigration of composers from Nazi-occupied Europe to America.[73] In 2010, Erik Levi and Florian Scheding published *Music and Displacement; Diasporas, mobilities, and dislocations in Europe and Beyond,* a collection of essays highlighting the nuanced stories of displacement 'constantly taking detours from the simple characterizations offered by grand narratives'.[74] In 2014, Michael Haas published his book *Forbidden Music, the Jewish composers banned by the Nazis*, exploring the position of Jewish composers in Nazi Germany and Austria and their forced emigration.[75] In 2016, Nils Grosch and Wolfgang Gratzer launched the inter-university research initiative *Music and Migration*. The inaugural conference resulted in a volume of essays with the same title, studying the applicability of linked concepts such as migration, mobility, exile, identity and integration in musicology and the possibilities for musicology to contribute to these fields.[76] This publication was followed in 2023 by a handbook on theory and methods on music and migration.[77] In 2019, the Royal College of Music in London launched its research project 'Music, Migration and Mobility', with a focus

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to a Dutch hostage camp.

[70] Géza Frid, *In tachtig jaar de wereld rond: herinneringen* (Naarden: Strengholt, 1984).

[71] Piet Heuwekemeijer, *De autobiografie van Piet Heuwekemeijer vijftig jaar symfonieorkest.* (Amsterdam: Appelbloesem Pers, 2000).

[72] Heister, Maurer Zenck, and Petersen, *Musik im Exil*. 'Startseite @ LexM'.

[73] Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2001).

[74] Erik Levi and Florian Scheding, *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 8.

[75] Haas, *Forbidden Music*.

[76] Nils Grosch and Wolfgang Gratzer, *Musik und Migration*, Musik und Migration (Waxmann Verlag, 2018), 9.

[77] Wolfgang Gratzer, *The Routledge Handbook of Music and Migration: Theories and Methodologies.*, 1st ed., Routledge Music Handbooks Series (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2023).

on the legacy of migrant musicians from Nazi-Europe in Britain.[78] In 2023 Michael Haas published *Music of Exile; the Untold Story of the Composers Who Fled Hitler*, his second book on composers persecuted by the Nazis, explaining — with the help of untold stories of exiled composers — how music of exile is often infused by the need to reconnect with a lost identity and deserves its own chapter in twentieth century music history.[79] In a similar way, in *Musical Journeys; performing migration in twentieth-century music* Florian Scheding drew on untold stories to conceptualise the themes around music and migration.[80]

Recent publications also focused on other topics related to music and the Second World War. In *Sounds of War - Music in the United States during World War II*, Annegret Fauser described 'the rich field of Western classical music and its musicians during the war years in the United States' and how it functioned 'as a morale booster and source of comfort and consolation; as a signifier of individual and national identities; and as a political tool, instrument of propaganda, and military weapon'.[81] In his book *The War on Music,* by discussing the effects of the two World Wars and the Cold War that followed, John Mauceri tried to answer the question why the music of refugee composers is hardly ever performed in the US.[82] Elements of his answer included the historical model of progress based on Hegelian dialectic and Darwinian theory of evolution, 'the public's need to erase the reminders of the tragedy', and 'aesthetic judgements [that] were not a natural progression of art but a form of political action and personal survival'.[83] In *Time's Echo; the Second World War, the Holocaust and the Music of Remembrance*, Jeremy Eichler focused on music and memory culture and explored how four different compositions function as musical monuments to the Second World War, as 'witness to history' and 'carrier of memories'.[84]

To conclude, hardly any research has been carried out on the effects of war and persecution on composing in the Netherlands. What little has been done has mainly focused on analysing compositions to uncover a change in styles, comparing pre- and postwar compositions. Whereas research outside the Netherlands has focused mainly on composing

[78] 'ABOUT', musicmigration, accessed 10 March 2025, https://www.musicmigrationmobility.com/research-questions.
[79] Michael Haas, *Music of Exile: The Untold Story of the Composers Who Fled Hitler* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2023).
[80] Florian Scheding, *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music.* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019).
[81] Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War Music in the United States during World War II* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 5.
[82] John Mauceri, *The War on Music: Reclaiming the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022).
[83] Ibid., 154, 149, 21.
[84] Jeremy Eichler, *Time's Echo: The Second World War, the Holocaust, and the Music of Remembrance*, First edition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2023), 10. The compositions highlighted by Eichler are *A survivor from Warsaw* by Schoenberg, Shostakovich's 13th symphony, Britten's *War Requiem*, and Richard Strauss' *Metamorphosen*.

in exile, this line of research yields limited results for the Netherlands. As most composers were trapped in the Netherlands when the Nazis unexpectedly invaded the Netherlands on 10 May 1940, stories of exile are limited to those who fled persecution and immigrated to the Netherlands before the war and those who happened to be abroad on that day. Rather than focusing only on exile, research into the effects of war and persecution on composing in the Netherlands also needs to study the effects on performing opportunities, the existence of sources, network participation and creation of narratives. These are the mechanisms behind the formation of the canon and the production of a history of composing in the Netherlands.

Focusing on music life during the interwar years, the years of occupation and the first postwar decade, each with their own views on history, their specific events and policies, I came to the following elaboration of the research question:

- What roles did composers who were persecuted during World War II play in prewar music life in the Netherlands and how did these roles influence their position in music history and the canon?

- What effects did persecution and war have on composers' lives and legacy, how did this influence canonicity and the production of music history?

- How have the ways in which the Dutch commemorated the war and dealt with its aftermath influenced music historiography and canonicity after the war?

Before discussing the methodology used to arrive at answers to these questions, I will address the scope of this research.

1.5 Scope

This study into the effect of war and persecution on Dutch music history focuses on composers. As composers create the very essence that binds together musicians, ensembles, orchestras, publishers, venues, teaching institutions and press, they are at the heart of music networks. From a more practical point of view, their numbers are more limited than, for example, those of musicians. Of course, earlier approaches to music history have sidelined many more composers than just those who were banned during the Second World War. However, I decided to focus this research on those who were banned and persecuted. A practical reason for this focus is the fact that I have been researching this topic for many years while working as executive director of the Leo Smit Foundation. I was introduced to relatives, wrote many programme notes, handled hundreds of manuscripts, edited a volume of biographical essays, built a database of compositions and witnessed many premieres of previously banned music. This research builds on snippets of information and questions that lingered on over the years.

The focus on the Netherlands is, of course, also related to my work for the Leo Smit Foundation. At the same time, while the literature on the effects of war and persecution on music history is growing, the Dutch situation has received limited attention internationally, due to the language barrier in finding and interpreting sources. Moreover, the Dutch war experiences differ considerably from those elsewhere, as very few people foresaw the invasion by the Nazis and opportunities to flee the country were extremely limited. As a result, as Michael Haas wrote in his foreword to *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands*, 'Holland would lose more creativity pro rata than the perpetrators themselves.'[85] Some Dutch composers suffered deeply from the Second World War in the Dutch Indies, now Indonesia. However, as their story differs quite a bit from the experiences of those who were persecuted in the Netherlands, I have not included them in this study.

The postwar period is included in this study up until 1955, a period dominated by a national commemorative discourse of oppression and resistance, with little room for the experiences of Jewish victims.[86] This was also a period in which prewar modernism was rejected in favour of a more 'moderate modernism' in the Netherlands and twelve-tone and electronic music had very limited following. When Kees van Baaren (a composer interested in twelve-tone music and future teacher of Louis Andriessen, Peter Schat, Reinbert de Leeuw and Misha Mengelberg) took over from Hendrik Andriessen as director of the Royal Conservatory in The Hague in 1958, the majority of Dutch contemporary music lovers were still not enthusiastic about the latest developments.[87]

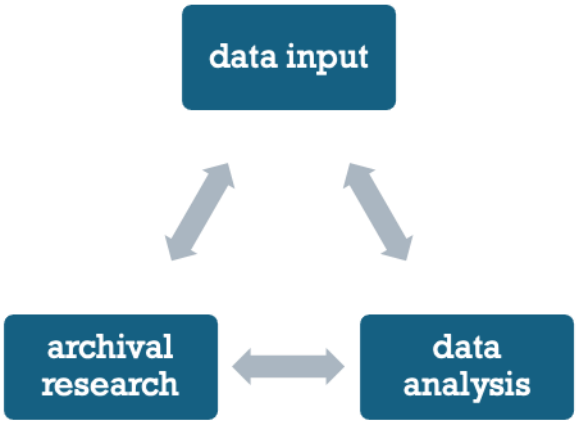
1.6 Methods

In explaining the usefulness of Latour's actor-network theory for music history, Benjamin Piekut wrote: 'By not predicting ahead of time what we are going to find in the world, we allow entanglements to emerge in all of their messiness.'[88] To explore the effect of persecution and war on composing in the Netherlands beyond a change in style, an empirical approach is called for. Both a network perspective and the computer-aided analysis of large datasets support such an empirical approach.

In an iterative process, tools and methods of Digital Humanities — including full text search of digitised sources and storing data in a relational database — allow for casting the

[85] Carine Alders and Eleonore Pameijer, eds., *Suppressed composers in the Netherlands: forbidden music in the Second World War*, trans. Patricia Werner Leanse (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 11.
[86] Frank van Vree and Rob van der Laarse, *De dynamiek van de herinnering: Nederland en de Tweede Wereldoorlog in een internationale context* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2009), 7.
[87] Oskamp, *Een behoorlijk kabaal: een cultuurgeschiedenis van Nederland in de twintigste eeuw*, 198.
[88] Piekut, 'Actor-Networks in Music History', 199.

net beyond the traditional canon but also point to opportunities to dig deeper with the help of archival research. The data gathered from archival research and, to a limited extent, oral history feed into the network database, but at the same time, a combination of analysing and visualising the data provides new leads for archival research, informants to be interviewed and questions to be asked.



For example, if an early network analysis shows that composer-pianist Julius Hijman (1901-1969) performed with soprano Mary Bell, it might be worthwhile to try and locate her archives to see whether correspondence exists. Ulrich Eumann refers to this phenomenon as the 'heuristic value of test visualisations'.[89] Moreover, entering the data manually instead of working with pre-existing datasets may trigger new research questions. For example, while entering biographical data for artists performing with Hans Krieg (1899-1961), it became clear how many of them were killed during the war. This leads to questions like 'How was the Dutch performance network of émigré composer Hans Krieg affected by the Holocaust?' And finally, thinking about querying the dataset also triggers new questions: if it is possible to filter out radio broadcasts as a special type of performance, it should also be possible to say something about the role of broadcasting organisations in supporting immigrant composers by promoting their work or employing them.

Sources

Since the Municipality of The Hague bought the book and instrument collection of Daniël François Scheurleer (1855-1927) a few years after his death, many curators have added considerably to the collection of music manuscripts, published scores, correspondence and memorabilia of what is now called the Collections Netherlands Music Institute at the The

[89] Ulrich Eumann, 'Heuristik, Hypothesenentwicklung und Hypothesentest', in *Handbuch Historische Netzwerkforschung: Grundlagen und Anwendungen*, ed. Marten Düring et al. (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2016), 125.

Hague Municipal Archives (NMI).[90] This resulted in more than 750 estates, including at least 30 estates of musicians and composers who were persecuted. However, like with any other archive, the Netherlands Music Institute faces limitations in its role as custodian of source material, the basis of historiography. Not all tangible remains of the past can be stored and not all sources relating to music history are stored in one and the same archive. Documentation on acquisition shows that descendants and music colleagues have had a decisive influence on the choice where to deposit estates.[91] And sometimes they decided not (yet) to offer an estate to any archive. But even if estates are offered to an archive, with limited funding, choices have to be made as to what is added to the collection and how the work on making collections accessible is prioritised. Trouillot referred to these unavoidable choices in collecting, preserving and making accessible — and the unintentional silences they create — as 'an active act of production that prepares facts for historical intelligibility.'[92] To remedy the effect of these unintentional silences, the indexes of the archives of Buma (*Bureau Muziek Auteursrechten*, the Dutch authors' rights organisation for composers) and Geneco (*Genootschap Nederlandse Componisten*, Society of Dutch Composers), both dating from the early twentieth century, were searched to find composers that have escaped the attention of archivists and researchers.[93] The search included browsing through folders with correspondence of individual Buma and Geneco members and looking for membership lists. This yielded thirteen extra names to be added to the list of persecuted composers. Further sources for identifying composers active during the interwar years were music journals published between 1920 and 1945.[94]

In the case of persecuted and forgotten composers, archival research is not a matter of simply going to the archives and browsing through neatly organised documents, let alone a full text search of digitised sources. If preserved in a coherent set at all, documents often remain on the shelves, not indexed, hardly described and certainly not digitised. More often,

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[90] Nederlands Muziek Instituut, 'Historie', Nederlands Muziek Instituut, accessed 6 March 2025, https://nederlandsmuziekinstituut.nl/over/historie.

[91] Philomeen Lelieveldt, personal communication, 10 February 2025.

[92] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 52.

[93] The Buma archives (Netherlands Music Institute, 3342-01) and the Geneco archives (Netherlands Music Institute, 3280-01) are sometimes hard to separate as Geneco founded Buma and membership was linked. Both archives are indexed but not digitised. Both archives were targets of raids by the Nazis and survived incomplete (see Cor Witbraad, *Buma/Stemra, sedert 1913: een geschiedenis* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007), 196; Hans van Dijk, '1911-1945; De vooroorlogse jaren', in *100 Jaar Genootschap Nederlandse Componisten 1911-2011*, ed. Carine Alders (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2011).)

[94] *Maandblad voor hedendaagsche muziek* (1931-1941), the journal of the Netherlands Society for Contemporary Music (Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek, NVvHM), *De muziek* (1926-1933, the official journal of the Federation Dutch Music Societies, *Caecilia en de muziek* (1933-1940, the continuation of *Het muziekcollege Caecilia* and *De muziek*), *Wereld der Muziek* (1940-1944, the new official journal of the Federation Dutch Music Societies), *Kroniek van hedendaagsche kunst en kultuur* (1935-1941, independent monthly magazine on art and culture) and *Symphonia*, an independent monthly magazine on music.

scores and personal documents are scattered over different archives and private collections in different countries and detective work is needed — from searching private attics to following international leads — to bring pieces of the puzzle together. In the case of composers who were killed in the camps, their manuscripts may either have been looted, or kept safe in boxes by relatives, afraid of literally taking the lid off painful memories. Sometimes only after 75 years, thanks to the help of many, including the Leo Smit Foundation, small collections were rediscovered by younger generations and donated to the Netherlands Music Institute for preservation and accessibility.

In the past decade, digitisation of sources in the cultural and heritage sector and making them accessible through the world wide web has taken an incredible flight.[95] Indexed archives can now be searched without travelling abroad. Finds can be retrieved by scanning on demand. Digitised documents can be transformed into searchable text with help of optical character recognition (OCR) and even the optical recognition of handwritten texts is developing rapidly. With the help of translation software such as Deepl, language barriers are no longer an issue. Speech recognition software is used to transcribe interviews. Every day, new publications are added to the full text searchable Dutch newspaper database Delpher and its French (Gallica), German (Deutsches Zeitungsportal), Austrian (ANNO), British (The British Newspaper Archive), American (Chronicling America, Internet Archive) and Australian (Trove) equivalents.[96] A simple query can yield hundreds of announcements and reviews of performances. The audiovisual archives of the Netherlands Institute of Sound and Vision were searched and annotated with the help of CLARIAH Media Suite. All these tools have allowed for data retrieval on a scale that was not available to earlier music historiographers. It even means that searches carried out at the start of this research are now no longer up-to-date. The downside of this accessible data explosion is the illusion of completeness and the fear of missing that one, all-important needle in the haystack.[97] On the one hand, this digital development opens up new possibilities to uncover alternative narratives, on the other hand, it adds a fourth possible moment of unintentional silencing to archives: where curators are responsible for digitisation policies, sources considered important and most relevant are made accessible through digitisation first. Digitisation on demand only partly remedies this; it is impossible to demand digitisation of archival documents one isn't aware of.

[95] Claire Warwick, Melissa M. Terras, and Julianne Nyhan, *Digital Humanities in Practice* (London: Facet Publishing in association with UCL Centre for Digital Humanities, 2012), 51.

[96] 'Delpher » Kranten, Boeken & Tijdschriften', accessed 4 March 2025, https://www.delpher.nl/. This database contains over 1.7 million newspapers, 12 million magazine pages, 1.5 million radio bulletins and over one million books dating from the 15th up to the 21st century.

[97] Warwick, Terras, and Nyhan, *Digital Humanities in Practice*, 52.

To investigate whether persecuted composers feature in existing narratives on Dutch music history, a literature study was carried out. During the interwar years, several musicologists and composers have published overviews of composing in the Netherlands in the twentieth century, including Dresden (1923), Sanders (1930), Badings (1936), and Backers (1941).[98] These publications were analysed with regard to focus and objectives, research methods and criteria for inclusion. Where none of these matters were discussed explicitly, close reading was carried out to study language used to describe composers and their output. Although Dutch music histories on the twentieth century written by Monnikendam (1968) and Samama (1985/2006) were written after the period under study, they provided relevant information as well.[99]

The network database

Searching the Buma and Geneco archives and browsing interwar music magazines has led to a longlist of composers within the scope of this study, which at present amounts to more than 80 composers.[100] From this list, a selection was made to be included in the database, based on the following criteria:

- diversity in life stories: how were their careers affected by rising fascism and World War II;
- a prognosis of availability, quality and quantity of archival sources and availability of relatives;
- availability of surviving scores;
- diversity in roles (performing/non-performing, teaching, writing, composing).

A biography was published of some of these composers, while research on others was carried out especially for this project. The following composers were included in the database: Daniël Belinfante (1893-1945, composer-performer, director of music school, member of the resistance, killed by the Nazis), Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman (1892-1971, non-Jewish, banned for her refusal to follow Nazi-rule, active in postwar purging), Henriëtte Bosmans (1895-1952, composer-performer, Jewish mother, survived) Hans Franco Mendes (1890-1951, Jewish, director of a music school, survived Theresienstadt), Pál (Paul) Hermann (1902-1944, Hungarian refugee, composer-performer, killed by the Nazis), Julius Hijman (Jewish, composer-performer, music journalist, emigrated to the United States in 1939), Hans

[98] Sem Dresden, *Het muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1923); Paul F. Sanders, *Moderne Nederlandsche componisten*, Beroemde musici ; dl. 16 ('s-Gravenhage: Kruseman, 1930); Henk Badings, *De hedendaagsche Nederlandsche muziek*, Caecilia-reeks ; nr. 2 (Amsterdam: Bigot en Van Rossum, 1936); Cor Backers, *Nederlandsche componisten van 1400 tot op onzen tijd*, Beroemde musici ; dl. 22 ('s-Gravenhage: Kruseman, 1941).
[99] Monnikendam, *Nederlandse componisten van heden en verleden.*; Samama, *Zeventig jaar Nederlandse muziek 1915-1985*; Samama, *Nederlandse Muziek in de 20-Ste Eeuw*.
[100] The full list of composers with short biographical essays is included in annex II.

Krieg (Jewish, German refugee, composer-performer, survived Bergen-Belsen), Wilhelm Rettich (1892-1988, Jewish, composer-performer, German refugee, survived in hiding), Leo Smit (1900-1943, Jewish, killed by the Nazis), Philip Vlessing (1905-1943, Jewish, composer-performer, music school director, killed by the Nazis), Dolf Waterman (1886-1966, Jewish, composer-performer, survived in exile) and Rosy Wertheim (Jewish, composer and music journalist, survived in hiding).

To gather information on networks of these composers, I extracted data from archival sources on composing in the Netherlands between 1920 and 1955 and from published biographies. Existing composer as well as musician biographies also yield data to be included in the analysis. Although these publications often do not contain the details needed for the network database — such as concert programmes mentioning performers, composers performed and venues — they may contain clues as to where to look for these details. Although some data could be extracted from publications and sources, no datasets exist, a database on compositions of suppressed composers being the sole exception.[101] The bulk of the data for the network database is therefore collected and processed especially for this study. When extracting data from their sources and combining them in a database, data are separated from their context. Therefore, the story behind the data needs to be told: where data come from, who collected them, what kind of biases are involved, what is left out and why. To keep track of sources behind the data, Nodegoat software allows for registering the source(s) along with data entered, but this would hugely increase the researcher's workload in entering the data. As an alternative, I stored texts extracted from Delpher in a separate text file. With the help of this text file, it will be easy to find the original source that provided the data. The process of data entry also involved numerous decisions, like (not) including performers who performed in the same concert but not together, (not) deleting a performance if it was cancelled at the last minute, (not) excluding composers who died before 1915. The advantage of building a dataset from scratch is that these decisions can be made transparent. For that purpose, a log was kept of decisions made.[102]

Paradoxically, although employing a network perspective can widen the scope of research, to be able to build a data model one has to decide what the focus will be and thus the researcher must have some preliminary ideas on the research question. After all, it is impossible to chart every relation between all actors in a network under study. A

[101] Leo Smit Stichting, 'Forbidden Music Regained', accessed 5 March 2025, https://www.forbiddenmusicregained.org/. The database was built as a project of the Leo Smit Foundation, led by the author.
[102] See Annex I.

representative partial network is then the way to go forward.[103] Using Nodegoat software, a database model or ontology was designed around different ways in which composers and their circle of collaborators are connected.[104] The data model incorporates persons (composers, musicians, teachers, commissioners, dedicatees, etc) and the artefacts (compositions, publications, letters), events (performances, education) and organisations through which they are connected.[105] The model further includes geographical and time related data (where and when performances took place, dates and places of birth and death) to allow for analysing networks through time and space. Dates and geographical information on compositions or correspondence also yield information on the whereabouts of composers. Further characteristics that were recorded to be used in filtering the dataset include gender, affiliation (e.g. Jewish/non-Jewish), type of performance (e.g. concert, broadcast, lecture, ballet), type of organisation (e.g. orchestra or ensemble, concert organiser, broadcast association, educational institute) and war story (e.g. survived in hiding, survived camps, killed in camps). Furthermore, for each publication on Dutch music history described above, as well as for the different volumes of magazines, composers mentioned are included in the database to compare in which narratives they feature. In addition to the narrative that follows, the resulting knowledge graph is part of the outcome of this research.[106] By analysing and visualising the data, the database may provide insights into the main question underlying this thesis: why were persecuted composers forgotten?

Constructing narratives

Due to the often limited availability of sources, many persecuted composers would not elicit a traditional cradle-to-grave biography. Still, episodes of their life stories contribute to the wider perspective on interwar music life in the Netherlands and illustrate the processes of silencing at work. Krista Cowman described such a specific type of collective biography with a more analytical dimension as 'group biographies, where the focus on individuals is joined by an interest in the structures, networks and ideologies which connect them.'[107]

Like any historical narrative, mine too is a 'particular bundle of silences, the result of

[103] Eumann, 'Heuristik, Hypothesenentwicklung Und Hypothesentest', 125.

[104] The full data model can be found in annex I.

[105] 'Nodegoat allows scholars to build datasets based on their own data model and offers relational modes of analysis with spatial and chronological forms of contextualisation. It is conceptualised and developed by Lab1100.' 'Nodegoat | About', nodegoat, accessed 10 March 2025, https://nodegoat.net/about.

[106] For more information on the network database, see annex I.

[107] Krista Cowman, 'Collective Biography', in *Research Methods for History*, ed. Lucy Faire and Simon Gunn, Research Methods for the Arts and Humanities (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 90.

a unique process'.[108] In addition to the criteria mentioned above, my personal, subjective interest led me to research some composers deeper than others. However, my point of departure was not to build a narrative around a hypothesis on why persecuted composers were forgotten; my initial objective was to undo the silences created by the Nazis. Only in researching and writing up these stories, the patterns leading to oblivion became clear to me. Florian Scheding describes his book on music and migration as 'an, in some ways, unambitious book of little stories', working 'outwards from them, linking them with wider themes.[109] Writing history beyond the main and linear narrative of a canon turned out to be ambitious and complicated. As with everyday life, history is full of diversions and illogical turns. It is all too tempting to brush under the carpet things that do not fit the narrative. However, as Scheding concluded, specifically the 'exploration of the less well-known protagonists of history' offers insight into everyday music practice.[110] Following Scheding's research on music and migration, I used the technique of telling 'little stories' to address the silences in music history as a result of persecution and war, leading to insights into the processes that caused them. In my focus on the practice of composing and performing new music rather than on the analysis of compositions, I follow the approach of New Cultural History.[111] Although the concepts of cultural history have influenced musicology since the late decades of the twentieth century, it has mostly focused on relating the notes to the *Zeitgeist*, on sociohistorical themes related to music and on popular music. This study explores the everyday practice in which compositions were made accessible, performed, reviewed, valued and its effect on the production of music history.[112]

[108] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 34.
[109] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 7.
[110] Ibid., 9.
[111] Peter Burke, *What Is Cultural History?*, Third edition. (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2019), 73.
[112] Haar, James. 'Music History and Cultural History'. *The Journal of Musicology* 1, nr. 1 (1982): 5-14. https://doi.org/10.2307/763627.

1.7 Structure

The dissertation is divided into three chronological sections. Within each of these episodes, the stories are centred around four themes that drive the production of music history and the formation of the canon: performance opportunities, the creation and survival of sources, network participation and narratives. Knowing the right people (musicians, music publishers, concert and radio programmers, journalists) not only raises the number of performances, it also increases the chance of concerts and broadcasts being noticed and thus boosts the number of announcements and reviews in magazines and newspapers. Concerts and radio broadcasts not only strengthen and widen a composer's network, they also produce sources like programme notes, advertisements, announcements and recordings. If more sources are available and accessible — published music, reviews, recordings and interviews with composers or articles discussing their work — it is more likely the music will be performed (again). Reviewed performances and published scores feed into the narrative on a composer while at the same time, an established narrative influences performance opportunities. These themes are discussed in all chapters but since there is no obvious starting point in this cycle, the order in which they appear may vary.

In addition to theories on biography and microhistory discussed in this introduction, my research touches upon many different theories, including theory on history production and canon formation, theory on network approaches, theory on music and migration, and theory on cultural memory and heritage. In separate short chapters, each of these theories are introduced when the theme is most relevant. The theme of music history production and canonisation is introduced in the context of the interwar years in part I '1920-1940, beyond the dominant narrative' (chapters 2 to 7). After reviewing theories on canonicity and history production in chapter 2, I examine music historiography of the interwar years to discover the values behind the dominant narrative on composing in chapter 3. Although authors of monographs published between 1920 and 1940 often refrain from writing about their contemporaries, they provide insight into the values and criteria used in selecting composers to feature in their music histories. In chapter 4, based on archival sources and moving away from music history based on a limited corpus of masterpieces, I introduce some of the voices that were silenced in music history following application of the filter discussed in chapter 3. These composers wrote music for dilettantes or students, for the radio or the synagogue, their focus was on chamber music for lack of opportunities in orchestral music or they built a career abroad. Chapter 5 introduces theories on network analysis and visualisation and its relevance for music history. It is followed by a chapter introducing different prewar networks that influenced the production of music history and

wielded power over the process of canonisation.

The process of annihilating performance opportunities, destroying sources, frustrating network participation and censoring narratives is dealt with in part II, '1933-1945 Persecution and war' (chapters 8 to 14). The theme of persecution, banning performances and destruction of sources is obviously linked to the war years, but it also overlaps with the previous section, as bans and persecution started to affect Dutch music life when Hitler rose to power in 1933 and refugees came to live and work in the Netherlands. Chapter 8 discusses theory on music and migration, followed by chapters 9 to 14 on the various influences on composing caused by persecution and war. Migratory experiences affected composers' networks and performance opportunities (chapter 9); the invasion of the Netherlands affected music life (chapter 10); biographical episodes tell the story of how anti-Jewish measures affected performance opportunities, source production and network participation (chapter 11); the Nazification or *Gleichschaltung* of music organisations created an additional group of banned composers (chapter 12); the enemy take-over of radio and press affected the production of sources and the creation of an alternative, censored narrative excluding banned composers (chapter 13).

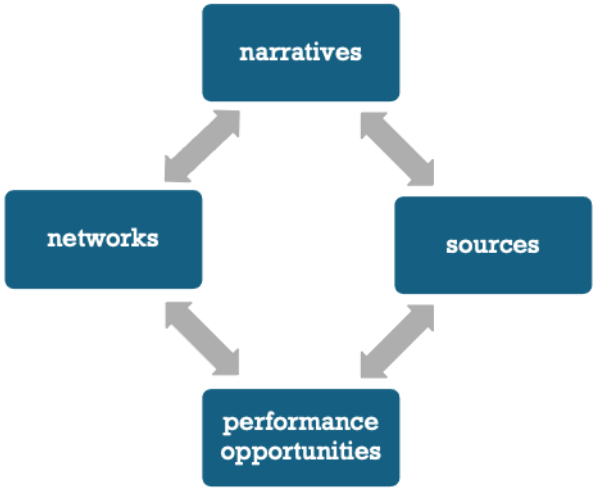
The theme of cultural amnesia is linked to the first postwar decade, when the Holocaust had no place in official commemorations or in the dominant narrative on Dutch war experiences. This period is dealt with in part III, '1945-1955 Moving on, memory and heritage' (chapters 15 to 20). The section is introduced by a chapter on theory on cultural memory and heritage of conflict. Chapter 16 relates how liberation and commemoration offered performance opportunities, but not for everyone. With a focus on a national narrative of oppression and resistance, there was little room for the stories and music of Jewish composers. Those who were killed were hardly commemorated; they disappeared from the stage and from the pages of newspapers and journals. Many surviving the camps or coming out of hiding had lost their position and needed to focus on earning an income. Chapter 17 zooms in on the resistance networks that tried to take the lead in purging and reorganising postwar music life, and on the rebuilding of press networks and Jewish networks. In chapter 18, the focus turns to the survival of orphaned, unpublished manuscripts and the lack of postwar sources. Finally, chapter 19 deals with narratives on music history – such as a preference for 'moderate modernism' – created after the war and how composers killed in the camps were absent from these narratives.

After discussing the three periods, each with their own silencing mechanisms, the final conclusive chapter returns to the main question of this dissertation, how composers banned and persecuted by the Nazis came to be forgotten after the war. It reflects on the methodology used in answering the question and suggests themes for future research.

1920 – 1940
Beyond the dominant narrative

2. Theory: canon formation and music history production

The process of canon formation and the production process of music history are twinned. Until well into the twentieth century, historiography of Western classical music equalled a description of the canon. If this dissertation were to merely describe what is outside the canon, it would only confirm the existence of that canon. Therefore, it first looks at the processes of music history production and canon formation, before recuperating what was lost as a result of these two processes. Both are based on performance opportunities, the availability of sources, social relations and narratives, four ingredients that influence each other.



2.1 Silences in the production of music history

In *Silencing the past*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot suggested that the application of a filter of values and beliefs in writing history is only one step in history production where power is wielded. He distinguished four levels in history production where power — and thus silencing — plays an essential role: the creation of sources, the assembly of archives, the construction of narratives and finally the writing of history.[113] The boundaries of these four levels are fluid, they interact and overlap. Pre-existing narratives may guide the formation of archives or prevent the production of sources. For example, if the dominant narrative considers symphony and opera to be the most valued genres in music, these genres will

[113] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 34.

produce the most reviews and these sources will weigh heavier in history production. If a composer fits the criteria of being worthy of canonisation, not only his manuscripts, but also his letters and photos are more likely to end up in archives. Critics, often composers themselves, are taught a historic narrative and interpret what they hear from that perspective. Trouillot wrote: 'Power does not enter the story once and for all, but at different times and from different angles. It precedes the narrative proper, contributes to its creation and to its interpretation.'[114]

In music history, music manuscripts are obvious sources, but sources are also created around performances (announcements, programmes, reviews) and the publication of sheet music (advertisements, reviews). The newspaper's music editors are chroniclers, giving their account of a performance. At the same time, they are narrators, evaluating what they hear against their own values, imbued with pre-existing narratives. They might emphasise the performance of a symphony in their review, while writing only a few words on an orchestral overture by a lesser-known composer. Thus, silences are inherent in the creation of sources, the first moment of historical production.[115] The creation of sources also depends on networks: composers' access to performers, concert organisers and publishers. Composers holding a position of power in large and diverse networks produce a larger body of sources.

Trouillot also insisted that 'the kind of power used in the creation of sources is not necessarily the same that allows the creation of archives'.[116] Whereas a critic might strive to report on contemporary music life in a broader sense, institutionalised archives 'may help select the stories that matter'.[117] What is preserved in the archive depends on many factors, including thematic focus, budget or material form (manuscripts, recordings, letters, scrapbooks). Only if composers established a name for themselves through performances and publications, personal archives containing these materials are offered to and accepted by archival institutions. Unfortunately, the formation of professional music archives in the Netherlands is a patchwork history. The only Dutch institution collecting music estates of professional musicians and composers — the Netherlands Music Institute at the The Hague Municipal Archives — has a relatively recent history in its present form.[118] For many years,

[114] Ibid., 37.

[115] Ibid., 50–51.

[116] Ibid., 51.

[117] Ibid., 53.

[118] Nederlands Muziek Instituut, 'Historie'. The Netherlands Music Institute was formed in 2000 as a result of a merger of three historical collections: the music library and the music archives of the The Hague Municipal Museum (where curator Dirk Balfoort started collecting the estates of composers in 1935) and the music collection of Stichting Musica Neerlandica. When the national government withdrew funding in 2013, the city of The Hague came to the rescue and now the Netherlands Music Institute is part of the The Hague municipal

there was no obvious home for composer archives, resulting in a dispersal of archives across different institutions like the national library, local archives and the Jewish Historical Museum. The more general archival institutions had few music specialists to assess and index the music estates offered to them. But at least these collections were preserved.

The next step in the production of music history is the creation of narratives that can be told from different perspectives, like nationality, period, or genre. Narratives evolve in many different forms, including encyclopaedias, articles, reviews, lectures and composer biographies. Finally, these narratives are solidified in the last step of music history production, the assembly of monographs on the history of (Western classical) music and courses taught in academia. In order to reveal the silences and the power mechanisms that occur in the creation of music history, all actors participating in the history production process — creating sources, enhancing or disturbing the formation of archives, forging narratives — have to be acknowledged.[119] As Trouillot phrases it: 'And an overall sketch of world historical production through time suggests that professional historians alone do not set the narrative framework into which their stories fit. Most often, someone else has already entered the scene and set the cycle of silences.'[120] Music critics decide which performances to review, and assess compositions based on shared values referring to, for example, genre, style or national identity.

2.2 The Western classical music canon: from fossil to fungus

Sources, networks and narratives are not only the ingredients for music history production, they are also input for the process of canonisation. In 1983, in his article 'A few canonic variations', Joseph Kerman was one of the first musicologists to study the process of canon formation. He identified two different types of canon in Western classical music. The performance canon, or repertory, is the body of music that is repeatedly heard on stages around the world; it is decided upon mainly by performers. The critical or scholarly canon is the body of music that is discussed in academia, written up in music history, and set as an example for future generations of composers; it is governed by critics and music analysts.[121]

In his 1991 article 'Canonicity in Academia: a Music Historian's View', Austin Caswell suggested that the Burgess Shale discovery — a find of fossils overthrowing

archives.

[119] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 32.

[120] Ibid., 35.

[121] Joseph Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations', *Critical Inquiry* 10, no. 1 (September 1983): 107–25, https://doi.org/10.1086/448239.

Darwin's theory of linear evolution — can be seen as an analogy for music history.[122] The 19th-century Darwinistic belief in evolution as a continuing process to increasing sophistication heavily influenced the equally 19th-century invention of canonicity.[123] The rise of these twinned concepts coincided with the burgeoning of musicology as a scholarly discipline, focusing on musical text rather than music as a cultural phenomenon. In 1977, Carl Dahlhaus had written: 'The concept of "work", and not "event", is the cornerstone of music history. Or, to put it in Aristotelian terms, the material of music history resides not in *praxis*, or social action, but in *poiesis*, the creation of forms.'[124] Moreover, Dahlhaus' point of departure was that music history is 'made up primarily, if not exclusively, of significant works of music — works that have outlived the musical culture of their age'.[125] Although these three elements — the belief in musical progress, ordering the repertory in a canon of transcendent masterpieces and a preoccupation with textual analysis — had each somehow been present for a long time, in the nineteenth century they reinforced each other as in a pressure cooker, fired by the newly found 'aesthetic truth' and a 'spectacular growth in music magazines'.[126] This holy trinity of nineteenth century scholarship has greatly influenced the production of music history well into the twentieth century, turning the musical canon into a fossil.

The belief in the power of the notes was so strong, that context — reception of a work by audience and critics, the social position of composers and their access to performers, their network — used to be mostly disregarded in the production of music history. According to Caswell, the 19th century view on canonicity was that to determine the immanent quality of a canonical piece of music, critics even needed considerable distance in time, so that the context would not interfere with their judgement.[127] Caswell refuted this: 'I am convinced that "masterworks" have been so judged because they demonstrated (within the culture for which they were composed) a contextual resonance of a high order, not because they were determined by analysis to exhibit compositional techniques that assured them a place in history.'[128] I agree with Caswell, context is crucial. Why would you analyse something that

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[122] Austin B. Caswell, 'Canonicity in Academia: A Music Historian's View', *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 25, no. 3 (1991): 129, https://doi.org/10.2307/3332999.

[123] Ibid., 141. For a more detailed account of the development of canonicity in the 19th century see also William Weber, 'Canonicity and Collegiality', *Common Knowledge* 14, no. 1 (1 January 2008): 105, https://doi.org/10.1215/0961754X-2007-034.. "A paradigm shift occurred in musical culture in the early nineteenth century, whereby revered old works — newly called "classics" — began to rival contemporary ones as the guiding authority over taste."

[124] Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History* (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), 4.

[125] Ibid., 3.

[126] Weber, 'Canonicity and Collegiality', 106–10.

[127] Caswell, 'Canonicity in Academia', 130–31.

[128] Ibid., 132.

hasn't been performed or come to your attention? Context is where power is wielded and silences are created. The formation of the scholarly canon is not a 'natural' process happening inside music, it is a power play happening in the context. The two processes of canon formation and music history production are as much the result contextual factors as an outcome of the immanent and transcendent value of compositions and the self-propelling developmental power of music. In his editorial to the September 1939 issue of *Maandblad voor Hedendaagsche Muziek* composer Daniël Ruyneman (1886-1963) wrote how modesty, disinterest, a sense of inferiority — misguided or not — or a lack of tactical skills could block a composer's road to fame. He stated that cultural history is informed by the interaction of all powers at work in a certain period and that he was appalled at the programming methods of musicians, ignoring contemporary insights in music.[129]

A decade after the seminal article by Kerman, Marcia Citron published her study on gender and the musical canon.[130] She posed that 'a study of canonicity has the potential to demystify the concept and clear a space for alternative historiographic models.'[131] Instead of an objective collection based on quality and formed by the passing of time, Citron saw the musical canon as 'a replication of social relations.'[132] Just like fossil finds in the Burgess Shale threw new light on Darwin's theory of evolution, based on case studies, Citron stated that 'documentary recuperation' can lead to questions calling for 'frameworks beyond the scope of positivist musicology'.[133] Citron recognised the tension between the need to look for patterns in a sea of documentary evidence and the loss of diversity in generalising. Her solution was to walk the tightrope between the two, shifting emphasis where necessary.[134] In 2008, William Weber proposed to speak of canonicity, or canonic practices, rather than a single canon in order to 'better interpret the scraps of information that remain about old

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[129] Daniël Ruyneman, 'Wat horen wij van de Nederlandsche muziek?,' *Maandblad*, vol 8 no 10, September 1939, 447-8; 'Bescheidenheid, onverschilligheid, een al of niet misplaatst minderwaardigheids-gevoel, gebrek aan tact om eigen werk te lanceeren, gebrek aan middelen om werk te publiceeren zijn de vele obstakels van den componist, die het bekend worden in ruimeren kring in den weg staan. Edoch het is een onomstootelijke waarheid, dat het cultuurbeeld van een tijd uitsluitend bepaald wordt door een wisselwerking van alle krachten, die in dat tijdsbestek werkzaam zijn. Hier uit volgt, dat alle krachten, die hiervoor in aanmerking komen voor het forum van onze objectieve waardering dienen te worden geplaatst. En hier richten wij ons tot de uitvoerende musici. Uit welke overwegingen wordt een werk op het programma geplaatst? Het is een algemeen bekend feit, dat de programma-keuze meesttijds niet tot stand komt op grond van eigen inzicht inzake de belangrijkheid van een compositie en uit grondige literatuur-kennis, maar de voorkeur richt zich tot die muziek, die op het oogenblik het meest "aan bod" is. Het is bovendien ontstellend te ervaren, hoe onze concerteerende musici dikwijls in totale onwetendheid verkeeren ten aanzien van de literatuur, welke op hun gebied werd gepubliceerd, om van een intensere belangstelling, welke zou blijken uit den gang van den solist of orkestleider naar de werkkamer van den componist, maar te zwijgen.'

[130] Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993).

[131] Ibid., 1.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid., 4.

[134] Ibid., 7.

pieces — how they have persisted, how people have treated them, what kinds of authority have been attributed to them.'[135] Like a fungus, canonicity (the coexistence of multiple canons) feeds on the humus of history, forming a network of related canons.

This fungal perspective on canon formation has thrived in popular and folk music, where the dominance of the nineteenth century perspective is much weaker or even lacking. However, unlike popular music, which is recorded and often readily available online, non-canonical classical music of the early twentieth century depends on intermediary steps for the listener to access it. In this case, the mass audiences cannot be the direct agents in canon formation as is the case in popular music.[136] Before forgotten music can claim its place on Spotify lists and stages, documentary recuperation is the first intermediary step towards opening up music history beyond the traditional canon. In the following chapters I first explore which values and beliefs guided the narrative in producing Dutch music history during the first decades of the twentieth century, followed by an exploration of composers working in styles and genres beyond the traditional canon.

[135] Weber, 'Canonicity and Collegiality', 110.

[136] Anne Desler, 'History without Royalty? Queen and the Strata of the Popular Music Canon', *Popular Music* 32, no. 3 (2013): 385–405.

3. The prewar dominant narrative

'History reveals itself only through the production of specific narratives.' – Michel-Rolph Trouillot[137]
'Being anthologized and written about also function as signs of approval.' – Marcia Citron[138]

This chapter analyses lexicons and music history books published in the Netherlands in the early decades of the twentieth century to highlight the dominant narrative that guided both the canon formation process and music history production at the time. The analysis distills the values that underlie the narratives that allowed some composers to enter music history while discarding others. The analysis further presents an overview of authors — often composers themselves — wielding power in the process of writing music history and elaborates on their background and network position. It first looks at selection methods of lexicons and encyclopaedias published in the first four decades of the twentieth century. Encyclopaedias and lexicons are strongly associated with a sense of completeness, a listing of factual information without the construction of a narrative. However, even these listings cannot do without an editorial or practical selection process, and, as we shall see, with the publications discussed in this chapter it is far from transparent. The chapter then continues with an analysis of monographs published during the interwar years.

3.1 Encyclopaedias and lexicons

In 1911, the first Dutch lexicon to be published in the 20th century was *Muzikaal Nederland*, a 'bio-bibliographical dictionary' published by J.H. Letzer.[139] It focused on musicians active in the Netherlands between 1850 and 1910 and, in addition to those born, raised and working in the Netherlands, it included both those who came to the Netherlands from abroad to live and work there for a longer period of time, as well as Dutch-born musicians who emigrated. The youngest generation was explicitly included.[140] Letzer (a schoolteacher,[141] a conductor[142] and composer of choir songs[143]) admitted that there would be unintended omissions, since

[137] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 34.
[138] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 193.
[139] J. H Letzer, *Muzikaal Nederland, 1850-1910. Bio-bibliographisch woordenboek van Nederlandsche toonkunstenaars en toonkunstenaressen, alsmede van schrijvers en schrijfsters op muziek-literarisch gebied ... Tweede uitgaaf met aanvullingen en verbeteringen.* (Utrecht, 1913).
[140] Ibid., voorbericht.
[141] *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 7 July 1904.
[142] *Zierikzeesche Nieuwsbode*, 4 March 1905.
[143] *De Tijd*, 16 February 1915.

— in his view — the number of musicians had grown considerably. His lexicon was intended to add to the knowledge on Dutch music history and to be a guide for musicians.[144] An anonymous reviewer in the Dutch newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* claimed that Letzer received his information directly from the musicians included in his lexicon.[145] The entries were short and factual, summing up birth date and place, education, musical career and a works list. Of over 800 entries, more than 300 mention compositions.[146] Willem Andriessen (1887-1964) was the youngest composer listed, his brother Hendrik (1892-1981) was still too young at the time of publication. Hardly ever a description of style was given (as an exception, Bernard Zweers was mentioned as 'thoroughbred Wagnerian' upon his return from Germany), sometimes genres were mentioned (e.g. Israël Olman wrote around fifty choir pieces). The output of composers listed varied from several songs to extensive work lists in all genres. It is therefore safe to say that no selection was made based on quality, style or genre. Still, however, composers were missing (e.g. Sam Vlessing, Dolf Waterman). This is probably not due to selection standards but rather to ignorance or lack of response.

Geïllustreerd Muzieklexicon (Illustrated Music Lexicon) was first published in 1932 by Gerard Keller and Philip Kruseman (editors).[147] The book contained entries on musicians as well as musical terms and instruments. Kruseman ran a publishing house with a special interest in music history and by the time his illustrated music lexicon appeared, he had already published a series of biographies titled *Beroemde musici* (Famous musicians).[148] Keller wrote several publications on music and wrote for various newspapers.[149] In their preface, the editors stated that they aimed to produce a compact music dictionary in Dutch to service both professionals and amateur musicians, for a fair price. The editors tried to include a short biography, work list, and literature references for every person 'whose work or performance has had an impact on the art of music'.[150] They further stated that the amount of text devoted to a composer or musician is by no means an indication of their importance to music history.[151] Like in Letzer's lexicon, the entries were factual and hardly ever

[144] Letzer, *Muzikaal Nederland*, voorbericht.

[145] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 June 1911. This anonymous reviewer may well have been a musician or composer who received an invitation from Letzer to contribute their own lemma.

[146] Letzer, *Muzikaal Nederland,* voorbericht.

[147] Philip Kruseman and G. Keller, *Geïllustreerd muzieklexicon* (s-Gravenhage: Kruseman, 1932).

[148] 'J. Philip Kruseman overleden,' *Het Vaderland*, 4 February 1955.

[149] 'Mr. G. Keller overleden,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 20 October 1934.

[150] Kruseman and Keller, *Geïllustreerd muzieklexicon*, 1. '[…] en de samenstellers hebben getracht iedere figuur in de muziekwereld, wiens werk of optreden voor de toonkunst van beteekenis is geweest, in het lexicon op te nemen met een beknopte levensschets en vermelding van hun voornaamste werken, ook met verwijzing naar bronnen.'

[151] Ibid. 'Vanzelfsprekend is het aantal regels aan een bepaald toonkunstenaar gewijd allerminst een maatstaf voor de meer of mindere belangrijkheid.'

mentioned quality or style (as an exception, Henriëtte Bosmans was referred to as a 'young composer with special talent').[152] The editors were assisted by composer and music journalist Willem Landré (1874-1948) for the entries on Dutch composers and musicians. The selection method, presumably carried out by Landré, is not explained any further, nor is the criterion 'impact on the art of music' operationalised. As to their information gathering method, the editors state that they have made use of earlier publications (Viotta[153], Letzer, Riemann[154]) as well as their own research. In 1949, a supplement was published, adding information on what happened during the war and adding newer compositions. Contrary to the earlier publication, information was added on style and quality. For example, the entry on Leo Smit now stated that he was a gifted composer and that his compositions — although sometimes lacking depth — testify to a warm sense of musicality, spontaneous invention and *Spielfreude*'.[155] Apparently, somewhere between 1932 and 1949, the need arose to say something on the quality of composers.

In *X-Y-Z der Muziek* (1936), an encyclopedia on Western music history, Dutch musicologist and critic Caspar Höweler (1897-1969) only mentioned four Dutch contemporary composers: Alphons Diepenbrock (1862-1921), Willem Pijper (1894-1947), Johan Wagenaar (1862-1941) and Bernard Zweers (1854-1924).[156]

To conclude, not only were none of the above encyclopedic publications not transparent about their selection methods, they also did not give much information on any qualitative criteria for inclusion in music history. The reader could only trust in the expertise of the editors and their advisors to select the composers 'that made an impact' on Dutch music history. For contemporary entries, selection often depended on the composers themselves to supply the necessary information.

3.2 Writing music history

On 13th October 1930, Dr. Albert Smijers held his inaugural speech on accepting the first chair on theory and history of music in the Netherlands at Utrecht University. As a student of Adler, he saw music history as the development of music and stated that the scholar's task is to order, classify and identify commonalities and connections to chart the development of music in the context of wider cultural history. In his opinion, beauty was

[152] Ibid., 72. '… is een jonge comp., die reeds meerdere malen blijk van bijzonder talent gegeven heeft, …'
[153] Henri Viotta, *Onze hedendaagsche toonkunstenaars* (Amsterdam: Van Holkema & Warendorf, 1893).
[154] Hugo Riemann and Alfred Einstein, *Musik-Lexicon*, 1922.
[155] Philip Kruseman, *Geïllustreerd muzieklexicon supplement* ('s-Gravenhage: Philip Kruseman, 1949), 265. 'Hoewel zijn composities niet altijd de nodige diepte bezitten, zijn zij het getuigenis van een warme muzikaliteit en spontane inventie en musiceervreugde.'

but a relative thing, influenced by the taste of the time and therefore not suited as selection tool. According to Smijers (quoting Adler), musicologists should identify schools but also describe the uniqueness of works.[157] A decade later, in his review of *Muziekgeschiedenis* (Music history) by Karel Bernet Kempers, Willem Landré wrote that music history had recently evolved from listing composers of the past with their birth and death dates to a science explaining the development of music.[158]

In line with Smijers' interpretation of the task of musicologists, music history in the Netherlands in the early twentieth century has been described in several overviews on composing and music history in general. *Het Muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880* (Music life in the Netherlands since 1880), was written in 1923 by Sem Dresden (1881-1957), by that time a well-respected composer and teacher at the Amsterdam Conservatory, about to become its director.[159] In 1930, Paul Sanders (1891-1986) — a young composer, music journalist with the daily newspaper *Het Volk* and editor of the magazine *De Muziek* — wrote *Moderne Nederlandsche componisten* (Modern Dutch composers) in Kruseman's series on famous musicians, focusing mainly on his own teachers Dresden and Pijper.[160] A year later, André Coeuroy's *Panorama de la musique contemporaine* was published in Dutch, with a section on Dutch composers by Julius Hijman, music journalist, pianist and composer.[161] In 1932, Karel Bernet Kempers (1897-1974), at the time teaching music history at the University of Amsterdam and the The Hague Conservatory, published *Muziekgeschiedenis* (Music history).[162] In the same year, Henk Badings, former student of Pijper and composition teacher at the conservatories of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, published *De hedendaagsche Nederlandsche muziek* (Contemporary Dutch music), followed soon by Pijper's chapter in Smijers' *Algemene muziekgeschiedenis* (General music history) titled 'Van Debussy tot heden'.[163] Pijper updated this chapter, focusing on contemporary music in Europe, shortly

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[156] Casper Höweler, *XYZ der muziek*, 10e dr (Houten: De Haan, 1950).

[157] A. (Albertus Antonius) Smijers, *Nederlandsche muziekgeschiedenis* (S.l.: [s.n.], 1930), 13–14.

[158] Willem Landré, 'Muziekgeschiedenis door Dr. K. Ph. Bernet Kempers,' *Caecilia en de muziek*, vol 14 no 7, 15 July 1940, 101. 'In den loop van de jaren echter is muziekgeschiedenis heel iets anders geworden, een wetenschap, die ons het ontstaan, den groei van de muziekkunst duidelijk maakt en dus een wetenschap die geen musicus onverschillig laten kan, die door geen kunstenaar, welke ontwikkeld man zijn wil, achteloos terzijde geschoven kan worden. Dat is te danken aan het onvermoeid werken, aan de onderzoekingen van muziekgeleerden, die hun leven in dienst gesteld hebben van de kunst, die dus, op hunne wijze belangrijk bijgedragen hebben tot den ontwikkelingsgang van de kunst.' After the Second World War, Karel Bernet Kempers (1897-1974) was appointed the first professor of musicology at the University of Amsterdam.

[159] Dresden, *Het muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880*.

[160] Sanders, *Moderne Nederlandsche componisten*.

[161] André Cœuroy, *Panorama der hedendaagsche muziek* (Arnhem: Hijman, Stenfert Kroese & Van der Zande, 1931).

[162] K.Ph. (Karel Philippus) Bernet Kempers, *Muziekgeschiedenis*, 6e, uitgebreide en herz. dr ed. (Amsterdam: Strengholt, 1965).

[163] Badings, *De hedendaagsche Nederlandsche muziek*; Albert Smijers, *Algemeene Muziekgeschiedenis Geïllustreerd Overzicht Der Europeesche Muziek van de Oudheid Tot Heden* (Utrecht: Wde Haan NV, 1938).

before his death in 1947, this last version is published in his collected writings.[164]

All authors acknowledge the fact that they had to make a selection but unfortunately, no one explains how they went about it. Their research methods — whether they based themselves on literature research, worked with surveys or delved into archival sources — remain hidden. No evidence was found of authors starting out with archival sources, like composers' estates or newspaper articles. Badings suggested that those operating in the shadows may turn out to be just as, or even more influential than composers in the limelight, but still chose not to shine a light in dark places.[165] Most authors (composers themselves) explicitly stated that it is difficult to say anything about contemporary colleagues. Dresden even refused to write anything about those in their twenties at the time of writing, as they were only at the early stages of development and it would be unfair to cast judgment on an unfinished product.[166] Badings claimed contemporaries are often misunderstood, so judgment should be mild.[167] Moreover, according to Dresden, with contemporaries, it is hard to distinguish between the intrinsic value of the music and the personality of the composer.[168] Sanders was convinced it is easier to analyse the past, since the development of composers can be traced and they can be easily compared with other composers of the period.[169] All authors seemed to agree on the idea that, in the end, Father Time will wave his magic wand and true genius will out. While all recognised the need to select when writing a history, they did not seem to acknowledge that the presentation of facts upon which they based their narrative is just as much a selection.

Some prefaces report on some explicit choices in selecting composers. Dresden excluded composers of pedagogical works, choir composers and writers of military marches, since their work is written for an inner circle, hardly under public scrutiny. He further excluded *eendagsmuziek* (music lasting one day), which probably refers to entertainment music and music written for special occasions (like radio, or film).[170] Both Sanders and Badings limited themselves to living composers and favoured the most influential or famous ones — without operationalising these criteria — as well as ambassadors of modern music.[171] In addition, Badings emphasised the generation born after 1900.[172] These explicit choices are

[164] Willem Pijper, *Het papieren gevaar: verzamelde geschriften (1917-1947)* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2011).
[165] Badings, *De hedendaagsche Nederlandsche muziek*, 7.
[166] Dresden, *Het muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880*, 106.
[167] Badings, *De hedendaagsche Nederlandsche muziek*, 8.
[168] Dresden, *Het muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880*, 27–28.
[169] Sanders, *Moderne Nederlandsche componisten*, 88.
[170] Dresden, *Het muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880*, 7.
[171] Sanders, *Moderne Nederlandsche componisten*, 9–10.
[172] Badings, *De hedendaagsche Nederlandsche muziek*, 9.

closely related to the purpose of these books and their targeted (lay) audience. Sanders expressed a wish to cherish and document national treasures (mainly his teachers Dresden and Pijper), Badings' purpose was to familiarise his audience with contemporary Dutch music.[173]

Implicit selection criteria can be deduced by analysing the language used to describe selected composers. Words chosen reflect both the time of writing as well as the personal preferences of the author. From the above listed monographs, a set of closely interlinked qualifications emerges. Some qualifications refer to attributes of the music (Dutchness, unity, freshness, transparency), others to attributes of the composer (innate drive to compose, craftsmanship, born musicianship, pedagogical influence, leadership, self-confidence, modesty, not giving in to public taste) and some qualifications are in between, where the image, identity or perceived character of a composer influences what can be heard in his or her music (originality, uniqueness, innovative quality, depth, spirituality, passion). Some qualifications also depend on factors external to the music or even beyond the composer's influence, like (international) acclaim. Finally, some qualifications reflect the personal taste of the authors, like the disapproval of music styles (jazz, neoclassicism).

For authors writing in the early decades of the twentieth century – contemporaries of their subjects — nationalism played an important role. Ignited by 19th century formation of nation states and fuelled by sentiments of the First World War, the search for Dutchness in music was an important topic. Music life needed to free itself from centuries of German domination. According to Sanders, culture has no value if it doesn't root in national culture and meaningful international exchange can happen only if a confident national style is blossoming.[174] To develop a sense of nationalism in music is to defend oneself from foreign music invasions. Contradictory as it may seem, French influence was seen as the way forward to emancipation. Dresden felt the German romantic style did not fit the Dutch spirit and a more southern orientation, together with the rediscovery of the polyphonic style of the 15th and 16th century could help Dutch composers free themselves from German hegemony.[175] But how is Dutchness defined in music? According to Dresden, Johan Wagenaar's sense of humour was considered typically Dutch.[176] Authors recognised a jocular spirit in many of the selected composers, like Zweers, Pijper, Dresden and Jan Felderhof (1907-2006). At the same time, Dresden equally valued the craftsmanship of a

[173] Sanders, *Moderne Nederlandsche componisten*, 9.

[174] Ibid., 12. 'Geen kunstwerk kan echter voor de algemeene cultuur der menschheid waarde hebben, wanneer het niet wortelt in de cultuur van een volksgemeenschap die, klein of groot, een eigen karakter draagt en als zoodanig de mogelijkheid biedt om deel te nemen aan de vruchtbare uitwisseling van cultureele voortbrengselen tusschen de volkeren onderling.'

[175] Dresden, *Het muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880*, 25–29.

rational spirit, fond of counterpoint, *thematische Arbeit* and form as typically Dutch.[177] Sanders qualified solemnity and a chorale-like melody, preferably in a 4/4 metre, as Dutch.[178] Dresden believed that Dutchness could be attained by making use of folk melodies.[179] Less positive characteristics of Dutchness mentioned are conservatism, grey monotony and mistrust of artistic expression and sensuality.

Another highly valued asset of selected composers is innovative talent. According to Dresden, who was most outspoken on this topic, every composer is an inventor, a creator of new things, looking to cross borders. Making mistakes is essential in the process of innovation and an open mind is a prerequisite.[180] Sanders hailed the ability to anticipate the future as an important trait of outstanding composers.[181] However, in general, a thin line separates being innovative from being too far ahead of your time. Innovation must have its foundations in the past, innovation for the sake of modernity is not appreciated.

Closely related to innovativeness is uniqueness, originality or individuality. Dresden stated that imitation is ignoring one's own thoughts; he believed a stronger personality leads to more unique music.[182] Sanders valued independence and a critical mind.[183] An accusation of having no personal language or style is almost like a composer's death sentence, which can only be remedied by extraordinary craftsmanship, or forgiven when a composer is still young and a 'work in progress'. This criterion of individuality is valid for all authors and is not time-bound. Self-confidence and courage are not only necessary to experiment but also help to get your music performed and thus convince others of your quality. Introvert and modest composers on the other hand, are less inclined to present their work as unique, they might keep their experiments to themselves and are therefore less likely to climb the highest scales of the ladder.

To reach the state of being unique, with a clearly recognisable personal style, every composer is supposed to go through a series of developmental stages. The earliest stage is dedicated to learning the craft by studying works of great composers and practising the tricks of the trade under the guidance of a teacher. Craftsmanship is a sine qua non for every esteemed composer. As Dresden puts it: 'A composer knows his material like a farmer knows his cattle.'[184] Sanders praised Pijper's 'complete mastership'.[185] Craftsmanship is

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[176] Ibid., 59.

[177] Ibid., 80.

[178] Sanders, *Moderne Nederlandsche componisten*, 10–11.

[179] Dresden, *Het muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880*, 73–74; ibid., 82.

[180] Dresden, *Het muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880*, 11–15.

[181] Sanders, *Moderne Nederlandsche componisten*, 60.

[182] Dresden, *Het muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880*, 16–17.

[183] Sanders, *Moderne Nederlandsche componisten*, 44.

[184] Dresden, *Het muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880*, 8. 'De componist kent zijn materiaal blindelings, zoals een

labelled as thorough, faultless, or noble, writing the correct notes in the proper place. Showing good taste in choosing your models, or championing forgotten masters adds to the credibility of a composer. Apparent ease in writing is admired, although too much ease raises the red flag of superficiality. Authors agreed that if the development process stops after mastering the skills and composers do not evolve beyond the influence of their teachers and established composers, they are not considered true artists.

Furthermore, these authors shared the belief that true artists always feel the inner need or urge to compose, almost like a spiritual calling. Depth, spirituality, passion, these characteristics are all linked to the inner need or drive to compose. This urge to express one's feelings is not supposed to take heed of public taste. A different inner drive described by several authors is linked to craftsmanship and can perhaps best be described with the German word *Spielfreude*. For example, Henriëtte Bosmans is praised for her musicality and talent.[186] At the final stages of development, respected composers find themselves in a leadership position. They teach composition at major institutions or lead conservatories and educate their own followers. They participate in committees to advise and judge.

3.3 The influence of networks

Because of the more rigorous selection (less composers are included, but the methods are not more transparent) and the authority of the authors, monographs have a much bigger impact on music history than lexicons or encyclopaedias. Moreover, the music history books mentioned here distinguish themselves from lexicons by adding a narrative. This narrative is influenced by the authors' position within the network of composers.

Five out of six authors of the music history books discussed were active as composers themselves, Bernet Kempers being the only exception. At the time of writing, Sanders, Badings and Hijman were at a relatively early stage in their career, while Dresden and Pijper had established themselves as composers. In this group of authors, the educational lineage Zweers-Wagenaar-Pijper-Dresden is strong. Badings and Sanders studied with Pijper, while Sanders also studied with Dresden. Julius Hijman took private lessons with Dresden. Both Dresden and Bernet Kempers studied with Zweers, while Pijper studied with Wagenaar. Pijper, Dresden and Sanders belonged to the network that was closely linked to the International Society for Contemporary Music, while Hijman belonged to the rivalling network of Ruyneman's *Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek*

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boer zijn vee.'

[185] Sanders, *Moderne Nederlandsche componisten*, 102.

[186] Kruseman, *Geïllustreerd muzieklexicon supplement*, 72; Badings, *De hedendaagsche Nederlandsche muziek*, 59.

(NVvHM, Dutch Society for Contemporary Music, see chapter 6.3). Although women wrote about music — for example, Jeanne Landré (1867-1952) reported on music life for the daily newspaper *Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche Courant* and reviewed pedagogical publications for *Symphonia* magazine — none of the prewar music histories were written by women.[187]

The publications by Badings (113 pages) and Dresden (142 pages) mention just over 90 Dutch composers, while Sanders' monograph (115 pages) only mentions twenty. Hijman (20 pages) mentions 32 Dutch composers. Obviously, Bernet Kempers and Pijper, who did not exclusively focus on Dutch music history, also mention fewer Dutch composers. To build a narrative, it is not only necessary to select, but also to group composers. The most obvious grouping seems to be along the lines of generations or styles but chronological generations do not always fully overlap with stylistic groups. Badings considered Jeanne Beyerman-Walraven (1878-1969), Jan Ingenhoven (1876-1951) and Henri Zagwijn (1878-1954) as revolutionaries, despite the fact that they belonged to an older generation. Pijper grouped 22 composers according to style influences. He limited himself to published music (making an exception for Diepenbrock) and refused to discuss the younger generation (he writes pejoratively of Badings' publication).[188] Of the older generation he discussed the circle around Diepenbrock (Matthijs Vermeulen (1888-1967), Johan Winnubst (1885-1934)), his own teacher Wagenaar and his classmate with Wagenaar, Alexander Voormolen (1895-1980). He further wrote about Zweers and his students Ruyneman, Bernhard van den Sigtenhorst Meyer (1888-1953), Dresden, Willem Landré, and Hendrik Andriessen. Henri Zagwijn (self-taught) seems to be the odd one out in this list. However, the most important composer described by Pijper is Pijper; out of four and a half pages on music in the Netherlands, the author dedicated one and a half page to his own music, the only pages that included note samples. Of the younger composers mentioned (1900-1910), four are his own students (Piet Ketting (1904-1984), Badings, Bertus van Lier (1906-1972), Guillaume Landré (1905-1968)), while five are students of Dresden (Felderhof, Emmy Frensel Wegener (1901-1973), Smit, Willem van Otterloo (1907-1978) and Marius Monnikendam (1896-1977)). Emmy Frensel Wegener is the only female composer mentioned by Pijper; for unknown reasons he left out Henriëtte Bosmans, who worked under his guidance for some time. Both Frensel Wegener and Bosmans had been selected by Pijper to be performed at the ISCM concerts.

Hijman (1931) is the only one to mention composers Willem Breman (1888-1962) and Robert de Roos (1907-1976). According to Hijman, Breman's songs testified of his sensitive

[187] 'Jeanne Landré overleden,' *Arnhemsche Courant*, 31 July 1952. Jeanne Landré was a singer, vocal teacher and critic, the older sister of composer Willem Landré.
[188] Pijper, *Het papieren gevaar*, 836.

nature, the author thought he was a very promising composer, but lacked courage.[189] In 1921, Breman came to live in Blaricum, a small town east of Amsterdam, during a period when Hijman lived and performed in the same region. Both pianists studied with Dresden. Although no evidence was found of them performing each other's work, they may well have known (of) each other. Music by Robert de Roos was programmed in the first international exchange concert organised by NVvHM in Vienna in November 1931.[190] It is likely that Hijman had had a hand in organising this concert, as he had lived in Vienna and had a network there.

Both Badings (1936) and Dresden (1923) mention a fair number of composers that are not mentioned in any other publication. Of the composers exclusively mentioned by Dresden, most were born in the 1860s, while five were women.[191] Composers exclusively mentioned by Badings are all born after 1880, including three women.[192] The lack of overlap is thus mainly caused by the different publication dates. Of the younger generation missed out by Dresden, Badings' list includes fellow Pijper students Iet Stants (1903-1968), Hans Henkemans (1913-1995), Johan Franco (1908-1988) and Wolfgang Wijdeveld (1910-1985). The men were too young to be included in Dresden's publication.

Music history books of nineteenth- and twentieth-century music often organise their narratives through nationally defined schools. Hijman included composers who had contributed to a national style, even if they were no genius.[193] If questions of migration remain understudied in music studies, then this gap persists because national frameworks

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[189] Cœuroy, *Panorama der hedendaagsche muziek*, 173–74; ibid., 176.

[190] *Maandblad*, vol 1 no 1, November 1931, 7; *Symphonia*, vol 14 no 12, December 1931, 230.

[191] Johan Berghout (1869-1963); Cornelis Andriessen jr (1865-1947); Anna Lambrechts-Vos (1876-1932); Gottfried Mann (1858-1904); Anton Herman Amory (1862-1930); Frederik Christiaan Hendriks jr (1861-1923); Charles Smulders (1863-1934); Marius van 't Kruijs (1861-1919); Louis Zimmermann (1873-1954); Emile Brucken Fock (1857-1944); Christiaan Krah (-1938); Karel Textor (1870-1934); Nelly van der Linden van Snelrewaard-Boudewijns (1869-1926); Leander Schlegel (1844-1913); Jan Hooymeyer (unknown); Steven van Groningen (1851-1926); Ludwig Felix Brandts Buys (1847-1917); Marius Kerrebijn (1882-1930); Philip Loots (1865-1916); Lambert Adriaan van Tetterode (1858-1931); Cor Kint (1890-1944); Anna Stibbe (1879-1956); Willem de Haan (1849-1930); Leo Ruygrok (1889-1944); Eduard J.J. Pothast (1886-1955); Henriëtte van Lennep (1894-1972); Cato Vletter (1887-1970)

[192] Nico Verhoeff (1904-1977); Frits Schuurman (1898-1972, conductor); Paul Roes (1889-1955); Hans Osieck (1910-2000); Léon Orthel (1905-1985); Lou Lichtveld (1903-1996); Iet Stants (1903-1968); Hans Henkemans (1913-1995); Eduard Flipse (1896-1973); Hans Schouwman (1902-1967); Constant van de Wall (1871-1945); Berthe Geuer (1888-1974); Johan Franco (1908-1988); Willem Henri (Hans) de Bock (1896-1938); Felix de Nobel (1907-1981); Nico Richter (1915-1945); Jac Jansen (ca. 1885-1954); Theo Smit Sibinga (1899-1958); Dina Appeldoorn (1884-1938); Dirk Fock (1886-1973); Ary Verhaar (1900-1994); Johannes den Hertog (1904-1982); Wolfgang Wijdeveld (1910-1985); Max Weil (1902-1950).

[193] Cœuroy, *Panorama der hedendaagsche muziek*, 161. 'Vooral Zweers, Wagenaar en Dopper hebben dat gegeven, wat men langen tijd voor een zuivere weerspiegeling van onze integrale volksziel heeft gehouden. Het zou dan ook niet minder dan een grove miskenning zijn, wilde men hun den eeretitel van nationale componisten onthouden. Hun muziek is, zonder de hoogste geestelijke regionen te bereiken, een uiting van een voortreffelijk zielsevenwicht, zij leent zich niet voor extasen, zij verraadt een wakkere intelligentie, nimmer een genialiteit, en

of historiography have obscured the conditions of displaced and nationally disenfranchised peoples.[194] Only Pijper and Badings wrote their monographs after 1933 but neither of them mentioned immigrant composers like Wilhelm Rettich, Hans Lachman (1906-1990), Géza Frid (1904-1989), James Simon (1880-1944) or Hans Krieg.

Five composers are mentioned by all authors: Bernard van den Sigtenhorst Meyer, Daniël Ruyneman, Willem Pijper, Sem Dresden and Hendrik Andriessen. Despite the agreement on a core group of composers to be included in Dutch music history, especially in mentioning the younger generation, personal preferences and network ties matter.

To conclude, a set of values informed the implicit selection criteria at work in prewar music historiography. Many of these criteria, like educational lineage, perceived professionalism, performance conventions and being reviewed, are overlooked when music history is produced on the basis of analysis of scores. Although both Dresden and Pijper refrained from discussing the younger generation, they created silences by mentioning some, while ignoring others. Network positions of both authors and composers mattered. In the next chapter, I will redirect my focus to another area of music history production, since many actors are involved, not just music historians or musicologists. Apart from the obvious 'production sites', such as lexicons and monographs on the subject, music history is produced in concerts, radio broadcasts, reviews, and articles in newspapers and magazines.[195] Concerts produce sources, such as announcements and programme notes, and radio broadcasts are announced and sometimes previewed in radio magazines. The historical actors who decide what music merits programming and reviewing are the first chroniclers on the scene.[196] Music critics not only choose which concerts to review, they also decide on what is mentioned and hence what is silenced in their account. Together, this myriad of events and their traces form the humus on which a more fungal system of music history grows. In the next chapter, I will study archival sources to discover what has been left out of the music history books discussed in this chapter.

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wortelt frank en vrij in het liberalisme.'

[194] Brigid Maureen Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*, New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 12–13.

[195] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 28.

[196] Ibid., 30.

4. Prewar performance opportunities and the unequal production of sources

'The creativity of the first half of the twentieth century is far richer and varied than we commonly assume.' […] The cliché "there are no lost masterpieces" reveals our own ignorance.' - James Conlon[197]

Complaining about the lack of choir music written by composers of 'more than ordinary talent, including the men of the avant-garde[198], composer Jos de Klerk (1885-1969) wrote in 1941: 'A year ago, when I discussed this with a composer friend, he answered boldly "We are too distinguished for that!". He said it with some irony, but still it was an apt characterisation.'[199] From the analysis of existing Dutch music historiography in the previous chapter a system of values and genre hierarchies evolved. Some genres, such as symphony and opera, served as a fast track to canonicity, while others led to the backstreets of oblivion. These values and hierarchies not only influenced performance opportunities but also the resulting production of sources. Music only exists when performed — music in an archive box is no music just as a recipe for a cake is not a cake — but not all performances stand an equal chance when it comes to producing music history. Some performance opportunities generated few or less influential sources (music for amateur ensembles was seldom reviewed in national newspapers), others left traces that are poorly archived and thus inaccessible (private performances may only be 'reviewed' in correspondence).

A close-knit relationship exists between the hierarchy of genres, the context of

[197] James Conlon, 'Recovering a musical heritage: The music suppressed by the Third Reich' on 'The OREL Foundation | Rediscovering Supressed Musical Treasures of the Twentieth Century', accessed 6 March 2025, http://orelfoundation.org/.

[198] During the interwar years, avant-garde is sometimes used to refer to a new generation of composers of various styles (e.g. Stravinsky, Milhaud, Dresden, Pijper, Vermeulen, but also Duke Ellington). However, the term avant-garde is much more used in the 1960s-1980s to refer to modernist composers of that period. The combination of the Dutch words *modernisme* and *muziek* is not so much used in the postwar decades, whereas in the interwar years it is a polarising phrase, often used in a negative way. When used in the early decades after WWII, it is still often used in a negative way, for example in combination with adjectives such as 'snobbish' or 'forced', or in combination with 'ultra'. The combination of the words *modern(e)* and *muziek* is much more neutral and used before as well as after WWII. (based on Delpher.nl searches with the prompts 'avant* PROX muziek'; 'modernisme PROX muziek'; 'modern* PROX muziek').

[199] Jos de Klerk, 'Nieuwe uitgaven,' *Symphonia*, vol 24 no 3, March 1941. 'Reeds dikwijls heb ik de verzuchting geslaakt – en neergeschreven – dat ook onze componisten van meer dan gewone beteekenis – de mannen van de voorhoede incluis – zich eens wat meer zouden gelegen laten aan de volksmuziek, aan het repertorium van onze zang- en muziekvereenigingen. […] Toen ik ruim een jaar geleden met een bevriend componist in dien zin over deze aangelegenheid sprak, mocht ik het krasse antwoord vernemen: "Daarvoor zijn wij *te deftig*!" Het was ironisch bedoeld, maar daarom niet minder raak typeerend.'

performances and the production of sources: the venue, the audiences, the announcements and reviews. Music performed on a public platform that leaves plenty of traces, including reviews and programme notes, is less likely to go unnoticed or fade away. For example, a concert in a subscription series of the Concertgebouw Orchestra received far more attention than a concert of new chamber music in a private home, church or museum.

Music composed for educational purposes would only be heard in private sessions between teacher and pupil, or at a student concert attended by family and friends. Although thousands of *luistervinken* (radio listeners) would witness the broadcast of a radio drama, a review of the music especially written for it was exceptional. As very few recordings of the early days of radio remain, the only traces left would be the manuscript (sometimes only a sketchy representation of the music) and the announcement in radio guides. In her research on music in radio drama in the Netherlands Philomeen Lelieveldt wrote that 'the musicologist entering this research field is constrained by the fact that although at the time the composers, musicians and sound engineers were given credits before and after the broadcasts, for several reasons their names have been lost or downplayed in radio historiographies or composers' biographies.'[200] Another example of this inequality in producing sources is found in music events for dilettantes. With hundreds of choirs, wind orchestras, amateur symphony orchestras, operetta societies and ensembles, music sounded in every village hall, town square, and local theatre, and although these amateur music events, concerts and competitions were mentioned in local newspapers, they were not often critically reviewed. If critics wrote about music composed for amateurs at all, its merits were measured to different criteria than those of music performed by professional musicians in more official concert venues. As a final example, music composed for use in religious services was considered a highly respectable form of art. Writing a requiem or a mass would not diminish your standing as a composer. The first performance of Diepenbrock's *Missa in die festo* in Utrecht's Cathedral was considered 'a milestone in Dutch music history, both within as well as outside the Catholic church'.[201] The performance of a contemporary requiem was not limited to the confines of a church congregation; Diepenbrock had strong hopes that his mass would be performed at the Amsterdam Concertgebouw.[202] However, music for Jewish religious services had no tradition outside the synagogue. It was appreciated by a far smaller audience. Still, non-religious Jewish music, like Yiddish folk songs, or music inspired by biblical themes but not intended for use in the synagogue, was

[200] Philomeen Lelieveldt, 'Music in Radio Drama in the Netherlands: A Short History in Four Acts', in *Word, Sound and Music in Radio Drama* (Brill, 2023), 76–101, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004549609_005.
[201] Petra van Langen, *Muziek en religie: katholieke musici en de confessionalisering van het Nederlandse muziekleven, 1850-1948* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014), 115; Samama, *Alphons Diepenbrock*, 160.
[202] Langen, *Muziek en religie*, 146.

performed in the concert hall and broadcast on national radio by both Jewish and non-Jewish musicians.

Composers writing in specific genres or for special audiences ran the risk of being placed in a box by critics, which, once sealed, would be very hard to escape. Genre choices were often made involuntarily, enforced by the economic or political situation. In this chapter, I will explore the performance opportunities in the backstreets of music history. Away from the major concert venues, composers wrote music for many different situations, performed by a wide variety of musicians. For example, study groups for new music emerged, organising informal concerts in music schools, back rooms of piano shops and private homes; new chamber orchestras were founded to explore ancient as well as new music, and new media like radio and film required new genres and innovative composing techniques. Many restaurants had orchestras performing dance music. These orchestras would perform there for weeks on end, before moving on to the next venue. New songs and arrangements were written by the *kapellmeister*, often a classically trained composer. Well aware of the negative impact on their reputation as 'serious composers', many composers used pseudonyms when writing music for dance orchestras or popular songs. In music schools, students would sweat over new etudes written by their teacher; if they showed talent, they were asked to perform in the annual music school concert. Working together with playwrights, composers conducted from their manuscript scores to enhance radio drama with music, while the conductor of the radio entertainment orchestra would knock on their door to ask if the arrangements for next week's broadcast were ready yet.[203]

Following in the footsteps of the 20th century ancient music revival and the revival of women composers in the 1980s, this research now turns to composers of the interwar years. The tools of digital humanities provide new ways of finding and unlocking sources and new ways of building narratives. Exploring digitised as well as non-digitised sources like newspapers and magazines redirects our focus to unexplored archives. Shifting emphasis from the analysis of canonical works to the exploration of archival sources allows us to listen to musical voices of the past with new ears. We tune in on a different wavelength to discover music that was lost for many different reasons. Researching archival sources is no longer an auxiliary branch of music history, supporting the grand narrative of great composers, but a new way of building narratives and giving a voice to silenced composers; it enriches both our understanding of the musical past and the present performance repertory. This chapter explores the stories of skilled, classically trained composers who

[203] 'Het Verhaal - Beluister #10 - Hilversumse Muziekschatten | Maurits Samehtini'. 'Else van Epen-de Groot: werkster van het allerlaatste uur; een charmant fenomeen,' *Beatrijs*, vol 17 no 37, 1959, 12. 'Ik zat vaak nog de muziek te schrijven, terwijl de loopjongen al voor de deur stond te wachten.'

were overlooked in producing music history, often for more than one reason, but the quality of their music is not necessarily among them. What genres did they choose to compose in and how did this affect their 'canonworthiness'? In this chapter, I visit different locations, from Carnegie Hall in New York to the VARA studios in Hilversum, from Rosy Wertheim's living room in Amsterdam to the Great Hall of the Amsterdam Concertgebouw. Going fast forward as well as jumping back through the years, I listen in on music performed for a variety of audiences.

4.1 Composing for students

Broadcast live from the Hilversum VARA studio, on the afternoon of Wednesday, 30th June 1937, Hetty van der Spaa (8 years old), Dickie Schallies[204] (9 years old) and a small radio orchestra conducted by their teacher Daniël (Dan) Belinfante performed the first two movements of Belinfante's *Concertino for piano and orchestra*.[205] Two years later, the same *Concertino* was performed in the Recital Hall of the Amsterdam Concertgebouw during a yearly student concert of Belinfante's music school; a photo in the archives of the Netherlands Music Institute shows Belinfante conducting the orchestra.[206] The *Concertino* was then published in a piano reduction by Broekmans & Van Poppel in 1939. Based on this publication, an anonymous critic of the daily newspaper *De Telegraaf* praised Belinfante's compositional talent and eloquence.[207] In addition to the *Concertino*, Belinfante published a series of melodic studies for piano to acquaint his students with the sound world of modern music. In his review, Daniël Ruyneman was content with what he judged to be well written pieces for advanced learners, achieving their goal of introducing them to the newest music with skill and musical taste.[208] With publications like these, Daniël Belinfante established a name for himself as a composer specialised in pedagogy and in doing so, he followed the

[204] In 1950, pianist Dick Schallies graduated from the Amsterdam Conservatoire. (*De Telegraaf*, 23 January 1957). He became the pianist of the renowned radio orchestra *Metropole Orkest* and composed a winning song for the Eurovision Song Contest in 1959 (*De Telegraaf*, 19 February 1959).

[205] *Radiogids*, 26 June 1937; *Maandblad*, May 1937, 98. In the pillarised Dutch society, VARA (Vereniging van Arbeiders Radio Amateurs, Association of Workers Radio Amateurs) was the broadcast society representing socialists and communists.

[206] *De Telegraaf*, 8 June 1939; Photo collection Netherlands Music Institute, no F9002.

[207] *De Telegraaf*, 23 November 1939. 'In de deelen, waarin beweeglijke figuren de beteekenis der muziek bepalen, is Belinfante verreweg het sterkst. In die deelen uit zich zijn compositorische begaafdheid op een even eloquente als innemende wijze.'

[208] 'Melodische Voordrachts Etuden als inleiding tot de Moderne Litteratuur, published by Alsbach & Co,' *Maandblad*, January 1936, 548. 'Een met kennis van zaken geschreven werkje, dat volkomen aan het beoogde doel beantwoordt. De leerling dient echter een zekere graad van ontwikkeling te hebben bereikt, alvorens deze Etuden aan de leerstof kunnen worden toegevoegd. […] In muzikaal opzicht zijn Prelude, Scherzo, chromatische Tango en Gavotte geslaagd te noemen.'

family tradition.

The Belinfante family had a long history in teaching music. Dan's father Aron (1868-?) was a diamond cutter and musician and taught him his first music lessons, his great grandfather Aron Abrahamszoon Belinfante (1805-?) was a music teacher as well. Before he became a pianist, Dan studied the violin with his uncle Sidney Belinfante.[209] He continued his piano studies with Julius Röntgen and studied composition with Cornelis Dopper and Sem Dresden.[210] His great uncle, Ary Belinfante (1869-1924), started his own private music school together with Simon van Adelberg in 1899.[211] Especially this Ary (father of cellist and conductor Frieda Belinfante) was very passionate about teaching. He founded the Society for Music Teachers in 1898 and was its president for many years. The Belinfante – Van Adelberg Music School in Amsterdam would become a renowned institute teaching absolute beginners as well as those aspiring to become professional musicians. In 1915, at the young age of 22, Dan followed in his great uncle's footsteps and started his own private music school in the village of Watergraafsmeer, soon to be a neighbourhood of the rapidly expanding city of Amsterdam. On the occasion of the 1920 yearly student concert, the reporter of the newspaper *Het Nieuws van den Dag* wrote about the easy-going and friendly relationship between the relatively young teachers and their pupils.[212] A year later, the successful Watergraafsmeer Music School employed 18 senior teachers.[213] That same year, Dan Belinfante also advertised for piano lessons in 't Gooi, a rural region within easy reach of Amsterdam, where many more well-to-do Amsterdam families moved to. In 1927, he became a member of the Society for Music Teachers that used to be chaired by his great uncle.[214]

Having to diversify their income generating strategy, especially during the insecure economic situation of the 1920s and 1930s, many composers employed their talents in genres of lesser standing, such as writing music for students. Teaching was the most obvious and

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[209] Nederlands Muziek Instituut, *Inventaris van het archief van Daniël Belinfante*, February 2011, 1.

[210] *De Radiogids*, vol 5 no 34, 20 June 1931.

[211] Ary Belinfante's father, Abraham Cohen Belinfante (a music teacher), was a brother of Daniël Belinfante's grandfather Daniël Cohen Belinfante. Ary taught piano and music history at the *Orkestschool* of the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam, director Willem Kes. He also performed as a pianist with the Concertgebouw Orchestra. In May 1898, Ary Belinfante was chosen as chair of the Society of Music Teachers (Vereeniging van Muziekonderwijzers en Onderwijzeressen), fellow board member was Simon van Adelberg (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 26 May 1898). In June that year, he advertised with his own 'private piano school'; a month later, the first advertisement of a 'private music school' at the Weteringplantsoen 22 in Amsterdam was published. Ary Belinfante and Simon van Adelberg were its directors (*De Telegraaf*, 19 July 1899).

[212] *Het Nieuws van den Dag*, 1 April 1920. 'Ook trof ons de verhouding van leeraren — zelf nog jeugdige krachten — en leerlingen; die leek ons prettig en vertrouwelijk, waar is de tijd van het pianomeester-type, die zijne leerlingen met een latje op de vingers tikte!'

[213] *Het Volk*, 8 September 1921.

[214] *De Muziek*, November 1927, 150.

easiest way to generate income. In fact, very few composers could afford not to teach. Educating a new generation of artists — be they composers or professional musicians — was considered a noble task and added value to a composer's influence and reputation. At the top of the Dutch composer-teacher pyramid were the directors of conservatories like Sem Dresden (Amsterdam, The Hague), Hendrik Andriessen (Utrecht) and Willem Pijper (Rotterdam), who worked with the most talented young musicians and were able to leave their mark on the musical development of the nation. Far less glorious was the role of directors of local (private) music schools, who toiled over the less talented masses, teaching young children the very beginnings of mastering their instruments and spending their days practising scales. Their work — often involving composing music to be used in their teaching practice — was considered a distraction from being a proper composer and so this echelon of teacher-composers was far less likely to enter the critical canon. Daniël Belinfante is not mentioned in any of the publications mentioned in the previous chapter, despite the fact that he was much appreciated for his music written for educational purposes. Although this music was often published (large market) and hence reviewed for its pedagogical qualities, composers simply didn't earn credits for eternity by writing music for students; it did not count as autonomous art, a prerequisite for canonicity.

However, as his Amsterdam music school established itself and Belinfante moved to the more quiet village of Blaricum in 't Gooi, he increasingly focused on composing music for professional musicians, to be performed in concert halls. Between 1919 and 1941, he composed at least thirteen songs, three works for string quartet, two piano quartets, four sonatinas and many other works for piano solo, a woodwind trio, a violin sonata and a cello sonata. His music was performed in informal new music concerts and on radio broadcasts by pianists like Pierre Verdonck and Daaf Wins and violinists of the Concertgebouw Orchestra Eduard van Sloghem and Sam Tromp. None of these works were published, performances received very little attention in the national newspapers, which caused Belinfante to be ignored in the production of music history.

4.2 Composing for dilettantes

On Saturday evening 7th November 1931, the local community of Velsen gathered in Concordia, the hall built by the Royal Paper Factory Van Gelder, for a concert by its wind orchestra *De Eendracht*, led by composer, teacher and conductor Sam Vlessing (1876-1934). The programme included a novelty, the premiere of his son Philip's *Suite* for wind orchestra, a composition unanimously selected out of 108 entries to win first prize in a contest

organised by Harmonia publishers.[215] The anonymous critic of the local newspaper specifically praised the beautiful melody of the second movement 'Meditation'.[216] A month later, a second wind orchestra conducted by Sam Vlessing performed *Suite Pastorale*, another composition by Philip, to much acclaim. The following spring and summer, Vlessing's prizewinning *Suite* was performed as the obligatory work in the highest division of various local competitions for wind orchestras. The *Suite Pastorale* was also performed in a local competition and the critic of the daily newspaper *Haarlemsch Dagblad* praised Vlessing's good taste and compositional skills, wishing the third movement was a little longer.[217]

Philip Vlessing (1905-1943) received his first cello lessons from Jaap Valk, Felix Kwast and Marix Loevensohn before he continued his education at the Flemish Conservatoire in Antwerpen at the age of 17, following in the footsteps of his father. After graduating cum laude, he returned to the Netherlands as solo cellist of the Italian Opera in The Hague. He continued his studies in counterpoint with Johan Wagenaar and orchestration and theory with Marius Kerrebijn.[218] In addition to compositions for amateurs, he composed songs, works for piano solo and a string quartet (performed by Sam Swaap's Residentie String Quartet).[219] In 1934, his career as cellist and composer took an unexpected turn. Sam Vlessing died and Philip took over as conductor of his father's orchestras and as director of his music school, together with his sister, pianist and soprano Netty Vlessing (1907-1988).[220] In the following years, the number of amateur orchestras under his baton grew steadily. Still, though time must have been limited, he continued to compose. In December 1936, his *Travel impressions from Genua* was broadcast, performed by the VARA radio orchestra.[221] In the 1938-9 season, the Groninger Orkest Vereeniging (GOV), led by Kor Kuiler, planned the premiere of his symphonic poem *Tsion Tamiatie*.[222] So far, no evidence has surfaced to prove that this last performance materialised.

Philip Vlessing is not to be found in any of the monographs or lexicons discussed in the previous chapter. Although the worlds of professional musicians on the one hand, and amateurs performing in wind orchestras, brass bands, symphony orchestras, and choirs on

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[215] *Haagsche Courant*, 12 December 1930. The jury consisted of Nic. Gerharz, A.L. Hazebroek, M.C. van de Rovaart and Joh. Schuitemaker. Entries were sent in anonymously (*De Tijd*, 11 August 1930).

[216] *IJmuider Courant*, 9 November 1931.

[217] *Haarlemsch Dagblad*, 6 June 1932. '…toont smaak, en degelijke kennis der toonzetkunst. […] Het pittig refreinmodel verdraagt alleszins die uitbreiding tot een drie à vierwerf herhalen, en een pakkend slot zal zeer zeker de werking dezer suite belangrijk verhoogen.'

[218] 'Vlessing Jr. zet het werk zijns vader voort', in *IJmuider Courant*, 30 May 1934.

[219] Ibid.

[220] T. Bos, *Op zoek naar een plaats om thuis te komen: de geschiedenis van de Joodse inwoners van Velsen*, ed. Jan van der Werff (Wormer: Uitgeverij Noord-Holland, 2023), 123–35.

[221] 'Compositie van Philip S. Vlessing voor de V.A.R.A.,' *IJmuider Courant*, 7 December 1936.

the other, were not separate — the competitions Vlessing participated in were judged by, for example, composer and critic Theo van der Bijl and the famous Concertgebouw Orchestra conductor Eduard van Beinum — composing for amateurs was not highly regarded. Once a composer had chosen that career path, it seemed hard to gain access to the process of canon formation.

4.3 Composing chamber music

On Saturday evening 25 February 1939, Rosy Wertheim hosted an intimate concert of the Dutch Society for Contemporary Music in her apartment at Stadionplein.[223] She had moved to this relatively new Amsterdam neighbourhood after her return from New York in September 1937. A year earlier, she had sailed out to New York on S.S. Statendam.[224] During her time in New York, her music was performed at the Composers' Forum Laboratory and the concert at her house in Amsterdam is likely to have been inspired by this New York initiative.[225] The objective of the Amsterdam concert was to allow composers to hear and discuss their new music and to select works that would be suitable for programming in concerts for a wider audience. Members of the Society were allowed to bring along two guests, provided they registered for the concert.[226] Wertheim's *Piano Suite* was performed alongside new works by Julius Hijman (*Three English Songs*), Gerard van Hulst, and Jacques de Menasce, who performed short piano pieces by Wertheim and his own *Theme and variations*. Jewish Austrian composer De Menasce had fled Austria after the *Anschluβ* in 1938 and settled in the Netherlands.[227] In Vienna, he had studied with Paul Pisk. Wertheim had moved to Vienna in 1935 to study with Karl Weigl and on 3 May 1936, the Wiener Konzertorchester directed by Paul Pisk performed Wertheim's *Divertimento* for orchestra in

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[222] *De Volkskrant*, 21 July 1938.

[223] 'Eerste huisconcert van de Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek,' *Maandblad*, vol 8 no 5, March 1939, 381-2. Stadionplein 89hs was a ground floor apartment in a neighbourhood built in the 1920s around the Olympic Stadium in Amsterdam.

[224] 'The Statue of Liberty & Ellis Island', accessed 6 March 2025, https://heritage.statueofliberty.org/passenger-details/czoxMzoiOTAxMTk3MDc3ODcyMiI7/czo5OiJwYXNzZW5nZXIiOw==.

[225] In New York, the Composers' Forum Laboratory was founded in 1935 by Ashley Pettis, funded by the Federal Music Project, a division of the Works Progress Administration 'to present the work of emerging American composers'. 'Archives.Nypl.Org -- Composers' Forum Inc. Records', accessed 11 March 2025, https://archives.nypl.org/mus/18632.

[226] 'Nieuws uit binnen- en buitenland,' *Maandblad*, vol 8 no 4, February 1939, 359.

[227] A radio performance of De Menasce's *Piano Concerto* in Vienna was announced for 20 February 1938 with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra (*Katholieke Radio-Gids*, 19 February 1938), followed by a performance for Brussels Radio on 21 May 1938 (*Radiobode*, 13 May 1938). His first concert for Dutch radio was announced for 9 October 1938 (*Katholieke Radio-gids*, 8 October 1938).

that city.[228] Julius Hijman befriended Pisk when he studied in Vienna with Paul Weingarten.[229] As they all shared Viennese experiences – Hijman's inlaws were from Vienna, De Menasce had fled the city only a few months before this concert – and had a common friend in Paul Pisk, there must have been a reunion-like atmosphere. Moreover, as all three of them were Jewish they probably discussed the political situation as well. It is also very likely that opportunities for new music in the US were discussed. Both Julius Hijman and Jacques de Menasce were preparing their emigration and Rosy Wertheim had her New York experiences to share.

Rosy Wertheim (1888-1949) studied composition with Bernard Zweers and Sem Dresden.[230] In the 1920s, she taught piano and music theory at the newly founded *Muzieklyceum* in Amsterdam, before moving to Paris to study with Louis Aubert in 1929. Six years later, she moved to Vienna, where she would study with Karl Weigl for a year.[231] In her oeuvre of more than one hundred compositions, only six works are written for orchestra, including one orchestrated song. Her *Divertimento* for orchestra (not dated) was performed in Vienna, New York (on both occasions conducted by Paul Pisk), in Amsterdam (by the Amsterdam Bach Orchestra led by Theo van der Bijl), and in The Hague (under the baton of Otto Glastra van Loon).[232] The *Divertimento* was the only orchestral work to be published during her lifetime. And so, Wertheim became mainly known as a composer of chamber music.

Due to the economic crisis in the 1930s, large orchestras focused more and more on the well-known repertoire of the international canon to attract large audiences and thus generate sufficient income.[233] Private homes increasingly became the domain of new music, and most new music was therefore literally chamber music. This was an international phenomenon. From Berlin, Ada Hermann-Weevers, the Dutch wife of composer Pál Hermann, wrote to her brother Jaap about a house concert they attended at the Mendelssohn's, where music by Hindemith and Stravinsky was performed and discussed. The next day, the couple visited a private concert in the house of a wealthy banker, where some 120 people attended. She explained how these concerts would have been held in concert halls before, but were now organised in private homes, because the audiences were

[228] *Maandblad*, vol 5 no 7, May 1936, 595.

[229] Julius Hijman to Louis Saguer, 13 October 1946, BNFr, N.L.a. 142/50. See p. 77

[230] Eleonore Pameijer, 'Rosy Wertheim', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands*, ed. Carine Alders and Eleonore Pameijer (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 314.

[231] Ibid., 315.

[232] *Maandblad*, vol 5 no 7, May 1936; *Haagsche Courant*, 3 October 1936.

[233] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 33–42.

too small.[234]

NVvHM presented an annual concert series in Amsterdam and encouraged local chapters to organise concerts in other cities as well. They also organised study concerts to give budding composers an opportunity to hear their music performed and learn from the experience. These concerts, like the gathering in Rosy Wertheim's apartment, were not open to the general public. In Zwolle, a provincial city in the northeast of the country, a local chapter of NVvHM organised their first series of house concerts in the autumn of 1939. On 17 January 1940, a programme with music by Daniël Belinfante was performed at the private home of the Breen family.[235]

Throughout the country, local art societies and local chapters of the *Volksuniversiteit* (People's University) and the *Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst* (Society for the Advancement of Music) organised chamber music concerts in concert halls, local theatres and whatever halls seemed suitable. From Heerlen in the south to Winschoten in the far north, and from Almelo in the east to Heemstede in the west, musicians toured the Netherlands to perform in front of dedicated audiences. Programming contemporary Dutch music was not unusual in these concerts. With her colleagues Henk van Wezel (cello) and Ferdinand Hellman (violin), Henriëtte Bosmans performed her own piano trio seven times at such venues. Pianist-composer Julius Hijman and cellist Henk van Wezel started their own contemporary music series in the 1927-28 season in the *Nieuwe Waalse Kerk* (New Walloon Church) at Keizersgracht, Amsterdam.[236] Many so called 'concert bureaus' were active during the interwar years. They organised concerts and presented their musicians in concerts throughout the country.

Thus, for most composers, getting their chamber music performed was within reach. They could more easily create settings for their music to be performed; a network of musicians was willing to experiment and perform new music. These musicians were often employed by orchestras, and therefore not fully depending on these chamber music concerts for their income. Performing in chamber music concerts gave them an opportunity to shine as a soloist. Although orchestral compositions were valued more highly in the hierarchy of genres, performance opportunities for orchestral music were much more limited.

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[234] Ada Hermann-Weevers to Jaap Weevers, 24 October 1931, private collection Corrie Hermann. The private concert she describes took place at the home of Erich and Fran Mendelsohn. Erich Mendelsohn (1887-1953) was a famous architect.

[235] P. Möhringer, 'Tweede Ledenconcert voor den Kring Zwolle,' *Maandblad*, vol 9 no 3, January 1940, 525-6.

4.4 Composing for orchestra

On Thursday evening 10 January 1929, in the Great Hall of the Amsterdam Concertgebouw, Pierre Monteux conducted the Concertgebouw Orchestra in late 19th century music by Balakirev and Franck. The programme also presented a novelty: Henriëtte Bosmans' *Concertino* for piano and orchestra was premiered with the composer as soloist. After writing several successful pieces for cello and orchestra, this was her first orchestral work starring her own instrument. The following day, reviews appeared in all major Dutch newspapers and most critics praised the *Concertino's* conciseness, its vivid rhythms, and the overall more modern style when compared to her earlier compositions.[237] Two years earlier, Bosmans had decided to take lessons with Willem Pijper, who lived practically next door. This would prove to be a fruitful decision. Not only did Pijper help her get over a writer's block and explore a new, more modern style, he probably also introduced her to Pierre Monteux, when the latter conducted the Concertgebouw Orchestra in Pijper's *Third Symphony* in 1927.[238] Bosmans' premiere in Amsterdam turned out to be the start of an unusually successful performance history. Pijper was also a member of the jury that selected her *Concertino* for performance at the 1929 ISCM festival in Geneva.[239] After this Swiss concert in April that year, Bosmans performed her *Concertino* with the *Haarlemsche Orkest Vereeniging* (HOV) led by Eduard van Beinum in November.[240] Throughout the 1930s, Bosmans' *Concertino* was not only performed seven more times with three different orchestras in six different cities (including a tour with the Concertgebouw Orchestra) but broadcast on national radio as well, always with Bosmans as the soloist.[241]

This example shows how being able to perform your own music as a soloist greatly enhanced the chances of it being performed. The second best thing was to have a good relationship with a renowned conductor or soloist who would champion your music. Henriëtte Bosmans ticked both boxes. She was the daughter of the first solo cellist of the Concertgebouw Orchestra, Henri Bosmans (1856-1896, he died shortly after Henriëtte was born), and concert pianist Sara Bosmans-Benedicts (1861-1949), who taught at the Amsterdam Conservatoire. From her early childhood, she had been surrounded by musicians and as a fifteen-year-old, she took her first lessons in composition with Jan

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[236] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 October 1927.

[237] L.G.M. Arntzenius, 'Concertino van Henriëtte Bosmans,' *De Telegraaf*, 11 January 1929; *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 11 January 1929.

[238] Metzelaar, *Zonder muziek is het leven onnodig*, 42.

[239] Ibid., 46–55.

[240] 'Haarlemsche Orkestvereeniging: een interessante avond,' *De Telegraaf*, 14 November 1929.

[241] *Radiobode*, 19 February 1932.

Willem Kersbergen at the *Toonkunst* music school.[242] When she composed her *Concertino* in 1928, she had already made a name for herself as composer and pianist. The renowned cellist Marix Loevensohn and the conductor Eduard van Beinum were among her closest friends. Van Beinum was married to Sepha Jansen, a violinist whom Bosmans had accompanied at the start of both their careers, back in 1917.[243] Loevensohn performed pieces for cello by Bosmans in at least 19 concerts.[244] Between 1929 and 1937, Van Beinum conducted her work on at least four occasions with two different orchestras.[245] Her extensive network and many friendships proved very helpful in introducing her music to a wider audience.

Not all composers were that lucky in getting their orchestral works performed. Programming new music for orchestra was a risky business – it was difficult to attract large audiences with unfamiliar names. And large audiences were a necessity for orchestras to make ends meet, especially in the economic crisis of the 1930s. To have parts copied out was also a costly affair that was undertaken only when a chance of performance was more or less certain. Photocopying machines were not yet invented, so to send out a score to a conductor for perusal meant that you had to have a second handwritten copy, or you would risk losing your work. If a conductor got a favourable impression reading the score and decided to perform a piece, it would often be on the programme only once. Bosmans' tour with the Concertgebouw Orchestra was exceptional.

Symphony orchestras

One of the reasons why it was so hard for Dutch composers to get their orchestral works performed, was the limited number of professional orchestras in a small country like the Netherlands. Among them, the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra was the most important ensemble, led by its famous conductor Willem Mengelberg[246]. Because

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[242] Metzelaar, *Zonder muziek is het leven onnodig*, 24.

[243] Ibid., 28.

[244] *De Tijd*, 12 September 1919; *Nieuws van den Dag*, 8 August 1922; *Nieuws van den Dag*, 2 February 1923; *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 March 1923; *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30 December 1924; *De Maasbode*, 12 January 1927; *De Maasbode*, 29 January 1927; *Leeuwarder Courant*, 8 February 1927; *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 30 May 1928; *Leeuwarder Courant*, 20 September 1932; *Het Volk*, 29 September 1933; *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 9 October 1933; *Het Volk*, 13 January 1934; *Haagsche Courant*, 8 September 1934; *Arnhemsche Courant*, 4 December 1934; *De Telegraaf*, 25 March 1935; *Nieuwe Apeldoornsche Courant*, 20 December 1935; *Het Volk*, 22 January 1940.

[245] *Nieuwe Haarlemsche Courant*, 11 November 1929; *Arnhemsche Courant*, 17 January 1934; *Het Volk*, 1 October 1935; *Gooi- en Eemlander*, 7 June 1937.

[246] Willem Mengelberg (1871-1951) was born in a Roman Catholic family in Utrecht. His German parents had immigrated to the Netherlands. Other members of the Mengelberg family featuring in this dissertation are Karel Mengelberg (1902-1984), composer and Willem Mengelberg's nephew, son of Willem's brother Joseph, father of composer Misha Mengelberg, and Rudolf Mengelberg (1892-1959), born in Krefeld and great-nephew to Willem Mengelberg.

Mengelberg increasingly conducted orchestras abroad, Pierre Monteux was contracted as second chief conductor (a position later held by Bruno Walter), while the Concertgebouw employed Eduard van Beinum as an assistant conductor and later third chief conductor).[247] Only if composers had easy access to the Concertgebouw Orchestra and its conductors, like Henriëtte Bosmans did, a first class performance could be within reach. Further professional orchestras were based in Rotterdam (Rotterdamsch Philharmonisch Orkest), Arnhem (Arnhemsche Orkest Vereeniging, AOV), The Hague (Residentie Orkest), Haarlem (Haarlemsche Orkest Vereeniging, HOV), Utrecht (Utrechtsch Stedelijk Orkest, USO), Groningen (Groninger Orkest Vereeniging, GOV), Leeuwarden (Friesche Orkest Vereeniging), and Maastricht (Maastrichts Stedelijk Orkest). However, the repertoire of these orchestras was increasingly dominated by 18th- and 19th-century blockbusters and crowd-pleasing international virtuoso soloists. In 1932, conductor Martin Spanjaard (1892-1942) left the Arnhem orchestra, disappointed with the board's interference in programming, claiming that the artistic value of the concerts had dropped to a level of mere entertainment.[248] Budgets were so tight, that musicians were asked to agree to a salary cut of 8% and contemporary music was banned to avoid licensing fees.[249] On the other hand, the Rotterdam orchestra seemed to succeed in attracting large audiences with exceptional programmes. Critic and musicologist Eduard Reeser praised the orchestra and its conductor Eduard Flipse for their adventurous programming, including contemporary Dutch composers.[250]

All orchestras occasionally performed works by Dutch contemporary composers (this was a prerequisite for obtaining government subsidies), but to a rather limited extent.[251] Unlike the situation in countries like France or Germany, where orchestras proudly performed their own composers, audiences and musicians in the Netherlands had a long tradition in distrusting and ignoring Dutch music. Newspaper critic Herman Rutters wrote in July 1940: 'When we compare the present situation of our concert life to that of thirty or forty years ago, we have to admit that chances for our young composers have improved somewhat. When we go even further back, the concert stage was almost forbidden territory for them; our audiences simply didn't believe in Dutch music, so concert organisers thought it wise not to bother them with it.'[252] As a result, Henriëtte Bosmans was one of very few

[247] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 25.

[248] 'Ontslagaanvrage Martin Spanjaard,' *De Telegraaf*, 27 October 1931.

[249] 'Fusie van U.S.O. en A.O.V.?,' *Utrechtsch Provinciaal en Stedelijk Dagblad*, 8 January 1932.

[250] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 36.

[251] Lelieveldt, 'Voor en achter het voetlicht - Musici en de arbeidsverhoudingen in het kunst- en amusementsbedrijf in Nederland, 1918-1940', 151.

[252] Herman Rutters, 'Maneto's Studieconcerten,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 July 1940. 'Wanneer men de

composers who had their work performed by almost all Dutch orchestras.

Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman had her orchestral compositions performed by six out of nine professional orchestras. During his lifetime, music by Leo Smit was performed only by the Concertgebouw Orchestra, and the Haarlem and Rotterdam orchestras. Opportunities to hear the result of one's orchestral composing were few and far apart. In Utrecht, conductors Wouter Hutschenruyter and Evert Cornelis came to the help of young composers by allowing them to attend rehearsals of the Utrecht orchestra, and even playing through their scores during these rehearsals, so that they could hone their instrumentation skills.[253] But with increasingly limited rehearsal time for a growing number of concert obligations just to stay alive, the orchestra no longer offered this service.

To remedy the lack opportunities for composers to hear their own music, Jan van Gilse, chair of the Dutch composers' society Geneco, started a foundation for the promotion of Dutch music in December 1935. The foundation's activities included a festival of music by contemporary Dutch composers (Maneto), organised in collaboration with the Dutch chapter of ISCM. In June-July 1937, four concerts took place in which 39 compositions of 29 different composers were performed.[254] The Amsterdam festival included two concerts with the Concertgebouw Orchestra, performing works by Johan Wagenaar, Robert de Roos, Hendrik Andriessen, Henk Badings, Bertus van Lier, Guillaume Landré, Henriëtte Bosmans, Koos van de Griend (1905-1950), Willem Landré and Alphons Diepenbrock.[255] The following year, the Maneto festival took place in The Hague, where the Residentie Orkest, led by Eduard van Beinum, performed music by Hendrik Andriessen, Alphons Diepenbrock, Hans Henkemans, Willem Landré, Karel Mengelberg (1902-1984) and Willem Pijper.[256] In 1939, the annual festival centred around a staged production of Sophocles' *Aias*, with music written by Bertus van Lier. The orchestral concert further featured the premiere of Matthijs Vermeulen's *Third Symphony*, Willem Landré's *Requiem* and songs by Hendrik Andriessen and Marius Flothuis (1914-2001). In June 1940, returning to the Utrecht tradition of performing scores during rehearsals, Maneto organised a study concert for orchestral compositions with the help of the Utrecht Municipal Orchestra and its conductor Willem

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tegenwoordige toestanden in ons concertleven met die van een dertig, veertig jaar geleden vergelijkt, dan moet men erkennen, dat de kansen voor onze jonge componisten er wel eenigszins op zijn verbeterd. Nóg vroeger was het concertpodium voor hen zoo goed als afgesloten terrein; ons publiek geloofde eenvoudig niet aan muziek van Nederlandschen oorsprong en daarom achtten de concertdirecties het maar wel zoo verstandig, er niet mee aan te komen.'

[253] Ibid.

[254] van Dijk, '1911-1945; De Vooroorlogse Jaren', 39. For more information on Maneto see p. 95.

[255] *Het Volksdagblad*, 4 June 1937.

[256] *Het Vaderland*, 4 April 1938.

van Otterloo.[257] Composers whose work was selected were invited to attend the rehearsals and the concert itself was witnessed by musicians, conductors, composers and other interested listeners. Newspaper critics dutifully refrained from criticising the performed works, as the concerts were specifically intended as learning opportunities.[258] Among the selected works was a concerto for piano and orchestra by Rosy Wertheim.[259]

Chamber orchestras

While on the one hand professional symphonic orchestras struggled to survive and were hesitant to perform new Dutch orchestral music, on the other hand no less than six chamber orchestras were formed between 1927 and 1938, performing both ancient and contemporary (Dutch) music. On 28 September 1927, Piet Tiggers and Paul Sanders made their debut with the *Hollandsche Kamermuziek-vereeniging* (Dutch Chamber Music Society), combining Debussy and Händel in their first concert.[260] In late November 1930, the *Nederlandsch Kamerorkest* (Netherlands Chamber Orchestra) performed its first concert under the baton of Otto Glastra van Loon with works by Milhaud and Toch combined with music by Graupner.[261] The *Amsterdamsch Kamerorkest* (Amsterdam Chamber Orchestra) and its conductor Johan Feltkamp originally focused on Bach and his contemporaries, but in the 1932-1933 concert series at the Amsterdam *Muzieklyceum*, they included music by Krenek, Ibert, Milhaud, Webern, Toch, Ruyneman and Hugo Godron (1900-1971).[262] In June 1932, violinist and conductor Kees Hartvelt led his *Utrechtsch Kamerorkest* (Utrecht Chamber Orchestra) in Milhaud's *La Création du Monde* and Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du Soldat*.[263] In 1934, on the occasion of Bach's 250th birthday, Theo van der Bijl started the *Amsterdamsch Bach Orkest* (Amsterdam Bach Orchestra), initially focusing on the composer and his contemporaries.[264] Two years later, however, Van der Bijl started programming music by the old masters together with contemporary music by Hindemith, Badings, and Bartók.[265] On 7 May 1939, the Bach Orchestra premiered Leo Smit's *Concertino for cello and chamber Orchestra* with soloist Roelof Krol.[266] Finally, *Het Klein Orkest* (The Small Orchestra) was formed by its

[257] Nelissen, *Willem van Otterloo (1907-1978)*, 108.

[258] Herman Rutters, 'Maneto's Studieconcerten', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 July 1940.

[259] 'Studie-concert van Maneto,' *Het Volk*, 28 June 1940. See also p. 126.

[260] *Het Vaderland*, 28 September 1927.

[261] *Het Vaderland*, 6 October 1930.

[262] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 20 July 1932.

[263] *Het Vaderland*, 27 June 1932.

[264] 'Amsterdamsche Bach-orkest; een klein ensemble met groote plannen,' *De Tijd*, 7 September 1934.

[265] 'Amsterdamsch Bach Orkest,' *De Tijd*, 21 October 1936.

[266] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 347.

conductor Frieda Belinfante (she believed no existing orchestra would accept a woman as conductor) and started performing in November 1938, focusing on old as well as new repertoire.[267] During the ensemble's short existence, Belinfante performed music by Henk Badings, Géza Frid, Hans Schouwman (1902-1967) and Hendrik Andriessen. The final concert took place on 24th April 1940, when Leo Smit's *Concerto for viola and strings* was performed with soloist Juup Raphaël. None of these chamber orchestras survived the war.

Radio orchestras

In the early days of radio, the Netherlands counted many broadcasting societies, following the different religions and denominations. In addition to live registrations of concerts in halls around the country, they each had their own small orchestras and ensembles. In the 1930s, these ensembles grew into chamber orchestras, sometimes temporarily enlarged to form symphonic orchestras.[268] This would happen only occasionally, as large orchestras would not fit in the studios in Hilversum and budgets were limited.[269] Sometimes existing orchestras would double as radio orchestras. The catholic broadcasting society KRO presented the Utrecht Municipal Orchestra as the 'KRO Orchestra'.[270] Radio listeners did not much appreciate new music, and commissions were limited to special occasions. Mostly composers of entertainment music were able to present their music on the radio.[271] The socialist broadcasting society VARA was the exception to the rule; in 1935 and 1936 they broadcast a bi-weekly programme on Dutch contemporary music.[272] The VARA Orchestra would also perform music by Dutch contemporary composers. For example, on 7 December 1936, the VARA Orchestra led by Willem Lohoff performed Philip Vlessing's *Reisimpressies uit Genua*. On 27 May 1939, the same orchestra, this time led by Hugo de Groot, performed Leo Smit's *Ouverture tot Herman Teirlinck's spel "De Vertraagde Film"*.[273]

All in all, composing for orchestra was a risky business, chances of getting one's work performed were rather limited. After the war, Julius Hijman wrote to friend and fellow composer Louis Saguer (1907-1991): 'I would like to remind you that you did not respond to my request to write me something for piano solo; why always write orchestral scores, when

[267] 'Het Klein Orkest,' *De Maasbode*, 22 October 1938.
[268] Philomeen Lelieveldt, 'Kwaliteit en verscheidenheid; Radio en de klassieke muziekwereld', in *De Radio; een cultuurgeschiedenis*, ed. Huub Wijfjes (Amsterdam: Boom, 2019), 140.
[269] Ibid., 145.
[270] Ibid., 144.
[271] Ibid., 147.
[272] Ibid., 148.
[273] *Vrije Geluiden*, 20 May 1939.

it is so terribly difficult to get them performed even once?'[274] Without the performance of works for orchestra, chances of being included in the performance canon or music historiography greatly diminished.

4.5 Composing for a new medium: radio

At 9 pm in the cold and rainy evening of Wednesday 22 March 1939, tuning in to VARA Radio, listeners heard music imitating the flow of a Chinese river, illustrating a scene of a ferryman arriving at his modest house. The music for the radio drama *De Chinese fluitspeler* (The Chinese flute player), on a text by Emanuel van Loggem, was composed by Hans Krieg, who also conducted the VARA Theatre Orchestra that evening.[275] The score consisted of small music scenes that illustrated the story about a wandering flute player banned by the emperor and, of course, the flute played its own narrative role in the story. A song about the flute player, composed by Krieg, formed the heart of the story.[276] The musicians of the VARA Theatre Orchestra were quite used to performing from Krieg's handwritten parts.[277] As a well-respected member of the VARA radio drama production team, he wrote music for eight different VARA radio dramas and revues.[278] Another radio drama by Krieg in the series 'Fairytales for adults' was titled *De Korenvelden van de Keizer* (The emperors corn fields), broadcast on 23 December 1938.[279]

Hans Max Krieg was born in Haynau (in the historical region of Silesia, then part of the German empire, now Chojnów in Poland) in 1899. He studied composition and conducting in Leipzig and Berlin with teachers including Karg-Elert, Humperdinck and Von Rezniček.[280] His first songs were published by Zientner in 1930, he worked as a composer for theatres, and conducted operas in various cities before settling down in Breslau (now Wrocław in Poland), where he worked at the opera and conducted socialist and Jewish

[274] Julius Hijman to Louis Saguer, 24 April 1950, BNFr, N.L.a. 142/73. 'J'aimerais te rappeler que tu n'a point répondu à ma demande de m'écrire quelque chose pour piano seul, toi ; pourquoi toujours écrire des partitions d'orchestre, dont il est affreusement difficile d'obtenir une seule exécution ?' Louis Saguer (Wolf Simoni) was a German refugee who settled in Paris.

[275] *De Radiobode*, 17 March 1939. The VARA Theatre Orchestra started out as the Cinema Royal Orchestra, but when sound films arrived in 1929, this orchestra was employed by VARA (see Lelieveldt, 'Music in Radio Drama in the Netherlands').

[276] A fragment of this radio play is available online: 'Hoorspel: De Chinese Fluitspeler', accessed 7 March 2025, https://www.hoorspelen.eu/producties/hsp-c/chinese-fluitspeler.html.

[277] The handwritten scores are kept in the radio archives in Hilversum: 'KRIEG, HANS - De Chinese fluitspeler', Muziekschatten, accessed 7 March 2025, https://www.muziekschatten.nl/compositie?uri=https%3A%2F%2Fdata.muziekschatten.nl%2Fsom%2F372092.

[278] Lelieveldt, 'Music in Radio Drama in the Netherlands'.

[279] *De Radiobode*, 16 December 1938.

[280] *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 7 April 1961.

choirs.[281] His skills in conducting, writing and arranging music, and in accompanying singers proved very helpful in providing for his family in difficult circumstances. By the end of August 1933, only months after the family's arrival in Amsterdam, a song on a Dutch text *Zeg zonnetje, waar blijf je toch?* (Little sun, what is keeping you?) was performed live on Dutch radio by the famous AVRO children's choir led by Jacob Hamel.[282] A few months later, on 3 March 1934, he accompanied Mojsy Godels in Yiddish and German songs for VARA radio. Two of the songs were his own arrangements.[283] On 29 May that year, he accompanied a children's choir for VARA Radio in some more of his own children's songs.[284] The composer had been introduced to the socialist VARA broadcasting society by Antoon Krelage sr., chair of the *Bond van Arbeiders Zangverenigingen* (BAZ, Union of Workers' Choirs). Krieg's daughter Mirjam remembers how Krelage was of tremendous help in the family's early days in Amsterdam. One of Krieg's first jobs was to copy out parts for the radio orchestras and ensembles.[285] Many years after the war, Mirjam, by then a professional singer and member of the Netherlands Radio Choir, was surprised to recognise her father's handwriting once when she received new parts to study.[286]

Radio was a relatively new medium in those days, providing plenty of work for skilled and versatile musicians like Krieg.[287] Some of the composers hired by the radio were trained in Germany, including Krieg, Wilhelm Rettich and Hans Lachman.[288] Before fleeing to the Netherlands, Krieg had written at least one radio play for children for German radio in 1930, *Fips und Stips auf der Weltreise*.[289] The Berlin Hochschule für Musik had its *Rundfunkversuchstelle* (radio test centre), where Dutch composer Julius Hijman studied with Max Butting, Walter Gronostay and Paul Hindemith.[290] Benedict Silberman (1901-1971) went to Berlin after graduating from the Amsterdam Conservatoire in his own piano concerto and

[281] Aagje Pabbruwe, 'Hans Krieg', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands*, ed. Carine Alders and Eleonore Pameijer (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 169.

[282] *De Radiogids*, 26 August 1933.

[283] *De Radiogids*, 3 March 1934.

[284] *Arnhemsche Courant*, 29 May 1934.

[285] Mirjam Krieg, interview 30 November 2021.

[286] Mirjam Krieg, personal communication.

[287] The first experimental radio broadcasts for a general audience in the Netherlands were produced by Hanso Idzerda in November 1919; in June 1923 the first test programmes were broadcast from Hilversum; in 1931 500,000 people listened to the radio. See Huub Wijfjes, *De radio: een cultuurgeschiedenis* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2019), 49; ibid., 62; ibid., 65.

[288] Wilhelm Rettich composed music for radio plays in Leipzig and conducted the Leipziger Symphonie Orkest in many radio broadcasts. *Christelijk tijdschrift voor radio*, 25 August 1928; 1 September 1928. In 1930, Hans Lachman started to arrange music for record company Carl Lindström AG. See Eleonore Pameijer, 'Hans Lachman', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands*, ed. Carine Alders and Eleonore Pameijer (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 177.

[289] *De Radiogids*, 1 November 1930.

composing a violin concerto in 1925. In Berlin, he arranged and orchestrated music for orchestras of Mark Weber, Dajos Béla, Paul Godwin, Robert Stolz, Frans Léhar and Emmerich Kálmán. When Hitler came to power he returned to the Netherlands, where he joined Geneco in 1935 and a year later, started to arrange music for the VARA radio orchestra of Hugo de Groot.[291]

Composing for a wide audience of radio listeners may not have earned composers credits in the musical avant-garde, they did belong to the technological avant-garde. New popular classical music was needed for smaller ensembles, sounding good in front of a microphone. In the spring of 1936, the non-denominational broadcast society AVRO invited fifteen Dutch composers to write a new popular classical piece suitable for radio broadcasting. Twelve composers responded, including Jan van Gilse, Daniel Ruyneman, Julius Hijman, Jan Felderhof and Pijper-pupils Bertus van Lier, Henk Badings and Piet Ketting.[292]

Radio performance opportunities

Doubling as composer and performer opened up opportunities in radio broadcasts. Soon after his arrival in the Netherlands, Berlin composer and pianist James Simon performed Chopin's 24 Preludes for VARA Radio.[293] In a letter to his friend Toni Apel, Simon wrote how he had to omit a scherzo by Chopin in a VARA radio broadcast, because he had to run to catch the last train from Hilversum back to Amsterdam.[294] He also performed his own music in broadcasts, together with alto Annie Woud.[295] Between 1933 and 1937, Julius Hijman performed his own music on Dutch radio once for VARA, once for protestant society VPRO, once for AVRO, twice for the Philips broadcasting society for the Dutch

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[290] Hijman to Ruyneman, 1 April 1931, archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01/1596.

[291] 'Solistenkamer', radio interview Phia Berghout with Benedict Silberman, broadcast by NCRV on 23 November 1968. Archive Sound and Vision, resource ID 2101608110088105631. Benedict Silberman (born in Helsinki in 1901) studied composition at the Amsterdam Conservatoire with Bernard Zweers and Sem Dresden. The radio archives contain almost 900 arrangements and composition, including his violin concerto, which was recorded in 2022 and published on Youtube. *Vioolconcert (1925) - Benedict Silberman (1901-1971)*, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kMsOuCg2Wmo, accessed on 26 September 2024.

[292] *Maandblad*, vol 5 no 9/10, 1936, 624; *Symphonia*, vol 19 no 7, July 1936, 111; 'Eerste voetstappen op onbekend terrein,' *Radiobode*, 28 August 1936.

[293] *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, 20 October 1933.

[294] James Simon to Toni Apel, 14 June 1939. Center for Jewish History, Leo Baeck Institute, James Simon Collection AR5930, https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/digital_objects/298550, accessed 24 September 2024. Toni Apel (Toni Therese Werner) was married to Hans Appelbaum when they fled to the United States in 1936. Letters to Toni suggest that Simon and Apel were in a romantic affair.

[295] Karel De Jong, 'Radiomuziek der week,' *Twentsch Dagblad Tubantia*, 7 July 1934.

Indies Phohi (Philips Omroep Holland-Indië).[296] Music by Henriëtte Bosmans was broadcast in live registrations of orchestral concerts as early as 1927.[297] She also performed her own chamber music for various broadcasting societies (VPRO, VARA, AVRO).[298] Between 1927 and 1936, her orchestral music was broadcast ten times, her chamber music 13 times. Leo Smit never performed his own music in a radio broadcast but his music was performed seven times between 1928 and 1941 (two live orchestra registrations, two chamber music performances and three broadcasts by the VARA Radio Orchestra, twice led by Hugo de Groot, once by Karel Mengelberg (first performance of his *Symphony in C*). While orchestral music was usually performed through broadcasts with a live connection to concert halls, chamber music could be performed in the studios in Hilversum and was more likely to be programmed when the composer was also the performer.

In 1936, three societies of musicians wrote to the Minister for Education, Culture and Science to complain about the structural absence of contemporary Dutch music in radio broadcasts. Broadcasting society VARA responded with a long list of Dutch composers featuring in their programmes. According to VARA, the fact that the complainers had missed out on these broadcasts was a result of a lack of radio reviews.[299] Indeed, a year earlier, music critic Herman Rutters had complimented VARA as the sole organisation broadcasting contemporary and Dutch music on a regular basis.[300] On the other hand, one of the reasons why AVRO director Willem Vogt had replaced relays from the concert hall with studio concerts was the fact that he could eliminate contemporary works.[301]

Radio broadcasts and the production of sources

Radio performances were not reviewed to the same extent nor in the same way as

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[296] *De Radiogids*, 1 December 1934. Sigurd Rascher and Hijman performed Hijman's *Sonatina* for saxophone for VARA radio. *De Indische Courant*, 25 July 1936. Hijman and Henk van Wezel (cello) performed music by Hijman for Phohi Radio. *Radiobode*, 18 September 1936. Hijman and Henk van Wezel (cello) performed music by Hijman for Phohi Radio. *Haagsche Courant*, 20 February 1935. Laurens Bogtman sang four songs by Julius Hijman for VPRO Radio, accompanied by Hijman. *Vrije Geluiden*, 3 October 1937. Hijman performed his own *Sonatina* for piano for AVRO Radio.

[297] *Haagsche Courant*, 13 January 1927. Cellist Marix Loevensohn performed Bosmans' *Poème* for cello and orchestra with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra led by Pierre Monteux. Live registration by NSF (Nederlandse Seintoestellen Fabriek).

[298] Some examples: *De Radiogids*, 3 January 1931. Bosmans, Ferdinand Helmann (violin) and Henk van Wezel (cello) performed Bosmans' *Piano Trio* for VPRO. *Haagsche Courant*, 24 November 1931. Bosmans performed her *Arietta* for violin and piano with Jo Meeuwse for VPRO radio. *Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche courant*, 26 November 1931. VARA broadcast a recital with Henriëtte Bosmans, who performed her own works for cello and piano. *Haagsche Courant*, 18 June 1932. Bosmans and Van Wezel performed Bosmans' *Cello Sonata* for AVRO radio.

[299] 'Vaderlandse woestenij,' *De Radiogids*, 6 August 1938.

[300] Lelieveldt, 'Kwaliteit en verscheidenheid; Radio en de klassieke muziekwereld', 147.

performances in the concert hall. In 1928, journalist Henri Borel complained in a lengthy newspaper article about the lack of radio reviews.[302] Although he had heard the most beautiful works that were seldom performed in the concert hall, he had also witnessed a large number of lousy and amateurish performances. And they were broadcast for an audience tenfold the size of that in the concert hall. Critics could remedy this situation, according to Borel. In 1929, *Voorwaarts*, the daily newspaper for social democrats, proudly announced that they were the first newspaper to introduce radio reviews.[303] The idea was that thousands of listeners needed some guidance as to what was worth listening to. In the following two years, almost one hundred anonymous reviews were published on topics varying from concert reviews (both the music itself and the performance) to technical issues (radio interference) and spoken word and radio plays.[304] The reviews ended when the daily newspaper stopped its publication in 1931. *De Groene Amsterdammer*, a weekly magazine, started its column *Radio en Grammofoon* in 1928, publishing just over one hundred reviews by Lou Lichtveld (until November 1932) and various other authors.[305] Most of these reviews dealt with records, some with technical issues, like reception in cities, and hardly any with music broadcast on radio. In May 1934, the monthly music magazine *Caecilia en De Muziek* announced the start of radio reviews.[306] Preceding the start of this new genre of journalism, Eduard Reeser shared some thoughts on the characteristics and limitations of radio music.[307] Radio was at the time not capable of properly transmitting dynamic differences and most instruments sounded quite different when heard through the radio. He deemed chamber

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[301] Ibid., 146.

[302] Henri Borel, 'Iets over radio en kunst,' *Het Vaderland*, 21 April 1928. 'Voor zoover mij bekend, is er nog nooit met voldoenden nadruk op de beteekenis van dit verschijnsel gewezen, dat toch waarlijk ernstig genoeg is, en kent de pers, ook de weekblad- en tijdschriftpers, nog altijd geen radiocritiek, evenmin als zij tot voor betrekkelijk kort filmcritiek kende. […] Wel moet ik er echter even op wijzen, dat het mij lijkt, of een groot contingent krukken en dillettanten zonder talent al te vaak de gelegenheid vinden voor de microfoon, en dat wil zeggen voor een publiek van tienduizenden te spelen, zonder dat ook maar één criticus ze tot de orde roept en op hun plaats (en die is: buiten de concertzaal) zet. […] Eerlijk zij hierbij direct erkend: ik heb ook de prachtigste concerten, de allerbeste solisten door de radio gehoord, en wat vooral een buitengewoon voorrecht voor mij was: ik heb van sextetten en septetten en octetten van de grootste componisten, door onze beste solisten uitgevoerd, genoten, die men in de gewone concertzaal zoo goed als nooit te hooren krijgt.'

[303] *Voorwaarts*, 5 October 1929. 'De Radio beheerscht op het oogenblik een groot deel van ons leven. In duizenden gezinnen is zij de eenige mogelijkheid, om in een of anderen vorm deel te hebben aan kunst en cultuur. Het spreekt dus vanzelf, dat zij in de bladen der arbeiders dezelfde plaats zal moeten hebben als de andere uitingen van kunst en cultuur. Daarom zal naast onze rubriek Kunst en Letteren een nieuwe rubriek verschijnen, waarin de radio-luisteraars geregeld de besprekingen kunnen aantreffen van de belangrijkste uitzendingen op kunst- en cultureel gebied.'

[304] Results of a Delpher.nl search with prompt 'Zeefkring' (the name for the review series) in the daily newspaper *Voorwaarts* via delpher.nl, 24 September 2024.

[305] Delpher.nl search with prompt 'radio PROX grammofoon' in *De Groene Amsterdammer* yielded 113 results in the period between 1928 and 1939.

[306] Lelieveldt, 'Kwaliteit en verscheidenheid; Radio en de klassieke muziekwereld', 146.

[307] Eduard Reeser, 'Radio en muziek,' *Caecilia en de muziek*, vol 8 no 5, March 1936, 214-9.

music more suitable for broadcasting than orchestral music. Still, hearing imperfect music was to be preferred over hearing no music. He also wondered whether all music performed for a general audience should be judged against artistic standards. After all, radio had to reckon with the fact that by far most of its listeners did not much care for 'serious' music. Reeser concluded that 'good' music could be either serious music or entertainment music. A further issue noted by Reeser was that with the enormous amount of (international) radio broadcasts on offer, listening to music was no longer an event, as it used to be in the concert hall. These considerations were said to be the guidelines in writing radio reviews. In his first radio review, Reeser discussed how the Concertgebouw Orchestra in live concerts presented itself as one of the best orchestras, but in radio broadcasts it sounded no different than any other orchestra.[308] As per November 1936, Jan Goverts took over as the magazine's radio critic. His first article dealt with the tasks of the radio critic, educating listeners and steering broadcasters in the direction of good music, either serious or entertainment. As a monthly review, he predicted that much of his writings would deal with general issues, and only very little with what he called 'performance critique'.[309] Months later, after discussing general issues dealing with music and radio, his first overview on music performed in the month before complimented Eduard Flipse of the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra for programming Dutch music. In this review, Goverts listed the works by Dutch composers that were broadcast. He chose only Enthoven's symphony to say something about the music itself.[310] In October 1935, he discussed music by Hendrik Andriessen, broadcast by VARA in its series *Nieuwe klanken van eigen bodem* (New home-grown sounds).[311] In August 1936, Dutch entertainment music composed at the request of AVRO radio was discussed by Goverts.[312] This review ended the short-lived series in *Caecilia en de muziek*, with a rather poor harvest of three reviews of Dutch composers.

All in all, reviews of new Dutch music broadcast in radio programmes were extremely scarce. Whereas radio offered performance opportunities — especially for performer-composers — for Dutch music, hardly any sources survive that contribute to the process of canon formation or music history production. As recordings were rarely saved for posterity, all that remains are announcements in radio guides and newspapers.

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[308] Eduard Reeser, 'Het Concertgebouw en de radio,' *Caecilia en de muziek*, vol 8 no 7, May 1936, 297-9.

[309] Jan Goverts, 'De taak van de radio-critiek,' *Caecilia en de muziek*, vol 9 no 1, 29-33.

[310] Jan Goverts, 'Enkele notities bij radiomuziek,' *Caecilia en de muziek*, vol 9 no 5, 207-211.

[311] Jan Goverts, 'Radio; Nederlandse muziek,' *Caecilia en de muziek*, vol 9 no 12, 460-3.

[312] Jan Goverts, 'Nederlandsche ontspannningsmuziek in de radio II,' *Caecilia en de muziek*, vol 10 no 10/11, 444-7.

4.6 Jewish music for synagogues and concert halls

On 8 February 1937, Sim Gokkes gave a lecture on music in the synagogue, illustrated with his latest compositions, sung by his own choir of the Amsterdam Obrechtstraat Synagogue. He had been studying the publications of Jewish ethnomusicologist and composer Abraham Zevi Idelsohn (1882-1938) and had written a series of liturgical songs for the Friday evening and Sabbath morning services. On that chilly February evening, he heavily criticised the liturgical music of the great 19th-century composers like Salomon Sulzer (1804-1890), Louis Lewandowsky (1821-1894) and Samuel Naumbourg (1817-1880). He argued that their compositions had strayed too much from the original purpose of Jewish liturgical music, namely to raise the worshippers to a higher state of devotion. According to Gokkes, their music for use in the synagogue had absorbed the influences of worldly genres like opera and operetta. Their music was banal and lacked deeply felt devotion. Idelsohn had removed the many layers of fashionable paint that older composers had used to modernise the old Jewish melodies and Gokkes' ambition had been to reintroduce these old melodies in a new, contemporary setting. He hoped his love for Jewish and Hebrew song tradition would be answered by a willingness of the Jewish congregation to open their ears and hearts to new music and unfamiliar sounds. After his warmly applauded speech, Gokkes first conducted his choir in one of Naumbourg's compositions for the synagogue, followed by one of his own new settings. In the *New Israelite Weekly*, the anonymous report of the evening was followed by an editorial note defending Sulzer, Lewandowsky and Naumbourg, referred to as the "shining triple star".[313] In the following weeks, no less than seven lengthy letters to the editor were published in reaction to the report on Gokkes' lecture. He had touched a sensitive nerve. Cantor J. Veldman of the Rapenburg Synagogue fiercely protested Gokkes' opinion on the 19th-century composers, while Maurits Koekoek (1911-1943), a younger fellow composer-conductor, defended Gokkes' position in two letters. Herman Sitters (1870-1940), an older colleague of Gokkes and fellow member of Geneco, quoted Liszt in his praise for Sulzer and ended his letter stating that there is no accounting for taste.[314] That same year, with financial assistance of the Society of Jewish Science, and a preface by his former teacher Sem Dresden, Gokkes' collection of liturgical songs was published as *Sjiré Kôdesj* by Broekmans & Van Poppel.[315] In the catholic daily newspaper *De Tijd*, Theo van der Bijl praised Gokkes for not only getting rid of the 'disrespectful *Liedertafel* style', but also for using a contemporary musical idiom. According to Van der Bijl, *Sjiré Kôdesj* not only

[313] *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 12 February 1937.

[314] *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 19 February 1937.

[315] *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 8 July 1938.

enriched the repertoire of music for the synagogue, it was also a jewel of Dutch contemporary composing.[316]

Simon (Sim) Gokkes (1897-1943) grew up in the Jewish choral tradition of the Rapenburgstraat Synagogue in Amsterdam. As a 12-year old chorister, he received his first music lessons from their Hungarian-born cantor Victor Schlesinger.[317] Being a talented student, at the age of fifteen, Gokkes wrote his first religious works, two prayers sung by the synagogue choir.[318] When Schlesinger was called to arms in October 1914, teenager Sim Gokkes took over conducting the choir until Schlesinger returned eight months later. Gokkes continued his studies in composition with Sem Dresden, graduating from the Amsterdam Conservatoire in 1919. He then started teaching voice and piano, and — weary of the old *Liedertafel* style — founded his own choir school and mixed choir in August 1921. Two years later, its first concert was given at the Concertgebouw, with his former teacher's wife Jacoba Dresden-Dhont as soloist, accompanied by Gokkes' wife Rebecca Winnik. The programme presented choral music by Haydn, but also by contemporary composers André Caplet and Percy Grainger.[319] It might very well be possible that Gokkes' style of choral composing and conducting was influenced by Dresden, who founded the Madrigal Society, a professional a cappella choir, performing both renaissance polyphony and contemporary music. Gokkes soon built a reputation as an opera and choir conductor, leading an increasing number of Jewish as well as non-Jewish choirs. From December 1928 onwards, he was the director of Santo Serviço, the famous choir of the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam. With *De Vereenigde Zangers* (The United Singers) he performed operas by Cimarosa, Cherubini and Spontini and in 1929 he started his own opera company with the support of François Pauwels, son of Desiré Pauwels, former director of the *Nederlandsche Opera*, where, at the start of his career, Gokkes was briefly employed as assistant conductor.

Although vocal compositions formed the major part of his musical output, Gokkes composed a number works for orchestra and smaller ensembles as well. In almost all compositions biblical and Jewish themes played an important role. In his *Suite for Orchestra* (1929), he used a Yiddish cradle song *Inter dem Kinds wiegele*. His composition *Kinah* (1929) for wind quintet piano and five solo voices (without words) was inspired by Jeremiah's

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316 Theo van der Bijl, 'Moderne Joodsche Koormuziek,' *De Tijd*, 28 March 1939. 'Hij wilde niet alleen het joodsche koorgezang ontdoen van het oneerbiedige liedertafelgedoe, maar als modern componist ook het klankidioom van onzen tijd gebruiken. Hij is daarin voortreffelijk geslaagd.'

317 Born in Topolcany (now Slovakia) on 3 December 1883, Schlesinger had arrived in Amsterdam from Vienna in early months of 1908 to become the cantor of this Amsterdam synagogue. He had studied with Wanderstab and Von Harnanky in Bratislava (see *Centraal blad voor Israëlieten in Nederland*, 13 March 1908).

318 *De Joodsche Prins*, 12 December 1912.

319 *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24 April 1923.

Lamentations.[320] In an interview, Gokkes said: 'I preferred to work on compositions that breathed a Jewish spirit'.[321]

Not many Dutch Jewish composers wrote Jewish music. And if they did, like Hans Krieg, Hans Lachman, and Sim Gokkes, this did not mean that they limited themselves to networks of Jewish performers and audiences. As Gokkes himself observed, his Jewish inspired works that were not written for use in the synagogue were usually performed by non-Jewish musicians. His *Suite for Orchestra* was premiered by Eduard van Beinum and his Haarlem Orchestral Society, *Kinah* was due to receive its first performance by the Concertgebouw Sextet, when the clarinettist took ill the night before the premiere. *Psalm 130* was only performed by choirs led by the brothers George and Willem Roberts.[322] On 30 June 1940, Gokkes' *Schéhérazade* for orchestra was performed by the Utrecht Municipal Orchestra led by Willem van Otterloo at the Maneto study concert.[323] Jewish composers were very much part of Dutch music life, by composing for concert hall and radio, by directing choirs and orchestras and by being members of Geneco or societies for contemporary music. They were directors of music schools and conservatoires, they wrote reviews in newspapers. However, if their output was largely of a religious character, they would not have been picked up by the radar of historiography.

4.7 Prewar cultural mobility

In the early decades of the twentieth century, composing in the Netherlands was heavily influenced by German and French composing traditions. Alphons Diepenbrock (1862-1921) wrote in 1920: 'There is as yet no Dutch "music life" and music in general is imported from Germany'.[324] Years later, in his book on Dutch composers, Marius Monnikendam wrote: 'Therefore, the creative powers of the Dutch composer can only be seen as the reflection of the great sounding board of the surrounding European community.'[325] Whereas composers like Jan van Gilse, Julius Hijman and Karel Mengelberg looked for inspiration in Berlin — with composers like Reger and Hindemith and with new technologies like radio and new instruments like the Trautonium and the Neo-Bechstein — other composers, like Leo Smit

[320] *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 15 February 1929.

[321] N. Godfried, 'Op bezoek bij Sim Gokkes,' *Centraal blad voor Israëlieten*, 22 January 1932. 'Ik bleef mij bij voorkeur toeleggen, op composities, die een Joodschen geest ademden.'

[322] N. Godfried, 'Op bezoek bij Sim Gokkes,' *Centraal blad voor Israëlieten*, 22 and 29 January 1932.

[323] *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 28 June 1940.

[324] Monnikendam, *Nederlandse componisten van heden en verleden.*, 91–92. '…dat er nog geen Nederlands 'muziekleven' bestaat en dat de gehele muziek een uit Duitsland geïmporteerde zaak is'.

[325] Ibid., 97. 'Daarom kan de creatieve kracht van de Nederlandse componist niet anders gezien worden dan een weerkaatsing van het grote klankbord der ons omringende Europese gemeenschap.'

and Rosy Wertheim migrated to Paris to look for inspiration with French composers.[326] During the interwar years, Dutch composers participated in a flourishing international network of composers and musicians. Borders were extremely permeable and provided opportunity for exchange, thus stimulating creativity. Pre-1933 mobility was artistically oriented and opportunity-driven: composers travelled abroad to study with foreign teachers, to find performance opportunities or simply to get inspiration. Dutch composers lived, studied and worked in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest and New York. In return, many musicians and composers visited the Netherlands from abroad. At the same time, apart from artistic drive, economic motives also played a role. The 1930s financial crisis made it hard for musicians to earn an income. Everyone had to have different jobs to make ends meet and many went abroad to find career opportunities. Artistic and economic motives were often hard to separate. Although migration improved work opportunities, it limited performance opportunities in the Netherlands, and hence the production of sources feeding Dutch music historiography.

Julius Hijman

On 7 April 1940, a concert was given at Carnegie Chamber Music Hall in New York, solely devoted to the music of Julius Hijman. Together with the composer, saxophonist Sigurd Raschèr performed Hijman's *Sonatina for alto saxophone and piano*, a work they had performed together in the Netherlands for VARA Radio in 1934.[327] Hungarian pianist Andor Földes performed Hijman's 1936 *Sonata*, a composition he had also performed before, at the *Verein für neue Musik* in Vienna in 1937, and which was dedicated to him.[328] Hijman first met Földes in 1934, at a concert of the Permanent Commission for International Exchange Concerts in Budapest, where he performed Hijman's *Sonata for violin and piano* (1932) with Sandor Végh.[329] Since then, the two pianists had always remained in contact. A few months before the Carnegie Hall concert, both Raschèr and Földes had fled to the United States via Norway.[330] The concert, obviously intended to help introduce Hijman as a composer in the US, was sponsored by a committee including composer Bernard Wagenaar (1894-1971), and

[326] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 109-43; Pameijer, 'Rosy Wertheim'. The trautonium, an electronic synthesizer, was invented by Friedrich Trautwein at the *Rundfunkversuchstelle* of the Berlin conservatoire. The Neo-Bechstein was an electric grand piano, first introduced in the Netherlands by Hijman at the International Exhibition Klank en Beeld (Sound and Vision) in Amsterdam in May 1932 (*Maandblad*, vol 1 no 5, 1932, 54).

[327] *De Radiogids*, 1 December 1934; 'Hijman works played,' *New York Times*, 8 April 1940.

[328] 'Konzert neuer Musik,' *Der Wiener Tag*, 21 November 1937.

[329] Maandblad, vol 3 no 6, March 1934.

[330] Földes had left from Oslo on SS Stavangerfjord on 21 November 1939. Raschèr had left from Bergen on the same ship, but on 18 September 1939. 'Passenger Search - The Statue of Liberty & Ellis Island', accessed 11 March

conductor and cellist Hans Kindler (1892-1949), both Dutch-born musicians who had emigrated to the US years before. Hijman had met Kindler on the SS Nieuw Amsterdam, sailing from Amsterdam to New York in the early summer of 1939.[331] The sponsoring committee further included composers Marion Bauer and Douglas Moore, musicologist and flutist Carleton Sprague Smith and violinist Helen Teschner Tas.[332] During those first months in New York, Hijman performed in six concerts, including radio broadcasts and a concert at the Composers' Forum Laboratory, where Rosy Wertheim's *Divertimento* had been performed two years earlier. His stay in New York wasn't exactly the start of a brilliant oversees career, but it landed him an honorary degree of the New York College of Music.[333]

Julius Hijman's migration to the United States wasn't the first time he left the Netherlands. After both his parents died in the early 1920s, Hijman decided to continue his piano studies in Vienna with Paul Weingarten.[334] Not much is known about his time there, but during his time in Vienna he married Jewish Viennese Margarethe Safir.[335] In 1927, the couple returned to the Netherlands. Back in Amsterdam, Hijman started his own contemporary music concert series with cellist Henk van Wezel.[336] He had close contacts with Sorbonne University in Paris, performing music by Dutch composers there and arranging lectures for colleagues.[337] In March 1929, Hijman organised an evening with contemporary Russian music in Amsterdam, where Alexander Tcherepnin performed his own work.[338] He was also one of the founding members of NVvHM in May 1930. Around that same time, the young pianist-composer moved again, this time to Berlin. In the early 1930s, Berlin was very much alive with modern music, and representing the NVvHM in the newly established Permanent Committee for International Exchange Concerts, Hijman met with fellow members Henry Cowell, Edgar Varèse, and Jerzy Fitelberg. He also met American soprano Mary Bell, a friend of Cowell, who would become a dear friend and would later participate in several of Hijman's early New York concerts. In 1931, he went on an exchange tour in Russia, performing in Kharkov (now Kharkiv in Ukraine), Moscow and Leningrad (now St. Petersburg).[339] In these years, the Hijmans' bonds with Austria remained

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2025, https://heritage.statueofliberty.org/.

[331] Julius Hijman to Karel Mengelberg, 17 August 1939, archive Karel Mengelberg NMI 3161-01.

[332] 'Hijman works played', *The New York Times*, 8 April 1940.

[333] Hijman to Wolf Simoni, 22 May 1941, archive Louis Saguer, BnF N.L. a 142.

[334] 'In memoriam Julius Hijman,' *Mens en Melodie*, March 1969, 67.

[335] Amsterdam City Archives, Archiefkaarten 30238-377.

[336] 'Julius Hijman - Henk van Wezel,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 27 September 1927.

[337] Julius Hijman to Daniël Ruyneman, 20 August 1931, archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01/1601.

[338] 'Genootschap Nederland-Nieuw Rusland. Concert moderne, Russische muziek,' *De Tribune, sociaal-democratisch weekblad*, 11 March 1929.

[339] 'Julius Hijman in Sovjet-Rusland. Introductie van Nederlandsche Componisten,' *Het Volk*, 18 February 1931;

strong. In 1930, Margarethe was mentioned in the newspapers, announcing a lecture she gave in Urania[340] on Dostoevsky, and in 1934, Julius was mentioned as the music editor of a film on gypsies in Burgenland, directed by Fritz Weiss.[341] In fact, he travelled back and forth so often to give concerts, that it is sometimes hard to establish where he actually lived.

When Hitler's national socialist party came to power in 1933, Berlin was no longer a welcoming place for a Jewish composer with communist sympathies like Hijman. In May 1933, Margarethe and Julius returned to Amsterdam. With a full-blown economic crisis, earning a living as a musician in Amsterdam was far from easy. Hijman was a regular performer at the NVvHM concert series at the *Muzieklyceum* and often played the piano in radio broadcasts. He also established himself as a piano teacher and a music journalist, writing programme notes for the Concertgebouw, articles for radio magazines and a book on Schönberg, Berg and Webern.[342] He kept his international music network alive writing letters and composing chamber music for his friends. In addition to the works written for Raschèr and Földes, he wrote *Five American Songs* for Mary Bell in 1935.[343]

With the *Anschluβ* in 1938, travelling eastward became impossible and Hijman must have felt exiled in his own country. In the spring of 1939, he decided to emigrate to the United States. To Wolf Simoni, a German refugee composer in Paris who would survive the war hiding under the name of Louis Saguer, Hijman wrote: 'It is not so much the political danger, but rather the musical hopelessness that drives me away from here. Before I completely dose off – and I am well underway already – I would give myself one more chance in the USA; when, after a few years, that has also failed, I will end up as one of these failed old gentlemen. I am sorry for the friends I leave behind, not in the least yourself.'[344]

Julius Hijman to Daniël Ruyneman, 17 February 1931, archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01/1596.

[340] Urania was a 'Volksbildungshaus' (house for the education of the people), founded in 1897 following the example of the Berlin Urania. Many lectures, concerts and poetry evenings were organised. 'Knowledgebase Erwachsenenbildung - Historiografie', accessed 11 March 2025, https://adulteducation.at/de/historiografie/institutionen/269/.

[341] *Das kleine Blatt*, 30 March 1930; 'Filmexpedition im Burgenland', *Kleine Volkszeitung*, 2 July 1934.

[342] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 6 November 1933. Hijman performed music by Schäfer, Diepenbrock and Chopin for AVRO radio. Letters secretariat Concertgebouw to Julius Hijman, dated 3 February, 9 March and 16 March 1939, archive Concertgebouw N.V. Stadsarchief Amsterdam inv no 1089. In 1936, Hijman wrote weekly articles for AVRO's *Radiobode*, a radio guide; see for example 'De Puszta - echt en onecht over Bela Bartok en Strauss' Zigeunerbaron' in *Radiobode* 3 January 1936. Julius Hijman, *Nieuwe Oostenrijkse muziek (Schönberg, Berg, Webern)*, Caecilia-reeks; nr. 5 (Amsterdam: Bigot en Van Rossum, 1938).

[343] Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, archive no KW 135, H2-05a. Three of these songs were most likely performed by Betty van den Bosch at the house concert at Rosy Wertheim's place (see p. 58).

[344] Julius Hijman to Wolf Simoni, 17 May 1939, archive Louis Saguer, BnF N.L. a 142. 'Nicht so sehr die politische Gefahr, als vielmehr die musikalische Aussichtslosigkeit treibt mich von hier weg. Bevor ich hier ganz einschlafe - ein gutes Stück dazu bin ich bereits im Wege - will ich es doch lieber erst noch einmal in USA versuchen; wenn das auch nichts wird nach einigen Jahren, werde ich halt zu den alten gescheiterten Herren gehören. Es tut mir

Adolf Waterman

On 13 December 1918, only weeks after the First World War had ended, Adolf Waterman (Dolf to friends and family) introduced himself as a pianist and composer to a Berlin audience. The young Dutchman performed his own piano concerto with the Berliner Philharmoniker, led by Hildebrand Camilio in the Singakademie in Berlin. The programme — clearly to promote Waterman as an allround musician — also presented *Variations symphoniques* by César Franck, the *Konzert-Allegro* by Chopin-Nicodé and Beethoven's *Fourth Piano Concerto*. The Berlin-based critic of the Dutch daily newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* wrote about Waterman's concerto: 'Honesty makes this an endearing work. Waterman does not pretend to be a modernist, speaking a language that doesn't emanate from the heart. He dreams behind the piano, with his tender, sensitive toucher, and one cannot deny that his dreams often lead him to familiar ground and the "*Reminiscenzejäger*" has a fairly easy job. […] Yet all in all, this is a captivating and sympathetic work, because what it has to offer comes straight from the composer's soul and it is melodious and pleasing to the ear.'[345] The newspaper further reported that Waterman and his concerto were given a warm reception. It would be the start of a modest career in the German capital.

Waterman, born in 1886 in Rotterdam, received his first piano lessons from Johan Sikemeier and Bernard Diamant at the local *Toonkunst* music school. His father dreamed a career for young Dolf in the family accountancy business and sent his son to Budapest to set up a local office. The business was not a great success, but Waterman learned to speak Hungarian fluently and continued his piano studies with Aladar Berényi and Stefan Thomán.[346] He returned to the Netherlands around 1907, where he started giving concerts throughout the country, followed by performances in Berlin, Paris, Brussels, and Londen. He performed Brahms, Chopin and Bach, but also contemporary music by Claude Debussy, Camille Chevillard, Cyril Scott and Emil Sauer.[347] He married Henriëtte Hartog in 1910 and a

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leid um die Freunde, die ich hier hinterlasse, nicht zuletzt um Dich.'

[345] 'Landgenoten te Berlijn,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 January 1919. 'Het werk neemt door zijne eerlijkheid voor zich in. Waterman tracht niet zich moderne allures te geven en een taal te spreken die hem niet uit het hart komt. Hij droomt aan zijn vleugel, met zijn weeken, gevoeligen aanslag, en nu valt het niet te ontkennen, dat die droomen hem vaak op bekend gebied voeren en de „Reminiscenzejäger" niet al te moeilijk spel heeft.'[…] Doch het geheel is innemend en sympathiek, omdat het slechts geeft wat uit het gemoed komt, en dat is melodieus en welluidend.'

[346] Hans and George Beyer, interview with the grandsons of the composer, 18 November 2022. 'Zoeken', accessed 11 March 2025, https://cbgverzamelingen.nl/zoeken?search=Adolf%20Waterman&collection=Familieadvertenties.

[347] 'Adolf Waterman,' *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 22 April 1911.

year later their daughter Charlotte (Lotti) was born.[348] However, the marriage soon ended in a divorce and upon receiving an invitation to teach, Waterman left for Berlin.[349] While his daughter Lotti was raised by his parents in Rotterdam, Waterman still gave concerts in the Netherlands but was now announced as the Berlin pianist Adolf Waterman.[350] In 1913, Waterman married his second wife, singer Annie van den Bergh, and landed himself a position at the Sternsche Conservatoire in Berlin.[351] The couple officially moved to Berlin in the summer of 1915, where Waterman studied composition with Hugo Kaun.[352] His violin sonata op. 11 is dedicated to 'meinem lieben Lehrer Herrn Kaun'.[353] During the First World War, Waterman continued to perform in Berlin, sometimes raising funds for charity.[354] His career as a pianist now focused on chamber music, with cellist Felix Robert Mendelssohn as his first duo partner.[355] As soon as the war was over, he presented himself as a pianist and composer in the concert mentioned above with the Berliner Philharmoniker. In 1919, he joined the Holland Trio to replace pianist Coenraad Bos (the other two members were Louis van Laar and Godfried Zeelander).[356] Various musicians started performing Waterman's works, including Felix Robert Mendelssohn (the cello concerto), Heinz Jolles (works for solo piano) and Joseph Wolfsthal (violin sonata).[357]

Although Waterman's own compositions of the early 1920s were written in a rather romantic style, he started a concert society to perform contemporary chamber music, including music from the Netherlands.[358] His interest in contemporary music would soon influence his compositions as well. Although opinions diverged, reviewing two concerts with violinist Joseph Wolfsthal in 1926 in The Hague and Rotterdam, most critics agreed that between the Violin Sonata op. 11 and the Preludes op. 24, the composer developed a more modern style. The anonymous critic of the *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* wrote: 'These preludes give rise to the suspicion, that the urge to write as concisely as possible, in the Sonata as well, but not as consistently, remarkably develops along the principles of Arnold

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348 Rotterdam City Archives, huwelijksakten 999-06.1910A – a26v. Rotterdam City Archives, geboorteakten 999.011911E – 3439.

349 Rotterdam City Archives, gezinskaarten 494-03.851-524. Hans and George Beyer, interview with the grandsons of the composer, 18 November 2022.

350 *De Avondpost*, 27 December 1912.

351 *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 's Gravenhage*, 20 December 1913.

352 *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 25 January 1926.

353 Music manuscript, archive Adolf Waterman, NMI 3599-01/006.

354 *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 29 November 1914.

355 *Berliner Börsen Zeitung*, 27 February 1913.

356 'Muziek te Berlijn,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 18 November 1919.

357 *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 18 February 1921; *Berliner Börsen Zeitung*, 3 December 1924.

358 *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 28 October 1922.

Schönberg, whose aesthetics seem to have found a convert in Waterman, also in the harmonies of the last prelude, Maestoso.'[359] The Berlin correspondent of the Dutch daily newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* is even somewhat disappointed in Waterman's progress as a composer: 'Later works, including the Variations (op. 14) and the Seven Preludes (op. 25) performed by Jolles, show that Waterman defected to the atonal camp with beating drums and now struggles with those wry disharmonies and eccentricities, leaving us ice cold and untouched, giving the impression that while writing them down, the composer must have worn spectacles with one convex glass and one concave glass. In Berlin, however, — with a hall full of followers — this toil of the brain, lacking input from the heart, still evokes applause.'[360] In the city exploding with cultural activity, where critics dashed from one concert to the next, Waterman was able to attract a stable following, performing his own works with a growing number of musical partners.[361]

To conclude this chapter on performance opportunities and the production of sources, many aspects of music life influenced the twinned processes of canon formation and history production. However, none of the composers discussed in this chapter fell out of music history because just one of these aspects. Usually, several factors accumulated, making it less likely for a composer to be part of music history. For example, Daniël Belinfante wrote music for students *and* composed mainly chamber music. Dolf Waterman received his education abroad *and* lived in many different places. Hans Krieg composed for radio *and* came to the Netherlands as a refugee in 1933. Rosy Wertheim lived abroad for many years, wrote mainly chamber music *and* was a woman. Philip Vlessing wrote music for dilettantes *and* received his education abroad. Sim Gokkes wrote Jewish religious music, had his own music school *and* wrote mainly chamber music. The sources created by the performance of their work carried less weight in music history production. The next chapter will look into the theory of network approaches to history, followed by a chapter on the positions and roles of composers in networks, as these influenced both performance opportunities and source production.

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[359] 'Nutszaal. Rotterdamsche Kunstkring,' *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 25 January 1926. 'Deze Preluden geven grond aan het vermoeden, dat de wil tot concentratie in zoo beknopt mogelijken vorm, ook in de Sonate, maar niét zóó strak volgehouden opmerkelijk, zich ontwikkelt volgens de principes van Arnold Schönberg, tot wiens aesthetiek Waterman zich trouwens in de laatste Prelude, Maestoso, ook voor de harmonieën schijnt te hebben bekeerd.'

[360] 'Muziek te Berlijn,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 November 1927. 'Later werk als de Variaties (op. 14) en de door Jolles gespeelde Zeven Preludes (op. 25) toonen, dat Waterman met slaande trom naar de atonalen overgeloopen is en nu worstelt met die wrange en ons ijskil-latende ondoorvoelde disharmonieën en buitenissigheden, die den indruk maken, alsof de componist bij het neerschrijven een bril met één convex en één concaaf glas voor de oogen gehad heeft. Maar in Berlijn — en dan nog voor een zaal met aanhangers — is met zulk hersenwerk, waar het hart vreemd aan is, altijd nog applaus te ontlokken.'

[361] 'Muziek te Berlijn,' *Algemeen Handelsblad,* 11 November 1927.

5. Theory: network approaches

In their book *The Network Turn*, Ruth Ahnert and colleagues observed a steady increase in the use of network approaches in the humanities since 2010, varying from computational network analysis and visualisation to more qualitative studies of the nature of relationships. This increase coincided with the exploding quantity of data as a result of the incredible speed at which archives are digitised.[362] Repeating an online newspaper search carried out five years ago will today yield much more information. With the help of Optical Character Recognition hundreds of thousands of newspaper pages worldwide can be searched for reviews of concerts and news on composers. We need equally sophisticated tools to discover connections between these data and make sense of the information.

Network visualisation and analysis offers insight into Bourdieu's 'social capital' and Granovetter's 'strength of weak ties', enabling, for example, performances and migratory experiences.[363] It may also add geographical perspectives to a historical narrative, showing, for example, that despite the German antipathy after the First World War, Berlin was as much a source of inspiration to composers as was Paris. According to Ulrich Eumann, a network perspective helps to awaken hidden meanings in source material, but it does not create new facts.[364] It enriches the knowledge gained from known sources by linking facts from one source to information from other sources. For example, if two letters, perhaps several years apart, survive between a composer and a performer, added sources on the musician performing works by that composer might indicate that a prolonged relationship existed between them. Handling large quantities of data in a non-linear setting, a network database can help to visualise connections that would elude the researcher depending on written narratives alone. Visualisation can also help to formulate hypotheses or provide leads for further archival research. Ahnert et al compare network visualisation and analysis to the use of aerial photography in archaeology; zooming out makes different patterns stand out that lead the researcher to new areas to study more closely.[365] Even if a quantitative analysis is too ambitious considering the surviving sources and the lack of pre-existing network datasets, a qualitative analysis of individuals and organisations can yield new insights.

In 2014, based on the Actor Network Theory (ANT) of French sociologist and

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[362] Ahnert, Ahnert, and Coleman, *The Network Turn*, 5–6.

[363] Marten Düring et al., eds., *Handbuch Historische Netzwerkforschung: Grundlagen und Anwendungen*, Schriften des Kulturwissenschaftlichen Instituts Essen (KWI) zur Methodenforschung (Berlin: LIT, 2016), 25–26; ibid., 64.

[364] Eumann, 'Heuristik, Hypothesenentwicklung Und Hypothesentest', 124.

[365] Ahnert, Ahnert, and Coleman, *The Network Turn*, 91.

philosopher Bruno Latour, Benjamin Piekut wrote an article on how research on music history may benefit from network approaches.[366] According to Piekut, the ultimate goal of an ANT analysis is 'to provide an empirically justified description of historical events, one that highlights the controversies, trials, and contingencies of the truth, instead of reporting it as coherent, self-evident, and available for discovery.'[367] He proposed that a network perspective may help to explain how music styles and genres evolve and travel; it may help to break down the wall between genres that are often strictly separated in music historiography; and, last but not least, it helps to include context — social constraints, discursive frames and political pressures — in the narrative.[368] For example, performance opportunities and the production of sources, such as reviews, may be influenced by participating in opposing networks. Not only do networks cross the boundaries of genres like concert hall music, entertainment, film, radio and cabaret, ANT also implies that non-musical domains need to be taken into account in producing music history. Piekut concluded that 'at its best, ANT helps us to tell surprising, interesting, and new stories about music and its many allies.'[369] The advantage of looking at networks as a result of a series of mediating actions — or translations in Latour's vocabulary — is that they are fluid and cross traditional domain boundaries. A network approach allows participants (rather than members of a group) to position themselves either at the very centre of a group, in the periphery, or anywhere in between and this may change over time. Piekut stated that 'the consensus view of any large musical or historical grouping ignores the uncertainties and volatilities of ontological formation, as well as the web of relations that support the resulting group'.[370] ANT allows for a more fluid understanding of context, refraining from the categories that historians before us have created. It is not very helpful to exclusively focus on the domain of classical, concert hall music when researching a network of composers and musicians. Actors cross these imaginary boundaries all the time, including domain boundaries to do with politics, class, gender and religion. As Piekut explained, ANT refrains from 'drawing borderlines that are at odds with the ones drawn by historical actors'.[371] Summing up, he concluded that 'a Latourian accounting of networks does not cover up asymmetries, but instead issues a realist description of associations and the hierarchies and inequalities they create; it is ontologically indeterminate, allowing the shape of the networks to emerge empirically. It documents how actors forge associations, thereby denaturalizing

[366] Piekut, 'Actor-Networks in Music History'.
[367] Ibid., 193.
[368] Ibid., 204.
[369] Ibid., 212.
[370] Ibid., 200.
[371] Ibid., 205.

inherited accounts and restoring contingency to narratives of genesis.'[372] While social networks may reinforce cohesiveness within groups with similar cultural or religious identities, they can just as easily bridge the differences between these groups. Even if formal structures exist, like membership of one of two competing societies for contemporary music, fluid network links as the result of performative ties may defy these categorisations.[373]

On the downside, as all authors on network approaches point out, a historical network is never a straightforward copy of a historical reality but always an abstraction, depending on both the availability of historical sources (and, as Trouillot explained, the unavoidable silences they create) as well as choices of focus made by the researcher. Unlike investigators of contemporary networks, historians cannot ask actors about their network ties, they depend on the silent archival witnesses of links. It will always remain up to the researcher to interpret — and be transparent about it — whether a gap represents the absence of network ties, a conscious choice to limit the scope of the database, or a lack of surviving evidence. Especially in historical network research, time is a further challenging aspect both in organising the data and in presenting the narrative. A historical network representation is limited in time and, moreover, it changes over time. Especially with migration, it is far more difficult to maintain a network through correspondence than by meeting in person. Paradoxically, while correspondence leaves traces to enable network reconstruction, in-person meetings are lost in history unless they are documented in letters, newspaper reports or minutes of meetings. Although sometimes it is possible to date a network link, for example by taking into account the dates of correspondence, or the date of a performance, Christian Marx warned us that network visualisations, like all maps, tend to treat networks as static, a frozen image of fluid social relations.[374] Network researchers often have to warn each other not to 'fall in love with the graph' as the computer generates fascinating visualisations after months of data input work. Graphs are attractive and seem easy to read, but contain a lot of hidden or subconscious information in, for example, the size and positioning of nodes and ties. Ahnert et al concluded that we need to remain alert to the rhetorical power of network visualisation.[375] To conclude, the value of network analysis depends on research questions, the quality of the sources and the manner in which the findings can be related to context. The success of network analysis further depends on

[372] Ibid., 211.

[373] Christian Marx, 'Forschungsüberblick Zur Historischen Netzwerkforschung; Zwischen Analysekategorie Und Metapher', in *Handbuch Historische Netzwerkforschung: Grundlagen Und Anwendungen*, ed. Marten Düring et al., Schriften Des Kulturwissenschaftlichen Instituts Essen (KWI) Zur Methodenforschung 1 (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2016), 63–84.

[374] Ibid., 70.

[375] Ahnert, Ahnert, and Coleman, *The Network Turn*, 59.

the relation between this method and other research methods.[376]

Especially in the case of suppressed composers, where sources may be scattered or missing, a network approach is a way of making the most of limited data. Going back to archival sources — more easily accessible through digitisation, which at the same time can also be a silencing factor, only what seems important is digitised — by no means offers 'a transparent window on the past'. The researcher always decides on what to include and where to draw 'the boundary lines of relevance'.[377] However, despite shortcomings and warnings, network analysis allows for new ways of building narratives. What exactly do we study when applying a network approach to music history, or, in other words, what type of data feed into network research on music history? Music is the ultimate form of *sympoiesis*, or making-with.[378] Not only is music making often a social activity with fellow performers, a teacher and/or an audience, the wider network exists of instrument builders, composers, publishers, programmers, marketing specialists and so on. In Latour's terminology, the music community does not exist as something concrete or tangible, but depends on actions, mediations and translations. Only when the circuit — laid down by a secondary, auxiliary network consisting of sheet music, instruments, concert venues, music magazines and newspapers — is closed, music happens. However, I believe this circuit (a music community) still exists when no action takes place. It slumbers and becomes immediately active when mediations, actions and translations take place. It can be formal, like membership of an organisation, or informal, like a friendship that still exists even if there is no exchange, for example as a result of war and separation. Once two people are linked through a performance or through exchange of letters, that network link, though inactive, remains and can be rekindled at any time. If networks only exist when action or mediation is performed, how can the strength of weak ties work? Network translations leave footprints, creating a path. In Benjamin Piekut's words: 'An ANT approach to history traces activities, events, and procedures – in short, it provides accounts of the enactment of realities.'[379] Historians make do with the silent witnesses of these enactments. For example, a composition can be a silent witness of a network relation when the manuscript has a dedication.

[376] Düring et al., *Handbuch Historische Netzwerkforschung*, 6.
[377] Piekut, 'Actor-Networks in Music History', 210.
[378] Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*, 58.
[379] Piekut, 'Actor-Networks in Music History', 201.

6. Music networks, positions and roles

'It is under those circumstances, that the amateur in the Netherlands was given an unexpected opportunity to present himself as a propagandist for modern music and a mentor for the uninitiated audience. During several seasons, we have been able to observe the disastrous results: poorly chosen compositions, incompetent programming, and insufficiently prepared concerts with partly inadequate musicians have harmed rather than advanced the cause of modern music. To avoid misunderstanding, I am mainly referring to the so called Muziek-Lyceum-concerts, the concerts of the "Art in intimate Circles" Society, the concerts of the "The Hague Study Group for Modern Music" and others, who now appear to be working together in concerts for the "Dutch Society for Contemporary Music".'[380]

Having access to certain network paths or maintaining the right connections influenced composers' chances to get their work performed and become part of music history. Network links were formed around teachers, shared interests, and around religious or political convictions. In the famously pillarised Dutch society, these religiously or politically oriented networks would read and write their own magazines and newspapers, and they would organise gatherings or concerts. Some networks were formalised as societies or associations, others were implicit and formed by repeated incidental meetings and collaborations or shared educational backgrounds. For example, composers would meet in juries selecting works for performance or publication, or at concerts where their work was programmed. These implicit and informal networks often bridged or crossed the boundaries between more formal networks. Being part of a network could determine whether you had easy access to concert organisers, newspaper or magazine editors, or to music publishers. Conflicts between individual composers could polarise the music community, bringing (temporary) boundaries between different networks to light. 'Wrong' affiliations could diminish chances of being performed or performances being reviewed. Some composers had such diverse network ties that they could offer a bridging path to otherwise unconnected people.

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[380] Paul F. Sanders, 'Moderne Muziek en Dilettantisme,' in *De Muziek*, vol 5 no 10, 419-20. 'Het is onder die omstandigheden, dat de dilettant ten onzent een onvermoede kans heeft gekregen om zich als propagandist voor de moderne muziek en mentor van het oningewijde publiek op te werpen. Wij hebben gedurende enige seizoenen de funeste gevolgen daarvan kunnen constateeren: slecht gekozen werken, onkundige programmasamenstellingen, onvoldoend voorbereide concerten met ten deele ontoereikende krachten, hebben de zaak der moderne muziek eer geschaad dan bevoordeeld. Ik heb hierbij – dit teneinde misverstanden te voorkomen – vooral het oog op de zoogenaamde Muziek-Lyceum-concerten, de concerten der Vereeniging "Kunst in intiemen Kring", de concerten van den "Haagschen Studiekring voor Moderne Muziek" e.a., welke thans geconcentreerd schijnen te zijn in de concerten van de "Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek".

Inspired by Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory, I imagine networks as circuits of actors' energy, where light flashes at nodes where streams of energy collide. These flashes leave traces in the form of little heaps of ashes, the proof of network connections. In these ashes, the DNA of different actors involved in the collision can be identified. A programme of a performance is such a proof of a network node, a silent witness of the collision, carrying the DNA of performers, composers, compositions and concert organisers. Another trace of a performance is a review, adding the reviewer to the DNA of the collision. Music manuscripts and published sheet music can have network information on dedicatees or commissioners. In correspondence composers may discuss performers or concert organisers. As we have seen in chapter 3.3, being in- or excluded in an overview publication could say something about networks of the author. Teacher-student relationships and relationships between composers who share the same teacher – often documented in biographical information, in programme notes and interviews – also influence performance opportunities and source production. This chapter looks at network links among composers and musicians during the interwar years in the Netherlands and how these influenced the processes of music history production and canon formation.

6.1 Teacher student networks

In narratives on music history, composers are often grouped based on the teachers they studied with. For example, Monnikendam organised his book on Dutch composers by grouping contemporary composers as pupils of Zweers, Wagenaar, Dresden, Pijper, Andriessen, Badings and Van Baaren. Those who do not fit this pedigree were labelled as self-taught at best or simply ignored. The author further grouped women together in a separate chapter, even if they were students of one of these teachers.[381] The sources that give evidence of the students of one teacher functioning as a group are limited but do exist. For example, Monnikendam (a student of Dresden) described how a group of students used to gather on Friday afternoons around Dresden like a group of friends.[382] Three of Hendrik Andriessen's students, Albert de Klerk, Jan Mul and Herman Strategier, composed a *Missa Trium Puerorum* for Andriessen's fiftieth birthday.[383] Pijper's students Sanders, Van Lier and Guillaume Landré often worked together, as we shall see further on in this chapter. Moreover, Pijper's students often championed each other in concert or radio programmes.

[381] Monnikendam, *Nederlandse componisten van heden en verleden.*, 7–9.

[382] Ibid., 173. Monnikendam mentions Leo Smit, Jac. Beers, Jan Nieland, Anna-Käthe Relstab, Emmy Frensel Wegener and the author.

[383] Wouter Paap, 'Hendrik Andriessen vijftig jaar,' *De Tijd*, 15 September 1942.

Piet Tiggers, who studied with Pijper in the 1920s and succeeded him as music critic of the daily newspaper *Utrechtsch Dagblad*, was most likely the producer of a radio series *Nieuwe klanken van eigen bodem* (New home-grown sounds, 1935-1936, VARA).[384] Tiggers wrote introductory articles in VARA's Radio Guide and was active as radio presenter for VARA.[385] Preceded by an introductory talk by Tiggers, music by eighteen different composers was broadcast, including Pijper and six of his students (Guillaume Landré, Henk Badings, Hans Henkemans, Johan Franco (1908-1971, already an American citizen by that time), Oscar van Hemel (1892-1981) and Wolfgang Wijdeveld (who also studied with Dresden)). Further composers highlighted were Dresden and three of his students (Jan Felderhof, Emmy Frensel Wegener, Max Prick van Wely (1909-2000)) and Hendrik Andriessen and Bernhard van den Sigtenhorst Meyer (both students of Zweers) represented the older generation. The youngest generation was represented by a certain G. Mulder, Ary Verhaar (1900-1994, self-taught), and two students of Ernest W. Mulder (1898-1959): Rudolf Karsemeijer (1908-2007) and Nico Richter (1915-1945). Frensel Wegener was the only woman to be included in the series. Tiggers was surprised by her compact, humorous and yet mild melodies.[386] The omission of Henriëtte Bosmans in both Pijper's music history *Van Debussy tot Heden* and in Tiggers' radio series is noteworthy.

If composers received their education outside this lineage, for example by studying abroad (like Hijman in Berlin and Vienna, or Waterman in Budapest and Berlin), or when immigrating to the Netherlands after finishing their education (James Simon, Wilhelm Rettich, Hans Krieg, Hans Lachman, Géza Frid), they were not part of these inside circles and their music had less chance of getting performed — an important step in both the process of music history production and canon formation.

6.2 Performance networks

Apart from being part of the proper teacher-student circles, for their music to be performed composers also depended on a network of musicians and concert organisers.[387] If composers were musicians themselves, they would have a larger network, consisting of musicians they co-performed with. Close collaboration or friendship with other composers could also

[384] Lelieveldt, 'Kwaliteit en verscheidenheid; Radio en de klassieke muziekwereld', 148.

[385] 'Tiggers, Petrus Johannes,' Brugmans, H., N. Japikse, en H.P. van den Aardweg. *Persoonlijkheden in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in woord en beeld: Nederlanders en hun werk*. Amsterdam: Van Holkema & Warendorf, 1938.

[386] Piet Tiggers, 'Nieuwe klanken van eigen bodem,' *De Radiogids*, 18 January 1936. 'Men was dit kernachtige, dit geestige en toch daarnaast ook milde in de melodie-vorming niet gewend. En vooral niet van een meisje!'

[387] And, to a lesser extent, publishers. Many works were performed from manuscripts. Once a work was

provide performance opportunities as they could programme a colleague's work alongside their own music and hope for the favour to be returned. Membership of organisations, like NVvHM, or the *Koninklijke Nederlandsche Toonkunstenaars Vereeniging* (KNTV, Royal Dutch Society for Musicians) would also improve chances of performance.

Evidence of these network relations can be found in concert programmes, reviews or announcements, and in membership lists and minutes of meetings. Between January 1930 and June 1939, the moment when he emigrated to the United States, Julius Hijman had his works performed in 48 concerts, both in the Netherlands and abroad. Almost always, his music was performed alongside other contemporary composers. Hungarian pianist Andor Földes performed in nine concerts with music by Hijman. Henk van Wezel, the cellist with whom Hijman formed a duo to perform contemporary music, was involved in six concerts where music of Julius Hijman was performed. Flutist and saxophonist Jan Sevenstern performed music by Hijman in seven concerts. Pianist Caroline Lankhout also performed in six concerts with music by Hijman, while her husband, clarinettist Johan van Hell performed in five concerts with Hijman's works. Baritone Laurens Bogtman also performed in five concerts with music by Hijman. Cellists Reinier Bresser and Pál Hermann both performed in three concerts with music by Hijman. Compositions by Hijman were performed in four concerts organised by KNTV, and in ten concerts organised by NVvHM. In addition to sources linked to performances, evidence of these network relationships can also be found in correspondence. For example, Andor Földes was mentioned in nine letters written by Julius Hijman. Hijman and Rascher exchanged nine letters in their early years after emigration, and Hijman mentioned Rascher in three letters to his friend Louis Saguer.

In the interwar period, works by Rosy Wertheim were performed in 35 concerts, usually alongside other contemporary music. In three concerts, flutist Paul Loewer was involved; mezzosoprano Betty van den Bosch performed her songs three times (once in a salon at Wertheim's home, where Julius Hijman was also present, see p. 58); cellist Roelof Krol and pianist Olga Moszkowsky-Elias each performed in three concerts where Wertheim's music was programmed; pianist Iskar Aribo performed her work twice. Works by Rosy Wertheim were performed alongside music by Julius Hijman in four concerts. Six times, her music was performed in a concert organised by NVvHM, twice in a (study or informal) concert organised by Section Holland of ISCM and twice by KNTV. Rosy Wertheim was mentioned in three letters sent by Julius Hijman and she was a member of a committee celebrate the tenth anniversary of the NVvHM and honour its founder and secretary Daniël Ruyneman.[388] The networks of Julius Hijman and Rosy Wertheim overlap,

published, performance was out of control of the composer.

[388] Circular letter to the members and supporters of NVvHM, 19 April 1940, signed by Berta Frensel Wegener-

as a result of both their involvement in NVvHM.

An analysis of Hans Krieg's performance network offers a completely different picture. Music by Hans Krieg was performed in 25 concerts and 19 radio broadcasts in the Netherlands before the German invasion. Berlin *Oberkantor* Hugo Heimann performed in four concerts featuring music by Hans Krieg, and the two men performed together in four more concerts. Soprano Therese Stokvis-Bierman performed Krieg's songs in seven concerts, while Augusta Reclair and Erna Abramowitz each performed his songs in two concerts. Most concerts were organised by Jewish organisations, such as *Joodsche Vrouwenraden in Nederland* (Dutch Jewish Women's Councils), *Oost-Joodsch Verbond* (East-Jewish Union) or *Nederlandsche Zionistenbond* (Dutch Zionists' League). Radio broadcast were mostly for VARA, but also KRO and AVRO. Music by Hans Krieg was seldom performed alongside music by other Dutch contemporary composers. As an exception, his songs sounded alongside a *Toccata* for piano by Hans Franco Mendes in a concert broadcast by VARA Radio for the *Comité voor Bijzondere Joodsche Belangen* (Commitee for Special Jewish Needs, in aid of refugees).[389] However, Hans Krieg was not mentioned in any of the 279 letters in my database. There seems to be very little overlap between the network of Hans Krieg and the networks of other composers in the Netherlands, like Julius Hijman and Rosy Wertheim. Focusing on his Jewish and radio networks to generate income, unlike Julius Hijman and Rosy Wertheim, Hans Krieg did not build a network among contemporary composers and non-Jewish performers. The music he composed and the sources generated by his activities did not give him access to the process of music history production or canon formation.

6.3 Network rivalry in performing contemporary music

On 24th November 1918, a famous incident took place at the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam, when composer and critic Matthijs Vermeulen — not a great fan of Cornelis Dopper's 19th-century composition style — shouted 'Long live Sousa', immediately after the final chords of Dopper's *Zuiderzee* symphony had died down.[390] This spontaneous yell resulted in Vermeulen being denied entrance to the Concertgebouw and triggered a polemic discussion between more conservative minds and supporters of modernism. Composer Daniël Ruyneman full-heartedly sided with Vermeulen.[391] That same year, together with his

Koopman, Rosy Wertheim, Jacques Beers, Karel Mengelberg and Leo Smit, archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01/171.

[389] 'Radio-uitzending Comité voor Bijzondere Joodsche Belangen,' *De Joodsche middenstander*, 11 January 1935.

[390] Oskamp, *Een Behoorlijk Kabaal Een Cultuurgeschiedenis Van Nederland In De Twintigste Eeuw*, 41.

[391] Braas, *Door het geweld van zijn verlangen*, 168; Oskamp, *Een Behoorlijk Kabaal Een Cultuurgeschiedenis Van Nederland In De Twintigste Eeuw*, 43.

colleagues Henri Zagwijn and Sem Dresden, Ruyneman had founded the *Nederlandsche Vereeniging tot Ontwikkeling der Moderne Scheppende Toonkunst* (Dutch Society for the Advancement of Modern Music), soon joined by Vermeulen, Alexander Voormolen, Bernard van den Sigtenhorst Meyer and Willem Pijper.[392] After a successful start with concerts in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague, the society was dissolved during its second general assembly in 1924.[393]

Despite there being no longer a formal organisation for contemporary music, Dresden and Pijper together represented the Netherlands at meetings of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM, founded in 1922). In November 1924, Dresden, Pijper, conductor and pianist Evert Cornelis, composer Willem Landré and critic Herman Rutters sent out a press release, asking to support the Dutch chapter of this international society. They invited composers, musicians and other supporters to join them but insisted that they would remain in charge, as agreed with the board of the international society. It would be their task to select the Dutch compositions to be proposed to the international jury of the upcoming ISCM gatherings.[394] The Dutch chapter's ambitions were rather similar to those of the dissolved Society for the Advancement of Modern Composing, to organise concerts and publish a journal. In 1926, Pijper and his former student and by now fellow board member of the Dutch chapter of ISCM, composer and critic Paul F. Sanders, started a monthly magazine *De Muziek*, a collaboration with *Federatie van Nederlandsche Toonkunstenaarsvereenigingen* (the Federation of Dutch Societies for Musicians, chaired by Sem Dresden, who had also taught Sanders).[395] Two years after its start, the Dutch ISCM chapter organised its first concert in the Recital Hall of the Concertgebouw, featuring Willem Pijper as the only Dutch composer.[396]

In the years that followed, other small-scale, independent initiatives emerged to promote new music in various cities in the Netherlands. In Amsterdam, composer and pianist Julius Hijman started a concert series devoted to new music together with cellist Henk van Wezel in 1927.[397] That same year, together with conductor Otto Glastra van Loon

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[392] Oskamp, *Een Behoorlijk Kabaal Een Cultuurgeschiedenis Van Nederland In De Twintigste Eeuw*, 51.

[393] 'Int. society for contemporary music; versterking der sectie Holland,' *De Telegraaf*, 21 November 1924.

[394] Ibid.

[395] *De Muziek* vol 1 no 1, October 1926. This federation was initiated in March 1925 to further the interests of musicians and to promote music life. The first member organisations were Nederlandsche Toonkunstenaarsvereeniging, Nederlandsch Muziekpaedagogisch Verbond, Nederlandsche Organisatie van Toonkunstenaren, vereeniging „Het Concertgebouw-Orchest", Bond van Nederlandsche Musici and Bond van Koordirigenten. The first chairman was composer Sem Dresden (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 March 1925). From October 1926 onwards, the federation published its own magazine *De Muziek*, with editors Willem Pijper and Paul F. Sanders.

[396] 'Kamermuziek,' *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 23 March 1926.

[397] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 27 September 1927.

and others, Max Vredenburg (1904-1976) started his *Haagsche Studiekring voor Moderne Muziek* (The Hague Study Group for Modern Music).[398] A year later, the renowned Amsterdam music school *Muzieklyceum* started organising concerts devoted to new music.[399] On 19 May 1930, these groups joined forces with the Utrecht Lyceum Concerts and founded the *Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek* (NVvHM, Dutch Society for Contemporary Music).[400] The society's first concert series started in October 1930 in The Hague.[401] A year after its launch, this group, led by Pijper's former companion Ruyneman, was successful in launching their own monthly journal, *Maandblad voor Hedendaagsche Muziek* (Contemporary Music Monthly). A year later, the Permanent Committee for International Exchange Concerts was launched, the indefatigable Ruyneman at its helm.[402] With his compatriot and fellow board member Julius Hijman based in Berlin, an extensive network was built for organising exchange concerts.[403]

The objectives of NVvHM were also remarkably similar to those of the Society for the Advancement of Modern Composing started in 1918 as well as those of Pijper's Dutch chapter of ISCM.[404] Ruyneman was well aware of the competition between the two groups. In a letter to Austrian composer Hans Pless he complained how little the Dutch chapter of ISCM had achieved and how biased they were in selecting composers to represent their country. He introduced his own NVvHM to Pless, explaining that their aim was similar to that of Pless (organising international exchange concerts), and that they intended to take a serious, but broader approach to selecting music to represent the Netherlands. He summed up their achievements so far, organising concerts focused on Viennese composers, on Czech composers, and concerts featuring the works of Kodály and Villa Lobos. As Ruyneman explained further, their plans to perform Weill's *Der Jasager* showed their interest in *Gemeinschaftsmusik*.[405]

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[398] 'Haagsche Studiekring voor Moderne Muziek,' *Het Vaderland*, 29 October 1927.

[399] Herman Rutters, 'Muziek-lyceum; Fransche cyclus I: clavecimbel-muziek,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 October 1928.

[400] Brochure 'Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek' in archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01.

[401] 'Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek,' *Haagsche Courant*, 25 October 1930.

[402] 'Hedendaagsche muziek. Uitwisselingsconcerten,' *Het Volk*, 21 March 1931.

[403] Correspondence between Hijman and Ruyneman, archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01 / 1595-1633, 1541.

[404] Brochure 'Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek' in archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01.

[405] Ruyneman to Pless, 5 February 1931, archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01/1722-1781. ‚Die Sektion Holland hat während der Zeit ihrer Existenz in Holland so wenig geleistet, dass die Musiker auf wirklich sehr parteiische Weise die holländische Kunst repräsentiert haben, sogar so, dass ein ausländisches Jury mitglied mir schriftlich mitteilte, die Weise auf welche die Sektion Holland geleitet würde, käme ihm sehr sonderbar vor. Der am 16 April 1930 errichttete Niederländischen Verein für neue Musik hat sich nun zur Aufgabe gemacht, auf gleiche Weise, wie Sie angeben, tätig zu sein und dabei einen strengen aber breit aufgefassten Standpunkt einzunehmen,

Indeed, from 1924 to 1939, the Dutch chapter of ISCM functioned merely as a jury selecting compositions to be sent to the international jury of the annual international music festivals. It was not hugely successful in getting music by Dutch composers performed there. In 1927, Willem Pijper's *Sonata for flute and piano* was performed by Johan Feltkamp, with the composer at the piano, as well as a string quartet by Bernard van Dieren, a Dutch composer who had emigrated to the United Kingdom in 1909 (his music may well have been selected as part of the British delegation). At the 1929 festival, Pijper was a member of the jury that selected both Henriëtte Bosmans' *Concertino for Piano and Orchestra* and Emmy Frensel Wegener's *Dance for Clarinet and Orchestra* for performance. When the annual ISCM Music Festival came to Amsterdam in 1933, Pijper again participated in the jury. The festival featured new works by Guillaume Landré, Bernard van den Sigtenhorst Meyer, Jan Mul, Willem Pijper, Bertus van Lier, and Rudolf Mengelberg. In 1935, a violin sonata by Henk Badings was selected, two years later his piano trio was performed. Guillaume Landré appeared on the programme in 1938, alongside Bertus van Lier. The 1939 festival included works by Robert de Roos, Henk Badings, and Piet Ketting. In May 1941, during the New York festival music by Piet Ketting and Henk Badings was broadcast live.[406] Out of eleven composers (excluding Pijper himself) selected by the international jury, five had studied with Pijper and four of these were selected more than once.

The relationship between the two factions of contemporary composers turned really sour when in the spring of 1931, NVvHM announced a series of exchange concerts in the newspapers.[407] The international authority of Pijper cum suis was clearly threatened by the activities of Ruyneman and Hijman. In the July 1931 issue of *De Muziek*, Paul Sanders responded to this new initiative by writing an article about dilettantism in music. He stated that 'dilettantes are those who present themselves — without proper schooling — as artists, but don't accept, or are not aware of the responsibilities of being an artist.' According to Sanders, NVvHM was a group of dilettantes, because they did not select the best works, their performances were bad, and the programmes were poorly designed. Their activities were said to have an adverse effect on the promotion of contemporary music. He suggested

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wobei wir uns nicht damit begnügen, werden nur Kenntnis zu nehmen von Kompositionen welche uns zufällig zugesandt werden.' Julius Hijman may well have met Hans Pless in person in Vienna, as Pless worked in Vienna as conductor when Hijman lived there in 1926-7. In Vienna, Pless founded the *Verein für Volkstümliche Musikpflege* (Association for the cultivation of folk music) and conducted the Urania Women's choir, which may have triggered Ruyneman's mention of *Gemeinschaftsmusik*. Institut für kunst-und musikhistorische Forschungen, 'Pless (eig. Pischinger), Hans (eig. Johann) Hanna', ISBN 978-3-7001-3043-7 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002), accessed 7 March 2025, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_P/Pless_Hans.xml.

406 'ISCM – International Society for Contemporary Music', ISCM – International Society for Contemporary Music, accessed 7 March 2025, https://iscm.org/.

407 'Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek; uitwisselingsconcerten,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 21 March 1931.

that their name, almost identical to that of the Dutch chapter of ISCM, was chosen to lure Pless into believing that Ruyneman's group were actually the Dutch representatives of ISCM.[408]

The very first issue of NVvHM's *Maandblad* was published in November 1931. It opened with the news of the withdrawal of Vredenburg's The Hague Study Group from the Society. Apparently, this group planned to organise a music festival and certain composers would not allow there music to be performed there as long as the The Hague Group was part of the Ruyneman's NVvHM. The authors of the article had no doubt 'certain composers' referred to Pijper and some of his students, since they had refused to have their music performed at NVvHM concerts. The withdrawal of Vredenburg's group surprised the authors, as Sanders had explicitly referred to them as dillettantes in his recent article.[409] Despite Sanders' attack, the first Austro-Dutch international exchange concert took place in Amsterdam on 16 December 1931. The Austrian jury, consisting of Egon Wellesz, Paul Pisk, E. Stein, Rudolf Stefan, Julius Lechtaler, and Hans Pless, chose music by Julius Schloss, Julius Lechtaler and J.M. Hauer.[410] In return, a concert with Dutch contemporary music took place at the *Musikverein* in Vienna on 25 November 1931. The programme presented music by Matthijs Vermeulen, Robert de Roos, Max Vredenburg, Daniël Ruyneman, Jan Ingenhoven, Willem Pijper and Sem Dresden. In a letter to Ruyneman, Pless had suggested that including music by the latter two might improve relations between the two Dutch opposing groups.[411]

Pless' suggestion did not have the effect they hoped for. The animosity between the Dutch chapter of ISCM and the Dutch Society for Contemporary Music would influence Dutch music life for years to come. In December 1935, *Stichting Nederlandsche Muziek Belangen* (NMB, Dutch Music Interests) was founded, an organisation for the promotion of Dutch music, funded by Buma.[412] The idea was to support performances of contemporary Dutch music. On Tuesday 30 June 1936, its initiator Jan van Gilse invited the two rival groups to a meeting to discuss a merger. Ruyneman represented his NVvHM, while the

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[408] 'Moderne muziek en dilettantisme,' *De Muziek*, July 1931, 417-421. 'Zoo spreken wij in de kunst van den dilettant, daarbij zinspelende op degene, die met of zonder gefundeerde kennis, als kunstenaar naar buiten treedt, maar de verantwoordelijkheid van het kunstenaarschap niet aanvaardt noch zelfs beseft.'

[409] 'De afscheiding van de Haagsche Afdeling,' *Maandblad*, vol 1 no 1, November 1931, 1-2. 'Waar tot nu toe de heer Pijper en eenige van zijn leerlingen de eenige landgenooten waren, die den laatsten tijd weigerden hun werken uit te laten voeren op concerten, georganiseerd door onze vereeniging, is het duidelijk, uit welke hoek deze wind woei. De transactie tusschen de Haagsche afdeeling en de Pijper-groep verbaast ons des te meer, omdat de strooman van den heer Pijper, de heer Paul F. Sanders, nog in de Juli- en October-nummers van „De Muziek" de Haagsche leden voor dilettanten uitmaakte.'

[410] 'Vereenigingsnieuws,' *Maandblad*, vol 1 no 1, December 1931, 7.

[411] 'Een beschuldiging weerlegd,' *Maandblad*, vol 1 no 1, November 1931, 4.

[412] van Dijk, '1911-1945; De Vooroorlogse Jaren', 37.

Dutch chapter of ISCM was represented by Paul Sanders, Guillaume Landré, Bertus van Lier and Hendrik Andriessen. At the time, Ruyneman was not a member of Geneco, while Sanders, Landré and Van Lier were all active members and had close connections to Jan van Gilse. Van Gilse explained how NMB wanted to support organisations promoting Dutch music but preferred dealing with one organisation. A merger would be a precondition to obtain support. The minutes of the meeting give the impression that there was no serious talk of a merger of two equal parties, but rather an attempt to gain access to the assets and membership of Ruyneman's society.[413] A merger never took place. Rather than funding one of two rival groups, NMB chose to launch a new initiative. A few months later, *Manifestatie Nederlandsche Toonkunst* (Maneto, Manifestation Dutch Music) was created. Under the wings of NMB and with NMB funds, the new group started to organise concerts in 1937.[414] The 1937 board of NMB/Maneto included Jan van Gilse, Hendrik Andriessen and Pijper's three students Sanders, Van Lier and Guillaume Landré, the exact same group that represented ISCM's Dutch section that participated in the merger meeting.[415] In all Maneto concerts between 1937 and 1951, Willem Pijper was performed seven times, while five of his students dominated the organising committees as well as the programmes. Guillaume Landré (on the committee 1938-1940, 1947, 1949) was performed five times, Henk Badings five times (on the committee in 1939 and 1940), Hans Henkemans five times, Bertus van Lier four times (on the committee 1938-1940, 1945, 1947); Paul Sanders was performed once and served on the organising committee in 1938-1940 and 1945.[416] In October 1939, in an interview with Karel Mengelberg, composer Jan Felderhof complained that the promotion of Dutch music would improve considerably if composers — even those composing in different styles — would be in contact more often.[417] Only after the Second World War, as we shall see in chapter 17, the two groups joined forces and Ruyneman became the secretary of the Dutch chapter of ISCM.

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[413] 'Notulen van de bijeenkomst van de Sectie Holland van de International Society for Contemporary Music, de Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek en de Voorzitter, de Secretaris van de Stichting Nederlandsche Muziekbelangen op dinsdag 30 Juni 1936,' archive Stichting Nederlandse Muziekbelangen (SNMB) NMI 3342-13.

[414] Concert programme Maneto 1937, archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01.

[415] van Dijk, '1911-1945; De Vooroorlogse Jaren', 39.

[416] Maneto Concert programmes, archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01.

[417] Karel Mengelberg, 'Gesprek met den componist Jan Felderhof,' *Maandblad*, vol 8 no 12, 464-5. 'Gelooft u aan een gunstige ontwikkeling van ons muziekleven? Ja. Alleen zou ik hieraan willen toevoegen, dat wij musici, en vooral wij componisten, thans méér dan ooit kunnen helpen deze ontwikkeling te stimuleeren. Wij kunnen haar bijvoorbeeld helpen door de verstandhouding met onze collega's te verbeteren. Het schijnt mij, dat er nog steeds een veel te gering contact is tusschen de jongeren, een tekort aan redelijk waardeering voor elkanders werk. Wij zouden moeten trachten ook dán het goede in de muziek van onze componeerende tijdgenoten te hooren, wanneer hun muzikale taal anders geaard is dan de onze. Dán helpen wij pas effectief hen, onszelf, onze muziek. Thans is het echter met de collegialiteit nog niet zo bijster goed gesteld.'

7. Conclusion 1920-1940

Although the publications analysed in chapter 3 largely dealt with music composed before the period under study, the wordings chosen reflect the values that were held at the time of writing. My findings concur with those of Citron, who concluded that certain genres were higher up in hierarchy than others, where 'function, style, scoring, length, site of performance, intended audience, manner and nature of reception, decorum of the performative experience, and value' play an important role. She also observed that longer, more complex works for larger ensembles and non-functionality (implying transcendence) are at the top of the genre pyramid, while works beyond accepted styles and genres 'tend to be excluded, ignored, and consequently devalued.'[418] This mechanism of valuating styles and genres can also be found in Dutch prewar music historiography. Citron further observed that 'one reason for the canonic exclusion of such works is that the performances were not reviewed.'[419] This is echoed in Dresden's statement that these works are hardly under public scrutiny. It is also in line with the fact that radio broadcasts were seldom reviewed. A further criterion for canonicity mentioned by Citron is professionalism. It implies exclusive dedication and commitment to composing as a sole occupation.[420] To be taken seriously as a professional composer also 'involves reputation, authority, and the circulation of a name within culture' and 'having one's music published, performed and written about.'[421] Dresden refrained from writing about young composers because they were still developing as composers, referring to a pre-professional stage. As my analysis has shown, to become a professional, proper education is paramount to master the skills. And once the top of the Olympus is reached, some form of organisational or educational leadership is expected. Profiling yourself as a music journalist added to your identity as a composer. To quote Citron: 'For the composer, the journalistic pen may not only have reinforced narcissistic desires, but practically speaking confirmed one's own aesthetics and thereby increased the possibility for acceptance and perpetuation of the values encoded in his music.'[422] Being on the board of organisations, participating in juries, and writing about music all contributed to being taken seriously as a composer and increased chances of your music being performed, published and written about.

In chapter 4, I described a number of factors that influenced performance

[418] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 122–24.
[419] Ibid., 169.
[420] Ibid., 82.
[421] Ibid., 80.
[422] Ibid., 194.

opportunities and the production of sources, and, ultimately, the process of canon formation and the production of music history. Trouillot wrote that 'facts are not created equal: the production of traces is always also the production of silences'.[423] Chamber music concerts, sometimes in informal settings, were valued less than orchestral concerts. Composing for students, dilettantes, or radio affected one's standing as a composer. The hierarchy of genres also created a hierarchy of sources. Not all performance opportunities were treated equal in the press. Reviews of orchestral concerts dominated the newspaper columns. Compositions for students or amateurs were discussed — if at all — mostly in local newspapers or specialised magazines. Music composed especially for and broadcast on national radio was hardly reviewed at all.

A network database is never a copy of reality; it is an abstraction based on surviving sources and the interpretation of these sources by the creator of the database. For example, many network ties remain uncharted due to lack of sources, like in the case of in-person meetings. Moreover, in the case of suppressed composers, sources are often scarce and scattered. The creator decides on the scope of the database, what to include or leave out. The dataset for this research was not pre-existing; all data were extracted from archival sources manually. I focused on a limited number of composers and followed a standardised strategy to collect information (see p. 28). Furthermore, in a network database, links are binary: either there is a link, or there is not. A network visualisation gives very little information on the intensity of a connection. In reality, a link might mean different things, from shaking hands at a concert to a lifelong friendship.

Correspondence gives very straightforward evidence of a network link between two actors. However, not only does a letter connect the sender with the receiver, it can also provide clues to links between people mentioned in the letter, which is already a much more diffuse type of connection. Also, part of the network analysis is based on the premise that the performance of a composition will connect the composer with the performer. This is not always the case, especially when music is published and widely available, or when a composer is no longer alive at the time of the performance. Still, if the music only survives in manuscript and the composer is alive and present in the country of the performance, there is a very good chance that performer and composer met. In many cases, the composer will have approached the performer to suggest a performance of their composition, or the performer may have asked the composer for a (new) work. Both the combination of different types of links and the patterns that emerge from a larger dataset together give insightful information on how networks functioned and influenced the production of music history and the formation of a canon.

[423] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 36.

Despite the limited scope of the network database underlying this research and the uncertainties of interpreting network ties, chapter 6 has shown that networks mattered. They could open up as well as block performance opportunities and also exclude composers, or groups of composers, from music history production and canon formation. Latour proposed that groups are only visible when exchange takes place between actors, for example in the stadium of group formation, or when anti-groups are formed.[424] Groups 'are not the object of an *ostensive* definition — like mugs and cats and chairs that can be pointed at by the index finger — but only of a *performative* definition.'[425] I believe a group still exists in people's minds, in their address books, even if no performative action takes place. The conflict between ISCM Holland and NVvHM would affect performance opportunities and the creation of sources and narratives for many years. Julius Hijman referred to it in his postwar letters to Karel Mengelberg. In his memory, the two factions were still very much alive (see p. 201). Groups can also enter history without any performative action, when authors group composers together, for example, on the basis of their gender or religion. Within the limited focus of my research, which included both women composers and Jewish composers, I found no evidence of a functional network of either of them. No letters survive between Rosy Wertheim and Henriëtte Bosmans or Reine Colaço Osorio-Swaab or Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman. No concerts were devoted to women composers, nor was there a society for the advancement of women composers. Yet, Dresden set them apart in his book on Dutch music history. Some composers, like Krieg, Gokkes, Lachman and Rettich were observant Jews and composed and performed for Jewish audiences. Others, like Leo Smit, Julius Hijman or Daniël Belinfante, did not identify themselves as Jewish composers. Although music by Jewish composers would often be reviewed by Jewish critics such as Lou van Strien, Max Vredenburg or Paul Sanders, and sometimes be grouped together in an overview article, or programmed together in a concert of 'Jewish music', I have found no evidence of a formal network of Jewish composers.[426]

In the previous chapters, I showed how, during the interwar years, a work-based approach to music history — with a focus on a composer canon — sidelined many composers and how a more contextual approach — based on biographical research and network analysis — revealed a different narrative. In the next chapters, I introduce theory on music and migration, followed by an exploration of how the Nazis' anti-Jewish measures, their censorship and their interference with music life had profound consequences on

[424] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the social: an introduction to actor-network-theory*, Clarendon lectures in management studies (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 31, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb32135.
[425] Ibid., 34.
[426] Sim Gokkes, 'Neêrlands Joodsche musici,' *Nieuw Israelitisch Weekblad*, 4 August 1925; 'Moderne Joodsche muziek,' *Nieuw Israelitisch Weekblad*, 6 November 1931.

performance opportunities, network participation, source production and narratives, thus adding to the silencing of banned composers in music history.

1933-1945
Persecution and war

8. Theory: migration in musicology

The effects of Nazi persecution on music life in the Netherlands started when Hitler came to power in 1933. Following the anti-Jewish measures in Germany and later Austria, many composers decided to emigrate. A number of them settled in the Netherlands, rebuilding their lives as composers. Migration and mobility have been the norm in music history for ages. Already in the fifteenth century, composers of the Flemish school would travel to Italy to find work at various courts. Haydn moved to London to cash in on his newfound independence and popularity. However, the influence of (forced) migration on music historiography has only relatively recently been studied.[427] In 2010, Erik Levi and Florian Scheding stated that 'displacement studies remains in its infancy in the sphere of music.'[428] As Stephen Greenblatt wrote in his manifesto for mobility studies: 'Indeed one of the characteristic powers of a culture is its ability to hide the mobility that is its enabling condition.'[429] One reason for this relatively late attention to the role of migration in music history is the focus on establishing musicology as an objective science. In the late 19th century, the burgeoning science of musicology came to distrust biography's supposedly subjective narrative. Prominent musicologists like Guido Adler and Carl Dahlhaus saw music biography as an inferior science, no more than an auxiliary study to musicology.[430] Migration, rather a biographical and sociological subject, was therefore not a popular topic. Only in the 1980s and 1990s biography in musicology experienced a revival – according to Melanie Unseld, often as the 'royal route to integration' in the canon of women and forgotten composers – but music history by means of biography is still limited.[431] Moreover, Jolanta Pekacz wrote: 'Biography is driven by the wish to create a total image of the subject, by collecting all there is to know and ordering it in a meaningful way, striving for unity.'[432] Despite the revival of biography, life stories of migrant composers, especially in the case of forced and sudden migration, don't lend themselves too well for the traditionally closed and goal-oriented narrative of a biography.

Another reason why migration has received little attention in musicology is the organisation of musicological research along national lines, presenting a practical challenge

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[427] Grosch and Gratzer, *Musik und Migration*, 13.

[428] Levi and Scheding, *Music and Displacement*, 2.

[429] Stephen Greenblatt and Ines G Županov, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 252.

[430] Unseld, *Biographie Und Musikgeschichte*, 25–26.

[431] Ibid., 29.

[432] Jolanta T. Pekacz, 'Memory, History and Meaning: Musical Biography and Its Discontents', *The Journal of Musicological Research* 23, no. 1 (2004): 39–80, https://doi.org/10.1080/01411890490276990.

to the study of music and migration. Research is often funded nationally, archives are organised following the illusion of fixity. Archival documents may go unnoticed as their language is not understood in the host country, or as nobody remembers the archive creators in the country of origin. International collaboration in research of migrant composers is therefore paramount.

Migration and agency

Even in the case of forced migration, agency plays a strong role. Greenblatt wrote: 'When people feel in control, in reality they might be limited by structures, while when social pressure is fiercest, individuals may decide to go their own way. Seemingly fixed migration paths are disrupted by strategic acts of individual agents and by unexpected encounters between different cultures.'[433] Levi and Scheding quote Egon Kunz in introducing the term 'anticipatory refugee': 'an anticipatory refugee is a person who leaves his home country before the deterioration of the military or political situation prevents his orderly departure.'[434] Only months after Hitler was given the position of *Reichskanzler* on 30 January 1933, Jewish musicians were fired en masse and were no longer allowed to perform on public stages. Although there seemed to be no immediate death threats in 1933, life became very difficult. For many, this was reason enough to leave Germany and seek employment elsewhere. Motives for deciding to leave will have included existential fear, economic uncertainty (this is probably an understatement), and inability to freely express political and musical thoughts. The balance between these motives will have been different for every migrant.

Upon arrival in the country of destiny, a further series of decisions had to be taken. As Levi and Scheding put it: 'Displacement did not simply silence these composers. It rendered their stories and their creativities diverse and complex'.[435] According to the authors, 'many displaced creative figures made wilful non-victim decisions to rebuild their lives outside Germany'.[436] If agency plays an important role in biography (the interplay between personal choices and broader history), thwarted agency disturbs the goal-oriented biographical narrative. Levi and Scheding stated that migrant stories 'have a way of constantly taking detours from the simple characterizations offered by grand narratives. […] They allow us to see the edges of the grand narratives, lighting them up in various ways;

[433] Greenblatt and Županov, *Cultural Mobility*, 251–52.
[434] Levi and Scheding, *Music and Displacement*, 69.
[435] Ibid., 4.
[436] Ibid., 7.

they can instantiate them, critique them, revise them'.[437]

Displacement and – especially forced – migration often caused a change in composers' profiles. Taking on odd jobs in order to earn a living, like composing for radio, cabaret and revue, altered their identity as a composer. Self-images were reinvented or emphasised to fit new circumstances. Musical events helped to establish these images and profiles.[438] In pre-Hitler times, mobility stimulated creativity through musical exchange. Exchange only happens on the notion of being different, when otherness is recognised. However, in the case of displacement and forced migration, this otherness is not necessarily an asset. Although otherness can be a unique selling point (in the US, European musicians did have a higher status), a migrant is expected to blend in. An advantage of Jewish identity is that it cuts across borders. In the prewar Jewish community, a German Jew was still a Jew. However, a Jewish identity in society at large could also be a disadvantage, due to widespread anti-Semitism. This may also be a reason why Jewish composers were sometimes excluded from national heritage.

When studying the legacy of persecuted and forgotten composers, many different shades of migration come into play. The nature of these migratory experiences depends both on individual choices and external influences. With interest in persecuted composers on the rise, words like exile and refugee are now often used by contemporary musicians, programmers and musicologists, labelling composers as victims. However, as Nils Grosch and Wolfgang Gratzer put it, migration is a container concept, comprising many different forms of mobility, with varying degrees of agency.[439] Migratory experiences differ from person to person, they are very hard to generalise. Grosch wrote about musicologist Alfred Einstein, for whom emigration was like being set free. In the United States, he had opportunities he never would have had in Germany (as a result of anti-Semitism). Einstein celebrated mobility as a prerequisite for creativity, the positive side of exile.[440] For others, exile was rather being stuck in a place where you don't want to be; it was associated with absence of travel rather than with the mobility linked to migration. Grosch and Gratzer would therefore rather speak of people with migratory experiences.[441] As the political events in Europe cast a shadow on Dutch music life in the 1930s, the character of migration changed from cultural mobility to (anticipatory) refuge, forced exile and cultural isolation. Until 1933, cultural mobility was widespread. From 1933 onwards, Nazi policies influenced Dutch music life by more or less forcing Dutch composers abroad to return home (returning

[437] Ibid., 8.
[438] Grosch and Gratzer, *Musik und Migration*, 17.
[439] Ibid., 42.
[440] Ibid., 28–32.

emigrants) and driving German and Austrian composers into exile (immigrants). Once the Netherlands was occupied, migration was no longer possible (unless to collaborate with the occupiers of course), with the exception of the lucky few who managed to flee the country by illegally crossing borders. The composers in this study already had a history of cultural mobility before their persecution started, and many German immigrants had already experienced cultural isolation before their exile.

In all forms of migration, networks play an important role. Knowing musicians in the host country helped to establish yourself as a composer. In times of crisis, family ties may prove essential for survival. However, while strong network ties — such as family relationships — may enable migration, they can also make it more difficult. The stories of not wanting to leave family members behind are numerous.[442]

[441] Ibid., 41.

[442] Marx, Christian, 'Forschungsüberblick zur Historischen Netzwerkforschung; Zwischen Analysekategorie und Metapher,' in Düring et al., *Handbuch Historische Netzwerkforschung*, 72.

An die Emigranten auf ihren Weg.

Dass Du auserwählt bist, der Menschheit die
[Krone zu geben,
„Auserwähltes Volk vom Sinai"

Fasse Mut!

Ist auch endlos Dein Leidensweg,
Bist auch heimatlos Du von allen ausgestos-
[sen, besudelt und verspottet,

Fasse Mut!

Liebt auch keiner Dich, erduldest Du auch,
[von allen verlassen,
Schutz- und wehrlos die unmenschlichsten
[Qualen und Folterungen,

Fasse Mut!

Ewig, ewig wirst Du leben!
Wandern, wandern musst Du durch die
[Wüsten aller Zeiten!
Einem unbekannten Ziel entgegen,

Fasse Mut!

G'tt, G'tt allein ist Dein Vater!
Er wird Dich nicht verlassen, Israël!
Seine ewige Natur, Seine ganze Erde ist Dir
[Heimat!
Ueberall auch in den fernsten Ländern wird
[Dir seine Sonne Freude spenden,
Und sein Regen Dich erfrischen,
Und Er wird auch Odem geben Deinem
[neuen Leben.

Fasse Mut!

HANS KRIEG.

Amsterdam, Oktober 1938.

Centraal blad voor Israëlieten in Nederland, 17 November 1938.

9. Exile

With the arrival of refugee composers and musicians in 1933, Hitler's impact on Dutch music life began long before World War II started. To support newly arrived immigrants from Germany, Hans Krieg had the above poem published in a Jewish weekly newspaper in 1938.[443] Five years before, he had had the same experience of leaving everything behind, facing an unknown future. His faith supported him in his journey, not just mentally, but literally as well. The Jewish religious community provided him with work, and from there he networked his way into Dutch society.

Krieg worked as a conductor in Breslau when anti-Semitism became unbearable. On 14 April 1933, Johann Zientner, the Augsburg publisher of Krieg's first three collections of songs, wrote that he unfortunately had no money to publish a fourth set. Possibly unaware of Krieg's Jewish identity, he ended his letter: 'I am glad that you have had great success so far. I wish that your success will continue in the future. As Jewish music will soon be banned altogether, better times will set in for our German composers.'[444] A few months later, Hans Krieg, his wife Regina Sternlieb and their little daughter Suze arrived in the Netherlands. The family was initially housed at Nieuwe Keizersgracht 67hs, in the Jewish quarters of Amsterdam. Within a fortnight, they could settle into a permanent residence in the Rivierenbuurt, a recently built Amsterdam neighbourhood where many Jewish middle class families lived, including Anne Frank and her family. The Kriegs originally intended to travel on to Palestine, but that did not materialise due to lack of funds.[445] Having left behind his parents and siblings, his synagogue and choirs, his fellow Freemasons of the lodge Johannes zu den 3 Rosen in Breslau, and his publisher Zientner in Augsburg, Krieg had given up his most important networks.[446] He did bring their letters to Amsterdam, but from a distance, the authors could not help him carve out a living in his new hometown. Raised in a secular Jewish family, Krieg was the only one of three children to observe the Jewish faith. Unlike his brother Erwin and his sister Margarethe, who both married gentiles, Hans had chosen a Jewish bride. Upon arriving, his first port of call would probably have been the Liberal Jewish Synagogue. In a Dutch newspaper announcement in August 1933, he was

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[443] *Centraal blad voor Israëlieten in Nederland*, 17 November 1938.

[444] Johann Zientner to Hans Krieg, 14 April 1944. Archives NMI, 3342-01 / HGM 202/002-09
'Es freut mich, daß Sie bis heute schon so große Erfolge erringen konnten. So wünsche ich Ihnen auch für Ferneres recht große weitere Erfolge. Nachdem die jüdische Musik doch bald ganz eingedämmt ist, wird für unsere deutschen Künstler wieder eine bessere Zeit kommen.'

[445] Mirjam Krieg, personal communication.

[446] Loge Johannes zu den 3 Rosen to Hans Krieg, 6 August 1930, Collection Jewish Historical Museum Amsterdam, document no D015069.

introduced as the choir leader of the Breslau synagogue, participating in the Amsterdam celebration of the Jewish high holidays accompanying *obercantor* Hugo Heymann from Berlin.[447] Soon after, he was appointed organist of the Liberal Jewish Synagogue.[448] A second important network for Krieg was his family. His sister Margarethe and her husband Friedrich Hollstein arrived in the Netherlands in December 1937. In the summer of 1938, his mother Helene Krieg-Proskauer as well as his brother Erwin Krieg and his wife Elfriede joined the Krieg family in the Netherlands, followed by his mother-in-law Josefine Sternlieb-Hecht in 1939.[449] Daughter Mirjam Krieg remembered how her grandmothers, uncles and aunts always visited them, the door was always open.[450]

9.1 Leaving the Berlin network

Wilhelm Rettich had already been taken prisoner of war on the Russian front during the First World War, had lived in Chita (Siberia) and had found his own way back to Germany under Dutch guidance, when in 1933, he decided to leave Berlin. In his own words: 'These were Berlin's epic days, everyone either was in Berlin or came to Berlin. It could have been a wonderful time. Until in February 1933, I went to the studios for a rehearsal, and the porter – a social democrat – told me: "I am sorry, Mr. Rettich, I can no longer let you enter the building." I was given my money and immediately decided to emigrate. The sound of marching SA soldiers alone was unbearable to my ears.'[451] He decided to take his chances and immediately left the country, even if he had no clear idea of where his future would lead him.

In addition to German Jewish composers and musicians, Dutch Jewish composers who lived and worked in Berlin and composers opposing the new rule left Germany and (re)settled in the Netherlands, reinventing their future. Dutch pianist and composer Julius Hijman had come to live and work in Berlin in the spring of 1930. He participated in several courses at the Staatliche Hochschule für Musik: an experimental work group for radio instrumentation, headed by Max Butting, a class on *Gebrauchsmusik* headed by Walter Gronostay and a class dedicated to film music headed by Paul Hindemith. In a letter to

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[447] 'Bijeenkomsten te Amsterdam,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30 August 1933.

[448] 'Dr. Mehler in Lib. Joodsche Gemeente,' *De Telegraaf*, 23 May 1934.

[449] Amsterdam City Archives, Archiefkaarten 30238-1581/654; 30238-320.

[450] Mirjam Krieg, interview 30 November 2021.

[451] W. Klinkenberg, 'Dirigent-Componist Wilhelm Rettich (80 Jaar): In 1933 Mocht ik de Radiostudio's niet meer in...,' *NRC Handelsblad*, 7 July 1972 . 'Dat was de grote tijd in Berlijn, iedereen was daar of kwam daar. Het had een prachtige tijd kunnen worden. Tot ik in februari 1933 voor een repetitie naar de studio ging, en de portier, een sociaal-democraat, me zei: "Het spijt me, Herr Rettich, ik mag U er niet meer in laten." – Ik kreeg mijn geld en besloot onmiddellijk te emigreren. Alleen al het marcheren op straat van de SA was niet om aan te horen.'

Daniel Ruyneman, chair of NVvHM, Hijman wrote that one of the reasons to participate in these classes was to build his network.[452] Berlin was an ideal place for networking; harpist Rahel Mengelberg-Draber and her husband, composer Karel Mengelberg, had 'a lovely house in Ruhleben', a Berlin neighbourhood. Rahel remembered in a television documentary: 'We had many friends. In the summer we used to host a party with fifty guests and in the winter as well. We made our friends mingle so that they got to know each other. The group included artists, painters, young actors and stand-up comedians. After the war, I found not one of them in Berlin.'[453] In a radio interview in 1988, Rahel Mengelberg remembered how she and her husband were at the house of composer Jan van Gilse when the *Reichstag* burned. They all went out to see what happened. At the time, Karel worked at the *Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft*, where many of his colleagues now wore their *Sturmabteilung*-uniform to work.[454] In the summer of 1933, Jan van Gilse left Berlin to become director of the Utrecht Conservatory.[455] The Mengelbergs left Berlin in September 1933.[456] Cellist and composer Pál Hermann and his Dutch wife Ada Hermann-Weevers had an apartment in Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf. In the autumn of 1931, Ada wrote to her brother how they visited many contemporary music concerts in private houses, like the house of architect Erich Mendelssohn. She estimated that her husband knew one third of around 120 guests.[457] After a summer holiday in the Netherlands in 1933, Hermann decided not to return to Berlin.[458]

As far as we know from surviving scores, for the first time since his youth, Julius Hijman started composing again in Berlin, a piano trio in 1931, followed by a sonata for violin and piano in 1932, which was performed both in Amsterdam (by Alexander Moskowsky and Olga Moskowsky-Elias) and in Budapest (by Sandor Végh and Andor Földes) at a concert organised by the Permanent Committee for International Exchange Concerts.[459] Hijman further composed his first string quartet in 1933.[460] However, when

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[452] Julius Hijman to Daniel Ruyneman dated 1 April 1931, NMI, archive no 3166-01/1596.

[453] 'Speurtocht naar het verleden,' episode 3 'Het theater van het geheugen Berlijn-Amsterdam 1920-1980; het interbellum in Berlijn,' broadcast on 13 April 1982, NOS. Sound and Vision Archives, Resource ID 21-1608050039396231.

[454] 'Het spoor terug,' broadcast on 10 February 1988, VPRO. Sound and Vision Archives, Resource ID2101608100079714031.

[455] van Dijk, *Jan van Gilse*, 254.

[456] 'Het Spoor terug,' broadcast on 2 October 1988, VPRO. Sound and Vision Archives Resource ID2101608100079714031.

[457] Ada Hermann-Weevers to Jaap Weevers, dated 24 October 1931, private collection Corrie Hermann.

[458] Carine Alders, 'Paul Hermann', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 131.

[459] 'Welke solisten en ensembles voeren werken uit van Nederlandsche componisten?,' *Maandblad*, vol. 3 no. 4, February 1934, 247; 'Welke solisten en ensembles voeren werken uit van Nederlandsche componisten?,' *Maandblad*, vol. 3 no. 6, April 1934, 270.

[460] Royal Library, The Hague, estate Julius Hijman, archive no KW 135 H2.

Hitler came to power early that year, the situation in Berlin changed rapidly. Communists and socialists were arrested and by April, a boycott of Jewish shops was the first in a long list of anti-Semitic measures. As Julius Hijman was Jewish and had communist sympathies, Berlin was no longer safe. Early May 1933, he was back in Amsterdam.[461] His Dutch network, which he had maintained through correspondence during his Berlin years, allowed him to immediately resume performing as a pianist, participating in concerts of NVvHM and in the Dutch premiere of Stravinsky's *Les Noces* for four pianos.[462] As we have seen in chapter 4.7, his international network further provided him with performance opportunities for his new compositions. In 1934, Hijman wrote a sonatina for alto saxophone and piano, performed for VARA Radio by the internationally renowned saxophonist Sigurd Rascher on 8 December 1934.[463] Hijman started also working as a music journalist. In 1938, he published a book on the Second Viennese School.[464] Of course, travelling to Germany was no longer an option, but in Paris, Antwerp and in the Netherlands, Hijman now often performed his own compositions as well as new music by colleagues. His international network now had to be maintained through writing letters alone.

9.2 Building a network from scratch

Contrary to Dutch composers returning from Berlin in 1933, other refugees like Krieg but also James Simon, Hans Lachman and Wilhelm Rettich, had to build a new professional network from scratch in the Netherlands. They needed to find out whom to approach to get their music published or performed, what concerts to attend or who managed music schools employing teachers. During his first year in Amsterdam, Krieg pursued various lines of work to provide for his family, building both on his Jewish and German refugee networks and on new acquaintances: he would perform Jewish and Yiddish songs at Zionist propaganda rallies, he composed children's songs, and arranged songs for cabaret, gramophone recordings and radio. He started to give lectures on Jewish folk music, illustrating his presentations with songs, accompanying himself at the piano. On 14 January 1934, at a meeting of the Union of Revisionist Zionists, Hans Krieg greatly impressed the audience with his *Flüchtlingslied* (De Joodse vluchteling, a song on refugees): ‚…doch mit uns ist die Zukunft, mit uns der Geist über die Grenzen gegangen' (But with us the future,

[461] Amsterdam City Archives, Archiefkaarten Julius Hijman, accessed 26 February 2025, https://archief.amsterdam/archief/30238/377.

[462] 'Strawinsky-uitvoering te Amsterdam,' *Het Volk*, 4 December 1933.

[463] *De Radiogids*, 1 December 1934. Rascher and Hijman probably knew each other as they both lived and worked in Berlin from 1930 till 1933. Rascher left Berlin for Copenhagen in 1933. Both Hijman and Rascher emigrated to the United States in 1939, where they stayed in touch.

with us the spirit has crossed the borders). With his beautiful baritone voice he mesmerised his audience.[465] Soon after, he would become the conductor of a children's choir of the 'Betar' (Union of Revisionist Zionists, B'rith Trumpeldor).[466] In June that year, Kriegs arrangements of Jewish songs were recorded for Columbia records by Sigmund Friedmann, accompanied by Otto Herz, two fellow refugees from Germany.[467]

In Dutch Jewish circles, the socialist movement was strong and thus Krieg was soon introduced to socialist choirs. Antoon Krelage was the chairman of the socialist choir *De Stem des Volks* (The Voice of the People). In January 1934, in the Amsterdam Concertgebouw, Krieg's song *Das Quellchen* was greatly appreciated at the celebration of the ten-year jubilee of *De Jonge Stem* (The Young Voice), the socialist children's choir. The choir was conducted by Betsy Rigter-Mendes and accompanied by Krelage jr.[468] J.P.C. Krelage-Dal, the widow of Krelage sr., wrote to Krieg on his 60th birthday on his first visit to their home: 'I remember how hard it was for you in the beginning, and how you struggled to arrive at your present position in music life. I am proud my dear husband was able to contribute to it.'[469] Krelage sr. was also responsible for the close collaboration between *De Stem des Volks* and the socialist radio broadcasting society VARA, which subsidised and broadcast the performances of socialist choirs.[470] This connection probably resulted in Krieg composing songs for children on Dutch texts, sung by Heli Majola for VARA Radio and accompanied by the composer.[471] As described in the previous chapter, Krieg went on to write music for VARA radio plays. He also composed songs and *Tendenzlieder* (workers' songs) for communist refugee Ernst Busch.[472] His Amsterdam Jewish and radio networks earned him a modest income for the family — daughter Mirjam recalled how they were so poor, they could only rent a kick scooter for a half hour, to be shared between the two siblings — but it

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[464] Hijman, *Nieuwe Oostenrijkse muziek (Schönberg, Berg, Webern)*.

[465] 'De Unie van Rev. Zionisten en het Palestina mandaat,' *Weekblad voor Israëlietische huisgezinnen*, 19 January 1934.

[466] 'Joodsch Koor,' *Centraal blad voor Israëlieten in Nederland*, 7 June 1934.

[467] 'Gramophone-nieuws,' *Centraal blad voor Israëlieten in Nederland*, 21 June 1934.

[468] '"Jonge Stem" jubileert,' *Het Volk*, 29 January 1934.

[469] J.P.C. Krelage-Dal to Hans Krieg, 10 April 1959, Collection Jewish Historical Museum Amsterdam, archive Hans Krieg, D015085. 'Ik weet ook nog wel hoe moeilijk het in het begin voor U was en hoeveel strijd het U gekost heeft om te komen op de plaats die u thans in het muziekleven inneemt. Dat mijn beste man hieraan een steentje heeft mogen bijdragen, daar ben ik trots op.'

[470] 'KRELAGE, Jan Antoon | BWSA,' accessed 24 February 2023, https://socialhistory.org/bwsa/biografie/krelage. Mirjam Krieg also mentioned how Krelage helped her father financially, interview 30 November 2021. On VARA support for socialist choirs, see D. Nooteboom et al., *100 jaar 'De Stem des Volks': van strijdlied tot oratorium* (Amsterdam: De Stem des Volks, 1998), 62.

[471] *De Omroepgids*, 26 May 1934.

[472] Max Vredenburg, 'Hans Krieg en het Amsterdams Joods Mannenkoor,' *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 27 May 1949.

is probably not the life he dreamed of when he started composing. Although some chamber music manuscripts date from his early career in Silesia, at heart he was really a composer of songs, like the three sets published by Zientner around 1930.[473]

9.3 Refugees in the Netherlands

The estimated number of refugees crossing the German-Dutch border between 1933 and 1940 varies widely as until 1938 no visa was needed and only those in need of aid were registered.[474] Happe estimated some 50,000 crossed the border, and half of them travelled on to other destinations.[475] Many settled in the Netherlands, for various reasons. It was relatively close to home, with hardly any language barrier, as most people in the Netherlands spoke and read German. Some had worked in the country before and had connections that helped them find work. Lack of money and an overseas network also prevented people from moving on. Moreover, since the Netherlands had remained neutral during the First World War, many believed Hitler could not touch them there.[476]

For the first refugees, arriving shortly after the Nazis came to power in 1933, settling in the Netherlands was *relatively* easy.[477] No visa was needed and immigrants were free to settle wherever they liked. Amsterdam — being the centre of the entertainment business with a large Jewish community — was a first stop for many immigrant musicians. However, in the spring of 1934, with an economic crisis rapidly developing and work opportunities dwindling, new laws were issued to make it more difficult for immigrants to find work. By 1938, it was almost impossible to enter the Netherlands legally, but after Kristallnacht, and after protests from within Dutch society, the government agreed to take in another 7,000 refugees. Some 3,000 more illegally crossed the border. By this time, refugees were no longer free to settle anywhere they liked, many were now housed in refugee camps, including Camp Westerbork, which was built especially for this purpose.[478]

The *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit* of the University of Hamburg lists more than 5,000 musicians (including composers and musicologists) who

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[473] Mirjam Krieg, personal communication.

[474] Bob Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands, 1933-1940*, Studies in Social History / Issued by the International Institute of Social History, ISBN 90-247-2347-7 9 (Dordrecht ; M. Nijhoff, 1986), 21–23.

[475] Katja Happe, 'Deutsche in den Niederlanden 1918 - 1945: eine historische Untersuchung zu nationalen Identifikationsangeboten im Prozess der Konstruktion individueller Identitäten' (Siegen, 2004), 69. This also includes Austrian refugees and non-Jewish refugees.

[476] Katja B. Zaich, *'Ich bitte dringend um ein Happyend.': deutsche Bühnenkünstler im niederländischen Exil 1933-1945*, Hamburger Beiträge zur Germanistik, Bd. 33 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001), 113.

[477] The adjective 'relatively' cannot be stressed enough. 'Easy' and 'refugee' are words that do not combine very well in one sentence.

[478] Happe, 'Deutsche in den Niederlanden 1918 - 1945', 70–72.

were persecuted by the Nazi regime.[479] The database mostly lists German and Austrian musicians, but also includes some Dutch musicians who worked or lived in Germany in the 1930s. Less than seventy of all persecuted musicians in the Hamburg lexicon are reported to have migrated to the Netherlands, often with the intention of moving on to different destinations. According to the authors, only seventeen of these émigré musicians settled in the Netherlands. However, as biographical data in this lexicon are far from complete, the real number may be higher. Micheels estimated that around sixty refugee musicians settled in the Netherlands.[480]

In a strongly pillarised Dutch society, Jewish refugees were the responsibility of the Jewish Refugee Committee, founded in 1933, whereas socialist and communist organisations looked after political refugees.[481] Although many Dutch Jews had assimilated into Dutch society, and the community wasn't large enough for an institutionalised pillar, comparable to the catholic or socialist pillar, Jews had their own media and, of course, their religious and cultural network, including cultural organisations like *Maatschappij tot Nut der Israëlieten* (Society for the Good of Israelites), the Eastern Jewish Workers' Culture Society *Sch'An-Ski* and Zionist organisations like the Dutch Zionist League (NZB) and the Union of Revisionist Zionists.[482] For Hans Krieg, this network played an important role in building a means of existence. Between 1933 and 1940, he would travel the country performing Yiddish and Hebrew songs for Jewish audiences.

9.4 Performance opportunities for refugees

Especially the first immigrants, musicians arriving in 1933, were more or less able to continue some sort of a professional career in the Netherlands. However, unlike in Germany, where every major city had its own opera company, the art of opera was underdeveloped in the Netherlands. In the spring of 1934, composer and conductor Wilhelm Rettich started an opera class at the Conservatory in The Hague.[483] He conducted several amateur orchestras, including symphony orchestra *Haerlem*, which he himself co-founded in 1938.[484]

Many immigrants found work in the entertainment business (e.g. the Nelson Revue),

[479] 'Startseite @ LexM'.

[480] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 77.

[481] Zaich, *Ich bitte dringend um ein Happyend*, 32.

[482] Newspapers include *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad* (New Israelite Weekly), founded in 1865 and *Centraal Blad voor Israëlieten in Nederland* (Central Paper for Israelites in the Netherlands), founded in 1885.

[483] Hittjo Kruyswijk, 'Een Heel Behoorlijk Orkest; 75 Jaar Symfonie Orkest "Haerlem"', 2013, 5, https://symfonieorkesthaerlem.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Historie_Symfonie_Orkest_Haerlem.pdf.

[484] Ibid.

operetta, film industry and radio. Composer, arranger and multi-instrumentalist Hans (Heinz) Lachman(n) joined *Tuschinski's Select Salon Orkest*, led by Max Tak. His first radio performance with this orchestra was broadcast on 9 April 1934, where he played a trombone solo in his own composition *Blue slides*.[485] Early 1935, daily newspaper *De Telegraaf* reported how Lachman — together with Max Tak — composed a rhapsody for twelve pianos for the film *Op Stap*.[486] A few weeks later, the same newspaper wrote that Lachman 'who wrote arrangements for most Dutch films' was invited by Robert Katscher of Metro-Goldwyn Mayer to come and work for them in Hollywood. Lachman declined.[487] Hans Krieg wrote and arranged an operetta potpourri for Viennese operetta stars Otto Aurich and Liesl Frank.[488] Starting in April 1936, the couple performed in the operetta company of Fritz Hirsch touring the Netherlands.[489] On Friday 23 December 1938, together with fellow refugees Kurt Gerron and Sophie Koehler and their Dutch colleagues Sylvain Poons, Willy van Hemert and Jopie Koopman, Frank and Aurich performed their popular show *Ik wil van jou een foto* (I'd like to have your picture) in a charity gala for refugee children.[490] Cabaret singer Louis Davids and cinema director Abraham Tuschinski were important liaisons for immigrant musicians to find work in the entertainment business.[491] For example, Tuschinski hired the Nelson cabaret for his theatre *La Gaîté* from 15 September 1934 onwards. In a newspaper interview, Nelson said about this arrangement: 'I have full freedom to organise this show according to my own ideas. Tuschinski *war sehr großzügig*. […] We rehearse day and night. It is as if every member of the group knows what is at stake.'[492] In the summer of 1935, Louis Davids hired the same group to perform with them in the The Hague Kurhaus. Nelson's cabaret would remain on the programme in La Gaîté until the German invasion.[493] Still, it wasn't easy for immigrant musicians to find work. As per January 1935, a work

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485 *Radiobode*, 6 April 1934.

486 'Rhapsodie voor twaalf vleugels,' *De Telegraaf*, 8 March 1935.

487 'Uitnodiging tot Heinz Lachmann,' *De Telegraaf*, 11 May 1935.
'De bekende schlager-componist heeft tot Heinz Lachmann, die voor de meeste Nederlandsche films de arrangementen schreef, de invitatie gericht naar Hollywood te komen, ten einde voor Metro Goldwyn Mayer werkzaam te zijn.'

488 Sketches found in the archive of Hans Krieg, NMI, 3202-01.

489 *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 April 1934.

490 'Steunfonds voor uitgeweken kinderen,' *Het Vaderland*, 22 December 1938.

491 Zaich, *Ich bitte dringend um ein Happyend*, 26.

492 'Nelson in cabaret La Gaîté,' *De Telegraaf*, 14 September 1934.
'Ik heb plein pouvoir om mijn revue in te richten naar eigen opvattingen. Tuschinski *war sehr großzügig*.[…] Dag en nacht repeteeren wij. Het is alsof een ieder van mijn troep voelt wát er van af hangt.' As members of Rudolf Nelson's cabaret are mentioned: Dora Paulsen, Fritzi Schadl, Eva Busch, Marcella Salzer, Ine Ruth, Kurt Lilien, Harold Horsten, Peter W. Staub, Walter Fein, Emil Feldmar and Walter Kochner.

493 For more detailed information on the employment of German refugees in the music industry in the Netherlands, see Zaich, *Ich bitte dringend um ein Happyend.*

permit was needed for foreign workers. Although the law at first did not apply to Germans and refugees, famous musicians, including conductor Bruno Walter and bass-baritone Herman Schey, experienced difficulties obtaining a permit.[494]

9.5 Leaving (no) traces

Migration after Kristallnacht, November 1938, was driven by matters of life and death. Unlike the free migration (cultural mobility) earlier in the twentieth century, it deranged careers rather than furthered them. Just as with the refugees who fled Germany in 1933, the destination country was never chosen for professional improvement. On the contrary, for many, their flight meant a total demolition of their life as they had envisaged it, and of their own self-image.[495] Refugees were completely robbed of everything they owned, forced to live in refugee camps with no opportunity to build a new life. The Dutch government tried to prevent large numbers of refugees from crossing the borders by denying work permits and refusing entry into the country. Many who entered illegally were taken prisoner and sent back to Germany.[496] These refugee musicians were not able to perform, publish or build a network in the Netherlands. For that reason, very little is known about them, they never had an opportunity to leave traces in archives or newspapers. For example, Eugen Engel (1875-1943) arrived in Amsterdam in February 1939, where he joined his daughter Eva and her husband Max Loewenberger, who had already emigrated to the Netherlands in 1935.[497] His name is not included in the *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit* of the University of Hamburg.[498] Without a profession mentioned on his registration, his existence as a composer only came to light when someone handed a rescued bag with compositions to musicologist and composer Leo Samama. The collection included a complete score of an opera titled *Grete Minden*.[499] Engel had finished his opera in 1933, but its performance in Germany had by then become impossible. On 26 March 1943, the composer was murdered in Sobibor. A second copy of the opera surfaced many years later when his grandchildren opened a suitcase after the death of their mother, Engel's daughter Eva, who had managed to emigrate to the United States in 1941. Almost ninety years after the composer had finished it, on 13 February 2022, Engel's opera *Grete Minde* was premiered in Magdeburg,

[494] Lelieveldt, 'Voor en achter het voetlicht - Musici en de arbeidsverhoudingen in het kunst- en amusementsbedrijf in Nederland, 1918-1940', 210; Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 78.
[495] Unseld, *Biographie Und Musikgeschichte*, 297.
[496] Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands, 1933-1940*, 81.
[497] Amsterdam City Archives, Archiefkaart Eugen Engel archive no 30238, inventory no 223, https://archief.amsterdam/archief/30238/223.
[498] https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de, accessed 28 November 2023.
[499] Samama and Overbeeke, *Entartete Musik*, 7.

under the baton of Anna Skryleva, who had taken the trouble of studying this unknown work by a completely unknown composer.[500] Even less is known about Martin Friedland (1881-1940) who arrived in the Netherlands in 1938 and died in the bombardments on Rotterdam in 1940.[501] All we know is that he was a musician, a musicologist and composer. He published several articles in *De Wereld der Muziek*, the official journal of the Federation of Dutch Associations of Musicians.[502] Friedland's name on a monument for casualties of the bombardment of the Rotterdam concert hall De Doelen is no hint that he worked there; as a German citizen, he was incarcerated there by the Dutch when the German bombs fell.[503]

Although maybe not always in mainstream newspapers and magazines, German refugee composers who had settled in the Netherlands before 1938 were mentioned in the press. Their performances and radio broadcasts were announced but seldom reviewed. They managed to bring their most important manuscripts but having to leave practically overnight, it is likely that many personal documents were left behind. Their arrangements and compositions for film and radio were not published but sometimes survive in institutional archives. For many years, the archives of Hans Lachman (see pp. 132, 136, 154, 179-80) and Hans Krieg, containing many unique music manuscripts, were privately owned and cared for. Only recently, they were donated to the Netherlands Music Institute.

[500] Peter Sarkar, 'Eine Überraschende Wiederentdeckung: Eugen Engels Oper "Grete Minde"', *Mr-Mitteilungen*, July 2022.

[501] Rotterdam City Archives, death certificate no. 1940.4966, archive no. 999-09-140F-f056.

[502] For example, in various Dutch radio guides, Friedland is mentioned as composer of an overture performed by the Werag Orchestra led by Dr. Büschkötter in a programme broadcast on radio Langenberg on Tuesday 3 May 1927. *Radio-expres*, 28 April 1927; 'De Wereld der Muziek,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 20 October 1939; 'Bachs Kunst der Fuge,' *De Tijd*, 19 December 1940.

[503] Stefan Kames, 'Verdrängt - Verfolgt - Verschwiegen - Vergessen: Der Komponist, Musikwissenschaftler Und Kritiker Dr. Martin Friedland', in *Medien Und Musikjournalistik in Köln Um 1933: Drei Schlaglichter Auf Eine Usurpation*, ed. Birgit Bernard, Hans-Ulrich Wagner, and Robert von Zahn, Beiträge Zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte 166 (Kassel: Merseburger, 2005), 87–110.

10. Eve of war and invasion

Despite the horror stories that entered the Netherlands with refugees, Dutch citizens, including Jews, thought they were quite safe. When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, the biggest concern of Dutch composer Daniel Ruyneman was the effect on international relations. In his *Maandblad voor Hedendaagsche Muziek*, he wrote how this frustrated the international exchange concerts, eliminating the possibilities of performing Dutch music abroad. The ISCM festival in Budapest was cancelled, and instead organised in New York in October 1940.[504] The only positive thing Ruyneman could think of was increased performance opportunities for Dutch music in the Netherlands, due to lack of travel (no foreign soloists) and communication.[505] Although people did not turn a blind eye to the devastating effects of war — NVvHM started a fundraiser for Polish composer and conductor Grzegorz Fitelberg, who managed to flee to Italy, but lost his wife in bombardments — the Dutch felt sufficiently safe to joke about the situation in the magazine's section titled *Symphonia Ironica*: 'The audience need not worry when foreign symphonies can no longer be performed; Dutch composers have enough unperformed symphonies to last at least two seasons.'[506] Another joke: 'The Kellogg-Pact now includes the rule that countries will not engage in war as long as Willem Mengelberg has not returned to Amsterdam from Switzerland.'[507] NVvHM celebrated its 10th anniversary, but there were no funds to organise a special concert or festival.[508]

On 13 April 1940, Geneco secretary Karel Mengelberg sent a letter to all composers inviting them to send in two or three of their manuscripts for safekeeping, 'considering the

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[504] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 5, March 1940, 549.

[505] Daniël Ruyneman 'Wat hooren wij van de Nederlandsche muziek?,' *Maandblad*, September 1939, vol 8 no 10. 'Het noodlot heeft de nieuwe Europeesche muziek niet den tijd gegund de verworven waarden verder te verdiepen en te consolideeren. Het oorlogsgeweld is thans opnieuw losgebroken en het zal niet nalaten een verlammende invloed uit te oefenen op alles, wat in de samenleving der volkeren het kostbaarste moest zijn. Verstoken van de invloedsfeer der Europeesche muziek en iedere normale communicatie zal een versterking van ons nationaal bewustzijn naar onze meening niet uitblijven en een meer algemeene belangstelling voor eigen kunst wellicht toenemen. Zoo gaat de Nederlandsche muziek thans naar alle waarschijnlijkheid een periode van verdieping tegemoet. Dit zijn wellicht de eenige optimistische facta die men vermelden kan.'

[506] *Maandblad*, vol 9 no 3, January 1940, front page; *Maandblad*, vol 8 no 12, October 1939, 474. 'Het Rijks-distributiebureau voor muziek stelt het publiek ervan in kennis, dat er geen enkele ongerustheid behoeft te bestaan, wat betreft het uitvoeren van symphoniën. Mochten onverhoopt buitenlandsche symphoniën niet meer uitgevoerd kunnen worden, dan hebben de Nederlandsche componisten nog voor minstens twee jaar onuitgevoerde werken in voorraad.'

[507] *Maandblad*, vol 9 no 1, November 1939, 489. 'Uit Washington meldt men ons, dat het Kellog-Pact met een clausule zal worden aangevuld, waarbij bepaald wordt, dat de Mogendheden contractanten in den vervolge geen oorlog zullen verklaren, alvorens de heer Mengelberg uit Zwitserland te Amsterdam teruggekeerd is.'

[508] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 5, March 1940, 544.

threat of war and the danger from the sky'.[509] Still, general expectations were for the Netherlands to remain neutral, as had been the case during the First World War. As a result, the invasion of the Netherlands came as a big shock. On 14 May 1940, the fourth day of war in the Netherlands, the city of Rotterdam was bombed. The old city was completely in ruins, more than 800 civilians were killed, many more were injured and became homeless. The Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra lost its concert hall, its rehearsal space, its music library and the majority of its instruments.[510] After five days of fierce fighting, the Rotterdam bombardments made the Dutch government decide to capitulate on 15 May 1940. Their advice was to stay calm, to stay under the radar and follow the rules until the war was over.

That day, the Nazis not only took control of Dutch territory, but also of Dutch music life. Invading the Netherlands wasn't just about the occupation of a neighbouring country to exploit its resources, it was also about enforcing Nazi ideology on a fellow Germanic people. *Reichskommissar* Seyss-Inquart, who had gained experience in Nazification in Austria and Poland, aimed at 'self-Nazification' of the Dutch people.[511] The Dutch national socialist movement NSB had never gained substantial following and welcomed this attempt at Nazification with open arms. Believing they could win the Dutch people over to follow their ideas if only they could feed them with proper information, the Nazis immediately took over Dutch radio and the Dutch press agency ANP. Just hours after capitulation, following orders from the Dutch government, radio personnel politely received the Germans in the undamaged radio studios in Hilversum.[512] Soon all leading positions were held by national socialists, Germans as well as members of the Dutch National Socialist Movement NSB. To maintain the radio's trustworthiness, the Nazis allowed the Dutch broadcasting societies — each with their own radio magazine — to continue broadcasting. However, censorship was applied from the very start of the occupation; negative opinions on Germany, the Wehrmacht or the Führer were strictly forbidden.[513] At ANP, Jewish director A. Cohen was immediately replaced by a member of the NSB. An overly zealous German official was reproached for firing all 23 Jewish ANP staff members, since the Nazis wanted the Dutch to believe that they had nothing to fear.[514] At the radio as well, AVRO director Willem Vogt let

[509] Annette de Klerk-Roggeveen, 'Ferenc/Franz Weisz', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 308. 'gezien de dreigende oorlog en het gevaar vanuit de lucht.'
[510] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 118.
[511] Pim Griffioen, *Jodenvervolging in Nederland, Frankrijk en België, 1940-1945: overeenkomsten, verschillen, oorzaken* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2011), 207.
[512] Dick Verkijk, *Radio Hilversum 1940-1945 de Omroep in de Oorlog* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij de Arbeiderspers, 1974), 54.
[513] Ibid., 56.
[514] JHJ van den Heuvel, *De vrijheid van de pers: de overheid en het commerciële handelen van de pers : 1944-1949* (Baarn: Amboboeken, 1981), 16.

go of a large number of his Jewish staff and freelancers in those first weeks of German occupation.[515] For example, conductor of the Radio Orchestra Albert van Raalte was dismissed on 21 May 1940.[516] Jacob Hamel, conductor of the AVRO children's choir was fired on the same day.[517]

Music was a mighty propaganda weapon, since the Dutch had always highly esteemed German music and music life in the Netherlands had been influenced by German composers for a long time. For many people it was hard to believe that a regime with such high regard for music could be so inhumane. Willem Landré, editor of the magazines *Symphonia* and *Caecilia en de Muziek* wrote: 'Meanwhile, I do not believe we should a priori consider the situation as hopeless. We should give the occupiers of our Fatherland the credit they deserve, which in this case is that music is a necessity of life for the Germans, that they have always been — and still are — prepared to make important sacrifices for music life to flourish, and so I am convinced that those who start rebuilding music life will not encounter the slightest opposition from the Germans, but rather can count on their cooperation.'[518] In other words, as a famous German saying goes: '*Wo man singt, da lass dich ruhig nieder… böse Menschen haben keine Lieder'.*

A week after the German occupation started, censored newspaper reports made it look as if 'normal' music life was picked up again. Even in Rotterdam, as a result of the hard work of the orchestra's board and its conductor Eduard Flipse, the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra gave its first concert only one month after the bombings.[519] The Maneto Dutch Music Festival went ahead as planned — albeit with a few weeks delay — with a chamber music evening on 19th June 1940 featuring compositions by Wolfgang Wijdeveld, Wouter van den Berg, Henri Zagwijn, Guillaume Landré, Jan van Gilse and Karel Mengelberg.[520] This programme had already been decided on before 10 May 1940, no censorship was

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[515] Verkijk, *Radio Hilversum 1940-1945 de Omroep in de Oorlog*, 254.

[516] J. J. F. Stokvis, *Radio Nederland* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1946), 17.

[517] Ben Palmen, 'AVRO's Kinderkoor Jacob Hamel,' *Aether* 37, October 1995, 5.
Jacob Hamel was brought in after a raid on 19 June 1943 and via Westerbork he was sent to Sobibor, where he was murdered upon arrival.

[518] *Symphonia*, vol 23, no 6, June 1940, 83. The same text is published in *Caecilia en de Muziek*, vol. 14 no. 6, 15 June 1940, 83-4. 'Intusschen geloof ik niet, dat wij bij voorbaat alles als hopeloos moeten inzien. Den bezetters van ons Vaderland moet men de eer geven welke hen toekomt en die is in dit geval deze, dat muziek voor de Duitschers een levensbehoefte is, dat zij ten allen tijde bereid geweest zijn — en nog steeds zijn — zich voor den bloei van het muzikale leven belangrijke offers te getroosten en dus houd ik mij ervan overtuigd, dat zij, die weer aan het bouwen gaan in het muziekleven niet de geringste tegenwerking van Duitschen kant zullen ondervinden, veeleer op medewerking kunnen rekenen.'

[519] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 119.

[520] 'Kamermuziekconcert Maneto,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 20 June 1940. Wouter J. van den Berg (1913-?) composer, pianist, conductor and teacher, student of Sem Dresden and Henk Badings.

imposed here.[521] Daniel Ruyneman wrote in his *Maandblad* that after the shocking events paralysing cultural and social life, the Dutch people needed to come together in order to carry on. 'We need to stick to our ideals and protect all presentations of our own cultural life for self-preservation.' Due to the outbreak of war, the early May concert of NVvHM had to be postponed. Ruyneman further wondered if French and English music were still allowed, but NVvHM would continue its work to promote Dutch music.[522] In their September editorial, the board complained that Dutch music was as absent from general concert programmes as ever.[523]

10.1 Suicide

Although many people believed music life would not be affected and Jews in the Netherlands would be safe because what the Nazis referred to as 'the Jewish problem' did not exist in the Netherlands, some feared what was coming to such an extent that they saw no other way out but to commit suicide. Michel Julius Cohen, pianist, teacher, director of the Toonkunst Music School in Laren and composer of songs for children and music for piano students, committed suicide together with his wife Emma de Vries. In the afternoon of 20th May 1940, their bodies, tied together, were found in the river Amstel near café Klein Kalfje, just outside Amsterdam.[524] Underneath his costume and overcoat, Cohen was wearing blue striped pyjamas. Under a leather jacket, Emma was wearing a blue dress with gold embroidery and pink trousers.[525] Their fear after the capitulation of the Dutch army had driven them to take their lives. Although some of the better-known suicide victims were reported in the press, their cause of death was rarely mentioned. On 25 May 1940, only in the north of the country, the *Friesch Dagblad* reported on daily obituaries of whole Jewish families, not doubting they chose their own death.[526] Refusing to submit to censorship, the

[521] 'Nederlandsche toonkunst,' *Het Vaderland*, 3 May 1940.

[522] *Maandblad*, vol 9 no 6/7, April-May 1940, frontpage. 'Dat wij onze idealen behouden en alle uitingen van eigen cultureel leven beschermen, is in zekeren zin een kwestie van zelfbehoud. […] De datum van het in ons vorige nummer aangekondigde concert viel in oorlogstijd. Afgezien van het op dien datum geldende overheids-verbod op publieke vermakelijkheden, was het mede met het oog op de algemeene stemming onder het publiek, noodzakelijk dit concert tot later uit te stellen. Bovendien blijft nog de vraag, of de Fransche en Engelsche programma-nummers gehandhaafd kunnen blijven. […] In de eerstkomende tijden, zal het werkplan van de Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek gericht zijn op de propaganda van de Nederlandsche muziek, overtuigd als het Bestuur ervan is, dat in deze tijden niets gaat boven het behartigen van de belangen van onze componisten en uitvoerende musici.'

[523] *Maandblad*, vol 9 no 11, September 1940, 575.

[524] Lucas Ligtenberg, *Mij krijgen ze niet levend: de zelfmoorden van mei 1940* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2017), 156.

[525] 'Oproep van de politie,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 21 May 1940.

[526] H.A., 'Schaduwen des doods,' *Friesch Dagblad*, 25 May 1940.

newspaper ceased its publication on 25 July 1940. In August 1940, out of reach of the censors, the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* in the Dutch East Indies devoted an article to the recent flow of suicides that had swept the Netherlands. Five prominent victims were commemorated, while the author wondered whether they really killed themselves or were rather murdered by the Gestapo: author Menno ter Braak, judge and member of parliament Mr. J. Limburg, alderman of the council of Amsterdam for the Social Democrats Emanuel Boekman, criminologist Prof. Mr. Willem Adriaan Bonger, and publisher of the daily newspaper *Haagsche Post*, Mr. R.J. Leopold.[527] In the month of May 1940, 388 people in the Netherlands committed suicide, 201 of them Jewish.[528] Thousands of Jews had tried to leave the country by embarking on ships leaving from harbours such as Scheveningen and IJmuiden, but only some 400 succeeded. Some of the unsuccessful refugees killed themselves upon their return home.[529]

Michel Julius Cohen (Arnhem, 19 December 1882) and his wife Emma lived in Hilversum when the Nazis invaded the Netherlands. Just after graduating as piano teacher in 1918, Cohen had started offering lessons in piano, theory and ensemble playing. Three years later he joined the staff of the new music school in Laren, close to Hilversum.[530] In the 1920s, together with pianist Julius Hijman, he collaborated in a performance of the pacifist play *A*, by the Austrian playwright Paul Beer, accompanying singers Augusta Reclaire and Boris Pelsky. In September 1924, Cohen was appointed director of the music school in Laren and soon he started organising chamber music concerts for children.[531] As a pianist, Cohen accompanied performances of the Laren *Toonkunst* choir with soloists like To van der Sluys, Jacoba Repelaer van Driel and Hans Gruys. In a recital introduced by musicologist Caspar Höweler, he also accompanied his colleague at the Laren music school, baritone Laurens Bogtman.[532] After Cohen's death, Höweler succeeded him as director of the Laren music school.[533]

It seems that as a composer, Cohen mainly focused on educational works. Fellow-composer Paul F. Sanders favourably reviewed Cohen's publication of two series of songs for children on words by Pauline de Vries, Cohen's deceased first wife.[534] In September 1927,

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[527] 'Vermoord of de hand aan zichzelf geslagen?,' *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 8 August 1940.

[528] Ligtenberg, *Mij krijgen ze niet levend*, 16–17. In a table, Ligtenberg shows that this is around six times as much as previous and consecutive years.

[529] Ibid., 57.

[530] 'Muziekschool te Laren (N.-H.),' *De Maasbode*, 23 September 1921.

[531] 'Jeugdconcert te Laren,' *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 25 May 1925.

[532] 'Concert door leeraren der Muziekschool van Toonkunst Laren en omstreken en voordracht Caspar Höweler,' *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 29 January 1935.

[533] 'Jaarvergadering van Toonkunst,' *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 28 June 1940.

[534] Paul F. Sanders, 'Kinderliederen en kinderkoren,' *Het Volk*, 14 November 1925.

Cohen published his first etudes for piano students with publisher Alsbach & Co, with a preface by composer Sem Dresden. Paul Sanders and composer Israël Olman supported Cohen's application for membership of Geneco, the Society of Dutch Composers, in 1928. Cohen composed a suite for his school orchestra in 1931 and dance music for the yearly school performance in 1932. In 1933, conductor and composer Wouter Hutschenruyter wrote very enthusiastically about Cohen's opus 9 *100 Elementaire Leesoefeningen voor Piano* (100 Elementary piano exercises for sight reading): 'This is a born piano teacher speaking! […] I can only hope that many teachers will use this work and I recommend it as warmly as possible to whoever it may concern.'[535] Just a few weeks after his death, Cohen's *Twaalf kleine voordrachtétudes* (Twelve small concert studies) were reviewed in daily newspaper *De Tijd*.[536] The whereabouts of his musical estate is as yet unknown, only Cohen's published works survive.[537] However, this brief biographical sketch shows that he was part of a network of musicians and composers, and that he was recognised as a composer.

10.2 Broken network links

Dutch composers who lived and worked outside the Netherlands at the time of the invasion suddenly found themselves cut off from their Dutch networks. Letters were censored and took very long to arrive. After having served in the French army as a foreign volunteer, cellist and composer Pál Hermann found a safe home in the south of France with family of his Dutch in-laws. On 16 May 1941, he managed to send a letter to his mother-in-law in Amersfoort, the Netherlands, from Beaussiet near Mont-de-Marsan, hoping that censorship would forgive him for writing such a long letter in such small handwriting. 'I lead a miraculously lonely life, without any serious concerts; I don't see any people. I work, read, walk and eat.'[538] Julius Hijman wrote a letter to Daniël Ruyneman dated 6 April 1941, in response to a (lost) letter from Ruyneman to Hijman, informing Hijman of plans to programme his music. 'I have not been living in New York for a year now and have settled in Houston, Texas, where I teach at the conservatory. The city, about the size of Utrecht, is situated way down in the south of the country and the fact that I am now about 3,000

[535] W. Hutschenruyter, 'Nieuwe uitgaven,' *Caecilia en de Muziek*, vol 8 (91) no 1, 1 November 1933, 17. 'Hier is een geboren muziekpaedagoog aan het woord! [...] Had ik nog de leiding eener muziekschool dan zou ik dit werk dadelijk opnemen in het studie-materiaal; nu kan ik slechts de hoop uitspreken, dat vele onderwijzers het zullen gebruiken en het werk aan allen die het aangaat zoo warm mogelijk aanbevelen.'

[536] L.H. (possibly Leo Hanekroot) 'Muziek voor huis en kerk,' *De Tijd*, 3 June 1940.

[537] NMI Library Catalogue, 25140; NMI Library Catalogue NMI ABmf/0282-0283 (digitised).

[538] Pál Hermann to Mrs. Weevers (his mother-in-law), 16 May 1941, private collection Corrie Hermann. 'Ikzelf leid een wonderbaarlik eenzaam leven, met de concerten kan je nu toch niets serieus doen; mensen zie ik zo ongeveer helemaal niet: ik werk, lees, wandel, eet etc.'

kilometres away from New York, 1,600 km from Chicago and the same with other music centres, means that I cannot do anything from here for Dutch music. I think this is a pity and if I am ever to return to the inhabited world, I will most certainly restart my activities.' Hijman also wrote he understands Bertus van Lier's position (most likely referring to no longer having his work performed).[539]

[539] Julius Hijman to Daniel Ruyneman, 6 April 1941. Archive Daniel Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01/1619.
'Ik woon al een jaar lang niet meer in New York en ben nu gevestigd in Houston, Texas, waar ik leeraar aan het conservatorium ben. De stad, zoowat zoo groot als Utrecht, ligt heelemaal in het zuiden van het land en het feit dat ik nu van New York rond 3000 km af zit, van Chicago 1600 km van andere muziekcentra dito, heeft tengevolge dat ik van hier uit niets meer voor de holl. muziek kan doen. Het is wel jammer en mocht ik ooit weer eens in de bewoonde wereld terugkomen, dan zal ik zeker mijn activiteit hervatten.'

11. Anti-Jewish measures

During the first months under German occupation, the first anti-Jewish measures were considered relatively mild by many. In a recorded interview for the Visual History Archive of the USC Shoah Foundation, flutist Ima Spanjaard-van Esso recalled how everyone thought the Germans were so polite: 'Of course, it was very clever how the Germans won everyone over. Every month there would be some small new decree. "Well", people said "if it doesn't get any worse than this, we can live with it." At a certain moment you had to register if you had four Jewish grandparents. Yes, we had four, and we were proud of it.'[540] However, the fears of Michel Julius Cohen and many others soon became reality when, within months, a series of measures spiralled into full-fledged exclusion of Jews from society. By August 1940, no new Jewish civil servants were to be hired and those already in service could no longer be promoted. In September all Jewish press was banned, except for *Het Joodsche Weekblad* (The Jewish Weekly), the official news channel of the Jewish Council.[541] From October onwards, German household personnel was not allowed to serve Jewish families. By the end of October, companies owned by Jews had to be registered.[542] In January 1941, Jews were barred from cinemas and all Jews in the Netherlands had to register, an administrative measure paving the way for future atrocities.[543]

In music life too, the first anti-Jewish sentiments soon surfaced. Early July 1940, before the start of the concert, non-Jewish conductor Hermann Abendroth shook hands with Sam Swaap, the Jewish concertmaster of the The Hague Residentie Orkest, a perfectly normal gesture but much to the vexation of the German occupiers.[544] In a meeting in August 1940, Van Poelje (Secretary General of the Dutch Department of Education, Arts and Sciences) advised the board of the Concertgebouw Orchestra not to engage Jewish soloists in

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[540] 'Ima Shalom Spanjaard - Testimony | VHA', accessed 30 June 2025, https://vha.usc.edu/testimony/4561.

[541] The Jewish Council was installed at the orders of the German authorities, to manage the Jewish population. From the first edition of the *Jewish Weekly* (15 August 1940): 'Our newspaper should try to encourage people to start picking up tasks that they had to left unattended due to circumstances. After rain comes sunshine. Throughout the ages, Jewry has seen good and bad times. Let us not be afraid of things that probably will never come to happen. Have faith in the future!' (Ons blad moet trachten te bevorderen de lust tot het weder aanvatten van taken, die men noodgedwongen moest laten rusten. Achter de wolken schijnt de zon. Het Jodendom heeft door alle eeuwen heen slechte en goede perioden met elkaar afgewisseld. Laten wij niet angstig zijn voor hetgeen hoogstwaarschijnlijk nooit komt. Hebt vertrouwen in de toekomst!'

[542] Lou de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945* ('s-Gravenhage, Leiden: Nijhoff SDU, 1969), V, 586.

[543] Ibid., 1083; 'Joden mogen niet meer naar de bioscoop,' *Noordbrabantsch Dagblad Het Huisgezin*, 9 January 1941;

[544] Pauline Micheels, 'Het Concertgebouw Gedurende de Tweede Wereldoorlog (1940-1945)', in *Historie En Kroniek van Het Concertgebouw En Het Concertgebouworkest* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1988), 215–16.

order not to provoke the occupiers into taking more severe measures.[545] It was not Van Poelje's only measure to prevent provocation. He told his married staff that they could take the day off on the birthday of Queen Wilhelmina (31 August), so that they could prevent their families from celebrating in public. The German rulers misinterpreted this gesture and on 2 September 1940 Van Poelje was fired and arrested.[546] Barely a month later, *Reichskommissar* Arthur Seyss-Inquart informed impresario Johan Koning that he was not amused reading that the Concertgebouw had planned performances of Mahler, Mendelssohn and Hindemith. Koning in turn wrote to Rudolf Mengelberg, artistic director of the Concertgebouw Orchestra, that Seyss-Inquart would allow one more performance of Mahler's first symphony, but Jewish composers were not to be programmed in future. In response to Seyss-Inquart's further remarks on Jewish members of the Concertgebouw orchestra, four Jewish musicians seated at the front of the orchestra were placed out of sight of the audience.[547] In November 1940, orchestra musicians were required to fill out forms declaring they were non-Jewish, the so-called 'Aryan declaration'.[548]

11.1 Jewish composers banned

In March 1938, a few months after his return to Amsterdam after several years in Paris and Brussels, Leo Smit had written to Rudolf Mengelberg to inform him of his latest compositions for orchestra and to ask him whether the Concertgebouw Orchestra would be inclined to perform these works.[549] A reply by Mengelberg – if any – has not survived, but no compositions by Smit were performed by the Concertgebouw Orchestra and under the new rule all hopes vanished. According to Smit's sister Nora, who survived the war in hiding, Smit had talked to Van Beinum about performing his music during the war, but Van Beinum was too afraid of being arrested.[550] The performance of Smit's *Concerto for viola and strings* — only weeks before the German invasion — by Jewish conductor Frieda Belinfante and her orchestra *Het Klein Orkest*, in the Concertgebouw's Recital Hall, turned out to be the last public performance of his music the composer witnessed.[551] Frieda Belinfante dissolved

[545] Ibid., 216.

[546] I. Schöffer, 'Van Poelje, Gerrit Abraham (1884-1976),' 'Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland', ING Project (Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 21 August 2021), accessed 25 October 2023, https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn.

[547] Micheels, 'Het Concertgebouw Gedurende de Tweede Wereldoorlog (1940-1945)', 218.

[548] Ibid.

[549] Leo Smit to Rudolf Mengelberg, 28 March 1938, archive Rudolf Mengelberg 3090-01 NMI, The Hague. Many thanks to Albert van der Schoot for pointing me to this letter.

[550] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 254–55.

[551] Herman Rutters, 'Het Klein Orkest,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 25 April 1940.

her orchestra before the Nazis could ban her.[552] Even without an official decree banning the works of Jewish composers from the stage, their exclusion was complete almost instantly. After hundreds of performances since its founding, the Concertgebouw Orchestra not once performed Mendelssohn's music during the war, breaking the ban on 1 September 1945 with the violin concerto performed by Jewish violinist Jo Hekster.[553] The orchestra performed Mahler's First Symphony for the last time in The Hague and Amsterdam, in October 1940. On 2 August 1945, the orchestra resumed its Mahler performances with the Second Symphony *Auferstehung*.[554] In chamber music the situation was no different. On 21 July 1940, in a concert held at the Friesch Museum in Leeuwarden, pianist Willem Zonderland and his trio performed Mendelssohn's Piano Trio op. 49, one of the very few times his chamber music was performed in public during the war.[555] In 1941, only sporadically Mendelssohn's compositions would still appear in organ recitals or in performances of amateur choirs or orchestras.

Despite this unpublished but effective ban on Jewish composers, two concerts in February 1941 form an odd exception. The Sweelinck String Quartet, with three Jewish members — Herman Salomon, Jo Overste and Juup Raphaël — and cellist Jo Vogtschmidt, performed Rosy Wertheim's String Quartet in a sold-out Concertgebouw Recital Hall as well as in Pulchri in The Hague.[556] These would be their last concerts reviewed in the newspapers. In April 1941, the jury of the Rotterdam 1939 Foundation's composing competition — composers Jan van Gilse and Willem Pijper and conductor Eduard Flipse — chose two winners.[557] The anonymously sent in works turned out to be the works of Jewish composer Bob Hanf and Robert de Roos, a composer with a Jewish mother.[558] Both were awarded second prize, possibly because the first prize was a performance by the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra and the performance of music by Jewish composers was

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[552] Toni Boumans, *Een schitterend vergeten leven: de eeuw van Frieda Belinfante.* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2015), 105.

[553] 'Zoeken in Het Artistiek Archief', accessed 3 March 2025, https://archief.concertgebouworkest.nl/nl/archief/zoeken/.

[554] Ibid.

[555] 'Alg. Nederlandsche Kunstenaarsorganisatie, 7e Museumconcert,' *Leeuwarder Courant*, 22 July 1940.

[556] Lou van Strien, 'Sweelinck-Kwartet,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 February 1941; 'Twee Strijkkwartetten,' *Vooruit*, 24 February 1941.

[557] *Stichting Rotterdam 1939* was a foundation 'to defend the material and immaterial interests of the Rotterdam people in times of distress'. The foundation started in May 1939 (*De Maasbode*, 18 October 1939).

[558] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 6, April 1941, 689. The Nazis had their own rules on deciding who was Jewish. After the proclamation of the Nuremberg Laws in November 1935, Jewishness depended on the number of Jewish grandparents. If a person had two Jewish grandparents, they were considered half-Jewish. However, it could make a difference if they were an observant Jew or if they were married to a person with three or more Jewish grandparents (Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945*, IV 742).

forbidden.[559]

However, in those early months of occupation, non-public so-called study concerts organised by Maneto or NVvHM, with a limited audience of colleagues and journalists, still offered Jewish composers a chance to have their music performed. On Sunday morning 30 June 1940, at a Maneto study concert in Tivoli in Utrecht, Rosy Wertheim had her piano concerto premiered by Wolfgang Wijdeveld with the Utrechtsch Stedelijk Orkest led by Willem van Otterloo.[560] In the same concert, Sim Gokkes' *Sheherazade* for orchestra was performed.[561] The works to be performed and the fact that this was not a public concert had already been decided months earlier.[562] Although the music performed was not reviewed (following the informal rules of a study concert), the event itself was widely covered in the press, and Wertheim and Gokkes were mentioned in each article. On 26 January 1941, NVvHM celebrated the 60th birthday of their member James Simon, a Jewish German refugee, with a special concert featuring his songs and a work for piano solo.[563] This members-only concert in the recital hall of the Amsterdam *Muzieklyceum* was the first in a new series of non-public concerts and was announced in several newspapers, including the celebration of James Simon's 60th birthday, but no reviews appeared. Wertheim's *Three songs* for alto, flute and harp on lyrics by Li Tai Po were performed in an NVvHM members-only concert on 23 June 1941, along with Reine Colaço Osorio-Swaab's *Trio* for violin, viola and flute.[564] No review appeared in the newspapers, only *Symphonia* reported the event in its July 1941 issue.[565]

With the door closed on opportunities for performances in public concerts, Jewish composers vanished from the stage. Apart from these few non-public gatherings, from the autumn of 1940 onwards, Jewish composers could only be performed in Jewish settings, involving Jewish musicians and a Jewish audience. In the *Jewish Weekly*, the Liberal Jewish congregation announced a festive Chanuka concert on Sunday 29 December 1940, in the large hall next to the Tolstraat Synagogue in Amsterdam. Former Berlin chazan Hugo Heimann lit the menorah candles, Dutch tenor Michel Gobets sang, as well as German

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[559] Bob Hanf's *Symphonie*, submitted under the nom-de-plume Ituriel, has to date never been performed. Robert de Roos' *Concerto per Viola e Orchestra*, dedicated to Hindemith, was performed by the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra on 23 February 1942, conducted by Eduard Flipse, with Johan Warnars as soloist. A live broadcast followed on 10 June 1942. In August 1942, De Roos had managed to convince the authorities that only three of his great-grandparents were Jewish and he was allowed to register with the Kultuurkamer. G.N.M Vis, *Wanhoop niet!: biografie van componist en diplomaat Robert de Roos* (Utrecht: Van Gruting, 2016), 148–50; 157-60.

[560] Herman Rutters, 'Maneto's Studieconcerten,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 July 1940.

[561] *Sheherazade* formed part of a *Suite for Orchestra*. The whereabouts of this composition is now unknown.

[562] 'Studie-concert Maneto,' *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 19 March 1940.

[563] Daniel Ruyneman, 'Een nieuwe concerten-reeks,' *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 4, February 1941, 670.

[564] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 9/10, July-August 1941, 734.

refugees Camilla Spira, Max Ehrlich and Kurt Gerron, all accompanied by Hans Krieg.[566] On 25 December 1940, Krieg had also performed Jewish and Hebrew songs at the Chanuka celebration of the Dutch Zionist League at the *Muzieklyceum*.[567] The last advertisement of Joachimsthal's Bookshop for Sim Gokkes' liturgical music *Sjirê Kôdesj* (published with Broekmans and Van Poppel in 1937) appeared in *The Jewish Weekly* of December 1941.[568]

The situation for composers with only two Jewish grandparents and those married to non-Jewish spouses differed from that of composers with four Jewish grandparents. Compositions by Robert de Roos (his mother was Jewish and he was married to a non-Jewish German wife) were performed throughout the war, sometimes even conducted by the composer himself. Although artists with two Jewish grandparents could in principle not become a member of the *Kultuurkamer*, De Roos had convincingly forged his ancestry by faking a non-Jewish identity of one of his great-grandparents and was accepted as member.[569] Henri Zagwijn (his mother was Jewish) received a state prize in September 1941 and in June 1942, the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra performed his *Wijdingsnacht for organ and orchestra*.[570] Henriëtte Bosmans (her mother was Jewish) was very popular as a soloist until 1 April 1942, when non-members of the *Kultuurkamer* could no longer perform in public. Musicians and composers considered half-Jewish by the Nazis had to request dispensation from the *Kultuurkamer* if they wished to continue performing. Pianist and composer Henriëtte Bosmans was denied dispensation, her registration card was marked 'Jewish case'.[571] On 1 April 1942, Bosmans performed Strauss and Franck with the Utrechtsch Stedelijk Orkest under Willem van Otterloo, but her concert with the Concertgebouw orchestra in June 1942, featuring her own *Piano concertino*, was cancelled. Paul Niessing performed Willem Andriessen's piano concerto instead.[572]

11.2 Networks for survival

In the early phase of the war, banned composers continued to be active in their networks. However, network ties no longer functioned to get their music performed but were crucial to try and eke out a living with odd jobs. Still living in their own homes, they were free to

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[565] 'Hedendaagsche Muziek,' *Symphonia*, vol 24 no 7, 15 July 1941, 99.

[566] *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 27 December 1940.

[567] *Rondschrijven*, 9 January 1941.

[568] Advertisement in *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 12 December 1941.

[569] Vis, *Wanhoop niet!*, 159–60. On being considered Jewish, see also p. 125, fn. 558.

[570] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 12 September 1941; *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 2 May 1942.

[571] Metzelaar, *Zonder muziek is het leven onnodig*, 109.

[572] *De Tijd*, 4 April 1942; *Het Volk*, 8 June 1942. Willem van Otterloo was sanctioned by the Court of Honour for continuing to conduct during the war years, see p. 205, fn. 1030.

travel and participated in social life. In September 1940, Leo Smit and Rosy Wertheim participated in a committee to honour Daniël Ruyneman at the 10th anniversary of NVvHM.[573] Leo Smit participated in the NVvHM programming committee for the upcoming season together with Piet Ketting and Daniël Ruyneman and published educational compositions with Broekmans.[574] Smit advertised in *Het Joodsche Weekblad* to promote his teaching practice and took jobs to orchestrate music under a pseudonym.[575] Even before the war, he had also tried to make ends meet by writing dance music under the pseudonym of Pierre Perrin, like a *Sérénade Napolitaine* for the orchestra of violinist Egon Malescu in Hotel de l'Europe in Amsterdam.[576] However, these activities did not solve his financial problems. On 4 March 1941, he wrote to Buma asking if they could send him an advance payment on author's rights. By that time however, income from rights was so small that Buma declined. Smit was advised to write to Geneco, perhaps they could help with their pension fund.[577] Daniël Belinfante still lived in Blaricum, his Music School Watergraafsmeer was still open and he participated in an NVvHM committee to publish a collection of piano compositions by various members.[578]

11.3 Increasing isolation

Despite the measures excluding Jewish composers from public music life early on, resistance was limited during this phase of the war. Even those who would later withdraw from music life under Nazi rule, like composers Jan van Gilse and Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman, still had their music performed. In 1941, music by Bordewijk-Roepman was performed by the Arnhem, Utrecht, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Haarlem orchestras, several performances were broadcast. However, anti-Jewish measures soon became more brutal. In the early months of 1941, paramilitary groups started beating up Jews and the police was ordered not to protect Jews from the vicious attacks, but instead to protect these groups from Jews who had organised for self-protection. In November 1940, government organisations were ordered to fire all Jewish civil servants, including university and conservatory teachers. Composer Sem Dresden was fired from his position as director of the Conservatoire in The

[573] Circular dated 19 April 1940, archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01.

[574] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 4 February 1941, 669.

[575] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 248–52.

[576] Archives Buma/Stemra, letter dated 3 May 1935, archive NMI 3342-01, 1.1.9-965.

[577] Leo Smit to Geneco, dated 4 March 1941, and Buma to Leo Smit dated 7 March 1941, in archive Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01.

[578] *Maandblad*, vol 9 no 5 March 1940, 549.

Hague, while the press were instructed not to write anything about it.[579] However, *De Sumatra Post*, a daily newspaper in the Dutch East Indies, beyond the reach of censorship, wrote on the replacement of Sem Dresden by C.L. Walther Boer: 'Considering the persecution of Jews in The Netherlands, Sem Dresden has most likely fallen victim of this. The "leaders" in our country are thus diligently pulling the Dutch arts down to Nazi and NSB level.'[580]

These measures, together with the first raid in response to the riots in Amsterdam's Jewish neighbourhood, led to a massive strike in February 1941. This was the moment the Nazis realised that their tactics of 'gentle persuasion' were not going to work. A new phase of Nazification commenced, the mask was dropped. Anti-Jewish measures increased and music life, press and radio were thoroughly reorganised. In a speech at the Concertgebouw on 12th March 1941, *Reichskommissar* Seyss-Inquart announced he would hit hard on Jews wherever he could.[581] On that same day, an order was published which enabled the occupiers to take control of all Jewish-owned companies and businesses.[582] With the arrival of Ferdinand Aus der Fünten as leader of the *Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung* in July 1941, persecution of Jews was further systematised. Soon, Jews were excluded from all social life and robbed of their jobs and their assets. New decrees were issued each week, ranging from the exclusion of Jews from public places for leisure activities to forcing Jews to deposit their valuables and cash in the Lippman-Rosenthal bank and robbing them of their businesses.[583] By the end of October 1941, Jews were no longer allowed to emigrate. First, identity cards were stamped with a capital J, then, as per 3 May 1942, Jews had to visibly wear a Star of David.[584] That summer, all Jewish citizens had to hand in their bicycles and other means of transport.[585] By the end of June 1942, Westerbork was established as transit camp and the first deportations to the east took place. The world of Jews in the Netherlands had become very constrained indeed, they were erased from public life.

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[579] Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945*, IV 785.

[580] *De Sumatra Post*, 14 March 1941. 'In verband met de Joden-vervolgingen in Nederland is hoogst waarschijnlijk Sem Dresden hiervan het slachtoffer geworden. De "leiders" in ons land zijn dus ijverig bezig het Nederlandsche kunstleven te verlagen tot Nazi- en N.S.B.-peil!'

[581] 'Rede van Rijkscommissaris Dr. Seyss-Inquart,' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 13 March 1941.
'De Joden zijn voor ons geen Nederlanders. Zij zijn de vijanden, met wie wij noch tot een wapenstilstand, noch tot een vrede kunnen komen. [...] Wij zullen de Joden raken, waar wij hen aantreffen en wie met hen meegaat, heeft de gevolgen te dragen.'

[582] Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945*, V, 586–87.

[583] The bank Lippmann Rosenthal & Co. (LiRo) was founded during World War II to register and expropriate assets of Jewish citizens.

[584] For more information on the inventor of the identity card, Jacob Lentz, see Jurriën Rood, *Lentz: de man achter het persoonsbewijs : een filosofische biografie*, Noordboek geschiedenis (Gorredijk, Nederland: Noordboek Geschiedenis, 2022).

[585] 'Inlevering fietsen door joden,' *Het Volk*, 22 June 1942.

These anti-Jewish measures obviously had great impact on music life in the Netherlands. After banning music by Jewish composers, on 15 May 1941, all orchestras received orders to dismiss Jewish musicians.[586] Three weeks later, the Concertgebouw Orchestra fired sixteen Jewish musicians, three of them were allowed to stay on over the summer.[587] Eduard van Beinum intended to shake hands with Jewish orchestra members after their last concert, but Rudolf Mengelberg asked him to refrain from it, not to aggravate the occupiers.[588] To 'soften' the effects of the ban on Jewish musicians, Jewish orchestras were founded. These orchestras of exclusively Jewish musicians performed music by Jewish composers for a Jewish audience. For this purpose, the *Hollandsche Schouwburg* (Dutch Theatre) was renamed *Joodsche Schouwburg* (Jewish Theatre) in October 1941. The *Nieuw Joodsch Kamer-Orkest* (New Jewish Chamber Orchestra), led by Sal Abas (1900-1943), performed in the Jewish Theatre between 11 June 1941 (then still called the New Amsterdam Chamber Orchestra) and 12 July 1942.[589] As the general press were censored and *Het Joodsche Weekblad* had no music critic yet, their first concert was not reviewed or announced in any newspaper. However, a vivid scene of day-to-day life in the orchestra survives. On the morning of 24 November 1941, a journalist writing under the pseudonym of 'Chajiem' attended a rehearsal of the New Jewish Chamber Orchestra at the Jewish Theatre. That night, the orchestra would perform three works by contemporary Jewish composers: Leo Smit, Joan Fresco (1886-1964), and Sal Abas. Chajiem wrote: 'When I came in, the chamber orchestra — a funny name really for an orchestra of twenty men and four women that would not fit in any normal chamber — was accompanying cellist Samehtini, who had just begun playing. Spread around the hall, small groups of people were listening. Among one of the groups, a gentleman had a great book full of notes in front of him. All of a sudden, he rose and called "Stop!". That was already weird. And then he did something even weirder, something a dead composer would never have been able to — for the man was living composer Leo Smit: "Mr. Samehtini", he said, "you are playing a d as written, but this is my mistake; let's turn it into a b-flat, that will sound better." "Very good", Mr. Samehtini replied, and he put down his cello, like a mother would place her child against her heart, his left arm around it, he fumbled in his pocket and took out a small pencil, wrote something on his music and then they played it again. And they all agreed it sounded much better….'[590]

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[586] Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945*, V 547.

[587] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 178–79.

[588] Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945*, V 547.

[589] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 258–62.

[590] Chajiem, 'Van twee ochtenden,' *Het Joodsche Weekblad,* 12 December 1941. 'Toen ik binnentrad zat het Kamerorkest — eigenlijk een rare naam voor een orkest van 20 man en vier dames, dat in geen enkele normale kamer een plaats zou kunnen vinden — den cellist Samethini te begeleiden, die juist gestart was. In de zaal zaten hier en daar een plokje toehoorders. Bij een dier plokjes zat een heer met een groot boek vol muzieknoten voor

Despite the horrors of life under Nazi rule, inside the Jewish Theatre, composer Leo Smit and the orchestra could pretend they were going about their music business as usual, ignoring the fact that a programme combining Smit's 'very complex' *Concertino for cello*, two 'simple but cheerful' fragments from Fresco's suite *Aus südlichen Sphären* and Abas' 'playful and divertimento-like' *Serenata barocca* would probably never have existed in normal times.[591]

Another orchestra performing at the Jewish Theatre, the *Joodsch Symphonie Orkest* (Jewish Symphony Orchestra), was founded in the summer of 1941 and gave its first concert on 16 November 1941. The orchestra was funded with money that captain of industry Bernhard van Leer was forced to leave behind in order to emigrate to the United States.[592] On 31 May 1942, *Three Songs* by Wilhelm Rettich were performed by Hermann Schey, conducted by the composer.[593] Van Strien wrote in his review for *Het Joodsche Weekblad*: 'These three songs on old Chinese texts form an outstanding introduction to the music of this now fifty-year-old composer. They present cleverly written music in a moderately modern style and especially the first two songs are orchestrated very beautifully; the orchestration of the third song seems somewhat heavy, a bit overloaded for the accompaniment of the voice. Even a singer like Hermann Schey, who has quite a big voice and performed the songs almost ideally, together with a beautifully accompanying orchestra, had sometimes difficulties making himself heard above the instrumental violence. Rettich's songs show influences of Mahler, especially in orchestration and in the treatment of the soloists, which is why it was somewhat daring to place them in the same programme as the master's "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen". A great compliment for Rettich's music is the fact that it could hold its own next to Mahler's poignant songs despite all its kinship, and that it captivated the audience with its expression and technical skill.'[594] The orchestra

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zich. Hij luisterde aandachtig in zijn notenboek kijkend. Opeens stond hij op en hij riep naar het orkest: stop. Dat was al vreemd. En toen deed hij iets, dat nog vreemder was en dat een doode componist — want het was de levende componist Smit — nooit zou kunnen doen: „Meneer Samethini" zeide hij; „u speelt daar een d; die staat er. Maar, dat is eigenlijk een schrijffout van mij; laten we er maar een bes van maken. Dat klinkt beter". "Heel goed" antwoordde meneer Samethini, en hij legde zijn cello, zooals een moeder haar kind, tegen zijn hart, zijn linkerarm om haar heen geslagen, peuterde een stompje potlood uit zijn vestjeszak, krabbelde iets op zijn muziek en toen gingen ze het nog eens overspelen. En toen vonden ze het veel mooier klinken....'
Cellist Joachim (Jo) Samehtini (1889-1942) was sent to Auschwitz and was forced to work in a steel factory in Malapane, where he died on 16 December 1942. (Joods Monument, 'Joachim Samehtini', accessed 2 July 2025 https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/215125/joachim-samehtini.)

591 Lou van Strien, 'Derde abonnementsconcert Nieuw Joodsch Kamerorkest,' *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 5 December 1941.

592 Pauline Micheels, *De vatenman: Bernard van Leer (1883-1958)* (Amsterdam: Contact, 2002), 146–47.

593 *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 29 May 1942.

594 Lou van Strien, 'Het Joodsch Symphonie Orkest,' *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 5 June 1942. 'Als een eerste kennismaking met de muziek van dezen, thans vijftigjarigen, componist vormen deze gezangen op oud-Chineesche teksten zeker een voortreffelijke introductie. Zij bevatten een knap-geschreven muziek van

employed many Jewish string players fired from the regular orchestras, but good wind and brass players were scarce, especially horn players.[595] Hans Lachman learned to play the horn especially for this orchestra. 'I had played the horn as a child and after six months of lessons it all came back', he told a journalist in 1961.[596] Lachman also arranged music for a third orchestra performing in the Jewish Theatre, the *Groot Joodsch Amusements Orkest* (Great Jewish Entertainment Orchestra). Starting out with twenty former members of the radio orchestras and led by cinema and radio organ player Bernard Drukker, this orchestra gave its first performance at the Jewish Theatre on 25 December 1941.[597] Their final concert on 20 April 1942 featured the famous duo Johnny and Jones.[598]

Jewish music was also performed for an exclusively Jewish audience in what was ironically called the *Theater van de Lach* (Theatre of Laughter).[599] In this theatre, composer, conductor and pianist Ludwig Belitzer (1901-1945) conducted the Jewish Chamber Choir on 18 January 1942, their only concert of which evidence survives.[600] Together with violinist Sam Tromp and cellist Bram Oberstein, Belitzer also formed The Jewish Trio.[601] No traces of any concert survive. In the same theatre, the *Joodsche Kleinkunst Ensemble* (Jewish Cabaret Ensemble) presented a new show by Herbert and Rudolf Nelson including Dutch artists Henriëtte (Heintje) Davids and Sylvain Poons and German refugees Max Ehrlich, Kurt Lilien and Otto Aurich.[602] Further productions included a Willy Rosen show (with Liesl Frank and Otto Aurich) and cabaret shows by Eddy Veterman.[603]

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gematigd-moderne allure en zijn vooral wat de eerste twee liederen betreft zeer mooi geïnstrumenteerd; de orkestratie van het derde lied lijkt ietwat topzwaar en vooral ten aanzien van de zangstem te overladen. Zelfs een vocalist als Hermann Schey, die toch over een volumineus orgaan beschikt en die tezamen met het prachtig-secondeerend orkest voor een welhaast ideale vertolking zorgde, had nu en dan moeite zich hier boven het instrumentale geweld verstaanbaar te maken. Rettich's liederen toonen in sommige opzichten, met name in de orkestratie en in de behandeling van de solisten, invloeden van Mahler en daarom was de plaatsing van die gezangen op één programma tezamen met 's meesters „Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen" wel een min of meer gewaagde onderneming. Het pleit zeker voor Rettich's muziek, dat zij zich naast Mahler's aangrijpende liederen ondanks alle verwantschap heeft kunnen handhaven en boeien door haar muzikale expressiviteit en technische factuur.'

[595] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 183–85.

[596] Pennewip (pseud.), 'Naar de Prix Italia,' *Volkskrant*, 12 August 1961. 'Als kind had ik wel eens hoorn geblazen en toen ik een half jaar les had genomen kon ik het weer.'

[597] *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 19 December 1941.

[598] *Het Joodsche Weekblad,* 10 April 1942. Johnny and Jones (Nol van Wesel and Max Kannewasser) were massively popular in the 1930s with their jazzy songs. They were both killed in Bergen-Belsen.

[599] Plantage Middenlaan 4A, formerly known as Beatrixtheater and Rika Hoppertheater. The theatre was closed down in the spring of 1942 to house Jews who returned from Westerbork. Bianca Stigter, *Atlas van een bezette stad: Amsterdam 1940-1945* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Atlas Contact, 2019), 224.

[600] *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 23 January 1942.

[601] *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 6 February 1942.

[602] *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 29 May 1942.

[603] *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 12 June 1942.

On 9 July 1942, the Jewish Symphony Orchestra gave its final concert.[604] A planned concert on 22 July 1942 with Schönberg's *Verklärte Nacht* was never to take place.[605] The Jewish Theatre had been transformed into an assembly station for Jews waiting to be transported to transit camp Westerbork. For a brief period between June 1941 and July 1942, just like in Germany with the *Jüdische Kulturbund*, a Jewish music life, with its own venues and critics seemed to function, at least for a Jewish audience. These limited performance opportunities left no traces in the censored world outside the Jewish ghetto. Although still existing, network ties binding Jewish composers to non-Jewish performers and colleagues were of little use professionally. In a parallel universe, seemingly ignoring the disappearance of Jewish musicians and composers from the stage, music life went on. Even after Jan Goverts, leader of the music section of the Nazified Department of Public Education and Arts (DVK), ordered the Concertgebouw to remove cartouches and paintings of Jewish composers from its walls in September 1942, audiences increased after a low in the first two seasons of the war.[606] Often, extra concerts were organised after regular performances were sold out.[607] Apparently, audiences needed the comfort of music and saw no harm in attending concerts.

11.4 Music life in Jewish ghettos

Late December 1942, Leo Smit was forced to leave his Amsterdam home at Eendrachtstraat 15-I. He and his wife Lientje were relocated at Maritzstraat 3-I, a much smaller apartment in an older neighbourhood. Much of the furniture that didn't fit was stored under the name of his piano student Frits Zuiderweg; Smit's grand piano just about filled the small living room. In a letter to Daniël Ruyneman, he ironically referred to his new house as 'our little palace'.[608] The former residents, 14-year-old Meijer Aap, his mother Vrouwtje Aap-van Cleef, his father Leendert Aap and his sister Klara Kops-Aap had left the house with unknown destination.[609]

After Jewish composers were banned from the stage and public music life, their world shrank even more due to forced relocation. Those living in the *mediene* — a Dutch-Yiddish word referring to all of the Netherlands outside of Amsterdam — were forced to move to Amsterdam. Those living in non-Jewish neighbourhoods of Amsterdam were

[604] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 189.

[605] Advertisement in *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 10 July 1942.

[606] Micheels, 'Het Concertgebouw Gedurende de Tweede Wereldoorlog (1940-1945)', 223.

[607] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 288–89.

[608] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 274ff.

[609] 'Leendert Aap (Amsterdam, 10 oktober 1897 - Auschwitz, 31 januari 1943)', accessed 18 June 2025,

forced to move to the Transvaal neighbourhood, now a Jewish ghetto. Mid-May 1943, Hans Krieg and his wife and two little daughters followed almost exactly the same route as Leo and Lientje Smit had taken when they were forced to leave their apartment in Eendrachtstraat. The Kriegs were forced to move from Molenbeekstraat 37-I to Afrikanerplein 19-III, where the young couple Mozes Waterman and Branca Waterman-Gans had been rounded up just weeks before.[610]

Being excluded from performing and being performed, and probably still hopeful that this war would pass and the restrictions would be temporary, Jewish musicians and composers continued to look for alternative means of income. Intent on making the best of whatever situation was thrown at them, Smit and Krieg continued to fulfil their network roles as music teachers, composers and musicians, albeit for Jewish audiences only. Smit advertised his new address as a teacher in composition, piano and music theory in *Het Joodsche Weekblad* within a month after relocating.[611] While never having been very religious, he also taught at the Institute for the Education of Jewish cantors, led by German baritone Erhard Wechselmann. Colleagues included composer Sim Gokkes and music journalist Lou van Strien.[612] In the week after his forced change of address in May 1943, Hans Krieg participated in lectures on Jewish songs by Lou van Strien for the Cultural Department of the Jewish Council, accompanying Dutch tenor Michel Gobets and fellow German refugees Hermann Schey and Erhard Wechselmann.[613] Despite his busy teaching schedule, Smit continued to compose. Just before he had to move to his small apartment in the Jewish ghetto, he completed a *Divertimento* for piano four hands. At his new address, he finished the slow movement of his flute sonata on 12 February 1943 and jotted down the first sketches of a string quartet.[614] Apart from the manuscripts, the only sources related to his activities as composer are private correspondence and oral tradition passed on by surviving network members.[615] From what little public sources remain on the lives of banned composers, we learn that in the summer of 1941, Dick Kattenburg (1919-1944) passed his state exams for violin.[616] Now that his plans to continue his violin studies in Paris had evaporated, he needed to earn a living as teacher.[617] Conductor and composer Martin

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https://www.oorlogsbronnen.nl/tijdlijn/9176e66b-11ef-4316-a953-0b5c8622edff.

[610] 'Branca Waterman-Gans (Amsterdam, 14 september 1919 - Sobibor, 9 april 1943)', accessed 18 June 2025, https://www.oorlogsbronnen.nl/tijdlijn/9388f405-5358-44cd-8ea1-aa6e121e1eb0.

[611] *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 22 January 1943.

[612] Advertisement in *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 10 July 1942.

[613] 'Lessen van de C.C.C.,' *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 7 May 1943.

[614] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 280–81.

[615] See for example the interviews with Smit's student Frits Zuiderweg in Vis, *Silhouetten*.

[616] *Symphonia,* August-September 1941.

[617] Advertisement in *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 5 September 1941.

Spanjaard advertised his courses in musicology (using gramophone records to illustrate his lessons) in The Hague.[618] Composer Sim Gokkes and his wife, pianist Rebecca Gokkes-Winnik, advertised a broad variety of music lessons in *Het Joodsche Weekblad* from November 1941 until January 1942.[619]

11.5 Going into hiding

Not everyone obeyed Nazi rules. Some composers went into hiding, a risky and costly affair. After being forced to move from Blaricum to Amsterdam in December 1942, Daniël Belinfante went into hiding and at the same time helped others in hiding. After the war, his widow Martha Belinfante-Dekker wrote: 'In hiding himself (4 Jewish grandparents!), he looked after many others in hiding, providing food, papers and money. His motivation: a sense of justice and humaneness. As 'Mr. Hafkamp', he rented a place declared unfit for habitation on Zandhoek 5, and applied for gas, electricity and water under the name of 'Mr. Mulder'. He looked after these people in many different ways and helped wherever his assistance was needed. He was caught while delivering the daily news from the English radio to a go-between, right in front of the house, not wearing a Star of David, and was therefore sent to the S-camp (S for 'straf' or punishment).'[620] Based on the dates on the manuscripts, while in hiding, Daniël Belinfante still composed educational works (*Reflexen*, *Polyrhithmische Etuden*) and a piece inspired by a painting by Jan Broeze (*Avondlandschap*).[621]

Dick Kattenburg also decided to go into hiding. In his memoirs, his friend Theo Kroeze remembered how he took Kattenburg to a hiding place in Utrecht: 'I took Dick Kattenburg, a music friend of mine — disguised as a mason, a funny sight with his Jewish head and appearance — in the train or in the bus, to an address in Nachtegaalstraat in Utrecht. We used to play together in a string quartet with Anton Dresden and a lady from Bilthoven. However, in the end, because the daughter of that house betrayed him, a member of the Dutch National Socialist Movement NSB, he was taken from there. In those days I hardly realised what that meant but later I often tried to imagine what this poor chap had to

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[618] Advertisement in *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 16 January 1942.

[619] *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 28 November 1941, 16 December 1941, 2 and 9 January 1942.

[620] Wim de Vries, 'Drie Nederlands-Joodse componisten uit het Interbellum op het TVE-Concert,' *Tussen Vecht en Eem*, vol. 23 no. 2, May 2005, 78.
'Zelf ondergedoken (4 J. Grootouders!) zorgde hij voor vele onderduikers, voor voedsel, bescheiden en geld. Beweegreden: gevoel voor recht en menselijkheid. Huurde als 'meneer Hafkamp' een onbewoonbaar verklaarde woning, Zandhoek 5, en vroeg op naam van 'meneer Mulder' gas, elektriciteit en water aan. Zorgde voor deze mensen op velerlei manieren en hielp verder waar geholpen moest worden. Werd gepakt toen hij dagelijkse Engelse radioberichten aan tussenadres kwam brengen, vóór de deur van dat huis, zónder ster op en dús naar 't S-kamp gestuurd.' Daniël Belinfante was kept prisoner in the S-barack of Westerbork, see p. 138.

[621] Archive Daniël Belinfante, NMI 3020-01.

live through before he was gassed or killed in another horrible way.'[622] Moving from hiding place to hiding place, Dick Kattenburg composed a *Rhapsodie* for violin solo, signed under the fancy false name Van Assendelft van Wijck, 7 August 1943. He further composed a sonata for viola and piano, possibly for his friend Theo Kroeze. In the ink version of the manuscript, the first movement is signed Utrecht, 27 February 1944, only weeks before he was sent to transit camp Westerbork. The manuscript with numbered pages ends at the bottom of page 16, the second page of a Scherzo. Surviving sketches of a finished scherzo and an adagio suggest that the ink manuscript survived only partly.[623]

Hans Lachman and his family were taken to the village of Grubbenvorst in the southern province of Limburg, where Henri Vullinghs, a local priest, had mobilised the villagers to take in Jewish refugees. To their hosts, Lachman and his wife Tea were known as Jo and Gerrie. In a documentary broadcast in 2015, the children of the family that took the Lachmans in remembered how Hans (Jo to them) would withdraw in a small shed to compose. Another eyewitness remembered how he would compose at the kitchen table, and the family members had to be silent.[624]

Wilhelm Rettich found refuge in Blaricum, in the house of Ms. Klinkhamer, one of his piano students. At night, Rettich sneaked across the street to visit the library of musicologist Casper Höweler. He secretly collaborated on Höweler's publication of *XYZ der muziek*.[625] Until late in the evening, at the light of a candle, often seated at a kitchen table, Rettich worked on his compositions: three symphonies, a violin and a piano concerto, many songs and choral works. Despite having two pianos at his disposal, he didn't dare use them. His playing would give rise to suspicion because his student Ms. Klinkhamer was not that well-advanced.[626]

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[622] www.joodsecomponisten.nl, website accompanying a radio series 'We waren met meer' accessed via Wayback Machine, 10 February 2023. 'Op een gegeven moment, het moest ervan komen, werd ik gechartered door de illegaliteit, mijn taak bestond o.a. uit het begeleiden van joden naar hun onderduikadres.' '[Helaas was dit niet het geval met] Dick Kattenburg, een muziekvriend van mij, die als metselaar vermomd – geen porum met zijn joodse kop en habitus – door mij per tram (of bus?) naar een adres in de Nachtegaalstraat (Utrecht) werd getransporteerd. Wij hebben nog kwartet gespeeld met Anton Dresden en een juffrouw uit Bilthoven maar tenslotte is hij door verraad van de dochter des huizes, die een NSB-ster was, toch van huis gehaald (zie eerdergenoemde bronnen). In die tijd realiseerde ik mij nauwelijks wat dat betekende maar ik heb me later vaak proberen voor te stellen wat die arme donder heeft moeten doorstaan voor hij werd vergast of op een andere gruwelijke manier aan zijn eind mocht komen.'

[623] The manuscripts of Dick Kattenburg are kept at NMI, archive no 3494-01.

[624] Rick Roos, *Requiem*, broadcast by KRO-NCRV on 28 April 2015. Archives Sound and Vision, ResourceID 2101608170156587831.

[625] W. Klinkenberg, 'In 1933 mocht ik de radiostudio's niet meer in….,' *NRC* 7 July 1972.
Unfortunately, Rettich is not mentioned in any of the postwar editions of Höweler's book, nor do any of the persecuted Dutch composers discussed in this research have an entry. Höweler only mentions Alphons Diepenbrock, Willem Pijper, Johan Wagenaar and Bernard Zweers.

[626] 'Willem Rettich 75 jaar', *AVRO Bode*, 1967. Wouter Paap, Wilhelm Rettich 60 jaar' in *Mens en Melodie*, June

For composers in hiding, performance opportunities were non-existent. Their network that had been so important in finding a place to hide now basically shrank to the families providing shelter. Sources on their composing activities are limited to surviving manuscripts and rare fragments of correspondence, like the exchange on Kattenburg's orchestration lessons with Leo Smit.[627]

11.6 Towards the end

After the Nazis were defeated at Stalingrad (February 1943), their propaganda efforts in the Netherlands changed focus from Nazification of a fellow Germanic people to simply winning the war. Still, the incarceration and deportation of Jews continued at a horrifying speed. From 22 April 1943 onwards, Jews were no longer allowed to live outside Amsterdam. A day later, the Netherlands outside Amsterdam was declared *Judenrein*, free of Jews. That summer, mainly Dutch bounty hunters brought in an estimated 8,000 to 9,000 Jews who were hiding or living under a false name.[628] Jews who thought they were safe because of a so called *Sperre* (a note stating that for the time being, their deportation was withheld) were rounded up in the final raid on 29 September 1943, including the members of the Jewish Council.[629] From that day, Amsterdam was declared *Judenrein* as well. That same summer, raids also targeted non-Jewish men between the ages of 18 and 35 (later 17-40), culminating in mass roundups in October, November and December 1944. They were sent to Germany to work in the war industry. Although many men went into hiding, a total of 500,000 forced labourers were transported to Germany. As the allied forces progressed, fuel became scarce and food was rationed, which also served to make going into hiding more difficult. On Tuesday 5 September 1944, known as *Dolle Dinsdag* (Mad Tuesday), rumours of the advancing allied forces caused a great deal of panic among the occupiers and their Dutch sympathisers. Seyss-Inquart issued a decree stating that anyone refusing to go to work would face a death penalty. When, in the north of the Netherlands, the last train left Westerbork on 13 September 1944, with destination Bergen-Belsen, the southern part of the country had already been liberated. It meant that the west was cut off – this was also as an

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1952, 179-80.

627 Carine Alders, 'Dick Kattenburg', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 156.

628 Ad van Liempt, *Hitler's Bounty Hunters the Betrayal of the Jews*, English ed (New York, N.Y: Berg, 2005), 33.

629 The German word *Sperre* is used specifically for such a note, there is no Dutch word for it. Music teachers were eligible for such a *Sperre*, composers like Leo Smit and Franz Weisz had one. Hans Krieg had a *Sperre* on account of his duties in the synagogue as choir leader and organist. (Statement Liberal Jewish Synagogue, dated 1 October 1942, Collection Jewish Historical Museum Amsterdam, archive no D015072). However, a *Sperre* did not guarantee safety; Sim Gokkes also had a *Sperre* due to his position as choir leader at the synagogue, but nevertheless he was taken to Westerbork as early as 29 September 1942 (Registration card Jewish Council, Arolsen Archives Doc ID 130294414).

unintended consequence of the nationwide railway strike of October 1944 – and a winter of famine followed. Everyday life came to a total standstill. In the concentration camps in Poland and Germany, the mass murder of Jews continued at full speed.

In this phase of war, Jews were completely banned from Dutch public life. Whatever their situation, no work done by Jewish composers reached the wider audience it had reached before the war. As far as press, radio and concert halls were concerned, these composers no longer existed. Still, in this dire situation, even incarcerated, they somehow functioned as composers and musicians and tried to mobilise their networks.

11.7 Betrayed

Daniël Belinfante was brought in to the Amsterdam police station at Pieter Aertzstraat on 19 August 1943 at 3.20 pm by Martinus Hinze and Jan Jacobus Rutgers, to be transferred to the headquarters of Colonne Henneicke the next day.[630] However, after spending a night at the police station, at 9 am the following morning, he was transferred to the *Hollandsche Schouwburg* in a police car.[631] On 26 August, he arrived in Westerbork, barrack S-67. Now Belinfante himself needed help. On 12 September 1943, Daniël Ruyneman, chair of NVvHM, in which both Martha and Daniël had been active, received a message from the Jewish Council, stating that Belinfante requested his assistance in gathering evidence of his activities as a composer, in order to be placed on a list of Jews with special merit. Ruyneman activated his network and within days, signed notes came in from fellow composers (Karel Mengelberg, Henk Badings), musicians (soprano Bertha Jonckers Tiggers, violinist Louis Zimmermann, pianist Gerard Hengeveld, clarinettist Johan van Hell, cellist Reinier Bresser), conductors (Eduard van Beinum, Felix de Nobel), musicologists (Pierre Verdonck, K.L. Piccardt) and publishers (Broekmans & Van Poppel, Joh. Alsbach).[632] Henk Badings wrote in a note, dated 15 September 1943: 'With pleasure I respond to your request and I hereby declare that Mr. Daniël Belinfante is known to me as a gifted composer.'[633] Willem Willing, journalist at the daily newspaper *Amersfoorts Dagblad*, and brought in from a hiding address on 21 August 1943, was transported to Westerbork on the same train as Daniël Belinfante.

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[630] Amsterdam City Archives, Politierapporten '40-'45, archive no 5225-6653. The Henneicke Colonne started its work as bounty hunters in March 1943. Before that, they were already very successful in looting the possessions of deported Jews (see Liempt, *Hitler's Bounty Hunters the Betrayal of the Jews*, 28). Martinus Hinze is an alias of Martin Hintink, see https://westerborkportretten.nl/bronnen/interneringskamp-westerbork-1945-1948, accessed 1 November 2023.

[631] Amsterdam City Archives, Politierapporten '40—'45, 5225.6653.

[632] Archive Daniel Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01/206-3b.

[633] Archive Daniel Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01/206-3b. 'Gaarne voldoe ik aan uw verzoek en verklaar hierbij dat de heer Daniel Belinfante mij bekend is als een begaafd componist.'

He was housed in the same barrack and wrote about Belinfante in his diary: 'This artist with his special artistic character traits composed a lot beside his teaching classes. The rude breach of his personal freedom resulted in lethargy during the first few days, he seemed to be numb. Until, all of a sudden, vitality returned to him as well. On top of the top bed, he wrote a composition, which, he said, was carried by the sorrow of that moment as well as by the bed of his surroundings. If ever this music will be performed, it will be of stifling beauty. Now that he is himself again, we found a pleasant and loyal comrade in him.'[634] Eyewitness Philip Mechanicus reported how Belinfante, on the eve of his transport to Auschwitz, had a conversation across the barbed wire with an unknown person:

> 'Could you please call out Daniël Belinfante for me?' [Someone else asks to speak to a man named Cohn; an unknown person inside the fenced-off area replies:]'Belinfante and Cohn, I'll see if I can find them.' [A bit later, Daniël Belinfante approaches the barbed wire and a conversation between Belinfante and the unknown person who asked for him evolves:] 'Hello!' 'Hello Dan, where were you?' 'I had to finish dinner.' 'How are things going?' 'It is all going wrong, my Calmeyer application was turned down; I am due for transport; I can't do anything about it.' 'Write a letter to your wife, I will see that it gets through to her.'[635]

The next morning, on 16 November 1943, Daniël Belinfante was sent to Auschwitz.[636] The unknown person talking to Belinfante in the above conversation may well have been Hans Krieg. One barrack further, during the same months, Krieg — a member of the teaching staff of Belinfante's Music School — was trying to boost morale.[637] With his wife and two daughters, he had arrived there on 20 June 1943. He had permission to use a barrack to sing with children after work hours. A small, fumbled note is the silent witness to this 'privilege'.

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[634] Willem Willing, *Afdrukken van indrukken: dagboek en brieven uit Kamp Westerbork* (Waalwijk: Stichting tot Uitgave van het Dagboek: 'Afdrukken van Indrukken', 2006), 26. 'Deze kunstenaar met zijn bijzondere karaktereigenschappen als artiest, heeft naast zijn lessen ook veel gecomponeerd. De ruwe inbreuk op zijn persoonlijke vrijheid heeft hem de eerste dagen lam geslagen en in een toestand van versuffing gebracht. Tot ook bij hem plotseling de vitaliteit de overhand kreeg. Toevallig vroeg hij mij om wat schrijfpapier. Op het bovenste bed schreef hij een compositie, welke naar zijn zeggen gedragen wordt door de smart van het oogenblik en het bed zijner omgeving. Wanneer deze ooit ten gehoore zal worden gebracht, zal het aangrijpend schoon zijn. Nu hij zich teruggevonden heeft, hebben wij een prettig en trouw kameraad gevonden.'

[635] Philip Mechanicus, *In depot: dagboek uit Westerbork van Philip Mechanicus* (Amsterdam: Polak & Van Gennep, n.d.), 201–2. Diary entry Monday 15 November 1943. The Calmeyer list was a list of Portuguese Jews who were said to belong to families who had converted to Christianity centuries ago. 'Och, alstublieft, roept u voor mij even Daniel Belinfante naar buiten. Van de Post!'[…] 'Belinfante en Cohn, Zal zien of ik ze vind.' […] 'Hallo!' 'Dag Dan, waar zit je toch?' 'Ik moest nog eten.' 'Hoe staat 't ermee?' ''t Is mis, Mijn Calmeyer is afgewezen; ik ga op transport; niks meer an te doen.' 'Schrijf maar een brief aan je vrouw; dan zal ik wel zorgen dat-ie doorkomt.'

[636] Westerbork cards, accessed 20 September 2023 via Arolsen Archives https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/person/130257054?s=daniel%20belinfante.

[637] On Krieg's registration card, it says barack 67, same as Dan Belinfante, but this should probably be 68 as is written on a later note. There would have been no reason to house Krieg in the barrack for punished prisoners.

It reads: Herr Hans Krieg, bar. 68 ist berechtigt, den Saal der Schulbar. 97 lt. beif. Stundenplan zu benutzen. Missbräuchliche Benutzung des Saales (Kochen etc) und der Schulutensilien wird mit sofortiger Entziehung des Ausweises bestraft. Den Anordnungen des Hausmeisters ist unbedingt Folge zu leisten.'[638] These activities, as well as his job as a pianist in the camp's cabaret, kept the Krieg family safe from transport for a while. In the meantime, the Kriegs had attempted to get their names on the Palestine Exchange list, a list of Jews with family members in Palestine who were to be exchanged for German prisoners. Only days before being brought in, Krieg received a letter from the Jewish Council, to inform him that he was placed on the exchange list.[639] As a result, the family was not transported to Auschwitz, but to Bergen-Belsen instead, with more than one thousand other prisoners, on 11 January 1944.[640] Even in Bergen-Belsen, as testified by survivors after the war, Krieg sang Hebrew and Dutch songs with the children in the camp and provided hope and comfort with his beautiful baritone voice. 'With his own singing in the barracks and during his air raid alert watches, Mr. Krieg had an even greater effect than with the children's singing. Listening to his soulful and deeply felt performances always soothed the enormous suffering and provided joy and renewed resistance.'[641]

11.8 Music life outside ghettos and camps

In this phase of war, propaganda no longer served the promotion of national socialism, but rather supported Nazi military operations by frustrating news from the front. Music had no more role to play in propaganda. Although the number of performances decreased due to evacuations, forced labour, food, clothing and fuel shortages, transport problems and the general threat of an allied invasion, professional as well as amateur concerts were still ongoing (opera, orchestral and chamber music, in museums and churches).[642] In March 1943,

[638] Collection Amsterdam Jewish Historical Museum, Archive Hans Krieg, document no. D015074. This note mentions a different barrack from the number on Krieg's Westerbork card.

[639] Collection Amsterdam Jewish Historical Museum, Archive Hans Krieg, document no. DO15073, letter dated 15 June 1943.

[640] Author Clara Asscher-Pinkhof, who had performed with Hans Krieg for the Nederlandse Zionisten Bond on 5 July 1936 was also in this transport. Krieg arranged several of Pinkhof's songs for children. Jozef Pinkhof, Clara's brother, had been on the board of the Jewish Orchestra Society founded in 1935 and led by Hans Krieg. https://www.oorlogsbronnen.nl/thema/Transport%20Westerbork%20-%20Bergen-Belsen%2C%2011-01-1944%20-%2012-01-1944, accessed 7 March 2024.

[641] Letter of eyewitness and survivor J. Weisz, dated 6 February 1947 in archives of the Amsterdam Jewish Historical Museum, archive Hans Krieg, document no. D015077. 'Meer nog dan door het zingen van de kinderen, bereikte de heer Krieg met zijn eigen zangvoordrachten in de barakken, zijn zingen tijdens zijn vliegeralarmwachten e.a. gelegenheden. Het luisteren naar zijn zeer bezielde en diep gevoelde voordrachten was altijd een bron, die het ontzettende leed verzachtte en die vreugde en nieuwe weerstandskrachten gaf.'

[642] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 308–10.

a pamphlet called out to concert audiences in Amsterdam not to attend concerts, since these were only propaganda.[643] Still, in October 1943, most orchestras announced a new season as always.[644] Despite the protesting pamphlet, massive audiences attended, many concerts were sold out. A year later, however, most concerts were cancelled due to the 'special circumstances'.[645] Still, the occupiers ordered the orchestras to continue performances as planned.[646] Not being able to do so, their subsidies were cut in half per 1 January 1945.[647] Orchestras disintegrated, musicians were spread all over the country in search of food or hiding from the *Arbeitseinsatz*.[648] Between October and December 1944, the Concertgebouw Orchestra — mainly under the baton of Van Beinum — managed to programme a series of daytime concerts lasting one hour, only to be paused when bicycles of the audience were stolen during the concert.[649] Programmes included mainly popular works by Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Schubert and French composers like Debussy and Fauré. Works by Henk Badings, then considered the most prominent Dutch composer, were programmed by the Dutch orchestras ten times in 1944.[650] The Concertgebouw Orchestra's final wartime concert took place on 26 December 1944, with Beethoven's Sixth Symphony and Correlli's Concerto Grosso.[651]

11.9 Survival of manuscripts

For composers who were rounded up or going into hiding, leaving their home meant leaving almost everything behind. Those who went to the camps had to hand in their key and their belongings would be looted. Some composers found a safe house for their music manuscripts. Daniël Belinfante and his wife Martha decided to hide them with friends.[652] Leo Smit had entrusted his student Frits Zuiderweg with his manuscripts, after cutting off

[643] Ibid., 305.

[644] See for example: Groninger Orkest Vereeniging (*Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 4 September 1943); Haarlemse Orkest Vereeniging organised a series of 26 concerts with the Concertgebouw Orchestra, the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra and the Residentie Orkest (*Haarlemsche Courant*, 26 August 1943); Arnhemsche Orkest Vereeniging (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 25 September 1943); Concertgebouw Orchestra (*De Tijd*, 31 July 1943).

[645] 'Special circumstances' referred to the harsh winter where there wasn't just a lack of food, but also no heating and many men were either deported to work in Germany or had gone into hiding. As the allied forces were approaching, the Nazis also became more brutal in their repression.

[646] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 311.

[647] Ibid., 312.

[648] Ibid.

[649] Ibid., 316.

[650] Results from a search in www.delpher.nl using 'concert*' as a prompt.

[651] *De Telegraaf*, 23 December 1944.

[652] Archive Martha Belinfante-Dekker, Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no 1236-74. Handwritten notes on a copy of *Vader Tijd*.

his name, not wanting to cause trouble in case Zuiderweg would be caught with his precious freight.[653] Very little is left of Sim Gokkes' work. So far, no manuscripts have surfaced. Gokkes had given the key to his house to his Jewish neighbours, but they probably were forced to hand it in to Lippmann-Rosenthal.[654] We don't know exactly how Dick Kattenburg's manuscripts survived; they were probably kept safe by Dick's sister Daisy, who lived in Utrecht with her husband, under a false name, providing a safe house for wounded allied pilots.[655]

Thus, the ban of Jewish composers from the stage had a devastating impact on performance opportunities and the production and survival of sources. Networks were maintained, but put to a different use. They no longer served to increase chances of works being performed but were mobilised for survival. Unless composers were able to hide their manuscripts, persecution destroyed their musical legacy. The next chapter will look at how reorganisation of Dutch music life caused a second group of composers to be banned from performance.

[653] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 305–9.

[654] see Gokkes' registration card of the Jewish Council, accessed 28 November 2023 via https://collections.arolsen-archives.org.

[655] Joyce Bergman, daughter of Daisy van Hessen-Kattenburg, email to the author, 2 September 2023.

12. Nazification of music life

During the early months of war, enemy take-overs in Dutch music organisations and dwindling travel opportunities were the greatest worries of most non-Jewish musicians and composers. In September 1940, Willem Landré wrote an article titled 'We shall walk in darkness' in *Symphonia*. He wrote how conductors were worried about not being able to perform in different cities, due to blackouts, and how this would endanger the financial situation of their orchestras. On the other hand, he argued, as soloists from abroad would not be able to travel, orchestras would surely turn to Dutch music and Dutch musicians. He quoted Marius Monnikendam (music editor of the daily newspaper *De Maasbode*) stating that it was important to perform the Dutch music canon, especially Diepenbrock. 'We now wait for a statement on Dutch music… before others will make it for us.'[656] Concerns about enemy take-overs in Dutch music life were legitimate. Historian Pauline Micheels described in great detail how the occupying forces took control over Dutch music life at an early stage. In June 1940, supported by the Dutch government, the *Nederlandse Organisatie van Kunstenaars* (NOK, Netherlands Organisation of Artists) was founded following an initiative of Hein von Essen, Ben van Eijsselstein and conductor Otto Glastra van Loon. To strengthen the position of artists in society had been a wish for a long time and many organisations welcomed the initiative and joined, including almost all music societies. However, it turned out that the initiators all sympathised with the national-socialist ideology.[657] Instead of building an independent artists' organisation, by centralising power NOK was in fact preparing the way for the German authorities to take control over Dutch music, by altering statutes, confiscating assets, deciding on membership and replacing leaders by people friendly to the Nazi rule. In August 1940, the occupiers demanded the NOK statutes to be altered to include the national-socialist ideal of the bond between the people and their national music tradition.[658] This interference led to the withdrawal of Van Gilse's Geneco in October 1940.[659] Most other organisations remained, including the Federation of Dutch Associations of Musicians, despite their openly critical chairman M.A. Brandts Buys. In March 1941, Philip Vlessing was the last Jewish musician to be accepted as a member of

[656] Willem Landré, 'Wij zullen in duisternisse wandelen' *Symphonia*, vol 23, no 8/9, August-September 1940. 'Het wachten is thans op een Nederlandsche muziekdaad, voor … anderen deze voor ons zullen stellen.' This article was published under the same title in *Caecilia en De Muziek*, vol 14 no 8/9.

[657] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 128–33.

[658] Ibid., 130.

[659] *Symphonia*, Vol 23 no 10, October 1940, 129.

KNTV, a member organisation of the Federation.[660]

12.1 Jan van Gilse and the Nazification of composer organisations

In the early months of 1911, Jan van Gilse had taken the initiative to found Geneco to promote music of Dutch composers, to professionalise their education, to organise mutual support for composers in need and to protect authors' rights.[661] To fulfil the last objective, together with the *Vereeniging van Muziekhandelaren en -Uitgevers* (VMN, Association of Music Publishers and Retailers), Geneco founded a Bureau for music authors' rights (*Bureau voor Muziekauteursrecht*, Buma) in 1913. Two years later Geneco installed a fund to support composers in need. In December 1935, on the eve of Geneco's silver jubilee, Van Gilse also took the initiative to found *Nederlandsche Muziekbelangen* (NMB, Dutch Music Interests), a foundation liaised to Geneco with the objective to promote the works of Dutch composers, mainly through Maneto (*Manifestatie Nederlandsche Toonkunst*, Manifestation of Dutch Music), a series of concerts.[662] A strong leader, Van Gilse chaired Buma and Geneco until 1942, and NMB from 1935 until 1941.[663] In June 1936, together with composer Bertus van Lier, musicologist Caspar Höweler, and writer Menno ter Braak — who committed suicide when the Nazis invaded the Netherlands — and many other intellectuals, Van Gilse was one of the founding members of a *Comité van Waakzaamheid* (Committee of Vigilance) warning against the dangers of national socialism.[664] He had refused performances of his work in Germany, and already in 1933 declined an invitation by Richard Strauss to participate in the *Ständische Rat der Komponisten*.[665] To an invitation to conduct his work in Aachen in September 1937, Van Gilse replied that he refused this as long as its government 'incarcerated, tortured or exiled their most noble citizens'.[666] Van Gilse also tried to convince the board of the Arnhem orchestra to ignore the orders to fire their Jewish musicians, but the Jewish musicians themselves asked Van Gilse not to protest, as this would only mean more trouble.[667] After the invasion of the Netherlands, he wrote in his memoirs that he felt there was no room for him and his work in Dutch society under occupation, unless he renounced

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[660] *De Wereld der Muziek*, March 1941, 159.

[661] van Dijk, '1911-1945; De Vooroorlogse Jaren', 24–26.

[662] Ibid., 37.

[663] Ibid., 49–55.

[664] 'Comité van Waakzaamheid tegen het nationaal socialisme,' *De Telegraaf*, 1 July 1936.

[665] van Dijk, *Jan van Gilse*, 262–63.

[666] Ibid., 265. 'Solange jedoch Deutschland seine besten und edelsten Vertreter entweder gefangen hält, misshandelt oder zwingt in den Verbannung zu leben, muss ich ablehnen mich persönlich in Deutschland künstlerisch zu betätigen.'

[667] Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945*, V 547.

his spiritual and social values, to which he had no intention.[668] Still, his sixtieth birthday in 1941 gave rise to a number of interviews and articles. In *Symphonia* Willem Landré portrayed Van Gilse, praising him not only as a composer, but also as promoter of Dutch music and as social innovator.[669] In *Maandblad voor Hedendaagsche Muziek*, Van Gilse — interviewed by Jacques Beers — refuted the allegation of composing German music: 'Certainly, I belong to the romantic school, but it seems to me that that doesn't mean my concept of music is German.'[670] An interview with Jan van Gilse in the series *Tien Nederlandsche componisten thuis* (Ten Dutch composers at home) was broadcast on Sunday 11 May 1941.[671] His music was still performed as well. On 5 April 1941, the funeral march from his recently finished opera *Thijl* was premiered by the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra; the composer was applauded on stage, thanking conductor Eduard Flipse.[672] A second performance followed in The Hague and in Utrecht the ouverture of the opera was performed (broadcast on national radio).[673] A further performance was planned in Amsterdam, on 21 September 1941. Van Gilse was to conduct the Concertgebouw Orchestra in a programme including both the funeral march from *Thijl* and his *Fourth Symphony*.[674] Marius Flothuis, at the time programming assistant at the Concertgebouw, remembered how Van Gilse conducted the orchestra during a rehearsal when news arrived that Jews were no longer allowed to attend public concerts. On the spot, Van Gilse decided that enough was enough; he withdrew his work and stopped performing in public.[675]

Van Gilse tried to fight off any interference from the German authorities in the Netherlands during the first years of the occupation. As Buma-chair, Van Gilse refused to meet with STAGMA, the German Nazified authors' rights organisation. Soon after, Tobie

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[668] van Dijk, *Jan van Gilse*, 283. 'In deze samenleving is voor mij en mijn werk geen plaats, tenzij ik alle geestelijke en menschelijke waarden, die mij het leven levenswaard maken, zou verloochenen. En dat ben ik niet van zins.'

[669] Willem Landré, 'Jan van Gilse', *Symphonia*, vol. 24 no. 5, May 1941, 65-6.

[670] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 5, March 1941, 669-675. 'Zeker, ik stam uit de romantische school, maar daarmee is, dunkt mij, nog niet gezegd, dat mijn conceptie een Duitsche is.' During Van Gilse's time as a conductor in Utrecht (1917-1921), Johann Sebastian Brandts Buys had referred to him as 'a musician of German erudition, which also influenced his composing'. Willem Pijper, who succeeded Brandts Buys' as critic of the *Utrechtsch Dagblad*, heavily criticised Van Gilse's conducting skills. See Arthur van Dijk, 'Een Ander Licht Op de Utrechtse Muziekoorlog', in *Het Papieren Gevaar* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2011), LII.

[671] 'Tien Nederlandsche componisten thuis', broadcast on 11 May 1941, archive Sound and Vision, Resource ID2101608090078455231.

[672] 'Philharmonisch Orkest,' *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 7 April 1941.

[673] 'De eerste Kurhausconcerten te Scheveningen,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 27 May 1941.
Announcement radio programme Saturday 26 April. Utrechtsch Stedelijk Orkest performs *Ouverture Thijl*, conducted by Willem van Otterloo, in *Vrije Geluiden*, 19 April 1941, 15.

[674] *De Courant Het nieuws van den dag*, 13 September 1941.

[675] Marius Flothuis, interview in 'Jan van Gilse - Flarden herinneringen', broadcast by NOS on 9 May 1982, archive Sound and Vision, Resource ID2101608060047876631.

Goedewaagen, head of the Nazified Department of Public Education and the Arts (DVK), informed Buma that the exploitation of authors' rights was now a task of his department and he urged Buma to get rid of Jan van Gilse. Van Gilse understood that resistance in this case was futile and he resigned from all his positions, except that of chairman of Geneco. In his memoirs he wrote: 'Of course, the only choice remaining for me was either to resign or to go to a concentration camp.'[676] In July 1941, the Buma board — now without Van Gilse — decided that Geneco could no longer use the Buma facilities and the Geneco archives were delivered at the private address of Karel Mengelberg, Geneco's secretary. Mengelberg refused to accept the archive and Buma decided to take the documents to a storage firm.[677] In the morning of 10 January 1942 a German police unit invaded the Buma offices, the Gestapo loaded the most important archives in a truck and Buma was dissolved and replaced by a new organisation called the Netherlands Authors' rights Bureau (NAB) under supervision of the German authorities.[678]

From the incomplete archives that survived the war (of both Buma and Geneco), it appears that initially, shortly after the invasion of the Netherlands, Buma continued to disburse authors' rights fees as usual.[679] For example, after years of bureaucratic correspondence, Hans Krieg registered with Buma in July 1938. In July 1940, Buma corresponded with him on how he would like to receive his payments.[680] On 5 October 1940, Rosy Wertheim received a request to send further information on some of her compositions.[681] In March 1941, DVK informed Buma that they were no longer allowed to pay authors' rights fees to Jewish composers or to composers refusing to register with the *Kultuurkamer*.[682] Although music by Jewish composers was no longer performed in the Netherlands, it could still be performed in countries outside Hitler's reach and Buma was responsible for remunerating composers. Violinist and composer Carel (Calman) Blitz (Rotterdam, 6 September 1872 - Auschwitz, 15 October 1942) sent in his final declaration on 30 October 1941.[683] Whether Buma responded is not known. However, in 1944, Buma sent a letter on the payment of authors' rights to Ludwig Belitzer, which was returned with the remark 'Belitzer has left this address a year ago.' Belitzer had been sent to Westerbork on 20 June 1943 and transported to Bergen-Belsen on 11 January 1944. He died shortly after

[676] van Dijk, *Jan van Gilse*, 296. 'Uiteraard bleef voor mij slechts de keus tusschen aftreden en concentratiekamp.'
[677] Witbraad, *Buma/Stemra, sedert 1913*, 192–93.
[678] Ibid., 198.
[679] On the archives of Geneco, see van Dijk, '1911-1945; De Vooroorlogse Jaren', 59.
[680] Buma archive NMI 3342-01, document folder 624.
[681] Buma archive, NMI 3342-01, document folder 1168.
[682] Witbraad, *Buma/Stemra, sedert 1913*, 203.
[683] Buma archive NMI 3342-01, document folder 254. Blitz — former violinist of the Concertgebouw Orchestra —

liberation.[684] A.D. Loman, the director of Buma, explained these anomalies by arguing that he could not know who was Jewish and who wasn't.[685] Also Maneto received orders from Goedewaagen to exclude Jewish composers. As a result, Maneto's last concerts in 1941 were cancelled. The committee decided to dissolve.[686]

On 8 April 1941, newspapers published plans to launch the Music Guild, a section of the *Kultuurkamer*, in order to reorganise Dutch music life. In a speech, DVK's Secretary General Tobie Goedewaagen stressed how music expresses the spirit of a people and how folk music serves as an inspiration for all music. Goedewaagen then stated how the government, and especially his department, should take the lead in guiding music culture and supporting music life, also financially. Jan Goverts, head of the music section of DVK, then continued, introducing the practical implications of this idea. Goverts explained how the Music Guild would centralise all organisational efforts. All 'trustworthy and capable' musicians would be able to join — nothing was mentioned on the exclusion of Jews. Goverts also announced that those who refused to join the *Kultuurkamer* would no longer be allowed to perform in public. At the same time, he explained how a new tiered salary system would double the income of many orchestra musicians. Further topics discussed by Goverts included the regulation of music education and the need to save entertainment musicians from the 'swamps of distaste'.[687] The occupiers thus had hoped to win Dutch musicians for their national socialist ideology (including the exclusion of Jews) by acknowledging their importance and supporting them with decent salaries. However, gaining control over music life didn't go as smoothly as planned. It was hard to find capable leaders and workers willing to implement the Music Guild's policies. It took months to get the Music Guild up and running and the Dutch *Kultuurkamer* was finally installed on 25 November 1941.[688]

In the meantime, Van Gilse had been introduced to a group of artists who opposed the German authorities. He was one of the leading figures to sign a protest against the

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composed a *Suite* for violin and piano, choral works, popular songs and arrangements.

[684] Buma archive NMI 3342-01, document folder 220. German Jewish composer Ludwig Belitzer (born in Berlin on 11 June 1901) immigrated to the Netherlands in 1933. In the Netherlands, he arranged choral works and conducted the socialist choir Stem des Volks (Voice of the People) for VARA Radio. Antoon Krelage was his liaison with VARA and Stem des Volks. Belitzer accompanied several choirs on harpsichord, including Krelage and his choir in Honegger's *Le Roi David* (Amsterdam Concertgebouw, 2 March 1936) and S.H. Englander's choir Kunst en Strijd (Art and Battle) in Händel's *Samson* (Amsterdam Concertgebouw, 30 March 1936).

[685] Witbraad, *Buma/Stemra, sedert 1913*, 204.

[686] van Dijk, '1911-1945; De Vooroorlogse Jaren', 49. In his dissertation on Jan van Gilse, Hans van Dijk refers to a typed report, of which Van Dijk is certain that Van Gilse is the author. The report is kept at NIOD, in the estate of L.P.J. Braat. Hans van Dijk, 'Jan van Gilse, strijder en idealist: een bijdrage tot de kennis van de Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis in de periode 1900-1944' (S.l, Universiteit Utrecht, 1979).

[687] 'Saneeringsplan voor orkesten - oprichting van het muziekgilde,' *Rotterdamsch nieuwsblad*, 8 April 1941.

[688] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 146–61.

Kultuurkamer, sent to *Reichskommissar* Seyss-Inquart on 15 February 1942.[689] Some of the leading artists who signed were arrested, but Van Gilse was warned in time and managed to go into hiding.[690] With its chairmain Van Gilse now unable to attend meetings, Buma taken over and its pension fund plundered by the occupiers, an unsigned pamphlet advised Geneco members to withdraw their membership to avoid collective registration with the *Kultuurkamer*.[691] Initially, on 20 March 1942 a decree was published announcing that all artists, including musicians and composers, had to individually register with the *Kultuurkamer*.[692] Four days later however, a further explanation was published in all newspapers, stating that members of Geneco and other music associations — including all orchestras — would not have to take any action, as their registration was fulfilled collectively. Moreover, these decrees were accompanied by an announcement that as per 1 January 1942, withdrawal from any music association was no longer possible.[693]

As of 1 April 1942, all musicians and composers refusing to register were banned from public performances, which resulted in a second group excluded from music life. Whereas the anti-Jewish measures, denying their Jewish colleagues access to public music life, had not stopped them from performing under the Nazi regime, some musicians and composers felt that forced membership of the *Kultuurkamer* was the bottom line; they withdrew from public concert life. Non-Jewish composers refusing to register included Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman, Hendrik Andriessen, Marius Flothuis and of course Jan van Gilse.[694] The Nazified authors' rights organisation NAB was even ordered to report any programmes that contained his compositions.[695]

Following the establishment of the *Kultuurkamer*, all associations and unions for musicians and composers were disbanded by early February 1943. The Music Guild continued functioning for nearly two years, censoring all public performances, both of professionals and amateurs.[696] On 5 September 1944, when the allied forces approached the southern borders of the Netherlands, staff of DVK, the Music Guild and the *Kultuurkamer* fled to Groningen, where they set up office.[697]

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[689] van Dijk, '1911-1945; De Vooroorlogse Jaren', 51–53.
[690] Ibid., 52–53.
[691] Ibid., 58.
[692] 'Aanmelding bij de Kultuurkamer,' *Het Nationale Dagblad*, 20 March 1942.
[693] van Dijk, '1911-1945; De Vooroorlogse Jaren', 58–59.
[694] Kamp, *Ferdinand en Johanna*, 256.
[695] Witbraad, *Buma/Stemra, sedert 1913*, 204.
[696] See for example Archief Eemland, Amersfoort. Archive no 0132 Orkestvereniging Amersfoort, 1910-1991.
[697] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 310.

12.2 Illegal house concerts

Following her decision not to register with the *Kultuurkamer*, soprano Jo Vincent decided to end her singing career and her farewell concert on 30 March 1942 in The Hague was more than sold out.[698] However, soon enough she received invitations to sing at private gatherings throughout the country. In her own house too she organised concerts, sometimes for as much as 140 people. Songs were chosen for their patriotic texts and during the interval, surrogate tea was served.[699] Such private concerts had existed before the war — for example in contemporary music circles, like the concerts in Zwolle where Daniel Belinfante's music was performed or the NVvHM study concert in Rosy Wertheim's apartment — but after April 1942 the number of so called 'black evenings' increased enormously. Since these illegal concerts left relatively few traces such as public announcements, printed programmes or reviews, we depend on memoirs, personal archives and a limited number of studies to get a grasp of the scale and content of these events. Based on his study of the archive of Mr. and Mrs. Van der Hoef-Asjee (who organised hundreds of so called black evenings in the city of Arnhem and surrounding villages) Van Iddekinge concluded that thousands of people must have been involved throughout the country.[700] Because it was not allowed to convene with more than twenty people, these concerts — with audiences of up to a hundred people — were illegal and visitors were requested to arrive in small groups. Vincent wrote in her memoirs how the gatherings soon became less secretive, but she remembered how Henriëtte Bosmans once escaped through the garden while members of the audience were fined.[701] Van Iddekinge's overview of the clandestine performances in Arnhem showed that most performances were given by actors. Concerts were more expensive, as they often required more than one musician. Moreover, not everyone owned a good piano.[702] In the Arnhem network, local musicians like singer Regina Gieseke, violinist Albert Kettelarij and pianist Daan Drooglever performed, but also Jewish violinist Alexander Moszkowsky, violinist Herman Krebbers and pianist George van Renesse, who felt awkward because he registered with the *Kultuurkamer* and did not want to take the place of banned musicians.[703] From various (auto)biographies and publications we know that musicians performing at illegal house concerts further included Zoltán Székely's Hungarian String Quartet, singers Annie Woud and Theodora Versteegh, and pianists Géza Frid, Fania Chapiro, Henriëtte Bosmans

[698] Vincent, *Zingend door het leven*, 101.
[699] Ibid., 104–6.
[700] PRA van Iddekinge, *Zwarte avonden in Arnhem 1942-1944: cultuur buiten de Kultuurkamer*, Historische reeks Arnhem dl. 4 (Utrecht: Matrijs, 1994), 57.
[701] Vincent, *Zingend door het leven*, 104.
[702] Iddekinge, *Zwarte avonden in Arnhem 1942-1944*, 69.

and Luctor Ponse.[704] Based on Ponse's scrapbooks, Micheels concluded that he performed in more than one hundred house concerts.[705]

In addition to these illegal house concerts, musicians who did not register with the *Kultuurkamer* were still allowed to perform in church services. Jo Vincent described how the rules were bent for her to perform in churches. 'These concerts were organised as religious services: the Reverend would say the Lord's Prayer or give a short introduction suitable for all religions.'[706] There were no entrance fees and the musicians were paid with food. Another option to continue performances outside the rules of the *Kultuurkamer* was to disguise concerts as courses. For example, soprano Hans Gruys announced her performances with pianist Tanja Tausson as a course at *Volksuniversiteiten* (People's Universities) throughout the country.[707]

From the Van der Hoef archive, Van Iddekinge concluded that the focus of these illegal concerts was mainly on the classical and romantic repertoire.[708] Jo Vincent explained how her programmes were influenced by the lyrics of the songs. Words needed to be uplifting and suited to the turbulent times.[709] Favourites were Hugo Wolf's *Morgenstimmung* ('Herr laß uns kämpfen, laß uns siegen') and newly written songs by Dutch composer Harold C. King on famous lines describing the Dutch landscape by Dutch poet Hendrik Marsman.[710] Albert Kettelarij, leader of the Arnhem Society for Contemporary Music, wrote to Mrs. Van der Hoef-Asjee: 'Not a single note of modern music, you may reassure the people on that matter.' He performed Mendelssohn's banned violin concerto (presumably in a version for violin and piano).[711] Audiences wanted musical comfort food rather than challenging notes. Contemporary composers profited very little from these clandestine performances, they had very little influence on the programmes unless they organised them themselves. During the 1941-42 season, Jewish pianist and composer Géza Frid performed in

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[703] Ibid., 55.

[704] Claude Kenneson and Béla Bartók, *Székely and Bartók: The Story of a Friendship* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1994); Metzelaar, *Zonder muziek is het leven onnodig*; Frid, *In tachtig jaar de wereld rond*; Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*; Margaret Krill, 'Fania Chapiro', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 57–65; Xia van Beuningen, 'Culturele Verlichting Bij Hoge Noot(d)' (Nijmegen, 15 June 2021).

[705] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 307. Ponse still sporadically performed in public, for example in April 1943 for the NVvHM in compositions by Jan Koetsier, in June that year for the Dutch Radio in Bartók's second piano concerto, and in March 1944 in an all-Dutch programme for the Dutch Radio.

[706] Vincent, *Zingend door het leven*, 55. 'Deze werden dan georganiseerd als godsdienstoefening: de dominee bad het Onze Vader of hield een korte inleiding, voor alle gezindten geschikt.'

[707] See for example a review on a course for the Volksuniversiteit in Almelo, in the east of the Netherlands in *Daglad van het Oosten / Almelo's Dagblad* on 11 Januari 1943.

[708] Iddekinge, *Zwarte avonden in Arnhem 1942-1944*, 70.

[709] Vincent, *Zingend door het leven*, 105–6.

[710] Ibid., 105–7.

[711] Iddekinge, *Zwarte avonden in Arnhem 1942-1944*, 70.

ten concerts throughout the country, often together with violinist Alma Rosé. Due to a ban on travelling, from 1943 onwards his performances were limited to Amsterdam, where he performed with Jewish cellist Raphael Lanes, Hungarian singer Mimi Erb and his wife, singer and pianist Ella van Hall. In the early months of 1945, the musicians' fee would consist of food and other necessities. On one occasion, Frid noted a concert as 'author's programme', indicating that he performed his own music with Mimi Erb.[712] At illegal concerts at the house of author Ferdinand Bordewijk and composer Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman, music by Johanna was performed by pianists Ria Borgmeijer and Jan Odé, who premiered her *Sonata 1943* on 14 November 1943.[713] Initially, both Jewish musicians and those refusing to register with the *Kultuurkamer* participated in these concerts but for Jewish musicians this soon became impossible due to travelling restrictions and the risk of deportation.

[712] Notes, archive Géza Frid, private collection Arthur Frid.

[713] Kamp, *Ferdinand en Johanna*, 270.

13. Radio and press: a censored narrative

Alongside the reorganisation of music life, similar processes took place concerning radio and press. First centralisation of the broadcasting societies and associations of journalists and publishers was allowed, suggesting that German authorities would not interfere if no anti-German news was broadcast or printed. As soon as centralisation was successful, the German authorities would step in and take over the centralised organisations, confiscating assets and implementing a non-democratic leadership principle, replacing old leaders with members of the Dutch national-socialist movement NSB. Like in music life, censorship was imposed via many different formal and informal rules and regulations. Especially rules affecting Jewish composers tended to be informal and are difficult to trace.[714] The only exception was the decree on the launch of the *Kultuurkamer* where article no. 10 stated that Jews or those married to Jews could not be members of the *Kultuurkamer*, and they could not work for, or participate in events of, an organisation that was (supposed to be) registered with the *Kultuurkamer*. However, music by Jewish composers was banned from the radio even before the *Kultuurkamer* started functioning and news on Jewish composers was only sporadically published after June 1940.[715] Thus the Dutch radio broadcasts under control of the Nazis further limited performance opportunities for Jewish composers and, as a result, blocked a further vein of sources for future music history production.

Since its early days, Dutch radio had always been subject to censorship. Programmes had to be sent in to a supervising committee, broadcasts were scrutinised while on air and could be stopped if rules were neglected.[716] For example, the socialist broadcasting society VARA was punished for broadcasting five minutes of silence after the news of the execution of Marinus van der Lubbe (the Dutch communist who was accused of setting fire to the *Reichstag*), by taking a full day of broadcasting away from them. VARA chairman De Vries defended the decision to broadcast silence by saying that they thought it improper to immediately continue the programme with entertainment music after the announcement of

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[714] These bans are not mentioned in postwar publications; I have not been able to find sources that explain how music by Jewish composers was banned.

[715] Music by Mendelssohn was announced in the radio magazines under the heading 'Gewijde muziek' (sacred music) and 'Oratoriumconcert' until 29 March 1941, after that date, Mendelssohn is mentioned only in background articles on other composers. Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde* sounded on the radio for the last time on Saturday 13 July 1940 (VARA, *De Radiogids,* 6 juli 1940, with photo); *Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen* on Thursday 1 August 1940 with NCRV); Mahler's *Second Symphony* is broadcast from gramophone, on Thursday 8 augustus 1940 with VARA (*De Radiogids* 3 augustus 1940); A little story on a dog in *De Groene Amsterdammer* dated 29 June 1940 mentions Mahler: 'I am not aware of any mischief, whistle a fragment from Mahler's seventh symphony and smoke an American cigarette…'(Ik ben mij van het onheil niet bewust, neurie een passage uit de 7e van Mahler en rook een Amerikaansch sigaretje…)

Van der Lubbe's beheading. He stressed that they had not wished to condemn the German regime and thought that this was an outrageous attack on the VARA and the working class.[717] Dutch censorship rules not only forbade political or religious content but also cursing and 'frivolous' music.[718] The government could even claim radio time. When the Germans walked into the Hilversum studios one day after capitulation, they not only found all equipment in good working order, but also a censoring system that had been in place for more than ten years.[719] Initially they allowed all broadcasting societies to carry on as usual, provided they did not broadcast any programmes that criticised the occupying forces or Hitler.[720] This was in line with the guidelines of the Dutch government: don't aggravate the occupier in any way.[721] Censorship was imposed by the German *Rundfunkbetreuungsstelle*, led by Arthur Freudenberg.[722] From the very start of the occupation, German music was leading and gramophone records with orchestras of enemy nations or led by Jewish conductors were broadcast without mentioning names.[723] English and American song texts were forbidden as per January 1941, as well as music by emigré German composers and 'hot jazz'.[724] Soon Nazi-sympathisers and members of the NSB were employed to censor music choices for the radio. For example, H.B. Wolbert was added to the VARA music staff and deleted music by two Jewish composers from a Dutch programme by Hugo de Groot.

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[716] Verkijk, *Radio Hilversum 1940-1945 de Omroep in de Oorlog*, 30.

[717] *Nieuwe Apeldoornsche Courant,* 19 January 1934. 'Hij heeft aan de aanwezigen medegedeeld, dat de VARA op den dag, dat Marinus van der Lubbe werd onthoofd, na omroeping van het bericht der terechtstelling, vijf minuten heeft gepauzeerd. Dit beteekende een wijziging van het programma, waarover het voorgeschreven overleg niet was gepleegd. Als strafmaatregel is het de VARA verboden op Zaterdag 27 Januari uit te zenden. De heer De Vries noemde dit den scherpsten aanval, ooit op de VARA en de arbeidersklasse ondernomen. Hij uitte daartegen een scherp protest en deelde mede, dat na den bewusten uitzenddag door de Radiocontrolecommissie is gevraagd, waarom de uitzending werd onderbroken. In antwoord daarop is medegedeeld, dat vijf minuten stilte is gehouden uit eerbied voor den doode, daar de VARA na zulk een bericht niet met uitzenden kon doorgaan van een programma, dat uit amusementsmuziek bestond. Aan deze mededeeling heb ik opzettelijk toegevoegd, aldus de heer De Vries, dat wij met deze pauze niet hebben willen uitspreken een protest tegen het Duitsche régime, maar zuiver en alleen eerbied voor den doode hebben willen toonen.

[718] Jacoba de Boer, *Omroep En Publiek in Nederland Tot 1940* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1946), 140. 'Het Algemeen Programma moet zoodanig zijn, dat niemand er redelijkerwijs aanstoot aan kan nemen. Ofschoon dit criterium negatief is, kan het toch bij ruime toepassing aangewend worden tegen de neiging om het programma op laag peil te brengen: daaraan kan toch menigeen zich stooten. Door dit criterium zijn uitgesloten frivole muziek, ruwe woorden, vloeken enz. maar aan den anderen kant worden er ook door uitgesloten: godsdienstige oefeningen, dogmatische uiteenzettingen, die een polemisch karakter dragen, thetisch-dogmatische verhandelingen, in zoover die andersdenkenden in onaangename spanning brengen, wijsgeerige ethische bespiegelingen, in zoover die van denzelfden aard zijn, e.d.'

[719] Verkijk, *Radio Hilversum 1940-1945 de Omroep in de Oorlog*, 55.

[720] Ibid., 56.

[721] Ibid., 57.

[722] Ibid., 133.

[723] Ibid., 159.

[724] Ibid., 219.

VARA reacted by skipping the whole programme.[725] Had journalist Dick Verkijk not found evidence of this in the minutes of VARA board meetings in a private archive, this act of censorship would have left no traces in published sources.

Hans Lachman (at that time still known by his German name Heinz Lachmann) premiered his *Flute Sonata* op. 2 with Jewish flutist Louis Sjouwerman for VARA Radio on 16 August 1940.[726] The last broadcast of Mahler's (very popular) music dates from 18 September 1940, when Yvonne Dellow sang two songs for the VARA microphone.[727] Twice, Leo Smit's music slipped through censorship. Hugo de Groot conducted the VARA Radio Orchestra in Smit's *Ouverture tot Teirlinck's De Vertraagde Film* on 11 October 1940 (around the same time the Concertgebouw Orchestra received orders to ban Jewish composers). All radio guides included the composer's name in the programme, but *Maandblad* gave only the title of the work whereas all other composers were mentioned.[728] As late as 2 January 1941, pianist Caroline Lankhout performed 'Forlane' from Smit's 1926 *Suite pour le Piano* and two *Intermezzos* by Jewish composer Johan Franco in an AVRO radio recital dedicated to Dutch composers.[729] It seems that a total ban on Jewish composers succeeded only after March 1941, when guidelines were distributed on broadcasting gramophone music. Jewish musicians and composers were banned and when in doubt, programmers were to consult the lexicon *Judentum und Musik*.[730] Mendelssohn's Overture *Die Hebriden*, frequently programmed in radio broadcasts, was last heard on Wednesday 2 April 1941 from a gramophone recording conducted by Furtwängler.[731]

Already in December 1940, Goedewaagen had announced the end of the broadcasting societies and the takeover of the radio distribution companies. Jewish radio employees had to fill out an enquiry in early March 1941, when the new *Rijksradio Nederlandsche Omroep* (RNO, Netherlands Broadcasting Society) started and the old societies lost their radio time. Despite this organisational change, increasing censorship and the dismissal of Jewish staff members, most employees stayed on, the VARA theatre group (*hoorspelkerngroep*) being the only group to take a stand; they resigned collectively in August

[725] Ibid., 170. 'De Groot' probably refers to Hugo de Groot, conductor of the VARA orchestra, rather than pianist Cor de Groot. After the war, a certain Herman B. Wolbert was due to appear before the Fourth Chamber of the Tribunal (*Twentsch Dagblad Tubantia*, 18 October 1946). Only in 1962, his name reappears newspapers as author of 'sonographies' (*Twentsch Dagblad Tubantia*, 7 July 1962).

[726] *Vrije Geluiden*, 10 August 1940.

[727] *Radiobode*, 13 September 1940.

[728] *Maandblad*, vol 9 no 12, October 1940, 596.

[729] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 4, 664; AVRO Radiobode, 27 December 1940.

[730] Verkijk, *Radio Hilversum 1940-1945 de Omroep in de Oorlog*, 258.

[731] *Radiobode*, 28 March 1941, 44.

1941.[732] Although broadcasting societies were robbed of their radio time, initially they were allowed to continue the publication of their radio magazines. However, per January 1942, all guides were banned and replaced by the national-socialist magazine *De Luistergids*.[733] By 1 April 1942, all Jewish radio employees were fired.[734] Hans Krieg, who had performed for VARA radio since early 1934 and had composed music for radio plays since 1938 received no more commissions.

Between March and August 1941, at least nine Dutch composers were interviewed for the radio programme *Tien componisten thuis* (Ten composers at home). No Jewish composers were interviewed, nor women, but an interview with Jan van Gilse, whose stand against fascism was already well-known, was aired on 26 April 1941. He talked about his recent opera *Thijl*, how the subject matter of freedom fighters had moved him and how he hoped an opportunity would soon arise to have his opera performed.[735] Further interviewees included Johan Wagenaar, Henk Badings, Hendrik Andriessen, Leo Ruygrok, Willem Landré, Guillaume Landré, Henri Zagwijn (his mother was Jewish) and Alexander Voormolen. The tenth composer remains unnamed, nor does the recording survive.[736]

From 14 to 20 September, the First Dutch Music Festival was broadcast, perfectly fitting the propaganda goals of the new RNO. An anonymous author in *Maandblad* reported: 'And thus, in this Radio Music Festival all sections of Dutch music were presented in a most diverse and interesting way and an important cultural statement was made, which must have caught the well-deserved attention of a wider audience.[737]' In a press release, announced in all newspapers, the festival is referred to as a presentation of 'precious cultural heritage'.[738] In many cases, a similar heading is used to refer to the festival: 'Our national music in front of the microphone'.[739] Of course Jewish composers were not included, but since the *Kultuurkamer* had not been installed yet, most other composers were

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[732] Verkijk, *Radio Hilversum 1940-1945 de Omroep in de Oorlog*, 313.

[733] Ibid., 315.

[734] Ibid., 310.

[735] 'Tien Nederlandse componisten thuis', interview series by Paul de Waart for Nederlandsche Omroep, broadcast on 11 May 1941. Sound and Vision Radio Archives, Resource ID 2101608090078455231

[736] By way of introduction to the series, Herman Felderhof interviewed C.L. Walther Boer. Felderhof went on to interview Johan Wagenaar. Wouter Paap then interviewed Hendrik Andriessen, Coen Kries interviewed Henk Badings. Jan van Gilse was interviewed by Paul de Waart. Jaap Alving interviewed Leo Ruygrok, Guillaume Landré, Henri Zagwijn and Alexander Voormolen.

[737] 'Programma van het eerste Nederlandse muziekfeest,' *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 11, September 1941, 759. 'Zoo bleken op dit Radio-muziekfeest wel alle gebieden van de Nederlandsche Toonkunst op de meest verscheiden en boeiende wijze vertegenwoordigd en werd een belangrijke cultuurdaad verricht, welke zeker niet zal hebben nagelaten in breeden kring de belangstelling te vinden, welke deze ongetwijfeld verdiende.'

[738] 'Nederlands Radiomuziekfeest,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 September 1941.

[739] 'Onze nationale toonkunst voor de microfoon,' *Noordbrabantsch Dagblad Het Huisgezin*, 9 September 1941, *Arnhemsche Courant*, 10 September 1941, *Leeuwarder Courant*, 13 September 1941 and many more.

featured, except Jan van Gilse. He wrote in his memoirs: 'Once you are convinced that participating in the charade of an outwardly 'normal' cultural life equals collaborating with the occupiers and fascism, each artist has to answer the question when the time has come to refrain from public performances.'[740] Oddly enough, Van Gilse's portrait was still printed with the *Maandblad* report on the music festival.[741] This suggests that either some form of censorship had taken place fairly late in the process or Van Gilse had withdrawn his work. In *Symphonia*, Willem Landré reported enthusiastically on the festival. It opened with a speech by Goedewaagen, director of the Ministry of Public Education and the Arts, and on the following speech of Goverts (head of the music section of the Ministry) Landré wrote: '"The music written by a number of our young composers", according to Goverts, "is now real music again. It is sensitive and strongly masculine and disciplined, clever and spontaneous, rich in fantasy and inspired."'[742] Henriëtte Bosmans featured three times on the programme with songs and chamber music. The Netherlands Chamber Orchestra, led by Otto Glastra van Loon performed music by Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman.

A second Radio Music Festival was broadcast 13-19 September 1942, again with the objective to promote Dutch music. Curator Pierre Reinards, conductor of the radio orchestra and collaborating with the occupiers, programmed music by composers of the past (Sweelinck, De Fesch, Hellendaal), Flemish composers (Maurice Schoemaker), 19th-20th century composers who had died recently (Julius Röntgen, memorial concert including his opera *De lachende Cavalier*) and contemporary composers not protesting or even collaborating with the Nazi rulers (Henk Badings (three works), Badings' pupil Adriaan Rentmeester, Kor Kuiler, Cornélie van Oosterzee, Jan Koetsier, Willem Landré, Louis Schmidt and George Stam).[743] During the festival, an exhibition 'Four centuries of Dutch music life' was mounted at the Rijksmuseum, curated by Dirk Balfoort.[744] The exhibition highlighted the role of radio, including the former broadcasting societies. Obviously, the programmes and exhibition were all cleared of Jewish composers and those refusing to register with the *Kultuurkamer*. Not only did a ban on their music stop the production of

[740] van Dijk, *Jan van Gilse*, 311.

[741] 'Programma van het eerste Nederlandse muziekfeest,' *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 11, September 1941, 763.

[742] 'Het Radiomuziekfeest,' *Symphonia* vol 24 no 10, October 1941, 130. 'De muziek, die verschillende onzer jonge componisten schrijven," aldus de spreker, "is weer echte muziek geworden. Ze is gevoelig en sterk mannelijk en gedisciplineerd, knap en spontaan, rijk aan fantasie en geïnspireerd.'

[743] 'Pierre Reinards veroordeeld tot 2 jaar interneering,' *Gazet van Limburg*, 23 December 1946; 'Pierre Reinards op vrije voeten,' *De Maasbode*, 1 October 1947. Reinards was arrested after the war for aiding the enemy. Although he denied sympathising with the national socialist ideology, he was sentenced to two years imprisonment in December 1946. Due to bad health, his internment was limited to 7 months in October 1947.

[744] Dirk Jacobus Balfoort (1886-1964) was the curator of a private collection of instruments and music history documents that was adopted by the The Hague Municipal Museum in 1935. https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn1/balfoort accessed 16 October 2023.

sources, alternative narratives were thus created by deleting the roles played by banned composers.

On 13 May 1943, a decree was published ordering all radio receivers to be handed in; it took more than a month to organise the implementation and administration.[745] With very little programme information to be published, *De Luistergids* ended per 1 July 1943.[746] Concerts were now only broadcast via radio distribution and very succinct programme details were announced in the newspapers, although some gave up altogether. Many broadcasts were gramophone recordings, or live radio recordings of earlier concerts. Programme information was unreliable and very limited, with hardly any information on the music performed; at best the names of performers were given, but often only the instruments were mentioned. All professional orchestras still seemed to perform for the radio, although it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the broadcast was a recorded concert or a live concert. Despite the decreasing numbers of listeners, a third Dutch Radio Music Festival was organised from 10 to 17 October 1943 with the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Flipse and the Concertgebouw Orchestra conducted by Van Beinum.[747] Finally, in November 1944, all radio personnel were sent home.[748]

13.1 Jewish composers in the press

A lack of public performances in the concert hall and on the radio also led to a drastic decrease in press coverage of music by Jewish composers. Although music magazines continued to be published until the end of 1941, news on contemporary Dutch Jewish composers appeared only sporadically. Under the restrictions of censorship, the editors mainly published timeless articles on the history of instruments and 'obligatory news'. The different magazines varied in their attitude towards censorship.

Symphonia, a commercial magazine 'dedicated to music', was run by Evert Elsenaar — he sympathised with fascist ideology and would become the director of the nazified 'Central Bureau for Orchestras' in October 1941 — and published by Lispet in Hilversum (the same publisher that also published Jan Goverts' speech on the creation of the Music Guild). Despite the magazine's positive attitude to Nazi policies, in the early months of the war, Jewish musicians sporadically featured in the magazine. In June 1940, a certain A.

[745] Warehouses needed to be found to store the receivers, an administration had to be set up for people coming to the warehouse on a certain date and time, organised per street. See for example 'Inlevering radio-ontvangtoestellen,' *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 17 June 1943.

[746] Verkijk, *Radio Hilversum 1940-1945 de Omroep in de Oorlog*, 327.

[747] 'Derde Radiomuziekweek,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 29 September 1943; 'Opdrachten voor acht componisten,' *Het Vaderland*, 25 September 1943.

Fresco is mentioned as the new conductor of the The Hague Symphony Orchestra 'Sempre Crescendo'.[749] The 1940 August-September issue of *Symphonia* reported on a new operetta company in The Hague led by Otto Glastra van Loon, following the old Fritz Hirsch company.[750] However, probably due to censorship, not a word was written about the German take-over of the theatre and the ban on the company's Jewish leader.[751] In February 1941, Jewish music journalist Lou van Strien wrote an article for the magazine on the effects of war on music history. One of the magazine's most important and frequent contributors was composer Willem Landré. *Symphonia* not only published obligatory articles but also commented positively on the new music policy of the Nazis. For example, in March 1941, Willem Landré wrote enthusiastically about Goedewaagen's speech on reorganising music life. Landré believed in autonomy and the leadership of wise men and approved of artists serving the people.[752] In the same issue, a short biography of Jan Goverts was published.[753] At the same time, on the front page of that issue, music publisher Broekmans & Van Poppel advertised a new educational work by Leo Smit '20 simple etudes for piano'. This advertisement — also including educational works by Jewish composers Leo de la Fuente and Annie Salomons — would be printed on the front page until the magazine's final issue in December 1941, when Willem Zonderland positively reviewed Smit's recently published *Twaalf stukken voor 4 handen* (12 pieces for piano 4-hands).[754]

Maandblad voor Hedendaagsche Muziek — the magazine for members of NVvHM, with an unknown but probably relatively limited readership — continued until November 1941. It took a more daring approach, following the bare minimum of prescribed news and continuing to write about Jewish member composers until October 1941. For example, in December 1940, Julius Hijman was reported to have organised a concert in Chicago celebrating Dutch composers, including work by Hijman himself.[755] In the January 1941 issue, a new string quartet and *Reflexen* for piano solo by Dan Belinfante were listed as new compositions.[756] In June 1941, more new compositions by Dan Belinfante were announced

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[748] Verkijk, *Radio Hilversum 1940-1945 de Omroep in de Oorlog*, 329.

[749] *Symphonia*, June 1940, 80.

[750] Fritz Hirsch company performed at the The Hague Princesse Schouwburg (Princes Theatre) between 1926 and 1940. German Jewish actor Fritz Hirsch studied at the School for the Arts in Mannheim and performed at the Berlin State Theatre. Katja B. Zaich, Fritz Hirsch, in: *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, Claudia Maurer Zenck, Peter Petersen, Sophie Fetthauer (Hg.), Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, 2014.

[751] 'Nieuw Operette-gezelschap onder leiding van Otto Glastra van Loon,' *Symphonia*, August 1940, 115.

[752] Willem Landré, 'Gildebroeders,' *Symphonia*, March 1941, 36-7.

[753] 'Muziekleider aan het departement van V. en K.: Benoemd is de heer Jan Govers,' *Symphonia*, March 1941, 39.

[754] *Symhonia*, December 1941, 173.

[755] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 2, 630.

[756] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 3, 646.

and Jacques de Menasce was reported performing Dutch music for Swiss Radio, including works by Rosy Wertheim.[757] Performances of music by Rosy Wertheim for Shanghai radio (*Six morceaux* by Marion Ruynen) and in the United States (violin sonata by Rowland Leach and Paul Pisk) were mentioned in August 1941.[758] In that same issue plans were mentioned for the performance of Smit's *La Mort* in the upcoming NVvHM season.[759] The plans did not materialise, or at least, no printed evidence remains. After the summer of 1941, there is no evidence of NVvHM programmes with music by Jewish composers. Most likely due to censorship, there is no mention of this possible deviation from the plans. The publication of the October 1941 issue had already been delayed due to government interference in paper supply; the November magazine proved to be the last wartime issue.[760]

De Wereld der Muziek was the official journal of the Federation of Dutch Associations of Musicians and Composers.[761] Testing the limits of censorship, the editors (Henk Badings, Arnold Drilsma, Maarten Dijk) sometimes commented in a cynical tone on the obligatory news items. For example, in the March issue of 1941, at the end of a biography of Jan Goverts they wrote: 'To our questions, who were the teachers of Mr. Goverts and what were his credentials, no answer has as yet been given.'[762] A month later, the sixtieth birthdays of eminent composers Jan van Gilse and Sem Dresden were celebrated. Van Gilse's birthday was celebrated in several magazines, but *De Wereld der Muziek* was the only one to celebrate Jewish composer Dresden's merits in Dutch music life.[763] M.A. Brandts Buys, chairman of the Federation, took a critical stance in his 'Letters from the chairman'. In the February 1941 issue, he argued that Dutch music life should be led by those who were chosen by the members of the associations. He wrote: 'Don't allow other elements — those who are not chosen by us — the opportunity to wield their powers over music life.'[764] In May 1941, the authorities replaced the editors and the board members of the Federation as well as those of its member organisation the Royal Netherlands Musicians Society (KNTV), of course now robbed of its predicate Royal.

As the newspapers usually reviewed concerts and new publications, they

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[757] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 8, June 1941, 722-3.

[758] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 9/10 July-August 1941, 738.

[759] *Maandblad*, vol. 10 no 9/10 July-August 1941, 735.

[760] *Maandblad*, vol 10 no 12, October 1941, front page.

[761] After the merger of *De Muziek* with *Het Muziekcollege Caecilia* in November 1933, the federation launched a new magazine *De Wereld der Muziek* in 1936. Until April 1941, M.A. Brandts Buys published his critical opinions on Nazi policies. After April 1941, the magazine is taken over by the occupiers.

[762] *De wereld der muziek*, vol 7 no 6, 153. 'Op onze vraag, wie de leermeesters van den heer Goverts geweest zijn en welke diploma's hij behaalde, mochten wij tot heden geen antwoord ontvangen.'

[763] Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, 'Sem Dresden 60 jaar,' *De wereld der muziek,* vol 7 no 6, 180.

[764] M.A. Brandts Buys, 'Voorzittersbrief XXIV,' *De wereld der muziek*, vol 7 no 5, 124. 'Geeft geen andere, door ons

automatically stopped writing about Jewish composers once they were banned from the stage. The last reviews on music by Rosy Wertheim appeared in June 1941, following a concert of NVvHM.[765] The anonymous Rotterdam critic praised her sensitive songs on poems by Li Tai Po (Li Bai), crafted with love and devotion, although her style was deemed not very personal, with some cliches and too reminiscent of Debussy. 'But Rosy Wertheim is undoubtedly talented and she should put herself under strict guidance at last and refrain from publishing so soon.'[766] Almost a year later, *Het Volk* journalist G.K. Krop would remind his readers of Rosy Wertheim's composition in discussing a work on the same poems by Bernard Wagenaar.[767] The last review Leo Smit's *Twelve pieces for piano four hands* appeared in December 1941.[768]

Although music by Jewish composers was performed by the Jewish Symphony Orchestra and similar Jewish ensembles, none of this Jewish music life was reviewed or reported in the regular press. On 30 April 1941, all Dutch newspapers had published literally the same article on the foundation of a Jewish orchestra, under the heading 'No Jews in Dutch orchestras; options for Jewish musicians.' The fact that the anonymous text is identical in almost all newspapers and an introductory sentence sometimes reads 'ANP reports from The Hague' suggests that papers were obliged to publish this information and that they were not responsible for its content. Most newspapers published the whole article, very few deleted the last paragraph: 'Both Jewish musicians and Jewish audiences as well as the Dutch musicians and Dutch audiences benefit from this solution.'[769] It was the first and last time anything was written on the Jewish orchestra in the regular press. Only in *Het Joodsche Weekblad* announcements and reviews were published. In *Storm*, the weekly magazine of the Dutch SS, an anonymous author complained that the Concertgebouw did not really grasp the spirit of the new times, when various authors of programme notes still mentioned Jewish composers in their programme notes on Beethoven, Bruckner and Schumann.[770]

Critics like Herman Rutters, L.M.G. Arntzenius and Wouter Paap seemingly went

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niet gewenschte elementen, de gelegenheid om, op muziekorganisatiegebied hun krachten te toonen.'

[765] 'Moderne Nederlandsche muziek,' *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 27 June 1941; G.K. Krop, 'Hedendaagse muziek; uitvoering in het Muzieklyceum,' *Het Volk*, 24 June 1941.

[766] 'Moderne Nederlandsche Muziek,' *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 27 June 1941.

[767] 'Hedendaagse Muziek,' *Het Volk*, 28 April 1942.

[768] 'Nieuwe muziekuitgaven,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 25 December 1941

[769] 'Geen Joden in Nederlandsche orkesten - Mogelijkheden voor Joodsche musici,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30 April 1941. Newspapers including the final paragraph are *Algemeen Handelsblad*, *Haagsche Courant*, *Het Volk*, *De Volkskrant* and many local newspapers such as *Twentsch Dagblad Tubantia*, *Dagblad nieuwe Hoornsche Courant*, *Zutphense Courant*. *De Nederlander* and *Het Vaderland* did not mention the last paragraph.

[770] 'De achterdeur in – Het Concertgebouw verstaat den nieuwen tijd nog niet,' *Storm, blad der Nederlandsche SS*, 6 March 1942, 8.

about their business as usual, reviewing concerts of the Concertgebouw Orchestra and of NVvHM, all featuring non-Jewish composers and musicians, while their colleague Lou van Strien was sent to Westerbork on 24 July 1943. In October 1941, Van Strien's position at the daily newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* had been taken by pianist Paul Niessing.[771] In 1944, due to lack of paper and electricity, the few newspapers that were left were down to two pages per day. Nevertheless, the Nazis continued to send out press releases until the very last day of the occupation. Despite the limited space in newspapers, reviews of concerts were still published as usual, although Arntzenius wrote in January 1944: 'In the concert halls on Saturday and Sunday, the Amsterdam music lover almost exclusively saw and heard too familiar faces and very well-known music, so that newspaper reports can be very short.'[772]

In June 1941, pianist and composer Cor Backers published the only wartime monograph on Dutch composers going back as far as 1400 AD, in the same series that had published Sanders' monograph on modern Dutch composers published in 1930.[773] Backers' intention was to generate interest in and stimulate appreciation of Dutch composers.[774] He excluded non-innovating composers and those born outside the Netherlands. Further selection criteria included national character and 'pureness' or appeal to a wider audience. He accused Pijper of being more intellectual than musical.[775] Backers' list of composers largely overlaps with the list mentioned by Dresden in 1923. Composers added by Backers include names that belong to the generation born around 1900, considered too young to be included by Dresden.[776] Of this younger generation, Backers only briefly discussed composers in the spotlights.[777] A short paragraph was dedicated to Leo Smit, 'a modern composer'.[778] Quite some female composers mentioned by Dresden are left out by Backers, including Rosy Wertheim. Further Jewish composers mentioned by Dresden but left out by Backers are Israel Olman and Hans Franco Mendes. Apparently only Leo Smit escaped censorship, the author adds no further banned composers to his list. Being the partner of Tel (Rachel) Belinfante, pianist and sister of composer Daniël Belinfante, many of the banned

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[771] The first review signed by Paul Niessing appeared on 27 October 1941 in *Algemeen Handelsblad*.

[772] *Het nieuws van de dag*, 3 January 1944. 'Bij de concerten van Zaterdag en Zondag heeft de Amsterdamsche muziekliefhebber bijna uitsluitend overbekende verschijningen en overbekende muziek op zijn concertpodiums gezien en gehoord, zoodat het krantenverslag over een en ander slechts kort behoeft te zijn.'

[773] Backers, *Nederlandsche componisten van 1400 tot op onzen tijd*.

[774] Ibid., 5. 'Moge dit boek de waardeering voor den Nederlandschen componist in niet onbelangrijke mate verhoogen en moge vooral door het lezen van deze bladzijden bij velen een daadwerkelijke belangstelling gewekt worden.'

[775] Ibid., 121.

[776] Ibid.

[777] Ibid., 145.

[778] Ibid., 119–20.

composers must have been known to Backers.[779]

13.2 Illegal press

Although the number of illegal journals grew rapidly, this did not mean that uncensored news on music life reached an audience through their pages. Illegal press hardly wrote about music. In February 1941, the first issue of *De Vrije Kunstenaar* (The Free Artist) was published as a critical comment on the speech of Goedewaagen introducing the system of guilds. Although composer Jan van Gilse was one of the initiators, music was only a minor topic. One of the editors explained in April 1945: '*De Vrije Kunstenaar* is a journal to report on the battle, not an art magazine.'[780] More than once, this newspaper called on readers not to participate in public art events, either as artists or as members of the audience. To participate was considered endorsing the racist policy of the occupiers. The writers opposed the occupying forces for two main reasons: lack of democracy and racist policies.[781] They assured their readers that those who join the resistance will not go hungry[782]. News on refusals to collaborate — which was obviously not mentioned in censored press — was regularly published. The idea behind the illegal journal was to inform people in advance on upcoming measures, to prevent them from panicking and support them in their resistance.[783] One of the participating journalists was Jewish composer and music journalist Paul Sanders. Although the illegal magazine kept the exclusion of Jewish artists under the attention of its readership, it did not provide a stage to individual composers. *De Vrije Kunstenaar* was not a platform to talk about music or report on new compositions.

As the occupying authorities tightened the reins, in resistance circles plans were made for rebuilding society after the war. In April 1943, *De Vrije Kunstenaar* predicted the fall of the Nazi regime; readers were encouraged to go into hiding and not respond to orders to work in Germany.[784] Starting in August 1943, the pamphlet was printed instead of stencilled, increasing professionalisation. In October 1943, it started to publish plans for reorganisation of the arts after the war. In March 1944, its editors expressed their

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[779] NMI archive Daniël Belinfante (donation Op de Coul), 3020-01. Rachel Belinfante married J. Brugman in 1934, but the couple got divorced in 1941 (Nationaal Archief, 1796 Indisch Oud-paspoortarchief B29321 Paspoortaanvraag uit Nederlands-Indië;) Although an invitation by Belinfante and Backers to a concert at their house is dated 15 December, it is not clear whether this refers to 15 December 1945 or 1951.

[780] *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, 1 April 1945, 193. 'VK is geen kunstblad, maar een strijdblad.'

[781] 'Broodroof of huichelarij,' *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, May 1941.

[782] *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, May 1941, 3-4; *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, September 1941, 5-6; *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, February 1942, 8.

[783] *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, November 1942.

[784] *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, April 1943.

disappointment in the attitude of many, having let go of their Jewish fellow countrymen, and even becoming anti-Semitic to make life easier.[785] Several articles referred to the fate of Jewish people, writing about mass murder. In August 1944, *De Vrije Kunstenaar* warned its readers never to trust collaborators (composer Henk Badings was mentioned as one of them), and urged readers to not forget nor forgive. As the end of the war neared, plans were forged for the future and attacks on collaborators became more fierce (e.g. on Rudolf Mengelberg).[786]

[785] *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, March 1944, 96-103.

[786] *De Vrije Kunstenaa*r, September 1944, 126-143.

14. Conclusion 1933-1945

The objective of these chapters has been to highlight the effects of persecution and war on composers' lives and legacy and how these effects influenced canonicity and the production of music history. When the Germans invaded the Netherlands in May 1940, they immediately started to influence music life, hoping to win the Dutch for Nazi ideology. As soon as they realised this did not work, anti-Jewish measures rapidly increased and music life was Nazified. When the *Kultuurkamer* was introduced in 1942, a second group of composers and musicians were banned from the stage: those who refused to register. For Jewish composers and later on for non-Jewish composers refusing to collaborate, performance opportunities were confined to illegal gatherings and networking was limited to private exchanges, often under false names. As a result, their names disappeared from music journals, reviews and programmes. Multiple (forced) migratory experiences scattered personal belongings as the owners left them behind or deliberately destroyed them. Music manuscripts and personal belongings of deported composers were looted, and published works were removed from shops and libraries, resulting in an irreversible loss of sources. As music life continued, censored narratives were created in censored exhibitions, festivals, radio programmes and magazine and newspaper articles, all cleared of the names of banned composers. Even references to Jewish composers were deleted from programme notes. In short, all engines driving music history production and canon formation were deeply affected by persecution and war.

Of course, there is no way of telling what music would have been broadcast or programmed without censorship. Censorship only comes to light when accidental mistakes are made (such as Jan van Gilse's portrait in *Maandblad*) or minutes of meetings are kept (such as the VARA board meeting found in a private archive by Verkijk). Announcements in newspapers from the Dutch Caribbean and Indonesian colonies, not hindered by censorship, made explicit what may well have been common knowledge in the Netherlands, like the reason why Sem Dresden was fired as director of the The Hague Conservatory. However, this common knowledge is lost for future generations if it is not recorded anywhere. Censored narratives feed into music history without showing traces of what was left out as a result of censorship.

Despite the absence of silenced composers in the records on public life, the research tools that come with biography, microhistory and network analysis prove that they continued to write music and kept playing their roles in music networks until the very end. Sources indicating that these networks were still functioning are not easy to find. In the

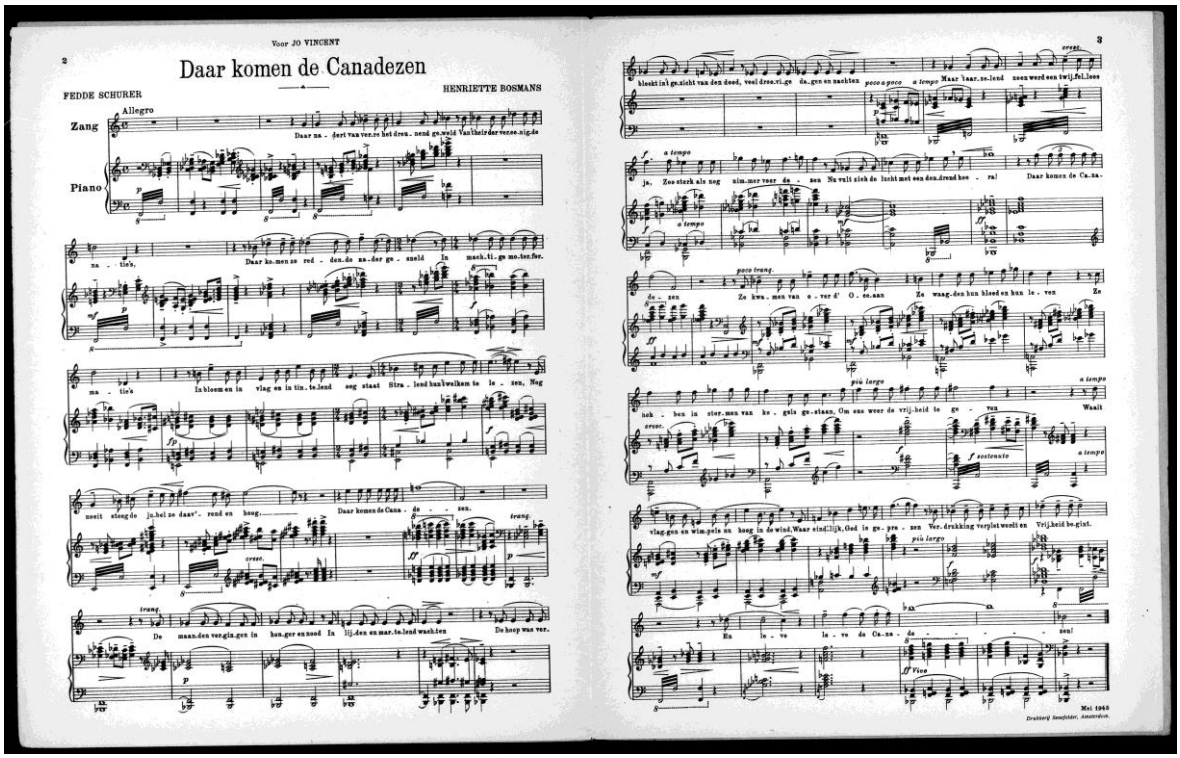
absence of music performances and often even correspondence, the researcher has to dive deep into diaries, interviews and accounts of surviving network members. Mapping and analysing prewar networks helped to find possible traces of musical network activity, like the small notes testifying to Belinfante's skill as a composer in the archive of Daniël Ruyneman. This alternative, underground part of music history would not have surfaced with the work-based approach to producing music history. Without context, the notes in Smit's *Flute Sonata* (1942) or Rettich's *Sinfonia Giudaica* (1943-45) don't say anything about the dire circumstances in which they were written, or the reasons why they were not performed for so long. A focus on works, especially in combination with the idea of canonicity, would completely ignore the power that sources and narratives wield over music history. To fathom the impact of this war, instead of focusing on the music, we need to look at the context and the tools and methods of cultural history. Instead of a nomothetic approach to music history, in- and excluding narrative threads guided by principles like progress, innovation or originality, and leading to specific historical plots or narrative models, a more idiographic approach to history is needed to reconstruct the rich fabric of composing in the Netherlands.[787]

Without performance of their music and without active, traceable participation in professional networks, banned composers lost their access to the performance repertory. This broken continuity in performance is not going to be mended without a narrative to point musicians to music manuscripts in archives. And even the few adventurous musicians that need no nudge to hunt for forgotten treasures in archives would have had a hard time finding anything in the first decade after the war. It could take years before the fate of killed composers was confirmed. Most estates had not found their way yet into the archives. Nazi takeovers of music institutions rendered archives of both Geneco and Buma incomplete. For many years, the broken link therefore seemed permanent, especially for those composers who did not survive. The Nazis certainly created a deafening silence in the production of music history when they banned (the performance of) music by Jewish composers and of those who refused to submit to Nazi rules.

In the next chapter, I discuss the way in which the Dutch people dealt with memories of war and Holocaust and how this affected the presence of these composers in postwar music history and on stage.

[787] Anne-Sylvie Barthel-Calvet and Christopher Brent Murray, *Revisiting the Historiography of Postwar Avant-Garde Music* (Routledge, 2022), 5.

1945-1955
Moving on, memory and heritage



The Hague Municipal Archives, Library Collections Netherlands Music Institute

15. Theory: cultural memory and conflict heritage

'In order to remember some things, other things must be forgotten.' - Aleida Assmann[788]

In previous chapters, I showed how performance opportunities, source production and survival, network participation, and the forging of narratives are driving forces behind the dynamic processes of canonisation and music history production. In the aftermath of the Second World War, these four factors were not only influenced by direct and tangible effects of war, like the loss of network relations, the destruction of manuscripts or the murder of composers, but also by the way in which the war was remembered and commemorated.

Both the music canon and the remembrance canon are forms of active cultural memory. They change over time and influence each other. According to Aleida Assmann not only do remembering and forgetting go hand in hand in the production of cultural memory, they also both come in active as well as passive forms, as shown in her graph below.[789]

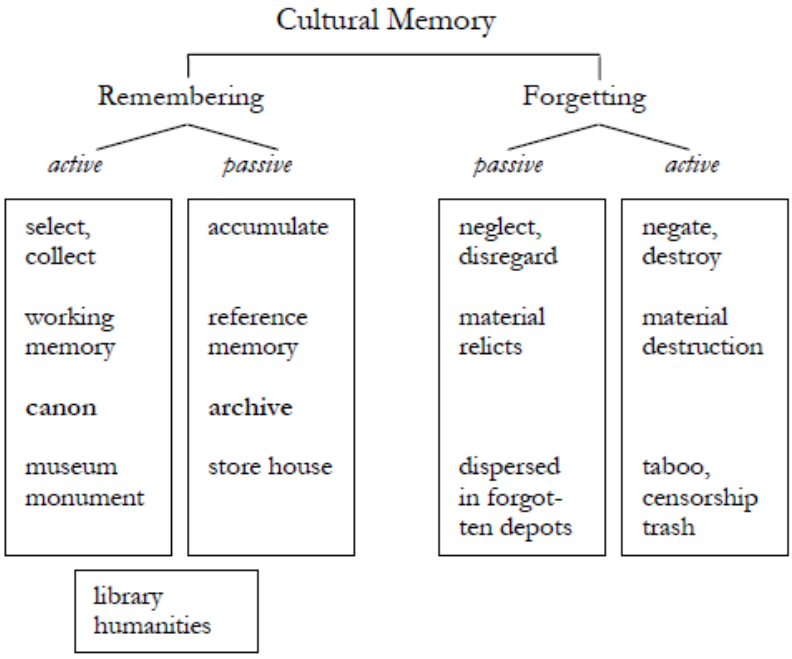


Figure 1 Assmann, 2008

The active cultural memory, referred to as the canon, presents itself in three core areas:

[788] Aleida Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', in *Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Ansgar Nünning and Astrid Erll, vol. 8, Media and Cultural Memory / Medien Und Kulturelle Erinnerung (Germany: De Gruyter, Inc, 2008), 97, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110207262.2.97.
[789] Ibid., 99.

religion, art and history.[790] The music canon, part of the art canon, is performed in concert halls and on the radio and immortalised in anthologies and educational materials, while the collective memory of the Second World War, part of the history canon, is 'performed' in commemorations, monuments, literature, films and concerts. Both manifestations of active cultural memory are driven by a dynamic process of remembering and forgetting. The musical canon not only consists of an undisputed core repertory that remains fixed over a long period of time — such as the music of Bach and Beethoven — but also of a large outer shell of repertoire that changes over time as the result of changing values and perspectives.[791] For example, feminism has brought female composers to the fore that have now entered the performance repertory. Similarly, many factors propel the dynamics of the remembrance of war.[792] Over time, different groups were included or excluded from commemoration.[793] For example, the Dutch Auschwitz Committee, founded in 1956, with communist members on its board, remained suspect until the Cold War ended.[794] Only then could they be funded.[795]

History and music, two fields of active cultural memory, are interconnected. For example, cultural heritage — in this case music — is a strong medium in forging historical narratives and creating identity, both all the more important in (post)war times. Although compositions could enter both the art and the history canon when they serve as monuments commemorating war, Jeremy Eichler noted that music hardly ever plays a role in narratives of history and it is 'often heard as residing outside history'.[796] I would add to that that — in the tradition of Dahlhaus — music history is often produced outside history. A further connection presents itself when war, conflict and trauma have a direct influence on the production of cultural memory and heritage.[797] Just like individual memory is affected by psychological pressure (e.g. when blocking traumatic experiences from memory), cultural memory is tainted by war and trauma.[798]

As music and history are connected, so are memory and heritage. As Dacia Viejo-

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[790] Ibid., 100.

[791] Herbert Grabes, 'Cultural Memory and the Literary Canon', in *Cultural Memory Studies*, vol. 8, Media and Cultural Memory / Medien Und Kulturelle Erinnerung (Germany: De Gruyter, Inc, 2008), 314, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110207262.5.311.

[792] Vree and Laarse, *De dynamiek van de herinnering*, 8.

[793] Ibid., 12.

[794] Jolande Withuis, *Na het kamp: vriendschap en politieke strijd* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2005), 387.

[795] R. Hijink, 'Het gedenkteken, de plek en de herinnering: de monumentalisering van de Duitse kampen in Nederland' (S.l, sn, 2010), 251.

[796] Eichler, *Time's Echo*, 19.

[797] Veysel Apaydin, *Critical Perspectives on Cultural Memory and Heritage: Construction, Transformation and Destruction* (London: UCL Press, 2020), 13.

[798] Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', 97.

Rose put it: 'Without the notion of memory, and everything that it suggests about time and narrative, continuity and change, individual and collective identifications, heritage would be reduced to "old things".'[799] As, according to Viejo-Rose, heritage both stores and communicates memory and, following Assmann, memory is bound to both active and passive forgetting, heritage inevitably represents a selective cultural memory.[800] Laurajane Smith referred to an Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) which governs heritage management practices.[801] Smith and Waterton stated: 'By promoting a particular and authoritative view of the past and national identity, it [AHD] inevitably excludes a range of other cultural and social experiences and knowledge. […] The political and material consequences of the AHD mean that it is inherently dissonant and may be actively challenged.'[802] As we shall see in the next chapter, a similar authorised discourse governed early postwar performance practice. In the early postwar years, music of composers murdered in the gas chambers (the victims) communicated memories that undermined the authorised discourse of heroic resistance and victory. As it communicated unwelcome memories it could not become heritage, whereas music celebrating freedom and commemorating those who fell defending the country or resisting occupation (the fallen) soon became part of a commemorative tradition, celebrated in concert halls.

Another way of looking at different forms of active and passive memory is the idea of 'the cold storage of history', where information sits without being really 'known' or 'experienced'. According to Eichler, music has the power to 'burn through history's cold storage'.[803] I believe that this ability of music to bring to life what needs to be forgotten at some point, may also have pushed music by Holocaust victims out of the performance repertory. Since with music, the past is performed in the present with each hearing, new layers of meaning are added through the years by different generations. In the 21st century, even music that was written well before the war can become war heritage as the music is laden with the history of its composer. Even the carefree music of a young Leo Smit came to represent the tragic fate of Dutch Jews killed by the Nazis.

Many factors influence whether music is passively or actively remembered, or passively or actively forgotten. As these factors (e.g. changing aesthetical values, historical perspectives on the role of the Dutch during the war, or the existence of a performance

[799] Dacia Viejo-Rose, 'Cultural Heritage and Memory: Untangling the Ties That Bind', *Culture & History Digital Journal* 4, no. 2 (2015): 2, https://doi.org/10.3989/chdj.2015.018.
[800] Ibid., 3.
[801] Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton, 'Constrained by Commonsense: The Authorized Heritage Discourse in Contemporary Debates', in *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*, ed. Robin Skeates, Carol McDavid, and John Carman (Oxford University Press, 2012), 0, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199237821.013.0009.
[802] Ibid., 159.
[803] Eichler, *Time's Echo*, 16–17.

network) change over time, music can enter or fall from the canon, the active cultural memory. Music that is 'halfway forgotten' — sound asleep in archives — may re-enter the performance repertory at some point. The present worldwide interest in the music of Leo Smit, Dick Kattenburg, Henriëtte Bosmans, Rosy Wertheim and many other persecuted composers is a case in point. First of all, however, to enter the active cultural memory, music has to be preserved in the passive memory, the archive. Following Trouillot — and as previous chapters have shown — presence in the archive is influenced by powers beyond the intrinsic quality of the music. These powers may prevent music from entering the archive but can also stimulate the transfer from passive to active cultural memory. Custodians of surviving music manuscripts can take their treasures from dusty private attics to institutional archives. In addition to music manuscripts, archival sources like programme notes, reviews, encyclopaedic entries and articles also add to the reservoir of passive cultural memory. As we shall see in this chapter, the specific culture of war remembrance during the first decade after the war — emphasising resistance and largely ignoring the persecution and mass murder of Jews — had a negative impact on performance opportunities and hence the production of these additional archival sources. A further driving force behind the transfer from passive to active cultural memory is a network of performers of and heirs to a composer's legacy. If a composer can no longer promote his own work, participate in competitions or add to his oeuvre, not only performance opportunities but also the preservation and accessibility of his work depends on an active network. Only when unpublished music manuscripts are destroyed and thus absent from passive cultural memory, the route to the performance repertory is irrevocably blocked.

The following chapters focus on the first decade after the Second World War. During this period, the Dutch commemorative narrative — as far as it existed, since much was not talked about to focus on rebuilding the future — was dominated by stories of resistance and victory, a brave and unified nation that withstood and sabotaged the enemy and helped liberation from within.[804] Those who collaborated with the Nazis were judged and punished, until the last verdicts were delivered and in 1952 the central *Ereraad* (Court of Honour) was officially dissolved.[805] The war experience of Jews, persecuted for no other reason than their Jewish ancestry, would have disturbed this narrative, which may have been a reason why — consciously or unconsciously — their persecution was not included in the commemorative narrative. Despite the detailed historiography immediately after the war, the testimonies of

[804] Vree and Laarse, *De dynamiek van de herinnering*, 7.

[805] NKCA in 't Veld, *De ereraden voor de kunst en de zuivering van de kunstenaars: een bijdrage tot de geschiedschrijving van de zuivering van het vrije beroep*, Cahiers over Nederland en de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1 ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1981), 115 (footnote).

Jewish camp survivors were largely neglected in official commemorations.[806] The first Jewish monument expressed survivors' gratitude towards the resistance rather than grief for the victims.[807] Another story that did not fit the narrative of resistance was the existence of passive bystanders or composers and musicians who chose not to resist Nazi rules. Originally long-term postwar bans as a result of purging were soon lifted and music by composers who had — in the eyes of former members of the resistance — collaborated with the Nazis returned to the stage long before music by their murdered Jewish colleagues.[808] Only during the mid-1960s, Jewish victims were slowly recognised in official commemorations.[809] My hypothesis is that only then, music by victims of the Holocaust could in principle return to the performance repertory. By that time however, postwar modernism — promoted and supported during the Cold War by the American government through private foundations such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations — reigned supreme and the climate for prewar music (thought to be old-fashioned) to re-enter the canon was unfavourable.[810]

To what extent did the Second World War and its aftermath influence the musical canon during the postwar years? In other words, what kept music banned by the Nazis from re-entering the performance repertory? To answer this question, I will look at how performance opportunities were influenced both by remembrance culture as well as the manner in which the Dutch dealt with survivors of the Holocaust and to what extent (performance) networks survived or were rebuilt. Returning to Trouillot's four-step approach to history production, I will explore the production of sources, the formation of archives and the emergence of narratives on Dutch music history.

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[806] Vree and Laarse, *De dynamiek van de herinnering*, 7.

[807] Withuis, *Na het kamp*, 380.

[808] Veld, *De ereraden voor de kunst en de zuivering van de kunstenaars*, 108–9.

[809] Vree and Laarse, *De dynamiek van de herinnering*, 8.

[810] Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999), 134–35. '"Bona fide"' foundations such as Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie were considered "the best and most plausible kind of funding cover."' In visual arts, the political preference of abstract over realist art had already gained momentum in 1949 (See C. Wesselink, 'The Memory of World War Two and the Canonisation of the Cobra Movement in the Netherlands', *Journal of Art Historiography* 19, no. 19 (2018): 1–16). Modernism in music was indirectly promoted by American funds. In 1948, Henk Stam, one of the young composers linked to Gaudeamus (see pp. 229-30) was invited to visit the Darmstadt Holiday Courses for New Music and in March 1949, Wolfgang Fortner, one of the leading Darmstadt composers at the time, visited Gaudeamus (*Nieuw Utrechtsch Dagblad*, 7 March 1949). Darmstadt was initiated by the American military government (Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, 23). In June 1950, Koussevitsky's assistant Howard Shanet gave a lecture on Tanglewood in Gaudeamus (*Nieuw Utrechtsch Dagblad*, 12 June 1950). At the same time, young composer Jurriaan Andriessen spent his second summer at Tanglewood, working on a commission from the United States Information Service (van der Horst, *De Andriessens. Een kleurrijke familie van muzikanten en kunstenaars*, 76). Andriessen had been one of the first young composers to have his music performed in Gaudeamus (*Nieuw Utrechtsch Dagblad*, 30 August 1947). However, it would take several years before postwar modernism in music gained substantial following.

16. Postwar performing opportunities

From afar a thunderous noise is approaching
From the army of the united nations
Here they come, fast approaching, rescuing
In mighty motor formations

In flower and in flag and in sparkling eye
A radiant welcome is read
Never before sounded shouts of joy so loud and so high
Here they come, the Canadians.

The months passed in hunger and need
In suffering and torturous waiting
Hope was pale in the face of death
Many sorrowful days and nights

But the hesitant 'no' became a straightforward 'yes'
As strong as never before
Now the air fills itself with a thunderous hurray!
Here they come, the Canadians.

They came from across the ocean
They put their blood and lives on the line
They stood strong in storms of bullets
To give us back our freedom.

Let flags and pennant fly high in the wind
Now that at last - God be praised
Oppression is crushed and freedom starts
And long live, long live the Canadians.
(Words by Fedde Schurer, music by Henriëtte Bosmans, May 1945)[811]

[811] Daar nadert van verre het dreunend geweld / Van het heir der vereenigde naties. / Daar komen ze reddende nader gesneld / In machtige motorformaties. / In bloem en in vlag en in tintelend oog / staat stralend hun't

On 13 and 14 September 1944, tanks of the US Old Hickory Division rolled into the streets of Maastricht, the first Dutch city to be liberated. Three days later, British troops landed in the vicinity of Arnhem but Operation Market Garden failed as the Germans got hold of the plans. In the following weeks a large part of the southern part of the country was liberated. After a long, harsh winter of famine and cold, taking 20,000 lives, the west and north of the Netherlands were liberated by the allied forces in the early days of May 1945. On 8 May 1945, Canadian troops entered the city of Amsterdam. After years of silence in the cities — street music had been forbidden since October 1942 and churches had been robbed of their bells — the streets exploded with song, dance music and victory marches.[812] Hundreds of liberation songs were published, to be sung in the streets or in the concert hall, like the above song by Henriëtte Bosmans or *Ik kan niet swingen* (I can't swing) by Fredy Salten (1914-1994).[813] Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman wrote music to *Uit het diepst van mijn hart* (From the bottom of my heart), a poem by Johannes Zwanniken that had been widely circulated in the illegal press.[814] Concerts were organised everywhere as part of the liberation celebrations. Amateur choirs, orchestras and wind bands resurfaced after years of muted existence. Large crowds flocked to the churches, where organ and chamber music concerts were held. Revenues were often donated to charity to help those in need and to rebuild society. *Stichting Volksherstel* (Foundation for the People's Recovery) organised concerts to support mental well-being. Concerts also served to entertain the allied forces and those who had been repatriated. Wind bands of the British forces toured the Netherlands, including the Scottish Pipers, the orchestra of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry and the Band of his Majesty's Royal Marines, Plymouth Division.[815]

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welkom te lezen, / Nog nooit steeg de jubel zo daav'rend en hoog, / Daar komen de Canadezen. / De maanden vergingen in honger en nood / In lijden en martelend wachten / De hoop was verbleekt in 't gezicht van den dood, / veel droevige dagen en nachten / Maar 't aarzelend neen werd een twijfelloos ja, / Zo sterk als nog nimmer voor dezen / Nu vult zich de lucht met een dondrend hoera! / Daar komen de Canadezen. / Ze kwamen van over d'Oceaan / Ze waagden hun bloed en hun leven / Ze hebben in stormen van kogels gestaan, /
Om ons weer de vrijheid te geven / Waait vlaggen en wimpels nu hoog in de wind, / Waar eind'lijk, God is geprezen / Verdrukking verplet wordt en vrijheid begint. / En leve, leve de Canadezen. Published by Broekmans & Van Poppel, May 1945; Dedicated to Jo Vincent. Library collection NMI MNmfl/0218.

[812] Frank Mehring, *Soundtrack van de bevrijding: swingen, zingen en dansen op weg naar vrijheid* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Vantilt, 2015), 63.

[813] Ibid., 33. Fredy Salten (pseudonym of Freddy Salomon, later known as Alfred Salten, 1914-1994) was born in Königsberg, Germany, and fled to the Netherlands in 1933. He conducted the Fritz Hirsch Operetta company and composed and arranged a great deal of music for them. After the war he conducted the Frysk Orchestra and taught at the Conservatory in Groningen.

[814] 'Uit Het Diepst van Mijn Hart - Het Geheugen', accessed 2 July 2025, https://geheugen.delpher.nl/nl/geheugen/view?identifier=EVDO03%3ANIOD06_2263.

[815] *Axelsche Courant*, 2 June 1945; *Twentsche Courant*, 4 June 1945; *Tilburgsche Courant*, 29 May 1945; *Het Vrije Volk*,

On 24 May 1945, the Military Commissioner in The Hague announced a brief 'art pause' in the western provinces, during which no exhibitions were allowed, all theatres, cinemas and concert halls were closed down and no orchestras could perform. The purpose was to allow artists who did not register with the *Kultuurkamer* to organise the first post-war performances. The art pause for music officially ended with a chamber music gala concert in the Concertgebouw on Saturday 9 June 1945, organised by Maneto (the organisation for the promotion of Dutch music, which had stopped functioning when Jewish composers were excluded).[816] The concert in the beautifully decorated Great Hall started at 7.30 pm and lasted until well beyond midnight; it was broadcast on national radio. In the audience many representatives of the authorities could be spotted, including Bernhard, Prince of the Netherlands, Minister Bolkestein of the Department of Education, Arts and Sciences and men representing the Military Authorities. At the end of the long evening, in a speech Bolkestein promised the audience and performers that from now on, the arts would no longer be ignored by the government.[817] The programme featured works composed during the war by Hendrik Andriessen, Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman, Henriëtte Bosmans, Bertus van Lier and Guillaume Landré.[818] Banned Jewish composers were represented by Mendelssohn's cello sonata, performed by cellist Raphael Lanes and composer-pianist Géza Frid, who had performed together many times in illegal concerts during the war, and this sonata may well have been on the programme of their illegal house concerts.[819] Frid himself had not been able to write a single note until the allied forces landed in France — due to 'psychological and physical misery' — but in his memoirs he recalled a fine performance of his *Second String Quartet* during the gala concert.[820] All performers and composers had some connection to the resistance movement, none of them had registered with the *Kultuurkamer*. As a last minute addition to the programme, variations on the 16th century Valerius song *Merck toch hoe sterck* (Observe how strong) — composed by Marius Flothuis during his

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7 June 1945.

[816] See p. 95. Members of the organising committee were Joanna Diepenbrock, Bertus van Lier and Paul F. Sanders. According to the introduction in the programme leaflet, the initiative for this concert was taken around May 1944 by the board of the Netherlands Federation of Associations of Professional Artists, a group that prepared the post-war reorganisation of the arts in the Netherlands. (see page x) International Institute of Social History, archive Paul Sanders ARCH 02903-65

[817] 'Vrije klanken' in *De nieuwe dag*, 11 June 1945.

[818] 'Vrije kunstenaars gaan manifesteren' in *Het Parool*, 2 June 1945. In his memoirs, Géza Frid recalls that his Second String Quartet was performed by the Amsterdam String Quartet, but the programme only mentions the Second String Quartet by Guillaume Landré. The quartet performing at this concert differed somewhat from the Amsterdam String Quartet that would perform later that year. However, Frid may well have been correct, as Flothuis' contribution is also not mentioned in the programme. One of the violinists in the quartet of that evening was Etiennette Alvarez-Correa, who frequently performed in illegal concerts with Frid during the war. Frid, *In tachtig jaar de wereld rond*, 88.

[819] Private diary Géza Frid, private collection Arthur Frid.

imprisonment — were performed by the composer himself and Jewish violinist Nap de Klijn.[821] Flothuis had survived imprisonment in Vught and Oranienburg as well as the following death marches and had returned to Amsterdam only a week before. In his opening words, Jewish composer and board member of the Society of Dutch Composers Geneco Paul Sanders commemorated cellist Nico van der Stad and composers Marius Brandts-Buys and Jan van Gilse and his two sons Maarten and Janric.[822] They had all been active in the resistance. The idea of the organising committee had been to design a programme focusing on works rather than composers and — in addition to the works by Dutch composers written during the war — themed around repression, war and liberation.

After the brief art pause, all performers needed a permit to perform, to be obtained by filling out a questionnaire. The permit was temporary, further investigations could lead to withdrawal.[823] Both this self-censorship and varying interpretations of the rules by local authorities caused chaos. During a concert of entertainment music in the Concertgebouw, the popular singer Lou Bandy was arrested by the *Binnenlandse Strijdkrachten* (BS Domestic Armed Forces), but the Military Authorities, present in the hall, ordered his release.[824] As said, the above gala event was a chamber music concert. Orchestras could not perform until their ranks were cleared of collaborators. The The Hague Residentie Orkest resumed rehearsals on 4 June 1945, after three members had been suspended on suspicion of collaboration. Four Jewish survivors returned to the orchestra, while concertmaster Sam Swaap was still in Switzerland awaiting his repatriation.[825] The orchestra opened a series of five summer concerts on 4 August 1945, led by Frits Schuurman with soloist Paul Frenkel, in Beethoven's Egmont Overture, Mozart's Piano Concerto KV 466, Debussy's *La Mer*, and *La Valse* by Ravel.[826] In its first season after the war, Dutch music performed by the orchestra included a symphony by Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman, songs by Ignace Lilien (1897-1964), and a concerto for flute and orchestra by Henri Zagwijn.[827] The first concert of the Concertgebouw Orchestra after the purging took place on 29 July 1945. The announcements featured soprano Jo Vincent as soloist and music by Willem Landré and Rudolf Escher,

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[820] Frid, *In tachtig jaar de wereld rond*, 73–74.

[821] *Merck toch hoe sterck* (Observe how strong) is a 17th century song by Adriaen Valerius (ca. 1575-1625), part of a collection of songs celebrating the resistance during the Eighty Years' War. The collection also includes the *Wilhelmus*, the Dutch national anthem.

[822] 'Vrije klanken,' *De Waarheid*, 11 June 1945.

[823] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 332.

[824] 'Slag in het concertgebouw,' *De Waarheid*, 25 June 1945.

[825] 'Het Residentie-Orkest hervat de repetities,' *De Waarheid*, 2 June 1945.

[826] *De Waarheid*, 1 August 1945.

[827] Emanuel Overbeeke, *Nederlandse muziek bij Nederlandse symfonieorkesten, 1945-2000* (Utrecht: Van Gruting, 2012), appendix, 103.

while in reality Beethoven (Ouverture *Egmont*), Debussy (*La Mer*) and Tchaikovsky (Fifth Symphony) were performed.[828] The opening of the Concertgebouw Orchestra's first postwar season started with Mahler's Second Symphony (*Auferstehung*). More than sixty years after the war, Eberhard Rebling remembered: 'One of my first reviews was of a concert by Yehudi Menuhin at the Concertgebouw, in the summer of 1945. Lien could not be there, she was still too frail. Mahler's Second Symphony was on the programme. When the choir started with 'Aufersteh'n, ja Aufersteh'n wirst du', the whole hall cried, including me.'[829] The Mahler-concert was followed by a programme featuring Dutch composer Johan Wagenaar, who had died in June 1941, and 'allied composers' Elgar and Rimski-Korsakov.[830] The Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra performed again for the first time after liberation on 27 June 1945 in Leiden, led by Willem Mizee, in a remembrance concert for the fallen, with Dutch songs, Mozart's Requiem and Diepenbrock's *Te Deum*.[831] Of their Jewish musicians, three had returned to the orchestra. Conductor Eduard Flipse was still recovering from a serious illness and the Court of Honour still had to decide on his position.[832] In September 1945, the orchestra's first postwar series opened with Schubert's *Unvollendete*, Grieg's *Peer Gynt Suite*, Sibelius' *Finlandia* and the *Hollandsche Rhapsodie* by Dutch composer Gerard Boedijn, on themes of well-known Dutch folk songs.[833]

Most early post-war concert programmes celebrated musicians and composers who had held on to their principles and did not register with the *Kultuurkamer*. In addition to popular classical music like Beethoven, Bach, Mozart and Handel, programmes included Dutch composers (Sweelinck, Diepenbrock, Andriessen, Pijper) and composers of allied countries, such as Saint Saëns, Debussy, Moussorgsky, Tchaikovsky and Purcell. Music by Mendelssohn — and occasionally Mahler — was performed to celebrate the comeback of music by Jewish composers. Programming was thus a mixture of canonical comfort food, a celebration of the victory of allied countries, the return of favourite music by Jewish composers and a confirmation of Dutch identity. Jo Vincent and Henriëtte Bosmans programmed a similar mix in their liberation tour. They had both stopped performing when

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828 Announcement: *Het Parool*, 25 May 1945. Programme: 'Zoeken in Het Artistiek Archief'.

829 Annemieke Hendriks, 'Onze sjtetl staat in brand; interview met Eberhard Rebling', in *De Groene*, 23 november 2007. 'Een van mijn eerste recensies was over een concert van Yehudi Menuhin in het Concertgebouw in de zomer van 1945. Lien kon er niet bij zijn, zij was nog te zwak. Mahlers Tweede Symfonie stond op het programma. Toen het koor inzette "Aufersteh'n, ja Aufersteh'n wirst du" huilde de hele zaal, ik ook.' Rebling mixes up two different concerts here: Yehudi Menuhin performed at the Concertgebouw on 1 July 1945, while Mahler's Second Symphony was performed on 2 August 1945. Lien Brilleslijper, his Jewish wife, survived Bergen-Belsen.

830 'Zoeken in Het Artistiek Archief'.

831 *Nieuwe Leidsche Courant*, 22 June 1945.

832 'Bliksem-interview over ons orkest,' *Het Parool*, 29 August 1945.

833 'Eerste Zaterdagmiddag-concert van 't Philharmonisch,' *Het Parool*, 3 September 1945

registration with the *Kultuurkamer* became obligatory and started performing together after their joint participation in the Maneto gala concert. Their programme included the above song by Henriëtte Bosmans and works by Dutch composers and those of the allied forces: Valerius, Purcell, Frank Bridge, Tchaikovsky, Bertha Frensel Wegener-Koopman, Harold King, Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman and Henriëtte Bosmans.[834]

Thus, only weeks after liberation, concert life was revived. However, performance opportunities were not equal for all. Composers who had been active in the resistance were the first to take the stage, followed by colleagues who had survived in hiding. Many camp survivors were traumatised and emaciated; they needed time to recover before they could participate in concert life again. Moreover, as research by Marieke Oprel has shown, prewar German refugees — coming out of hiding or returning from the camps — were now robbed of whatever there was left of their possessions by the Dutch government, who declared them enemy citizens.[835] Composers who had continued their work during Nazi occupation were temporarily barred from performances, while those participating in purging procedures experienced distrust and bullying. Composers killed in the camps were silenced not only by their death, but also by programmers. At the Maneto gala concert of 9 June, there was no music nor mention of deported Jewish colleagues such as Leo Smit or Daniël Belinfante. Their individual fate was not yet known during the first weeks after liberation and the organising committee was probably not aware of the works composed during the war by Leo Smit, Daniël Belinfante or Dick Kattenburg, to name but a few. Their mostly unpublished manuscripts were still 'in hiding', stashed away with friends and family, still torn between hope and fear. Not a single programme featured Dutch Jewish composers who fell victim to the Nazis.[836] Even when Maneto organised a concert on 7 November 1945 in the Bachzaal in Amsterdam to raise funds to rebuild the city of Arnhem — with many performers belonging to the network that performed music by Jewish composers before the war — no music was performed by composers killed in the camps.[837]

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[834] 'Liederenavond Jo Vincent,' *De Patriot*, 6 June 1945.

[835] Marieke Oprel, *Afrekenen met de vijand: het naoorlogse beleid ten aanzien van Duitsers in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Van Oorschot, 2021).

[836] Based on newspaper reports and announcements. (www.delpher.nl search prompt 'concert*' in the months May and June 1945)

[837] Advertisement in *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 November 1945. Wednesday 7 November 1945, Bachzaal Amsterdam, chamber music evening Maneto, charity concert for Arnhem. With Hans Gruys, Jean Antonietti, Anton Dresden, Henny Gompertz (flutist, performed at the concerts of Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek), Rahel Mengelberg (harpist, friend of Leo Smit and Daniel Belinfante), Herman Salomon, Manuel Steuer, Jaap Stotijn (performed Leo Smit's *Sextuor* before the war) and the Röntgen Kwartet. The programme mentioned music by Hendrik Andriessen, Dresden, Flothuis, Van Gilse, Pijper and Zagwijn. *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 6 November 1945: entrance fee can be paid with books or scores.

16.1 Coming out of hiding

Géza Frid, who had been active in the resistance and now participated in the *Binnenlandse Strijdkrachten* (BS, Domestic Armed Forces), organised a liberation concert at his home in the Van Eeghenstraat in Amsterdam, to thank the loyal audiences of his illegal house concerts. On the programme were his *Second String Quartet* (1939), performed by the Amsterdam String Quartet and his *Schopenhauer Cantata* (1944) on the sonnet *Die lange Winternacht will nimmer enden*, performed by singer Mimi Erb and the composer at the piano.[838] On 12 July 1945, Martha Belinfante-Dekker organised a concert at the reopening of the Watergraafsmeer Music School, founded by her husband Daniël Belinfante. Music by Debussy, Ravel, Handel, Naderman, Karel Mengelberg and Martha Belinfante-Dekker herself was performed by Karel Mengelberg and harpist Rahel Mengelberg-Draber, Martha Belinfante-Dekker (declamation) and her students. Martha only learned about her husband's cruel death after the concert.[839] She published an obituary for her husband on 25 July 1945: 'Mid-January 1945, two days before the liberation of Camp Fürstengrube (Auschwitz) my husband, Dan. Belinfante, age 51, was cowardly murdered by the Nazi scum. May justice prevail and may those who helped bring him down in the Netherlands not escape their well-deserved punishment.'[840]

When the south of the Netherlands was liberated in September 1944, Hans Lachman left his hiding place in Grubbenvorst. He tried to enlist in the Dutch army in Eindhoven but was rejected on account of the fact that he did not have Dutch nationality. He then settled in Eindhoven, where he landed a job as pianist with a dance band in the officers' club.[841] He tried to get work with the radio, but suspected it would not be easy as he still did not have a Dutch passport.[842] In November 1945, the Lachmans returned to Amsterdam to stay with a landlady in Prins Hendriklaan, at the address where some of their belongings were kept safe.[843] Lachman resumed his work for the Dutch radio on 1 January 1946, arranging music

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[838] Frid, *In tachtig jaar de wereld rond*, 82. The Amsterdam String Quartet consisted of Nap de Klijn, Ervin Sandor, Paul Godwin and Maurits Frank.

[839] Wim de Vries, 'Drie Nederlands-Joodse Componisten Uit Het Interbellum Op Het TVE-Concert', *Tussen Vecht En Eem*, May 2005.

[840] 'Home - CBGVerzamelingen.Nl', accessed 4 March 2025, https://cbgverzamelingen.nl/. 'Medio Jan. 1945, 2 dagen voor de bevrijding van Fürstengrube (Auschwitz) werd mijn man, Dan. Belinfante, in den leeftijd van 51 jaar, lafhartig vermoord door het Nazi-gespuis. Moge het Recht zegevieren en diegenen die in Holland tot zijn ondergang bijdroegen, hun welverdiende straf niet ontgaan.'

[841] Lachman to Hans and Suze Freudenthal, 21 July 1945, Noord-Hollands Archief, archive no 615, number 175-436.

[842] Lachman to Hans and Suze Freudenthal, 13 June 1945, Noord-Hollands Archief, archive no 615, number 175-432.

[843] Lachman to Hans Freudenthal, 11 November 1945, Noord-Hollands Archief, archive no 615, number 175-440.

for various ensembles, like the Concertgebouw Sextet and Dolf van der Linden's Metropole Orchestra.[844] In August that year, the Lachman family returned to their prewar address. At the same time, they started the procedure to apply for a non-enemy certificate. Even if they were Jewish and had survived in hiding or survived the camps, all German citizens had to prove they had not participated in enemy activities to regain ownership of their belongings. To obtain a non-enemy certificate, just like all Germans living in the Netherlands, they too had to pay fifty guilders and provide statements on their political reliability. On questions concerning his assets, Lachman wrote: 'I don't know to what extent household items classify as assets, but I don't think that the few items we were able to save from 'Pulsing' and the few items we managed to buy after the war can be considered as such.'[845] After inquiries with the Head of Police and the department researching collaboration, his non-enemy certificate was issued on 10 November 1947. His wife Tea Lachman-Warszawski requested the release of their assets, so that they could pay for their non-enemy certificate and the naturalisation process. Before their savings were returned to them, they had to prove that they had paid their due taxes and had not received any financial support. Their money was finally returned to them in April 1948, after deduction of the (considerable) costs of 'managing their assets'.[846] In the meantime, in 1947, Lachman had formed his own Lachman Ensemble, a wind quintet with piano. With this ensemble he not only performed arrangements of popular music, but his own music as well.[847] On Friday 16 January 1948, Lachman's Flute Sonata — his last work to be heard on the radio in August 1940 — was performed again, this time by flutist Leo Oostdam with the composer at the piano.[848] Louis Sjouwerman, the flutist who had premiered the work in 1940, had been killed in Sobibor.[849]

Within weeks after leaving his hiding place in Blaricum, Wilhelm Rettich had his Haarlem Operetta School up and running again, giving their first postwar performance of Planquette's *Les cloches de Corneville* in a sold-out theatre on 29 July 1945. On 21 August 1945, Rettich conducted the Haarlem Orchestral Society (Haarlemse Orkest Vereniging, HOV) in

[844] *Radiogids*, 10 August 1946; *Katholieke Radiogids*, 15 December 1946.

[845] Hans Lachman to Nederlands Beheer Instituut, 9 October 1947. Nederlands Beheer Instituut, folder Hans Lachman 117524. 'In hoeverre huisraad onder 'vermogen' valt, weet ik niet, ik denk niet, dat het weinige wat wij voor het 'pulsen' konden redden, en het weinige, wat wij na de oorlog konden kopen, als vermogen te beschouwen is.' Pulsing refers to the plundering of houses of deported Jewish citizens, executed by the moving company of Abraham Puls.

[846] Nederlands Beheer Instituut to Tea Lachman-Warszawski, 20 April 1948. Nederlands Beheer Instituut, folder Hans Lachman 117524.

[847] *Omroepgids*, 23 August 1947.

[848] *Radiobode*, 11 January 1948.

[849] https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/133006/louis-sjouwerman accessed 22 August 2024.

an opera concert.[850] A few weeks later, he conducted the same orchestra accompanying ballet dancer Maud Kool.[851] On 27 November that year, the composer-conductor found flowers on his stand when he climbed the podium to conduct HOV in two compositions he had written while in hiding: his *Lamento* for string orchestra and the *Violin Concerto* op. 51, with fellow townsman Gijs Beths as soloist.[852] Beths also performed Rettich's chamber music for violin in a radio broadcast on 4 March 1946.[853] Rettich started the procedure for his non-enemy declaration early June 1947 by handing in statements of neighbours claiming his political reliability. He declared to have no bank assets and a detailed inspection of his belongings found on his old address — including a bear skin, a chess table and a music stand — showed that his most valuable possessions were a collection of scores and books. On 30 June 1948, Rettich finally received his non-enemy declaration and his belongings were returned to him.[854]

After coming out of hiding, Rosy Wertheim did not return to her prewar apartment. She started teaching in Laren. However, in the summer of 1947, she took seriously ill with osteoarthritis in the spinal column and neuropathic pain and was unable to rebuild her career. From her sickbed, she tried to muster her network to have her music performed; she asked her colleague Marius Flothuis to copy her *Trio for flute, clarinet and bassoon* (1942) so that she could send it to interested ensembles and she entrusted composer Karel Mengelberg with her complete oeuvre.[855] On 19th February 1948, her sixtieth birthday, a radio programme was broadcast, with Professor Bernet Kempers introducing a performance of her chamber music.[856] That summer, after visiting the composer, an interviewer concluded that Wertheim was not forgotten and that numerous performances of her work were announced.[857] Unfortunately, less than a year later she died; her music was then only sporadically performed until 1959, then disappeared completely from the stage, only to be

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[850] *Nieuwe Haarlemsche Courant*, 21 August 1945.

[851] *Nieuwe Haarlemsche Courant*, 4 September 1945.

[852] J. Scheepens, 'Vierde volksconcert H.O.V.,' *Nieuwe Haarlemsche Courant*, 28 November 1945.

[853] *De Radiogids*, 2 maart 1946.

[854] Nederlands Beheer Instituut, folder Wilhelm Rettich 156534.

[855] Rosy Wertheim to Karel Mengelberg, 8 November 1946, in archive Karel Mengelberg NMI 3161-01; Rosy Wertheim to Marius Flothuis, 1 June 1947, in archive Marius Flothuis NMI 3351-01. Many thanks to Albert van der Schoot for sharing this find.

[856] *Omroepgids*, 14 February 1948. Gezamenlijke programmering. Werken van Rosy Wertheim ter gelegenheid van haar 60ste verjaardag. 1. a. *Petit valse*; b. *Danse champêtre*. Marinus Voorberg, piano. 2. Sonate voor viool en piano. Nap de Klijn en Marinus Voorberg. 3. *Trois morceaux pour flûte et piano*. Mevrouw Henny Landré Compertz, fluit en Marinus Voorberg, piano. 4, Strijkkwartet. Amsterdams Strijkkwartet: Nap de Klijn, 1e viool, Dick Vos, 2e viool, Paul Godwin, altviool en Maurits Frank, cello. *Vrije Geluiden*, 14 February 1948. Gez. pr. Werken van Rosy Wertheim, ter gelegenheid van haar 60ste verjaardag. Met inleiding van Prof. Dr K. Ph. Bernet Kempers.

[857] Kate de Ridder, 'Rosy Wertheim' in *De vrouw en haar huis*, vol 42 no 7, July 1948, 254.

rediscovered in the 1980s.[858]

Immediately after liberation, Ignace Lilien organised a festive concert in Apeldoorn, where he had survived the war in hiding. In return for his service, the composer's belongings were transported back to The Hague, where he had lived before the war.[859] On 12 November 1945, Lilien performed his song cycle *Maria Lecina* and his *Ballade van Westerbork* with Atie Brederode-Bettink;[860] he had last performed with the soprano at the Haagsche Kunstkring (The Hague Arts Circle) only weeks before the invasion.[861] A month later pianist Theo van der Pas performed Lilien's 1941 *Toccata, Fuga en Corale* for piano.[862] In April 1946 Van der Pas performed *Maria Lecina* with Henriëtte Sala.[863]

To conclude, those who had survived the war in hiding were able to restore their contacts with their performance network. As long as they were alive, they were able to promote their music, even if from a sickbed. Most found their way back to the concert hall, even if they were still branded as enemy citizens.

16.2 Returning from the camps

In October 1945, Hans Krieg performed in public again for the first time after the war, at an evening of the Netherlands Zionist Union. The reporter of the *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* (New Israelite Weekly) was happy that after a period of recuperation, the hell of Bergen-Belsen had not diminished the power of Krieg's voice.[864] The fact that Krieg resumed performing relatively soon after his return was as much a miracle as it was a necessity. Six months earlier, on 15 April 1945, concentration camp Bergen-Belsen had been liberated by the British army. In the preceding week, trains with nearly 7,000 *Austauschjuden* (exchange

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[858] Hans Heg, 'Nederlandse kamermuziek uitsluitend op compact disc,' *De Volkskrant*, 13 November 1987. Advertisement for a compact disc titled 'Aspecten van de Nederlandse Kamermuziek', *Algemeen Dagblad* 19 November 1987. Stichting Vrouw en Muziek (Foundation Woman and Music) organised a concert including music by Rosy Wertheim on 26 February 1989. 'Prime-concert rond Nederlandse componistes,' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 24 February 1989. Stichting Vrouw en Muziek also organised a concert dedicated to Rosy Wertheim in the Recital Hall of the Amsterdam Concertgebouw on 8 October 1989. 'Voorkeur - Muziek; Vrouw & Muziek,' *NRC Handelsblad*, 5 October 1989.

[859] Frans van Ruth, 'Ignace Lilien' in Alders and Pameijer, *Suppressed composers in the Netherlands*, 198.

[860] Advertisement in *Het Vrije Volk*, 24 October 1945.

[861] *Haagsche Courant*, 18 April 1940.

[862] Van E., 'Theo van der Pas' in *Het Binnenhof*, 13 December 1945.

[863] J.K. [John Kasander], 'Henriette Sala - v.d. Pas' in *De Maasbode*, 10 April 1946.

[864] 'Propaganda-bijeenkomst Nederlandse Zionistenbond,' *Nederlands Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 26 October 1945. 'Hans Krieg, de bekende musicus en zanger van 't Joodsche en Jiddische lied trad op dezen avond weer voor het eerst op. Het was een vreugde dat uit de hel van Belzen [sic] deze man terug was gekomen en door zijn wijze van vertolking ons weer de diepe inhoud van het Joodsche lied kon doen hooren. Gelukkig heeft na zijn herstel, zijn stem niet geleden en heeft zijn voordracht aan innigheid, zoo mogelijk, nog gewonnen. Wij onderschrijven dan ook de wensch, dat hij nu nog zeer lang de Joodsche kunst zal mogen dienen.'

Jews) had been sent off in the direction of Theresienstadt. Hans Krieg and his family were on board the last train, going back and forth, searching its way along demolished railroad tracks for ten days, without food or water. When the train was finally liberated by the Russians near the small village of Tröbitz on 23 April 1945, Krieg and his wife were too feeble to walk. Their two young daughters looked after them until help came.[865] Eventually, with the help of the American forces, the family returned to the Netherlands on board a train arriving in the southern province of Limburg.[866] Deprived of German citizenship by Hitler during the war (the so called *Ausbürgerung*), the Dutch Military Authority now again considered them German — and thus enemy — citizens. After years of immense horrors and humiliation, for three weeks, they were now incarcerated in a convent in the little village of Mamelis, together with Dutch national socialists.[867] Hans Krieg was then admitted to the repatriation hospital in Maastricht together with his daughter Suze, while his wife Regine Krieg-Sternlieb and their youngest daughter Mirjam stayed with family in Amsterdam.[868] On 23 July 1945, Krieg was deemed fit enough to return 'home'. The whole family then lived with their Amsterdam relatives for some months.[869] Around the time of his first post-war public performance in October 1945, Krieg also resumed his teaching activities.[870] Robbed of their (grand)mothers Helene Krieg-Proskauer and Josefine Sternlieb-Hecht, their health, their house, their belongings and a large part of their network, there wasn't much to celebrate.[871] The house the Kriegs were forced to leave in 1943 had soon after been taken by other people.[872] In February 1946, a floor of a house in Prins Hendriklaan in Amsterdam was offered to them by an acquaintance known to Krieg as a freemason.[873] Daughter Mirjam

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[865] Mirjam Krieg, interview in 'De Wandeling', 15 April 2011. Archive Sound & Vision Resource ID 2101608130111341031

[866] Mirjam Krieg, interview dated 30 November 2021.

[867] Mirjam Krieg, personal communication. See also 'Het snoer der dagen,' *Het Nieuws*, 4 January 1946 and 'Van het ene kamp naar het andere,' *De Waarheid*, 3 July 1945.

[868] Hans Krieg to Regine Krieg-Sternlieb, dated 29 June 1945.

[869] Based on documents in the Amsterdam city archives, the Krieg family stayed with Krieg's sister Margarethe and her husband. Daughter Mirjam remembers that there were horrible rows with Margarethe and the family stayed with brother Erwin instead. Mirjam Krieg, personal communication.

[870] *Nederlands Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 25 October 1945, advertisement.

[871] Helene Krieg-Proskauer was killed in Sobibor on 28 May 1943. Josefine Sternlieb-Hecht was killed in Auschwitz on 26 March 1944.

[872] On 17 May 1943, the Kriegs were forced to move to the Jewish ghetto, while on 26 July 1943, Arnoldus Pielage moved to Molenbeekstraat 37-I from Haarlem. He lived there until October 1946, joined by Helena Pielage-Hoogstijns on 1 December 1945, repatriated from Germany. Amsterdam City Archives, Woningkaarten, archive no 5445, inventory number 234.

[873] Mirjam Krieg, interview 30 November 2021. Based on documents of the Amsterdam City Archives, the Kriegs moved to Prins Hendriklaan in February 1946. In *Nederlands Israëlietisch Weekblad* of 21 June 1946, an advertisement is published, announcing Krieg's new address in Prins Hendriklaan.

recalled that the family received no government help.[874] On the contrary, being enemy citizens, their assets (if any) were blocked by the authorities. Files of the institution executing the law on enemy assets show that the Krieg family owned three guilders and three cents, the author's fees received from Buma after the war. Most of their belongings had been robbed when they were sent to Westerbork.[875] Krieg's brother Erwin and his non-Jewish wife were also sent to Westerbork (Erwin even twice), but sent home again because of their mixed marriage. Still, their small business in leather goods and their home were plundered as well.[876] Krieg started his non-enemy procedure in December 1945 with statements by several trustworthy acquaintances, including his old neighbour; a year later a positive statement from the Amsterdam Head of Police was added to his file. On 1 July 1947, the non-enemy certificate was issued, followed by the release of his assets (three guilders) in December that year.[877] Resuming his teaching and performing activities had been a bare necessity. It took Krieg more than a year after his return to Amsterdam, to fully get back on his feet and present himself as a composer of music for the concert hall. On Sunday evening 1 December 1946 a concert was dedicated to Hans Krieg in the Recital Hall of the Concertgebouw.[878] However, Krieg continued to focus on Jewish (folk) music to provide for his family. For example, with his daughter Mirjam he performed Jewish songs for the Dutch Airforce.[879]

Composer and pianist Hans Franco Mendes arrived in Camp Westerbork on 29 September 1943. Due to his entry on a list of Jews with special merit, he was sent on to Theresiënstadt on 4 September 1944. Early in 1945, he arrived in Switzerland and was repatriated from there.[880] On 30 June 1945 in Lausanne, at a celebration of Prince Bernhard's

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[874] Mirjam Krieg, interview 30 November 2021. 'Ja, nee, de ontvangst van Nederland was heel slecht, ze hebben echt niets voor ons gedaan […] we hebben totaal niets gekregen. Ook geen financiële steun of zo. Nee, dat was heel slecht.'

[875] Nederlands Beheer Instituut, folder Hans Krieg 116441.

[876] Nederlands Beheer Instituut, folder Erwin Krieg116440.

[877] Nederlands Beheer Instituut, folder Hans Krieg 116441.

[878] *Nederlands Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 22 November 1946. Other concerts that weekend at the Concertgebouw: 2 December Recital Hall — Musica Antiqua; 1 December matinee Recital Hall — Charlotte Köhler performs Dostojevski; 30 November Recital Hall — piano recital Johan van den Boogert; 1 December matinee Great Hall — Concertgebouworkest led by Charles Munch with pianist Nicole Henriot in a French programme.

[879] Major G.J.H.J. Meijer, Dutch Ministry of War, Air Force Dept, to Hans Krieg, dated 9 October 1954. Collection Amsterdam Jewish Historical Museum, D015082.

[880] Registration card Westerbork DocID 130286473, and transport card to Theresienstadt DocID 4982006, accessed via Arolsen Archives. Hans Franco Mendes was part of a group that arrived in Camp Westerbork from Camp Barneveld. Harpist Rosa Spier also belonged to this group. See also J. Presser, *Ondergang: de vervolging en verdelging van het Nederlandse Jodendom, 1940-1945*, Monografieën / Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie nr. 10 ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij ; Nijhoff, 1965). On 15 July 1945, *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer* published a list of survivors from Theresienstadt who arrived in Switzerland, including Hans (Henri) Franco Mendes, his wife Elsa Franco Mendes-Boas, violinist Sam Swaab [sic] and harpist Rosa Spier.

birthday, he performed in the Dutch Club with violinist Sam Swaap; the programme included his *Six Waltzes* for piano solo.[881] On 21 January 1946, the same duo performed a programme including Mozart, Debussy, Beethoven, Reger and Schubert in Leiden.[882] On 21 May 1946, together with his colleague Henk Geirnaert, who had temporarily taken over Franco Mendes' position as director of the Leiden Music School, the composer performed a programme with works by Reger, Hindemith, Saint Saëns and Bach.[883] After several years of ill-health, during which his music was performed by Theo van der Pas and Iskar Aribo, Franco Mendes died on 27 April 1951.[884]

16.3 Commemorating the fallen in performances

While during the first weeks after German capitulation concert life boomed and many concerts were given to celebrate liberation, to thank the liberators and raise money to relieve needs and rebuild demolished cities, in the autumn of 1945 the first concerts were given to commemorate the fallen (those who died defending the country or as members of the resistance) and express sorrow and grief, but these hardly ever included music by persecuted composers.[885] The need to reconstruct the nation and create a common narrative around a shared experience of resistance, victory and loss overruled the acknowledgement of the persecution of Jews. These commemorative concerts often celebrated canonical composers like Beethoven and Bach but on 10 October 1945, the Concertgebouw Orchestra premiered *Piae Memoriae* by Dutch composer Guillaume Landré, written in 1942 to commemorate those who fell defending the country and combining 'heroic themes' with 'melodic melancholy' according to critic Piet Tiggers.[886] The programme further included excerpts from Mendelssohns *Midsummernight's Dream* and Schumann's *Piano Concerto* performed by Jewish pianist Myra Hess — admired for her London lunchtime concerts throughout the war.[887] Four days later, Landré's music was programmed again in a 'people's

[881] Archives Hans Franco Mendes, NMI 3052-01.

[882] Archives Hans Franco Mendes, NMI 3052-01.

[883] Programme in archive Hans Franco Mendes, NMI 3052-01.

[884] 'Hans Franco Mendes' in *Leids Jaarboekje 1952*, archive Hans Franco Mendes, NMI 3052-01. The archive also contains programmes of concerts featuring Franco Mendes' music.

[885] In the visual arts too, commemoration often focused on those fallen in the resistance rather than Holocaust victims. Although the Amsterdam Municipal Museum mounted an exhibition 'to commemorate fallen and persecuted artists' (*Het Parool*, 27 June 1945), the Rijksmuseum 'honoured not the victims, but the resistance' with an exhibition titled *Kunst in Vrijheid* (Art in Freedom). Jolande Withuis, *Geen tijd verliezen: Jeanne Bieruma Oosting 1898-1994* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2021), 241–42. 'In het Rijksmuseum werden niet de slachtoffers geëerd, maar het verzet.'

[886] Piet Tiggers, 'Piae Memoriae van Landré; allereerste uitvoering,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 12 October 1945.

[887] Overbeeke, *Nederlandse muziek bij Nederlandse symfonieorkesten, 1945-2000*, 6.

concert', this time together with Saint-Saëns' *Cello Concerto* performed by Jewish cellist Samuel Brill, a protégé of Willem Mengelberg who had survived in hiding.[888] As an exception to the rule, on 19 December 1945, the Utrecht Municipal Orchestra USO organised a concert 'to commemorate the Utrecht musicians who never returned from the hell of Auschwitz'.[889] In the programme, their names were listed: harpist Celina Samuels, violinist Eveline Schuijer-Lopez Salzedo, her husband, cellist Louis Schuijer, and violist Bram van der Star.x[890] The orchestra was led by its flutist Piet van der Hurk, who survived concentration camps Vught and Dachau, and included Marius Flothuis' *Concerto for Flute and Orchestra*, written in camps Vught and Oranienburg, as well as a *Sinfonietta* by Nico Richter, who was also a prisoner in Vught and had died shortly after his repatriation from Dachau. Soloist was flutist Everard van Royen, fellow inmate in Vught and dedicatee of Flothuis' concerto. Despite the concert's dedication, no music by victims of the gas chambers was performed. The camp survivors involved had all been arrested and incarcerated for their resistance activities, including the Jewish composer Nico Richter.

From May 1946 onwards, one year after German capitulation, the Concertgebouw would organise yearly concerts to commemorate liberation, titled *Bevrijdingsconcert*, or Liberation Concert. In 1946, Anthon van der Horst's *Te Deum* was programmed, followed by Diepenbrock's *Te Deum* a year later and Léon Orthel's *Kleine balletsuite* in 1948 (written in 1947 and not related to the war). In 1949, a new Liberation Concert tradition started with the Concertgebouw Orchestra performing Beethoven's Egmont Overture, led by Otto Klemperer. A year later, Erich Kleiber led the orchestra in Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, followed by the same program in 1951, again led by Klemperer. No music of Dutch composers or suppressed composers was performed until 1956, when Henri Arends led the orchestra in a performance of Sem Dresden's *Oboe concerto* (1939) alongside works by Bizet, Berlioz, and Rudolf Escher (*First Symphony*, 1954, first performance). In 1957, Beethoven's *Eroica* was programmed alongside the first performance of choral works by Anthon van der Horst. It would be the last of the Liberation Concerts, in the following years the orchestra was performing abroad around 5 May.[891]

Two compositions written during the war remained relatively popular over the years, also beyond a commemorative context. In the first year after the war, Jan van Gilse's *Treurmuziek* (Music of Mourning, a funeral march) from the opera *Thijl* was performed seven times in Amsterdam as well as abroad, once in Maastricht at a concert to commemorate the

[888] Frits Zwart, *Willem Mengelberg: een biografie / Deel 2, 1920-1951.* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2016), 426.

[889] 'Piet van der Hurk voor het USO,' *De Waarheid*, 17 December 1945.

[890] Archive Ary Schuijer, NMI 3749-01.

[891] 'Zoeken in Het Artistiek Archief', accessed 1 February 2024.

great April strike of 1943 as a response to razzias to round up men to work in Germany. Conductor Eduard Flipse brought this music back on the programme in Rotterdam for three concerts in 1953. Haitink conducted this work four times in Amsterdam in the 1970s and the last time it was performed by the Concertgebouw was on 4 May 1995 (Remembrance Day), again under the baton of Haitink.[892] Rudolf Escher's *Musique pour l'esprit en deuil* (Musique for the spirit in mourning) — written in 1942/3 and endowed with a prize by the city of Amsterdam — was premiered by the Concertgebouw Orchestra on 19 January 1947.[893] As this instrumental work has no words, anyone could mirror their own war experience in it. In his programme notes, Escher wrote how lyrical melismas yield to a tumultuous theme. 'It becomes a power struggle, lyricism must die', he wrote.[894] Music critic Paul Sanders wrote how it wasn't just mourning that exuded from the music, but how he was touched by 'the logical, unavoidable build-up to a redemptive ending, a bright future that rises up from the sombre sounds, not to be darkened again.'[895] Throughout the years, chief conductors of the Concertgebouw Orchestra performed this piece 31 times but never in a commemorative context.[896] Neither of these compositions explicitly refer to the Holocaust, which is obvious, since they were written at a time when the full size of the disaster wasn't known yet.

16.4 Lack of commemoration of Holocaust victims

Except for the concert in Utrecht in December 1945, none of these orchestral commemoration concerts programmed or even mentioned the victims of persecution, despite the fact that information on what happened in the camps was widely available in June 1945. A year before, the first news on the mass murders in Auschwitz had been published in illegal newspapers.[897] After liberation of the southern and eastern part of the Netherlands, news on the concentration camps in a report of the War Refugee Board was published in the local newspapers as well, mentioning the horrendous details of the mass murder of at least two million men and women.[898] Already in January 1945, news on the fate of Dutch Jews in Poland was published in the newspapers in the liberated part of the Netherlands. The

[892] Ibid., accessed 1 February 2024.

[893] Ibid., accessed 24 January 2024.

[894] 'Donemus Webshop — Home', accessed 4 March 2025, https://webshop.donemus.com/action/front/home.

[895] Paul F. Sanders, 'Bekroond werk van Rud. Escher uitgevoerd,' *Het Parool*, 20 January 1947.
'Toch is het niet alleen de rouw, die uit de stemming dezer muziek spreekt. Wat bij het luisteren juist diep trof, was de logische, onafwendbare bouw naar het als verlossing werkende slot, was het lichtend verschiet dat uit de sombere klanken opdoemt en zich niet meer laat verduisteren.'

[896] 'Zoeken in Het Artistiek Archief', accessed 1 February 2024.

[897] 'Het martelkamp van Ravensbruck,' *Vrij Nederland*, 29 July 1944.

[898] 'Twee miljoen menschen werden omgebracht in twee kampen,' *De Gelderlander*, 6 December 1944

magnitude of the disaster became known early May 1945.[899] Only days after liberation, detailed reports were printed in all newspapers, now no longer illegal. On 27 May 1945, psychiatrist Dr. Eduard Zeldenrust, survivor of several concentration camps, talked on the radio about what happened in the camps. A report of this radio talk was printed in the newspapers.[900] The allied forces spread thousands of pictures of emaciated prisoners.[901] On 10 March 1946, a radio play was broadcast — with music by Hans Krieg — based on the book *De oorlog die Hitler won* (The war that Hitler won, started by journalists Heymans and Minkenhof and finished by their colleague Han Wielek).[902] The book gave a very detailed and personal eyewitness account of all anti-Jewish measures and deportations from the Netherlands, followed by survivor accounts of imprisonment in Theresienstadt and mass murder in Auschwitz. The cast of the radio play included surviving Jewish actors Liesbeth Sanders, Jo Sternheim, Enny Mols-de Leeuwe and other members of the radio theatre group that collectively resigned in August 1941.[903] The diaries of Anne Frank were first published in 1947. Already in 1950, *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging* (Chronicles of the persecution of the Jews) by Abel Herzberg, survivor of Bergen-Belsen, was published as part of a larger standard work on the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands.[904] However, a full-text search in the Dutch newspaper database Delpher shows that although there was plenty of talk on concentration camps in the press as early as 1945, Jewish victims were not often explicitly mentioned.[905] This is in line with Bettine Siertsema's finding that more than half of the memoirs from the camps published during the first years after the war was written by Christian authors rather than Jews.[906] During the first years after liberation — despite the easy access to information on what would much later become known as the Holocaust — commemoration focused on resistance, national pride and victory, while the fate of the

[899] *Le-ezrath Ha-am*, 2 May 1945.

[900] 'Auschwitz,' *De Heerenveensche koerier*, 4 June 1945. After a few years of regular reports by survivors and news on the Neurenberg trials, news on Auschwitz diminished in the newspapers in the 1950s.

[901] Laarse, *Nooit meer Auschwitz?*, 24.

[902] *Avrobode*, 10 March 1946. Han Wielek is a pseudonym of Wilhelm Kweksilber, a German Jewish refugee who worked for the Jewish Council in Amsterdam. The book was started during the war by journalists Hugo Heymans and H. Minkenhof, who were both murdered by the Nazis. Wielek, married to a non-Jewish wife, finished their work.

[903] *De Radiogids*, 9 March 1946.

[904] Abel J. Herzberg, *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging, 1940-1945*, 5e, herz. dr. ed. (Amsterdam: Querido, 1985).

[905] Delpher.nl search on 'concentratiekamp*' (concentration camp*) yields more than 32,000 mentions in Dutch newspapers between 1 May 1945 and 31 December 1949, while 'concentratiekamp* PROX Joden' (concentration camp* PROX Jews) yields only 358 mentions during the same period; 'concentratiekamp* PROX Jood*' yields 56 mentions during this period. A full discourse analysis of printed newspapers and magazines could further refine this inkling but lies beyond the scope of this research.

[906] Vree and Laarse, *De dynamiek van de herinnering*, 111.

Jewish part of the Dutch population received little attention.[907] As Rob van der Laarse concluded, most people didn't really grasp the magnitude of the disaster, while reconstruction, the Cold War and the Indonesian war of independence demanded their full attention.[908]

Despite all the available information on mass murders, in the early months after liberation, the fate of individual Jews transported to the east was still unknown. As the administration of Transit Camp Westerbork was isolated — it was strictly forbidden to share information on the whereabouts of prisoners — and for a large part destroyed by the Germans, Dutch municipal administrations had no information on deported citizens. In a recent article, Raymund Schütz wrote how thousands of Jewish citizens administratively vanished.[909] Administrative files salvaged from liberated camps like Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen were handed over to the Information Bureau of the Dutch Red Cross, whose task it was to determine the time and place of death of missing citizens, based on surviving transport lists and reports of eyewitnesses.[910] For many composers killed in the camps, official death certificates were only issued years after the war had ended. For example, the Red Cross report on Dick Kattenburg was issued in November 1951, concluding that he must have died somewhere between 22 May and 30 September 1944 in Auschwitz.[911] However, Nora Coppenhagen-Smit, Leo Smit's sister who survived in hiding, must have feared early on that her brother would not return. A few weeks after liberation, she visited a former pupil and asked to have the portrait of Smit that he drew, explaining that 'she had nothing left that reminded her of her brother.'[912] This may have meant that the music manuscripts had not been returned to her yet.

On 21 May 1945, five years to the day after being fired, Jewish conductor Albert van Raalte was asked to form a new orchestra, the Radio Philharmonic Orchestra. Six weeks later, on 26 June 1945, the orchestra held its first rehearsal, opening with the national anthem. The first broadcast on national radio *Herrijzend Nederland* (Resurgent Netherlands) was aired on 7 October 1945 with Chausson's Symphony op. 20, Ravel's *Ma mère l'Oye,* Franck's *Variations Symphonique* and Dukas' *l'Apprenti Sorcier*. Soloist was pianist Willem Andriessen.[913] In an interview preceding this historic radio concert, Van Raalte had spoken

[907] Ibid., 7.

[908] Laarse, *Nooit meer Auschwitz?*, 27.

[909] Raymund Schütz, 'De Administratieve Verhulling van Het Lot van Vervolgden Tijdens de Endlösung: Bureaucratische Paradoxen Bij Het Registreren, Verhullen En Vernietigen van Persoonsgegevens', *Tijdschrift Voor Geschiedenis* 135 (2022): 54, https://doi.org/10.5117/tvg2022.1.004.schu.

[910] Ibid., 44.

[911] Declaration of the Red Cross, in private archive Joyce Bergman-van Hessen.

[912] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 310.

[913] Stokvis, *Radio Nederland*, 17–18.

about the many musicians who had not returned, and whose music we would never hear again. However, he didn't want to dwell on this for too long; 'life goes on and let's now listen to happy sounds'.[914] During the orchestra's first season, no music was performed by composers killed during the war. Dutch composers included Peter van Anrooy, Johan Wagenaar, Henriëtte Bosmans, Hendrik Andriessen, Dirk Schäfer, Cornelis Dopper, Willem and Guillaume Landré, Alphons Diepenbrock, Jos. Wouters, Hans Osieck and Leon Orthel.[915]

All in all, until well into the 1960s, the dominant commemorative narrative left little space to honour victims of the Holocaust in official events.[916] In 1999, Pieter Lagrou wrote: 'In the austere reconstruction ethic that dominated Dutch society in the first two post-war decades, the war was presented as an ordeal that had strengthened social cohesion and national identity. This anonymous and genuinely 'national' memory was harsh towards those who had suffered more and suffered differently. Milieux de mémoire were disruptive for the consensual commemoration; resistance veterans, labour conscripts, survivors of concentration camps and Jewish survivors of the genocide in particular suffered from a lack of recognition of their particular fate, from a lack of support, in the face of both their material indigence and their need for consolation and integration into the national narrative.'[917] After a peak around 1945-6, mentions of the *Jodenvervolging* (Holocaust) and Auschwitz in the Dutch press were at an all-time low in the early 1950s.[918] In May 1947, a questionnaire was launched to gain insight into the perceived the effects of war; only 19% of the respondents mentioned the persecution of Jews.[919] The 'racist character of the persecution of Jews' did not match the national narrative of 'heroism, the meaningful sacrifice and historic continuity'.[920] The Dutch government did not support the erection of monuments for civilian victims and Jewish victims could not be an exception.[921] Six months after liberation, in November 1945, the Hollandsche Schouwburg — the place where Jews were gathered awaiting their deportation to Westerbork and beyond — was redecorated

[914] 'Dirigent Albert van Raalte over eerste uitzending Radio Philharmonisch Orkest voor Radio Herrijzend Nederland,', archives Sound and Vision, dated 8 October 1945, ResourceID 2101608080068741031. 'Maar laten we hier niet bij stil blijven staan. Het leven gaat voort en laat ons nu naar vrolijke klanken gaan luisteren.' See also Lelieveldt, 'Kwaliteit en verscheidenheid; Radio en de klassieke muziekwereld', 151.

[915] Stokvis, *Radio Nederland*, 19.

[916] Frank van Vree, *Nederland en de herinnering aan de Jodenvervolging, 1945-2024* (Almere: Verbum, 2024), 47–48; 63.

[917] Pieter Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation: Patriotic Memory and National Recovery in Western Europe, 1945-1965*, Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare (Cambridge ; Cambridge University Press, 1999), 293–95.

[918] Frank van Vree, *Nederland en de herinnering aan de Jodenvervolging, 1945-2024*, 66.

[919] Rob van Ginkel, *Rondom de stilte: herdenkingscultuur in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2011), 118.

[920] Frank van Vree, *Nederland en de herinnering aan de Jodenvervolging, 1945-2024*, 51.

[921] Ginkel, *Rondom de stilte*, 119.

and reopened as 'Piccadilly' to erase bad memories.[922] In September 1946, a performance of Strauss' operetta *Die Fledermaus* was scheduled in this theatre. Hans Krieg conducted the *Amsterdamsche Operette Amateurs Vereeniging* (Amsterdam Amateur Operetta Society) but when he heard about the venue, he withdrew.[923] In the end, the performance was cancelled, because many professional musicians decided to withdraw at the last minute.[924] In October 1946, a committee was formed to decide on a more proper destination for the building. Donations — including a substantial amount donated by Queen Wilhelmina — enabled the committee to buy the building in 1947.[925] After years of differences of opinion on what could be a suitable destination, the Hollandsche Schouwburg was officially opened as a place of remembrance as late as 1962.[926] Between 1960 and 1965, the television documentary *De Bezetting* (the occupation) still confirmed the narrative of repression and resistance.[927] At the same time, however, publications on the persecution of Jews reached a wider audience. Especially the publication of Jacques Presser's *De Ondergang* (The downfall) shocked the nation and destroyed the myth of massive resistance.[928] In 1970, after much debate and hesitation, also within the Jewish community, Queen Juliana unveiled a national monument to commemorate the Jewish victims on the grounds of transit camp Westerbork.[929]

16.5 Commemorating individual composers

Despite the fact that Daniël Belinfante was an active member of NVvHM and performance of his compositions were on the rise just before the war, so far, I have found very little evidence of him being commemorated or his music being performed during the first postwar decade. In a 2005 radio documentary by Ger Poppelaars and musicologist Wim de Vries, former student Wil Huizinga said that his wife Martha never spoke about Belinfante's music, which to her belonged to the past.[930] Sim Gokkes, whose *Shéhérazade* for orchestra had been performed in the summer of 1940 in a Maneto study concert, was only remembered for his Jewish music in one article by his colleague Max Vredenburg for the *Nieuw Israëlitisch*

[922] H. Wielek, 'Joodsche Schouwburg,' *Tijd en Taak*, 22 December 1945, 5.

[923] *Het Parool*, 28 September 1946.

[924] 'Artisten weigerden op te treden in den Hollandsche Schouwburg,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 October 1946.

[925] 'Hollandse Schouwburg zal geen plaats des vermaaks worden,' *Het Parool*, 19 November 1947.

[926] David Duindam, *Fragments of the Holocaust: The Amsterdam Hollandsche Schouwburg as a Site of Memory*, 1st ed., Heritage and Memory Studies (Amsterdam: University Press, 2019), 47, https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048538256.

[927] Ginkel, *Rondom de stilte*, 382.

[928] Ibid., 383–84; Presser, *Ondergang*.

[929] Frank van Vree, *Nederland en de herinnering aan de Jodenvervolging, 1945-2024*, 48.

[930] 'Wij waren met meer', episode 2, broadcast by NIK on 15 May 2005, Archives Sound and Vision, Resource ID 2101608080071908831.

Weekblad.[931] There seems to be no record of his music being performed after the war prior to its rediscovery in the 1990s. In 1939, Bob Hanf's Symphony won a second prize in a Rotterdam composition contest; violinist Louise Wijngaarden and pianist Hans van den Hombergh performed Hanf's *Violin Sonata* (1930) in a recital at the Stedelijk Museum in 1956, in what seems the only performance prior to his rediscovery in the 1990s.[932] This concert series had been initiated by Daniël Ruyneman and Wijngaarden had performed many times in prewar concerts of Ruyneman's NVvHM.[933]

Of all Jewish composers killed in the camps, Smit was one of two composers to be commemorated in public — although not in official commemorations — by friends and colleagues. His prewar mixed Jewish and non-Jewish performance network proved strong enough to allow his music to survive on stage. In the late 1930s, Leo Smit had often accompanied alto Jo Immink and her students during private lessons.[934] During the war, Smit's friend Jacques Beers accompanied Immink in Smit's *Kleine prelude van Ravel* (1938) at an illegal private concert in the home of pianist Olga Moskowsky-Elias (killed in Sobibor).[935] On 22 February 1946, Jo Immink gave the first public performance of this song in the Recital Hall of the Concertgebouw, with Felix de Nobel at the piano. In his review for the former resistance paper *Het Parool*, Paul Sanders wrote that she performed this song 'to commemorate the composer who was killed in the gas chambers'.[936] Harpist Rosa Spier taught Smit's sister Nora and Smit dedicated his *Harp Quintet* and *Concertino for Harp and Orchestra* to Spier. After Spier and cellist/conductor Frieda Belinfante were both repatriated from Switzerland, they formed a quintet. On 23 March 1946, they performed music by Leo Smit alongside quintets by Schubert, Roussel and Debussy.[937] Karel Mengelberg had conducted the premiere of Smit's *Symphony in C* for VARA radio on 2 July 1938.[938] Leo and Lientje Smit often visited Mengelberg and his wife harpist Rahel Mengelberg, staying over for dinner and Smit working on new harp compositions with Rahel.[939] In June 1946, Mengelberg planned to perform Smit's *Symphony in C* at the reopening of the Scheveningen

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[931] Max Vredenburg, 'Over koren en componisten,' *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 3 September 1948.

[932] J.R., 'Ongeanimeerd museumconcert,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 March 1956.

[933] Mia Aleven-Vranken, 'Ruyneman geëerd met hedendaags Museum-concert,' *De Volkskrant*, 16 February 1970.

[934] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 234.

[935] Ibid.

[936] *Het Parool*, 26 February 1946.

[937] Regina Ederveen, *Weg van de harp: biografie over harpiste Rosa Spier* (Rijssen: Cantique, 2011), 115. Spier wrote to Emmy Hürlimann that she formed a quintet with Frieda Belinfante (25 December 1945)
Further members of the quintet were Everard van Royen (flute), Maurits van den Bergh (violin) and Kees Hartvelt (viola).

[938] *Radiobode*, 24 June 1938.

[939] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 191.

Kurhaus but 'due to technical problems' this performance did not materialise.[940] Smit's sister Nora wrote to her cousin Netta that the orchestra had not had enough time to rehearse.[941] Instead, Verhulst's *Gijsbrecht Ouverture* was performed. At the same concert, Géza Frid performed the *Warsaw Concerto* by Addinsell, followed by one minute of silence to commemorate Smit.[942] A year after the war, Daniël Ruyneman — possibly one of the last colleagues to visit Smit at his ghetto address — proposed a series of composer portraits to the temporary broadcasting society rebuilding the national radio (*Radio Nederland in Overgangstijd*, RNIO).[943] On 16 July 1946, the seventh programme in the series was aired, featuring Leo Smit. Smit's *Trio for clarinet, viola and piano* and his *Harp quintet* were introduced by Ruyneman.[944] In his radio talk, Ruyneman assumed that Smit was murdered in Auschwitz, as no one had heard from him after his transport from Westerbork on 27 April 1943. He therefore stated that this radio broadcast also served as a commemoration.[945] On 10 January 1947, Ruyneman's NVvHM organised a concert in the Concertgebouw Recital Hall, opening with Leo Smit's *Divertimento* for piano four hands.[946] In his review, Marius Flothuis referred to the Holocaust by writing that it was still not known where and how Leo Smit had died.[947] The *Divertimento* (November 1942) could have been handed back to Smit's sister Nora by his student Frits Zuiderweg, or the composer may have given it to Daniël Ruyneman when he visited Smit at his ghetto address.[948] The manuscript of the *Divertimento* only became publicly available after October 1947, when Smit's sister Nora handed her brothers legacy over the newly founded music library Donemus.[949] On 13 November 1951, in a speech at her sixtieth birthday celebration in the Concertgebouw, harpist Rosa Spier commemorated Smit, having written several works for harp.[950]

The second composer to be commemorated in public — although based on his merit

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[940] *De Tijd*, 8 June 1945.

[941] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 321.

[942] Frid, *In tachtig jaar de wereld rond*, 89.

[943] Oskamp, *Een Behoorlijk Kabaal Een Cultuurgeschiedenis Van Nederland In De Twintigste Eeuw*, 163.

[944] *Radiogids*, 13 July 1946. 'RNIO 17.00 Hedendaagse Nederlandse Kamermuziek, VII, LEO SMIT. 1. Inleiding door Daniël Ruyneman; 2. Trio voor klarinet, altviool en piano (1938): a. Allegretto scherzando, b. Lente, c. Finale (eerste uitvoering). Jos d'Hondt, klarinet; Gerard Vermeulen, altviool; Daniël Ruyneman, Piano; 3. Quintet voor fluit, viool, altviool, cello en harp (opgedragen aan Rosa Spier): a. Allegro, b. Lento, c. Allegro vivace. Everard v. Royen, fluit; Maurits van den Berg, viool; Koos Jutte, altviool; Frieda Belinfante, cello; Rosa Spier, harp.' No recording survives.

[945] Vis, *Silhouetten*, 371.

[946] PvN [Piet van Noorden/Eberhard Rebling], 'Moderne muziek,' *De Waarheid*, 11 January 1947.

[947] *De Vrije Katheder*, 7 February 1947.

[948] In a letter to Daniël Ruyneman, Leo Smit invites him over to his house in the ghetto, but it is unknown whether Ruyneman accepted the invitation. Archive Daniel Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01 / 1173.

[949] *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 11 October 1947.

[950] 'Grootse huldiging Rosa Spier,' *De Tijd*, 14 November 1951.

as a choir conductor rather than a composer — was Samuel Henri Englander (1896-1943). On 6 February 1946, Englander was commemorated by his socialist and Jewish networks in a concert organised by his socialist choir *Kunst en Strijd* (Art and Battle). At the concert, Paul Sanders spoke words of praise for the artist who — in a true socialist spirit — had always tried to educate the working class members of his choirs.[951] A few days later Englander was commemorated by *Amstels Mannenkoor Harmonie*, a second choir that used to perform under his baton.[952] On Wednesday 26 October 1949, the two choirs joined forces with Krieg's Amsterdam Jewish male choir, in a concert organised by a special committee to commemorate Englander in the Amsterdam Concertgebouw. The programme included the premiere of *Jiskor*, a composition by Hans Krieg dedicated to Englander.[953] Krieg had started writing *Jiskor* (a Hebrew prayer to remember the dead) in camp Westerbork.[954] The performance of the four movement work for mixed choir, alto, bass and organ — starting with an organ Prelude followed by Psalm 22 and *O merciful God*, a prayer for the soul of the departed (both sung in Dutch) and a postlude for organ — was broadcast live on VARA radio.[955] In the *New Israelite Weekly*, Max Vredenburg complained about the limited attention in the newspapers and the lack of interest of prominent Jews. He was especially upset by the fact that compositions of former collaborators received more attention from newspaper critics.[956]

16.6 Musical memorials

In his 2023 book *Time's Echo; The Second World War, the Holocaust, and the Music of*

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[951] 'Typescript van 'In memoriam S.H. Englander (1998-1943)' op 6 februari 1946 uitgesproken bij een herdenkingsconcert in de Vrije Gemeente', Archive Paul F. Sanders International Institute of Social History (IISG) Amsterdam, https://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH02903, no. 114. According to the newspapers, a speech was held by Alderman A. de Roos; perhaps Sanders wrote this speech for him. The choirs that were led by Englander decided to form a committee to raise money to erect a monument in his honour. The purpose of the concert on 25 October 1949 was to raise the money. The honorary committee included Sem Dresden, Otto de Nobel, Fred. J. Roeske, Paul Sanders and Jo Vincent (*Het Parool*, 1 July 1949).

[952] 'Amstels Mannenkoor Harmonie,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 12 February 1946.

[953] 'Herdenkingsconcert S.H. Englander,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 27 October 1949. *Jiskor* is an Ashkenazi Jewish prayer for the peace of the soul of the departed.

[954] *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 6 April 1956.

[955] *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 7 October 1949; *Overijsselsch Dagblad*, 25 October 1949.

[956] Max Vredenburg, 'Herdenkingsconcert S.H. Englander,' *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad,* 11 November 1949. 'Want er is in de dagbladen beslist onvoldoende aandacht besteed aan de avond als geheel, aan Hans Krieg's compositie "Jiskor" in 't bijzonder. Wel is het ons meer malen opgevallen, dat wanneer een concert niet precies past in het gangbaar concertkader en (of) niet van een of andere impressario uitgaat, vele kunstredacties zich er van afmaken, door in plaats van een gefundeerde recensie, 'n vaak ongetekend "verslagje" afdrukken. Er wordt soms zoveel notitie genomen van werk afkomstig van collaborateurs, dat bij deze eerste uitvoering van (religieuze) muziek door een stadgenoot gemaakt voor de zielerust van een gedeporteerde Amsterdammer werkelijk meer had kunnen worden opgemerkt dan 'n enkel woord!'

Remembrance Jeremy Eichler described how music can function as a memorial, how it can 'bring closer that which is distant, and confound the one-way linearity of time' and how, in this sense, 'music shares a profound affinity with memory itself'.[957] In general, the memorial function of music can provide performance opportunities. For example, in 2018, the music of Dick Kattenburg was performed during the Holocaust memorial concert in the Spanish Senate.[958] In 2024, Corrie Hermann presented the story of her father, composer and cellist Pál Hermann in the European Parliament, during a Holocaust Remembrance ceremony. That evening, Hermann's music was performed by pianist Dimitri Malignan.[959] However, in the Netherlands, music that reminded listeners of the Holocaust was not programmed at commemoration concerts during the first postwar years, as we have seen earlier in this chapter. Only music memorials that did not disturb the narrative of resistance and victory, including Landré's *Piae Memoriae or* Escher's *Musique pour l'esprit en deuil* were performed.

Almost all banned composers wrote music referring to the war, expressing their experiences in music. Considering the dominant narrative on resistance and victory, it comes as no surprise that patriotic songs were relatively popular in the early postwar years. Theo Smit Sibinga composed *Een strijdbaar man* (1949, on a resistance poem by Jan Greshoff *Ik sla de trom* (I beat the drum)), to commemorate *Schout-bij-nacht* (Rear Admiral) C.H. Brouwer; Bertus van Lier set the same text by Greshoff to music to commemorate Nicolaas Alexander Stempels (executed on 9 October 1943). Van Lier's song was performed at the Maneto Concert *Vrije Klanken* in June 1945 and on 18 January and 21 February 1949, together with *Zingende soldaten* (Singing soldiers, on words by Martinus Nijhoff) by Lex van Delden (1919-1988) at a concert of male choir Apollo, led by Fred Roeske (broadcast on radio).[960] Both songs had to be repeated.[961] On 17 December 1951, at a jubilee concert of Geneco, both

[957] Eichler, *Time's Echo*, 12–13.

[958] In January 2018, *Romanian Melody* by Dick Kattenburg was performed in the Spanish Senate in Madrid by the Arteil Ensemble (https://www.circulobellasartes.com/espectaculos/concierto-repertorio-prohibido-1938-1945/, accessed 4 March 2025).

[959] Web stream: https://multimedia.europarl.europa.eu/nl/webstreaming/solemn-ceremony-on-international-holocaust-commemoration-day-2025_20250129-0900-PLENARY accessed 4 March 2025. https://www.dimitrimalignan.com/agenda?lang=en accessed 4 March 2025.

[960] 'Fred J. Roeske zestig jaar dirigent,' *Het Parool*, 2 December 1948; V.d. G., 'Buitengewoon concert Apollo,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 19 January 1949. 'Van Lier toonzette het bekende gedicht van Greshoff in de bezettingstijd, oorspronkelijk voor een zangstem met piano. Later werkte het hij het om voor vierstemmig mannenkoor met twee piano's en ten slotte ook voor mannenkoor met orkest. In deze versie, die wij gisteravond voor het eerst hebben gehoord, is het koor vrijwel doorlopend unisono behandeld, terwijl aan het orkest, een belangrijke partij werd toegewezen. In een strak, obsederend marstempo voorgedragen, zal het stuk waarschijnlijk een nog grotere uitwerking hebben dan gisteravond het geval was. Men vindt er de verbeten, tegelijk defensieve en agressieve stemmingscomponenten uit de voorbije duistere jaren op uiterst suggestieve wijze in gerealiseerd en het is zeker verantwoord hier te gewagen van een met meesterschap, maar ook uit het hart geschreven werk van Van Lier.

[961] Piet Tiggers, 'Roeske en Apollo,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 February 1950.

songs were performed again, together with *Marschlied* by Flothuis on words by Slauerhoff.[962] Van Lier's song remained on the repertoire for many years to come.[963] Moss Wolff (1907-2001) composed music to accompany the Jan Campert's poem *De achttien dooden* (The eighteen dead).[964] While in hiding, he also composed songs on poems by Greshoff and *Valerius Triptique*, inspired by *Valerius' Gedenckklanck*.[965]

Many composers also wrote abstract music with a title referring to the war. In addition to the above-mentioned works by Guillaume Landré and Rudolf Escher, Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman wrote a *Sonata 1943* for piano. Lex van Delden composed a ballet *Symbool* for the June 1945 dance event *Op vrije voeten* (On free feet) and Bertus van Lier wrote a ballet *Katharsis* (1945) for Sonia Gaskell.[966] All of these musical memorials were performed within five years after liberation. Lilien's *Fourth Symphony* — composed while in hiding — was premiered by the The Hague Residentie Orkest on 19 April 1947 and again performed in Apeldoorn by the Arnhem Orchestral Society on 14 October that same year. The critic of the local newspaper wrote: 'Lilien went into hiding in Apeldoorn and his symphony represents the composer's sorrow and anxiety.'[967] Perhaps apart from Lilien's symphony, which referred to feelings experienced by most people, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, all of the above compositions fitted perfectly in the dominant commemoration narrative focusing on resistance. Music commemorating the mass murder of Dutch Jews was performed much more sporadically.

Despite the Holocaust being absent from most official commemoration concerts,

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[962] Lex van Delden, 'Roeske introduceerde nieuw marslied Flothuis,' *Het Parool*, 18 December 1951.

[963] Lion Contran, 'Postaal Mannenkoor "Kunst naar kracht",' *De Waarheid*, 4 November 1952. 'Een van de beste momenten van dit concert was de compositie van Bertus v. Lier op het bekende verzetsgedicht van J. Greshoff: Ik sla de trom. Dit koorwerk ademt een nieuwe, progressieve geest en is een bijzondere aanwinst op het koorrepertoire.' Repeated 8 February 1953 by Amstel's Werkman led by Kees Kef (Ad Interim, 'Amstel's Werkman en Postharmonie,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 February 1953. Some examples of other composers writing pattriotic songs: Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman wrote *Uit het diepst van mijn hart* (1945, From the bottom of my heart), *Moed* (1943, Courage), *Oranje-May lied* (1944), *Holland* (1943), *Je maintiendrai* (not dated); Lex van Delden composed *Zingende soldaten* (1945, Singing soldiers, words by Nijhoff), *Strofe uit bezet gebied* (1947, Strophe from occupied territories, words by Max Nord); Moss Wolff was yet another composer to set Greshoff's poem to music, as well as Jan Campert's poem *De achttien dooden* (The eighteen dead) on the execution of resistance fighters, published in the illegal press in 1943 (Flothuis, Marius, 'Frisia non cantat' in *De Vrije Katheder* 2 May 1947; In addition to *Daar komen de Canadezen*, Henriëtte Bosmans composed *Doodenmarsch* (Death march) on words by Clara Eggink (1944).

[964] The Hague Municipal Archive, archives Anthing Vogel family, archive no 0709-1-917. This poem recites the execution of 13 members of the resistance on 13 March 1941. Campert himself died in Neuengamme on 12 January 1943.

[965] 'Nieuws uit de kunstwereld,' *Het Parool*, 4 August 1945.

[966] Paul Sanders, 'Op vrije voeten,' *Ons Vrij Nederland*, 7 July 1945. As with the chamber music concert on 9 June 1945 at the Concertgebouw, the dance performance *Op vrije voeten* reopened the stage for ballet after the art pause.

[967] 'Residentie-Orkest; Ignace Lilians [sic] vierde symphonie,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 April 1947; 'Arnhemse Orkestvereniging,' *Nieuwe Apeldoornsche Courant*, 15 October 1937.

thanks to survivors like Hans Krieg, the mass murders were represented in music life early on. Krieg wrote a song *Waar bleven de Joden van ons Amsterdam* (Where have the Jews of our Amsterdam gone), which was sung on 1 February 1946 by Josje de Rooy in a programme of Jan Lemaire's political cabaret *De Lantaarn* (The lantern). The critic of communist newspaper *De Waarheid* thought the performance of this beautiful song deeply moving.[968] Jan Lemaire's programme was also brought in Arnhem on Labour Day 1946, at a gathering of the Communist Party, where Krieg himself performed the song.[969] Ignace Lilien composed *Ballade van Westerbork* (1943) while hiding in Apeldoorn. The two movements of the ballad are titled 'Razzia - the hunted' and 'The children's train'. The ballade was performed on 12 November 1945 by Atie Brederode-Bettink in the *Koninginnekerk* in Amsterdam, with the composer at the piano.[970] In 1952, Max Vredenburg wrote *Lamento* for viola and piano in memory of his sister, violinist Elsa Verveer-Vredenburg, to be performed in a radio broadcast of a viola recital by Klaas Boon, accompanied by Marinus Flipse on 19 May 1953.[971] In general, remembering Jewish victims was further limited to private and small scale events.[972]

After more than a decade, compositions memorialising the Holocaust slowly entered the more public and official commemorations. In 1955, on the basis of the Postlude of the *Jiskor* performed in 1949 commemorating Henri Englander, Hans Krieg composed another version of *Jiskor* for soprano and string orchestra, adding a text to lament all brothers and sisters, friends and children killed in the concentration camps. He dedicated this version to the Philharmonic Orchestra of Israel. On 13 April 1956, a version for soprano and piano was broadcast, sung by his daughter Mirjam Krieg, accompanied by Jan Nederpelt.[973] On 4 May 1959, after the national commemoration on Dam square in Amsterdam, Krieg's Jewish choirs together with Mirjam Krieg performed *Jiskor* in the Municipal Theatre.[974] Later that year, Krieg orchestrated and further expanded *Jiskor* for mixed choir, soprano, alto, bass and

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[968] 'Politiek en cabaret,' *De Waarheid*, 2 February 1946. 'Diep ontroerend is het prachtige 'Waar bleven de Joden.'

[969] *Arnhemsche Courant*, 2 May 1946. 'Aangrijpend was ook het door de pianist Hans Grieg [sic] zelf gezongen en gecomponeerde lied "Joden van Amsterdam".

[970] *Het Vrije Volk*, 24 October 1945. Archive Ignace Lilien, NMI 3009-01 / 009-165.

[971] *Katholieke Radio-gids*, 17 May 1953. With her husband, son and daughter, Elsa Verveer-Vredenburg was killed in the gas chambers. Arolsen archives https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/130389908 accessed 23 August 2024. Joods Monument https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/142898/elza-betsy-verveer-vredenburg accessed 23 August 2024.

[972] Frank van Vree, *Nederland en de herinnering aan de Jodenvervolging, 1945-2024*, 68.

[973] 'Hans Krieg zingt eigen liederen voor de V.A.R.A.,' *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 6 April 1956.

[974] 'Volk één bij herdenking,' *De Telegraaf*, 5 May 1959. At this time, the national ceremony at Dam square in Amsterdam – a tradition that started ten years after the war – was still officially dedicated to those (soldiers and citizens) who fell defending their country. However, in 1958, Otto Frank reported to be a guest at the ceremony. (*Het Vrije Volk*, 5 May 1958).

full orchestra. The full work now consisted of six movements and this version was premiered in Amsterdam on 27 February 1960 at a jubilee of the Amsterdam Jewish Male Choir. Dedicated to 'all who perished as a result of persecution' and recorded on tape, this performance was broadcast by Radio Jerusalem on 23 April 1960, Holocaust Remembrance Day.[975] 'This work could have been written in Mahler's time. It is written for large forces of mixed choir, three vocal soloists and symphony orchestra and breathes the spirit of late romanticism', Leo Hoost wrote in his review for the *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* (New Israelite Weekly). Hoost was especially moved by the Postlude with its 'almost unearthly lightness and intimacy creating a uniquely moving evocative atmosphere.'[976] On 23 May 1965, three years after Krieg's death, the last movement of the orchestral version of *Jiskor* was again performed, this time in the Main Hall of the Concertgebouw by soprano Elisabeth Lugt with the socialist choir *Stem des Volks* (Voice of the People) and an orchestra conducted by Anton Krelage jr. The concert commemorated 140 Jewish choir members who had sung their last concert with the choir on 6 May 1940.[977] Hans Lachman composed a *Requiem* for Henri Vullinghs, the priest who had saved so many, including the Lachman family, but was himself murdered in Bergen-Belsen. It was broadcast on Remembrance Day, 4 May 1960, performed in Vullinghs' church in Grubbenvorst by the Klein Radiokoor (Radio Chamber Choir) and Radio Kamerorkest (Radio Chamber Orchestra) led by Jewish conductor Maurits van den Berg with soloist tenor Cornelis Kalkman.[978]

Some compositions relating to persecution and Holocaust remained private memories for a long time, never to be performed or only decades after the war. For example, Joan Fresco composed a *Marche funèbre* for piano solo (still awaiting performance); on the manuscript is written in pencil 'Deportatie' (Deportation) and 'zum 13 April 1943, deportatie mijner ouders, zuster en broer' (on the occasion of 13 April 1943, the deportation of my parents, sister and brother).[979] Rettich's *Sinfonia Giudaica* (1943-5, subtitled 'In memoriam fratrum') received its first performance in Frankfurt, Germany, more than 35 years after the war, 1981.[980] The Dutch premiere followed in 1986, performed by the Radio Symphony

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[975] *De Tijd-Maasbode*, 11 April 1960.

[976] Hoost, Leo, 'Kriegs Jiskor in première; Jubileumconcert van Amsterdams Joods Mannenkoor,' *Het Parool*, 29 February 1960; Leo Hoost, 'Joodse koren op hun best; première van Hans Kriegs "Jiskor",' *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 4 March 1960.

[977] 'Herdenkingsconcert,' *Het Parool*, 4 May 1965. Father and son Krelage had been important links in Kriegs prewar performance network, see p. 110.

[978] Jos Smits van Waesberghe, 'In memoriam van een onverzettelijke held; verrassende vergissingen,' *Vrij Nederland*, 14 May 1960; Igor Cornelisse, 'De wijn van pastoor Vullinghs,' *Het Parool*, 1 April 1995.

[979] Archive Joan Fresco, NMI 3753-01.

[980] 'Mahnmal,' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5 January 1995.

Orchestra led by Jan Stulen for NCRV radio.[981] A performance at the 125th year anniversary of the Frankfurt Botanical Gardens in 1996 was recorded and released on CD. The anonymous author of the liner notes wrote that plans for first performance in London shortly after the war never materialised due to conflicts between the United Kingdom and the new state of Israel.[982]

[981] Overbeeke, *Nederlandse muziek bij Nederlandse symfonieorkesten, 1945-2000*, appendix 814.

[982] 'Sinfonie Nr. 3 op. 53 Sinfonia Giudaca', liner notes Bohemia Music BM0023-2031, 1994.

17. Postwar networks

Far away in the United States, Julius Hijman followed Dutch early postwar music life through correspondence. Immediately after liberation, he started sending out letters and packages with food and clothes to his colleagues and friends Daniël Ruyneman, Karel Mengelberg, Matthijs Vermeulen and French composer Louis Saguer.[983] In 1946, Hijman performed Ruyneman's *Ninth Sonatina* for piano in Chicago and probably also encouraged Dutch-American conductor Hans Kindler to perform Ruyneman's *Partita* for strings in Washington.[984] In return, Ruyneman programmed two songs by Hijman, sung by Paula Lindberg in a concert organised by NVvHM in the Recital Hall of the Amsterdam Concertgebouw on 10 January 1947.[985] For the first time in 1948, finances allowed Hijman to revisit his birth country. He was able to arrange concerts in Paris, Amsterdam and The Hague and two radio broadcasts, performing his own music in a programme with American composers, including Bernard Wagenaar.[986] From that moment on, music of Hijman the composer was only performed in the Netherlands by Hijman the pianist, on the rare occasions he could afford the journey.[987]

In September 1945, from Kansas City, Julius Hijman wrote to his colleague and friend Karel Mengelberg: 'When you write to me, please tell me how your circle is doing, especially Leo Smit. My sister, who now lives in The Hague again after being in hiding for two and a half years, writes me that Rosy Wertheim is still alive. I have already received a letter from Ruyneman. I also read that there has been a Landré-Van Lier-Hendrik

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983 Hijman to Ruyneman, 16 September 1945. Archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI, archive no 3166-01/1621; Hijman to Mengelberg, 13 September 1945. Archive Karel Mengelberg, NMI 3161-01; Hijman to Saguer, 4 March 1945, archive Louis Saguer, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, archive no N.L. a 142-41; Hijman to Ruyneman, 3 February 1946, archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01/1622; Hijman to Vermeulen, 28 April 1946, Matthijsvermeulen.nl accessed 29 August 2024.

984 *De Linie*, 23 August 1946. Hijman had met Kindler on the ship 'Nieuw Amsterdam' when he travelled to the US in 1939. At that time, Kindler was the conductor of the Washington Symphony Orchestra (Hijman to Karel Mengelberg, 17 August 1939, archive Karel Mengelberg, NMI 3161-01).

985 Marius Flothuis, 'Nederlandse muziek in januari,' *De Vrije Katheder*, 7 February 1947.

986 'Julius Hijman vertelt van Amerika's muziekwereld,' *Het Parool*, 2 June 1948; *Trouw*, 1 June 1948; Piet Tiggers, 'Nieuwe Amerikaanse pianomuziek,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 June 1948.

987 See for example: Bertus van Lier, 'Pianomuziek uit Amerika; Julius Hijman in De Suite,' *Het Parool*, 21 June 1952; *De Radiogids*, 18 July 1954. Some rare exceptions: Gijs Bergman performed Hijman's *Antifoon* for organ on 2 May 1952 in the German Church in Amsterdam (*Het Vrije Volk*, 3 May 1952); baritone Henk Kroes performed songs by Hijman in April 1954 at the Stedelijk Museum (*De Tijd*, 5 April 1954), while Louise Wijngaarden and Hans van den Hombergh performed *Three dances* for violin and piano at the Stedelijk Museum in March 1956 ('Ongeanimeerd Museumconcert,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 March 1956). Both concerts were programmed by Daniël Ruyneman, initiator of the monthly concerts of contemporary music at the Stedelijk Museum ('Praeclassieke en moderne muziek in het Stedelijk Museum,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 March 1952).

Andriessen concert, where many equally justified names were omitted; and I read that Rudi has been fired from the Concertgebouw. In my fantasy, I could not resist to connect these two facts.'[988] Three months later in a follow-up letter to Karel and Rahel Mengelberg he wrote: 'You brought us tremendous joy with your letter: among all correspondence received from Holland so far, concerning musical life, your letter was most elaborate and offered most insights. Especially the mess of purging worked out as I more or less expected; could it be any different? I hope the heated tempers will calm quickly and music life can be rebuilt, but I expect the contrary will be the case in the near future. None of the letters that provided content information gave me any encouragement to return to the Netherlands; my work in Maas Street was not exactly brilliant, you know all about it. We will stick around here; I am too old already and I no longer have the courage to give Amsterdam yet another try. There I would only find the old (and completely infertile) oppositions.'[989]

17.1 Rival networks

In his letters to Karel Mengelberg, Hijman was referring to the prewar animosity between the group around the Dutch chapter of ISCM (including Dresden, Hendrik Andriessen, Pijper and his pupils Sanders, Van Lier and Guillaume Landré) and Ruyneman's NVvHM (including Hijman, Smit, Belinfante and Wertheim).[990] This prewar divide between the two networks persisted during the war. As we have seen, already in 1937, members of ISCM's Dutch chapter had participated organising Maneto concerts.[991] The same group, chaired by Sanders, was responsible for the Gala Concerts of 9 June 1945 at the Concertgebouw.[992] Months before liberation, Sanders and Van Lier had joined the illegal founding committee of

[988] Julius Hijman to Karel Mengelberg, 13 September 1945, archive Karel Mengelberg NMI 3161-01. Rudi is Rudolf Mengelberg, who was fiercely attacked in the illegal magazine *De Vrije Kunstenaar* (The Free Artist, September 1944, 131-2). The author was anonymous, but soon after, another version of the article was signed Bertus van Lier (Hans van Lier, 'Bertus van Lier', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 189–90).

[989] Julius Hijman to Karel Mengelberg, 2 December 1945, archive Karel Mengelberg NMI 3161-01. 'Je hebt ons met de brief een groot plezier gedaan: van alle correspondentie tot dusver uit Holland ontvangen was jullie brief, wat het muziekleven betreft, het uitvoerigste en bood het meeste inzicht. Met name de zuiveringsrotzooi loopt min of meer zooals ik het verwacht heb; kan het anders? Ik hoop dat de gemoederen gauw bedaren en het weer tot een werkelyk muziekleven komt, maar mijn verwachting voor de naaste toekomst gaat eigenlyk uit naar het tegendeel. Geen der brieven, die steekhoudende mededeelingen bevatten, is een aanmoediging voor my, om terug te komen; myn werkkring in de Maasstraat was toch ook niet bepaald schitterend, je weet er toch alles van; wy zullen dus hier blyven hangen; ik ben te oud alreeds en heb niet meer de moed om het in Amsterdam nóg eens te probeeren. Ik zou er slechts de oude (en totaal onvruchtbare) tegenstellingen vinden.' Before the war, Julius Hijman and his family lived at Maas Street 76III in Amsterdam.

[990] See pp. 90-5.

[991] See p. 95.

[992] Programme Concert 'Vrije Klanken' 9 and 10 June 1945, IISG, archive Paul Sanders ARCH 02903-65.

the *Federatie van Kunstenaarsverenigingen* (Federation of Artists' Associations).[993] This initiative grew out of two groups working on plans to reorganise the arts after liberation.[994] Van Lier had already been a member of the The Hague group that started in the autumn of 1941, protesting against the *Kultuurkamer*.[995] The second group, based in Amsterdam, centred around editors of the illegal magazine *De Vrije Kunstenaar* and Jan van Gilse had been one of its initiators.[996] As both Sanders and Van Lier contributed to *De Vrije Kunstenaar,* it is likely they knew about this initiative as well. Late in 1943, both groups started to work together.[997] This Federation had close connections to the exiled Dutch government in London and sent its plans for postwar music life to London, responding to questions of the government.[998] A strong conviction in Federation circles was that only those who had opposed the Nazis would be eligible to take the lead in postwar music life, especially after the honours bestowed on them by Queen Wilhelmina.[999] Already in the first meeting of the Federation's founding committee in October 1944, the idea for a brief art pause was discussed and how the committee would play a role in reopening music life.[1000] As long as performances did not explicitly celebrate resistance and victory, Jews were also allowed to participate, but only if they 'behaved well' during the war.[1001] Of course, Jewish composer Géza Frid, who had forged documents and joined the Domestic Armed Forces, qualified as a well-behaved Jew and was allowed to perform during the opening Gala Concert. This attitude of favouring those who had taken a stand against the Nazis during the war also explains why the death of those active in the resistance was commemorated on the evening of 9 June at the Concertgebouw, while Jewish victims of deportation were not.[1002]

Paul Sanders, Bertus van Lier and Guillaume Landré — all students of Willem Pijper, members of the ISCM network and members of the resistance — soon filled many important

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[993] Fenna van den Burg, *Kunstenaars van Nederland!: om eenheid en zeggenschap : het ontstaan van de Federatie van Kunstenaarsverenigingen en de Raad voor de Kunst 1942-1950*, Boekmanstudies (Amsterdam: Boekmanstichting / Van Gennep, 1987), 45–46.

[994] Ibid.

[995] Ibid., 23.

[996] Ibid.

[997] Ibid., 24.

[998] Ibid.

[999] Ibid., 103–9. *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, November 1944.

[1000] Ibid., 48.

[1001] Ibid. Van den Burg and Kassies quote from the minutes of the first meeting of the board of the illegal federation of artist societies of 10 October 1944: 'Indien die voorstellingen niet het karakter dragen van een manifestatie, of iets in de geest van het zichzelf op de borst slaan, dan is er ook geen bezwaar tegen, dat Joden, mits zij zich gedurende de bezettingstijd, voorzover in hun vermogen lag, goed hebben gedragen, aan de voorstellingen deelnemen.'

[1002] 'Gezocht verleden', broadcast VPRO, 23 August 1998, Archive Sound and Vision, Resource ID 2101608090078970831. In this radio interview, Marius Flothuis remarked that there weren't many other people who could organise concerts. ('Bij wie anders moest je zijn om die concerten te organiseren')

positions, including board membership of Dutch composers' society Geneco and board membership of Buma, the Bureau for Authors' Rights founded by Geneco. On 25 May 1945, three weeks after liberation, surviving board members of Geneco met to commemorate two board members (Van Gilse and Michielsen) and five members who they knew had died during the war; nothing was known as yet about the fate of deported Jewish members.[1003] A second item on the agenda was to make plans to clear the ranks of collaborators.[1004] Two weeks later, after discussions with Nico Donkersloot, chair of the Federation's founding committee and now head of the Art Department of Section XIV of the Military Authorities[1005], invitations were sent out to Mr. Evert Straat[1006], Piet Tiggers[1007] and Marius Flothuis, to form a committee to screen members' political attitude during the war.[1008] All accepted the invitation.[1009] Although the screening committee was installed, they did not implement their task due to a lack of proper guidelines. Still, Geneco's board was of the opinion that former members of the Dutch National Socialist Movement would have to be expelled or at least suspended. However, a suspension was only called for when members were convicted by the more official Court of Honour for music. The General Assembly of Geneco would have to sanction any expulsions.[1010] In the meantime, as new composers applied for membership, the board decided to ask for a proof of political trustworthiness, to be issued by the (local) government.[1011]

On 10 April 1946, a letter was sent to all Geneco members asking them to help rebuild the society and propose initiatives, now signed by board members Henri Zagwijn (president), Paul Sanders (vice president), Karel Mengelberg (secretary), Guillaume Landré

[1003] Marius Flothuis, '1945-1986: Consolidatie en Vernieuwing', in *100 Jaar Genootschap Nederlandse Componisten: 1911-2011*, ed. Carine Alders (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2011), 61.

[1004] Ibid.

[1005] Lou de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945* ('s-Gravenhage, Leiden: Nijhoff SDU, 1969), XII, 433.

[1006] Mr. = *Meester* (Master), a Dutch law degree. Before the war, Evert Straat had been a lawyer and editor in chief of *Het Leven*, an illustrated weekly magazine. He was incarcerated as a hostage in German camps for four years (*NRC*, 2 February 1972).

[1007] Piet Tiggers (1891-1968) was a pianist, conductor, music journalist. As a socialist, he devoted much energy to educating youth on music, promoting folk song. In 1923, he followed in the footsteps of Willem Pijper as music critic of the *Utrechtsch Nieuwsblad*. Three years later, he started the Hollandse Kamermuziek Vereeniging (Dutch Society for Chamber Music) with Paul Sanders. Tiggers was arrested in 1943 and incarcerated in Scheveningen and Germany. After the war he resumed his work as music critic and worked for VARA Radio (Eric de Ruijter, 'Tiggers, Petrus Johannes' in Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en de Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland, http://hdl.handle.net/10622/98E49D48-0E97-4E26-B40A-00F7EF67CEAA , accessed 3 December 2024).

[1008] Geneco to Straat, Tiggers and Flothuis, dated 7 June 1945. Geneco archive, NMI 3280-01.

[1009] Marius Flothuis to Karel Mengelberg, 12 June 1945; Piet Tiggers to Karel Mengelberg, 13 June 1945; Evert Straat to Karel Mengelberg, 18 June 1945, Geneco archive NMI 3280-01.

[1010] Minutes of the board meeting 29 March 1946. Geneco archive, NMI 3280-01.

[1011] Karel Mengelberg, secretary of Geneco, to Jos Wouters, 1 April 1946, Geneco archive NMI 3280-01.

(vice secretary), and Bertus van Lier (treasurer).[1012] No reaction was received.[1013] An important topic on the agenda of the first postwar General Assembly of 25 May 1946 was again purging. It was now agreed that Geneco would not conduct its own investigations; members could only be suspended when convicted by the Court of Honour.[1014] The not exactly encouraging attitude of Dr. Eduard Reeser towards what he called 'former illegal activists' was also discussed.[1015] In June 1945, Reeser had been appointed government adviser for music by Hendrik Jan Reinink, director-general of the Department of Arts and Sciences and initiator of the Federation during the war.[1016] By royal decree, he was appointed secretary to the government advisory committee on orchestras and opera later that year.[1017]

Also in the general assembly of 25 May 1946, by acclamation, the members voted in favour of joining the Federation of Artists' Associations, following the unanimous advise of the Society's board and the wishes of the Dutch government, as Bertus van Lier proclaimed during the meeting (this should not come as a surprise, since board members Sanders and Van Lier were among the initiators of the Federation). The plan of the Federation was to have one single association represent each field of art.[1018] Sanders suggested Geneco should take the lead in forming a Composer Section within the Federation.[1019] However, for the field of music, this was problematic, as there were many well-established organisations and with 800 members, the venerated *Koninklijke Nederlandse Toonkunstenaarsvereniging* (Royal Dutch Society of Musicians, KNTV) was the most obvious candidate to represent musicians but it had no official ties to the Federation as yet.[1020] According to musicologist Karel Bernet Kempers, postwar president of KNTV, his name had appeared as a signee of the Federation's postwar manifesto without his consent and soon he turned out to be a fierce opponent to the Federation. Bernet Kempers negotiated that KNTV would join the

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[1012] Letter to the members of the Geneco, 10 April 1946, archive AD Loman Jr. NMI 3213-01 / 2.5.2

[1013] Minutes of the board meeting 13 May 1946, Geneco archive NMI 3280-01.

[1014] Minutes of the General Assembly of 25 May 1946, archive AD Loman Jr. NMI 3213-01 / 2.5.2.

[1015] Minutes of the board meeting 13 May 1946, Geneco archive NMI 3280-01; Pauline Micheels, 'De jaren van opbouw 1945-1955; Een gesproken geschiedenis. Een Oral History Project van het Walter Maas Huis. Interview met Eduard Reeser door Pauline Micheels', 6 July 1995.

[1016] In an interview with historian Pauline Micheels, Reeser stated that the informal group that had met in The Hague regularly during the war to discuss plans, was now officially instated. In this interview, Reeser claims that Bertus van Lier was a member of the Amsterdam group and that there was no contact between the The Hague group and the Amsterdam group. It is most likely that the informal group Reeser is referring to is the group of government advisers that Reinink and Donkersloot brought together and that Reeser did not know the larger organisation behind it very well. Ibid., 10.

[1017] *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 1 November 1945. Reeser was officially appointed secretary to the governmental advisory committee on orchestras and opera on 17 October 1945. Other committee members were J.P. Fockema Andreae (chair), Paul Cronheim, Sem Dresden and Willem Pijper.

[1018] Burg, *Kunstenaars van Nederland!*, 92.

[1019] Minutes of the Geneco General Assembly of 25 May 1946, archive AD Loman Jr. NMI 3213-01 no. 2.5.2.

[1020] Burg, *Kunstenaars van Nederland!*, 98.

Federation, only if they were recognised as the sole representative of musicians, including composers.[1021] KNTV therefore started its own composer section in the autumn of 1946.[1022] Chaired by Sem Dresden, a work committee was founded to come to a united music section of the Federation. However, Bernet Kempers hindered its progress and the Geneco board was unhappy.[1023]

As founding organisation, Geneco was also strongly involved in Buma, the authors' rights association. On 7 May 1945, a meeting took place between music publishers Alsbach and Duwaer and composer Paul Sanders, the surviving members of the prewar Buma board.[1024] Four days later, a new preliminary postwar board was installed including Guillaume Landré and Paul Sanders (president).[1025] Officially, the board of Buma had to be installed by its General Assembly and members of the General Assembly had to be appointed by its member organisations, including Geneco. On 12 September 1945, Buma therefore sent a letter to the board of Geneco, requesting them to appoint seven new members to the General Assembly.[1026] However, for Geneco this request came too early, they wanted to await the outcome of purging first.[1027] Six months later, in a Buma board meeting of 18 March 1946, it was confirmed that Geneco had appointed seven members to Buma's General Assembly, including Daniël Ruyneman, Bertus van Lier and Paul Sanders.[1028]

In 1951, Geneco celebrated its 40th anniversary with a concert of the Residentie Orkest under Willem van Otterloo in The Hague, with soloist Henriëtte Bosmans performing her *Piano Concertino*, and shorter works by Johan Wagenaar, Jan van Gilse, Henk Badings, Hendrik Andriessen, Willem Pijper and Guillaume Landré.[1029] Apparently, the wartime activities of both Badings and Van Otterloo were no longer an issue.[1030] A chamber music concert was further programmed in the Recital Hall of the Concertgebouw on 31 October 1951. The programme included works by Kees van Baaren, Hugo Godron, Henri C. Van Praag, Leo Smit, Rudolf Escher, and Henri Zagwijn and was performed by the *Amsterdams Kamermuziek Gezelschap* and the Concertgebouw Quintet with pianist Felix de

[1021] Ibid., 120–21.

[1022] Minutes board meeting Geneco 20 November 1946, archive Geneco, NMI 3280-01.

[1023] Minutes board meeting Geneco 13 May 1946, archive Geneco, NMI 3280-01.

[1024] Witbraad, *Buma/Stemra, sedert 1913*, 217.

[1025] Ibid., 218. Christiaan Louis Schepp (1876-1948) was a poet who wrote under the name of Jan Prins. Leo Smit set his poem *De Bruid* (The Bride) to music.

[1026] Buma to the board of Geneco, 12 September 1945, archive Geneco NMI 3280-01.

[1027] Witbraad, *Buma/Stemra, sedert 1913*, 218.

[1028] Ibid. Wiessing (Buma) to K. Mengelberg (Geneco), 9 May 1946, archive Geneco NMI 3280-01.

[1029] Flothuis, '1945-1986: Consolidatie En Vernieuwing', 63.

[1030] Van Otterloo had been excluded from performing for one year after the war; conducting the *Europasenderorchester* was considered his most serious offence. Niek Nelissen, *Willem van Otterloo (1907-1978): een dirigentenloopbaan* (Westervoort: Van Gruting, 2009), 129 ff.

Nobel. In his review, Lex van Delden particularly praised Smit's *Sextuor*.[1031] In a final anniversary concert on 23 December 1951, Eduard van Beinum led the Concertgebouw Orchestra in music by Dopper, Henkemans, Van de Griend and Karel Mengelberg.[1032] The concert was broadcast on 17 January 1952. The programming showed how by now, the programme deviated from what Hijman in 1945 had referred to as a 'Landré-Van Lier-Hendrik Andriessen concert'.[1033]

17.2 Network merger

How did Daniel Ruyneman's network around the Netherlands Society for Contemporary Music — with active members like Julius Hijman, Leo Smit, Daniël and Martha Belinfante and Rosy Wertheim — pick up the threads after the war? During the war, Ruyneman had continued organising public concerts and had accepted commissions and prizes from the Nazi government, so obviously he was not invited to participate in the Maneto liberation concerts.[1034] After receiving some support from NMB during the first years of the war, his NVvHM had also received a monthly allowance from DVK.[1035] As soon as the art pause ended, however, Ruyneman resumed organising concerts and re-established a society to continue the work of the Permanent Commission for International Exchange Concerts, with the objective to produce gramophone records with Dutch music for international distribution.[1036] On 3 February 1946, Julius Hijman wrote to Ruyneman from Kansas rejoicing in Ruyneman's announcement of three NVvHM concerts in the Recital Hall of the Concertgebouw. In May 1946, the first concert featured a French programme, while on 10 January 1947, the second concert featured songs by Julius Hijman and music by Rudolf Escher and Leo Smit.[1037] In his review for former illegal newspaper *Het Parool*, Paul Sanders wrote: 'The *Divertimento* for piano four hands, the last composition, written in 1943 by Leo

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[1031] Lex van Delden, 'Veertig jaar "Genootschap" - Nederlandse muziek in de Kleine Zaal,' *Het Parool*, 1 November 1951. '[…] Leo Smit spreidt in zijn Sextet voor vijf blazers en plano (1933) een bijna verbijsterende compositorische virtuositeit ten toon, en deze muziek die naast talloze sublieme fragmenten helaas enkele banale plekken bevat, moet als werkstuk dan ook meesterlijk worden genoemd.'

[1032] 'Voor 40-jarig Genootschap - Nederlandse werken op belangwekkend concert,' *Het Parool*, 22 December 1951; Flothuis, '1945-1986: Consolidatie En Vernieuwing', 65.

[1033] See p. 50 fn. 194.

[1034] *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 3 February 1941. 'De sectie Holland van de I.S.C.F.M. staakte haar werkzaamheden, maar de Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche muziek verdubbelde haar activiteit. Zij organiseerde reeds twee uitmuntende concerten met werken van Diepenbrock, Ruyneman, Hendrik Andriessen, Badings, Ketting, Hindemith, Pijper, Karel Haba, Ketting, Eisenmann, Roussel e.a.'

[1035] Notulen Nederlandsche Muziekbelangen 9 Juni 1941, NMI archive 3342-13/9; Lurvink, 'De Nederlandse componisten in de muziekpolitiek tijdens de bezetting'.

[1036] *De Tijd*, 17 August 1945.

[1037] P.F. Sanders, 'Fransche muziek,' *Het Parool*, 10 May 1945.

Smit, who was sent from Westerbork to one of the destruction camps in the east never to return, turns out to be an excellent piece, full of good and original thoughts. It was performed with dedication by Miek Engelenburg and Jan Odé. We hope it will be performed more often; it is definitely worth to be known in a wider circle.'[1038] In September 1946, the board of ISCM Section Holland still included Hendrik Andriessen, Guillaume Landré, Bertus van Lier, and Paul Sanders, and was now joined by Lex van Delden, a Jewish composer who survived in hiding and had been active in the resistance.[1039] In these early postwar activities, Hijman recognised the groupings that had made his life difficult in the 1930s (see chapter 17.1). Both Lex van Delden and Marius Flothuis published a brief article on the collaboration between Maneto and ISCM section Holland in *De Vrije Katheder*. In describing the prewar situation of contemporary music concerts in the Netherlands, both authors completely ignored the concert series of NVvHM and the international exchange concerts initiated by them.[1040] Still, already before the war, there had been some loose ties between Ruyneman's network and Geneco/ISCM. Daniël Belinfante, Rosy Wertheim and Leo Smit were not only active in NVvHM, they were also members of Geneco, the last two present during the July 1940 meeting, together with Ruyneman, who had joined Geneco in 1939.[1041] Karel Mengelberg had been a close friend to Smit and Hijman as well as Van Gilse, the founder of Geneco. Soon after the war, Ruyneman became an active Geneco member, participating in the board of the Geneco pension fund.[1042] In 1947, Rosy Wertheim called upon Karel Mengelberg and Marius Flothuis to promote her music and a letter to Flothuis shows that she was also in contact with Van Lier.[1043] On 17 February 1947, apparently having buried the hatchet, Ruyneman's NVvHM and the Section Holland of ISCM jointly organised a concert with music by Messiaen, Martin and Hindemith in the Recital Hall of the

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[1038] Paul F. Sanders, 'Een avond moderne muziek,' *Het Parool*, 11 January 1947. 'Het Divertimento voor piano vierhandig, de laatste compositie, in 1943 geschreven, van Leo Smit, die van Westerbork naar een der vernietigingskampen in het Oosten vervoerd werd om niet meer terug te keeren, blijkt een voortreffelijk stuk te zijn, vol goede origineele invallen. Miek Engelenburg en Jan Odé speelden het met overgave. Het is te wenschen, dat men het vaker te hooren krijgt; het is de bekendheid in ruimen kring waard.'

[1039] *Het Parool*, 23 September 1946. Jan Heyligers probably refers to art historian and museum director Dr. J.C. Heyligers (1897-1978), an expert in French modern art.

[1040] Lex van Delden, 'Hedendaagsche Muziek in Nederland,' *De Vrije Katheder*, 15 November 1946; Marius Flothuis, 'Maneto brengt Belgische en Nederlandse componisten,' *De Vrije Katheder*, 21 March 1947.

[1041] Minutes of the Geneco General Assembly of 6 July 1940, archive Buma NMI 3342-01 / 2163; Minutes Geneco board meeting 9 October 1939, archive Buma NMI 3342-01 / 2163.

[1042] Daniël Ruyneman, secretary Geneco Pension Fund, to Karel Mengelberg, secretary board Geneco, 22 November 1946, archive Geneco NMI 3280-01. Other board members were J. Silberman, Mr. C.A. Wiessing, Fred Roeske and Theo van der Bijl.

[1043] Rosy Wertheim to Marius Flothuis, 1 June 1947, archive Marius Flothuis NMI 3351-01; Rosy Wertheim to Karel Mengelberg, 6 November 1947, archive Karel Mengelberg NMI 3161-01.

Concertgebouw.[1044] Ruyneman now participated in the board of the Section Holland together with Guillaume Landré, Bertus van Lier and Lex van Delden.[1045] ISCM further organised a concert of contemporary music together with Maneto on 14 April 1947 in the Recital Hall of the Concertgebouw, with works commemorating Pijper (who had died less than a month before), and music by Hilding Rosenberg, Hanna Beekhuis, Reine Colaço Osorio-Swaab, Jan Felderhof, Knudage Rüsager and Jørgen Pentzon.[1046] In 1941, before she went into hiding, Colaço Osorio-Swaab had her music performed in two concerts of NVvHM.[1047] In June 1948, at the ISCM music Festival in Amsterdam, French composer Charles Koechlin was made honorary member of ISCM. A party was organised at the house of Max Vredenburg (before the war a prominent member of NVvHM).[1048] In 1947, Paul Sanders — who had severely criticised Hijman and Ruyneman's NVvHM for being amateurish — emigrated to the US, where in 1951, Hijman and Sanders started working together in the Committee for Netherlands Music.[1049]

When the Nazis took control of Buma, the funds of *Stichting Nederlandsche Muziekbelangen* (NMB) had been rescued just in time and, after the war, with these funds NMB started to collect scores of Dutch composers for promotional purposes.[1050] On 13 February 1946, a library was established where musicians could borrow these scores. To decide which scores would be included, a selection committee was formed with Henriëtte Bosmans, Marius Flothuis and Piet Tiggers.[1051] After negotiations between the government — in casu Eduard Reeser, government adviser for music — and NMB, a new foundation Donemus was set up, jointly funded by both NMB and the Dutch government. Donemus officially started in October 1947, with Eduard Reeser as chair of the board and Marius Flothuis as its music adviser.[1052] By then, already 60 composers participated, while the estates of Jan van Gilse, Leo Smit and Nico Richter had been added.[1053] In 1950, André Jurres became director of Donemus. During the war, he had performed in illegal house concerts and attended meetings of the Amsterdam group preparing the reorganisation of postwar

[1044] *Het Parool*, 15 February 1947.

[1045] 'Intern. Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek.' *Trouw*, 14 February 1947.

[1046] Piet Tiggers, 'Concerten van dit weekeinde,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 April 1947.

[1047] 'Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek,' *Het Vaderland*, 23 January 1941; 'Concert van Nederlandsche muziek,' *Het Vaderland*, 19 June 1941.

[1048] 'Internationaal Muziekfestival,' *De Maasbode*, 12 June 1948.

[1049] 'Halfjaarlijks rapport (eerste helft 1951)', archive Paul Sanders IISG, ARCH02903/66.

[1050] Johan Kolsteeg, *Eén Groot Oeuvre: Donemus : Vijftig Jaar Tussen Componisten En Publiek* (Amsterdam: Donemus, 1997), 16.

[1051] Ibid., 20.

[1052] *Het Parool*, 18 October 1947; Kolsteeg, *Eén Groot Oeuvre*. In October 1940, Reeser had already sent a plan for a national publishing house for Dutch composers to Goverts (Ibid., 20).

music life. Jurres lived next door to Bertus van Lier.[1054] By 1951, the list of Donemus composers also included Daniël Belinfante, Robert Hanf and Rosy Wertheim.[1055]

17.3 Court of Honour

On 31 December 1945 Julius Hijman wrote to Karel Mengelberg: 'Dear Karel, there are a few things that I would very much like you to do for me. Some time ago, a brochure was published to support Rudi M. [Mengelberg] and attacking Van Lier, one of the writers was Bernet Kempers. Assuming you have a copy of that brochure, could you please send it to me? Bit by bit, reading different letters, I get an idea of what is happening, and I understand the power struggle is going up and down at the moment. Although it goes without saying that collaborators should not have a say anymore, I feel that the opposite should in no way follow from that: those who participated in the resistance do not automatically possess the talent to be musical leaders, even if it is their biggest desire and even if they have waited for their turn for more than ten years. That, I think, is how I would feel about this if I were in Amsterdam. We can only hope that in the future, as before, musical merit will be the most important aspect deciding on someone's career.'[1056] The analysis in the above-mentioned letters from Hijman to Karel and Rahel Mengelberg was quite accurate. In the chaotic postwar period, the zest for clean slates mixed with the lingering of old animosities greatly influenced performance opportunities. During the first year after liberation, a bitter battle was fought between hard-line supporters of strict purging and reorganisation and those striving to 'go back to normal' as soon as possible.

During a meeting end of March 1945, Nico Donkersloot, chair of the founding committee of the Federation, stressed that the Federation should not be the executor of purging, but the government should take this responsibility. However, the government in exile had not prepared for purging music life.[1057] And so, soon after liberation, the Military Authority — in casu Nico Donkersloot — installed Courts of Honour, without a proper backing in law. Members included composer Jos Vranken, musicologist Eduard Reeser and Concertgebouw Orchestra violist Hans van den Bosch. At the same time, an advisory committee was installed, preparing the documentation for the Courts of Honour.[1058] Sanders

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[1053] 'Faits divers,' *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 11 October 1947.

[1054] Kolsteeg, *Eén Groot Oeuvre*, 43.

[1055] *Muzikaal Perspectief*, no 12, January 1951, 14.

[1056] Julius Hijman to Karel Mengelberg, 31 December 1945, archive Karel Mengelberg, NMI 3161-01.

[1057] Burg, *Kunstenaars van Nederland!*, 51.

[1058] Veld, *De ereraden voor de kunst en de zuivering van de kunstenaars*, 31–32.

and Van Lier served as advisers preparing the complaints.[1059] Decades later, Reeser recalled that he had been asked to participate in the Court of Honour for Music 'to counterbalance Van Lier, who wanted blood'.[1060] Soon after the first verdicts — especially the verdict on Rudolf Mengelberg, artistic director of the Concertgebouw Orchestra — the Court of Honour for Music was heavily criticised on its methods and accused of lacking objectivity. The above-mentioned brochure *Is dat zuivering?* (Is this purging?) was published, fiercely attacking Sanders and Van Lier, who were said to present themselves as courageous resistance fighters ('les purs des purs') without ever having had to make the difficult choice to stop performing, since they both had Jewish backgrounds.[1061] This was a completely unfair comment, as both Van Lier and Sanders were actively protesting fascism as early as 1936, when both were active in the *Bond van Kunstenaars ter Verdediging van de Kulturele Rechten* (Union of Artists for the Defence of Cultural Rights, BKVK).[1062] After a brief period, Reeser left the Court of Honour for music, not agreeing with the ban on music by composers who were found guilty, since not their compositions should have been judged but they themselves should have been judged as citizens. Reeser later recalled he decided to quit the Court of Honour also because of the 'amateurish way of working'.[1063] Reeser and Van den Bosch were replaced by composers Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman and Willem Pijper; conductor C. Walther Boer was added to the team as well. In 1946 pianist and composer Hans Henkemans joined.[1064]

On 17 November 1945, Marius Flothuis wrote in *Vrij Nederland* how the Concertgebouw was still the focal point of music life in Amsterdam and although he applauded the fact that many soloists in the early months after liberation were Jewish or British, he could not understand why the orchestra continued to work with a conductor like Hein Jordans, who had performed under Nazi rule. To Flothuis' dismay, artistic director Rudolf Mengelberg and conductor Jan Koetsier were still advisers to the Society of Friends of the Concertgebouw, despite their ban by the Court of Honour.[1065] In the spring of 1946, to

[1059] van Lier, 'Bertus van Lier', 190.

[1060] Micheels, 'De jaren van opbouw 1945-1955; Een gesproken geschiedenis. Een Oral History Project van het Walter Maas Huis. Interview met Eduard Reeser door Pauline Micheels', 24.

[1061] Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 374.

[1062] Oskamp, *Een behoorlijk kabaal: eencCultuurgeschiedenis van Nederland in de twintigste eeuw*, 123.

[1063] Veld, *De ereraden voor de kunst en de zuivering van de kunstenaars*, 71; Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 337; Micheels, 'De jaren van opbouw 1945-1955; Een gesproken geschiedenis. Een Oral History Project van het Walter Maas Huis. Interview met Eduard Reeser door Pauline Micheels', 24. 'Dus bij die hele gekke zaak van Jan Koetsier, dat was toen mijn laatste zitting die ik toen nog meemaakte, toen zei ik ja maar hoor eens even dit is dermate dilettant, hier ga ik niet mee door.'

[1064] Veld, *De ereraden voor de kunst en de zuivering van de kunstenaars*, 71.

[1065] Marius Flothuis, 'Muziek kroniek uit Nederland,' *Vrij Nederland*, 17 November 1945. Five Courts of Honour to purge the arts were installed by the Section for the Arts of the Military Authorities, led by Nico Donkersloot. Every court had a legal expert as chair and four members. See also Ibid., 31.

remedy the lacking legal basis of purging, a Central Court of Honour was installed, reviewing earlier decisions taken by the five courts for the arts.[1066] In October that year, Bordewijk and Vranken quit the Court of Honour for Music after many convictions were revised by the new Central Court of Honour and earlier verdicts were replaced by much milder punishments.[1067] The five courts of honour for the arts were disbanded in 1948, the Central Court of Honour finished its work in January 1952.[1068]

In 1945, news on the Court of Honour for Music had been published only in a limited number of (formerly banned or illegal) newspapers, such as the communist newspaper *De Waarheid* (The Truth), the socialist newspaper *Het Vrije Volk* (The Free People) and the catholic newspaper *Ons Noorden* (Our North).[1069] Only when the Central Court of Honour started to revise the earlier verdicts in 1946, news was more widely published, especially on famous musicians like conductor Eduard Flipse, pianist Cor de Groot, violinist Herman Krebbers and especially conductor Willem Mengelberg, who saw his lifelong ban reduced to six years.[1070]

In his memoirs, Géza Frid recollected being a member of a 'purging committee' and concluded that the efforts to rid collaborators of influential positions was sabotaged. After one year of 'hopeless struggle' he gave up.[1071] He also suggested the probability that the audience at a recital on 14 December 1945 was abnormally small, because at the box office people were sent away with the excuse that the concert was sold out, presumably a boycot by colleagues who registered for the *Kultuurkamer*. According to Frid, as soon as he gave up his work on the purging committee, this bullying stopped.[1072] Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman 'grew convinced that the musicians who were judged by the Court punished her for her strict attitude during, and especially after, the war.'[1073] Because of their prominent role in purging, especially Sanders and Van Lier had to deal with severe criticism.[1074] The two

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[1066] Ibid., 106.

[1067] Kamp, *Ferdinand en Johanna*, 291.

[1068] Ibid., 299.

[1069] 'Maatregelen tegen de Mengelbergs,' *Het Vrije Volk*, 5 July 1945; 'Willem Mengelberg nooit meer op het podium,' *De Waarheid*, 10 July 1945; 'Jan Koetsier uitgesloten,' *Ons Noorden*, 15 September 1945.

[1070] 'Cor de Groot toch zuiver,' *Bredasche Courant*, 16 October 1946; 'Eduard Flipse gerehabiliteerd,' in *Deventer Dagblad*, 11 November 1946; 'Herman Krebbers gerehabiliteerd,' *De Volkskrant*, 4 February 1947; 'Mengelberg tot 1951 uitgesloten,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 21 October 1947; Zwart, *Willem Mengelberg*, 498–523.

[1071] Frid, *In tachtig jaar de wereld rond*, 87. Frid did not mention who he thought did the sabotaging.

[1072] Ibid., 88–89. Frid may have participated in the advisory committee for the Court of Honour for music, like his colleagues Sanders and Van Lier.

[1073] Elly Kamp, 'Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands*, ed. Carine Alders and Eleonore Pameijer (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 43.

[1074] Claartje Wesselink, 'Paul Sanders', Leo Smit Stichting, 'Forbidden Music Regained', accessed 5 March 2025, https://www.forbiddenmusicregained.org/; van Lier, 'Bertus van Lier', 190.

composers left the Geneco Board in February 1947.[1075] Dissappointed with the outcome of purging and the failure to get rid of prewar pillarisation, Paul Sanders emigrated to the United states in 1947 and almost completely gave up on composing.[1076]

17.4 Press network

Although Herman Rutters, who had continued his work as a music journalist during the war, received his postwar permit to work in March 1947, he never regained his position as music editor of the daily newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad*.[1077] Before the war, he wrote many reviews on Leo Smit, Henriëtte Bosmans, Rosy Wertheim, Julius Hijman and Wilhelm Rettich. Lou van Strien had started his career as a music journalist for the local newspaper *Bussumsche Courant*, he wrote for magazines like *Nieuwe Tijden, Gramophoon Revue* and *Caecilia-Het Muziekcollege* and had started writing about music for the newspaper *De Sumatra Post* in 1930, followed by *Algemeen Handelsblad* in 1932.[1078] In May 1941, he was forced to give up his work to write solely for the *Joodsche Weekblad* (Jewish Weekly).[1079] Van Strien was killed by the Nazis somewhere in central Europe, on 30 June 1944.[1080] Before the war, he had written reviews of music by, for example, Rosy Wertheim, Leo Smit, Henriëtte Bosmans and Hans Krieg. Composer and conductor Theo van der Bijl had been writing reviews for the catholic newspaper *De Tijd* since 1917.[1081] During the war, his reviews started appearing in *De Telegraaf* and *Het nieuws van de dag*.[1082] After the war, he did not return as a newspaper critic, but started to contribute articles to new magazines like *Weekblad Theater* and *De Linie*.[1083] L.M.G. Arntzenius, the music editor of *De Telegraaf*, was not found guilty of bad behaviour in his writings, but his newspaper was forbidden only to reappear in September 1949.[1084] When in 1949, Arntzenius wrote a negative review of Eduard van Beinum, chief conductor of the Concertgebouw, his anonymous colleague in *De Tijd* responded how the

[1075] Invitation General Assembly Geneco 15 February 1947, 30 January 1947, archive Geneco, NMI 3280-01. New candidates are Rudolf Escher, Jan Mul, Marius Flothuis and Jan Felderhof.

[1076] Claartje Wesselink, 'Paul Sanders', Leo Smit Stichting, 'Forbidden Music Regained'.

[1077] 'Herman Rutters,' in *Trouw,* 8 March 1947. 'De commissie voor de perszuivering heeft het certificaat van geen bezwaar uitgereikt aan den heer Herman Rutters, medewerker voor muziek aan het Alg. Handelsblad.'

[1078] *Haagsch Maandblad*, 15 March 1941.

[1079] 'De componist Ernest Bloch,' in *Joodsche Weekblad*, 23 May 1940.

[1080] Arolsen Archives, Document ID 5153312; 'Title.searchPage', Arolsen Archives, accessed 5 March 2025, https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/de/search.

[1081] 'Concertgebouw,' *De Tijd*, 16 April 1917.

[1082] 'Bond van Amsterdamsche Zangvereenigingen,' *De Courant Het nieuws van de dag*, 15 September 1941; 'Bond van Amsterdamsche Zangvereenigingen,' *De Telegraaf*, 15 September 1941.

[1083] Advertisement in *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 5 January 1946; 'Moderne Kerkmuziek,' *De Linie*, 16 August 1946.

[1084] 'De Telegraaf overschreed de grens,' *Het Parool*, 21 October 1946. Huub Wijfjes and Frank Harbers, *De krant:*

days of the older generation had passed and how music life had now liberated itself from the shackles of Willem Mengelberg's admirers. 'The next generation now takes its turn.'[1085] In *Vrij Nederland*, Géza Frid wrote how something had changed since the war and artists now no longer accepted the unfair and political criticism of Arntzenius.[1086] Frid may have forgotten how, in December 1933, Arntzenius wrote very positively about the premiere of his string quartet by the Gertler Quartet.[1087]

The new generation of music journalists consisted mostly of composers who had refused to collaborate with the Nazis, including Lex van Delden (*Het Parool*[1088]), Paul Sanders (*Het Parool*[1089]), Bertus van Lier (*Het Parool,* replacing Paul Sanders in 1947 upon his emigration to the US[1090]), Géza Frid, (*Het Vrije Volk*,[1091] *Vrij Nederland, Symphonia, Mens en Melodie*), Marius Flothuis (*Het Vrije Volk*), Jan Mul (*De Volkskrant*), Max Vredenburg *(De Tijd, Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*), Eberhard Rebling (*De Waarheid*), Rudolf Escher (*De Groene Amsterdammer*) and Piet Tiggers (*Algemeen Handelsblad*). During the war, Paul Sanders, Bertus van Lier, Géza Frid, Rudolf Escher and Marius Flothuis had all contributed to the illegal newspaper *De Vrije Katheder*. Contributors to the postwar music magazine *Mens en melodie* included Karel Bernet Kempers, John Daniskas, Sem Dresden, Marius Flothuis, Géza Frid, Leo Hanekroot, Hans Henkemans, Casper Höweler, Piet Ketting, Lou Lichtveld, Marius Monnikendam, Jan Mul, Herman Strategier, Piet Tiggers, and Matthijs Vermeulen. Although all of the above mentioned critics had known many of the composers killed in the concentration camps, none of them ever wrote a proper in memoriam for any of them, perhaps with the exception of Max Vredenburg in *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*.[1092]

17.5 Radio network

Just like in 1933, when the radio offered jobs to refugees, several surviving composers found performing opportunities with the broadcasting societies after the war. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Hans Krieg resumed his work for VARA radio in March 1946,

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een cultuurgeschiedenis (Amsterdam: Boom, 2019), 232.

[1085] 'Vrijmoedig commentaar,' *De Tijd*, 20 December 1949.

[1086] 'L.M.G. Arntzenius; redivivus,' *Vrij Nederland*, 31 December 1949.

[1087] L.M.G. Arntzenius, 'Gertler-kwartet,' *De Telegraaf*, 5 December 1933.

[1088] 'Biografie – Lex van Delden (Componist)', accessed 13 March 2025, https://lex-van-delden.nl/biografie/.

[1089] Claartje Wesselink, 'Paul Sanders', accessed 13 March 2025, https://www.forbiddenmusicregained.org/.

[1090] *Het Parool*, 3 February 1947.

[1091] Frid, *In tachtig jaar de wereld rond*, 129.

[1092] Max Vredenburg, 'Over koren en componisten,' *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 3 September 1948. Vredenburg limits his overview of Jewish (choral) composers and musicians to 'those who did not witness the end of our beloved Queen's rule'. In the article, S.H. Englander, Jacob Hamel and Sim Gokkes are mentioned. Strangely enough, he includes Israël Olman, who survived Queen Wilhelmina by six years.

collaborating again with director S. de Vries jr. and many of the same group of actors he had worked with before the war. He also composed and arranged music for a programme titled *Rotterdam zoals het was* (Rotterdam the way it used to be), broadcast three months later.[1093] The socialist broadcasting society VARA would also broadcast Jewish programmes. For example, with contralto Paula Lindberg, Krieg performed his own compositions and arrangements of Jewish and Hebrew music and a Chanuka programme was broadcast in December 1946 with Hans Krieg, Ré Koster, Harry Pos and Isja Rossican.[1094] Krieg also sang his own songs, sometimes together with his daughter Mirjam, for VARA Radio.[1095] He was further involved in three VARA radio plays in the 1950s, all on Jewish themes.[1096]

With his extensive German radio experience, Wilhelm Rettich also started to work with VARA radio. Before the war, VARA had broadcast a performance of *Die Freischütz* by Rettich's opera class. On 1 May 1946 he conducted the Radio Philharmonic Orchestra and Radio Choir in his own *Labour Day Symphony*.[1097] It was to be the start of many collaborations with the socialist broadcasting association. On 1 August 1946, Rettich married soprano Elsa Barther, with whom he started to perform his own songs for the radio.[1098] Many recitals followed as well as works for orchestra by Rettich (often conducted by Rettich).[1099] The Amati Trio performed his chamber music.[1100] Rettich composed music for the sound documentary Tel Aviv, written by S. de Vries jr. (broadcast on 15 June 1948 and performed by the Metropole Orchestra led by Dolf van der Linden) and arranged songs a for choir led by Piet Tiggers on the occasion of the 1948 Labour Day celebrations.[1101] On 15 December 1949, George van Renesse performed the première of Rettich's *Piano Concerto* op 54 with the Radio Orchestra led by Henk Spruit.[1102]

From 1 January 1946 onwards,[1103] Hans Lachman started writing arrangements and

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[1093] *De Radiogids*, 22 June 1946.

[1094] *De Radiogids*, 3 August 1946. Paula Salomon-Lindberg fled to the Netherlands in 1939. She escaped from transit camp Westerbork and survived the remainder of the war in hiding. 'Zum Tod der jüdischen Sängerin Paula Salomon- Lindberg - WELT', DIE WELT, accessed 5 March 2025, https://www.welt.de/print-welt/article542849/Zum-Tod-der-juedischen-Saengerin-Paula-Salomon-Lindberg.html.

[1095] *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 6 April 1956; *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 17 June 1960.

[1096] 'Bonse Schweig,' *De Radiogids*, 6 January 1952; 'Voordat ik het vergeet,' Het Parool, 20 November 1957; 'Op de vleugelen van de adelaar,' *Arnhemsche Courant*, 8 April 1958.

[1097] *Omroepgids*, 27 April 1946.

[1098] See for example *Katholieke Radiogids*, 3 November 1946; *Radiobode*, 30 November 1947.

[1099] See for example *Omroepgids*, 20 August 1949; *Radiobode*, 24 September 1950; *Vrije Geluiden*, 9 December 1950; *Vrije Geluiden*, 2 June 1951.

[1100] *Omroepgids*, 26 July 1947.

[1101] *Omroepgids*, 12 June 1948; *Omroepgids*, 24 April 1948.

[1102] *Omroepgids*, 10 December 1949.

[1103] Hans Lachman to Het Nederlandsche Beheersinstituut, 30 July 1946, archive Het Nederlandsche Beheersinstituut, folder Hans Lachman 117524.

entertainment music for various ensembles, including the Concertgebouw Sextet.[1104] In January 1947, his *Artis Suite* for wind quintet was broadcast.[1105] A month later, Ensemble Lachman (wind quintet and piano) was first mentioned, performing music by Schubert, Kreisler, Gershwin (arrangements Lachman) and Lachman.[1106] The ensemble performed for the radio on a regular basis until August 1950.[1107] Lachman then formed two new ensembles, Melodia (performing arrangements and entertainment music) and Moments Musicaux (an instrumental double quartet led by Lachman, performing arrangements of popular classical music).[1108] Occasionally, original compositions by Lachman were performed, like his flute sonata (see p. 180) and three songs for baritone and orchestra.[1109] The radio sheet music archives contain more than sixty of his original compositions and more than 600 arrangements.[1110]

17.6 Jewish network

Some Jewish composers surviving the war fell back on their surviving Jewish networks to earn an income. Almost immediately after his return, Hans Krieg resumed his activities singing Jewish and Hebrew songs at meetings of the Dutch Zionist Union and Chanuka celebrations.[1111] In November 1950, Hans Lachman provided the music at a performance of 'Tewje the milkman' in Zwolle.[1112] In December 1948, Max Vredenburg (music editor of the *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*) organised and presented a concert of Jewish composers, including his own recently composed songs on anonymous Yiddish texts and music by colleagues Hans Krieg, Elsa Barraine and Wilhelm Rettich.[1113] One of the performers was Ré

[1104] Some examples: *Radiogids,* 26 January 1946 (Ensemble Erica Helen); *Omroepgids*, 2 February 1946 (Ensemble Franck); Katholieke radiogids, 17 February 1946 (Orkest Juan Petro); *Radiobode*, 21 April 1946 (Vaudeville Orkest, Ensemble George Frank); *Radiogids*, 10 August 1946 (Concertgebouwsextet).

[1105] *Leeuwarder Courant*, 10 January 1947. Performed for NCRV by Dik Kuiper (flute), Leo van der Lek (oboe), Jan Koene (clarinet), Frans Odijk (bassoon), Adriaan van Woudenberg (horn) and Hans Lachman (piano).

[1106] *Katholieke radio-gids*, 21 September 1947.

[1107] *Radiobode*, 27 August 1950.

[1108] *Vrije Geluiden,* 6 January 1951; *Omroepgids*, 18 November 1950.

[1109] *Vrije Geluiden*, 10 April 1948. Performed by the Radio Chamber Orchestra (Omroepkamerorkest) lead by Anton Krelage, with soloist Otto Couperus.

[1110] 'Muziekschatten', Muziekschatten, accessed 5 March 2025, http://www.muziekschatten.nl/page/339/muziekschatten.

[1111] 'Propaganda-bijeenkomst Nederlandsche Zionisten Bond,' *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 26 October 1945; 'Culturele bijeenkomst,' *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 2 November 1945; 'De Joodsche jeugdcommissie begint haar werk,' *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 30 November 1945; 'Chanoekafeesten in den lande,' *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 14 December 1945.

[1112] *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, 6 November 1950.

[1113] *De Stem van Israël*, 10 December 1948. A concert was held on 30 November 1948 in the Minerva Paviljoen, including arrangements and compositions by Hans Krieg, Elsa Barraine, Max Vredenburg, Wilhelm Rettich,

Koster, who also performed songs of Rettich, Krieg and Vredenburg in Zürich.[1114] On 16 January 1946, Rettich accompanied cantor P. Moskowitz, on a Jewish evening organised in Enschede. He also and accompanied Jewish songs at a local gathering of the Jewish Youth Committee on 3 March 1945.[1115]

While the Jewish network in the Netherlands had suffered great losses from the Holocaust, its scope now included Israeli music life. Max Vredenburg started a society 'Friends of Jewish Music' to coordinate cultural exchange with the nascent state of Israel.[1116] In 1936, Bronisław Huberman had founded the Palestine Symphony Orchestra; many of its musicians were German refugees, handpicked by Huberman while touring Europe.[1117] In 1948, the orchestra was renamed Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and in 1955, to allow for the orchestra to perform in the Netherlands, a fundraising committee was formed with Lex van Delden, Paul Godwin, Géza Frid, Isja Rossican, Rosa Spier, Max Vredenburg, Sam Swaap, Marjo Tal and Samp Tromp.[1118] Not only was Hans Krieg's composition *Jiskor* broadcast on Israeli radio (see p. 198), in July 1961 Krieg travelled to Israël with his Amsterdam Jewish choirs to participate in the international Zimria choir festival.[1119]

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performed by the Rotterdam Philharmonic Sextet and Ré Koster. Organised and introduced by Max Vredenburg. 'Muziek van Joodse componisten,' *De Waarheid*, 2 December 1948.

[1114] 'Korte kunstkroniek,' *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 14 January 1949.

[1115] 'Enschede,' NIW, 8 February 1946 ; 'Districtsdag 3 maart,' *Tikvath-Israel*, March 1946.

[1116] 'Genootschap vrienden van Joodse muziek,' *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 3 December 1948.

[1117] 'Huberman wil internationaal orkest oprichten,' *Groninger Dagblad*, 24 January 1936.

[1118] *Het Parool*, 24 June 1955.

[1119] 'Koren terug uit Israël,' *De Telegraaf*, 10 August 1961.

18. Production and survival of sources

Rare postwar performance opportunities led to limited production of sources like announcements and reviews. Moreover, the emotional impact of dealing with the belongings of murdered relatives hindered the assembly of archives. Sometimes what little was left was treasured by surviving relatives, stashed away in boxes in attics and sheds, remaining unopened for years because their contents were too painful to look at. Moreover, people did not consider offering estates to an archive if their relative had become completely unknown as a composer. Even manuscripts that survived the war may have been lost when no one recognised their value. Only when the Leo Smit Foundation introduced these persecuted composers to a wider audience — many concerts were broadcast on national radio — did people come forward with manuscripts and stories.

18.1 Orphaned manuscripts

In the Netherlands, hardly any orchestral music was published before the war. Dutch publishers like Alsbach or Broekmans & Van Poppel only published chamber music and songs. Composers mostly took care of their own handwritten scores, making them vulnerable to looting, as we have seen in chapter 11.9. For obvious reasons, it is difficult to make an inventory of manuscripts that were lost — especially if they were never performed or published — but in September 1940, Geneco sent a printed list of orchestral works by its members to conductors, directors and board members of Dutch orchestras and choirs.[1120] The list mentions several compositions by banned composers that have not been found so far, including *Symphony No. 1* and *Suite de la Mort* for orchestra by Daniël Belinfante, a *Suite for chamber orchestra* by Sim Gokkes, *Fabel* (Fable) for cello and orchestra and *Rhapsodie* for piano and orchestra by Franz Weisz, *Suite miniature* for chamber orchestra and *Wo du hin gehest* for soprano and orchestra by Moss Wolff.

Only weeks before the invasion, Geneco had offered its members a safe location to store manuscripts and requested its members to nominate manuscripts to be included.[1121] On 6 August 1940, Geneco sent a letter to its members, informing them about the option to have their manuscripts photographed on microfilm by 'Mikro-Archiv', a small business run by photographer Carel Blazer, a close friend of Jan van Gilse's son Maarten.[1122] In 1942, a large

[1120] Mailing Jan van Gilse and Karel Mengelberg, president and secretary of Geneco, to Dutch orchestras and choirs, hand dated by Karel Mengelberg 1 September 1940, archive Geneco NMI 3280-01.
[1121] Karel Mengelberg, secretary of Geneco, to members Geneco, 13 April 1940, archive Geneco, NMI 3280-01.
[1122] Simon Kool, email 21 June 2024, biography of Carel Blazer forthcoming.

collection of scores in the library of NMB was photographed.[1123]

Jan van Gilse carried his manuscript of his opera *Thijl* with him from hiding place to hiding place. His wife Ada van Gilse later wrote in her memoirs that they hid the manuscript in a cellar, behind some loose bricks, in a villa in Nunspeet, a small village in the centre of the Netherlands where Van Gilse had lived under a false name. After the Van Gilse couple had left their hiding place, the host family was arrested. The manuscript was rescued by members of the resistance and returned to Van Gilse.[1124] In some cases, music manuscripts survived, but the custodians perished. Decades after the war, some scores by Sam Schuijer (1873-1942) were found on the street, ready to be taken away as garbage.[1125] In the early 1970s, a copy of Eugen Engel's opera Grete Minden and some other manuscripts were handed over to musicologist Leo Samama. The orphaned bag had been in the attic of a house since the war; the owners had no idea how it got there.[1126] Without anyone to protect it, let alone promote the music, survival of musical heritage is a matter of chance. In other cases, where manuscripts were salvaged by surviving family and friends, music was shelved in archives or stashed away in boxes. Literally dissonant heritage, the modernist music of Daniël Belinfante was only once performed in the early years after the war, although Belinfante was included in the library catalogue of Donemus as early as 1951.[1127] In 1958, Martha Belinfante-Dekker donated her husband's music manuscripts to the music history department of the The Hague Municipal Museum, where they remained history for many decades, untouched.[1128] The music manuscripts of Bob Hanf also ended up on the shelves of the The Hague Municipal Museum, donated by his brother Frits. Although Frits was very active in promoting Hanf's work as a painter and writer, his music never appealed to him much.[1129] The earliest postwar mention of a performance of Hanf's music dates from March 1956 (see p. 192). More than 25 years after its conception, in the ears of critic and composer Lex van Delden, Hanf's sonata sounded like 'a succession of musical ideas rather than a composition'.[1130] The music composed in the early 1930s failed to resonate with postwar ears. Leo Smit's sister Nora Coppenhagen-Smit donated her brother's manuscripts

[1123] Kolsteeg, *Eén Groot Oeuvre*, 16. According to Kolsteeg, the microfilms were given to Donemus, but they are no longer in possession of the microfilms. However, recently, Simon Kool found more microfilms in the estate of Carel Blazer. These microfilms were donated to the The Hague City Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute.

[1124] Dijk, *Jan van Gilse*, 321.

[1125] Frits Zwart, 'Sam Schuijer,' *Mens en Melodie* 2007 no 2, 38.

[1126] Samama and Overbeeke, *Entartete Musik*, 7.

[1127] 'Lijst van aangesloten componisten per 1 januari 1951,' *Muzikaal perspectief*, no. 12, January 1951.

[1128] 'Archieven Belinfante en Zimmermann naar museum,' *Het Binnenhof*, 12 February 1958.

[1129] Van der Beek, *Bob Hanf, 1894-1944*, 22.

[1130] Lex van Delden, 'Museumconcert,' *Het Parool*, 5 March 1956.

and personal archive to the The Hague Municipal Museum in 1950.[1131] In 1951, Smit was also included in the Donemus catalogue but unlike his two colleagues Belinfante and Hanf, he had family and colleagues who promoted his music, resulting in sporadic performances, as we have seen. Moreover, his *Symphony in C* and *Trio for flute, viola and harp* were recorded on Sonofil wire recordings.[1132] Long after the war, after Dick Kattenburg's sister Daisy van Hessen-Kattenburg had passed away, his niece Joyce Bergman-van Hessen found her uncle's music manuscripts, safely locked away in a box.[1133] Not only had the memory of her brother been too painful for Daisy to open the box, since Dick had not properly started his career when he was silenced by the Nazis, Daisy would not have had any idea of the quality of the music. To her, the manuscripts were rather a personal memento than music heritage; she saw no reason to donate them to a music archive.

Similarly, in the early postwar years, music by German refugee composers did not fit the postwar narrative of a Dutch national identity freed from German interference. Their legacy lingered in the interstitial space between nationalities. According to his son Ulrich, who had emigrated to the United Kingdom in 1933, James Simon was 'devoted to the German classics'.[1134] Although well-known singers like To van der Sluys and Annie Woud had had reasonable success with the romantic songs of James Simon before the war, his music was no longer heard after 1945.[1135] Moreover, migration caused estates to be dislocated, distanced from the network in which it was created, sometimes shelved in archives where archivists were unable to read or understand its contents. After the war, Ulrich donated his father's music manuscripts to the British Library, although the composer himself never set foot on British soil. As a result of Simon's relationship with Toni Therese Appelbaum-Werner (Toni Apel), who fled to the US in 1937, a considerable collection of his songs are now housed at the Leo Baeck Institute, the Center for Jewish History in New York.[1136] Julius Hijman took his music manuscripts with him when he emigrated to the United States in 1939. Only after his death in 1969, his widow sent the collection to the Royal Library in The Hague, while his sister sent part of her brother's archive to the The Hague

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[1131] 'Aanwinsten voor Gemeentemuseum.' *Trouw*, 9 June 1950. This collection is now part of the collection Netherlands Music Institute at the The Hague Municipal Archives.

[1132] Donemus, *Muzikaal Perspectief*, no 14, September 1951, 9.

[1133] Liner notes, Dick Kattenburg - Chamber Music, FutureClassics 091, December 2009.

[1134] David Bloch, Interview with Professor Ulrich Simon, 6 February 1996, David Bloch archive, US Holocaust Memorial Museum, accession number 2012.503.2 / RG number G-50.934.0001.

[1135] 'James Simon recital met To vd Sluys,' De Tijd, 3 april 1935; Karel de Jong, 'Radiomuziek der week,' Twentsch Dagblad Tubantia, 7 July 1934.

[1136] Manuscripts of James Simon in the British Library: Simon Music Manuscripts Add MS 62117-62120; Guide to the James Simon collection 1931-1945 AR5930. Processed by Julie Dawson - Leo Back Institute, Center for Jewish History New York.

Municipal Museum. By that time, however, hardly anyone in the Netherlands remembered Hijman as a composer.[1137] Both the estates of Simon and Hijman were split. In music history nationality is often used to categorise composers and explain stylistic traits.[1138] As we have seen in chapter 3, during the interwar years, reference to a national identity was much valued. A dual nationality can mean that an émigré composer never fully belongs to a national music history. In music history, identity is often simplified to fit into national categories. In *Grove Music Online*, Wilhelm Rettich is called a German composer; more than 30 years of his life in the Netherlands is compressed into one sentence.[1139] His oeuvre is in the catalogue of a German publisher, with many titles 'nicht lieferbar', lost in several mergers from one publisher to the next.[1140] His personal archive was catalogued by a Dutch friend, who handed it over to the Städtische Bibliothek in Leipzig, Rettich's birthplace.[1141] As cultural heritage is constructed along national lines, many émigré composers are left out of their host country's music history. For them it is difficult to tap into national traditions of the host country, and so they are not part of national heritage.[1142] Although Hans Krieg became a member of Geneco already before the war, his music was never published by Donemus.[1143] After the war, he self-published his own compositions and choral arrangements under the Hebrew name of Kadimah (Onwards).[1144]

18.2 Postwar mentions in newspapers and journals

In addition to music manuscripts, many sources are created in relation to performances, such as announcements, reviews and programme notes. Music journalists further add to sources by writing biographical articles, obituaries, interviews and reviews of published

[1137] Archive Julius Hijman, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag, KW 135 H 2-7; archive Julius Hijman, NMI 3048-01.

[1138] Wolfgang Gratzer, *The Routledge Handbook of Music and Migration: Theories and Methodologies.*, 1st ed., Routledge Music Handbooks Series (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2023), 317 ff.

[1139] Friedrich Baser, 'Rettich, Wilhelm', Grove Music Online, accessed 5 March 2025, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023265.

[1140] 'Wilhelm Rettich', accessed 3 June 2025, https://www.schott-music.com/de/person/wilhelm-rettich.

[1141] Brigitte Geyer, music conservator of the Städtische Bibliothek Leipzig, email 22 July 2021.

[1142] Beth Snyder, 'Negotiating nationalisms: the foundation and early activities of the Anglo-Austrian Music Society', Symposium *Mobility, music and migration; the legacy of migrant musicians from Nazi Europe in Britain*. 3 December 2020, Royal College of Music; Baser, 'Rettich, Wilhelm'.

[1143] The first works to be published by Donemus in 2021 as part of the catalogue Forbidden Music Regained. 'Joint Project by Donemus and the Leo Smit Foundation – Donemus', accessed 5 March 2025, https://donemus.nl/joint-project-by-donemus-and-the-leo-smit-foundation/.

[1144] Only recently, I helped Krieg's daughter Mirjam organise and pack his manuscripts for donation to the Netherlands Music Institute (NMI 3202-01).

works. As I have shown in the previous chapter, many prewar critics did not return to their posts after the war. However, not only did a new generation of journalists emerge, new newspaper titles and new magazines were also introduced. On 6 May 1945, the editors of formerly illegal newspaper *Het Parool* took over the printing presses of daily newspaper *De Telegraaf*, while the director and editor-in-chief literally fled through the backdoor. The same evening — despite the fact that it was a Sunday — the first legal two-page issue of *Het Parool* was printed.[1145] *De Telegraaf*, along with all other newspapers that had continued to appear after 1 January 1943, was banned from publication until cleared by purging committees; only in 1949, it was allowed to resume publication.[1146] However, rulings on who was allowed to publish were as chaotic as the issuing of performing permits and soon most newspapers resumed publication in 1945.[1147] New newspaper titles included former illegal publications *Vrij Nederland* (Free Netherlands) *Trouw* (Loyalty), *Het Parool* (The Motto) and communist newspaper *De Waarheid* (The Truth). If the word count on the search term 'componist*' (composer*) can be taken as a representation of the level of discussion of music life, the press devoted very limited attention to music life in the early months after liberation. It took ten years before discussions reached the levels of pre-war press coverage in the mid-1950s.[1148]

Jan van Gilse's death in hiding, on 8 September 1944, was commemorated in *De Waarheid* by 'P. van Noorden', a pseudonym of German refugee Eberhard Rebling. 'His firm and unfailing stand against fascism, especially since the raid of the Nazi-hordes on our country, should serve as an example for every artist. […] Rigorously honest people with a strong character like Jan van Gilse are rare. It is the duty of all who were lucky enough to know him and work with him to hold his name and work in high honour.[1149] During the war, pianist and musicologist Rebling had worked together with Van Gilse's sons Janrik and Maarten (Mik) in the resistance movement. On 12 May 1948, several newspapers published

[1145] Wijfjes and Harbers, *De krant*, 231.

[1146] Ibid., 232.

[1147] Ibid., 234–36.

[1148] I find this term is best suited to say something about music life as studied in this research, as 'concert' and 'music' are much more generic. In the 1930s, the word componist* (composer) occurred 92,054 times (around 9,000 per year) in newspapers, after liberation this dropped to less than 3,000 in 1946, slowly rising to almost 7,000 in 1949. In the second half of the 1950s, the level was back to the prewar situation. In the 1960s a steady decline can be observed to 4,500 in 1969, but I am not sure what the cause of this is. It might be related to the decline in the number of newspapers, less space for music discussions, or less digitisation due to copyright issues.

[1149] Eberhard Rebing, 'Jan van Gilze, Componist en dirigent,' *De Waarheid*, 11 augustus 1945. 'Zijn consequente houding tegen het fascisme, vooral sedert de overval van de nazi-horden op ons land, kan tot voorbeeld dienen voor iederen kunstenaar. […] Karaktersterke en strikt eerlijke figuren als Jan van Gilse zijn zeldzaam. Zijn naam en werk hoog in ere te houden is dan ook een plicht van allen die het geluk gehad hebben, hem te kennen en met hem samen te werken.' In an interview with Annemieke Hendriks in *De Groene* (23 November 2007) Rebling explained why he wrote under the pseudonym of Van Noorden: as a German refugee, he was not allowed to have a political opinion.

reports on the unveiling of a memorial on Van Gilse's grave.[1150] In October 1946, two years after his death, Van Gilse was commemorated by Louis Couturier in the Arnhemsche Courant. 'Not only did we lose an important musician, he died as a truthful patriot, who never bowed down to the German usurper, not even as an artist.'[1151] After 1948, only Eberhard Rebling continued to write substantial articles in memory of Van Gilse and his music in *De Waarheid*.[1152] With his outspoken anti-fascist attitude, his death in hiding and the violent death of his two sons, Van Gilse was a perfect candidate for commemoration in the early years after the war, when remembrance focused on resistance and victory.

Victims of the Holocaust, on the other hand, were hardly commemorated or even mentioned in the press. Until 1950, the combination of the words 'componist*' (composer) and 'concentratiekamp*' (concentration camp) only appeared four times in the newspapers, once in the formerly illegal newspaper *Het Parool*, once in the illegal newspaper *Telex*, and twice in the postwar communist newspaper *De waarheid*.[1153] When in July 1946, *De Maasbode* published an article by Marius Monnikendam titled 'List of musicians deceased during the war', it did not mention the Dutch Holocaust victims, but listed Austrian, French, German and Italian composers and musicologists.[1154] This omission is possibly due to the fact that the fate of individual composers was still not officially known at that time, although it was known early on that, for example, Leo Smit and Daniël Belinfante would not return. Leo Smit was only mentioned sporadically, when his chamber music was performed. Almost always his premature death was mentioned, often in relation to the war.[1155] In his review of a song recital featuring Smit's duets *La Mort*, Max Vredenburg devoted six sentences to commemorate Smit and his 'death by deportation' in the *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*.[1156]

[1150] 'Monument voor Jan van Gilse,' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 23 April 1948; 'Monument voor Jan van Gilse,' *De Waarheid*, 23 April 1948; 'Monument voor Jan van Gilse,' *Het Parool*, 24 April 1948; 'Monument voor Jan van Gilse,' *Het Binnenhof*, 24 April 1948; 'Jan van Gilse herdacht,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 12 May 1948 *Het Parool*, 12 May 1948; Gaffel, Wim, 'Jan van Gilse,' in *De Waarheid*, 12 May 1948; 'Onthulling monument,' *De Waarheid*, 12 May 1948.

[1151] Louis Couturier, 'Jan van Gilse: begaafd toondichter,' *Arnhemsche Courant*, 12 October 1946. 'Met hem ging niet alleen een belangrijk toonkunstenaar heen, met hem stierf tevens een waarachtig vaderlander, een die ook als kunstenaar niet heeft willen bukken voor den Duitschen overweldiger.'

[1152] See for example: Eberhard Rebling, 'Jan van Gilse,' *De Waarheid*, 8 September 1951.

[1153] 'Frans Léhar in een concentratiekamp,' *Het Parool*, 20 April 1945; 'Vrije Klanken in Amsterdam,' in *Telex*, 17 June 1945; 'Moderne muziek,' *De Waarheid*, 11 January 1947; 'Kunst in 't kort,' *De Waarheid*, 9 October 1947.

[1154] Marius Monnikendam, 'Doodenlijst van musici tijdens den oorlog gestorven,' *De Maasbode*, 5 July 1946.

[1155] I found press coverage of 29 performances between 1945 and 1960. Some examples: Paul F. Sanders, 'Liederenavond Jo Immink,' *Het Parool*, 26 February 1946; 'Werken uit oorlogstijd,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 June 1946; G.K.K., 'Een goede beurt,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 January 1947. Smit is referred to as 'deceased during the war' (e.g. *De Radiobode* 28 January 1951), 'died in a concentration camp' (e.g. *De Waarheid*, 11 January 1947), 'murdered by the Nazis/Hitler' (e.g. *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 31 August 1946, *De Radiogids*, 12 April 1953), 'victim of the German gas chambers' (*Het Parool*, 26 February 1946).

[1156] Max Vredenburg, 'Muziekkroniek,' *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 27 January 1950.

However, Leo Smit was never commemorated with a proper obituary like Jan van Gilse's.

Still, Leo Smit was the exception to the rule. As very little music by composers killed by the Nazis was performed after the war, no reviews of their music appeared in newspapers. During the first decades after the war Sim Gokkes was only mentioned twice in the press, in an article on choir music in the *New Israelite Weekly* by Max Vredenburg and, more than a decade later, in an article in daily newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* by Henriëtte Boas on Jewish religious songs recorded on gramophone.[1157] The only other mention of his name occurred in a publisher's advertisement, as the composer of Jewish religious music. The name of Daniël Belinfante only lived on in advertisements of his music school, now run by his wife Martha. Both composer Johan Wagenaar, who died at the age of 78 in June 1941, and piano pedagogue Ulfert Schults, who died at the age of 70 in February 1942, were commemorated in *Mens en Melodie* in 1947, since their deaths had gone unnoticed due to circumstances of war.[1158] However, the deaths of Daniël Belinfante, Sim Gokkes, Philip Vlessing, Michel Julius Cohen, Bob Hanf, Andries de Rosa, Maurits Samehtini, Samuel Schuijer, Pál Hermann, James Simon, Martin Spanjaard or Franz Weisz all go unreported in that same magazine. *Mens en melodie* also completely ignored the death of Nico Richter, who died in Amsterdam on 16 August 1945, soon after his repatriation, as a result of mistreatment and malnourishment in various camps. Richter's death was reported in several short items reviewing concerts by Nap de Klijn and Alice Heksch.[1159] In *De Waarheid* and in *De Vrije Kunstenaar* — both publications with a strong connection to the resistance movement — obituaries appeared.[1160] Most articles mentioned his death as a result of his stay in several concentration camps. In contrast, the death of Johan Victor Dahlberg (1915-1946) was reported in *Mens en Melodie*, referring to his suffering during the war.[1161] Dahlberg had received an incentive prize in the Diepenbrock Award Competition in 1941.[1162] He conducted his own composition for the Nazi-controlled Dutch radio in 1942.[1163]

All in all, persecution and violent deaths of Jewish composers and musicians were

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[1157] Max Vredenburg, 'Over koren en componisten,' *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, 3 September 1948; Henriëtte Boas, 'Amsterdams-Joodse cantorale gezangen op de grammofoonplaat,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 June 1959.

[1158] *Mens en Melodie*, 1 November 1947, 355; Wim Kloppenburg, 'In Memoriam Ulfert Schults,' in *Mens en Melodie*, 1 September 1947, 273.

[1159] 'Muziek in het weekend,' *De nieuwe dag*, 28 August 1945; 'Duo Nap de Klijn Alice Heksch,' *De nieuwe Nederlander*, 30 November 1945; 'Nap de Klijn Alice Heksch,' *Het Binnenhof*, 30 November 1945.

[1160] 'Nico Richter gestorven,' *De Waarheid*, 1 September 1945; Everard van Royen, 'In memoriam Nico Richter,' *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, 8 September 1945.

[1161] F. van Amelsvoort, 'Een jonge Nederlandsche componist stierf,' *Nijmeegsch Dagblad*, 4 December 1946; Frank Onnen, 'In memoriam Johan Victor Dahlberg,' *Mens en Melodie*, vol. 2 no 1, January 1947, 8-10.

[1162] 'Alphons Diepenbrockprijs 1940,' *Het Vaderland*, 22 March 1941.

[1163] 'Jonge componisten dirigeeren eigen werk,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 18 March 1942.

hardly a topic in the press. If referring to the Holocaust could not be avoided, euphemisms were the standard. When Max Vredenburg published an article on music life in Israel, his only references to the persecution of Jewish musicians were the fact that Czech conductor George Singer 'had to leave Europe in great haste' and that 1933 was 'the year of immigration'.[1164] When conductor Eduard Flipse returned to his Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra, 'major changes in personnel had damaged the group'.[1165] In an article commemorating Jewish conductor Albert van Raalte in 1953, pianist Peter de Kleer remembered how, as the conductor of the Jewish Symphony Orchestra, Van Raalte had to perform for his 'tormented Jewish fellow countrymen' and how he must have 'felt tyrannised by the mischief done by those Germans and their rotten fellows'.[1166]

Symphonia only started to reappear as a full-fledged magazine in April 1948 as the official magazine of the Union of Orchestra Conductors. Evert Elsenaar resumed his position as chief editor, after being banned by the Court of Honour for two years.[1167] Despite the fact that its postwar editors included Géza Frid and Daniël Ruyneman, during the first year of its postwar publication, nothing was written on composers killed during the war.[1168] A biographical article was devoted to Géza Frid upon receiving Dutch citizenship in July 1948, praising his resistance work.[1169]

[1164] Max Vredenburg, 'Israël's Muziekleven,' *Mens en Melodie*, 1 December 1948, 378-80.

[1165] A.C.P. Seijffert, 'Rotterdams muziekleven,' Mens en Melodie, 1 January 1948, 23. Flipse had initially been banned by the Court of Honour for three years, but had been rehabilitated in November 1946. Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk*, 389–91.

[1166] Peter de Kleer, 'Bij een foto van Albert van Raalte,' *Mens en Melodie*, 1 January 1953, 18-20. Because of his non-Jewish wife, Van Raalte was relatively safe.

[1167] 'Centrale Ereraad,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 12 June 1947.

[1168] *Symphonia*, Vol 25 no 1, 1948, 2.

[1169] 'Géza Frid werd Nederlander,' *Symphonia*, Vol 25 no 7, 1948, 188. The article is signed 'E.', which most likely refers to Evert Elsenaar, its chief editor. Elsenaar, who collaborated with the Nazis by accepting positions in their music organisations, wrote: 'Dat hij zich daarnaast ook werkelijk Nederlander voelde, bleek eind 1942 toen ik hem in het kunstenaarsverzet naast mij wist.' (The fact that he felt truly Dutch became clear to me in 1942, when I found him alongside with me in the artists' resistance movement.)

19. Postwar narratives

Marcia Citron concluded that 'canonicity has a lot to do with tangible documents', such as recordings and texted media.[1170] In these texted media, such as reviews, programme notes, essays, liner notes, lectures and (radio) documentaries narratives are created. Without tangible documents music cannot feed into the narratives that form the foundation of music history. These narratives are created by many actors and they all influence each other. Custodians of orphaned estates and archives decide which manuscripts are kept for posterity. Publishers decide which compositions are made widely available for performance. Musicians and programmers decide which composers deserve to be performed. Journalists choose which concerts, composers and compositions they write about, influenced by the choices of programmers and publishers. In turn, all of their choices and decisions are influenced not only by existing narratives on the quality of music but also by social and political narratives on, for example, war and commemoration, democracy, and freedom of expression. Agency behind this influence of surrounding narratives is much harder to pinpoint; a direct relationship between cause and effect is often hard to prove and effects may be unintentional. Still, whether intentionally or unconsciously, several postwar narratives are likely to have affected the presence of persecuted composers in the canon formation process.

First of all, as we have seen, with the dominant war narrative focusing on resistance and general hardship, music of Jewish murdered composers was seldom performed during the first years after the war. Paradoxically, composers who were most outspoken in the illegal press in condemning anti-Semitic rules played an important contribution to the authorised discourse on resistance and victory and thus to the – unintentional – exclusion of murdered Jewish composers from commemorative performances. As a result, these Jewish composers no longer featured in newspapers and magazines; there was nothing to review, nor any new compositions to announce or prizes to be awarded. No obituaries were published. If the editors of *Mens en Melodie* referred to the war at all, it was mentioned as a period of stagnation and isolation (so and so set foot on European soil for the first time since the war), or as a period where everyone faced difficulties (Willem Landré composed his last work in the harsh winter of 1944-45 in a chicken shed).[1171] Before the war, new (mostly

[1170] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 195.

[1171] Wouter Paap, 'In memoriam Willem Landré,' *Mens en Melodie*, 1 January 1948,19. See also *Het Parool*, 12 September 1945. 'De componist Willem Landré, die tijdens den oorlog uit zijn woning in Doetinchem moest evacueeren en een kippenhok als verblijfplaats toegewezen kreeg, heeft in dit verblijf o.a. een groot werk „voor de bevrijding" voltooid, getiteld: „Baruch" en geschreven op den tekst van dit apocrieve boek voor sopraan-solo,

chamber) music by Dutch composers was often performed in informal settings, like house concerts and study meetings, leaving very little traces in the press. Radio performances were rarely recorded or reviewed. As hardly any prewar recordings were made and their unpublished manuscripts were robbed of their most important ambassadors (the composers themselves), their music vanished from the public domain. Most of the prewar generation of critics, those who had witnessed performances before the war — either live or on the radio — and knew what their music had sounded like, had been replaced; a new generation of critics had limited knowledge of this prewar music and were asked to review the latest concerts, not write about the past. As a result of a combination of these facts, an important part of the narrative on prewar music life was lost.

A second narrative influencing the disappearance of some persecuted composers from history was a call for artistic change and a preference for a more restrained modernism.[1172] Although in the visual arts, avant-garde art — banned by the Nazis as *entartet* — was now favoured in the canon over more naturalist art, the war did not result in a tendency to condemn more traditional music styles because they were favoured by the Nazis.[1173] In the opening article of the first issue of *Mens en Melodie*, the editors referred to the war as a period that strengthened the bond between mankind and music. According to them, music was now no longer seen as an objective art form, pure sound without traces of human inspiration, as it had been to some during the interwar years.[1174] Some music critics even expressed a feeling of triumph over modernism-for-the-sake-of-modernism, a sentiment that was also expressed in the title *Mens en melodie.* Already after hearing the Gala

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koor en orkest.'

[1172] In politics too, a breakthrough, hoped for and anticipated by many active in the resistance, never materialised. See Jac S. Hoek, *Herstel En Vernieuwing: De Nederlandse Politiek in de Jaren 1945-1955* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff, 1979), 56 ff; H. J. A. Hofland, *Tegels lichten, of Ware verhalen over de autoriteiten in het land van de voldongen feiten*, Contact/tijdsdocumenten (Amsterdam: Contact, 1972), 19.

[1173] See Wesselink, 'The Memory of World War Two and the Canonisation of the Cobra Movement in the Netherlands'; Gregor Langfeld, *De lange schaduw van het nationaalsocialisme in kunst en samenleving* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2023), 23.

[1174] Jaap Kunst, Wouter Paap, Hans Triebels, editorial in *Mens en Melodie*, 1 January 1946, 2-3.
'Kort na den vorigen wereldoorlog kon men een sterke neiging naar objectiviteit in de muziek waarnemen. Men predikte het evangelie van het „zuivere klankenspel" en trachtte, zooals Boris de Schloezer het eens scherp formuleerde, alle psychologische bestanddeelen te verhinderen, in het klankenweefsel door te dringen. Men wilde de muziek terugbrengen tot een louter natuurverschijnsel, doch men zag daarbij over het hoofd dat de waarlijk geïnspireerde muziek tevens de uiting is van een mensch, en dat zij in kilheid en dorheid vervalt wanneer haar de sporen van zielsbewogenheid ontbreken. Na dezen tweeden wereldoorlog schijnt het gevaar niet groot, dat wij in dezelfde eenzijdigheid verdwalen zullen. Wij klemmen ons niet meer vast aan Debussy's toenmaals vaak geciteerde uitspraak, dat de muziek „humblement doit faire plaisir", doch wij vullen deze halve waarheid aan met het pleidooi, dat dezelfde Debussy hield voor de „émotion (sans épilepsie)" in de muziek. Diepenbrock heeft de melodie eens de geluid-geworden-essentie der ziel genoemd, en het contact, dat in de oorlogsjaren tusschen mensch en muziek opnieuw gelegd is (veelal buiten het officieele muziekleven om), heeft bij musici zoowel als bij muziekliefhebbers de overtuiging gewekt, dat die muziek het blijvendst en waardevolst is, welke een tot klank verrezen zielsbeweging genoemd mag worden.'

concert of 9 June 1945 at the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam, the music editor of *De Groene Amsterdammer* (composer Rudolf Escher) concluded that 'modern music' had changed its course.[1175] Modern was no longer synonymous with 'quirky in form and melody' and 'sort of dissonant and often incomprehensible' but could also refer to composers consciously seeking to communicate with their audience. The author referred to the interbellum style as forced and contrived.[1176] Alex van Amerongen, the critic of *Het Vrije Volk,* wrote how he preferred the broad melodic lines of Van Gilse, despite the fact that Pijper was considered as more sophisticated and important. He referred to Pijper's *Symphonische Epigrammen* as 'studeerkamerbedenksels' (study room concoctions).[1177] Mynko Geerink Bakker, pianist, musicologist and from 1946 onwards head of the music department of the protestant broadcasting society NCRV, claimed extreme modernism had been defeated and music now developed along a more balanced path than after the First World War: 'Destruction has been completed (Schönberg). The barbarians who did not shun the worst dissonance have been silenced or converted to milder views (Hindemith).'[1178] In this anti-modernist climate, music by Daniël Belinfante — announced as 'ultramodern' in 1931 — and his teacher Sem Dresden was not appreciated.[1179] In 1948, after a concert of 'modern Jewish music' in Rotterdam, Van Amerongen wrote that a *Trio for flute, oboe and bassoon* by Belinfante could not convince; he

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[1175] According to Samama, this change away from modernism had already occurred in the 1930s. Samama, *Nederlandse Muziek in de 20-Ste Eeuw*, 153.

[1176] 'De vrije kunst herleeft,' *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 23 June 1945. 'Het zij mij vergund om naar aanleiding van enkele op het programma voorkomende nieuwe Nederlandsche werken een korte algemeene beschouwing te wijden aan de verandering welke het begrip "moderne muziek" nu overduidelijk blijkt te hebben ondergaan, zonder daarbij in een gedetailleerde critische bespreking te vervallen. […] Nader ondervraagd naar de redenen van zijn oordeel, zal hij dan vrij spoedig laten blijken, dat „moderne muziek" voor hem zoo'n beetje gelijk staat met „grillig van vorm en melodische structuur", „dissonanterig en vaak onbegrijpelijk", „onrustig" etc. […] Evenmin echter is het verwonderlijk, dat scheppende kunstenaars die bewust streven naar een zoo groot mogelijke verstaanbaarheid (en indien zij hiertoe niet innerlijk al waren voorbereid, daar het getij verliep, dan dwong de nood der tijden hen wel de bakens te verzetten) — evenmin is het verwonderlijk dat deze kunstenaars de eersten zullen zijn om den cultus van het origineel-willen-zijn-door-dik-en-dun, met alles wat daaraan vast zit aan trucjes en moedwillige krampachtigheden, den rug toe te keeren en andere wegen te zoeken. […] Het feit echter, dat de moderne Nederlandsche componisten zoo goed als zonder uitzondering streven naar een minder krampachtige uitdrukkingswijze dan die wij gewend waren te beluisteren in de muziek uit de jaren 1920—1935, het feit dat zij streven naar grootere strakheid van vorm, naar breeder melos, daarover kunnen wij ons slechts verheugen.

[1177] A. van Amerongen, 'Philharmonisch Orkest,' *Het Vrije Volk*, 1 March 1948. 'Hoewel Pijper natuurlijk geldt als knapper en belangrijker, prefereren we toch Van Gilse's breed gewelfde melodiek der symphonische elegie uit „Thijl" boven Pijpers studeerkamerbedenksels, die hij „Symphonische Epigrammen" noemde, en die een tijdlang doorgingen voor één der meest „gecomprimeerde" muziekstukken der laatste tijd; maar in de klassieke literatuur (b.v.- Bach, Mozart, Brahms, Franck, Pauré) hoeft men toch niet lang te zoeken naar stukken, waar in veel minder noten oneindig veel méér gezegd wordt, dat van hart tot hart gaat.'

[1178] M. Geerink Bakker, 'Hedendaagsche muziek. Verrassende perspectieven. Het "absolutisme" overwonnen?,' *Trouw*, 6 July 1946. 'Het slooperswerk is verricht (Schönberg). De wildemannen, voor wie geen dissonantie erg genoeg was, zijn tot zwijgen gebracht of tot milder inzichten bekeerd (Hindemith).'

[1179] *De Radiogids*, 20 June 1931. 'Sedert 1925 kan men hem [Belinfante] gevoeglijk tot de ultramoderne componisten rekenen.'

referred to Dresden's *Kleine suite* (1913) as 'experimenting with sounds' and thought that in his *Arietta met variaties* (1947), the 'cerebral element dominated'.[1180] The echoes of Badings' 1940 article *The ivory tower of the composer*, accusing composers of having turned their back on their audiences, were striking: 'The audience got used to the idea that "interesting" and "important" music could only be music of which they could understand jot or tittle.'[1181]

At least in the first postwar decade, prewar modernist composers did not benefit from a general tendency to hail modern art as the symbol of liberation from both Nazi and communist censorship, a narrative strongly promoted – with financial backing – by the US government all over Europe. Whereas Wesselink wrote of a 'vivid war memory [that] provided Sandberg with a powerful tool to reshape the canon', no such change affected the Concertgebouw, the focal point of music life.[1182] In the early months after liberation, besides political purging, artistic change was a hot issue in the press, with special reference to the Concertgebouw Orchestra. The days of German Romanticism should be over, new leaders were to open the stage for a more balanced programming, according to Marius Flothuis.[1183] The anonymous correspondent of *De Groene Amsterdammer* went even further and wrote that Rudolf Mengelberg could no longer be the orchestra's artistic director.[1184] However, after

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[1180] *De Radiogids*, 20 June 1931; Alex van Amerongen, 'Joodsche moderne muziek,' *Het vrije volk*, 30 January 1948.

[1181] Henk Badings, 'De ivoren toren van den componist,' *De Wereld der Muziek*, Vol. 1 no. 1, October 1940, 1-3. 'Het publiek gewende er zich aan, dat blijkbaar slechts die muziek "interessant" en "belangrijk" was, waarvan het tittel nog jota begrijpen kon.'

[1182] Wesselink, 'The Memory of World War Two and the Canonisation of the Cobra Movement in the Netherlands'. Willem Sandberg, former member of the resistance, was the artistic director of the Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum.

[1183] 'Leemten in onze symphonische programma's,' *De Vrije Katheder*, 3 August 1945.

[1184] 'Het tij, de bakens en het Concertgebouw,' *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 21 July 1945. Rudolf Escher was the magazine's music editor at the time. 'Afgaande op de programma's van het Concertgebouw zou men gaan meenen, dat er naast de romantische, en wel hoofdzakelijk de Duitsch-romantische muziek, nauwelijks iets van beteekenis gecomponeerd werd. Eenzijdiger repertoire was niet denkbaar. Een enkel Nederlandsch muziekfeest en een sporadische „Fransche Avond" hadden meer de beteekenis van een afleidingsmanoeuvre, dan van een wezenlijk tegemoet komen aan alleszins gewettigde eischen voor een programma-politiek, die opvoedend en der muziek dienend genoemd kon worden. Schreef Diepenbrock reeds decenniën geleden, dat de muziek hier een „uit Duitschland geïmporteerde zaak" moest heeten, voor de beide Mengelbergen, Prof. Dr. Willem en Dr. Rudolf, is de muziek nooit anders geweest, dan een in hoofdzaak Duitsche zaak, en niet eens een geïmporteerde. Deze dingen zijn al zoo vaak en uit den treure gezegd, door Diepenbrock, door Vermeulen door Pijper en anderen, dat het voltstrekt overbodig is er hier nog eens over uit te weiden. De tijd om over dit onderwerp te discussieeren is lang en breed verstreken. Er dient gehandeld te worden, en het Concertgebouworkest, (waarvan Pijper ook al weer 10 jaren geleden schreef, dat het was geworden „een voortreffelijk geoutilleerde haven aan een dichtgeslibde rivier") moet weer bereikbaar worden gemaakt voor schepen van alle landen, die er vrij in en uit kunnen varen. Het tij is verloopen, en wel zoo definitief, dat er geen sprake meer van kan zijn de oude bakens te handhaven. De artistieke leiding van Nederlands eerste orkest kan niet langer in handen gelaten worden van een man die voor iederen insider overduidelijk blijk gegeven heeft on-Nederlandsch te denken. Wij wenschen niet langer een Duitsche, doch een Nederlandsche leiding, een leiding bovendien, welke begrip toont voor de cultuur-historische noodzaak om tegenover het decenniën lang kunstmatig in stand gehouden overwicht van een Germaansch muziekbesef, in juist evenwicht de helderheid van een latijnsch muziekbesef te stellen. Ook de rol van Dr. Rudolf Mengelberg is dus uitgespeeld, en een vruchtdragende discussie over andere vraagstukken het

initially being banned by the Court of Honour for music, Rudolf Mengelberg soon returned to his position while former member of the resistance Flothuis — who, as a composer, wasn't exactly a modernist himself — was only back in office in 1954.[1185] Overbeeke describes how during the first years after the war, with the Nazi bans lifted, there was plenty of room for atonal music and jazz influences in symphonic music, but only after 1950, these styles were introduced, probably by composers having studied abroad.[1186] However, before the war, jazz influences could be found in the chamber music of, for example, Smit and Kattenburg. They did not survive and thus could not further develop the influence of jazz on postwar music. Julius Hijman regularly performed Berg and Webern before the war, interviewed them both at home in Vienna and wrote a much-appreciated book on the Second Viennese School in 1938.[1187] He emigrated to the US in 1939, unable to return to the Netherlands until 1948. Although twelve-tone music had little influence on Hijman's own composing, it is wrong to say that it was not introduced before the war.

In 1947, Walter Maas, a Jewish German refugee who survived the war in hiding, decided to restore the tradition of music being performed in his home named *Gaudeamus*. The house *Gaudeamus* had been built for Julius Röntgen and in September 1947, Maas organised a series of concerts to commemorate the 15th anniversary of Röntgen's death.[1188] In the same week, he invited young composers to present their work. A selection committee was formed with Albert Smijers (professor of musicology in Utrecht), Utrecht composer and editor of the journal *Mens en Melodie* Wouter Paap, composer and conductor of the Utrecht Municipal Orchestra Willem van Otterloo, and Jos Wouters, head of the music department of *Radio Nederland-Wereldomroep*, which was to broadcast the concert. To participate composers had to be younger than 30, and none of the surviving prewar composers, some of them labelled as young composers when the war halted their career, were eligible. Only in 1956, when Geneco suggested the idea to organise a concert with composers who were young 30 years ago and inspired by Willem Pijper, music by Marius Flothuis, Bertus van Lier, Henriëtte Bosmans and Guillaume Landré was performed.[1189] In the early years after the war, Maas and his Gaudeamus organisation had not yet developed into advocates of the

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Concertgebouw-orkest betreffende is pas mogelijk, als met het bovenstaande — in kringen van vakmenschen en belangstellenden algemeen erkende — feit rekening wordt gehouden. Wij accentueeren nog even, dat de voorgaande opmerkingen uitsluitend op artistieke gronden worden gemaakt.'

[1185] Wesselink, 'The Memory of World War Two and the Canonisation of the Cobra Movement in the Netherlands', 4; Joyce Kiliaan, 'Marius Flothuis', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands*, ed. Carine Alders and Eleonore Pameijer (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 88.

[1186] Overbeeke, *Nederlandse muziek bij Nederlandse symfonieorkesten, 1945-2000*, 54.

[1187] Julius Hijman, 'Bezoeken bij Berg en Webern,' *Caecilia en de muziek*, vol 9 no 3, January 1935, 105-110. Hijman, *Nieuwe Oostenrijkse muziek (Schönberg, Berg, Webern)*.

[1188] 'Herdenking Röntgen te Bilthoven,' *Nieuw Utrechtsch Dagblad*, 10 June 1947.

[1189] Peter Peters, *Eeuwige jeugd: een halve eeuw Stichting Gaudeamus* (Amsterdam: Donemus, 1995), 43.

postwar avantgarde, despite early exchanges with the Darmstadt and Tanglewood Summer Courses.[1190] Maas, who was trained as a textile engineer and earned a living by renting out rooms, started his career as music organiser and supporter of young composers only after the war and had had no network ties with prewar modernists such as Julius Hijman or Daniël Belinfante.[1191]

As we have seen, as one of the few programmers who could provide continuity, prewar modernist Daniël Ruyneman immediately took up organising concerts for NVvHM after the war. Starting in February 1952, Ruyneman programmed NVvHM concerts in the restored auditorium of the Sandberg's *Stedelijk Museum*.[1192] In a somewhat bitter letter, Hijman wrote he was shocked to learn that Louise Wijngaarden performed his *Dansgebaren* for violin, as he realised it had been ten years since Ruyneman last programmed his music.[1193] In his 1946 biweekly radio series *Hedendaagsche Nederlandsche Kamermuziek* (Contemporary Dutch Chamber Music), Ruyneman presented portraits of 19 composers, of which Leo Smit was the only one who had not survived the war.[1194]

Not only modernism took a backseat after the war. A third narrative silenced some prewar composers more than others. For women composers, a changed narrative on emancipation and feminism added to their exclusion from music history and the stage. The postwar years were a disappointment for many women; prewar feminism, culminating in women actively participating in the resistance movement, was brought to a halt. Women working for public organisations were fired when they married. Married women could not enter in any legal agreement or manage their own accounts until 1957.[1195] In the introduction to *Zes vrouwelijke componisten* (Six female composers) Helen Metzelaar noted that the producers of a 1980s (!) series of twelve records titled '400 Years of Dutch Music' might as well have added 'by men' to the title, as no music by women was included.[1196] It seems the

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[1190] See p. 172 fn. 810.

[1191] 'Walter Maas', accessed 2 July 2025, https://www.huizegaudeamus.nl/Walter-Maas.

[1192] 'Concerten in het Stedelijk Museum,' *De Waarheid*, 11 February 1952.

[1193] Julius Hijman to Daniël Ruyneman, 4 August 1956, archive Daniël Ruyneman, NMI 3166-01/1628.

[1194] Oscar van Hemel (21 April 1946), Willem Pijper (5 May 1946) Jan Ingenhoven (21 May 1946), Hendrik Andriessen (4 June 1946), Hans Henkemans (19 June 1946), Sem Dresden (2 July 1946), Leo Smit (16 July 1946), Bernard vd Sigtenhorst Meijer (30 July 1946) Marius Flothuis (13 August 1946), Rudolf Escher (27 August 1946), Bertus van Lier (10 September 1946), Henriëtte Bosmans (24 September 1946), Jos Wouters (8 October 1946), Daniël Ruyneman (22 October 1946), Jan Felderhof (5 November 1946), Herman Strategier (3 December 1946), Léon Orthel (17 December 1946), Emmy Frensel Wegener (31 December 1946), Wouter Paap (21 January 1947)

[1195] Withuis, *Na het kamp*, 256–57. 'Speciaal voor vrouwen was de naoorlogse restauratie een teleurstelling. Zij waren tijdens de bezetting sterker bij de samenleving betrokken geraakt, hadden verzetswerk verricht en hadden het met hun kinderen vaak zonder mannen moeten redden. […] 'In plaats van dat vrouwen gelijke rechten kregen, werd het arbeidsverbod voor gehuwde vrouwen van stal gehaald, en bleven gehuwde vrouwen handelingsonbekwaam en mannen 'hoofd der echtvereniging'

[1196] Metzelaar et al., *Zes vrouwelijke componisten*, 10.

war had turned back the clock when it came to the emancipation of women composers. Before the war, as early as 1923, Dresden had stated that an overview of composers should not distinguish between men and women, but purely for practical reasons he dealt with women in a separate paragraph.[1197] In 1936, Henk Badings had described Bosmans as 'the first Dutch woman to reach the frontlines, where Stravinsky and Ravel had fought before her.'[1198] More than three decades later, Marius Monnikendam wrote in his monologue *Nederlandse componisten van heden en verleden* (Dutch composers of present and past) how no female composer could as much as stand in the shadow of her male colleagues (see p. 15). In 1950, Reeser noted that Dutch women composers, by the end of the nineteenth century, had relatively outnumbered their colleagues in other countries. In a separate paragraph describing their merits, he stressed the importance of music education and urged women not to forsake their duty and compose children's music.[1199] In 1986, in a second revised edition of his work, Reeser did not change a single word in this advice, completely ignoring the 1960s and 1970s second-wave feminism.[1200] However, in an interview in 1990, Marius Flothuis, only six years younger than Reeser, expressed the opinion that there is no difference in the abilities of men and women, only in the chances they get. He regretted that he had not advocated for them more during his years as artistic director of the Concertgebouw.[1201] This narrative may have added to the fact that the music of Rosy Wertheim and Henriëtte Bosmans was seldom heard after their death (1949 and 1952 respectively). Female composers who were banned during the war and who were not able to pursue a composing career after the war included Fania Chapiro, Marjo Tal and Reine Colaço Osorio-Swaab. Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman seemed to be the exception to the rule.

A fourth narrative, on nationalism in music, already played a role during the interwar years (see chapter 3), and again flourished in the first postwar decade, especially affected refugee composers. In addition to music by 'allied' composers, early postwar programming focused on music that represented Dutch identity, such as Zweers' symphony *Aan mijn vaderland* (To my fatherland), Van Rennes' *Mijn land* (My country), Van Anrooy's *Piet Hein-rapsodie* or Röntgen's *Oud-Nederlandsche dansen* (Old Dutch dances).[1202] For surviving immigrant composers, it was hard to tap into that narrative. During the first years

[1197] Sem Dresden, *Het muziekleven in Nederland sinds 1880 / I, De componisten.*, Elsevier's algemeene bibliotheek ; dl. 20 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1923), 79.

[1198] Badings, *De hedendaagsche Nederlandsche muziek*, 59.

[1199] Reeser, *Een eeuw Nederlandse muziek*, 257–58.

[1200] Eduard Reeser, *Een eeuw Nederlandse muziek 1815-1915*, 2e, geheel herz. dr ed. (Amsterdam: Querido, 1986), 202.

[1201] Marius Flothuis, 'Een leven lang', radio interview NOS, 5 January 1990, archive Sound and Vision, Resource ID 2101608090077869531.

[1202] Overbeeke, *Nederlandse muziek bij Nederlandse symfonieorkesten, 1945-2000, appendix*.

after liberation, only Géza Frid and Ignace Lilien managed to get their music performed by the major orchestras.[1203] Music by Rettich and Lachman was performed by the radio orchestras, as both composed and arranged for the radio.[1204] When returning to the Netherlands for the first time after the war in 1948, Julius Hijman made the most of his new American identity, presenting a programme with (allied) American composers, including himself and Bernard Wagenaar.[1205] At the same time, he dedicated his *Symphony 1953* (the year of the flood disaster) to Eduard van Beinum, probably in an attempt to reaffirm his Dutch identity. The symphony still awaits performance. On 7 May 1960, *Concerto da camera* for clarinet, cello and orchestra, the first (and only) postwar performance of a work for orchestra by Julius Hijman was led by Maurits van den Berg.[1206]

Finally, the long existing narrative that the canon is determined by quality alone continued to wield its power over music historiography. In his book on Dutch music performed by Dutch symphony orchestras, Emanuel Overbeeke suggested that after a few memorial concerts, composers could no longer depend on their biography — or rather their wartime story — to be performed and that, from then on, performance opportunities depended solely on the quality of their music. He then stated that Nico Richter and Leo Smit disappeared almost completely from the programmes, but that Jan van Gilse, Hendrik Andriessen and Rudolf Escher remained popular for many years, implying – as I understand it – that the music of Smit and Richter did not enter the standard repertoire because of the supposed lesser quality of their music.[1207] However, as we have seen, Jan van Gilse's *Thijl*-music perfectly fitted the postwar narrative of resistance and victory and remained relatively popular. Unlike Smit and Richter, Hendrik Andriessen survived the

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[1203] Ibid, appendix 209. Frid's Schopenhauer Cantata was performed by the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra, led by Frid's fellow Hungarian Gyula Bandó on 14 April 1946. Ibid, appendix 104. Lilien had his Quatre chants de Mendiants performed by the Residentie Orkest, led by Kees Hartvelt on 13 February 1946.

[1204] Overbeeke, *Nederlandse muziek bij Nederlandse symfonieorkesten, 1945-2000, appendix 703*. Rettich's *First May Symphony* was performed by the Radio Philharmonic Orchestra, led by the composer, for VARA radio, on 1 May 1946. Ibid, appendix 827. Lachman's *Three Songs* for baritone and orchestra were performed by the Radio Chamber Orchestra led by Anton Krelage for VARA radio on 16 April 1948. Soloist was Otto Couperus.

[1205] Eberhard Rebling, 'Amerikaanse pianomuziek,' *De Waarheid*, 23 June 1948.

[1206] Overbeeke, *Nederlandse muziek bij Nederlandse symfonieorkesten, 1945-2000*, appendix, 851. Jewish violinist Maurits van den Berg had been concertmaster of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Arthur Nikisch (Het Vaderland, 24 January 1931) and with the Berlin Radio Orchestra (Het Vaderland, 21 May 1931). On 2 April 1933, *Het Vaderland* reported that Van den Berg was 'on leave'. A day later, *De Telegraaf* mentioned that Van den Berg had been fired. Hijman and Van den Berg may well have known each other in Berlin.

[1207] Overbeeke, *Nederlandse muziek bij Nederlandse symfonieorkesten, 1945-2000*, 52. No orchestral work by Leo Smit was performed during these memorial concerts. Karel Mengelberg had planned to perform Smit's *Symphony in C*, but that failed due to 'technical problems' (see pp. 192-3). 'Na de 'herdenkingsconcerten' dankten de componisten de aandacht voor hun werk niet meer aan hun biografie, maar moesten zij het hebben van hun muziek: Leo Smit en Nico Richter verdwenen vrijwel uit de programma's maar Jan van Gilse (met zijn Treurmuziek uit *Thijl*), Escher (met *Musique pour l'esprit en deuil*) en Hendrik Andriessen (wiens *Capriccio* tijdens en wiens *Kuhnau-variaties* kort voor de oorlog waren gecomponeerd) bleven door de orkesten veelvuldig

war, continued to add to his oeuvre and retained his influential position. Rudolf Escher also survived the war to promote his own music, continued to add to his oeuvre and continued to participate in the network that influenced the performance of his work. The implication that Smit and Richter disappeared from the programmes because of the quality of their music also contradicts Overbeeke's own conclusions on the changes in programming after 1970, that the canon lost prominence and reputations of composers changed.[1208]

uitgevoerd worden, ook na 1950.'

[1208] Ibid., 241.

20. Conclusion 1945-1955

During the first months after the liberation, resistance fighters were honoured, those who collaborated with the Nazis were incarcerated (or in some cases executed), and the few people returning from concentration camps were met with disbelief, bureaucracy and a lack of understanding at best, and anti-Semitism at worst. Out of 80 composers included in this study, 36 were killed during the war.[1209] Nine survived the camps, while at least 23 survived in hiding.[1210] Jan van Gilse died of cancer while in hiding, Ary Schuijer died in Palestine. Julius Hijman and Dolf Waterman survived abroad, Henriëtte Bosmans, Henri Zagwijn and Robert de Roos survived because not all four grandparents were Jewish. For the survivors, it wasn't simply a matter of picking up where they had left. Their homes were taken; they often had to re-apply for their own job. German Jews who had been living in the Netherlands since 1933 were treated as enemy citizens, sometimes incarcerated in the same prisons as Dutch national socialists and again robbed of what little assets they had left.[1211] For some, a large part of their performance network had not survived. To conclude, during the first years after the war, performance opportunities, source production and network participation — all ingredients in the dynamic process of active cultural memory and creating heritage — were affected by war trauma, a focus on general rebuilding the country and a unified national narrative. Although the mix of a multitude of factors, including the quality of their music, is different for each composer, some general trends can be observed.

As chapter 15 has shown, early postwar concerts were dominated by musical comfort food from the core canon, music by allied composers and Dutch music celebrating resistance and liberation. Music by victims of the Holocaust was absent from official

[1209] Salomon Abas (Sobibor); Dan Belinfante (Auschwitz-Fürstengrube); Ludwig Belitzer (died shortly after liberation Bergen-Belsen); Carel Blitz (Auschwitz); Eliazar Blok (Sobibor); Hans Bogk (Auschwitz); Louis Samuel (Loe) Cohen (Auschwitz); Michel Julius Cohen (suicide); Eva van Dantzig (Sobibor); Ada Dassi (Sobibor) Eugen Engel (Sobibor); Samuel Henri Englander (Sobibor); Alexander Fresco (Auschwitz); Martin Friedland (bombardment Rotterdam); Martin Friedmann (Sobibor); Leo de la Fuente (Central Europe), Simon Gokkes (Auschwitz); Charles (Karel) Grelinger (Auschwitz); Bob Hanf (Auschwitz); Pál Hermann (Eastern Europe, unknown); Dolf Karelsen (Auschwitz); Dick Kattenburg (Auschwitz); Maurits Koekoek (Sobibor); Isaac (Jacques) Presburg (Sobibor); Jacob Levie de Reeder (Poland, unknown); Nico Richter (died after liberation from Dachau); Andries de Rosa (Sobibor); Maurits Samehtini (Westerbork); Samuel Schuijer (Auschwitz); Paul Seelig (died in camp in Indonesia); James Simon (Auschwitz); Leo Smit (Sobibor); Isaac Snoek (Auschwitz); Martin Spanjaard (Auschwitz); Philip Vlessing (unknown); Ferenc Weisz (Auschwitz).

[1210] Camp survivors: Marius Flothuis; Hans Franco Mendes; Hans Krieg; Carel Jacobs; Leo Kok; Hans Krieg; Israel Olman; Theo Smit Sibinga; Max Vredenburg. Survivors in hiding: Martha Belinfante-Dekker; Reine Colaço Osorio-Swaab; Fania Chapiro; Lex van Delden; Sem Dresden; Bernard Drukker; Joan Fresco; Géza Frid; Pim de la Fuente; Arnold Juda; Hans Lachman; Hans Leerink; Hans Lichtenstein; Bertus van Lier; Ignace Lilien; Wilhelm Rettich; Fredy Salten (Salomon), Paul Sanders; Simon Spiero; Zoltán Székely; Marjo Tal; Rosy Wertheim, Moss Wolff.

commemorations and only sporadically featured in concerts during the first decades after the war. I have not found any evidence of intentional exclusion, but this does not alter the fact that music by Jewish Dutch composers was not part of commemorations, while music by other Dutch composers was performed regularly. A possible explanation could be that their music disturbed the postwar identity of a nation of brave and victorious resistance fighters as it reminded listeners of the failure of not being able to save their fellow citizens from persecution and death. Their music may have triggered remembering the othering and consecutive murder of Jewish Dutch citizens by the Nazis. It would have also forced listeners to acknowledge the fact that Dutch Jews lived through a different war experience, which thus defied the narrative of national unity. Moreover, commemoration could not officially take place as long as the fate of individual composers still had to be confirmed. Performance opportunities for the music of Holocaust victims, especially those who did not survive, were extremely limited during the first decade after the war. In these early postwar years, remembering the Holocaust, and thus performing music that made reference to it because its composers were killed, was limited to Jewish and communist or socialist circles. However, music by banned composers who had been active in the resistance (e.g. Bordewijk-Roepman, Frid, Flothuis, Van Lier) was performed almost immediately after liberation; music celebrating resistance, victory and unity was programmed to commemorate the war. Moreover, the networks of these composers remained intact or were even strengthened in by their shared resistance experience. This postwar absence of music by Jewish composers lasted longer than the ban on compromised composers, who continued to have their work performed during the war.[1212]

Composers depend on a complex network to send their work out into the world. They need publishers, programmers and musicians to reach their audiences and ultimately become part of music history. As shown in this study, the war and its aftermath not only broke, but sometimes also strengthened and realigned network ties in music life, which affected both performance opportunities and the production and survival of sources. In the early years after the war, for some Jewish composers surviving in hiding or surviving the camps — especially those who had German nationality when the war broke out — it wasn't a matter of simply picking up where they had left. More than ever, their networking focus

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[1211] Oprel, *Afrekenen met de vijand*, 7.

[1212] Originally banned for ten years after the war, the ban on Henk Badings' activities in the music world was lifted on 5 November 1947 ('Badings en Yvonne Georgi nog dit jaar vrij,' *De Waarheid,* 11 January 1947). However, his music was performed already on 1 February 1947 (*Nieuw Utrechtsch Dagblad,* 3 February 1947). 'Het eerste concert van serie had Zaterdagavond plaats in de zaal van de Utrechtsche Volksuniversiteit en het programma bevatte ditmaal uitsluitend moderne werken nl. van Badings, Pijper en Paap naast Ravel en Honegger. De terugkeer van den componist Henk Badings in ons concertleven kan men na het beluisteren van zijn sonate voor viool en piano op artistieke gronden slechts toejuichen.'

was on surviving, on getting their non enemy certificate and earning a living. In this chapter I showed how Jewish networks were largely obliterated by the Nazis and how investing in a new performance network was only possible after that first period of mere survival. Some composers coming out of hiding were able to find work relatively soon, thanks to their prewar networks. Composers who had been active in the resistance worked together in rebuilding music life, purging and journalism. This network's view on 'right' and 'wrong' during the war hugely influenced performing opportunities for individual composers. Having been active in the resistance also created a bond after the war, even if resistance only meant refusing to register with the *Kultuurkamer* or organising illegal concerts; it forged a network that was not easily accessible for Jewish camp survivors or those who had lost contact in hiding.[1213] For them, before being able to (re)join the ranks of Dutch composers, years had passed by since liberation.

Without being able to promote their own music, or add to their oeuvre, composers killed by the Nazis fully depended on their network to have their music performed and their manuscripts archived or published for future generations to perform. Whereas Jewish networks and audiences were decimated, the music of composers with a non-Jewish network and surviving family members remained relatively accessible. However, except for a few commemorative actions, revived or new networks were looking ahead, not back. Their efforts were geared towards promoting new music by living composers. Composers who fell victim to persecution did not profit from these networks. Without ambassadors, orphaned manuscripts gathered dust instead of being performed.

The fact that composers fell out of the performance repertory after the war also had repercussions on what was preserved in archives. Assmann distinguished between active cultural forgetting (trashing, destruction) and passive cultural forgetting (loss, neglect, abandonment).[1214] When this distinction is applied to sources that feed into the production of narratives and history, I conclude that whereas active, intentional forgetting — looting manuscripts and forbidding performances — took place during the Second World War, passive forgetting — saved manuscripts withering away in attics or gathering dust in archives, unperformed — played an important role in the aftermath. Leo Smit and Daniël Belinfante were able to hide their manuscripts with friends and both estates were handed over to institutional archives relatively soon after the war. While Smit's works were

[1213] Fearing that they would be registered with the Kultuurkamer as a group, Geneco advised its members to withdraw their membership, which many did. Although composers and self-employed musicians were first summoned to register with the Kultuurkamer individually, four days later a press release was issued stating that members of Geneco were indeed registered as a group. With retroactive effect, withdrawals were cancelled. van Dijk, '1911-1945; De Vooroorlogse Jaren', 54–58.

[1214] Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', 98.

accessible to performers as they were incorporated in the catalogue of Donemus as early as 1948, Belinfante's unpublished works were left untouched and unperformed. The estates of composers who had not (yet) made their entry into the performance repertory (like Kattenburg), as well as estates without owners (like that of Sam Schuijer) remained inaccessible to performers and hence audiences, stashed away in private storage or even left out on the street. A lack of performances further resulted in composers' disappearance from newspaper and magazine pages. Composers and musicians who had died a natural death during the war were commemorated in the press after the war but no obituaries were published for victims of the Holocaust. Finally, as very few prewar recordings were made of new music, sound archives were non-existent and audiences had lost their connection with prewar new music that was no longer performed.[1215]

As many historians have recognised, the production of (music) history is not a closed system operated solely by (music) historians but it is influenced by narratives from outside the professional academic field. Trouillot wrote: 'History is accessed through celebrations, site and museum visits, movies, national holidays, and primary school books.'[1216] Likewise, music history presents itself not only in anthologies and monologues but as well in magazine and newspaper articles, concert series and their programme notes, radio programmes, liner notes and popular compilation records. As Holocaust victims were almost completely absent from these early postwar narratives, they were mostly overlooked in music history anthologies and monologues. Even in the 21st century, this has led to a music history that claims the Second World War produced no caesura in the history of composing in the Netherlands. As I have shown in this study, by focusing on the works rather than on the social context of performance, source production and networks, a caesura was easily overlooked. A caesura *did* take place, namely the silencing of modernism during the war (because modernism wasn't very popular either with the Nazis or with a wider audience and because some modernists were Jewish), followed by the postwar turn to 'restrained modernism' (fuelled by a wartime desire for music to communicate emotions). This caesura was easily missed as undoing innovation does not fit the dominant narrative of music's innate urge to develop, as discussed in chapter xx. Moreover, without performances or surviving sources, composers were left out of the narratives that form the building blocks of music history.

To conclude, in the first years after the war, composers resisting the Nazi rule and

[1215] Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations', 118. 'Once sound recordings can be used as freely (or almost as freely) as books, music can be absorbed as freely (or almost as freely) as literature. No wonder the audience for music has expanded.'

[1216] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 29.

refusing to register with the Kultuurkamer were celebrated;[1217] they occupied influential network positions and had plenty of performance opportunities. At the same time, the orphaned heritage of murdered composers was ignored and surviving Jewish composers struggled to rebuild their life and career. When victims of the Holocaust started to take a more prominent place in commemorations in the mid-1960s, the prevailing narrative on Dutch music life between the wars — it being hopelessly old-fashioned — had already obliviated prewar modernists, assisted by two decades of silence created by both persecution as well as neglect. As I have shown in chapters 16 and 17, both the way in which war memory in those early years after liberation excluded the experiences of persecuted Jews, as well as the lack of access to the dominant networks born in the resistance movement strongly influenced performance opportunities for victims of the Holocaust and, hence, the production of related sources like announcements and reviews. As we have seen, the music of Jewish composers Daniël Belinfante, Leo Smit, Julius Hijman and Rosy Wertheim – who had never been part of the Pijper-Sanders-Van Lier network – was not often performed after the war. Thus, in the first decade after liberation, the shadow of the Second World War prevented their music to re-enter the performance repertory and the narrative on Dutch music history. For women composers, the undoing of prewar emancipation added an extra dimension to their silencing.

[1217] See also Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation*, 293–95. 'In the austere reconstruction ethic that dominated Dutch society in the first two post-war decades, the war was presented as an ordeal that had strengthened social cohesion and national identity. This anonymous and genuinely 'national' memory was harsh towards those who had suffered more and suffered differently. *Milieux de mémoire* were disruptive for the consensual commemoration; resistance veterans, labour conscripts, survivors of concentration camps and Jewish survivors of the genocide in particular suffered from a lack of recognition of their particular fate, from a lack of support, in the face of both their material indigence and their need for consolation and integration into the national narrative.'

21. Conclusions and discussion

In *Silencing the past*, Trouillot wrote: 'To put it differently, any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences, the result of a unique process, and the operation required to deconstruct these silences will vary accordingly.'[1218] Deconstructing these silences serves a dual purpose: to understand the processes of silencing as well as to break the silences. My method of deconstruction consisted of the study of archival sources to revive biographical episodes and the creation of a network database to study the impact of positions, connections and groupings among composers. I showed how various contextual factors — varying from network positions and views on canonworthiness to anti-Jewish measures and a lack of commemoration — influenced the processes of canonisation and music history production, thereby creating a specific 'bundle of silences' for each forgotten composer. Although some of these contextual factors are valid for a broader group of composers who were ignored in music history and disappeared from the stage (including women composers), I hope to have shown that for composers persecuted by the Nazis, a considerable extra 'bundle of silences' added to their being forgotten. These silences were created by dwindling performance opportunities due to Nazi policies, resulting in limited production of sources paired with destruction of existing sources, which in turn led to their absence in archives and libraries. To a limited extent, the ban on persecuted composers also resulted in an alternative account of music history, omitting the role of banned composers. Furthermore, a postwar lack of commemoration added to their music being silenced.

During the interwar period, a narrative on music developing beyond tonality, and the lingering romantic notion of composers as great men completely dedicated to their art favoured complex (orchestral) and non-functional compositions. Teacher-student relations, organisational leadership and network participation mattered in creating performance opportunities, while the search for a national identity could disadvantage composers with substantial migratory experiences. The number and type of performances as well as the quality of network connections influenced source production. Many composers who would later be persecuted under Nazi rule did have their music performed and participated in music life but were active in less valued genres and thus less reviewed; they participated in less prominent networks or were less well-connected.

From 1933 onwards, persecution pushed refugee composers to give up and rebuild their networks, sometimes leaving personal documents behind, including music manuscripts. Relocating forced them to diversify their income strategies and turn to a wide

[1218] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 34.

array of genres to earn an income, some of them with lower status, like entertainment music and cabaret. Soon after the Nazis invaded the Netherlands in May 1940, Jewish composers were banned from the stage and their names and music disappeared from newspaper columns, magazines and radio programmes. In 1942, when the *Kultuurkamer* was installed, non-Jewish composers refusing to register also disappeared from the public domain. Not only did the names of banned composers disappear following a performance ban, any reference to their existence was tabooed. Although proof of censorship is hard to find (some hints were given in chapter 13, pp. 154,156), the fact remains that even household names like Mahler and Mendelssohn disappeared almost instantly and completely. Network ties were no longer employed to further performance opportunities but to increase chances of survival. Before being sent to the camps, some composers managed to rescue their unpublished compositions, while others saw their manuscripts looted.

Immediately after liberation, an attempt was made to execute plans to reorganise music life, secretly forged by composers and musicians who had been able to maintain and strengthen their network ties while active in the resistance. Performances favoured music by composers who had not succumbed to Nazi rule, honouring those who died while resisting the occupiers. Purging was fiercely debated and backfired on those who advocated strict punishments, affecting performance opportunities. During the first decade after the war, Holocaust victims were seldom commemorated and very few performances of their work took place. No obituaries were published, partly because some victims were young and relatively unknown, but possibly also because commemorating racist murders did not fit the dominant war narrative of resistance and victory. Composers coming out of hiding or surviving the camps tried to rebuild their networks to earn an income; their financial situation was too insecure to devote time to non-functional music, especially if they had come to the Netherlands as refugees. Their assets — if any — were confiscated and they had to apply for a non-enemy certificate and Dutch citizenship, both lengthy and costly procedures. The dominant music narrative moved away from prewar modernism, embracing 'moderate modernism'.

Thus, in chapters 2 to 7, I addressed the silencing mechanisms in the interwar years, followed by the silencing by the Nazis in chapters 8 to 14 and finally, the silencing of victims of the Holocaust as a result of commemorative practices in chapters 15 to 20. These three steps on the road to oblivion form a reciprocal network; they influence and reinforce one another, and their timelines cross continuously. For example, if music was less performed before the war due to canonical programming, composers were less likely to be commemorated after the war. If music was not performed after the war, salvaged scores and manuscripts were discarded rather than offered to archives, as the story on Sam Schuijer in

chapter 18 has shown. Only after interest in persecuted composers was kindled by the Leo Smit Foundation and others, custodians of forgotten musical heritage came forward and offered their scores and documents to the archives of the Netherlands Music Institute, like the niece of Dick Kattenburg in chapter 11.9.

As life stories and war experiences vary with each composer, the extent to which different factors contributed to their exclusion from performance repertory and music history varies. In fact, even though these composers are grouped together in this study, they are not a group. For each composer, an intricate interplay of a myriad of factors created its own 'bundle of silences'. As we have seen in chapter 6, as a pupil of Sem Dresden, Leo Smit was educated within the esteemed educational lineage. He had a diverse performance network and his work included non-functional orchestral works, the genre valued most highly. As discussed in chapter 18.1, his manuscripts survived and were accessible early on. Although he received not a single obituary, his network proved strong enough for his chamber music to be performed by his friends and colleagues in the first decade after the war, even if no new works were added to his oeuvre and he could not promote his own music. As a result, he was mentioned in all relevant postwar music history publications.[1219] The bundle of silences that caused Leo Smit to be forgotten seems to centre around his violent early death that stopped him from further development as a composer, participating in networks and interaction with the postwar avant-garde.

Another case study, discussed in chapter 4.7, is Julius Hijman. Before the war, his chamber music was mostly performed within the (international) context of the Dutch Society for Contemporary Music, labelled by the competing ISCM network as dilettantes. His migration to the United States was not a direct result of persecution, but of dwindling work opportunities, partly caused by limited international exchange following the rise of Nazism. Soon after, the outbreak of war turned his migration into exile, being cut off from Dutch music life for nearly five years. After the war, Julius Hijman's music was seldom performed in the Netherlands, despite his attempts to rekindle prewar network ties through correspondence and promotion of his own music whenever he could afford to travel to the Netherlands. Hijman is mentioned as a composer in only two postwar music history publications.[1220]

The case study of Daniël Belinfante, presented in chapters 4.1 and 11, showed yet

[1219] Kruseman, *Geïllustreerd muzieklexicon supplement*; Willem Pijper, 'Van Debussy Tot Heden', in *Het Papieren Gevaar*, by Arthur van Dijk (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2011), 783–839; Pay-Uun Hiu and Jolande van der Klis, *Het honderd componisten boek: Nederlandse muziek van Albicastro tot Zweers* (Haarlem: Gottmer, 1997); Samama, *Zeventig jaar Nederlandse muziek 1915-1985*; Samama, *Nederlandse Muziek in de 20-Ste Eeuw*; Reeser, *Stijlproeven van Nederlandse Muziek, 1890-1960 / II.*; A. Corbet, W. Paap, and J. Robijns, *Algemene muziekencyclopedie* (Antwerpen [etc: Zuid-Nederlandse Uitgeverij, 1957).

another combination of silences. In my network database, I registered seventeen public performances of music by Daniël Belinfante during the decade before the war.[1221] After the war, the only performance of Belinfante's work (the *Trio for flute, oboe and bassoon*) took place on 27 January 1948 in a concert organised by the Rotterdam Jewish congregation, dedicated to modern Jewish music.[1222] This shows how Belinfante, whose work was never performed in a Jewish context before the war, now depended on a Jewish network for performance opportunities. For five decades after the war, this would remain the only performance of his music that I found traces of.[1223] And yet, Belinfante had been active in the resistance, his name lived on in the name of his music school, his manuscripts were available soon after the war, and some of his music had been preserved in the radio archives. Why was he still forgotten, or in other words what silencing mechanism excluded Belinfante from the stage and from music history? Belinfante did not have strong ties in the network of Pijper and his pupils, nor does his name appear in the minutes of Geneco assemblies. Most of the performances of his work were related to VARA radio, others to Ruyneman's NVvHM. None of these performances were reviewed in the daily newspapers. Despite the fact that some musicians who performed his work before the war continued their career after 1945, none of them continued to perform music by their old friend and colleague. A possible explanation could be — in addition to the fact music recalling the mass murder of Jews caused discomfort — that Belinfante belonged to the prewar modernist camp; his music did not fit the postwar 'moderate modernism' narrative. Moreover, if remembered at all, he was remembered for his educational music, not as a composer of concert music. Daniël Belinfante is not mentioned in any of the postwar music history publications.

Chapter 9 showed how forced migration led German composer Hans Krieg to abandon his career path as opera conductor and composer of *Lieder*. To make ends meet he focused fully on less valued genres in music history, such as music for radio plays and performance and arrangement of Jewish folk songs. Barely surviving Bergen-Belsen, he had to rebuild his music network for the second time; not to be recognised as a composer, but to earn a living. His most cherished and most personal postwar orchestral composition *Jiskor*

[1220] Kruseman, *Geïllustreerd muzieklexicon supplement*; Corbet, Paap, and Robijns, *Algemene muziekencyclopedie*.

[1221] Recently, new documents on Belinfante's music school have surfaced from the estate of Martha Belinfante-Dekker, including a list of performances in the music school (personal communication with Philomeen Lelieveldt, February 2025). These performances were not included in the database, unless they were mentioned in the press.

[1222] A. van Amerongen, 'Joodse moderne muziek,' *Het Vrije Volk*, 30 January 1948.

[1223] Marcel Worms, 'Daniël Belinfante', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 34. Only after an enquiry of Italian musicologist Francesco Lotoro, Belinfante's music was studied by pianist Marcel Worms, which lead to a performance on 4 May 2005. On 12 December of that same year, the Leo Smit Ensemble performed his trio for oboe, flute and bassoon in the Uilenburg Concert series of the Leo Smit Foundation.

sounded like a reminiscence of Mahler's time; an instance of what Michael Haas would call 'music of exile', quoting composer Robert Fürstenthal's statement 'Wenn ich komponiere bin ich wieder in Wien'.[1224] Hans Krieg only appears in *Algemene Muziekencyclopedie*; he is not included in any music history monograph.[1225] His bundle of silences — from a forced change in career to lesser valued genres and the elimination of his network, to holding on to bygone styles — thwarted the career he envisaged as a young composer.

Obviously, many acts of silencing left no traces and therefore their contribution to exclusion from music historiography sometimes remains speculative. Censored narratives do not spell out what was censored and why. Many bans were informal and left no traces in official documents. So far, I have found no proof of music of murdered composers being actively deleted (as opposed to unconsciously being ignored) from postwar programmes because their heritage was too disturbing or they did not participate in the resistance. However, the fact remains that nearly all composers killed in the camps abruptly disappeared from the concert programmes, music magazines and newspaper columns, notwithstanding the fact that their music was performed before the war and they played their roles in prewar music networks. Further research might reveal more reasons for excluding these composers from postwar programmes, such as anti-Semitism or the tabooed relationship between Dutch and German Jews following the role played by the latter in transit camp Westerbork. And of course, there is also the Dutch programmer's general disinterest in Dutch music and the limited reach of local networks causing composers to be forgotten after a few years of forced silence.

As Trouillot explained, to tell a story, historians build on previous knowledge with their audiences, they build on existing narratives. 'The knowledge that narrators assume about their audience limits both their use of the archives and the context within which their story finds significance. To contribute to new knowledge and to add new significance, the narrator must both acknowledge and contradict the power embedded in previous understandings.'[1226] In his 1986 history of 20th century music in the Netherlands, Samama was given the explicit task of following up on Reeser's work.[1227] He thus positioned his narrative in a tradition, 'conjuring up a make-believe world as anyone does who writes history' as his creed read.[1228] It is echoed in Trouillot's statement that '[t]he widespread notion of history as reminiscence of important past experiences is misleading'.[1229] In Reeser's

[1224] Haas, *Music of Exile*, 2023, xiv.
[1225] Corbet, Paap, and Robijns, *Algemene muziekencyclopedie*, 166.
[1226] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 54–55.
[1227] Samama, *Zeventig jaar Nederlandse muziek 1915-1985*, 9.
[1228] Ibid.
[1229] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 24.

tradition of writing music history (and Dresden's before him), focus continued on music analysis, valuing innovation, originality and development over time.[1230] Of course, those who were still young when the Nazis occupied the Netherlands and did not survive the war were never given the chance to reach their full potential and could often not live up to these criteria. Like before the war, genres less valued were left out. Similarly, my contribution to music history is a narrative based on a tradition, rooted in microhistory and cultural history, emphasising the cul-de-sacs left out from the dominant narrative.[1231] Whether the artistic quality of each individual piece of forgotten music adds to the bundle of silences remains to be studied. However, I strongly feel that a discussion of the music itself can only take place when it has had a performance history. To conclude, I hope to have shown that there are many reasons why music wasn't performed or why performances left few traces. If their music was unknown, its quality cannot be the reason for excluding composers from music history.

21.1 Methodology

This study has shown that the combination of biographical research and network analysis offers an alternative approach to writing music history. While formalistic music analysis, mostly focusing on the musical text separated from its context, builds on the canonical approach to music history (Assmann refers to this type of text analysis as 'the strategy of the canon'), the combination of biographical and network research rather expands music history beyond the canon (in Assmann's words 'the strategy of the archive').[1232] The methodology has also proved its worth in what Citron referred to as 'documentary recuperation'.[1233] Last but not least, it provided insight in the mechanics behind forgetting.

As both Assmann and Trouillot recognised, archives have a history as institutions of power.[1234] Even if an archive has an inclusive selection procedure and a welcoming attitude towards new acquisitions, estate owners will not offer their treasured personal archives if a composer is not recognised in music history. A bonus result of researching and — in the case of the Leo Smit Foundation — performing music by forgotten composers has been the acquisition of new estates in the archives of the Netherlands Music Institute. Earlier, the estates of Dick Kattenburg and Hans Lachman were handed over to the archive, while during my research I met with several family members of persecuted composers and was

[1230] See chapter 3.2.
[1231] Laarse, *Nooit meer Auschwitz?*, 16.
[1232] Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', 102.
[1233] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 4.

able to mediate in transferring their valuable estates to the Netherlands Music Institute at the The Hague Municipal Archives, including the estates of Arie Schuijer and Hans Krieg. I was also able to establish the origins of a recently found collection of microfilmed compositions produced during the Second World War, which is now also housed in the Netherlands Music Institute. Indexation, preservation and digitisation make these sources available for documentary recuperation, thus turning the archive into a gateway, a 'space that is located on the border between forgetting and remembering'.[1235] It is up to researchers and musicians to make use of the archival collections and use their power and expertise to introduce the music to a wider audience, and thus allow it to be part of future histories.

Biographical research and digitisation

In my biographical research, I made use of plain old paper archives (sometimes indexed, sometimes not), digitised archives (sometimes on demand) and oral history interviews, each with their own advantages and shortcomings. Non-indexed paper archives have probably suffered the least from silencing, as no one has structured or streamlined them. On the downside, they are difficult to access, going through great amounts of unorganised documents is time-consuming. This makes it less likely for the music to be performed, which creates another layer of silencing. Moreover, as the estates of migrant composers are scattered around the world, accessing papers can be a costly affair. Still, browsing through these papers may yield serendipitous finds, like letters of Rosy Wertheim in the archive of Karel Mengelberg. Once estates are indexed and the index is available online, documents can be retrieved by scanning on demand. Especially during COVID times, librarians across the world have been very helpful in this respect.[1236]

Despite all the advantages of digitisation (accessibility, searchability), some limitations start to emerge. Increasingly, strict privacy and copyright laws are catching up with increased online availability of sources. Personal data, like religious affiliation, are increasingly blurred in digitised sources. Although censored newspapers from the war period are now also accessible online, for present-day readers it might be a challenge to read between the lines or interpret hidden messages, as most of us lack much of the background knowledge of past readers. In the case of oral history interviews, not all memories could be

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[1234] Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', 102; Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 52.

[1235] Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', 103.

[1236] For example, staff of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France have scanned all of Hijman's letters to Louis Saguer/Wolf Simoni, while Nailah Holmes of The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts saw to it that Hijman's letters to Henry Cowell were scanned. Jane Meditz of the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library of Yale University kindly assisted in having programmes scanned from The Charles Ives Papers.

corroborated with archival evidence, and some memories contradicted archival evidence. Still, interviews resulted in new tracks to investigate. As sources become more readily available, the amount of crowdsourced data grows, for example in genealogical databases and memorial websites like www.joodsmonument.nl. Crowdsourced information can provide leads but should always be traced back to their source to filter out ambiguities.

21.2 The network database

'Historical network research should help to awaken or expand the knowledge potential that lies dormant in them [the sources] but not create a historical 'reality' of its own.'[1237] It is, obviously, impossible to trace and log all network connections around composers and how they changed as a result of war and persecution. Moreover, as the archives of persecuted composers are fragmented, so is the representation of their network. There is always the danger of mixing up cause and effect: a poor network representation may be the effect of limited survival of sources instead of a lack of network ties. Moreover, there is no such thing as errorless data, complete data or unbiased data. A set of data is always an abstraction of reality. Focusing on quantity means losing quality. Equally, focusing on quality may distort representativeness. In the case of Julius Hijman, Hans Krieg and to a lesser extent Daniël Belinfante, extensive biographical research was carried out, while biographical research on other composers was more limited (e.g. because of lack of source availability). This undoubtedly leads to some overrepresentation of these composers in the database, which may in turn distort results of quantitative analysis.

While attending conferences and lunch lectures of the Historical Network Research community, I realised that projects in this field are often carried out by multidisciplinary teams. Network analysis and visualisation is usually a team effort, where historians and sociologists team up with data-analysis experts. Perhaps carrying out a network analysis on persecuted composers as a solo project was a bit overambitious. Although with common sense, patience and the help of the software developers at Nodegoat a lot of the skills can be mastered, becoming versatile in network analysis and visualisation takes a lot of time, competing with that other time-consuming discipline of archival research. Still, as a heuristic tool the network database served its purpose and it is made available for other researchers to further expand and use the data for analysis.[1238]

[1237] Eumann, 'Heuristik, Hypothesenentwicklung Und Hypothesentest', 124. Die Historische Netzwerkforschung soll dabei helfen, das in ihnen schlummernde erkenntnispotenzial zu wecken oder zu erweitern, aber nicht eine eigene historische „Realität" erschaffen.

[1238] Contact the author for a link to download the data.

Obviously, the huge task of rekeying data limits the scope of the analysis. Moreover, with digitisation still increasing rapidly, any dataset extracted from digital sources is a snapshot in time as new information becomes available almost every day. A historical dataset is thus never complete. The amount of data incorporated will influence which type of analysis is feasible. A limited dataset is interesting from a historical perspective but is less suitable for structural analysis.[1239]

Despite the limitations of a restricted dataset, creating a database manually also has its advantages. The database functions as a sort of external memory for the researcher, presenting opportunities to handle datasets that are too large to handle by the human brain. The database thus allows for easy retrieval of research finds and test visualisations provide insights to be researched further. The act of extracting and rekeying data also creates memories, creating an early warning system when the researcher comes across familiar names.

21.3 Future research

This study ends around 1955, on the eve of the coming of age of the postwar avant-garde generation of composers in the Netherlands.[1240] However, the story on persecuted and forgotten composers does not end there. The 1960s and 1970s presented a whole new chapter on the road to oblivion. Barthel-Calvet and Murray argued how 'the historiography of this period (…) was largely woven from the auto-historiographies of individual composers, excluding the strands of those who did not or could not speak or who were not mentioned by others'.[1241] Perhaps more so than ever before, music historiography was based mostly on the works of Western male composers and the analysis of their compositions, following 'the idea of history as the evolution of freedom'.[1242] It is very likely that this nomothetic history influenced the perspective of later generations on prewar music life. How this affected the continued exclusion of persecuted composers merits further study, as well as a comparison of the influence of politically driven modernism on different art forms.

[1239] Lukas Gienapp, Clara Kruckenberg, and Manuel Burghardt, 'Topological Properties of Music Collaboration Networks: The Case of Jazz and Hip Hop', *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (2021), https://www.proquest.com/docview/2553525091/abstract/F79A95F29B6B47EBPQ/4.

[1240] See for example Elmer Schönberger, 'Serialisme in Nederland, pro en contra', in *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: University Press, Salomé, 2001).

[1241] Barthel-Calvet and Christopher Brent Murray, *Revisiting the Historiography of Postwar Avant-Garde Music*, 3.

[1242] Caswell, 'Canonicity in Academia', 135–36. In this 1991 article, Caswell cites Gilbert Allardyce, "The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course," American Historical Review 87, no. 3 (June 1982). It would be interesting to see to what extent music history follows or lags behind general historiography in leaving this idea of progress.

Another interesting topic for further study would be the road to recovery of these composers starting in the 1990s; how a combination of the growing interest in stories of the Holocaust, the blossoming of the field of cultural history — no longer limiting itself to 'great men, great ideas and great works'[1243] — and the waning political influence of the avant-garde helped find an audience for the music of persecuted composers; how their music started to function as a *lieu de mémoire* and became part of the Holocaust experience as 'depreciated utilitarian goods that have been turned into heritage through new signification';[1244] and finally, how many compositions are finding their way back to the repertory and how the digital revolution has enabled accessibility to a more diverse take on music history away from the traditional canon.[1245] On a positive, but rather cynical note, the fact that 80 years after the Holocaust, most of the music is now in the public domain, also boosted performances of the music of persecuted composers.[1246] Kerman described how the relation between repertory and canon has changed with the existence of widely available recordings; his article of 1983 could not foresee the present situation where recordings are within easy reach of both musicians and listeners with YouTube and Spotify.[1247]

The list of banned composers in the Netherlands is long and still incomplete. More research is called for, also widening the scope from concert hall music to include entertainment and film music, two genres that were widely practised by composers who also wrote more 'serious' music. Composers such as Joan Fresco, James Wilton (pseudonym of Salomon Abas), Dolf Karelsen and Max Vredenburg merit further research into their life stories, their compositions and their networks.

Enriching (adding compositions) and enlarging (adding more composers) the network database would allow for a more thorough analysis of music life in the Netherlands during the Interbellum. This research and the resulting database can be seen as a proof of concept. The method of combining network analysis and visualisation and biographical research proved to yield insights about the context of composing and being performed and will also provide insights into the experiences of women composers. Beyond the field of music, it could also be applied to the visual arts and to literature. Citron stated that 'written forms of reception provide only a partial view of musical activity of the past, and the

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[1243] Ibid., 140.

[1244] Rob van der Laarse, *De oorlog als beleving: over de musealisering en enscenering van Holocaust-erfgoed*, Reinwardt memorial lecture 3 (Amsterdam: Reinwardt Academie, Amsterdamse Hogeschool voor de Kunsten, 2010), 26.

[1245] In 2016, the Concertgebouw Orchestra performed Leo Smit's *Silhouetten*. Lotte Wijbrands, 'De prenten onder muziek Smit,' *De Volkskrant*, 6 October 2016. Pianists Lucas and Arthur Jussen recorded Smit's *Divertimento* for piano four hands in 2022 on their album *Hollandse meesters* (Dutch masters).

[1246] Personal communication with Philomeen Lelieveldt, 11 February 2025. In the Netherlands, 70 years after the death of a composer, his or her music enters the public domain.

[1247] Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations'.

challenge is how to find ways of accessing other formats and other kinds of written material to expand the historical vista.'[1248] Nevertheless, distant reading techniques applied to music reviews will enable a study into the changing discourse on contemporary music in the Netherlands over time.

Should we do away with formal music analysis as input for music history? Definitely not. Analysis of the compositions that have been overlooked for contextual reasons will enrich our understanding of the patterns of change and where and how developments originated. It might alter or even overthrow the grand narrative behind the canon or debunk some myths on artistic lineage. However, I firmly believe that it is not sufficient to have access to the manuscripts to analyse them. I think music should have a sounding history before analysis is attempted. Sound recuperation needs to follow documentary recuperation. To quote John Mauceri: 'Music cannot be known unless it is heard.'[1249] This is easier said than done in the case of orchestral music; many revived composers will be mostly known for their chamber music. Perhaps future technology can remedy this, but so far, no innovation has been able to convincingly create sound directly from scores without the help of musicians.

It will be interesting to see what the future holds in terms of canonisation, archiving and music history production. Composers still depend on musicians to perform their music, but once recorded, they are able to manage the accessibility of their music through digital distribution, platforms and social media. At the same time, with email correspondence, born-digital scores and documents and no tangible artefacts, silencing is even made easier once the composer is no longer there to promote his music. Although digital listening opens up an enormous reservoir of music to choose from, algorithms cause canonisation to change gear. Even if digitisation may increasingly allow consumers to pick and mix from passive cultural memory and bypass the canon, music still needs interpreters to reach an audience. For orchestras and large concert halls depending on income from private funding, ticket sales, and subsidies based on large and diverse audiences, it is difficult to take risks with unknown music. The canon will continue to wield its power over music history and silencing will always be part of history production. As future generations will ask questions of history guided by their own values, new research will focus on different composers, possibly diminishing the interest in composers who were persecuted by the Nazis. However, there will also always be curious and critical music historians, passionate archivists, entrepreneurial publishers and adventurous musicians. With websites providing access to biographies and hundreds of scanned handwritten manuscripts, 125 published

[1248] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 12.

[1249] Mauceri, *The War on Music*, 6.

scores (and counting), more than hundred students of the Amsterdam Conservatory, many more musicians from around the world, generous sponsors and a continuing tradition of Forbidden Music Regained Festivals, Eleonore Pameijer and the Leo Smit Foundation saved many persecuted composers in the Netherlands from oblivion.

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Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, het Nederlandse Beheersinstituut (NBI), folders Hans Lachman (117524), Hans Krieg (116441), Erwin Krieg (116440), Wilhelm Rettich (15634), Elsa Rettich-Barter (156549), Rosa Rettich-Idelsohn (156550).
Kenniscentrum Joods Cultureel Kwartier, estate Krieg family.
Yale University Library Special Collections, Kirkpatrick papers, correspondence Julius Hijman
Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Charles Ives papers

Interviews

Hans and George Beyer, grandsons of Adolf Waterman, Wassenaar, 18 November 2022.
Mirjam Krieg, daughter of Hans Krieg, Almere, 30 November 2021.

Newspapers online

Delpher, KB nationale bibliotheek, https://www.delpher.nl/
Anno Historische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, https://anno.onb.ac.at/
Deutsches Zeitungsportal, Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek, https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper
RetroNews/Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France, https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/fr/html/accueil-fr, https://www.bnf.fr/en/retronews-bnf-press-website
Trove, National Library of Australia, https://trove.nla.gov.au/
ChroniclingAmerica, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/
British Newspaper Archive, British Library, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/

Summary

Caught in a web of silence
Composers in Dutch music history 1920-1955 and the impact of World War II

This dissertation researches composers living and working in the Netherlands and persecuted by the Nazis. Their music was banned and they themselves were isolated, deported and murdered. Some survived the camps, others went into hiding or fled the country. Although the ban was lifted when the Netherlands was liberated, their music was seldom heard in the first decades after the war. Most of them are not mentioned in encyclopaedia, anthologies or books on the history of composing in the Netherlands. The objective of this thesis is not only the documentary recuperation of their stories and music, but also to unveil and disentangle the various processes that caused these composers to be absent from historiography and from the stage. While studies of the late twentieth century introduced a broader approach to music history beyond the analysis of consecutive masterpieces, the canon of Dutch classical music, including the formation process behind it, remained largely unchallenged. With the help of a cultural history perspective, including biographical research and a network approach, this dissertation tells the stories of these persecuted composers in order to uncover aspects of the history of composing in the Netherlands that have received little attention so far. I applied Michel-Rolph Trouillot's theory on silencing in historiography by looking at performing opportunities, source production and narratives, and added network analysis. For this purpose a network database was built, including data on more than 1,400 performances. Following theories on canonisation by Joseph Kerman, Austin Caswell and Marcia Citron, this research is also an attempt at documentary recuperation to provide a basis for opening up the canon of composing in the Netherlands.
The first section deals with the interwar period of the twentieth century. Analysing the production of music history in that period, I arrived at a set of factors that blocked canonicity. Biographical fragments illustrate these factors, including less valued genres (chamber music and composing for students, amateurs, radio and synagogue), limited performance opportunities for orchestral music, cultural mobility and network positions.
The second section deals with the impact of Nazi rulings on performing opportunities, source production, networks and narratives. Again biographical fragments illustrate how after 1933, refugees tried to build a new life in the Netherlands, switching genres and rebuilding networks. During occupation, Jewish composers were isolated, banned and silenced, causing performance opportunities to dwindle, while narratives were censored and

manuscripts were looted. Networks changed focus or broke down while in the resistance movement networks were created or strengthened. The third section addresses how performance opportunities were influenced by a national narrative on victory and resistance, causing victims of the Holocaust to be largely excluded from commemoration. Those returning from the camps or coming out of hiding often had no access to resistance networks that dominated music organisations and press, while Jewish networks were decimated.

To conclude, biographical research and network analysis not only yielded insights into the mechanisms behind canonisation and music historiography, but also brought to the fore a considerable body of music manuscripts awaiting rediscovery. This music was not forgotten as a result of poor quality. Rather, contextual factors — varying from network positions and views on canonworthiness to anti-Jewish measures and a lack of commemoration — influenced the processes of canonisation and music history production, thereby creating a specific 'bundle of silences' for each forgotten composer.

Samenvatting

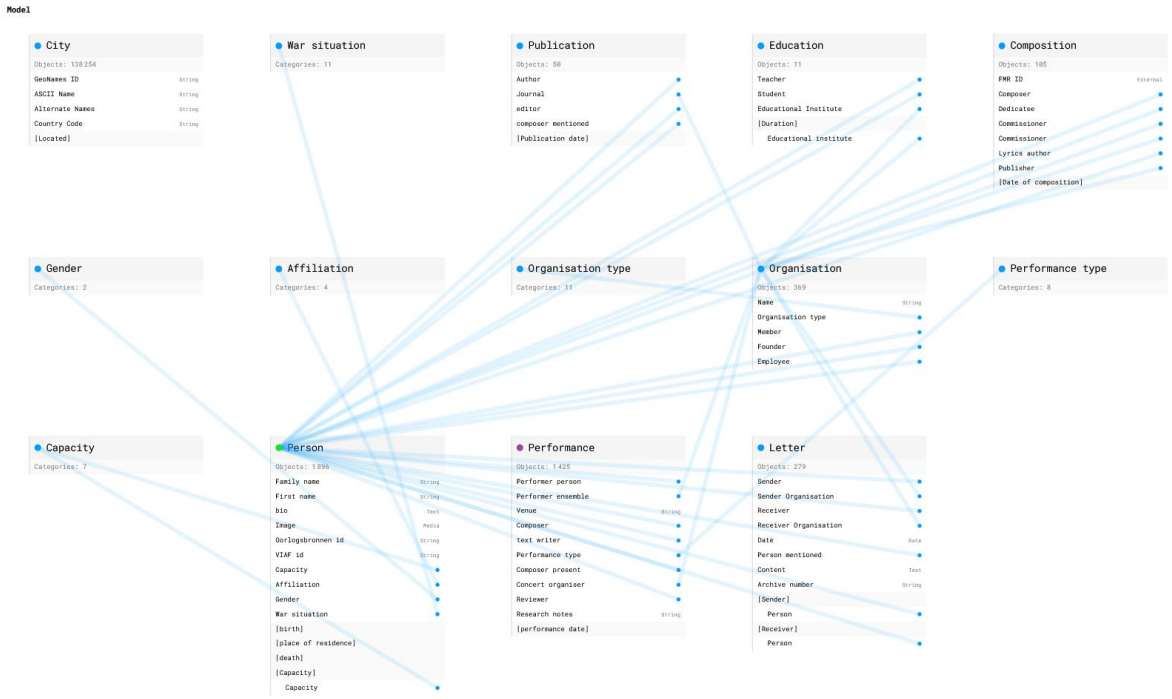
Gevangen in een web van stilte
Componisten in de Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis 1920-1955 en de impact van de Tweede Wereldoorlog

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt leven en werk van componisten in Nederland die door de nazi's vervolgd werden. Hun muziek werd verboden, zij zelf werden geïsoleerd, weggevoerd en vermoord. Een enkeling overleefde de kampen, anderen overleefden in onderduik of in het buitenland. Hoewel het verbod op hun muziek eindigde op de dag dat Nederland bevrijd werd, werd hun muziek maar zelden gehoord in de eerste jaren na de oorlog. De meeste vervolgde componisten werden niet genoemd in encyclopedieën, bloemlezingen en monografieën over de geschiedenis van het componeren in Nederland. Het doel van dit onderzoek is niet alleen het herstellen van deze omissie in de Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis, maar ook het blootleggen en ontrafelen van de verschillende processen die deze componisten uit de geschiedenis deden verdwenen en van het podium weerden. Hoewel aan het eind van de twintigste eeuw een breder perspectief op muziekgeschiedenis ontstond dat verder ging dan het analyseren van een serie opeenvolgende sleutelcomposities, werden de canon van de Nederlandse klassieke muziek en de processen die hierachter schuilgingen nauwelijks bevraagd. Vanuit het perspectief van culturele geschiedenis, waarin biografische fragmenten uit de levens van vervolgde componisten en netwerkanalyse een belangrijke rol spelen, belicht dit proefschrift een deel van de Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis dat eerder weinig aandacht kreeg. Ik paste Michel-Rolph Trouillots theorie over het negeren of onderdrukken van bepaalde stemmen in de geschiedschrijving toe door uitvoeringskansen, de productie van bronnen en het ontstaan van narratieven te bestuderen en voegde daar netwerkanalyse aan toe. Daartoe bouwde ik een netwerkdatabase van ruim 1.400 uitvoeringen. In navolging van de theorieën over canonisering van Joseph Kerman, Austin Caswell en Marcia Citron poogt dit onderzoek dit vergeten deel van de muziekgeschiedenis te documenteren, om als basis te dienen voor het openbreken van de canon van Nederlandse composities.
Het eerste deel gaat over het Interbellum. Een analyse van de geschiedschrijving over en in die periode leidde tot een set van factoren die canonisering tegenwerkten. Met biografische fragmenten worden deze factoren toegelicht: ondergewaardeerde genres (kamermuziek, componeren voor leerlingen, studenten, radio en synagoge), beperkte uitvoeringskansen voor orkestmuziek, meerjarig verblijf in het buitenland en posities binnen netwerken. Het tweede deel belicht de impact van anti-Joodse maatregelen en het cultuurbeleid van de

nazi's op uitvoeringskansen, bronnenproductie, netwerken en narratieven. Opnieuw illustreren biografische fragmenten hoe vanaf 1933 vluchtelingen een nieuw leven in Nederland opbouwden door soms over te schakelen op beter betalende genres en nieuwe netwerkrelaties aan te knopen. Tijdens de bezetting werden vervolgde componisten geïsoleerd en werd hen het zwijgen opgelegd, waardoor uitvoeringskansen verdwenen, hun namen uit gecensureerde bronnen verdwenen en hun manuscripten geplunderd werden. Netwerken dienden een nieuw doel of vielen uit elkaar, terwijl in het verzet netwerken juist ontstonden of versterkt werden. Het derde deel gaat in op de invloed van het nationale narratief van verzet en overwinning op herdenking en uitvoeringskansen, waardoor muziek van slachtoffers van de Holocaust nauwelijks aan bod kwam. Degenen die terugkeerden uit de kampen of uit de onderduik hadden veelal geen toegang tot het netwerk dat in het verzet ontstaan was en na de oorlog muziekorganisaties en pers domineerde, terwijl Joodse netwerken om op terug te vallen gedecimeerd waren.

Concluderend kan gesteld worden dat een combinatie van biografisch onderzoek en netwerkanalyse niet alleen inzicht biedt in de processen achter muziekgeschiedschrijving en canonisering, maar ook toegang gegeven heeft tot een aanzienlijk vergeten oeuvre dat op herontdekking wacht. Deze muziek is niet vergeten als gevolg van matige kwaliteit. Het zijn eerder omgevingsfactoren – van netwerkposities en vooroorlogse denkbeelden over de canon en geschiedschrijving tot anti-Joodse maatregelen en een gebrek aan herdenking – die deze componisten buiten ons blikveld hebben gehouden; en voor elke componist geldt een eigen specifieke combinatie van deze omgevingsfactoren.

Annex I. Description of the network database



The data model consists of persons and the different artefacts and events through which they are connected. For example, a performance links a composer to musicians, but also to reviewers and concert organisers. A composition links a composer to a dedicatee or patron. A letter not only forges a link between sender and receiver, but also between sender and persons mentioned in the letter.

In the database, each **person** is described by their family name and first name (including alternative spellings) and — if possible — a unique identifyer (VIAF, Virtual International Authority File, viaf.org). If available, a link to existing biographical data is added. If no published biographical information exists, some relevant details are added. A field 'capacity' registers different roles a person plays in relation to the event or artefact to which the person is linked (composer, patron, musician, music writer, publisher, teacher, other). Although each person can have more than one role, the most important role in relation to the event or artefact is chosen. In order to be able to filter the data, a field 'affiliation' was created. The original idea was to register if someone was an observant or non-religious Jew, but that soon turned out not to be feasible. Also socialist or communist affiliations were difficult to determine in a consistent fashion. In the end, only 'Jewish' was registered. If unknown, nothing was registered. Based on available biographical

information, gender was registered as binary, either female or male. If only a surname was known and gender information inconclusive, nothing was registered. If known, the wartime experiences of a person were registered. Categories include collaborator, committed suicide, died in hiding, killed in bombing, killed in concentration camp, not persecuted, resistance, survived abroad, survived concentration camp, survived in hiding, survived unknown. Finally, place and date of birth and death were registered.

To enter geographical **places**, I made use of the existing database offered by Nodegoat. If a city or town was not available in the existing list, I added the city using details on latitude and longitude provided by geonames.org. The initial idea was also to register places of residency with the appropriate dates. However, to enter data in such detail is time-consuming and would limit the number of entries. For this project, I therefore chose not to register these data.

Organisations were entered with their name and classified by type of organisation: broadcast association, composers' association, concert organiser, educational institute, journal, library, orchestra (including ensemble, choir), programme committee, publisher, record company, stakeholder association). Persons can be linked to organisations as (founding) member or employee. However, as this connection is not dated, it is strictly speaking not possible to link two persons through membership of the same organisation. Still, considering the limited time scope of the database and depending on the type and size of organisation, membership of an organisation in practice involves a link between two persons (e.g. with members of a string quartet).

Performances are named after the participating musicians. In hindsight, this was not quite satisfactory, as long names create messy graphs. Moreover, if no individual performers are known (e.g. the performer is an ensemble), no name is given. For each performance the following information is entered: performer person, performer organisation (e.g. choir, ensemble, orchestra), the venue (free text), composers performed, a librettist or poet in case of vocal works, the type of performance (ballet, concert, film, lecture, radio broadcast, recording, study concert), which composers were present at the performance of their work, the concert organiser, the reviewer. A separate field was added to record research notes, although every entry field already has an option to add information on the source. This source information field was only used occasionally, as most information originated from the same source (delpher.nl). With each performance, the date and place of the performance were entered to enable filtering and visualisation.

If available, **letters** written and received by composers under study were added. For each letter both the sender and receiver were entered. If applicable, the organisation receiving or sending the letter were added as well (sometimes a letter was addressed to an

organisation without referring to a specific person). The date of dispatch was added, as well as persons mentioned in the letter. Considering the purpose of this database, I excluded historical names, such as Bach or Beethoven.

My original intention was to add **educational relationships**. For each period of education, a name is given based on people and places involved, both teacher and student are entered, as well as the educational institute (if applicable). For each educational relationship the period of duration is entered. Due to time limits, this information remained incomplete. I only managed to systematically enter the educational relationships for Julius Hijman and Hans Franco Mendes.

I entered **publications** to visualise and analyse to what extent composers featured in historiography. Publications include monographs, lexicons and volumes of journals. For each publication all composers mentioned and living and working in the Netherlands are entered (excluding those who are not relevant to the period under study). A publication entry further includes the name of the author or editor and the organisation involved (in the case of journals), as well as the year of publication.

I intended to incorporate information on **compositions** from the database forbiddenmusicregained.org. Although the software of both databases allow for bulk import, this is a rather technical process for which I lack the skills. Instead, I systematically and manually entered 103 compositions by Julius Hijman and two compositions by Philip Vlessing. If applicable, each composition was entered with its title and identification number in the ForbiddenMusicRegained database (www.forbiddenmusicregained.org). Further information entered includes the composer, the dedicatee, the commissioner (either organisation or person), the author of the lyrics, and the publisher. For each composition, if available, the date and place of composition was entered.

Decisions made while entering data

While entering data, many decisions were taken. For each composer included in the database, I kept a log on decisions made. For example, with some letters between Julius Hijman and Louis Saguer, there is no address for the receiver (no envelopes are archived). In such cases, I used the last known address. In the case of Hans Krieg, I also included lectures and religious services as concerts, as this provided valuable insights into his network. He gave many lectures on Jewish music, illustrating his talk with his own arrangements of songs. Further, I chose to include all musicians involved in a performance, even if it is not clear whether they were all involved in performing the work of a composer in the database. If a conductor toured with a programme — for example in the case of Rettich with *Hoofdstad Operette* — the tour is entered as one performance. If a performance was announced, but its

programme changed or cancelled at the last minute, I decided to still enter it in the database, as it is likely the preparations for the concert forged a connection, even if the concert itself did not take place.

In the catagory 'musician', actors in radio plays are included, as well as actors reciting texts in a *declamatorium* (texts illustrated with music), a rather popular genre during the interwar years. Membership of a trio or quartet may change over the years. As much as possible, I therefore entered the names of the individual musicians as well as the name of the ensemble. In the case of Henriëtte Bosmans, where she performed music for piano and orchestra by Strauss, Franck or Grieg, I did not include contemporary Dutch composers who may have been performed by the orchestra in the same concert, as a connection between Bosmans and these composers does not necessarily follow. Including composers mentioned in different publications was limited to the period under study, i.e. born between 1870 and 1920.

Even if a log is meticulously maintained, some decisions go unreported and nuances are lost. For example, when assigning a category in 'war situation', how does one decide what exactly constitutes an act of resistance? Some musicians participated in illegal house concerts while being registered with the *Kultuurkamer* and also performing in public. Their war situation could be described as 'not persecuted', but they may have contributed to the resistance.

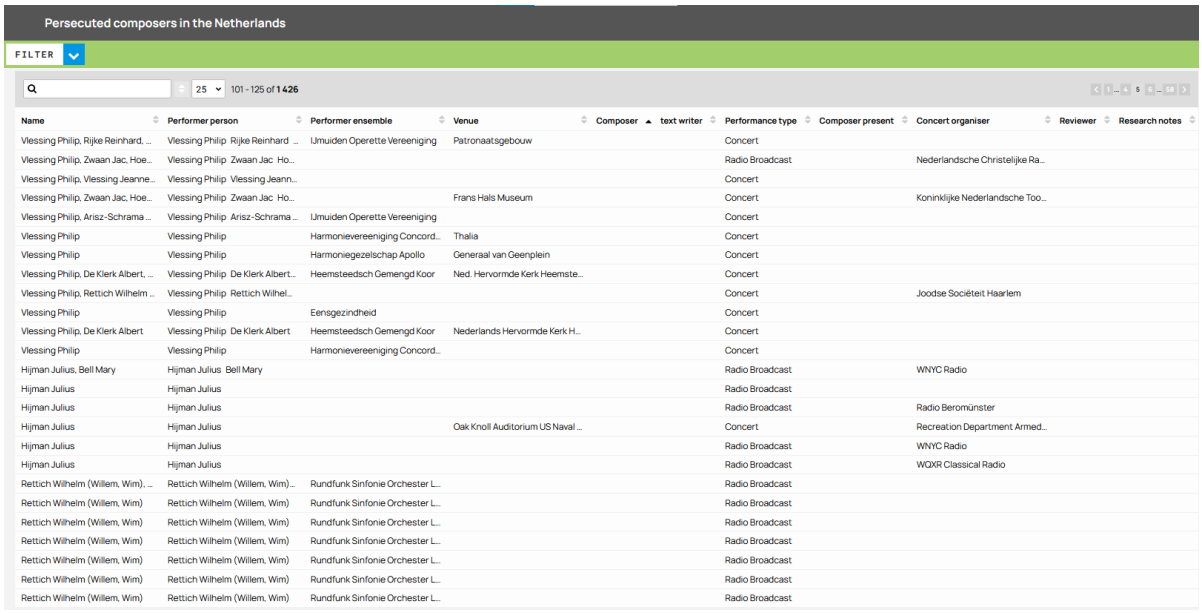
The dataset is available for future research and can be imported into other network software. Please contact the author (info@carinealders.nl) for further details.

Visualisation and filtering

The Nodegoat software allows for social, geographical and temporal filtering and visualisation, as well as a combination of these perspectives. For example, the geographical spread of a composers network can be visualised over time. This tool has been helpful in providing insights into the impact of war on a composer's performance network. However, to be able to interpret these visualisations, it is important to zoom in and out, which is impossible in a text oriented publication. Just as with a digital map, detailed information disappears when zooming out, while the overview is lost when zooming in. Prints of visualisations in an easy to handle format would result in rather meaningless meatballs-and-spaghetti illustrations.

To share some of the data in an easily accessible format, a public interface (https://nodegoat.net/viewer.p/129/2908/types/all/list/) was created by Nodegoat that enables users to browse and filter a set of more than 1,400 performances. Typing a name in the filter box will result in presenting a set of performances involving the person or

organisation entered. For example, typing ‘Krieg’ results in a selection of 168 performances involving Hans Krieg as performer and/or composer. Typing ‘VARA’ results in a selection of 58 radio broadcasts with involvement of one or more composers under study. Clicking a performance gives further detailed information on people and organisations involved, date and venue and performance type. In using this public interface, it is important to know that, due to time constraints, not all composers listed in Annex I were included in the database. The process of finding performances with the help of digitised newspaper collections and entering these performances in the network database was systematically carried out for Daniël Belinfante, Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman, Henriëtte Bosmans, Hans Franco Mendes, Pál Hermann, Julius Hijman, Hans Krieg, Wilhelm Rettich, Leo Smit, Philip Vlessing, Adolf Waterman and Rosy Wertheim.



Name	Performer person	Performer ensemble	Venue	Composer	text writer	Performance type	Composer present	Concert organiser	Reviewer	Research notes
Vlessing Philip, Rijke Reinhard, ...	Vlessing Philip Rijke Reinhard ...	IJmuiden Operette Vereeniging	Patronaatsgebouw			Concert				
Vlessing Philip, Zwaan Jac, Hoe...	Vlessing Philip Zwaan Jac Ho...					Radio Broadcast		Nederlandsche Christelijke Ra...		
Vlessing Philip, Vlessing Jeanne...	Vlessing Philip Vlessing Jeann...					Concert				
Vlessing Philip, Zwaan Jac, Hoe...	Vlessing Philip Zwaan Jac Ho...		Frans Hals Museum			Concert		Koninklijke Nederlandsche Too...		
Vlessing Philip, Arisz-Schrama ...	Vlessing Philip Arisz-Schrama ...	IJmuiden Operette Vereeniging				Concert				
Vlessing Philip	Vlessing Philip	Harmonievereeniging Concord...	Thalia			Concert				
Vlessing Philip	Vlessing Philip	Harmoniegezelschap Apollo	Generaal van Geenplein			Concert				
Vlessing Philip, De Klerk Albert, ...	Vlessing Philip De Klerk Albert...	Heemsteedsch Gemengd Koor	Ned. Hervormde Kerk Heemste...			Concert				
Vlessing Philip, Rettich Wilhelm ...	Vlessing Philip Rettich Wilhel...					Concert		Joodse Sociëteit Haarlem		
Vlessing Philip	Vlessing Philip	Eensgezindheid				Concert				
Vlessing Philip, De Klerk Albert	Vlessing Philip De Klerk Albert	Heemsteedsch Gemengd Koor	Nederlands Hervormde Kerk H...			Concert				
Vlessing Philip	Vlessing Philip	Harmonievereeniging Concord...				Concert				
Hijman Julius, Bell Mary	Hijman Julius Bell Mary					Radio Broadcast		WNYC Radio		
Hijman Julius	Hijman Julius					Radio Broadcast				
Hijman Julius	Hijman Julius					Radio Broadcast		Radio Beromünster		
Hijman Julius	Hijman Julius		Oak Knoll Auditorium US Naval ...			Concert		Recreation Department Armed...		
Hijman Julius	Hijman Julius					Radio Broadcast		WNYC Radio		
Hijman Julius	Hijman Julius					Radio Broadcast		WQXR Classical Radio		
Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim), ...	Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)...	Rundfunk Sinfonie Orchester L...				Radio Broadcast				
Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rundfunk Sinfonie Orchester L...				Radio Broadcast				
Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rundfunk Sinfonie Orchester L...				Radio Broadcast				
Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rundfunk Sinfonie Orchester L...				Radio Broadcast				
Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rundfunk Sinfonie Orchester L...				Radio Broadcast				
Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rundfunk Sinfonie Orchester L...				Radio Broadcast				
Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rettich Wilhelm (Willem, Wim)	Rundfunk Sinfonie Orchester L...				Radio Broadcast				

Annex II. Annotated list of composers

Abas, Salomon (pseud. James Wilton)

Amsterdam 28 April 1900 - Sobibor 2 July 1943

Sal Abas was the youngest son of diamond cutter Jacob Abas and Klara Abas-Abas. His older brother Nathan was a violinist with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra; he emigrated to the United States in 1917.[1250] A year later, 18-year old Sal started his career as a violinist and conductor of entertainment ensembles under the name of James Wilton.[1251] He conducted his own ladies orchestra and performed as violin soloist. By the end of 1920, he had arrived in Semarang in the Dutch Indies, where he performed in a piano trio at a hotel and established himself as a teacher.[1252] He also started to publish his own compositions, such as marches for festive occasions.[1253] In December 1921, he left again for Europe, where he picked up his work as orchestra leader and composer of entertainment music.[1254] Four compositions from 1923 were published with Alsbach. In the same year, his songs started to appear in the weekly magazine *Cinema en theater*.[1255] He started to accompany films in the Rotterdam theatre La Scala and wrote and performed an operetta in 1924.[1256] In the spring of 1926 Abas moved to Dortmund, where he started to perform on a daily basis in Café-Kabarett Astoria.[1257] Until 1933, he continued to perform with his own orchestras in Dortmund, Bochum, Mannheim and Hamburg. When Hitler came to power, Abas returned to the Netherlands to continue his work as composer, violinist and conductor of entertainment ensembles.[1258] He toured the country with his ensemble 'Musical Ladies' and continued to publish songs in *Cinema en theater*.[1259] To improve the financial position of musicians, Abas became chair of the Algemene Nederlandse Bond van Musici (Dutch Union of Musicians) and started the VoDoBeMu (Volksmuziek Door BeroepsMusici, folk music by

[1250] 'VGKCO - Home', accessed 2 May 2025, https://vgkco.nl/index.php?page=portrettengallerij. Stadsarchief Rotterdam, 318-04.927 Register van passagegelden, lijn Rotterdam-New York (westbound): 1917, jan.-dec., 01-01-1917 t/m 31-12-1917, accessed on 17 January 2025.

[1251] *Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche Courant*, 17 January 1918.

[1252] *De Locomotief*, 1 December 1920; *De Locomotief*, 4 December 1920.

[1253] 'Nieuwe uitgaven,' *De Locomotief*, 1 September 1921.

[1254] 'Muziek van den dag,' *De Telegraaf*, 16 December 1923.

[1255] *Weekblad Cinema en theater*, 1 January 1923, no. 106, 140.

[1256] *Het Vaderland*, 9 October 1924; *De Noord-Ooster*, 23 October 1925.

[1257] *Dortmunder Zeitung*, 1 April 1926.

[1258] *De kunst*, 7 April 1934.

[1259] 'James Wilton's Musical Ladies in het Hof van Holland,' *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 30 September 1935; *Cinema en theater*, 20 June 1936.

professional musicians) ensemble.[1260] He continued to tour the Netherlands with his orchestra 'The Minstrels', including an 'electro-Hawaiian guitar' as a novelty.[1261] When the Nazis occupied the Netherlands and anti-Jewish regulations became more and more strict, Abas started the Nieuw Amsterdamsch Kamerorkest (New Amsterdam Chamber Orchestra) in the summer of 1941, a few months later renamed the Nieuw Joodsch Kamerorkest (New Jewish Chamber Orchestra).[1262] Under the baton of Abas — now performing under his own name — the orchestra initially performed Ravel and Bizet, but was soon limited to Jewish composers, including Mendelssohn, but also Dutch contemporary composers like Henri C. van Praag and Leo Smit.[1263] With this orchestra, Abas also performed his *Serenata Barocca*, a four-movement work for symphony orchestra that had been performed by the Hamburg Symphony Orchestra before 1933.[1264] The New Jewish Chamber Orchestra continued to perform until 12 July 1942, the last concert before the Joodsche Schouwburg changed its name and purpose.[1265] As the Hollandsche Schouwburg, it now served as an assembly station for Jews awaiting transportation to Camp Westerbork. Abas was taken from Westerbork to Sobibor on 29 June 1943, where he was killed upon arrival.[1266]

Manuscripts: the whereabouts of his *Serenata Barocca* is as yet unknown. Sal Abas probably wrote dozens of compositions under the name James Wilton. Only four songs published by Alsbach survived in the collection of the Netherlands Music Institute.[1267]

Belinfante, Daniël

Amsterdam, 6 March 1893 - Fürstengrube, 27 January 1945

Dan Belinfante studied violin with Sidney Belinfante, piano with Julius Röntgen and composition with Cornelis Dopper and Sem Dresden. His work list includes chamber music, vocal music and works for orchestra. Belinfante was taken in when on an errant for the

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[1260] Sal Abas, 'Onze nieuweling: De Bond van Musici,' *De Vakbeweging*, 21 January 1937; 'Vodobemu voor de VARA,' *Het Volk*, 27 July 1937.

[1261] 'James Wilton met The Minstrels,' *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, 27 May 1939.

[1262] 'Concert Nieuw Amsterdamsch Kamerorkest,' *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 27 June 1941; 'Nieuw Joodsch Kamerorkest,' *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 21 November 1941.

[1263] 'Concert Nieuw Amsterdamsch Kamerorkest' in *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 27 June 1941; *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 21 November and 19 December 1941.

[1264] 'Nieuw Joodsch Kamerorkest' in *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 21 November 1941; 'James Wilton's Orkest' in *De Kunst*, 7 April 1934.

[1265] *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 3 July 1942.

[1266] 'Salomon Abas (Amsterdam, 28 april 1900 - Sobibor, 2 juli 1943)', accessed 17 January 2025, https://www.oorlogsbronnen.nl/tijdlijn/31592d9e-db29-413e-80cf-5d24e1f70d32.

[1267] Library collection Netherlands Music Institute, the Hague.

resistance and transported to Auschwitz (Fürstengrube) where he was killed.[1268]

Manuscripts: Collections Netherlands Music Institute, The Hague Municipal Archives 3020-01. Works available via www.donemus.nl See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.nl.

Belinfante-Dekker, Martha

Amsterdam, 12 August 1900 - Amsterdam, 4 December 1989

Martha Belinfante Dekker was a student Hendrika van Tussenbroek and Dan Belinfante, whom she married in December 1923. Due to asthma, she was unable to pursue a career as a singer. She developed a teaching method for breathing and singing and composed songs.[1269] During the war, she was active in the resistance and went into hiding.

Manuscripts: Amsterdam City Archives, 1236. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.nl.

Belitzer, Ludwig

Berlijn 11 June 1901 - unknown, 1945

Ludwig Belitzer arrived Amsterdam in 1933. In Berlin he had conducted the mixed and male workers' choirs of Adlershof, a Berlin neighbourhood.[1270] He was registered with GEMA, the German authors' rights organisation.[1271] He registered with Geneco/Buma on 4 May 1939.[1272] He arranged songs and published some with the *Bond van Arbeiders-Zangverenigingen in Nederland* (Dutch Union of Workers Choirs).[1273] In Amsterdam, he conducted the socialist choir *Stem des Volks* (Voice of the People) in a radio play on 1 May 1934, and the Esperanto Choir for VARA Radio; he also performed in a piano recital for VARA Radio. In 1936, he became conductor of the Eindhoven socialist choir *Stem des Volks*.[1274] As a harpsichordist, Belitzer performed with S.H. Englanders choir *Kunst en Strijd* (Art and Battle) and with

[1268] Worms, Marcel. 'Daniël Belinfante'. In *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands*, 29–36. London: Toccata Press, 2024.

[1269] Kruseman, *Geïllustreerd muzieklexicon supplement*, 36–37.

[1270] *Vorwärts*, 27 December 1929, 8 May 1930.

[1271] Letter from Buma to Stagma, dated 16 February 1939. Archive Buma 3342-01/220, Netherlands Music Institute, The Hague.

[1272] Letter from Buma to Ludwig Belitzer, dated 4 May 1939. Archive Buma 3342-01/220, Netherlands Music Institute, The Hague.

[1273] Ludwig Belitzer to Buma, dated 22 February 1940. Archive Buma 3342-01/220, Netherlands Music Institute, The Hague.

[1274] 'De Stem des Volks-Eindhoven 40 jaar,' *De Stem des Volks*, orgaan van de Bond van Arbeiders Zangverenigingen, 1 July 1964.

Antoon Krelage and his choir *Stem des Volks*.[1275] In the Choir Union's magazine, he had his own column reviewing choir programmes with the objective to modernise artistic choices. He was also part of a committee to advise choirs on their programming.[1276] Together with Krelage, he published a set of arrangements of Dutch and Flemish folksongs.[1277] In 1938, he accompanied Erhard Wechselmann in a concert of Jewish music.[1278] After the war broke out and anti-Jewish measures restricted his professional activities, Belitzer started a Jewish Chamber Choir, performing Jewish music with baritone Wechselmann as soloist.[1279] A few weeks later, a new Jewish piano trio was announced, with Belitzer as pianist, Sam Tromp as violinist and Bram Oberstein as cellist.[1280] No announcements or reviews survive. On 1 September 1943, Belitzer and his wife Gisela Belitzer-Knopf were transported to Camp Westerbork. While in Westerbork, he arranged music for the camp's symphony orchestra.[1281] On 11 January 1943, Belitzer was sent on to Bergen-Belsen. Both he and his wife died in the 'Lost Transport', a train that was sent from Bergen-Belsen to Theresienstadt, but never arrived.[1282]

Manuscripts: unknown.

Blitz, Carel

Rotterdam, 6 September 1872 - Auschwitz, 15 October 1942

Calman (Carel, Carl) Blitz, was born as the third child in a family of eight. His older brother David worked as a pianist in Paris.[1283] Carel studied the violin at the Rotterdam Music School with Bernhard Dessau and started his career in the Concertgebouw Orchestra in Amsterdam.[1284] In November 1895, he followed Concertgebouw Orchestra conductor Willem

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[1275] 'De VARA op 1 Mei-dag,' *Het Volk*, 28 April 1934; Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, 19 June 1936; *Haagsche Courant*, 25 May 1934; 'Kunst en Strijd geeft een Händel-uitvoering,' *Het Volk*, 19 January 1935; 'Händel's Samson; Gemengd koor Kunst en Strijd,' *De Tijd*, 1 April 1936; 'Kunst en Strijd,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 March 1937; 'Le Roi David,' *De Tijd*, 19 February 1936.

[1276] '60 jaar Arbeiderszang; een blik in het verleden en de toekomst,' *De Stem des Volks*, 1 May 1962.

[1277] 'Boekentafel muziek,' *Leeuwarder Courant*, 29 April 1939.

[1278] 'Concert van Joodsche Muziek,' *Centraal blad voor Israëlieten in Nederland*, 10 March 1938.

[1279] *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 9 January 1942.

[1280] 'Het Joodsche Trio opgericht,' *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 6 February 1942.

[1281] 'Ludwig Belitzer', accessed 2 May 2025, https://collecties.kampwesterbork.nl/persoon/https%3A%2F%2Fkampwesterbork.nl%2Fdata%2Fperson%2F10471729.

[1282] '60 jaar Arbeiderszang; een blik in het verleden en de toekomst,' *De Stem des Volks*, 1 May 1962.

[1283] *Het nieuws van den dag*, 17 March 1902.

[1284] 'Muziek in de Hoofdstad,' *De Portefeuille*, 11 April 1891.

Kes to Glasgow, where he became second concertmaster in the Scottish Orchestra.[1285] Less than a year later, he was appointed violin teacher at the Newcastle Music School.[1286] After nine years in Scotland and northern England, for a brief period he performed with the Queen's Hall Orchestra in London.[1287] In 1904, Blitz became the director of a new business introducing the manufacturing of gut strings in the Netherlands, while settling again in Rotterdam as a violin teacher at the *Toonkunst Muziekschool* (the predecessor of the Rotterdam Conservatoire) and conductor of a male choir.[1288] In 1906, Blitz not only founded the Rotterdam String Quartet with his colleagues Louis Wolff (first violin), violist W.F. Beunderman and cellist Isaac (Piet) Mossel, but also the Jewish male choir Harpe Davids.[1289] The choral society soon expanded to include a female choir as well.[1290] He would be their conductor for the rest of his life and the won many prizes with them. Blitz also continued to be active in chamber music performances, all the more important in a city without a symphony orchestra. He performed new French and Dutch music with his string quartet and in a piano trio with Anton Kaltwasser and Oscar Eberle.[1291] A valued teacher at the conservatory, he took over the position of conductor of its orchestra from Wouter Hutschenruyter.[1292] Among his most successful violin students was Henri Temianka, who went on to study with Carl Flesch in the United States and had an impressive career. Temianka, fluent in Dutch, continued to visit his old teacher and spoke fondly of him.[1293] Blitz was also an active member of the Jewish community, performing with his choirs on festive Jewish occasions and charity events. Carel Blitz and his wife Elizabeth Blitz-de Vries arrived in Westerbork on 10 October 1942 and were sent on to Auschwitz two days later, where they were killed upon arrival. Their daughter Jetty Blitz, a talented singer, was brought to Westerbork on 10 April 1943 and transported to Bergen-Belsen on 11 January 1944 in the same train as Hans Krieg and his family. Jetty did not survive.[1294]

Carel Blitz not only composed numerous works for choir, but also chamber music,

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[1285] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 November 1895.

[1286] *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 's Gravenhage*, 15 August 1896.

[1287] *Het nieuws van den dag*, 17 March 1902.

[1288] *De Avondpost*, 28 September 1905; *Weekblad voor Israëlietische Huisgezinnen*, 8 June 1905; *De Avondpost*, 31 July 1905.

[1289] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 March 1906; Weekblad voor Israëlietische Huisgezinnen, 26 October 1906.

[1290] *Weekblad voor Israëlietische Huisgezinnen*, 3 May 1907.

[1291] *Weekblad voor Muziek*, 19 May 1906; *Het nieuws van den dag*, 2 March 1917; 'Muziek te Rotterdam,' *De Maasbode*, 7 October 1919.

[1292] 'Muziekschool van Toonkunst,' *De Maasbode*, 12 February 1925; 20 February 1925; *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 24 February 1927.

[1293] 'Carel Blitz,' *De Telegraaf*, 17 January 1953.

[1294] 'Henrietta Winkel-Blitz (Handsworth, 11 mei 1903 - Auschwitz, 12 oktober 1944)', accessed 2 May 2025, https://www.oorlogsbronnen.nl/tijdlijn/cd25280b-2205-4480-b31b-af0653fb2167.

such as *Impressions du Matin* for piano solo (premiered by Phons Dusch), *Kleine Suite in Ouden Stijl* for violin and piano, *Suite for string quartet* (premiered by the The Hague String Quartet) and *Boston* for three violins and piano.[1295] Many choir works remained in manuscript, while some of his chamber music was published with Van Esso in Rotterdam.

Manuscripts: unknown
Published works can be found in the library catalogue of the Collection Netherlands Music Institute, The Hague Municipal Archives.

Blok, Eliazar

The Hague, 27 July 1912 - Sobibor 16 April 1943

Eliazar Blok was the oldest son of fruit seller Levie Blok and Doortje Huisman; five more brothers and sisters followed. He started his cello studies at the local music school of Rudolf Loman, where at 15, he made his debut with the amateur orchestra Euterpe in a cello concerto by Boccherini.[1296] He continued his studies with Charles van Isterdael at the Royal Conservatoire. Apparently he was so talented, that he sometimes replaced his teacher.[1297] While honing his skills as an orchestra musician in Euterpe, he started performing chamber music with pianist Roeli Verhoog.[1298] Already as a teenager, Blok performed works by Dutch composers such as Carel Oberstadt, Bart Verhallen, Bernard Wagenaar and his young colleagues, Roeli Verhoog and violinist Guus Schalker. On 13 April 1933, he performed his own composition *Mélodie* (on a prelude by Bach) for the radio with pianist Johan van Emden.[1299] In 1935, he founded the Haagsch Piano Quintet with his friend Schalker on second violin.[1300] His debut with the The Hague Residentie Orkest under the baton of Ignaz Neumark followed in the summer of 1937, in Saint-Saëns' concerto for cello.[1301] He earned a living performing for the radio, teaching at the The Hague *Muziek-Lyceum*, as a cellist in the Residentie Orkest and as solo cellist in the Italian Opera in The Hague.[1302] His last concerts in

[1295] *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 9 November 1921; *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 27 June 1922; 'Harpe Davids' in *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 3 December 1934. 'N M I', accessed 2 May 2025, https://opac-gonext.oclc.org/DB=9/SET=2/TTL=1/.

[1296] 'Concert "Euterpe",' *De Avondpost*, 24 April 1928.

[1297] 'Kurhaus,' *Het Vaderland*, 21 June 1937.

[1298] *De Avondpost*, 2 February 1932; 'Haagsche Kunstkring,' *De Avondpost*, 29 April 1931.

[1299] *Katholieke Radiogids*, 8 April 1933.

[1300] *Het Vaderland*, 13 August 1935.

[1301] 'Kurhaus,' *Haagsche Courant*, 21 June 1937.

[1302] 'Kurhausconcerten,' *De Telegraaf*, 21 June 1937; 'Concert Gemeentemuseum uitgesteld,' *Het Vaderland*, 12 March 1938.

1940 included a radio performance for VARA Radio on 13 April 1940 and a concert honouring pianist and composer Rosine de Cocq on 25 April 1940.[1303] Blok was incarcerated in Westerbork on 18 March 1943 in barack 66, which probably means that he had been hiding or was caught in illegal activities. Together with almost twelve hundred people he left Westerbork with destination Sobibor on 13 April 1943, where he was killed upon arrival.

As a teenager, Eliazar Blok started to arrange and orchestrate works for cello, his teacher Van Isterdael performed one of these with orchestra.[1304] He further composed several works for cello, including *Mélodie* (dedicated to Roeli Verhoog), *Souvenir d'une histoire triste* (October 1933, dedicated to Charles van Isterdael), *Poème for cello and orchestra*, *Fantasie for cello and orchestra* (unfinished, dedicated to Charles van Isterdael). *Poème* was allegedly published in Paris, but has not surfaced yet.[1305]

Manuscripts: unknown. Some works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute in The Hague. Some of the scores owned by Blok were acquired after the war by cellist Anner Bijlsma, who left his collection to the Netherlands Music Institute.

Bogk, Hans

Berlin, 20 February 1905 – Auschwitz, 12 August 1942

Hans Bogk was the only child of Max Bogk and Anna Bogk-Reich in Berlin. Registered as a furrier, he arrived in Amsterdam in September 1933.[1306] The existence of Hans Bogk as a composer came to light when the daughter of his Dutch friend Wim Dijkstra browsed through her late father's correspondence. Dijkstra wrote to his daughter Brigitta how his friend Bogk performed his own music, while Dijkstra talked about it. Evidence of this event can be found in Dutch newspapers.[1307] On 20 May 1941, Dijkstra wrote that Bogk had founded an orchestra, performing works by Vivaldi, Händel, Bach and Corelli and Bogk's own compositions.[1308] No sources providing evidence of this orchestra ever performing have been found so far. Bogk was sent from Amsterdam to Westerbork on 28 May 1942. In Camp

[1303] 'Radionieuws Eliazar Blok,' *Het Vaderland*, 13 April 1940; 'Rosine de Cocq in het jubileumzonnetje,' *Het Vaderland*, 25 April 1940.

[1304] 'Muziekavond door jonge musici te Den Haag,' *De Tijd*, 15 March 1938.

[1305] 'Kurhausconcerten,' *De Telegraaf*, 21 June 1937.

[1306] Amsterdam City Archives, archive no 30238, no 88.

[1307] 'Van den plaatselijke jeugdraad,' *Weekblad van den Algemeenen Nederlandschen Diamantbewerkersbond*, 1 January 1940.

[1308] Private estate M. Pastor-Dijkstra, Arnhem.

Westerbork, he married Rosa Rozeveld on 23 July, a week before they were both sent to Auschwitz on 31 July 1942, where Hans died on 13 August 1942, Rosa on 30 September 1942.[1309]

Manuscripts: unknown.

Bonhomme, Andrée

Maastricht, 2 December 1905 - Brunssum, 1 maart 1982

Andrée Bonhomme studied piano and composition in Maastricht and composition with Darius Milhaud and Matty Niël. Her work list includes more than 100 compositions, from chamber music and vocal works to works for orchestra. In 1942, she refused to register with the *Kultuurkamer* and resigned from her position in the Maastricht Orchestra.[1310]

Manuscripts: Collections Netherlands Music Institute, The Hague Municipal Archives 3287-01.
See also Stichting Andree Bonhomme https://andreebonhomme.com.

Bordewijk-Roepman, Johanna

Rotterdam, 4 August 1892 - The Hague, 8 October 1971

Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman was a self-taught composer who took instrumentation lessons with Eduard Flipse. Her work list includes chamber music, vocal works, works for orchestra and an opera. Bordewijk-Roepman refused to register with the Kultuurkamer and participated in the Court of Honour for Music.[1311]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3023-01
See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org; www.bordewijkgenootschap.nl

Bosmans, Henriëtte

Amsterdam, 6 December 1895 - Amsterdam, 2 July 1952

[1309] 'Hans Bogk (Berlijn, 20 februari 1905 - Auschwitz, 13 augustus 1942)', accessed 2 May 2025, https://www.oorlogsbronnen.nl/tijdlijn/b6635119-b491-4140-a3cc-912992d4e336.
[1310] Hans van Dijk, *Andrée: biografische schets van het leven van Andrée Bonhomme, 1905-1982* (Utrecht: Stichting Beheer Muzikale Nalatenschap Andrée Bonhomme, 1996).
[1311] Kamp, 'Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman'.

Henriëtte Bosmans received piano lessons from her mother, Sara Bosmans-Benedicts and took composition lessons with Jan Willem Kersbergen and Willem Pijper. Her work list includes chamber music, songs and orchestral music.[1312]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3024-01. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org; https://nieuwgeneco.nl/henriette-bosmans/

Cohen, Louis Samuel (Loe)
Amsterdam, 6 November 1902 - Auschwitz, 30 September 1942

Loe Cohen studied violin at the Amsterdam Conservatory and worked as a musician and conductor for Dutch radio. He composed entertainment music and music for film. While in hiding in Hilversum, he was rounded up and sent to Sobibor, where he was killed.[1313]

Manuscripts: unknown.

Cohen, Michel Julius
Arnhem, 19 December 1882 - Amsterdam, 20 May 1940

Michel Julius Cohen took his piano teacher exams in 1918 and taught at the Toonkunst Music School in Laren; he became its director in 1924. His surviving compositions are pedagogical works for piano. Cohen committed suicide soon after the German invasion.

Manuscripts: unknown. Published works can be found in the library collection of the The Hague Municipal Archive, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute.

Colaço Osorio-Swaab, Reine
Amsterdam, 16 January 1881 - Amsterdam, 14 April 1971

Reine Colaço Osorio-Swaab studied composition with Ernest W. Mulder. Her work list includes chamber music, vocal music and music for orchestra. She survived the war in

[1312] Metzelaar, *Zonder muziek is het leven onnodig*.
[1313] 'Louis Samuel Cohen', Joods Monument, accessed 1 April 2025, http://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/644291/louis-samuel-cohen.

hiding.[1314]

Works available via www.donemus.nl. Published works can be found in the library collection of the The Hague Municipal Archive, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute. Works can also be found in the collection of Atria collectie.atria.nl. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org

Chapiro, Fania

Surabaya, 10 June 1926 - Hilversum, 6 December 1994

Fania Chapiro studied piano with Lazare Lévy and composition with Sem Dresden, to whom she would send her work while in hiding during the war. She composed mainly chamber music.[1315]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3362-01. Works available via www.donemus.nl. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org

Dantzig, Eva van

Harlingen, 18 August 1869 - Sobibor, 13 March 1943

Eva van Dantzig graduated as pianist and piano teacher in 1888 and composed piano pieces for children.[1316] Her published works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute at the The Hague Municipal Archives.

Manuscripts: unknown.

Dassi, Ada

Amsterdam 13 March 1913 - Sobibor, 16 July 1943

Ada Dassi (Dassy) studied piano with Daaf Wins and Jaap Spaanderman. She composed mainly entertainment music for various cabarets.[1317] The Dutch radio music library

[1314] Alders, Carine, 'Reintje Swaab,', *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland* (Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 25 March 2024), https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Swaab.
[1315] Krill, 'Fania Chapiro'.
[1316] *Dagblad van Friesland*, 28 June 1888.
[1317] Lelieveldt, Philomeen, 'Ada Dassi (Dassy), pianiste, componiste en kapelmeester', Joods Monument, 26 October 2017, https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/583259/ada-dassi-dassy-pianiste-componiste-en-kapelmeester.

www.muziekschatten.nl holds one of her compositions *Mijn gedachten zijn voor jou*.

Manuscripts: largely unknown, one can be found in The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute (estate Jules Dreissen, 3322-01/095).

Delden, Lex van (Alexander Zwaap)
Amsterdam, 10 September 1919 - Amsterdam, 1 July 1988

Lex van Delden studied piano with Martha Zwaga and Cor de Groot. As a composer he was largely self-taught. His work list consist of over 100 compositions, varying from chamber music to vocal works, ballet, incidental music and music for orchestra. During the war he was active in the resistance and survived in hiding.[1318]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3238-01. Published works are available via www.donemus.nl. See also www.lex-van-delden.nl and www.forbiddenmusicregained.org

Dresden, Sem
Amsterdam, 20 April 1881 - The Hague, 31 July 1957

Sem Dresden studied violin and piano with Maurice Hageman, J.C. Dudok and Felice Togni, and composition with Bernard Zweers in Amsterdam and Hans Pfitzner in Berlin. Dresden composed a large oeuvre of chamber music, vocal works and music for orchestra. During the war, he was fired as director of the The Hague Conservatory and survived the war as a result of his marriage to non-Jewish Jacoba Dhont.[1319]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3047-01. Published works are available via www.donemus.nl. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org

Drukker, Bernard
Amsterdam, 1 January 1910 - Velp, 13 December 1992

[1318] Margaret Krill, 'Lex van Delden', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 67–74.
[1319] Geert Van den Dungen, 'Sem Dresden', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 75–83.

Bernard Drukker started his career as assistant organ player at Tuschinski's Theatre in Amsterdam at the age of 15. Two years later, he graduated from the Amsterdam Conservatory.[1320] At 19, he became solo organist at Cinema Royal with the orchestra of Jacques Schuyer. He composed music to accompany communist and socialist films. Two years later, he conducted a jazz orchestra in Amsterdam and performed on cinema organs for the radio. In the summer of 1933, he took eight days leave from his duties at the cinema to enter in the piano competition of the Wiener Festwochen and win a diploma as solo pianist from the Wiener Hochschule für Musik.[1321] From 1934 onwards, he led the ensemble of the Cinema Royal in Amsterdam.[1322] He also performed as accompanist of violinist Sam Swaap and tenor Michel Gobets.[1323] In 1936, he conducted the string ensemble 'Octophonikers' for AVRO Radio.[1324] He continued to work as band leader and organist until the invasion in May 1940. He was then forced to try and earn a living as piano and ensemble teacher.[1325] By the end of 1941, he conducted Het Groot Joodsch Amusementsorkest (Great Jewish Entertainment Orchestra), performing his own arrangements and those of his colleagues Heinz Lachmann (Hans Lachman), Sal Breemer and Benedict Silberman.[1326] Drukker survived the war in hiding.[1327] Immediately after liberation, he resumed his performances as organist, in concerts organised by communist daily newspaper *De Waarheid* (The Truth) and with the radio.[1328] In 1951, he toured the United States with his organ.[1329] In 1974, he started to teach at the Twents Conservatorium in Enschede.[1330] That same year, Lex van Delden composed a concerto for electronic organ and orchestra, dedicated to Bernard Drukker. Drukker mainly composed and arranged music for his own ensembles and performance practice.

Manuscripts: some of his manuscript scores can be found in the radio archives (www.muziekschatten.nl); his published music can be found in the library collection of the The Hague Municipal Archive, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute.

[1320] 'Bernard Drukker overleden,' *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 18 December 1992.

[1321] 'Stadgenoot onderscheiden bij het muziek-examen te Weenen,' *De Avondpost*, 13 June 1933.

[1322] 'Amsterdamsche bioscopen,' *De Tribune*, 8 January 1934.

[1323] *Het Vaderland*, 12 January 1934.

[1324] 'Een nieuwe compositie,' *Dagblad Nieuwe Hoornsche Courant*, 29 August 1935.

[1325] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 March 1941; *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 April 1941.

[1326] *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 19 December 1941.

[1327] 'Bernard Drukker viert tachtigste verjaardag,' *Leidsch Dagblad*, 20 December 1989.

[1328] 'Kunst-ochtenden in het City Theater,' *De Waarheid*, 7 July 1945; 'Grepen uit het radioprogramma,' *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser courant*, 21 September 1945.

[1329] 'Pijploos orgel maakt een reis door de Verenigde Staten,' *Radiobode*, 11 February 1951.

[1330] 'Bernard Drukker overleden,' *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 18 December 1992.

Engel, Eugen

Widminnen, 19 September 1875 - Sobibor, 26 March 1943

Eugen Engel arrived in Amsterdam in February 1939 and moved in with his daughter Eva. In August 1935, in Amsterdam, she had married Max Herbert Loewenberger — a fellow German refugee who arrived in the Netherlands in 1933.[1331] Eva and Max succeeded in emigrating to the United States on 19 December 1940, where they changed their names to Lowen. They took with them a suitcase full of music manuscripts, composed by Eva's father, and letters.[1332] On 12 November 1941, Eugen Engel got permission to emigrate to Cuba, but did not manage to leave.[1333] He arrived in Transit Camp Westerbork on 18 March 1943, from where the train to Sobibor left on 23 March 1943. Engel was killed upon arrival three days later.[1334] Engel composed an opera *Grete Minden*, songs and a string quartet.[1335]
Manuscripts: private collection Lowen-Engel family, USA.

Englander, Samuel Henri

Amsterdam, 26 September 1896 - Sobibor, 11 June 1943

Samuel Henri Englander was a student of cantor Victor Schlesinger and continued his studies with Fred. J. Roeske, Bertha van Ancum and Israël J. Olman. At the age of 17, he started to conduct Jewish and non-Jewish choirs. He composed and arranged works for his choirs and religious songs to be sung at home.[1336] Englander arrived in Transit Camp Westerbork on 27 May 1943. Attempts to place Englander and his family on the so called Palestina-list of prisoners to be exchanged were unsuccessful and Englander was sent on to Sobibor on 8 June 1943.[1337]

[1331] Amsterdam City Archives, archiefkaarten, archive no 30238 inv no 223 and 515.

[1332] 'Theater Magdeburg: Eugen Engel - Eine Spurensuche', accessed 2 May 2025, https://www.theater-magdeburg.de/eugen-engel-eine-spurensuche/.

[1333] Thomas Schmoll, 'Wiederentdeckung des Komponisten Eugen Engel: »Dieser Mann hat sich nicht um sein Leben bemüht, sondern um seine Oper«', *Der Spiegel*, 13 February 2022, sec. Kultur, https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/musik/eugen-engel-wiederentdeckung-eines-komponisten-a-bcb1211a-a6c0-4f8b-baf7-75419f39a573.

[1334] 'Arolsen Archives - International Center on Nazi Persecution | 01020402 080 - Documents with Names from ELZAS, Lena | 01020402 080 - Documents with Names from ELZAS, Lena', Arolsen Archives, accessed 24 March 2025, https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/130283675.

[1335] Sarkar, 'Eine Überraschende Wiederentdeckung: Eugen Engels Oper "Grete Minde"'.

[1336] 'Samuel Henri Englander', accessed 24 March 2025, http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/08356713.

[1337] 'Arolsen Archives - International Center on Nazi Persecution | 01020402 081 - Documents with Names from ENGELSMAN, Elias | 01020402 081 - Documents with Names from ENGELSMAN, Elias', Arolsen Archives, accessed 24 March 2025, https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/130284297.

Manuscripts: some manuscripts, photos and letters can be found in the collection of the Jewish Historical Museum Amsterdam.[1338]

Enthoven, Henri Emile

Amsterdam, 18 October 1903 – New York, 27 December 1950

Emile Enthoven studied piano with Willem Andriessen and Bruno Eisner, and composition with Johan Wagenaar, Franz Schreker and Felix Weingartner. At sixteen, he had an orchestral suite performed by the Utrecht Municipal Orchestra.[1339] In 1924, his Second Symphony was performed by the Concertgebouw Orchestra. Enthoven composed works for orchestra, chamber music and songs.[1340] In December 1939, he emigrated to the United States via Genoa on the Conte di Savoia. On the passenger list it says that he went to visit his friend Anthony Fokker.[1341]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3050-01; his published music can be found in the library collection of the The Hague Municipal Archive, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute.

Flothuis, Marius

Amsterdam, 30 October 1914 - Amsterdam 13 November 2001

Marius Flothuis studied piano with George Hamel, Bé Boef, Arend Koole and Hans Brandts Buys and musicology at the universities of Utrecht and Amsterdam. He composed a large and varied oeuvre including chamber music, vocal music and works for orchestra. During the war, he joined the resistance and was arrested. He survived concentration camps Vught and Sachsenhausen and the following death marches.[1342]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3351-01. Published works are available via www.donemus.nl. See also

[1338] 'Joods Historisch Museum', accessed 24 March 2025, https://prod.jck.hubs.delving.org/search/.
[1339] 'Emile Enthoven overleden,' *Nieuw Utrechtsch Dagblad*, 29 December 1950.
[1340] 'Emile Enthoven overleden,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 28 December 1950.
[1341] 'The Statue of Liberty & Ellis Island', accessed 4 June 2025, https://heritage.statueofliberty.org/passenger-details/czoxMzoiOTAxMTk4OTQxMzA1MCI7/czo4OiJtYW5pZmVzdCI7#passengerListAnchor.
[1342] Kiliaan, 'Marius Flothuis'.

www.forbiddenmusicregained.org

Franco Mendes, Hans

Amsterdam, 15 December 1890 - Oegstgeest, 27 April 1951

Hans (Henri) Franco Mendes studied piano with Jan Willem Kersbergen and Simon van Milligen and continued his studies in Cologne with Carl Friedberg, Klauwell and Ramrath. He mainly composed works for piano.

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3052-01; his published music can be found in the library collection of the The Hague Municipal Archive, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute. Some of his manuscripts can also be found in the radio archives (www.muziekschatten.nl).

Fresco, Alexander

The Hague, 18 January 1909 - Auschwitz, 30 April 1943

Alexander Fresco studied violin and composition with F.E.A. Koeberg at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague.[1343] Between 1929 and 1933, he taught at this conservatory.[1344] His compositions were performed by the orchestras of broadcasting societies VARA and KRO, and by a chamber orchestra led by Theo van der Pas.[1345] In 1941, a composition by Fresco was performed by the The Hague Jewish Orchestra, led by Calman Hakker.[1346] Alexander Fresco was sent from Transit Camp Westerbork to Auschwitz on 29 January 1943, where he was killed a few months later.

Manuscripts: unknown.

Fresco, Joan

The Hague, 18 August 1888 - Amersfoort, 6 March 1964

Joan (Jonas) Fresco studied violin at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague and composition with Engelbert Humperdinck and Friedrich Gernsheim at the Hochschule für Musik in

[1343] *Het Vaderland*, 18 April 1926; 'Avond door leerlingen Haagsch Conservatorium,' *Delftsche courant*, 29 April 1927.

[1344] *Het Vaderland*, 2 January 1929.

[1345] *Haagsche Courant*, 14 September 1933; 'Kamerorkest van der Pas,' *Het Vaderland*, 1 December 1933.

[1346] 'Joodsch orkest te 's-Gravenhage,' *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 12 September 1941.

Berlin. He composed entertainment music, in his own words: 'Something between *schlagers* and more serious music; music for ballet or operetta.'[1347] He worked as kapellmeister and toured Europe and North America. Pseudonyms include Roderick Lander, Percy Cleaver and Leo Kwant. He returned to the Netherlands in 1939 and survived the war because his wife was non-Jewish.[1348]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3753-01 and www.muziekschatten.nl. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org

Frid, Géza

Máramarossziget, 25 January 1904 - Beverwijk, 13 September 1989

Géza Frid studied piano with Béla Bartók and composition with Zoltán Kodály at the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music in Budapest. He settled in the Netherlands in 1927, following his friend, violinist Zoltán Székely. Frid survived the war in hiding and was active in the resistance. Frid's varied large oeuvre of more than 100 compositions includes chamber music, works for orchestra and vocal works.[1349]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3304-01. Frid's works are available via www.donemus.nl See also www.gezafrid.eu and www.forbiddenmusicregained.org

Friedland, Martin

Stargard, 9 December 1881 - Rotterdam, 14 May 1940

Martin Friedland studied violin with Paul Sterzel in Stettin, and composition in Berlin with Philipp Rüfer and Friedrich Gernsheim. During his time at the Sternsche Conservatory, three sets of songs were published. He moved to Stadt Hagen to teach at the conservatory in 1909. He started to compose works for orchestra but had to halt his composing career while serving in the German army. In 1923, he became the music critic of the *Kölner Tageblatt*. In Cologne, Friedland obtained his doctorate. As a Jew, he was fired from the *Kölner Tageblatt* in 1933. In 1938, he fled to the Netherlands with his Dutch wife Johanna Francina Ros and started to publish in *De Wereld der Muziek* and the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. After the

[1347] 'Joan Fresco kan leven van zijn auteursrechten', *De Telegraaf*, 15 January 1960.
[1348] Lourens Stuifbergen, 'Joan Fresco', accessed 7 April 2025, https://www.forbiddenmusicregained.org/.
[1349] Frid, *In tachtig jaar de wereld rond*.

Nazis invaded the Netherlands, being a German citizen, Friedland was incarcerated by the Dutch in *De Doelen*, the former concert hall of the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra. He was killed there as the Nazis bombed Rotterdam on 14 May 1940. Friedland composed songs, chamber music, vocal works and works for orchestra.[1350]

Manuscripts: Westfälisches Musikarchiv, Stadtarchiv Hagen.

Friedmann, Martin

Leipzig, 3 January 1895 - Sobibor, 9 April 1943.

Martin Friedmann studied in law and musicology in München, Geneva and Erlangen.[1351] He worked as conductor in the municipal theatres of Nuremburg, Fürth, Regensburg, Stettin, Stralsund, Coburg, Bernburg, Essen, Erfurt, Darmstadt and Hannover.[1352] In February 1931, he was back in his birth city Leipzig, where he became artistic director of the *Leipziger Operettentheater*.[1353] Strauss' *Der Zigeunerbaron* was the last operetta he conducted in Germany, in January 1933.[1354] In October 1934, Martin Friedmann conducted the orchestra of the Sleeswijk Revue in the Operetta *Marie Louise* in several Dutch cities. On 12 December 1934, VARA broadcast his operetta *Rebel uit liefde;* Friedmann conducted the VARA orchestra *Fliere*fluiters.[1355] He subsequently settled in Amsterdam on 4 February 1935.[1356] Soon enough, he started to conduct orchestras in other cabaret shows and revues under his pseudonym Dr. Fred Man. He composed, arranged and conducted music for shows with Louis Davids, Sylvain Poons and Paul Ostra until the summer of 1939. The shows were performed throughout the Netherlands and his music was often broadcast on Dutch radio. Friedmann was rounded up in Amsterdam on Wednesday 24 March 1943.[1357] From Transit Camp Westerbork, he was sent to Sobibor on 6 April 1943, where he was killed upon arrival.[1358]

[1350] Kames, 'Verdrängt - Verfolgt - Verschwiegen - Vergessen: Der Komponist, Musikwissenschaftler Und Kritiker Dr. Martin Friedland'.

[1351] *Dresdner neueste Nachrichten*, 1 March 1931.

[1352] *Stadtanzeiger für Castrop-Rauxel und Umgebung*, 1 September 1926; *Hannoverscher Kurier*, 17 August 1929.

[1353] *Hallische Nachrichten*, 27 February 1931.

[1354] *Gelsenkirchener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14 January 1933.

[1355] *Het Volk*, 12 December 1934.

[1356] Amsterdam City Archives, archive no 30238-250.

[1357] Amsterdam City Archives, archive no 5225-7156.

[1358] 'Martin Friedmann', Joods Monument, Accessed 2 July 2025, http://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/214753/martin-friedmann.

Manuscripts: unknown. Some of Friedmann's compositions can be found under the pseudonym Fred Man in the Dutch radio library www.muziekschatten.nl.

De la Fuente, Leo

Amsterdam, 28 March 1902 - Central Europe, 30 April 1944

Leonard (Leo) Henriques de la Fuente was one of the first jazz pianists of the Netherlands, and leader of James Meijer's Dance Orchestra since 1918. He accompanied Coleman Hawkins in a Polygoon movie in 1935. That same year, he was one of the twelve pianists performing the rhapsody for twelve pianos *Een Schlager gaat op stap* in the movie *Op Stap*, arranged by Hans Lachman.[1359] He published *Eenvoudige Rhytmische Dansen* (Simple Rhythmic Dances).[1360]

Manuscripts: unknown; his published music can be found in the library collection of the The Hague Municipal Archive, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute.

De la Fuente, Pim

Amsterdam, 1 April 1901 - Amsterdam, 7 August 1989

Simon (Pim) Henriques de la Fuente, cousin of Leo de la Fuente, worked as conductor for cabaret and revue (Meyer-Hamel, Snip en Snap) and composed and arranged music for these productions and for the radio (Bonte Dinsdagavondtrein, AVRO).[1361] He survived the war in hiding and emigrated to Indonesia in 1951 but returned to Amsterdam in 1958.[1362]

Manuscripts: some of his manuscripts can be found in the radio library, www.muziekschatten.nl.

Gilse, Jan van

Rotterdam, 11 May 1881 - Oegstgeest, 8 September 1944

Jan van Gilse studied piano and composition at the conservatory in Cologne. He composed

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[1359] Herman Openneer, 'Leo de la Fuente Nederlands jazz-pionier tegen wil en dank,' *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 5 February 1993, 10. Both movies can be viewed on YouTube.

[1360] *Maandblad voor Hedendaagsche Muziek*, Vol 8 no 12, October 1939, 477.

[1361] 'De La Fuente | Family Tree | Stamboom David Henriques de La Fuente', accessed 4 April 2025, https://home.hccnet.nl/r.bobbe/fuente/fuente3.htm.

[1362] Amsterdam City Archives, Archiefkaarten 30238/1481.

chamber music, songs, works for orchestra and several operas. Being active in the resistance, he had to go into hiding. While in hiding, he died of cancer and was buried under a false name.[1363]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3053-01. Published works are available from www.donemus.nl.

Ginneken, Jaap van

Teteringen, 7 September 1913 - Amsterdam, 28 August 1972

Jacob Pieter Frans (Jaap) van Ginneken studied composition with Sem Dresden at the Amsterdam Conservatory.[1364] Most of his compositions were written between 1937 and 1944. He worked as a conductor for Dutch radio until 1942, when he refused to register with the *Kultuurkamer*. Occasionally, his music was performed during the war.[1365] After a brief period resuming his position as a conductor of the radio chamber orchestra after the war, he worked as a prize-winning recording engineer for Philips.[1366]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3527-01. His published works can be found in the library collection of the The Hague Municipal Archive, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute.

Gokkes, Sim

Amsterdam, 21 March 1897 - Auschwitz, 5 February 1943

Simon (Sim) Gokkes studied with Ben Geijsel and Victor Schlesinger and continued his studies in composition with Sem Dresden at the Amsterdam Conservatory. Gokkes composed religious works, songs and orchestral works.[1367]

Manuscripts: some autographs were found in the estate of singer Berthe Seroen, The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3189-01. Some of Gokkes'

[1363] Dijk, *Jan van Gilse*.

[1364] *Katholieke Radio-gids*, 16 January 1937.

[1365] *Het Vaderland*, 5 January 1943; *Die Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*, 27 January 1944.

[1366] 'Staking bij de Radio breidt zich uit. Strijd van zeventien maanden,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 6 November 1946; *NRC Handelsblad*, 30 August 1972.

[1367] Diet Scholten, 'Simon Gokkes', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 109–14.

published works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org

Grelinger, Charles (Karel)
Amsterdam, 30 September 1873 - September 1942

Charles (Karel) Grelinger studied piano at the conservatories of Paris and Amsterdam and composition with Daniël de Lange. He composed operas and operettas and chamber music. From France, he was sent to Auschwitz, and allegedly killed during transport.[1368]

Manuscripts: works can be found at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Hanf, Bob
Amsterdam, 25 November 1894 - Auschwitz, 30 September 1944

Robert (Bob) Hanf studied violin with George Scager and Louis Zimmerman. He composed chamber music, songs, an opera and works for orchestra. He was also a gifted painter and author. He went into hiding, but was caught on 23 April 1944. He was killed in Central Europe on 30 September 1944.[1369]
Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3063-01. Some of Hanf's published works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org and bobhanf.nl.

Hermann, Pál (Paul)
Budapest, 27 March 1902 - unknown, after 15 May 1944

Pál Hermann studied cello and composition (Zoltán Kodály) at the Ferenc Liszt Acacemy in Budapest, where Leo Weiner was also among his teachers. He continued his cello studies with Hugo Becker in Berlin. He composed chamber music, songs and works for orchestra.[1370]

Manuscripts: private collection Corrie Hermann. Digitised manuscripts and editions can be found at www.imslp.org. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

[1368] Kruseman, *Geïllustreerd muzieklexicon supplement*, 144.
[1369] Van der Beek, *Bob Hanf, 1894-1944*.
[1370] Alders, 'Paul Hermann'.

Hijman, Julius

Almelo, 25 January 1901 - New York, 8 January 1969

Julius Hijman studied piano with Marie Jannette Walen, Dirk Schäfer and Paul Weingarten and composition with Sem Dresden. He composed chamber music, vocal works and works for orchestra. He emigrated to the United States in 1939.

Manuscripts: Music collections of the Netherlands National Library, Koninklijke Bibliotheek KW 135. Published works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute. Some of his works can also be found in the radio library, www.muziekschatten.nl.

Jacobs, Carel

's-Heerenberg, 26 March 1909 - Enschede, 24 December 1980

Carel Jacobs studied music at the Dutch Roman Catholic Church Music School, including composition with Johan Winnubst, and conducting with Carl Schuricht. He composed chamber music, songs and religious choir works. He refused to register with the *Kultuurkamer* and was arrested for helping Jews in hiding and escaped from concentration camp Rees in Germany.[1371]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3736-01. One choral composition can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute.

Juda, Arnold

Amsterdam, 17 May 1913 - Amsterdam, 27 December 1988

Arnold Juda, younger brother of violinist Jo Juda, studied theory and composition at the Amsterdam Muziek Lyceum, and piano with Jaap Spaanderman, Stefan Askenase and Alexander Borovsky.[1372] As a teenager, he performed with his brother Jo, the start of a long-lasting career as accompanist.[1373] During the 1930s, Juda composed music for the stage, ballet and film. In 1933, he graduated and composed his first incidental music for a Dutch open air

[1371] Hans van Dijk, *Carel Jacobs: zijn leven, zijn werk, zijn vrienden, zijn vijanden* (Soest: Boekscout, 2012).

[1372] *Het nieuws: algemeen dagblad*, 5 July 1950.

[1373] *De Handwerksman*, November 1928.

play.[1374] A few months later, his first ballet was performed.[1375] Arnold Juda composed chamber music as well as a *Concertino* for piano and orchestra, premiered in 1936 with the Amsterdam Bach Orchestra led by Theo van der Bijl.[1376] Before the war, he composed incidental music for several plays. His last performance before the ban on Jewish musicians was on 22 June 1941 in the *Rijksmuseum*.[1377] By then, his brother Jo had already been taken hostage and sent to Buchenwald. While in hiding, Arnold started to compose an opera on a libretto by Bertus Aafjes, but unfortunately never finished it.[1378] After the war, he resumed his career in composing incidental music with a residency at the *Amsterdamsch Toneel*. Together with his brother, he toured the Dutch Indies in 1947 and 1948. In 1949, he composed two ballets, film music and a *Divertimento* for wind quintet.[1379] In July 1950, the two Juda brothers toured Surinam and the Antilles.[1380] Arnold decided to stay in Surinam as a teacher and artistic leader of the Surinam Philharmonic Orchestra.[1381] He collected and arranged Surinam folk melodies for the choirs he conducted.[1382] In the fall of 1954, Juda left Surinam to emigrate to the United States, where he would work as a teacher at colleges in Texas, California and the University of California, Irvine.[1383] Arnold Juda died there on 27 December 1988.

Manuscripts: unknown. The *Divertimento for wind quintet* was published by Donemus and is available from the library of the Netherlands Music Institute. The whereabouts of his *Concertino* for piano and orchestra and his manuscripts is unknown.

Karelsen, Dolf

Amsterdam, 1 April 1905 - unknown, March 1944

Adolphe Jacques (Dolf) Karelsen studied piano at the Conservatory in Amsterdam and started conducting choirs in the early 1920s, including the socialist choirs *Steeds Voorwaarts*

[1374] *Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche Courant*, 12 August 1933.

[1375] 'Ballet Mogroby,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 January 1934.

[1376] *Het Vaderland*, 15 February 1936.

[1377] *De Telegraaf*, 21 June 1941.

[1378] *Het Parool*, 28 August 1945.

[1379] *Het Binnenhof*, 12 October 1949.

[1380] *Het nieuws: algemeen dagblad*, 3 July 1950.

[1381] *De West*, 19 August 1950; *Het Parool*, 22 June 1951.

[1382] *Het nieuws: algemeen dagblad*, 6 November 1950; 20 May 1952.

[1383] 'Arnold Juda | Department of Music | Claire Trevor School of the Arts', accessed 26 March 2025, https://music.arts.uci.edu/faculty/arnold-juda.

(Always improving) and *Zang Veredelt* (Singing ennobles).[1384] He also performed with his brother, violinist Elie Karelsen (1906-unknown). In 1931, Karelsen landed a job with radio broadcasting society AVRO, where he arranged music for the ensemble *De Decibels* and performed in and arranged for various orchestras, including the Kovacs Lajos Orchestra.[1385] He was transported from Transit Camp Westerbork on 9 November 1942 with destination Auschwitz.[1386]

Manuscripts: around 80 compositions and arrangements of Karelsen (pseud. Joop van Hulst) can be found in the archives of the Dutch Radio www.muziekschatten.nl.

Kattenburg, Dick

Amsterdam, 11 November 1919 - Central Europe, 30 September 1944

Dick Kattenburg studied violin and composition with Hugo Godron and composition with Leo Smit. He composed chamber music and songs. He was caught while in hiding.[1387]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3494-01. His compositions are available from www.donemus.nl. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Koekoek, Maurits

The Hague, 24 July 1911 - Sobibor, 9 July 1943

Maurits Koekoek studied piano and music theory at the The Hague Conservatory.[1388] He composed vocal works and chamber music, including a work for cello and piano, performed with Eliazer Blok.[1389] He was brought to Camp Vught on 31 March 1943 and on to Camp Westerbork on 2 July 1943. On 6 July 1943 he was sent to Sobibor.[1390]

[1384] *De Vrije Socialist*, 3 April 1926; 13 July 1927.

[1385] 'Dolf Karelsen (1905-1944)', Muziekschatten, 16 October 2018. Accessed 2 July 2025. http://www.muziekschatten.nl/page/30538/dolf-karelsen-1905-1944.

[1386] 'Adolphe Jacques Karelsen (Amsterdam, 1 april 1905 - Midden-Europa, 31 maart 1944)', accessed 11 April 2025, https://www.oorlogsbronnen.nl/tijdlijn/6df9a992-94f4-4f08-8099-747e168c179f.

[1387] Alders, 'Dick Kattenburg'.

[1388] *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 18 November 1932; 6 December 1935.

[1389] '25-jarig bestaan van de Kerkelijke Zangver. "Awoudas Hakoudisj",' *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 20 October 1933.

[1390] 'Maurits Koekoek', accessed 7 April 2025, https://collecties.kampwesterbork.nl/persoon/https%3A%2F%2Fkampwesterbork.nl%2Fdata%2Fperson%2F12738334.

Manuscripts: unknown; one composition of a young Maurits Koekoek was found in the archives of Philip Vlessing at the Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute, The Hague Municipal Archives 3592-01.

Kok, Leo

Amsterdam, 24 November 1893 - Ascona, 7 August 1992

Leo Kok studied composition with Willem Pijper. He composed chamber music and songs. While living in Paris, he was caught as a member of the resistance. He survived concentration camp Buchenwald.[1391]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3671-01. Some of his published works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute and from www.donemus.com. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Krieg, Hans

Haynau, 11 April 1899 - Amsterdam, 26 November 1961

Hans Max Krieg studied composition and conducting with Engelbert Humperdinck, Siegfried Ochs and Emile von Reznicek. He composed chamber music and vocal works. He survived concentration camp Bergen-Belsen.[1392]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3202-01. Some of his published works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute and from www.donemus.nl. Further manuscripts can be found in the Dutch radio library www.muziekschatten.nl See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Lachman, Hans

Berlin, 7 March 1906 - Amsterdam, 27 June 1990

Heinz (Hans) Lachmann (Lachman) studied piano with his mother, Emma Löwy and Eugen Tetzel. He composed chamber music, vocal works, works for orchestra, an opera and radio

[1391] Marcel Worms, 'Leo Kok', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 159–65.
[1392] Pabbruwe, 'Hans Krieg'.

cantatas.[1393]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3464-01. His compositions are available from www.donemus.nl. Further manuscripts can be found in the Dutch radio library www.muziekschatten.nl See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Leerink, Hans

Alkmaar, 29 August 1906 - Castricum, 31 December 1990

Johan Adolf (Hans) Leerink studied with Daniël Ruyneman and Evert Cornelis. As a harpsichordist in the 1930s, he was a pioneer in baroque music. Leerink survived the war in hiding.[1394] After the war, he worked as music critic for *De Telegraaf* until 1954. He also translated novels by Tolstoy and Dostoevsky into Dutch. Hans Leerink composed chamber music, songs, several children's operettas, works for string orchestra, symphonies, and solo concertos.

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute, 3541-01. Published compositions can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute.

Lichtenstein, Hans

Chemnitz, 1 August 1905 - Naarden, 14 September 1994

Hans Lichtenstein studied singing, conducting and piano at the Leipzig Conservatory. He composed incidental music for the *Staatstheater* in Kassel in the late 1920s, but this music was destroyed by the composer. Hans Lichtenstein survived in hiding.[1395]

Manuscripts: only one song survives on a text by Verlaine, composed while in hiding and in the possession of the Lichtenstein family. The whereabouts of a *Romance for cello and orchestra*, performed after the war with the Palestine Symphony Orchestra is as yet

[1393] Pameijer, 'Hans Lachman'.

[1394] 'De componist van de opera "Bruintje Beer en Wim Das",' *Trouw*, 7 January 1991.

[1395] 'Object Metadata @ LexM', accessed 11 April 2025, https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00007289; Sabine Lichtenstein, *Hans Lichtenstein - der jüdische Weg und die Weggefährten eines Chemnitzer Musikers: mit einem Brief aus dem Versteck* (Altenburg: Kamprad, 2024).

unknown.[1396]

Lier, Bertus van

Utrecht, 10 September 1906 - Roden, 14 February 1972

Bertus van Lier studied cello with Max Orobio de Castro and composition with Willem Pijper. He composed chamber music, vocal works, works for orchestra and incidental music. An active member of the resistance, he survived the war in hiding.[1397]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute, 3193-01. Published works available from www.donemus.nl and the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute and the Dutch radio library www.muziekschatten.nl. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Lilien, Ignace

Lemberg (Lviv), 29 May 1897 - The Hague, 10 May 1964

Ignace Lilien studied piano with Theodor Pollak at the Ludwig Marek music school and harmony with H. Ehrlich. He composed chamber music, vocal works, music for orchestra, and two operas. Lilien survived the war in hiding.[1398]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute, 3009-01. Works are available from www.donemus.nl and the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Menasce, Jacques de

Bad Ischl, 19 August 1905 – Gstaad, 30 January 1960

Paul Jakob (Jacques de) Menasce studied piano with Emil Friedberger and Emil Sauer and composition with Paul Pisk at the Vienna Conservatory and with Alban Berg. He composed works for piano, vocal works and music for orchestra. He fled Vienna in 1938 and settled first in the Netherlands, before fleeing again to Switzerland in November 1941, from where

[1396] Sabine Lichtenstein, personal communication, email 6 June 2025.
[1397] van Lier, 'Bertus van Lier'.
[1398] Frans van Ruth, 'Ignace Lilien', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 193–99.

he travelled to the United States.[1399]

Manuscripts: unknown. Some of his published works can be found in libraries scattered around the world.

Olman, Israël

Amsterdam, 17 August 1883 - The Hague, 8 May 1968

Israël Jacques Olman studied violin with H.F.A. Utermöhlen, composition with Fred. Roeske and Bernard Zweers and piano with Evert Cornelis. He composed chamber music, many choral works, works for orchestra and operas. He survived camp Barneveld, saved by his mixed marriage and the birth of his son.[1400]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute, 3681-01. Works are available from www.donemus.nl and the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Praag, Henri van

Amsterdam, 18 July 1894 - Amsterdam, 10 December 1968

Henri Charles Van Praag studied cello with Isaäc (Piet) Mossel and theory with Sem Dresden. He composed mainly chamber music, but also works for orchestra and children's songs. He worked as music journalist for *Het Parool* and was a member of the teaching staff of Dan Belinfante's Music School.

Manuscripts: unknown. Published works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute and via www.donemus.nl

Presburg, Isaac (Jacques/Jack)

Amsterdam, 26 December 1881 - Auschwitz, 5 February 1943

In 1932, Jacques (Jack) Presburg settled in Berlin, but as a result of Hitler's rise to power he had to return to Amsterdam in 1933. In 1935, he founded his own orchestra to perform

[1399] Institut für kunst-und musikhistorische Forschungen, 'Menasce, Jacques de', ISBN 978-3-7001-3043-7 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002), https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/0xc1aa5576_0x0001d95a; Richard Franko Goldman, Jacques de Menasce liner notes, Composer Recordings Inc. CRI 154A, 1961.
[1400] Micheels, *Israel J. Olman*.

entertainment music.[1401]

Manuscripts: unknown. Published works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute and in the radio library www.muziekschatten.nl

Reeder, Jacob Levie de

Rotterdam, 25 February 1905 - Central Europe, 31 March 1944

Jacob (Jacques) de Reeder studied piano at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague, where he graduated in 1921. He composed and worked as a pianist-accompanist. Despite the fact that he was married to a non-Jewish wife, he did not escape deportation. He was arrested for shopping during hours that were reserved for non-Jewish people and for teaching non-Jewish pupils. From Westerbork, he was sent to Auschwitz on 9 November 1942, but taken from the train in Cosel as a forced labourer, the circumstances of his death are unknown.[1402]

Manuscripts: only one manuscript survived, a ballad. It was performed in 2007 by Daniel Wayenberg and mezzosoprano Janine Pas and broadcast in the Dutch television show *Mooi weer De Leeuw*.[1403]

Rettich, Wilhelm

Leipzig, 3 July 1892 - Sinzheim, 27 December 1988

Wilhelm (Willem, Wim) Rettich studied composition with Max Reger at the Leipzig Conservatory. In 1933 he fled to the Netherlands, where he worked as a conductor and pianist. He survived the war in hiding. His large oeuvre of almost 200 compositions includes chamber music, songs, and works for orchestra.[1404]

Manuscripts: a limited number of autographs can be found at the Leipziger Städtische Bibliotheken. The whereabouts of most autographs is unknown.
Some published compositions are available from www.schott-music.com. See also

[1401] 'Jacques Presburg's nieuw orkest,' in *Haagsche Courant*, 26 August 1935.
[1402] 'Jacob Levie de Reeder, Een Haagse Pianist En Componist (1905-1944) – Joods Erfgoed Den Haag', accessed 11 April 2025, https://www.joodserfgoeddenhaag.nl/jacob-levie-de-reeder-een-haagse-pianist-en-componist-1905-1944/.
[1403] 'Jacob Levie de Reeder', in *Wikipedia*, 11 November 2024, https://nl.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Jacob_Levie_de_Reeder&oldid=68366181.
[1404] Rainer Licht, *Das Exil von Musikern in den Niederlanden nach 1933, mit einem Bericht über den Komponisten Wilhelm Rettich* (S.l.: s.n., 1987).

www.forbiddenmusicregained.org

Richter, Nico

Amsterdam, 2 December 1915 - Amsterdam, 16 August 1945

Nico Richter studied violin with Jacques Muller, Sam Tromp and Sepha Jansen, theory with Ernest Mulder, conducting with Herman Scherchen and composition with Lex van Delden. While studying medicine, his first compositions were performed. He conducted the Amsterdam student orchestra MUSA. A few months after the Nazis invaded the Netherlands, Richter passed his final exams and became a member of a resistance group affiliated with the faculty of medicine. He was arrested on 18 April 1942 and imprisoned in Amersfoort, Vught and Dachau. Weeks after liberation, he died at home, 29 years old, severely ill and exhausted. Nico Richter composed chamber music, songs, works for orchestra and an opera.[1405]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute, 3326-01. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org and www.julieandfransmuller.nl

Roos, Robert de

The Hague, 10 March 1907 - The Hague, 18 March 1976

Robert de Roos studied piano, viola composition at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague. In 1927, he went to Paris and took lessons with Darius Milhaud, Charles Koechlin, Alexis Roland Manuel and Isidore Philipp. Back in the Netherlands, he continued his studies with Sem Dresden and conducting with Pierre Monteux and Herman Scherchen. De Roos composed chamber music, vocal music, incidental music, works for orchestra and one opera. With a Jewish mother, De Roos could not join the *Kultuurkamer*. However, he managed to convince the authorities that one of his allegedly Jewish great grandparents was catholic. Moreover, his wife was not Jewish. As an exception, De Roos was registered with the *Kultuurkamer* and his music continued to be performed throughout the war.[1406]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute, 3326-01. His published works are available from www.donemus.nl

[1405] 'Julie and Frans Muller', accessed 3 April 2025, https://www.julieandfransmuller.nl/.
[1406] Vis, *Wanhoop niet!*

Rosa, Andries de

Amsterdam, 4 April 1869 - Sobibor, 30 April 1943

Andries de Rosa was trained as a diamond cutter; as a musician he was self-taught. From 1893 onwards, De Rosa lived in Paris, where he befriended poets and composers. As a result of a crisis in the diamond industry, De Rosa remigrated to the Netherlands in 1912. His modest oeuvre includes songs, chamber music and works for orchestra.[1407]

Manuscripts: Collection Jewish Historcial Museum, Amsterdam, D006933. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org

Freddy (Alfred) Salten (Salomon)

Koningsbergen, 23 June 1914 - Groningen, 11 August 1994

Fredy (Freddy, Alfred) Salomon (Salten) studied conducting with Herman Scherchen in Koningsbergen and later in Berlin. He fled Germany in 1933 and settled in the Netherlands. He worked as a conductor for the Fritz Hirsch Operetta and arranged and composed music for KRO Radio. After the war he conducted Hoofdstadoperette and later Frysk Orkest. He taught conducting at the Groningen Conservatory.[1408]

Manuscripts: 29 compositions and arrangements (mainly manuscripts) can be found in the radio library, www.muziekschatten.nl

Samehtini, Maurits

Amsterdam, 9 December 1863 - Westerbork, 2 April 1943

Maurits Samehtini studied French horn with Willem Cornelis Breethoff and composition with Jacob Kwast. He composed and arranged entertainment music for radio and film. He died while incarcerated in Transit Camp Westerbork.[1409]

Manuscripts: many of his arrangements and compositions can be found in the radio library, www.muziekschatten.nl. Published works can be found in the library collection of the

[1407] Diet Scholten, 'Andries de Rosa', accessed 3 April 2025, https://www.forbiddenmusicregained.org/.

[1408] Paul Herruer, 'Alfred Salten drukte stempel op muziek in het Noorden,' *Nieuwsblad van Friesland*, 16 August 1994; 'Oud-dirigent Frysk Orkest Alfred Salten overleden,' *Leeuwarder Courant*, 12 August 1994.

[1409] Letzer, *Muzikaal Nederland*, 152; Joods Monument, 'Maurits Samehtini', accessed 2 July 2025, https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/215123/maurits-samehtini.

Netherlands Music Institute, some works can be found at the Netherlands Music Institute, in the Military Music Collection.

Sanders, Paul F.

Amsterdam, 21 December 1891 - Tarrytown (New York), 25 July 1986

Paul Florus Sanders studied violin with Y.C. van Althuis, Willem Gerke and Sylvain Noach, but had to give up on a professional career due to juvenile arthritis. He studied music theory with Sem Dresden and worked as a music critic and started the music magazine *De Muziek* with Willem Pijper. Sanders composed mainly vocal works and some chamber music and orchestral works. During the war, he was active in the resistance movement and went into hiding. Disappointed with the way in which music life was purged after the war, he emigrated to the United States, where he worked as a journalist.[1410]

Manuscripts: International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, ARCH02903. Published works can be found in the library collection of The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute.

Schuijer, Sam

The Hague, 9 September 1873 - Auschwitz, 11 December 1942

Samuel Schuijer studied various instruments and music theory at the The Hague Conservatory. He worked as a conductor, owned his own music school and performed as a violinist. He composed songs, chamber music, works for orchestra and several operas.[1411]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute, 3399-01. Published works can be found in the library collection of The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute.

Schuijer, Ary

The Hague, 25 May 1881 - Tel Aviv, 2 January 1941

Aaron Schuijer (Ary, Arie, brother of Sam) studied cello at the Royal Conservatory in The

[1410] Wesselink, 'Paul Sanders'.

[1411] Carine Alders, 'Samuel Schuijer', accessed 3 April 2025, https://www.forbiddenmusicregained.org/.

Hague and worked as principal cellist at the Frankfurt Opera.[1412] In July 1919, he performed his own arrangement of a suite by Caix de Hervelois with the The Hague Residentie Orkest, led by Ignaz Neumark.[1413] After more than 20 years of service with the Frankfurt Opera, Schuyer was forced to seek employment elsewhere after 1933. As late as November 1935, performances of the *Streichquartett des Kulturbundes Rhein-Main* with Ary Schuyer are announced.[1414] However, in September that year, he conducted his *Hymne* for orchestra with the The Hague Residentie Orkest in The Hague.[1415] In March 1937, the daily newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* reported on a newly founded orchestra in Palestina, led by Bronislaw Huberman. Ary Schuijer was one of the Dutch musicians performing with the orchestra.[1416] In 1941, Schuyer, principal cellist of Huberman's orchestra, died in Tel Aviv.[1417] Ary Schuijer composed a Concerto and a Sonata for cello, music for orchestra and songs.[1418]

Manuscripts: mostly unknown. One surviving manuscript was recently donated to The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute (3749-01) by Schuijer's granddaughter. Two manuscripts can be found in the estate of conductor Willem Mengelberg (3184-AC115/116). Published works can be found in the library collection of The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute.

Seelig, Paul

Dortmund, 23 February 1876 - Batavia (Jakarta), 12 June 1945

Paul Seelig received his first violin and piano lessons from his father, Johann Seelig. He then studied cello with Julius Klengel, theory with Salomon Jadassohn and composition with Carl Reinecke at the Leipzig Conservatory. He composed chamber music, songs and works for orchestra. Seelig was interned by the Japanese occupiers in the Dutch East Indies. He died in hospital on 12 June 1945.[1419]

Manuscripts: much was lost during the war. Remaining manuscripts at the The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute, 3201-01. Published

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[1412] *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 's Gravenhage*, 13 August 1915.

[1413] 'Muziek te Den Haag,' *De Maasbode*, 22 July 1919.

[1414] *Monatsblätter des jüdischen Kulturbundes Bezirk Rhein-Main*, 1 August 1935; 1 November 1935.

[1415] 'Kurhaus: Schuricht - v. Isterdael,' *Haagsche Courant*, 5 September 1935.

[1416] 'Muziekleven in Palestina,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 March 1937.

[1417] 'Ary Schuyer', *Het Vaderland*, 16 April 1941.

[1418] 'Ary Schuyer', *Het Vaderland*, 16 April 1941.

[1419] Henk Mak van Dijk, *De oostenwind waait naar het westen Indische componisten, Indische composities, 1898-1945 ; met een bijdrage van Frans Schreuder* (Leiden: KITLV ; Den Haag : Nederlands Muziek Instituut, 2007); Henk Mak van Dijk, 'Paul Seelig', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 239–45.

works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute and in the Dutch radio library collection www.muziekschatten.nl. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Silberman, Benedict

Helsinki, 5 December 1901 - Hilversum, 11 December 1971

Born in Helsinki, Benedict (Boruch Hirsch-Benedigton) Silberman came to live in Amsterdam with his parents at a very young age. His Austrian father was a *Stehgeiger*, his mother a violinist; together they started touring with a ladies orchestra. In Amsterdam, Silberman studied piano with Jean-Baptiste de Pauw and composition with Sem Dresden, both at the Amsterdam Conservatory. He graduated with a piano concerto and later composed a violin concerto.[1420] He then moved to Berlin, where he performed with famous entertainment orchestras of Mark Weber, Paul Godwin and Dajos Bela. Around 1930, he started arranging for these orchestras. In 1936, he was hired by the socialist broadcasting society VARA to conduct their orchestras. During the last winter of war, he composed an operetta *Het Rozeneiland* (The Island of Roses) with librettist Olaf de Landell.[1421] In 1948, he founded the radio entertainment orchestra *Promenade Orkest*, which he conducted until his retirement in 1967 and for which he wrote many arrangements.[1422]

Manuscripts: hundreds of his compositions and arrangements for radio ensembles can be found in the radio library, www.muziekschatten.nl
Podcast: https://www.npoklassiek.nl/podcasts/verhaal/82187/22-de-meesterproef-van-benedict-silberman-s03

Simon, James

Berlin, 29 September 1880 - Auschwitz, October 1944

James Simon studied piano with Conrad Ansorge and composition with Max Bruch. In Munich, he wrote his doctoral thesis on Abbé Vogler. He composed chamber music, songs, works for orchestra and an opera. From Transit Camp Westerbork, Simon was sent to Theresienstadt and from there, on 12 October 1944 to Auschwitz.[1423]

[1420] Interview with Benedict Silberman, 1950 Sound and Vision Archives Resource ID 2101608080069765631

[1421] Ibid.

[1422] 'Oprichter van het Promenade Orkest Silberman geridderd,' *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 21 December 1967.

[1423] Carine Alders and Phillip Silver, 'James Simon', accessed 7 April 2025,

Manuscripts: British Library, Simon Music Manuscripts Add MS62117-62120; Leo Baeck Institute, Centre for Jewish History New York, James Simon Collection 1931-1945 AR5930. Library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute at the The Hague Municipal Archives. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Smit, Leo

Amsterdam, 14 May 1900 - Sobibor, 30 April 1943

Leopold (Leo) Smit (pseudonyms Pierre Perrin and Leo Fox) studied piano with Ulfert Schults and composition with Sem Dresden at the Amsterdam Conservatory. He composed chamber music, vocal music, and works for orchestra.[1424]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute,3119-01. Works are available from www.donemus.nl and the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Smit Sibinga, Theo

Bandung, 2 September 1899 - Amstelveen, 14 August 1958

Theo Smit Sibinga studied cello with Bertrand Drilsma, Marix Loevensohn and Gerard Hekking and composition with Cornelis Dopper. He composed chamber music, songs, and works for orchestra. Smit Sibinga survived internment in the Dutch East Indies.[1425]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute,3005-01. Works are available from www.donemus.nl and the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org and www.theosmitsibinga.nl.

Snoek, Isaac

London, 19 October 1870 - Auschwitz, 25 January 1943

Isaac (Isidoor) Snoek was the son of Dutch a diamant cutter and the family lived wherever father could find work, in London, Amsterdam, Paris and Marseille. Nothing is known as

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https://www.forbiddenmusicregained.org/.

[1424] Vis, *Silhouetten*.

[1425] Mak van Dijk, *De oostenwind waait naar het westen Indische componisten, Indische composities, 1898-1945 ; met een bijdrage van Frans Schreuder*; Mak van Dijk, 'Paul Seelig'.

yet about his musical education. He composed chamber music, an opera and works for entertainment orchestra. An excerpt from his ouverture *Rivalité* was used to accompany Dziga Vertov's film *Man with a Movie Camera.* Due to fragile mental health, Snoek was hospitalised several times. When the Nazis invaded the Netherlands, Snoek was hospitalised in *Het Apeldoornsche Bos*, a Jewish hospital for the mentally ill. All patients, including Isaac Snoek, were taken to Auschwitz on 22 January 1943.

Manuscripts: unknown. More than 200 compositions and arrangements can be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France https://catalogue.bnf.fr/index.do

Spanjaard, Martin

Borne, 30 July 1892 - Auschwitz, 30 September 1942

Martin Spanjaard studied violin with Joseph Salmon and André Spoor and piano and composition with Frits Koeberg. He composed music for piano solo, songs and works for orchestra.[1426]

Manuscripts: private collection Spanjaard - van der Heijden. Some published works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute at the The Hague Municipal Archives. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Spiero, Simon

The Hague, 4 April 1884 - 's-Hertogenbosch 25 April 1961

Simon Spiero studied trombone, percussion, violin and piano at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague. After graduating in 1901, he moved to 's-Hertogenbosch, where he became a member of the local orchestra, taught music and opened a music shop. He conducted several regional wind orchestras and as well as the local symphony orchestra and composed marches. During the war, the music shop was taken by the Nazis. Simon Spiero, his wife and eight children were able to find a hiding place, one daughter tried to escape to Switzerland. While in hiding, Spiero composed several marches and a Concertino for trombone and orchestra. Simon Spiero composed at least fifty marches, many of them were recorded.[1427]

[1426] Carine Alders, 'Martin Spanjaard', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 265–73.

[1427] Truus Wertheim-Cahen, Sjef Ipskamp, and Rolf Hage, *Simon Spiero* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Aldus, 2019).

Manuscripts: the archive of the Spiero family and their music shop, including Spiero's compositions, is housed at *Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch* archive no 1028.[1428] Fifteen of his published compositions can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute and in the radio library, www.muziekschatten.nl.

Székely, Zoltán

Kocs, 8 December 1903 - Banff, 5 October 2001

Zoltán Székely studied violin with Jenő Hubay and composition with Zoltán Kodály at the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music in Budapest. He composed chamber music and works for orchestra, and arranged Bartók's *Romanian Folk Dances* for violin and piano. He survived the war in the Netherlands in hiding and emigrated to the US after the war.[1429]

Manuscripts: private collection Székely family. The *Sonata for violin solo* and *Romanian Folk Dances* are available from Universal Edition. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Tal, Marjo

The Hague, 15 January 1915 - Jerusalem, 27 August 2006

Marjo Tal studied composition with Sem Dresden and piano with Nelly Wagenaar at the Amsterdam Conservatory. She composed some chamber music but mainly songs and chansons.[1430]

Manuscripts: photocopies of Tal's manuscripts can be found at the The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute, 3465-01. Some of her works are available from www.donemus.nl. See also www.forbiddenmusicregained.org.

Vlessing, Philip

Velsen, 12 May 1905 - Central Europe, 30 April 1943

[1428] Collecties Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch. '1028 Familie en muziekhandel Spiero te 's-Hertogenbosch'. Accessed 24 March 2025. https://zoeken.erfgoedshertogenbosch.nl/detail.php?id=1512616106&volgnummer=0.

[1429] Kenneson and Bartók, *Székely and Bartók*; Joop Leijendeckers, 'Zoltán Székely', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 275–83.

[1430] Esther Blom, 'Marjo Tal', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 285–91.

Philip Vlessing studied piano with his father, composer Sam Vlessing, and cello with Jaap Falk, Felix Kwast and Marix Loevensohn. As a teenager, he moved to Antwerp to study at the Royal Conservatory with Arnold Godenne. He performed with the Flemish Opera and with the Italian Opera in The Hague.[1431] He studied composition with Johan Wagenaar.[1432] Vlessing performed as soloist in chamber music concerts. In 1930, his *Suite for wind orchestra* won first prize in a competition.[1433] When his father died in 1934, he took over as director of Sam Vlessing's Music School, together with his sister Netty. He also started to conduct the amateur wind orchestras led by his father.[1434] In 1936, his *Reisimpressies uit Genua* was performed by the VARA orchestra. Vlessing's symphonic poem *Tsion Tamiatie* was scheduled to be performed by the Groningen Orchestra in the 1938-9 season but due to unknown reasons, this performance never took place.[1435] In 1940, he started to perform with his Haarlem trio for NCRV radio.[1436] Vlessing composed a *Serenade Espagnole* for violin, saxophone and piano, dedicated to Sam Swaap, a string quartet 'En forme de suite', dedicated to Harry van der Lijn, a festive overture, dedicated to his teacher Johan Wagenaar, and several works for wind orchestra. He also wrote entertainment music under the pseudonym Jack Bottle.[1437] Philip Vlessing was sent to Auschwitz from Transit Camp Westerbork on 28 August 1942. The circumstances of his death are unknown.

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3592-01. Some published works and arrangements can also be found in the radio library www.muziekschatten.nl.

Vredenburg, Max

Brussels, 16 January 1904 - Laren (NH), 9 August 1976

Max Vredenburg studied composition with Henri Geraedts at the Royal Conservatory The Hague, and continued his studies with Paul Dukas in Paris. He composed chamber music, songs, works for orchestra and film music. He survived internment in Japanese camps in the

[1431] 'De IJmuider radioavond,' *IJmuider Courant*, 12 March 1927; 'Vlessing Jr. zet het werk zijns vaders voort,' *IJmuider Courant*, 30 May 1934.

[1432] 'Vlessing Jr. zet het werk zijns vaders voort,' *IJmuider Courant*, 30 May 1934.

[1433] 'Ph. Vlessing,' *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*, 19 December 1930.

[1434] 'Vlessing Jr. zet het werk zijns vaders voort,' *IJmuider Courant*, 30 May 1934.

[1435] 'Een compositie van Ph. Vlessing,' *De Volkskrant*, 21 July 1938.

[1436] *Haarlem's Dagblad*, 2 January 1940.

[1437] Buma archive, The Hague Municipal Archives, collections Netherlands Music Institute, 3342-

Dutch East Indies.[1438]

Manuscripts: The Hague Municipal Archives, Collections of the Netherlands Music Institute, 3338-01. His works are available from www.donemus.nl. Some works are also available from the Dutch radio library www.muziekschatten.nl.

Wainless (Spijer), Eva

Amsterdam, 24 November 1914 - Boston?, after 1991

Eva Gezina Spijer studied piano at the Amsterdam Conservatory. She accompanied dancers Gertrud Leistikow, Florrie Rodrigo and Chaja Goldstein.[1439] In 1935, she married violinist Jo Juda; the couple divorced two years later. Spijer then married Juda's younger brother Arnold in 1940. In 1942 their daughter Mirjam was born. No sources were found that document how they survived the war. In 1950, she emigrated with her husband to Surinam, where she continued her career as pianist and started a dance group for children.[1440] The last announcements in the newspapers of her leading her ballet class date from October 1951.[1441] Eva Spijer divorced Arnold Juda in 1953.[1442] At some point, she emigrated with her daughter to the United States, where she taught piano at the Boston Conservatory under the name of Eva Wainless.[1443] She is also listed in a directory of women composers under that name.[1444] She died after 1991.

Manuscripts: unknown.

Waterman, Adolf

Rotterdam, 19 May 1886 - Monaco, 3 August 1966

Adolf (Dolf) Waterman studied piano with Bernard Diamant and Johan Sikemeier and

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[1438] Aagje Pabbruwe, 'Max Vredenburg', in *Suppressed Composers in the Netherlands* (London: Toccata Press, 2024), 293–302.

[1439] 'Academische feestdans', *Het Volk*, 22 June 1932; 'Purimavond,' *Het Vaderland*, 1 March 1934.

[1440] *Het nieuws: algemeen dagblad*, 9 December 1950; *De West*, 19 March 1951.

[1441] *Het nieuws: algemeen dagblad*, 12 October 1951.

[1442] *De Surinamer*, 25 January 1954.

[1443] Catalogue Boston Conservatory 1970, p 47. Accessed via archive.org 28 March 1025.

[1444] Miriam Stewart-Green, *Women Composers: A Checklist of Works for the Solo Voice*, Reference Publication in Women's Studies (Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1980).

composition with Bernard Zweers in Rotterdam, and with Aladar Berényi and Stefan Thomán in Budapest. He also studied composition with Hugo Kaun in Berlin. Waterman composed chamber music, a piano concert and songs. In 1933, Waterman left Berlin and settled in Paris. From there, he fled to the Dutch Indies in 1940 or 1941 and from there on to Australia, where he arrived on 12 February 1941 and lived throughout the war. After the war he lived in the United States and in Monaco, never to compose or perform again.

Manuscripts: Collections Netherlands Music Institute, The Hague Municipal Archives, 3599-01. Published works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute.

Weisz, Ferenc (Franz)

Budapest, 2 August 1893 - Auschwitz, 30 September 1944

Ferenc (Franz) Weisz studied piano with Stephan Tomka and composition with Karoly Agghazy at the National Conservatory. He composed chamber music and works for orchestra.[1445]

Manuscripts: mostly unknown. Some manuscripts were saved and are in private possession. Some published works are available from www.imslp.org.

Wertheim, Rosy

Amsterdam, 19 February 1888 - Laren (NH), 27 May 1949

Rosy Wertheim studied piano in France and composition with Bernard Zweers and Sem Dresden in Amsterdam. After six years in Paris, she then continued her education with Karl Weigl in Vienna. She composed chamber music, songs, and works for orchestra. She survived the war in hiding.[1446]

Manuscripts: Collections Netherlands Music Institute, The Hague Municipal Archives, 3142-01. Some published works can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute. Compositions are available from www.donemus.nl.

Wolff, Moss

[1445] de Klerk-Roggeveen, 'Ferenc/Franz Weisz'.
[1446] Pameijer, 'Rosy Wertheim'.

Den Haag 30 January 1907 - Den Haag 10 June 2001

Moss Leonardus Herman Wolff studied violin at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague and choir conducting with the Union for Choir Conductors. He composed chamber music and works for choir, orchestra, and school orchestra. While in hiding, he composed works on patriotic texts for choir and orchestra.[1447] In a letter to the editor of *NRC Handelsblad* on 13 July 1982, Wolff wrote how he had experienced 'limited' loss (house, work, career opportunities and 63 of 70 family members) as a result of the war.

Manuscripts: unknown. Published works by Moss Wolff can be found in the library collection of the Netherlands Music Institute. One composition by Moss Wolff is available at www.donemus.nl

Zagwijn, Henri

Nieuwer-Amstel, 17 July 1878 - The Hague, 23 October 1954

As a self-taught composer, Henri Zagwijn was one of the founding members of the *Vereeniging voor Moderne Muziek* (Society for Modern Music) in 1918. He taught at the Rotterdam Conservatory and, for many years, he was chair of *Genootschap van Nederlandse Componisten* (Dutch Composers' Society). He composed chamber music, vocal works and works for orchestra and as a follower of Rudolf Steiner, he composed music to accompany eurythmic exercises.[1448] Zagwijn's mother was Jewish, his music was banned when registration with the Kultuurkamer became obligatory.

Manuscripts: Collections Netherlands Music Institute, The Hague Municipal Archives, 3198-01. Compositions are available from www.donemus.nl.

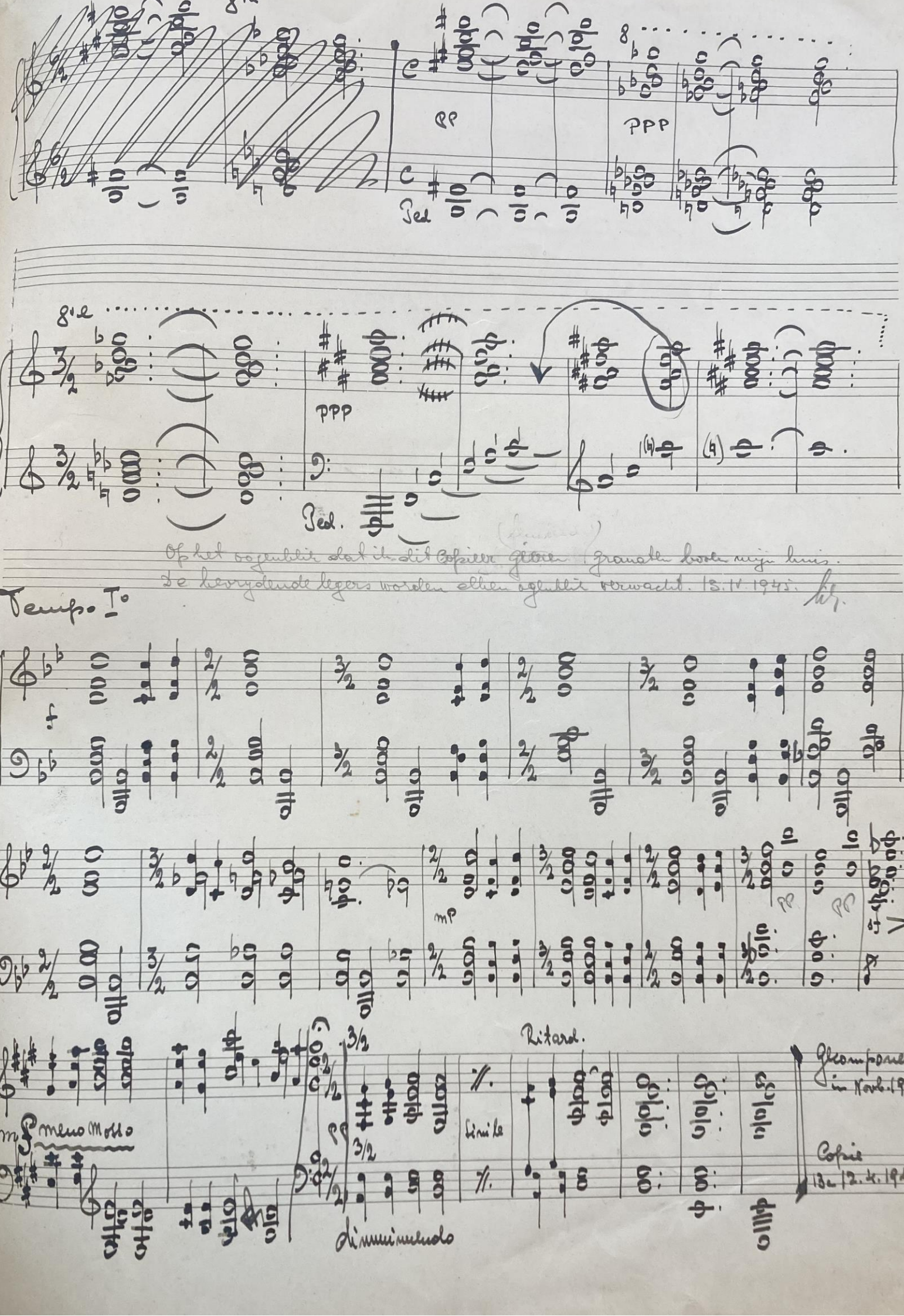
[1447] Kruseman, Philip. *Geïllustreerd muzieklexicon supplement*. 's-Gravenhage: Philip Kruseman, 1949, 297-8.

[1448] J. Robijns and Zijlstra, M., eds., *Algemene Muziek Encyclopedie ; hoofdred. J. Robijns en M. Zijlstra* (Bussum: Unieboek, 1979).

List of abbreviations

ANNO	AustriaN Newspapers Online www.anno.onb.ac.at
ANP	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (General Dutch Press Agency)
ANT	Actor Network Theory
AOV	Arnhemsche Orkest Vereeniging (Arnhem Orchestral Society)
AVRO	Algemene Vereniging Radio Omroep (General (non-denominational) Society for Radio Broadcasting)
BAZ	Bond van Arbeiders Zangvereenigingen (Union of Workers' Choirs)
BKVK	Bond van Kunstenaars ter Verdediging van de Kulturele Rechten (Union of Artists for the Defence of Cultural Rights
BS	Binnenlandse Strijdkrachten (Domestic Armed Forces)
Buma	Bureau Muziek Auteursrechten (Bureau for Music Authors' Rights)
CLARIAH	Common Lab Research Infrastructure for the Humanities www.clariah.nl
Donemus	Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Muziek (Documentation Centre Dutch Music)
DVK	Departement voor Volksvoorlichting en Kunsten
Geneco	Genootschap van Nederlandse Componisten (Society of Dutch Composers)
GOV	Groninger Orkest Vereeniging (Groningen Orchestral Society)
HOV	Haarlemsche Orkest Vereeniging (Haarlem Orchestral Society)
ISCM	International Society for Contemporary Music www.iscm.org
KNTV	Koninklijke Nederlandsche Toonkunstenaars Vereeniging (Royal Dutch Society for Musicians)
KRO	Katholieke Radio Omroep (Catholic Radio Broadcasting Society)
KVNM	Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis (Royal Society for Music History of the Netherlands)
Liro	Lippman-Rosenthal Bank
Maneto	Manifestatie Nederlandsche Toonkunst (Manifestation Dutch Music)
NCRV	Nederlandse Christelijke Radio Vereniging (Dutch Christian Radio Association)
NIW	Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad (New Israelite Weekly)
NMB	Nederlandsche Muziek Belangen (Dutch Music Interests)
NOK	Nederlandse Organisatie van Kunstenaars (Netherlands Organisation of Artists)
NSB	Nationaal Socialistische Beweging (National Socialist Movement)

NVvHM	Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Hedendaagsche Muziek (Dutch Society for Contemporary Music)
NZB	Nederlandse Zionisten Bond (Union of Dutch Zionists)
PCfIEC	Permanent Committee for International Exchange Concerts
Phohi	Philips Omroep Holland-Indië (Philips Broadcasting Society for the Dutch Indies)
RNO	Rijksradio Nederlandsche Omroep (Netherlands State Broadcasting Society)
STAGMA	Staatlich genehmigten Gesellschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Urheberrechte
USO	Utrechtsch Stedelijk Orkest (Utrecht Municipal Orchestra)
VARA	Vereeniging van Arbeiders Radio Amateurs (Association of Workers Radio Amateurs)
VMN	Vereeniging van Muziekhandelaren en -Uitgevers (Association of Music Publishers and Retailers)
VPRO	Vrijzinnig Protestantse Radio Omroep (Liberal Protestant Radio Broadcasting Society)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Op het vogeltje dat ik dit Cahier gaven (Grenada) boven mijn huis.
De heerlijkende leegers worden alhier vogeltje verwacht. 15.IV 1945.
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Gecomponeerd in Nov. 1941.
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meno Mosso
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