The Jewish Role in Dutch Art Music: Antisemitism, Exclusion, and Jewish Nationalism, 1795 – c.1946

By

Christopher John Evans

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University of Birmingham
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Abstract and Chapter Summary

Numerous general surveys of the history of Jews in the Netherlands dating back to the sixteenth century have recently been published, yet still relatively little musicological research has been conducted into Dutch-Jewish involvement in art music. Following our abiding contemporary stereotype of the Netherlands as a tolerant, peaceable nation, there has been an omission of the role that antisemitism and Jewish nationalism played in the creation, dissemination, reception, and maintenance of Dutch art music across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This thesis is an attempt to add more music-related detail to the general historical and musical accounts that already exist, in a series of chronologically ordered chapters within the timeframe 1796 – the year of formal emancipation for Dutch Jews – to 1946, a year chosen to illustrate the reception of Dutch Jews during repatriation after the Holocaust and how this affected the world of music. The high point of Jewish musical contribution in the Netherlands occurred at the end of the nineteenth century with a newly established core of prominent Dutch-Jewish composers. This has become an established fact, but what existing literature does not explain is how these composers suddenly came to prominence at this time. In order to begin to understand this development this thesis turns to research outside the immediate context of musicology which assists in investigating the socio-historical background prior to the end of the nineteenth century and provides evidence that antisemitism had a profound effect on delaying the development of Jewish musicians, long after the emancipation in 1796. Antisemitism thus comes into focus as a theme for the thesis and remains so throughout the following chapters.

Taking up this cue, the first and second chapters consider the slow emergence of Jewish composers and musicians after their emancipation in 1796 and how antisemitism in the form of the exclusion of Jews from numerous music societies and performance spaces played a role in delaying the positive results of this process until the mid-nineteenth century. Finally, however, after educational reforms in 1857, students were able to freely enter music conservatoires such as the Koninklijk Conservatorium in Den Haag (founded in 1826) and the Amsterdamsch Conservatorium (founded in 1884). Many Dutch-Jewish composers who would go on

to become innovative in their field attended the latter at the end of the nineteenth century onwards.

The third chapter investigates a key moment in the creation of Dutch art musical life: the foundation of the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra (Amsterdam) in 1888 by individuals who had historically been board members of music and cultural societies which had active policies of Jewish exclusion from membership, while chapter 4 explores Willem Mengelberg, who was conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra between 1895 and 1945, and his ongoing alleged attraction to Hitler's National Socialism in Germany, and also his complex relationship with the Jewish musicians with whom he worked. This relationship sometimes involved elements of antisemitic attitude, but conversely, he was occasionally protective towards the very same members., This is summed up by his musical relationship with Gustav Mahler who experienced antisemitism in the media which dated from his early performances in the Netherlands at the start of the twentieth century. The chapter explores how Jewish performers and composers who were sometimes subjected to antisemitic sentiment were tolerated by Mengelberg as long as their excellence served the purpose of fuelling his narcissistic traits.

Chapter 5 considers the concept of Jewish nationalism in music, which was initiated in Russia and swept across Europe in the early twentieth century. As this chapter argues, Wagner's antisemitic writings may have inadvertently had a role in this phenomenon with prominent Jewish musicologists embracing some elements of Wagner's rhetoric on Jewish difference and 'spinning' them in the opposite direction: that is, utilising them in the drive towards nationalism. This occurred on a smaller but nevertheless significant scale in the Netherlands with composers such as Sim Gokkes and Max Vredenburg making significant contributions in embracing the Jewish nationalism in music that was sweeping across Europe from Russia alongside modernist stylistic traits.

The sixth chapter explores the fact that, by mirroring policies that had previously been implemented in Germany, the German occupation of the Netherlands from 1940 brought cultural strictures that resulted in Nazi control of musical activities. This control was deemed positive in some quarters since it promoted several Dutch

composers, but ultimately, it led to the exclusion of Jewish musicians who were prevented from joining the Nederlandsche Kultuurkammer, membership of which was a prerequisite for having music performed publicly, and thus pursuing a musical career. This meant that the performance of works by Jewish composers was banned in the Netherlands after 1940 and as this chapter further shows, deportations began in 1942 effectively halting all Jewish musical activity, both public and non-public.

The conclusion of the thesis is perhaps the most provocative. The sustained presence of antisemitism in Dutch art music having been established over the course of the thesis, it argues that this did not simply end with the Nazi defeat and withdrawal (as many histories imply). Antisemitism did not disappear from the Netherlands after World War II, and many Dutch-Jewish citizens returned in 1945/1946 to find that they had no access to their former homes and were met with open hostility from both society and the government. Some Jewish musicians were allowed to re-join their orchestras after having been dismissed during the Nazi occupation, but often in ‘demoted’ roles, with some orchestras being more accommodating than others. Composers who survived the Holocaust also continued to write, but those who had previously embraced Jewish nationalistic traits continued to do so with less enthusiasm and a more limited output. Government antisemitism was also evident beyond the occupation with regards to slow or non-existent responses to musicians’ claims for repatriation, compensation, and insurance for stolen and looted musical instruments. In all, the chapter serves to illustrate that lessons had not been learnt after the atrocities of the Holocaust.

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Introduction – What is Antisemitism?

> Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities (IHRA, 2016).

Central to the present thesis is the question of how antisemitism is defined, specifically in relation to the Netherlands and music within the timeframe 1795 to post World War II. In this period, I shall argue, blatant or underlying forms of antisemitic attitudes were responsible for the limited growth of Jewish influence in art music. The quotation above is a recent 'working definition' of antisemitism as presented by the IHRA[1] (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance) at its annual conference in 2016. I would like to begin, however, by arguing that this is a restrictive definition which points mainly towards more extreme manifestations of anti-Jewish hatred. The IHRA cite some examples of these extremes in their definition which consists of, but is not limited to, the following:

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.
- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government, or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g., gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).

[1] The IHRA was founded in 1998 by Göran Persson and is now based in Berlin. Its remit is to unite governments in the promotion of Holocaust education. https://holocaustremembrance.com/ [Accessed 4 July 2024]

- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel (IHRA, 2016).

The IHRA definition of antisemitism has been shaped by the experience and politics of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. However, the main aim of this thesis is to explore what we now refer to as antisemitism in the Netherlands primarily in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, not only in society as a whole, but in Dutch musical life in particular. We should bear in mind, however, that during these periods the perceptions and definitions of antisemitism in the Netherlands were, to some extent, different, and historical enquiry has shown that antisemitism in some forms has also been, and will continue to be, more subtle in nature than the IHRA definition allows, however comprehensive it attempts to be. This will be explored using the work of Kenneth Marcus and Deborah Lipstadt later in this introductory chapter, and it needs to be considered when referring to antisemitism in various historical contexts, including those Dutch ones at the heart of the present thesis. The concept of discrimination against Jews during the nineteenth century was very different to that of modern day, and the term ‘antisemitism’ was not even coined until 1879 by Wilhelm Marr.

Various interpretations of the term ‘antisemitism’ will be discussed throughout the following chapters and include several areas of interest. The first is the question as to whether the granting of equal civil rights to Jews post-Emancipation in the

Netherlands (1795) really worked, since Jewish musicians were still not permitted to perform in certain public venues, and secondly, were still actively excluded from participation in various music and cultural societies such as Felix Meritis and Caecilia. This situation was then politicised via the formation of Felix Libertate, a society with the objective of achieving a full Jewish emancipation with equal civil and legal rights. This takes us through the middle of the nineteenth century up to the seminal creation of the Concertgebouw and Concertgebouw Orchestra in 1888 and the irony that many of its founders were members or ex-board members of cultural groups that had active policies of excluding Jewish musicians. Willem Mengelberg was the principal conductor of the orchestra between 1895 and 1945 and his antisemitic behaviour and collusion with the Nazis during the Occupation also comes under scrutiny. The next area of interest at the beginning of the twentieth century was the rise of Jewish nationalism in music across Europe and in the Netherlands as a reaction against antisemitic treatment. The final two areas cover the murder of Dutch-Jewish musicians at the hands of the Nazis during the Occupation, and the Dutch musical landscape after the Holocaust. The extreme antisemitism of the Nazis, it is argued, had a profound effect on the stylistic development of a potentially influential 'Dutch School' of composers in the later twentieth century

Origins of the Term 'Antisemitism'

Wilhelm Marr (1819-1904) was a German nationalist and radical who established the term when he founded the Antisemiten-Liga (Antisemite League) in 1879. It was formed as a denunciation of the Jewish emancipation in United Reich in 1871, calling it a 'terrible mistake, [and] one which had made possible "the victory of the Jews over Germany"' (Klier, 1989: 524). In his own pamphlet *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum* (1897), Marr qualified this stance when he wrote:

> It is no ostentatious prophecy but a deeply felt conviction when I say that no more than four generations shall pass before the Jews usurp absolutely every office of state, including the very highest. Yes, Jewry shall raise Germany to a world power and make it the New Palestine of Europe. It won't come about by violent revolution but by the voice of the people itself, as soon as German

> society has reached that highest level of social bankruptcy and perplexity toward which we are rushing headlong (Marr, 1897: 6).

Social and political scientist Robert Braun attempts to elaborate on Marr's concept of racial antisemitism, citing French philosopher Jacques Maritain (Braun, 2020: 388) who claimed that '...sociologically, it is natural, all too natural, that passions, however misleading, which claim to defend a country's national interest, should claim also support from its traditional religion', the implication being that religious affiliation in turn can feed into racial antisemitism (Maritain, 1973: 82). In both Germany and the Netherlands, certainly in the twentieth century, the predominant religion was Protestantism, and this was of particular importance in the Netherlands with its religious and political dominance in the Dutch system of pillarization (verzuiling), an institution which will be examined in relation to musical life later in the thesis. Psychologist Michael Wenzel backs up Maritain's argument by pointing out that religious majorities display less unity with outsiders because they are 'more entitled, less accepting of difference, more attached to the idea of a unified nation and subsequently less likely to recognise shared vulnerabilities with those who are different' (Wenzel et al., 2007: 331-372). It is important to note, however, that Marr wanted to de-emphasize the religious connotations of Jewish prejudice and focus more on 'racial' aspects whereupon his definition of antisemitism would go on to become synonymous with Jewish hatred throughout later years. It would eventually manifest in various forms such as social, political, economic, and once again, religious ones, although the latter was a form of prejudice that existed long before Marr's racial antisemitism.

Religious discrimination, or anti-Judaism, can actually be traced as far back as the frequent Christian 'demonisation of the Jew' in the New Testament, where Jews were depicted as 'materialistic, hypocritical, spiritually blind, and diabolical "Christ-killer[s]"' (Munson, 2018: 3). The latter part of Munson's statement points to the belief that the Jews were responsible for the death of Jesus Christ. Much of this Christian anti-Judaic rhetoric would later be adopted by the Nazis before, and during the Holocaust (Munson, 2018: 1) and New Testament scholar Luke Johnson cites many examples of this from the New Testament, one of which is taken from the Gospel of Matthew:

> Matthew 23:1-39 (par. Luke 11:37-52). Jesus attacks scribes and Pharisees, calling them hypocrites (23:13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29), blind guides (23:16), white-washed tombs (23:27), serpents, brood of vipers (23:33), and children of hell (23:15). They are portrayed as vainglorious (23:5-7), posturing (23:27-28), preoccupied with trivia rather than real religion (23:23-24), concerned for outer not inner righteousness (23:25-26), the murderers of the prophets and of Jesus' own emissaries (23:32-36). It is also Matthew who has the Jews answer Pilate at the trial of Jesus, "his blood be on us and on our children" (27:25). Luke adds that the Pharisees and lawyers "rejected God's plan for them" (Luke 7:30) and in an apparently gratuitous aside calls the Pharisees "lovers of money" (16:14) (Johnson, 1989: 420).

It is important to note that anti-Judaism is specifically a religious form of prejudice based on the belief of Jews murdering Jesus which then conveniently provided both religious and secular authorities a way of marginalising the Jews. 'It formed the basis of Catholic Church-sponsored anti-Judaism or Christian antisemitic prejudices, which consigned most European Jews to a second-class existence' (Marendy, 2005: 289). Religious historians such as Peter Marendy believe this theological form of prejudice exists as a prejudice against Jews which denigrates and demeans them principally because of their ethnicity rather than their faith' (Marendy, 2005: 290). Of course, throughout time, the principles of Christian anti-Judaism and Marr's racially motivated antisemitism would overlap leading up to the events of the Holocaust, and as such I will refer to all types of anti-Jewish behaviour in Dutch musical life throughout the present thesis generally as antisemitism.

Variations on a Theme of Antisemitism

There have been many recent scholarly debates regarding the definition of antisemitism. These have resulted in several different conclusions, all of which are in my opinion, valid, but still open to different interpretations. Each adds extra dimensions to the original concepts of anti-Judaism, antisemitism, and the IRHA definition of antisemitism, and will aid in the justification of some of my later arguments regarding the Netherlands. In American politician and academic Kenneth

Marcus's book *The Definition of Anti-Semitism* (2015) he explores various areas of antisemitism in a historical context. Each of his definitions can be considered valid examples of antisemitic behaviour, through which he goes on to develop his own homogenous definition of the term. Marcus believes that any suitable definition must 'fully account for antisemitism's ideological, attitudinal, and practical qualities; its persisting latent structure within Western cultures; its continuities and discontinuities with analogous phenomena; its chimerical quality; its potentially self-fulfilling character; and its role in the construction of Jewish identity', several areas of enquiry omitted by the IHRA definition (Marcus, 2015: 97). He breaks down antisemitism into several categories and offers a useful critique of each, starting with antisemitism as racism which he describes as the promotion of racial hatred by stressing the relationship between 'Jewish racial distinctness and repugnant moral attributes' (Marcus, 2015: 98) which may manifest itself as stereotypical caricatures and discrimination. Certainly, this is a valid definition of antisemitism which is frequently used, but it should be remembered that as a stand-alone approach it presents a very limited argument and should therefore be considered one of several definitions that create the thread of this thesis. Though Marcus argues that the Jews have been seen as a race historically by many, the actual existence of a Jewish 'race' is debatable. Therefore, the non-acceptance of the race theory can discredit the Nazi perception that the Jews were a race and part of their Aryan mythology. What Marcus is actually saying here is that he does not necessarily accept the race theory *per se*, but rather shows how present it was historically.

Marcus also describes what he calls antisemitism as an 'ideology' and cites German philosopher Theodor Adorno's definition: 'This ideology [of antisemitism] consists ... of stereotypes negative opinions describing the Jews as threatening, immoral, and categorically different from non-Jews, and of hostile attitudes urging various forms of restriction, exclusion, and suppression as a means of solving "the Jewish problem"' (Adorno, 1969: 71). This ideology is very much based on individual attitudes linked to various acts of policy-based formal and institutional discrimination and underpins many of the arguments that are presented throughout this research – particularly during the years before the German occupation of the Netherlands in 1940.

Another of Marcus's variations of antisemitism is what he calls 'chimerical'

antisemitism which is an argument based on the concept of ‘difference between the real Jew and the imagined “Jew” and the political ends to which this [variable] is applied’ (Marcus, 2015: 105). Historian Gavin Langmuir goes on to illustrate this idea further, claiming that the chimerical element is based on fictional elements regarding Jews which ‘present fantasies, figments of the imagination, monsters that, although dressed syntactically in the clothes of real humans, have never been seen and are projections of mental processes unconnected with the real people of the outgroup’ (Langmuir, 1996: 334) and stems from fictional perceptions of what non-Jews consider to be Jews. Chimerical antisemitism finds its origins in a pre-modern era and is deeply rooted in Christian aberrations of Jews being responsible for fictional events such as ‘the blood libel calumny, the accusation of the desecration of the holy host, the reproach of Jews poisoning wells and causing illnesses, like the plague' (Karady, 2012: 17).

Jewish Historian Deborah Lipstadt offers another useful set of definitions of antisemitism in the context of this research which she divides into four categories of antisemite: extremists; enablers; polite antisemites; accidental antisemites (Lipstadt, 2019: 29-80). These categories can be defined in the following ways:

Extremists: In her own description of antisemitic extremism, Lipstadt would have benefitted from sub-categorising this into non-violent activism and violent extremism. This is necessary because a general misconception of extremism is that it is based on violence. Certainly, the rhetoric involved can lead to acts of extreme violence, but they should be kept apart as separate entities. In the context of the musical world, Wagner can be seen as an extremist in terms of the largely non-violent antisemitic sentiments in his publication *Das Judentum in der Musik* (*Judaism in Music*, 1850). In this essay Wagner’s antisemitism was racially motivated, and he expressed some extreme views regarding the physical characteristics of Jews. Of the Jew, Wagner claims that ‘it matters not to which particular European nationality he may belong; the Jew’s appearance strikes us as something so unpleasantly incongruous that, involuntarily, we wish to have nothing in common with him’ (Wagner, 1910: 9). These ideas were not unique to Wagner alone and it is worth pointing out that Wilhelm Marr himself was ‘an enthusiastic supporter of Wagner and his ideas’ with his own writing being ‘a paean to Wagner and his creations, which were infused with German spirit’

(Zimmermann, 1986: 75). However, it could be argued that Wagner's thoughts cannot be considered any more extreme than those of other writers, especially in France during the latter part of the nineteenth century. During the 1800s there was a deluge of French antisemitic novels, which would in turn influence German antisemitism, written by authors such as Francisque Sarcey and Alexander Dumas *fils*, with many novels commonly depicting Jews 'as strangers, intruders, as unassimilable parasites arriving from other lands to despoil the French nation' (Weinberg, 1983: 242). Although it can be argued that Wagner's words in isolation are not extremist in nature, similar language can in turn influence extreme behaviour. A research programme run by the Program in Extremism at the George Washington University clarifies this position and states that 'antisemitism, as a belief and world-structuring theory, can at times serve as a gateway issue for individuals into further radicalization to violent extremism' (Meleagrou-Hitchens et al., 2020: 3). This was demonstrated in the extreme and violent antisemitic actions of the Nazi Party.

Enablers: Although antisemitic enablers would fervently deny that they harbour such prejudice, they are, according to Lipstadt, 'directly responsible for the legitimisation of explicit hostility toward Jews'. Lipstadt identifies the President of the United States of America Donald Trump in his first term in office as an enabler in that, when in office, he refused to address the antisemitic behaviour of a faction of his followers. This incident manifested itself after Jewish journalist Julia Joffe published an article about Melania Trump in which she claimed that she had a half-brother with whom she had no contact. This led to a barrage of antisemitic threats from Trump's supporters, including an image of her face superimposed onto a prisoner from a concentration camp and calls from a white supremacist website to 'make sure to identify her [Joffe] as a Jewish bitch' (Lipstadt, 2019: 47). Trump's tacit response to these acts effectively gave his supporters licence to freely disseminate their various brands of antisemitic hatred.

Polite antisemites: Lipstadt also refers to this category as 'After Dinner Party Antisemites'; individuals who harbour and express subtle antisemitic beliefs but claim that they do not, with responses to such accusations like 'That's ridiculous. You know that some of my best friends are Jews' (Lipstadt, 2019: 70). Lipstadt claims that someone who fits this description has to be antisemitic, as anyone who feels the

need to point out that they have Jewish friends probably has deep-seated issues with other Jews (Lipstadt, 2019: 70). However, it could be argued that this statement alone is not necessarily enough to qualify an individual as an antisemite, but again needs to be considered as one element of the overall antisemitic landscape.

Accidental antisemites: Accidental antisemites are often totally unaware that their views are antisemitic but are generally 'nice and well-meaning [people] who [are] completely unaware that [they have] internalised antisemitic stereotypes and [are] perpetuating them' (Lipstadt, 2019: 78). Lipstadt qualifies this view with reference to one of her lectures in which a student stated that all German bankers in Nazi Germany were Jews. This was possibly an 'innocent' comment, but one rooted in the false premise, advanced by Nazi ideology, 'that all the major German banks were owned by Jews, and that one can learn from this that Jews, as people, aimed to control the world's economy' (Lipstadt, 2019: 78). An article in the *New York Times* of 29 March 2018 written by journalist Brett Stephens has a slightly different interpretation of accidental antisemitism. The incident centred around ex-leader of the UK Labour Party Jeremy Corbyn, who although has repeatedly claimed that he is not an antisemite, openly voiced admiration of a controversial piece of street art in East London created by artist Kalen Ockerman. The artwork was controversial in that it arguably contained imagery frequently associated with anti-Judaism as can be seen in Ex. Intro.1.

Ex. Intro.1. Kalen Ockerman's *Freedom for Humanity* (Elmer, 2018)[2]

When publicly criticised over his support for the mural, Corbyn insisted on his innocence by claiming that he regretted having not looked 'more closely at the image' (Stephens, 29 March 2018). Again, based on Lipstadt's definition of accidental antisemitism, it could be the case that due to Corbyn's repeated denials of antisemitic behaviour and the fact that he pleaded ignorance, he could be classified as an accidental antisemite, and also an enabler according to Lipstadt's definition.

Contesting Antisemitism – The Importance of a Nuanced Approach

By this stage it is clearer what the different paradigms are through which a situation may be considered antisemitic. However, it should also be stated that, broadly speaking, antisemitism can sometimes be difficult to identify and is therefore open to being defined in various ways, meaning that it will inevitably be contested. After all, such opinions are and should be open to various interpretations and discourse. We can focus on motives, words and phrases, or alternatively, effects and outcomes, but it will always result in the same outcome of us disagreeing. Ultimately, public discourse regarding Jews is complicated since antisemitic ways of thinking have become ingrained in our own culture. This should be kept in mind when approaching much of the content in this thesis, as I have presented evidence and archival materials from a point of view deemed to be appropriate in my opinion, and which, in my view, demonstrate antisemitism in Dutch musical life across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This will of course give rise to many different arguments and interpretations, but it is important that these debates are bought to the fore through such research.

If we wish to contest antisemitic claims, or interpret them in a different way, we should attempt to avoid knockdown principles that definitively resolve controversial

[2] Image borrowed from STEPHENS, B. 29 March 2018. *Opinion: Jeremy Corbyn 'Accidental Anti-Semite'* [Online]. New York: The New York Times. Available: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/29/opinion/jeremy-corbyn-anti-semite.html [Accessed 8 June 2022].

claims of antisemitism and adopt a willingness to try and think through any claims without resorting to assertions and bad faith. After all, issues of antisemitism are not amenable to clear-cut standards. Dov Waxman, David Schraub, and Adam Hosein, all academics with expertise in religion, law, and philosophy, suggest that there are three ways in which this could possibly be achieved:

Firstly, it is important to identify which of the previously mentioned understandings and definitions of antisemitism have allegedly been used in any given situation. For example, is it a case of unintentional antisemitism, or a case of antisemitic motives held by an individual or group? Clarifying the motive should make it easier to establish a discourse and agree on a conclusion which should dispel any potential charges of bad faith, ‘as a claim of antisemitism that appears transparently ridiculous under one frame may have genuine plausibility under another’ (Waxman et al, 2021: 1818).

Next, it is important to understand that although a Jewish person might take offense at a particular statement or action that may be considered antisemitic, it is reasonable to expect that anyone who encounters such a claim should take that claim seriously and with an open mind. The experience should not be dismissed but should be the start of a dialogue in which an understanding that a finding of antisemitism need not be a finding that anyone is, therefore, a neo-Nazi. This attitude makes it possible to have these conversations more easily without people immediately resorting to defensiveness or hostility (Waxman et al. 2021: 1818).

Finally, if many cases of antisemitism are not in fact intentional, then our responses to antisemitism need to be subtler than always turning to moral outrage or punitive actions. ‘Hence, people need to learn what is antisemitic and how to avoid it [antisemitism]; even as it is acknowledged that both “what is antisemitic” and “how to avoid it” remain very much projects-in-process’ (Waxman et al. 2021: 1819). Of course, we have so far focused on the understanding that an occurrence might be unintentional antisemitism, but the same should apply to the antisemite who should not dismiss the accusation of antisemitism out of hand but rather learn to recognise it as possibly being true and not dismissing the claim as a smear or as being outlandish.

A Historical Overview: Case Studies of Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in the Netherlands

Although these modern-day definitions and interpretations of antisemitism do not refer directly to Dutch-Jewish musical activity since the emancipation in 1795, they will serve to provide support for some of the arguments laid out in later chapters. Historical instances of antisemitism in Dutch society have very often had a parallel narrative in musical life in the Netherlands, although much of this remains undocumented. This section will look at such examples, both musical and non-musical, some of which will be further detailed later in this thesis, from a contemporary and modern perspective using various definitions already touched upon. Consequently, initial references to the musical examples which have been specifically chosen to portray a cross-section of musical life will be brief as they will be covered in greater depth at a later stage in the present thesis.

The fact that this research spans c. 150 years of Dutch history is crucial to my argument, and my justification for this 'longue durée' view is that I wish to uncover a developing, and interrelated, history of antisemitism in Dutch music that extends into the Nazi occupation period; it attempts to expose instances of antisemitism in Dutch society that occurred in parallel with events in the musical world from a time when Jews were supposedly granted new freedoms and equality. This in turn should have presented new opportunities for Jews to learn the art of music which would theoretically enable them to achieve creative prominence during the nineteenth century. The fact that antisemitism was a contributory factor in the impeding of this musical growth until the first part of the twentieth century is part of an important developmental timeline up to the point of the Holocaust where it was abruptly cut short. Much of the evidence presented to support my arguments are archival and include primary source material obtained personally from the City of Amsterdam Archives and the Netherlands Music Institute in The Hague.

As touched upon in the previous paragraph, the emancipation of the Jews in the Netherlands in 1795 might have marked the end of Jewish discrimination in its various forms, but as will be argued throughout the first four chapters of this thesis, the acculturation and assimilation process for Jewish citizens throughout the

nineteenth century can be implicitly interpreted as a ‘good’ development. The paradox, however, meant that unlike the growing ethnicity of the Protestants and Catholics, Jewish communities began to lose their sense of ‘Jewish’ identity, which in turn, led to a greater assimilation. This meant that there would eventually be no Jewish pillar under subsequent pillarisation and there would continue to be antisemitic attitudes within the Netherlands.

According to historian J.J.M. Ramakers, this equality was not to be, and antisemitism persists to current times, with a significant increase during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Ramakers states that after the Emancipation ‘the appointment of Jews to public office met with resistance from the gentile community’ and that ‘economically, after ten years of emancipation, most Jews were worse off than ever’ (Ramakers, 1996: 36). Certainly, from the latter half of the nineteenth century in the Netherlands, religious, social, cultural, and musical divisions between Jews, Calvinists, and Catholics became more pronounced due to the advent of pillarisation. Prior to this, in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, emancipation had the effect of bringing the Jewish communities into direct contact with the Dutch gentiles – a process that was not welcomed by many Protestants. In a report written in 1796 entitled *Rapport over den gelykslaat der Joodsche met alle andere Bataasche Burgers* (Report on the equality of the Jews with all other Batavian citizens), J.G.H. Hahn (1761-1822), an ex-member of the Nationale Vergadering (Dutch National Assembly), pointed out that discrimination against Jews was still evident even after the civil rights granted by emancipation. In this report Hahn highlighted complaints from Jewish citizens:

> [A] certain important address of some Batavian burghers belonging to the Jewish Brotherhood has come to your table. On the one hand, justice is done by the States General, who faithfully acknowledged the Jews in the Netherlands as members of the people, heedless of their religious ideas, and granted them the right to vote in elections – an act faithful to the great beginnings of our Revolution. But, on the other hand, rises therein a fair point of complaint about the disparities and oppression of Judaism that are no less after than before the Revolution [and that Jews should now be] subject to the full exercise of the Civil Rights of the Netherlands (Hahn, 1796: 4)

This primary document provides first-hand evidence that what I will refer to as antisemitism was evident in some quarters at this point, and that there was still much resentment towards Jewish equality amongst many Dutch gentiles. It could be argued that from a modern-day perspective that this example of antisemitism very much falls into line with Marcus's idea of what he refers to as 'ideological antisemitism', and what we see here is basically reference to anti-Jewish attitudes that imply restriction, exclusion, and suppression.

It was not until 1796, the year after the Emancipation, that, after a lengthy political fight by the enlightenment society Felix Libertate, full civil rights were granted to Jews, although these rights were not always recognised or appreciated by some Dutch gentiles of the time. An example from this time of what I will now refer to as antisemitism was the obstruction of Dutch-Jews from making a successful crossover from their synagogue music that was becoming increasingly infiltrated by the use of Western art-music themes into full involvement and acceptance in the world of classical music.

One attempt to make this crossover was the Dutch-Jewish opera company Hochdeutsche Jüdische Gesellschaft formed by German-born Jacob Horst Dessauer in 1784. From the start of the nineteenth century the company began performing operas by composers such as Mozart and Salieri, translated into either German or Yiddish which were the main spoken languages of the Ashkenazi Jews in the Netherlands at the time. The crossover attempt failed as a result of discriminatory attitudes and if we apply Marcus's definition of what he calls 'ideological antisemitism' we can see that there was an attitude amongst some non-Jews that urged 'restriction' and 'exclusion' (Marcus, 2015: 100). This took the form of a refusal from the theatre hierarchy to allow Dessauer's opera company to perform at the Amsterdamse Schouwburg in 1796 at a time following the initial emancipation. This exclusion was based on a reluctance by gentiles to allow anyone considered 'foreign' to perform in Amsterdam and was a statement of the defiance that was still held towards the recent liberalism, including tolerance of foreign peoples. This liberalism was introduced by the French during the emancipation period (Berg, 2002: 197) when French revolutionaries invaded the Republic resulting in the formation of the Batavian Republic the provinces of the Republic were now centrally governed and all

religious groups ‘that had been excluded from holding office in cities [...] were granted full civil rights' (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007b: 164).

This attitude towards the exclusion of Jews post-emancipation also extended to membership of the cultural societies that existed at that time, although it is important to state that not every non-Jewish member would have necessarily agreed with such policy. One of the earliest influential cultural societies was the Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen, or NUT in abbreviated form (Society for Public Welfare), which was founded in 1784 by Jan Nieuwenhuijzen. The mandate of this society was to improve the upbringing of youth in the Netherlands by facilitating an education which was based on Christian doctrine. The ‘Nut’ became an exclusive domain of wealthy male Christians; women and non-Christians were not permitted membership. The Nut regulations booklet published in 1796 stated that ‘every [male] Citizen, who professes the Christian religion, is not guilty of immoral conduct, and above the age of eighteen, may be accepted as a member on condition of payment of the annual allowance of ƒ 5 - 5 - 0 [guilders]’ (Maatschappij tot nut van 't Algemeen, 1796: 4). This policy of exclusion also extended to the refusal to admit Jewish pupils into its schools (Koenen, 1843: 388). These forms of Jewish exclusion were due to the rigid religious barriers that existed at that time and were therefore a form of anti-Judaism. Although there is no evidence of any direct form of vitriol aimed at Jews, it should be understood that it was still a form of discrimination which, again, falls under the umbrella of Marcus’s idea of ideological antisemitism which encompasses the exclusion of Jews as non-Christians.

In 1829, another society was founded which was modelled on the philosophy of the Nut and was known as De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst (The Society for the Promotion of Music; MBT) with the remit of promoting music in Dutch schools. Again, the MBT was driven by Dutch-Christian nationalistic motives which meant that the idea of ideological antisemitism was still embedded in Dutch society, excluding Jews to a certain extent from the benefits of the organisation’s drive to set up a chain of music schools throughout the Netherlands. These schools, which would go on to become some of the main conservatoires in the Netherlands, were motivated by nationalistic motives as founders of the MBT wanted to promote the culture of the Dutch nation: a culture which was predominantly Protestant. This permeation of

nationalism into Dutch culture was partly driven by songbooks that were issued to schools by the MBT, the vocal texts of which held ‘the deepest reverence for the religious and ecclesiastical mysteries’ (Scheurleer, 1889: 14) taken from the so-called apocryphal gospels, and still being used sixty years after the founding of the MBT. Regarding the musical development and cultivation of Dutch-Jews during the first half of the nineteenth century, the motivation and content of these developments in music education only served as yet another potential barrier for the Jews, as these developments only applied to schools of Christian faith and not the separate Jewish ones that existed at that time. Again, as was so often the case in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, ideological exclusion or antisemitism was still evident in this subtle form of religious apartheid. There was, however, facility for Jewish pupils to attend Jewish ‘poor’ schools for their Hebrew classes and to attend Christian state schools for access to a more secular curriculum where they may have had the opportunity to study music. These measures were ultimately unsuccessful as many towns encountered resistance from educationalists who felt it would be inappropriate to admit Jewish children into their state schools as ‘after all, they were Christian schools’ (Dodde and Stultjens, 1996: 75).

This cultural exclusion in the Netherlands is slightly at odd with developments in other parts of Europe, and it would be useful at this point to make a brief comparison with similar developments in France, a neighbouring country that had witnessed Jewish emancipation slightly earlier in 1791. As in the Netherlands, French-Jewish citizens were granted full and equal civil rights, and there was also a process of a ‘civilisation mission’ which included the dissemination of ‘a particular set of liberal values’ (Leff, 2006: 105). Culturally, there were not the societies that emerged in the Netherlands, but there was instead a growth in what were known as ‘salons’ – gatherings in the private homes of the French elite and wealthy. The levels of wealth involved in these enterprises was enormous and organisers were able to sponsor professional orchestras and often built small theatres in their houses. These events were mostly hosted by wealthy women known as *salonnières* who, because of their prominent position, ‘were able to use their salons to exert significant influence on artistic and political affairs when doing so by other means was very difficult’ (Bilski and Braun, 2005: 3). However, in comparison with the situation with the exclusion of Jews in the Netherlands, Jewish women played a big part in cultural life in France,

and indeed Germany during the early eighteenth century. According to Bilski and Braun, in France ‘Jewish women [formed] a disproportionately large number of the most influential and discussed *salonnières* in the modern period’ and that in Germany ‘several Jewish women emerged in Berlin to lead dynamic and successful salons that attracted prominent Jews and non-Jews alike’ (Bilski and Braun, 2005: 16-17).

If we now refocus on the Jews in the Netherlands, it should be noted that many public acts of discrimination aimed at Jews in the earlier part of the nineteenth century were based on religion, even though I have used the term ‘antisemitism’, as defined by Marcus, it was another four years after the term was coined by Wilhem Marr before the word antisemitism (‘antisemitisme’) appeared in the Dutch media in a domestic context. It is possible however that these social attitudes towards Jews were generally more accepted during this period compared to our thinking in the twenty-first century. From 1881 it had been used in the Netherlands in reference to events in other parts of Europe, but then in 1883, even though racially motivated language had long been used in the Netherlands, it was first used in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* in reference to antisemitic language used by Dutch politician Jacob Johan Kerkwijk (1830-1901). Kerkwijk had been a Member of the House of Representatives and also sat as a member of The Hague City Council and was thus a man of considerable influence. Dutch jurist Aaron Adolf de Pinto (1828-1907) wrote an article in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* condemning a bitter denunciation made by Kerkwijk of qualified collectors for the Dutch State Lottery on 17 December 1883. Referencing a proposed reorganisation of the State Lottery Kerkwijk described the role of the collectors as ‘dirty’ and went a step further by stating that the ‘position of the Lottery Jew [was] a dirty job’, implying that the task was taken on mainly by Jews within a ‘dirty institution’. However, de Pinto vehemently argued that the expression ‘Jew’ by a Dutch representative when used in such a defamatory manner was ‘insulting’ and pointed out that out of the thirty-three qualified collectors there was only involvement of two Jewish firms, and that ‘the other 31 “lottery Jews”, so thoroughly taken care of by Kerkwijk thus appear to be Christians’. De Pinto went on to condemn van Kerkwijk by publicly stating that ‘under the new-fangled name of [antisemitisme], this hatred of Jews has taken on such proportions in more than one European state that it is impossible for one like Mr. van Kerkwijk to allow himself to

be in the country's lofty meeting room' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 December 1883: 1).

By this stage, the early 1880s, we begin to observe the reference to antisemitism applied to both religious and racially motivated anti-Judaism with examples of the latter appearing in the Dutch media with increasing frequency. This was in line with the increasing reluctance towards Jews being gradually introduced into more sectors of society post-emancipation (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007a: 226). Before this time, between 1815 and 1870, even though antisemitism still existed it was 'not considered civilized to display open and unconcealed hatred of Jews in the Netherlands' (Fuks Mansfeld, 2007a: 227). This is illustrated clearly in 1883 with Kerkwijk's use of Jewish stereotypes such as the Jewish 'lust for money' and that the 'position of the Lottery Jew [was] a dirty job' with the use of language becoming more extreme in a public forum. Until this point Dutch gentiles resented Jews for the fact that emancipation had allowed them into 'various sectors of society in which they had earlier played no part' (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007a: 226) and displayed 'an aloof, often mocking condescension' (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007a: 227) towards the Jews.

Again, at the end of the nineteenth century anecdotal evidence from a Jewish perspective is provided by Dutch historian Ivo Schöffer, who reiterates the assertion that, given the circumstances, most gentiles were not at all friendly or welcoming to the Dutch-Jewish citizens, even though they had been so for more than a century. Schöffer uses the words of the Dutch-Jewish banker A.C. Wertheim to illustrate that racial and religious antisemitism was still very much alive, albeit based on religion or race in various forms. At this time Wertheim was clearly torn between loyalty to his Jewish identity, and an awareness of the prejudice that could be encountered by openly embracing one's Jewishness. Wertheim wrote that 'to pride oneself on being a Jew is foolish, because this is a matter of pure coincidence. To be ashamed of it is petty-minded; to betray the colours in this case like in any other, is cowardly. But such a betrayal would also be ridiculous, for the witty remark in Punch holds true: "They change their names, but not their noses"' (Schöffer, 1981: 95).

Alphons Diepenbrock – Composer, Political Activist, and Antisemite

At this point it is worth illustrating an example of what could be interpreted as a more overt form of antisemitism that had emerged in the sphere of art music in the Netherlands during the later stages of the nineteenth century. The country witnessed a more open and graphic form of antisemitism after 1870, as is evident for example in the correspondence of Dutch composer Alphons Diepenbrock (1862-1921). Diepenbrock was born in Amsterdam to a Catholic family of German origin, and it was these Germanic roots that meant that he grew up under the influence of Goethe and German Romanticism, much of which influenced his own music. Diepenbrock would go on to become one of the Netherland's most influential composers of his generation; the vast majority of his works were vocal and in them he strove to 'find a synthesis of Wagner's chromatic language and the polyphonic world of both Palestrina and Bach' (van der Leeuw, 2002: 159). He was not only deeply influenced by the thought and practice of Wagner, but also by the writing of Friedrich Nietzsche, both of whom later provided ideological inspiration for the Nazis. Diepenbrock himself was a committed Roman Catholic and many of his archived letters display traits of antisemitism. Political scientist Jack Jacobs highlights the fact that (by this time) Jews played 'highly visible roles in the leadership of leftist movements' (Jacobs, 2017: 390) and that many on both the left and the right of politics considered Jewish influence to be a direct threat. Diepenbrock's distaste is evident in a letter addressed to Frans Coenen Jnr. on 26 January 1901. Coenen was a member of the Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiderspartij or the Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP) which was founded as a breakaway party after earlier reforms to the Sociaal-Democratische Bond or Social Democratic Union (SDB). The SDB was founded and led by Domela Nieuwhuis who was enthused by portrayals of antisemitism and used them as a basic principle for the party.

By 1894, reforms took place due to the antisemitic nature of the SDB, and the SDAP was formed by past members of the SDB; it was at this point that socialist Jewish diamond workers felt that they could join the party. In Diepenbrock's letter to Coenen he berates the Jewish influence in socialist politics at that time and wrote that 'het huidige joodsche socialisme is ten onder ging, omdat de ethische basis en aan ontbrecht, en het benut op eew onjuirts begrip van den mensch': 'present-day Jewish

socialism has collapsed because its ethical foundation is lacking, and it exploits an incorrect understanding of mankind', (Diepenbrock, 1901). Diepenbrock is candid about the fact that he saw Jewish membership and influence as dangerous, and this more open expression of antisemitism, and Diepenbrock's related political views, are motivated by religion in that he perceives the Jews as being overly influential, unethical, and that they did not understand or relate to non-Jewish society. Diepenbrock's opinions may not superficially appear extreme for that time, and in fact they could have been commonly held opinions by many others, but it was atypical for the changing political climate in the Netherlands, and such open and inflammatory comments could no doubt have hypothetically become responsible for more extreme actions in other quarters. After all, his views would have been in the public domain as he regularly wrote essays on his political views for periodicals such as *De Nieuwe Gids* and *De Kroniek* (Het Geheugen, 2022). It is possibly no coincidence that Diepenbrock's open antisemitism coincided with the establishment of pillarisation in the Netherlands at the end of the nineteenth century. Diepenbrock was raised and remained a Roman Catholic as well as being very active politically, and along with the Protestant pillar, it was the Catholic pillar which wielded a significant proportion of political power and influence. The Jewish population was too small to seriously consider the formation of a Jewish pillar and therefore were recipients of 'feelings of distrust, and lack of dialogue between those of different racial heritages' (Wells, 2015: 2). It was this type of ideological antisemitism of members of the Dutch Catholic pillar that epitomised Diepenbrock's apparent distrust of Jewish involvement in socialist politics.

However, we should avoid adopting a purely polarised view of Diepenbrock's antisemitism, as is the case with other prominent musicians in the Netherlands such as Willem Mengelberg. Diepenbrock's relationships with, and attitudes towards Jews, was indeed complex, and this is illustrated in his friendship with Jewish composer Gustav Mahler, a relationship that originated with Diepenbrock's fascination with Mahler's combined use of text from Nietzsche's *Zarathustras Mitternachtslied* and *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* {van der Leeuw, 2002: 160}. Diepenbrock's admiration of Mahler and his music resulted in him conducting the Concertgebouw Orchestra in a performance of Mahler's 4th symphony on 25 March 1908, and again on 10 April 1910. This was shortly before Mahler's death on 18 May

1911 which ‘came as a severe blow’ {van der Leeuw, 2002: 163} to Diepenbrock. Such was their depth of friendship, he felt that he needed to attend the funeral in Vienna and did so as an official representative of the Maatchappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst.

As will be discussed in a later chapter, Willem Mengelberg claimed that he was able to separate art and politics in his work with the Concertgebouw Orchestra in that he was an alleged antisemite but valued Jewish members of the Concertgebouw Orchestra, as well as having a strong friendship with Mahler. The same can therefore be assumed of Diepenbrock who was also seemingly able to segregate art and politics, harbouring what can be considered to be antisemitic views on growing Jewish influence in politics alongside a deep friendship with a Jewish composer.

It is evident, then, that by the later part of the nineteenth century, antisemitism was still present, much of this due to political, ideological, and religious divisions which were collectively responsible for the advent of pillarisation and the creation of political parties in the Netherlands. These included the including the SDB and the SDAP, and it was the involvement of Jews in political matters that so incensed Diepenbrock in 1901. The main initiator of pillarisation was Dr Adrian Kuyper who was Prime Minister of the Netherlands between 1901 and 1905, an influential orthodox-Protestant, and also the founder of the Anti-Revolutionary Party. In 1878, Kuyper published his thoughts on Jews as liberals which very much echoed the thoughts of many religious and political gentiles of that time. In *Liberalisten en Joden* (*Liberals and Jews*) Kuyper stated his view that

> more and more, the attention of public opinion is drawing attention to the incredible influence exerted by the Jews on the fortunes of Europe today. It is gradually being discovered that, under the cloak of Liberalism, the Jews have in fact become masters of our continent, dominating not only public opinion in most countries, but also international relations between the governments (Kuyper, 1878: 3).

Again, these hostile and extreme publicly expressed views are evidence that point towards the continuing rise of Lipstadt’s ‘extremist antisemitism’. Kuyper’s main

concern was that the Batavian Revolution and the consequent emancipation of the Jews had granted them equal status to Christian citizens in the Netherlands and that, by way of repercussion, a certain fanaticism with the Jews became common in Europe's more civilised circles. This was seen as a threat to Christian dominance, and because of this perceived Jewish equality Kuyper was of the view that Dutch Protestants were becoming powerless to openly express their disdain without the risk of public vilification. In the words of Kuyper: ‘According to the law of logic, which expels all the germs from every root idea, this had at last brought us into the defenceless position that every word that one dares to speak of the Jews other than praise, was immediately called out as treason’ (Kuyper, 1878: 4). Kuyper and other Protestant zealots chose to ignore the unspoken protocol that public expression of antisemitism was uncivilised, and openly published their opinions in booklets such as Kuyper’s. It was this political nature of religious ‘equality’ that prompted him to instigate the first Protestant pillar in 1879. Although antisemitism in this example is based in religion, it also fits in with Marcus’s definition of ideological antisemitism where Jews are identified as being different to non-Jews and consequently seen as a threat to Christian dominance in both the Netherlands and across Europe – thus there were attempts from the leaders of the Dutch government to exclude them.

The advent of Dutch fascism and a shift towards a more extreme form of antisemitism reached its pinnacle in the form of the Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging in Nederland or NSB (National Socialist Movement in the Netherlands) which was founded in 1931, and by the time of the German occupation of 1940, was the only political party in the Netherlands that was not outlawed by the Nazis. The main political development here was that the NSB put national interests before those of the social pillars that had been so influential politically up to this point. By 1936 the NSB had adopted the antisemitic ideas of the German Nazi Party, and these ideas are clearly defined in the NSB brochure *Actuele vragen* (Current Questions); (N.S.B, 1934: 26-28) where they discuss their position towards Jews. Their brand of antisemitism was more in line with what Lipstadt describes as extremist in its racial motivation and advocacy of violence, and also the 2016 IHRA definition of antisemitism as hatred towards Jews, with which we began. Non-Jewish Dutch writer and journalist E. de Lange was liberal in his political views and created a narrative which highlights these antisemitic ideals and how the NSB had categorised various

Jewish factions and how they should be dealt with. For example, Orthodox Jews were to be regarded as guests i.e., that ‘although [the NSB] announce that [they] will respect them, they will nevertheless deprive them of all political rights based on their 'being guests’. ‘Now this is nothing special in that it will most certainly also be the case with all other non-National Socialist Dutchmen. But also “being a guest” means by its very nature that one will not be equated economically with the so-called full-blooded Dutchmen and that all public functions and all-important private relations will therefore be closed to this group of Jews’ (De Lange, 1936: 6).

De Lange also quotes the NSB on their stance regarding Dutch Zionist Jews where their expulsion from the Netherlands could only be accomplished by ‘radical means’ and that their continued quest for a separate Jewish state meant that they were ‘chasing after their own funeral’ (De Lange, 1936: 6). As for Marxist Jews, the NSB ‘if ever given the chance, [would] make as short shrift with these as their kindred spirits in neighboring Germany have done!’ (De Lange, 1936: 6).

It was during this period of the first half of the 1930s that Willem Mengelberg started to take an interest in political developments in Germany and was particularly attracted to Hitler’s ideology, becoming ‘immersed in the ideas of the NSDAP, the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, an organisation which stood for the ‘power and purity’ (Zwart, 2020: 729) of the German people. Mengelberg was informed of this by copies of the Nazi newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* which was sent to him on a regular basis. Mengelberg was complacent in not condemning extremist antisemitic views published in *Völkischer Beobachter* and by taking this stance was effectively what Lipstadt describes as an antisemitic ‘enabler’ in failing to address antisemitic behaviour. One example of this concerns an article written by Pfarrer Senn about Marxist Jews in Germany in which he described ‘how wonderful Hitler’s battle against world Jewry was, “the deadly friend of mankind”’ (Zwart, 2020: 732). Mengelberg annotated this, as he regularly did, with an enthusiastic ‘oh!’ as well as marking another section declaring that 'German popular songs should be preferred to Jewish hits’ with the word ‘bravo!’ (Zwart, 2020: 732). Indeed, it would be difficult to argue that Mengelberg’s actions were extreme, but by him not condemning these articles he was also enabling antisemitism to take a foothold in Dutch society.

In parallel with the growing instances of antisemitism during Mengelberg's tenure at the Concertgebouw prior to the Nazi occupation, the Netherlands witnessed a growth of musical developments amongst Dutch -Jewish composers that was influenced by the emergence of Jewish nationalist schools of music, a phenomenon that had spread across Europe throughout the nineteenth century and is an area of interest that is covered in Chapter 5. Several Jewish composers, including Max Vredenburg and Sim Gokkes felt a need to display some form of resistance against antisemitism by returning to tradition and incorporating traditional Jewish melodies and musical techniques into their own music. This was short lived episode due to the policy of the Nazi occupiers banning the work and subsequent performance of music by Jewish composers. Events in the Netherlands during the Nazi occupation of 1940 are generally well documented, but this is not the case regarding the devastating effects that this, along with the Holocaust, had on Dutch-Jewish musical life. Hence in Chapter 6 I will discuss how an emerging group of Dutch-Jewish composers were beginning to make their mark with a contribution towards a significant musical development that would be cut short when they lost their lives to the Nazis during the Holocaust. During this period antisemitism was at its most extreme form, frequently meting out violence and death. At the very least the music of a generation of highly talented and influential Dutch-Jewish composers was banned from performance in the Netherlands, with many of these composers being targeted for their race and faith and murdered in the Nazi Concentration camps, their music often destroyed or looted and lost forever. My own MA thesis 'Rediscovering the Forgotten Music of the Holocaust: The Life and Music of the Dutch-Jewish Composer Sim Gokkes' (2019) highlights the life and music of such a composer in Sim Gokkes.

In 1941 the Nazis installed a National Socialist civilian government headed by an appointee of Hitler, the Austrian lawyer Arthur Seyss-Inquart. In order for Dutch civilians to work in the civil service they had to sign an Aryan declaration, and all Jews had to register and declare their assets, this having the effect of identifying Jewish citizens. Failure to do so would result in either imprisonment or confiscation of property (Presser, 2010: 35). The same applied in the world of music, and composers had to join the Nederlandsche Kultuurkammer or 'Dutch Chamber of Culture' (NKK) in order to have their music performed publicly. To qualify for this they again had to sign an Aryan declaration as an acceptance of Nazi policies which

effectively excluded Jewish composers (Overbeeke, 2004a: 148). This was just the start of the demise of Dutch-Jewish composers, as Nazi antisemitism would become more and more extreme resulting in many of them later being arrested, deported to concentration camps, and murdered. One such composer, amongst several others, was Gokkes (1897-1943) who was a unique talent in that he composed both secular music and music for the synagogue and was innovative in that he later juxtaposed ancient Jewish techniques with modern Western art-music methods mainly influenced by Debussy and Stravinsky (Evans, 2020: i). This talent and innovation were cut short when on 5 February 1943, he and his entire family were murdered at Auschwitz, the victims of the ultimate act of extremist and violent antisemitism.

The surrender of the Nazis, the end of the Holocaust, and the repatriation of Jews after World War II should have been a time for national, and indeed international reflection regarding antisemitism and the treatment of Dutch Jews. However, lessons were not learnt, and as the concluding chapter reveals, Dutch Jews returned to the same levels and the same types of antisemitism, as defined throughout this chapter, that they had encountered since the Emancipation.

Chapter One – Vrijheid, Gelijkheid, Broederschap. Music as a Political Voice for Dutch-Jewish Musicians and the Emancipation of 1795-1796

Verklaring der Rechten van den Mensch en van den Burger, 31 January 1795 – The Hague.

1. That all Human beings are born with equal rights, and that these natural rights cannot be taken away from them.
2. That these rights exist in equality, freedom, security, property, and opposition to oppression.
3. That freedom is the power which every man deserves, and nothing should be done that may disturb others in these rights. Do not do to another what you do not want to be done to you.
4. That it is lawful to reveal one's thoughts and feelings to others, be it through the printing press or in some other way.
5. That every man has the right to serve God, or not to, as he wants, without being forced to do so in any way.
6. That security consists in certainty that he will not be disturbed by others in the exercise of his rights, nor in the peaceful possession of lawfully acquired property.
7. Everyone must have a vote in the Legislative Assembly of the entire society, either personally or through a representation co-elected by him.
8. That the aim of all civil societies should be to assure the people the peaceful enjoyment of their natural rights.
9. That the natural freedom, therefore, to be allowed to do all kinds of things that do not disturb others in their rights, can never be prevented, than when the aim of civil society absolutely demands it.
10. That, therefore, no one can be obliged to give up or sacrifice some of his special property to the general public, without this being expressly determined by the will of the people, or of his respondents, and after prior indemnity.

11. That the law is the free and solemn expression of the general will, that it is equal for all, be it to punish or to reward.
12. That no one may be legally charged, arrested, and imprisoned except in such cases and according to such formalities as are predetermined by the law itself.
13. That in case it is judged necessary to imprison someone, nobody should be treated more harshly than is necessary.
14. That, as all men are equal, all are eligible to all offices and ministries, without any reasons of preference other than those of virtues and abilities.
15. That everyone has the equal right to demand the accountability of his government from every official of public administration.
16. That the slightest determination can never be made to the right of every citizen to contribute his interests to those entrusted to the public power.
17. That sovereignty rests with all people in society, and therefore no one part of society can claim it.
18. That the people always have the right to change or improve their form of government or to choose a completely different one.[3]

These eighteen articles, in my translation, are taken from the original document presenting ‘The Dutch Declaration of Human and Citizen's Rights’, issued by the Provisional Representatives of the People of Holland at the start of the Batavian Republic in 1795, a year before the process of full Jewish emancipation occurred in the Netherlands. As these articles suggest, the Dutch Declaration enumerated a long series of rights, based on the idea of the right to self-determination of the people and the individual. It stated that people were born free and equal in rights, that they had a right to safety. Universal suffrage was introduced; imprisonment without trial was banned, as was prosecution under laws that were not enacted prior to an act. People

[3] "Publicatie, behelzende de erkentenis [...] der rechten van den mensch en van den burger. Geärresteerd den 31. januarij 1795". Place and name not stated, 1795. http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=dpo:4035:mpeg21:0001 [Accessed 5 May 2021]

were not to be treated more harshly than necessary in the event of capture. It brought rights such as those pertaining to property, to the practice of religion or to the abandonment thereof and control over the actions of administrators and the expenditure of taxes. It stated that citizens could speak, write, and publish their ideas freely in a free press. People also had the right to defend themselves against oppression. Even the free choice to change the form of government was established as the right of the people.

Some use of language in the declaration, however, is notable in that sections of it imply a Christian bias. After all, the authors of the document – the Provisional Representatives of the People of Holland[4] and part of the National Assembly based in The Hague – were mainly drawn from the powerful and influential Protestant sectors of Dutch society during this period. This however does not necessarily imply that all Dutch Protestants discriminated against Jews; rather, they were part of a network of groups and societies in which these attitudes were ingrained. Although in 1795 these representatives were elected, being an elected official was a privilege confined to wealthier property holders. Calvinism, which was a Protestant religion, had become the most dominant religion in the Netherlands between 1648 and 1795 and would have had a larger representation in the National Assembly, although the Declaration of Rights of 1795 meant that other minority religions lost their second-class status by and large, (Knippenberg, 2006: 319) allowing Catholics and members of other Christian religious minorities to hold public positions. In fact, 27% of the elected members of the first Batavian National Assembly in 1796 were Catholic (Parlementair Documentatie Centrum, 2013).

However, even as late as 1809 the Calvinists still represented a majority of 55.5% of the population of the Netherlands, with Roman Catholics making up 38%, Protestant minority churches 4.4%, and Jews 1.8% (Kok, 1964: 292-293). It is therefore unsurprising that in article three ‘do not do to another what you do not want to be done to you’ could be interpreted as biblical, specifically New Testament, in its tone, and although a translation from the original Dutch, it bears a striking resemblance to a biblical concept quoted by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 7:12: ‘Do

[4] Holland in this context refers to the geographical region of the Netherlands which encompassed Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague

unto others as you would have them do unto you').

One conclusion we might draw from these apparent Christian influences is that in reality the Dutch Declaration did not quite work out as planned for the Jewish population. Indeed, as Hans Knippenberg has pointed out, there were still localised policies against the Jews after 1795, with some areas imposing varying economic and civil freedoms. This in turn influenced the geographical distribution of Jews with the greatest concentration being in Amsterdam where 54% of the total number of Dutch Jews migrated, this possibly being due to the city having more liberal policies relating to civil rights. (Knippenberg, 2006: 319). As early as April 1795, then, members of a group known as Felix Libertate, or Happy Through Freedom, a Jewish revolutionary group founded by Moses Samuel Asser (1754-1825) in February 1795, shared its main aim of obtaining 'full civil rights for Jews on the local, provincial, and national planes' (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007b: 179). Its members consisted of the 'acculturated élite' of the Ashkenazi and Sephardic communities, and although Felix Libertate consisted of mainly Jewish membership it also had several Christians who took the cause of the Jews to heart (Molhuysen, 1974: 1092). This society played a pivotal role in the full emancipation of Dutch Jews; prominent Felix Libertate member Salomon Jonge Meijers in his speech of 18 February 1795, illustrated the cause and influence of Felix Libertate by proclaiming that 'Dutch heroes, who, aided by the generous French, have broken the chains of slavery [and] will not endeavour to forge new ones, or to renew the old' and stated that he was proud that 'the Doctrine of Liberty [was] beginning to spread more and more across the planet' (Van Laar Mahuet and De Erven, 1795: 2). After the Batavian Revolution of 1795, the members of Felix Libertate were raising objections to the fact that Jews still didn't have social parity under this declaration, and that the political rights that had been granted three months earlier amounted to very little. It could be argued that Dutch Patriots, who had been opponents of William V, Prince of Orange, had a significant influence in this, because after the foundation of the Batavian Republic in which they played a part in 1795, many of them questioned whether the Jews should be emancipated at all. The Patriots believed that 'Jews formed a "separate" nation and that their emancipation would endanger national unity' (Rauschenbach, 2019: 581-582). Most support for the Patriots came from 'craftsmen, tradesmen, and others who perceived Jews as rivals and as such an economic threat' (Aptroot, 2015: 228).

Not all available modern literature truly captures the levels of passion invoked by this plight, but one of Felix Libertate's members, E. Schabracq, presented a more revolutionary tone to these demands in a series of speeches printed on 11 March 1795. With reference to the historic persecution of the Jews, Schabracq proclaimed that 'the majority of the people oppressed by tyranny should not be held back in their wrath and should seek to slowly regain their natural and lost rights through any means of rebellion' (Schabracq, 1795: 6). He then held up examples across the world that had defeated tyranny with the aim of encouraging such actions: 'But the sun of hope, shining through all the mists and obstacles like a diamond firstly shone its light on the North Americans, who, led by [Benjamin] Franklin and [George] Washington, broke free from the yolk of tyranny' (Schabracq, 1795: 8). The tone of Schabracq's language in these speeches could certainly be considered to be incendiary, and revolutionary in nature, but serves to illustrate how passionate and driven many enlightened Jews were in the plight for freedom through full emancipation in the Netherlands.

Another issue for the Jews in gaining acceptance was that traditionally many Jews had been fervent supporters of the House of Orange. This support was due to the feeling that there existed an element of tolerance and protection by William V on account of the contribution that wealthy Jewish traders made towards economic growth in the Netherlands, particularly in Amsterdam. Because of this the Jews were seen as opponents of the Patriots who were in opposition to the House of Orange. Campaigns of hatred continued from 1795 and beyond 1796 with some patriotic societies distributing pamphlets promoting anti-Jewish rhetoric (Seeligmann, 1914: 35).

Not all of Felix Libertate's mandate was as passionate as Schabracq's delivery and many of its demands were more realistic and pragmatic in nature. For example, on 7 April 1795 the *Amsterdamse courant* reported that a letter sent from Felix Libertate highlighted several concerns regarding the recently granted rights. They requested that 'marriages be allowed between Jews and Christians, [...] and that the Guilds be abolished, or at least Jews as well as Christians be accepted into them as members' (*Amsterdamse courant*, 7 April 1795: 1). As this underlines, even though the Jews had in theory been granted equal political rights, the Guilds and various gentiles'

societies played an important role in politics and the economy in the Netherlands and held privileges that were not accessible to Jews. The general reluctance to grant these full rights to the Jews persisted beyond 1795 until the efforts of Felix Libertate, which petitioned the National Assembly on 29 March 1796 and expressed the view that even though Jews had earlier been granted the right to vote, 'they also wanted the enjoyment of those advantages granted by the Assembly to all other citizens' (Rutjes, 2012: 153). This process was not without its difficulties. Full political rights were eventually only granted to 'Catholics, Lutherans, Mennonites, and Remonstrants' (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007b: 178-179), partly due to the influence that the Church now wielded as a result of its separation from the state after the formation of the Batavian Republic in 1795. There was also the question as to whether Jews were to be considered as full Dutch citizens or as foreigners during the aftermath of emancipation. Several of the assembly committee members questioned whether Jews were residents and citizens, or foreigners, and, consequently, they opposed full civil rights. One committee member, Professor J.H. van Swinden, a Dutch patriot who was politically active during the patriotic period between 1780 and 1787, stated that 'Jews were indeed aliens, and as such they claimed protection of their lives and belongings, but not the same rights as the citizens of the Batavian Republic' (Bloemgarten, 2007: 51-54). This sentiment was also shared with elements of the Dutch media with one article in the *Goudasche courant* questioning whether Jews were to be considered true citizens of the Netherlands. The article states that 'Jews who have lived here in the Netherlands, have dwelt amongst us and enjoyed the benefits of the protection of their persons and property. However, it does not follow from this that the Jews are true citizens of the Netherlands like native Dutch people' (*Goudasche courant*, 30 August 1796: 1). The author of the article posed the question as to how 'a Jew would have classified himself; as belonging to the people of the Netherlands, or to the people of Israel?' and resoundingly concludes that the 'true Jew' would say 'No! – I do not belong to the People of the Netherlands. I am a resident of the Netherlands, and I will remain, as long as it pleases Jehovah during our exile' (*Goudasche courant*, 30 August 1796: 1).

The Political Impact on Musical Participation

Full civil rights for Jewish citizens were eventually granted in September 1796, and this theoretically made them equal to all other Dutch citizens after a long period where Jews 'were excluded from retail trade and most crafts, public office and the ability to pass their privilege to their children' (Sorkin, 2010: 251). But even after this point, the antisemitism demonstrated by gentile members of the National Assembly would become a recurring theme in Dutch society and would consequently influence the wider participation and development of Jewish involvement in music in the Netherlands during the late eighteenth century. This is the main subject of this chapter. Most research and literature relating to this period in Dutch-Jewish history presents few possible reasons for the seeming lack of prominent Jewish musicians in the Netherlands, both before and after emancipation. After all, the new freedoms granted in 1796 hypothetically should have opened opportunities for Jewish musicians to make more of an impact in Dutch society.

Music historian David Conway makes a small contribution to this area of research relating to the Jewry in Dutch music, with a chapter specifically devoted to events in the Netherlands. His chapter provides a brief synopsis of events between 1616, which saw a significant increase of the Jewish population due to the immigration of Sephardic Jews exiled from Iberia, and the early part of the nineteenth century post-emancipation. Compared to other chapters in Conway's book *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner,* it is, however, surprisingly short, with many important points not pursued beyond a tantalisingly basic level. Conway makes very little reference to discrimination against Dutch Jews as a possible reason for the lack of Jewish musicians outside of their own communities and synagogues but does however emphasise the point that, during the first half of the nineteenth century, there was an increasing appreciation of Western art music, particularly eighteenth-century opera, in Jewish communities with many wealthy Jews acting as patrons of music keen to use their wealth and status to finance and promote concerts. This was significant as the influence of art music began to make its mark on the musical life of the synagogue: operatic melodies were increasingly being utilised in synagogue liturgy and would later come under the scrutiny of synagogue reforms led by Salomon Sulzer (1804-1890) in the nineteenth

century. It did not however provide ‘evidence of “crossover” of Jewish musicians to the musical world outside the community’ which was probably due to ‘the relative poverty of the [Jewish] community, and the absence of access to musical education’ (Conway, 2016: 63), as well as the exclusion of Jews from participation in cultural societies such as Felix Meritis.

Conway does, however, make a very important link between this Jewish enthusiasm for art music, Felix Libertate’s political activities, and the limited role of Dutch-Jews in music during the late eighteenth century, and this is where he makes reference to incidences of anti-Jewish prejudice that had a restrictive effect on Jewish musical activity – a theme that demands further research due to its significance in the present thesis. This link took the form of Jacob Horst Dessauer (1769-1837), a German-born musician who harnessed what was then an enthusiasm for Yiddish theatre and opera among the Ashkenazi Jews of Amsterdam with the formation of the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Gezelschap (High German Jewish Society) in 1784. This was a Dutch opera company made up of Jewish members that performed mostly French and German operas that had been translated into Yiddish or German. Performer membership numbers indicate both its popularity and a wide appreciation of art, music, and opera within Amsterdam’s Ashkenazi population which after the middle of the eighteenth century amounted to 20,000 or 10.5% of the entire population (Green et al., 2021: 214). In fact, by 1804 the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Gezelschap ‘comprised eight male and five female singers, a choir of sixteen and an orchestra of twenty-five musicians (Sendrey, 1970: 385). Initially its early performances were Purim plays, that is, comic dramatisations of the Book of Esther considered a focal part of the celebration of the liberation of the Jews in ancient Persia.

However, what was unique about Dessauer’s approach is that he set these Purim plays to music from popular and existing operas, such as *Deserteur* (1796) by Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny, and *Nina oder Wahnsinn aus Liebe* (1787) by Nicolas Dalayrac. As the private company did not own its own premises at that time, rehearsals and performances temporarily took place in a wooden building at the Jodenhoutmarkt, a property situated in a Jewish area of Amsterdam. However, due to the company’s popularity with both performers and audiences, a larger building

was sought. Initially, Dessauer approached two of Amsterdam's Burghers, men who held both 'social and legal persona' in Dutch society (Prak, 1997: 444), in this case Steenwinkel and Bos, with a view to being granted permission to rehearse and perform at the Amsterdamse Schouwburg during the theatre's period of routine closure during 1795. Permission was refused with several reasons cited. Conway briefly touches upon this episode as an incident of antisemitism amongst Amsterdam's élite gentiles in that permission was refused because 'the sight of Jewish actors on the stage might damage the prestige and patriotic reputation of Dutch actors' (Conway, 2016: 62). This is an interpretation mirrored by theatre historian Han de Leeuwe who has conducted extensive research in his book *De Amsterdamse Schouwburg in 1795 – Het eerste jaar der Bataaßse vrijheid*, adding that the issue was raised in a meeting of Felix Libertate where Dessauer gave a speech about the promised freedoms for Jews which had not materialised, and that he 'indeed believed that the time had now come to be allowed to perform with his ensemble in the Amsterdamse Schouwburg' – a protest that did not bear fruition (De Leeuwe, 2003: 134).

Yet the point here surely requires further investigation into the contemporary background of this incident against a backdrop of a year in 1795 which had previously witnessed 'The Dutch Declaration of Human and Citizen's Rights'. Dutch historian H.C. Rogge provides insight into the political climate in the Netherlands during this period. The decision of Burghers Steenwinkel and Bos to refuse permission for the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Gezelschap to perform at the Schouwburg was made in May 1795, four months after the Dutch Declaration on 31 January 1795. They had not yet however been granted full civil rights due to the fact that they were still considered 'foreigners' (Bloemgarten, 2007: 51-54) and were therefore not entitled to such freedoms at that point. Rogge highlights the fact that Steenwinkel and Bos had initially used the excuse that 'if they were to accept Dessauer's request, the risk of fire hazard during the mandatory closure of the theatre would not be underwritten by the insurers' (Rogge, 1887: 195), and that they had earlier turned down a similar request from a French company because they did not want the Amsterdamse Schouwburg to become a 'showplace for various foreign troupes of theatre players' (Rogge, 1887: 195). This was arguably a representative display of defiance from members of the Dutch bourgeoisie who did not agree with

the liberalism that was seeping into the Netherlands because of the French Revolution and the start of the Batavian Republic. Rogge then goes on to echo Conway's reference to Bos and Steenwinkel specifically excluding Jews in the same list of excuses. I would argue then, that much of the discrimination of Jews in the immediate aftermath of the Dutch Declaration of Human and Citizen's Rights was linked to the supporters of the old Dutch Republic harbouring resentment towards the liberal politics that had been introduced to the Netherlands by the French. This can be interpreted as a political statement against liberalism.

In her chapter 'Thalia and Amsterdam's Ashkenazi Jews', Hetty Berg makes several further claims based on primary archival material obtained from the Amsterdam City Archives. The most significant point made by Berg is that in 1795 the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Gezelschap was eventually granted permission by the Amsterdamse Schouwburg to perform at the Hoogduitsche Schouwburg, initially 'on a three-month contract that allowed the troupe to play twice a week, on Tuesdays and on Thursdays (Berg, 2002: 195). Further investigation reveals that this development was due to the efforts of Joachim van Embden, a supervisory director of the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Gezelschap who petitioned the city authorities with requests that the company be able to give public performances at the Hoogduitsche Schouwburg on days when the Amsterdamsche Schouwburg (Stadsschouwburg) was closed.[5] Up until that point, public performances in venues other than the Stadsschouwburg had always been forbidden as most of these were generally performed by what were considered to be 'foreigners'. Van Embden argued that 'this could not be the case now as many of these Jews were not foreign and could therefore be granted full civil rights [and the privilege of being able to perform freely in Amsterdam]' (Berg, 2002: 197).

As we have already noted, these limitations were set in place due to the fact that organisations considered to be 'foreign' were forbidden to perform in Amsterdam. However, upon close inspection of surviving performance bills from 1795 and 1796 it can be seen that this information is not entirely accurate. This is illustrated in Appendix A of the present thesis, which lists all performances at three different

[5] Amsterdam City Archives. Archive 5053. Folder 321. *Nieuw Stedelijk Bestuur*, p. 371.

institutions: the Hoogduitsche Schouwburg (Röder, 1795), Rotterdamsche Schouwburg (Stadsarchief Rotterdam), and the Amsterdamse Schouwburg (De Leeuwe, 2003: 19-253). Until 7 May 1795 there were no recorded performances by the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Gezelschap at any of the three listed venues, with the only performances being by non-Jewish troupes at the Amsterdamse Schouwburg. Upon its summer closure they immediately started performing at their new venue, the Hoogduitsche Schouwburg, which continued on a regular basis from 7 May until Wednesday 28 July, whereupon performances only took place on Tuesdays and Thursdays as suggested by Berg. The anomaly however is that the troupe did not adhere to this strict pattern as per the three-month contract that had been granted but did several additional performances on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Whether this was because of a relaxed attitude from the Amsterdamse Schouwburg officials, or Dessauer's troupe flaunting the conditions of the contract is an issue that merits further investigation.

Moreover, Dessauer and the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Gezelschap continued to perform in other venues that were prepared to accommodate a Jewish ensemble. According to newspaper adverts of the time, the majority of performances encompassed the following selection of the most popular repertoire and venues:

- *Oberon, König der Elfen* by Paul Wranitzki (1756-1808), Rotterdamschen Schouwburg, 6 April 1796 (*Rotterdamsche courant*, 5 April 1796: 3).
- *Axur, re d'Ormus* by Salieri (1750-1825), Rotterdamsche Schouwburg, 1 April 1797 (*Rotterdamsche courant*, 30 March 1797: 3).
- *Die Zauberflöte* by Mozart, Rotterdamsche Schouwburg, 25, March 1797 (*Rotterdamsche courant*, 25 March 1797: 3).
- *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* by Mozart, Rotterdamsche Schouwburg, 7 May 1796 (*Rotterdamsche courant*, 7 May 1796: 2).
- *Don Giovanni* by Mozart, Rotterdamsche Schouwburg, 21 May 1796 (*Rotterdamsche courant*, 21 May 1796: 3).
- *Julie* by Nicolas Dezède (1740-1798), Rotterdamsche Schouwburg, 18 March 1797 (*Rotterdamsche courant*, 18 March 1797: 2).
- *Das Sonnenfest der Braminen* by Wenzel Müller (1767-1835), Rotterdamsche Schouwburg, (*Rotterdamsche courant*, 30 August 1796: 2).

- *Das Kästchen mit der Ziffer* by Salieri, Rotterdamsche Schouwburg, 27 March 1797 (*Haagsche courant*, 27 March 1797: 1).
- *Hieronymus Knicker* by Dittersdorf, Hoogduitsche Schouwburg, (13 December 1798 (*Amsterdamse courant*, 6 December 1798: 4).
- *Le nozze di Figaro* by Mozart, Hoogduitsche Schouwburg, 6 December 1798 (*Amsterdamse courant*, 6 December 1798: 4).
- *Le prisonnier* by Domenico Della-Maria (1768-1800), Hoogduitsche Schouwburg, 3 December 1799 (*Utrechtsche courant*, 2 December 1799: 2).
- *König Theodor Zu Venedig* by Giovanni Paisiello, Rotterdamsche Schouwburg, 13 June 1805 (*Rotterdamsche courant*, 13 June 1805: 3).

It is notable that most of these performances, notification of which is found in the Dutch press between 1796 and 1805, took place in Rotterdam. On close inspection of the above selection of performances however, it is evident that being able to perform freely in Amsterdam still posed a problem even beyond 1796, as Rotterdam appears to be the focal point of much of the company's work during this period. This would imply that the busy concert schedule at the Stadsschouwburg presented limited performance opportunities for other venues in Amsterdam during this period, with Jewish performers still being discriminated against despite the earlier resolution passed on 23 September 1796.

Politics and Repertoire

Looking more closely at the repertoire for the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Gezelschap, it can be argued that it was specifically chosen by Dessauer to reflect his personal political affiliations and his support of the French Revolution and its ultimate effect on the formation of the Batavian Republic and the ideas of the Enlightenment that would spread throughout the Netherlands. Throughout much of Europe during the eighteenth century it was common for political themes to be incorporated into operas, especially during the period of the French Revolution when 'crimes, prisons and prisoners became subjects of predilection for librettists and composers of comic opera' (Margollé, 2014: 1). Works also increasingly incorporated military themes

relating to the first part of the revolution after 1789 and ‘the prison becomes little by little, after the storming of the Bastille, an object of fantasy, a privileged place of heroic dramas where the final deliveries give pretexts to spectacular dramatic, scenic and musical effects’ (Margollé, 2014: 2). Very often, these operas became parodies of political stories with many allegorical themes.

An example of this type of allegory is *Le prisonnier*, composed by Dominico Della-Maria in 1798, performed in Amsterdam by Dessauer on 3 December 1799 in a Yiddish translation. This was one of the few Yiddish operas performed at the Amsterdamsche Schouwburg after the emancipation of 1796, and we can interpret Dessauer as sending out a strong political message with this parody on-stage at a venue which had a history of Jewish exclusion. The librettist was the French dramatist, actor, and theatre manager Alexandre-Vincent Duval, a great admirer of Della-Maria, who presented him with the poem *Le prisonnier* with the express wish that it be made into an opera. The opera is a parody based on the French Revolution and starts with a description of a castle situated next to a large house. Due to nearly accidentally killing his own colonel in battle, Blinval is being kept prisoner by the Governor of the Castle. Blinval finds a secret tunnel from his cell that leads to a room in the house next door, where he regularly visits between being checked on by the prison guards. The purpose of his visits is to see the love of his life, Rosina, and to facilitate this he must pretend to be Count Murville, who is a cousin and suitor in marriage to the owner of the house, Mrs. Belmont. A farce ensues with Blinval having to adopt two identities and lead a dual life between his prison cell and then the house. Eventually Blinval’s plot is uncovered by the governor when Count Murville himself appears. The reason for Murville’s appearance is to present Blinval with a pardon for his alleged crime, whereupon he is released from prison and Mrs. Belmont grants Rosina permission to marry him with the words: ‘Lock up his heart; and, like the Governor, sway your temper with gentleness’ (Della-Maria and Duval, 1798). The allegory within the story in this opera is quite straightforward: the prison represents the Bastille and the revolutionaries in the form of the suppressed victim rising victorious in the end.

Although there does not seem to be evidence of the Dutch reaction to performances of *Le prisionner*, there is reference to other such performances. Contemporary

politics were also prominent in the opera *Axur, re d'Ormus* composed by Salieri in 1787, performed by the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Gezelschap at the Rotterdamsche Schouwburg on 1 April 1797, shortly after the Batavian Revolution and France's dismissal of the Dutch government in 1795. Journalist Cornelis van Leeuwen made reference in the *Amsterdamse courant* to the fact that the Revolutionary Committee of the Batavian Republic had organised a performance of *Axur* in Amsterdam in 1795 in order to celebrate 'Freedom and the Fatherland' (van Leeuwen, 28 May 1795: 2) following the committee's takeover of the regime of Prince William V of Orange. The choice of opera for this celebration was very apt as the story is based in the Middle East and depicts the tyrannical leader Axur being democratically replaced by a new king, Tarare. It also has an allegorical resonance with the political events of the French Revolution, and Rädecker points out that 'the story of the replacement of a tyrant by an elected leader shares many similarities with Felix Libertate's criticism of the misconduct and abuse of power of the parnasim, or leaders of synagogues, in the lead-up to emancipation (Rädecker, 2016: 237). Much of the resentment generated by the parnasim was based on them being 'afraid of losing their political grip on their community, of being demoted to mere administrators of a religious congregation' (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007b: 179) in the aftermath of enlightenment. It was also historically significant in the Netherlands during a period after 1787 when Count Ferdinand Trauttmansdorff, Emperor Joseph II's minister in charge of the Austrian Netherlands, 'could not resist an allusion to *Axur'* (Rice, 1998: 416*)* when providing the emperor with advice of a political nature regarding suppressing a rebellion. Such a rebellion had been temporarily suppressed in 1789, but Trauttmansdorff advised the emperor to treat the rebels with leniency as was the case at the end of *Axur*, 'where Atar commands his soldiers to put down their weapons raised against the king and intercedes on their behalf' (Rice, 1998: 416). Trauttmansdorff also believed that using Axur's portrayal of Middle Eastern leaders would attract public support for the Ottoman-Habsburg war which would shortly be declared.

In an open letter written by Dessauer that was published in Amsterdam in 1795, he makes it explicit that it was his full intention to make a political statement with the choice and performance of selected operas. In the letter he refers to the above-mentioned opera *Axur,* making direct links between the plot of the opera and political events that resulted in the Batavian Revolution in that same year. Dessauer makes

an allegorical link where the defeat by Atar and suicide of King Axur is represented by the shift of power in Amsterdam from William V, Prince of Orange, to the Revolutionary Committee of the newly formed Batavian Republic. He then goes on to explain what this link proved when he writes:

> Is there anything more necessary than to focus on all the actions of the Dutch people, and of their righteous representatives, on the latest revolution of the streets? Does it not itself openly declare, like the magnanimous and orderly French Commonwealth, that [the] well-organized state ordinance or constitution dares to base itself in any way on the natural and eternal rights of humanity? Yes, it did not show there that they really wanted to banish all political deception, ignorance, and outdated prejudices, and to banish from the land all those mischievous stepchildren of [William V's] Government. At this moment we now have proof of the unlimited sacred patriotism of our virtuous Netherlanders as I believe that I can declare that [the Dutch Declaration of Human and Citizen's Rights] has been passed (Dessauer and Hespe, 1795: 12).[6]

It should be noted that Dessauer was initially supportive of the declaration in principle, but it soon became apparent that its mandate of providing full equal civil rights for Dutch Jews was not going to be implemented in the form that it was declared. Dessauer, as part of Felix Libertate, would later go on to protest against the fact that full equal rights certainly did not apply in many cases and that Jews were still excluded by the bourgeoisie in many facets of Dutch life.

JCH, the Dutch translator of Dessauer's letter was not a musician but worked

[6] The document was originally written by Dessauer in German with a Dutch translation provided by Amsterdam lawyer and patriot Jan Christiaan Hespe. The original excerpt in Dutch reads: 'Dan waartoe toch alle deeze bewyzen? Is er iets meer nodig, als op alle de handelingen des Nederlandschen Volks, en deszelfs regtgeaarte Vertegenwoordigers by de jongste Straatsommewenteling het oog te vestigen? Verklaart het zelve niet openlyk, even als het grootmoedig en geördend fransche Gemeenebest, dat Uwe zo wel ingerigte Staatsördening of Constitutie zich eeniglyk durft grondvesten op de natuurlyke en eeuwige Reehten der Menschheid? Ja betoondnhet niet daar ddor daadelyk met Wortel en Tak te willen witteroeven alle Politieke bediegery misleiding, onwetenheid en verouderde vooroordeelen, en uit den Lande te verbannen alle die boasartige Stiefkinderen der waare Vorstelyke Reegering. Ja geeven niet in dit ogenblik zelfs onse Deugdzaame Nederlanders een treffelyk bewys van hunne onbegrensde Vaderlandsliefde, want de huidige ontfangst, die heiligliek , den Lande toegeweid is, mogen wy geloof ik, met genoegen vermelden, dat dezelve wet by na driemaal de anders gewoonelyke opbrenging te booven gaat.' The translation into English is my own.

alongside Dessauer and was a major driving force behind the political efforts of Felix Libertate. He was baptised in Amsterdam in the Evangelical Lutheran Church on February 13, 1757, and died December 14, 1818. Although a Protestant, Hespe, who was a lawyer and a Dutch patriot, became a member of the Jewish society Felix Libertate. Given his legal background Hespe proved himself a strong defender of the rights and interests of the Dutch Jews, urging them them 'to erase the stain created by supporting Orange' (Bloemgarten, 1967: 79) and give up their support of a regime that he felt inhibited any chance of equality. Hespe was consistently very vocal in these matters and published many pamphlets advocating Jewish equality and openly published his views regarding what he considered to be prejudice displayed by a certain anonymous member of Felix Libertate. In the *Nationaale courant* in March 1795, he openly accused members of '[daring] to abuse the freedom of the printing press in a manner not in keeping with the peace and goodness advocated by the society' (*Nationaal courant*, 30 March 1795: 2). Hespe uses strong language, indicative of his strength of opinion, expressing his 'feelings of disgust' towards the fellow burgher who 'without discussion assaulted the honour of the [proposed] enforcement of Jewish equality', engaged in an act 'unworthy of Christian values' (*Nationaal courant*, 30 March 1795: 2).

Of course, Dessauer's political mouthpiece, as well as speeches and pamphlets, was via the medium of opera, and in the same vein as *Axur*, the performance of Paisiello's *König Theodor Zu Venedig*[7] composed in 1757 possibly conveyed a slightly more subtle political message. The plot of the opera depicts a down-on-his-luck King Teodore who has lost all his wealth and hatches a plan to marry the daughter of a rich innkeeper with a view to regaining financial stability. They marry, but the marriage is cut short when Teodore is cast into debtor's prison. The ending is however a happy one, with the release of Teodore and the reconciliation of the married couple. In the opinion of cultural historian James Johnson, the message conveyed in Paisiello's opera is that Venice continued to '[remain] a gentle harbour of happiness'. The significance of this message is important because it was typical of eighteenth-century operas to depict Venice as 'a city harmless in its politics and tolerant in its pleasures – a playground where foreigners mingle freely with the

7 Translated into German from the original Italian comic opera *Il re Teodoro in Venezia*

natives, disguise abets seduction, and both rulers and the ruled savour their “happy liberty”’ (Johnson, 2006: 534). This capitulation occurred at the hands of Napoleon which was a result of France’s confrontation with Austria during the French Revolutionary Wars – part of the First French Republic systematically confronting monarchic powers across Europe. However, until this time Venice was certainly not the ‘harbour of happiness’ (Johnson, 2006: 533) that many were led to believe, and the truth only widely emerged after the events of 1797 with Johnson describing it as ‘tyrannical in its laws, secretive in its politics, and corrupt in its morals’ (Johnson, 2006: 534). For Felix Libertate the political points made were strong. The ideals of the French Revolution – liberty, equality, and fraternity - were the original ideals that had inspired the establishment of Felix Libertate in the first place and was an agenda they adhered to throughout the emancipation of the Jews.

The Political Impact of Opera in the Southern Netherlands

The political motivations of Dessauer and the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Tooneel Gezelschap were not only confined to the concert halls of Amsterdam and Rotterdam during the eighteenth century. They were also part of a Dutch military garrison based in Brabant which was part of the southern provinces of the Netherlands, in turn part of the Austrian Netherlands under the rule of Joseph II. This area would later become the independent state of Belgium. 1789 saw the Brabant Revolution which was primarily a revolt against both the centralised nature of rule by Joseph II, and also against his reforms which were part of the Enlightenment. Strategically however, the Dutch maintained a military garrison in the area as any political instability in the Southern Netherlands made its natural barrier vulnerable against French aggression (Illing, 2009: 66). The Hoogduitsche Joodsche Tooneel Gezelschap was temporarily part of this Dutch garrison as can be verified in a much later article from 1932 written by D.S. van Zuiden in the Jewish periodical *De Vrijdagavond.* This article gives an interesting insight into such activities where the operatic troupe were present with Dutch troops during the Brabant Revolution of 1789-1790, where presumably they provided entertainment and boosted moral, as well as providing allegorical representation of political goals, chiefly the uprising of the then Austrian Netherlands against Habsburg rule. According to Van Zuiden, the

troupe were based in a military camp near Oirschot and ‘in a wooden hut performed almost all the operas in their [extensive] repertoire’ (*De Vrijdagavond,* 1 January 1932: 1). The management of the company and its performances was taken by Messrs Feitlinger and Fransman, and these performances proved to be very successful with the soldiers. ‘The tent was always chock full of officers who were glad to have the company there’ (*De Vrijdagavond,* 1 January 1932: 1). An interesting anecdote from the same article highlights the political climate regarding antisemitism across other parts of Europe. Mr Feitlinger, a Jewish-German national, was also the tenor in the troupe and according to him ‘owed his education entirely to a music lover, who had picked up from the street where he became filled with gratitude for Holland, where there was no appreciable antisemitism as there was in Germany’ (*De Vrijdagavond,* 1 January 1932: 1), a sentiment that echoed the Dutch identity of tolerance at the time of this article that was written in 1932. To show this gratitude he sang a song for the Dutch officers with the following text:

Ich bin gewesen
So weit in der Welt
Aber in Holland
Mir am meisten gefällt.
Ein König so fromm und so gut,
Ein Kronprinz, voll Heldenmuth.

Translated into English:

I have been so far in the world
But in Holland I like the most
A king so pious and so good,
A prince full of heroism.

Although there was significant antisemitism and discrimination at play in the Netherlands, this anecdotal evidence suggests that the situation was possibly far worse for the Jews in Germany. Hamburg was the focal point of Jewish life during the eighteenth century and Jewish social integration had been promoted by the city assembly, as, like in Amsterdam, Jews had a central role in international trading.

However, there was still much resentment aimed at the Jewish presence in the city resulting in anti-Jewish riots in 1730, 1746, and 1749 (Bergmann, 2016). From a Jewish perspective, the liberal Enlightenment reforms of Joseph II had potential ramifications for the Dutch Jews in that the reforms had earlier caused much nationalistic resentment towards Jewish citizens across the Habsburg lands. This was partially due to Joseph's liberal reforms having been perceived as an attack on the Catholic Church and was evident with the reduced tolerance towards the Jews of Eindhoven in that particular part of the Southern Netherlands because of their having been granted more civil rights in a city where they were not even allowed to settle until as late as 1772 (Bernard, 1987: 3). From this we can interpret Dessauer's musical activity in a Dutch military camp in Belgium in the Southern Netherlands as a musical gesture of empathy and support to the Jews of this region. To this end, Dessauer's choice of politically charged operas would have been significant.

Although not as a direct consequence of Dessauer's use of political operas, the political climate for revolution in the Low Countries was a phenomenon that would become effectively manifest within the recently formed United Kingdom of the Netherlands some thirty-five years later, with what would become known as the Belgian Revolution of 1830. This link between Belgium and the Netherlands is very important, as historically the two countries were linked both geographically, culturally and linguistically. In fact, Belgium, along with Luxembourg, formed what was originally the Southern Netherlands. It was the Belgian Revolution in 1830 that the two regions separated, although this was not official until the Treaty of London which was signed in 1839 guaranteeing Belgium's independence and neutrality within Europe. 1830 would not only mark the beginning of the independent kingdom of Belgium but would also become highly significant for the many German Jews that had emigrated to that region, as from that point the Jewish population was allowed to augment considerably. According to Belgian Jewish historian Bart Wallet, the many pro-revolutionary 'Belgist Jews hoped that the revolution would open even more opportunities for them and create a more equal society' (Wallet, 2011: 172). So in this respect the revolution also indirectly and symolically became a Jewish revolution driven forward by the prospect of opportunity and equality. The same motives of freedom and equality that drove the Batavian Revolution were now being repeated

on 25 August 1830, when the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels presented a performance of the opera *La muette de Portici* (The Mute Girl of Portici) by French composer Daniel Auber (1782-1871). The intentions of the performance were honourable, in celebration of the fifteenth year of the reign of William I, Prince of Orange, and King of the Netherlands. The plot of the five-act opera concerns an uprising in seventeenth-century Naples which was instigated by a group of patriotic rebels against their then Spanish occupiers. A similar situation existed in Brussels in 1830 in that it was under unpopular Dutch control, and consequently the opera *La muette de Portici's* story of tyrannic occupiers and patriotic rebels must have resonated politically with many of the audience in the theatre that evening as well as having particular allegorical significance for the Jewish population.

Historically there has been much debate regarding the significance of the role that Auber's opera played in the provoking of the Belgian Revolution on that night in 1830. Musicological research into this event is sparse with the only substantial offerings in Sonia Slatin's paper *Opera and Revolution: La Muette de Portici and the Belgian Revolution of1830 revisited,* and James Billington's book *Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of the Revolutionary Faith.* Billington provides a very brief overview of events without citing any evidence as such, while Slatin's analysis raises the question as to whether it was the actual performance that ignited the riots, or if the evening's events were infiltrated and effectively started by 'a number of brash young men who "forced their way into the crowded gangways" in a considerably disturbing manner' (Slatin, 1979: 53). This may be the case, but eye-witness accounts published in the local media paint a very vivid description of the carnage that ensued in Brussels following the opera's performance. Slatin's interpretation of events is also seemingly at odds with descriptions of what *was* actually reported in the newspapers with a particular reference to the 25 August edition of the *Courier des Pays-Bas*. Slatin writes that 'curiously enough, certain other happenings cited in other sources seem also to have escaped the attention of the *Courier's* reporter. So, for instance, he does not mention the fact that many of the young men outside the theatre were "equipped with walking sticks and [...] were visibly prepared for a demonstration"' (Slatin, 1979: 53).

However, contrary to Slatin's claims, other local media outlets were explicit in reporting these details, such as the *Bredasche courant*[8] on 28 August which reported that 'during the night the people compelled the swordsmen to surrender all the weapons that they had. They divided them; those who had flintlocks armed themselves with them; some isolated soldiers were disarmed. Thus, they obtained some weapons' (*Bredasche courant*, 28 August 1830: 1). In the same report there was also a description of 'the inhabitants, armed with flintlocks, swords, and sticks, who stood at the street corners, [giving] Brussels the appearance of a city conquered by storm' (*Bradasche courant*, 28 August 1830: 1).

What is accurate according to the accounts of both Billington and Slatin is that *La muette de Portici* had an infamous reputation as a revolutionary work. But there was no more tension in the city following the announcement a few days earlier that it was to be performed at the Théâtre de la Monnaie that night than there was following the Paris Revolution that occurred two months earlier on 28 July 1830. In fact, the authorities did not deem the threat serious enough to implement any special measures for the evening of the performance. It was, however, odd that the performance was allowed to take place at all given that there were claims that Auber's opera was unwillingly loaded with revolutionary allegory. The libretto, by Germain Delavigne (1790-1868), cleverly revised by Eugéne Scribe (1791-1861) would normally have been subject to rigorous censorship, but that would underestimate the profound ambiguity of a work built on Scribe's exceptional skill at clearing the traps of censorship (Adoumié, 241-252). It is a surprise then that there was initial French acceptance of such a controversial subject that was based on the Neapolitan revolt of 1647, and on the fate of its leader Thomas Aniello in the very reactionary political context of the mid-1820s, a time which was dominated by the return to the affairs of the ultraroyalist party led by Joseph de Villèle who was prime minister of France from 1822 to 1828.

Having avoided censorship, *La muette de Portici* lived up to its revolutionary reputation according to historian Vincent Adoumié. He dismisses claims by some that the riot was not necessarily ignited by the opera itself and quotes an eyewitness

[8] Published in the Brabant region of Belgium/Southern Netherlands.

in that ‘it clearly appears that the inhabitants of Brussels who gather in small numbers in front of the doors of the theatre are driven only by a feeling of curiosity, because it is from the room and not from the street that the driving force of what will quickly, very quickly, become a riot’ (Adoumié, 2020: 241-252). It started when Masaniello began his duet with Pietro ‘Rather die than remain miserable’, in the second act, at which the audience immediately rose and began to chant "Sacred Love of the Fatherland". Quickly (from the end of the duo according to some sources or at the end of the third act, when the Neapolitans exclaim “Against our enemies, let's unite our efforts”) members of the audience rushed outside (Adoumié, 2020: 241-252). Another eyewitness account from the *Bredasche courante* added that ‘on leaving the theatre numerous groups formed and went first to the office of the daily newspaper *Le National* in the Rue Fossé aux Loups and started breaking windows there. They were about to break open the door when a voice called out the name of the chief editor of that magazine. At that point the people rushed to the man's house in the Rue de la Madelaine with the crowd growing rapidly. Doors and windows were smashed to pieces; the furniture was broken, papers and books torn, and the items thrown out of the windows. Fortunately, the editor Mr. Libry was not at home and thus saved his life’ (*Bredasche* courant, 28 August 1830: 1). There is little doubt then that *La muette de Portici* was able to communicate a strong political and revolutionary message which ignited the riotous events of 25 August 1830. This was a message of equality and freedom that echoed back to the plight of Felix Libertate and Dessauer, a message that particularly resonated with the Jews in Belgium in 1830.

It should be remembered in the context of the present thesis that his drive to promote Yiddish opera in the Netherlands was artistically commendable in that it provided the opportunity for Dutch Jews to prove to the rest of the country that many Jews were interested in accessing and embracing Western art music; it could therefore be interpreted as a drive for integration. It was also commendable since Dessauer was able to use his choice of repertoire as a platform to subtly disseminate the message of enlightenment to a wider Jewish audience through the performance of these operas in concert halls throughout the year, and by including this operatic music in the synagogue during the festival and celebration of Purim. As a Jew Dessauer was considered to be a maskalim or enlightened Jew, and as such was

active in attempting to integrate Jews into Western society. This involved pursuing the aims of Haskalah or Jewish enlightenment which Dessauer accomplished by embracing music and theatre as a platform for the promotion of its aims of social, moral, and educational reform, while still preserving Dutch Jews as a separate entity within Dutch society. ‘The joyous atmosphere of the [theatre] enabled maskalim such as Dessauer to reach the Jewish masses in a light-hearted way’ (Rädecker, 2016: 237). Dessauer’s approach, which was a political inspiration for many after him, was a great success because of its unique method of ‘mixing scatological [humour], absurd situations, and weather conditions with political solutions to the Jewish Question’ (Rädecker, 2016: 256). utilising a religious framework to facilitate the subversive criticism of the inward thinking of the parnasim and elements of the Jewish community. Dessauer’s contribution to the emancipation of the Jews was invaluable as he was able to achieve, through the medium of music and theatre, the promotion of social, educational, and political change – the very same aims as the Jewish society Felix Libertate.

So, did the politically motivated actions of organisations such as Felix Libertate and Dessauer’s Hoogduitsche Joodsche Tooneel Gezelschap make any positive impact on Dutch society’s attitudes towards Jewish integration? The answer to this is not as straightforward as one might like, as yes, there had been an element of progress, as after 1796 Jews were granted full suffrage and were no longer restricted in their movement or occupation. However, in reality, the only Jews that benefitted from emancipation in the first half of the nineteenth century were the Jewish bourgeoisie who were the first to attain any social equity. With the abolition of the guilds all occupations were theoretically opened to Jews, but their occupational range remained limited. Jews lacked training in new occupations and were hardly in great demand there. They also had difficulty working for non-Jews because of the requirement that Jews rest on the Sabbath. Many therefore remained merchants, with poverty continuing to be widespread among Jews in the Netherlands, and integration rare. It would take many years for the political messages of Felix Libertate and the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Tooneel Gezelschap to eventually make an impact on the Dutch political landscape, but, small amounts of progress had been made, and it would not be until the second half of the nineteenth century when education reforms meant that Jewish access to the state school system would help the Jewish

children living amid geographic, social, and economic isolation become more assimilated and integrated and would provide opportunities for social advancement.

Chapter Two – 'Burgerlijk Beschavingsoffensief' – Jewish Exclusion in the Rise of Musical and Cultural Societies in the Netherlands During the Nineteenth Century

By the end of the eighteenth century, and into the first half of the nineteenth century, there had developed an air of optimism due to the Age of Enlightenment, particularly amongst the Dutch bourgeoisie, and there was a subsequent drive to promote personal, cultural, and educational advancement within all facets of society in the Netherlands. The purpose of this chapter is to present evidence which suggests that these societies – such as the Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, Felix Meritis, and Caecilia – were well meaning regarding the proposed Dutch bourgeois civilising offensive known as 'burgerlijk beschavingsoffensief' (Kruithof, 2015: 1). This offensive was aimed at the poor so that they could be 'helped from their state of misery by teaching them morals, cleanliness and self-control' (Kruithof, 2015: 2) and also to provide better education.

These societies were not, however, as inclusive as their own rhetoric suggests: the Age of Enlightenment also served to prompt the start of a particular kind of national awakening and a focus on national identity amongst intellectuals in the Netherlands. There is very little available research that has focused on the fact that many of these societies had policies that actively excluded Jewish membership, meaning that the process of 'civilising' did not apply to what was still considered during the early nineteenth century to be a foreign enclave of Dutch society. In providing evidence of these policies, I will propose in this chapter to illustrate that, although Dutch Jews were granted equal civil rights during emancipation in 1795-6 there was still a reluctance amongst the Dutch bourgeoisie to fully accept them into many cultural societies throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, but that gradually, after political pressure exerted mainly by Felix Libertate, a culture was starting to be created where Jewish identity and language, combined with national educational parity would gradually increase in the latter half of the century. Although there was resistance to accepting such Jewish parity from the bourgeoisie, an eventual national tolerance towards the Jews in the Netherlands was partly responsible for facilitating the emergence of Dutch-Jewish composers later in the nineteenth century.

Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen and Jewish Exclusion

As we have already seen, 'Burgerlijk beschavingsoffensief' or 'the bourgeois civilising offensive' and the 'forces of organised virtue' in the Netherlands became a phenomenon throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Kruithof, 2015: 1). These so-called 'forces of organised virtue' had originated with the foundation in 1784 of de Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen (Dutch Society for the Public Good). The Society was known in abbreviated form as 't Nut, and arguably contributed more than any other in efforts 'to spread the gospel of a virtuous nation in order to achieve more welfare for the emerging unified nation' (Kruithof, 2015: 1). Segments taken from the society's book of concepts and laws published at its founding clearly lay out its main objectives, stating that 'the main purpose of this society is the propagation of useful skills and sciences among the underprivileged people in order to civilise both mind and heart'. The society also pledged to 'do everything she can to improve the education of youth and children in our homeland'.[9] The Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen wielded immense political power at the time as many of its members were political figures. This resulted in the society being able to provide education and schools, teacher training establishments, and educational textbooks including song books. However, it had a policy that excluded Jews from becoming members, as shown by a wide set of objectives laid out in the original book of regulations and laws published by the society in 1784. It states that 'the purpose of the Society is: to promote godliness and morals in accordance with the principles of Christian religion'[10] and that 'Jews and other unchristians, by reason of their religious doctrines regarding the Messiah, are not qualified to be regarded as members of our society'. It should be noted that the reference to Christianity in many relevant documents from this time is important in establishing any implications for Jewish citizens who aspired to become members of de Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen.

The Netherlands had been devoid of any composers or musical tradition of note since the time of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621) in the early seventeenth

[9] Amsterdam City Archives. *Archive 14. Folder 416. Inventaris van het Archief van Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen.* 1784
[10] *Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst*. Archive number 1.1.2 *Wetten en Reglementen.*

century, and in an attempt to address this the Nut undertook a programme of work in schools. Amongst this work, the development of music education was an important factor in the society's mission to establish a tradition of music in the Netherlands through the promotion of the singing of Christian hymns. The promotion of music was deemed a high priority and sometime later in 1820 the society went as far as setting up a committee to investigate the possibility of further promoting singing and music. The following year a report was written by King Willem I with the recommendation 'to test the establishment of a Dutch Society which would promote the art of music'.[11] This investigation would eventually result in the founding of the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst (The Society for the Promotion of Music) in 1829. Meanwhile, the early objective of the Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen was achieved mainly by the publishing and distributing of national song books, not only in schools, but also in a wider social context encouraging further musical participation such as choral singing in the community beyond basic school education. This meant that a musical tradition in the Netherlands could gradually be ingrained throughout different family generations.

At all levels, Christianity was the focal point of delivery, as, after all, hymns constituted a major part of people's religious practices as well as choral singing being a favourite pastime with most of the population of the Netherlands at the end of the nineteenth century. Of course, social class differentiation played a part in Dutch life and was articulated through musical practices: the bourgeoisie would gravitate towards singing French and Italian airs in their leisure time, a pastime that was considered 'more civilised than those [songs] of the lowly workmen, who in their circles sing too many unseemly and filthy songs which stand out more when they, as so often happens, are immediately preceded, or followed by some Psalms or other religious songs' (Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, 1794: 1). Dutch children would have been exposed to these musical cultural differences at home, and so the same method of delivering this national music programme was utilised in both schools and in society as a whole. The Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen felt that

[11] Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarcheif. Quote taken from a historical overview of the contents of Archive 611 *Inventaris van het Archief van de Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst*

its ideas of virtue and general enlightenment would be more popular across the whole of society, including schools, if they kept the melodies of the French and Italian airs loved by the bourgeoisie and the ‘humble citizen’s folk tunes’ (Maatschappij tot Nut van 't algemeen, 1794: 3). In the same document the Secretary of De Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen, Martinus Nieuwenhuijzen, justified this stating that ‘the common citizen, [...], sings, both in his hours of leisure and during his professional duties, quite differently from the more distinguished man, whose desserts are enlivened by Italian and French airs. However, both songs often have the same goal, namely wine or love; only with this distinction that the songs of the nobles are more indicative of art and culture than those of the lowly workers, whose singers produce all too many unseemly and filthy songs in their circles’ (Maatschappij tot Nut van 't algemeen, 1794: 4). Thus, it was decided that both the French and Italian airs of the ‘civilised’ bourgeoisie and traditional folk tunes were to be combined and accessible to the common folk, but with the text adapted so that the song did ‘not offend good morals, but also, moreover, could very strongly promote this’ (Maatschappij tot Nut van 't algemeen, 1794: 4).

This use of adapted text can be illustrated by the use of a popular Dutch folk song entitled *In een boomgaard, Colinette* (In an Orchard, Colinette). Though this was not particularly bawdy in nature, it serves as an example of a song transformed into a religious song. The original text reads:

In een boomgaard, Colinette
Als je mooie druiven zag,
Ze denkt dat niemand op haar lette,
Ze hield hem stevig vast,
Pas op Colinette,
Liefde waakt over deze Laan

Translated into English:

In an Orchard, Colinette

If you saw beautiful grapes,

She thinks no one was paying attention to her,

She gripped it tightly,

Take care Colinette,

Love watches over this Laan.

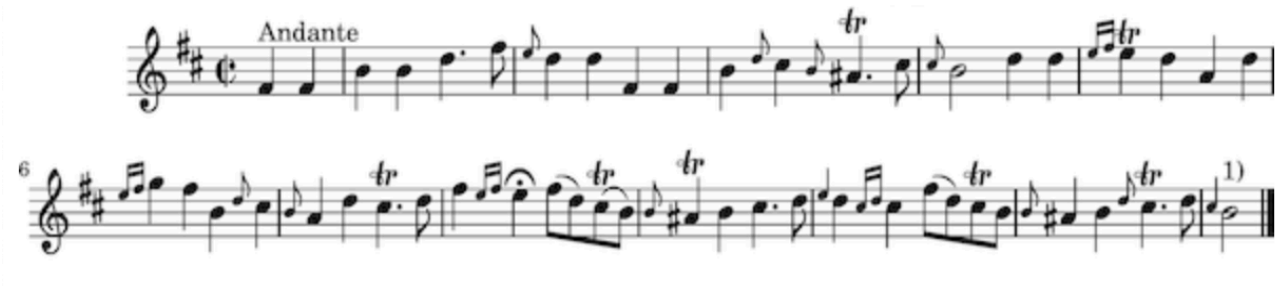
This is in contrast to the adapted, religious text:

Jezus, dien alle Englen eeren,
Jezus, Gods geliefde Zoon,
Wil zich tot de menschen keeren,
En daalt van zijn hoogen troon:
Om ons hier op aard te leeren,
's Hoogsten wetten en geboôn.

Which translated into English reads:

Jesus serves all angels honour,
Jesus, God's beloved Son,
And descends from his high throne:
To teach us here on earth,
The highest laws and commandments (algemeen, 1794: 1)

Ex. 2.1. illustrates the melody that is used in the adapted version of *In een boomgaard Colinette,* taken from the 1st ariette from the 2nd scene of the French comic opera *Le tonnelier* by Audinot (1765).



Ex. 2.1. Melody used in the adapted version of *In een boomgaard Colinette* (Nederlandse Liederenbanken a, 2016)

To illustrate that this song was not an isolated case, another song, *Jezus Verrezen* ('Jesus has Risen'), from the same booklet maintains the same religious theme and is set to the original tune of *Gelijk de Schoone Bloempjens Kwijnen* ('To Wither Like the Beautiful Flowers'). The opening verse of the original text reads:

Gelyk myn schooner bloemen kwynen,
Wanneer zy zien de zon verdwynen
Zoo ben ik ook in droeven staet,
Wanneer myn minaer van my gaet.

Translated into English:

As my beautiful flowers grow,
When they see the Sun disappear,
So am I also in a sad state,
When my lover departs from me.

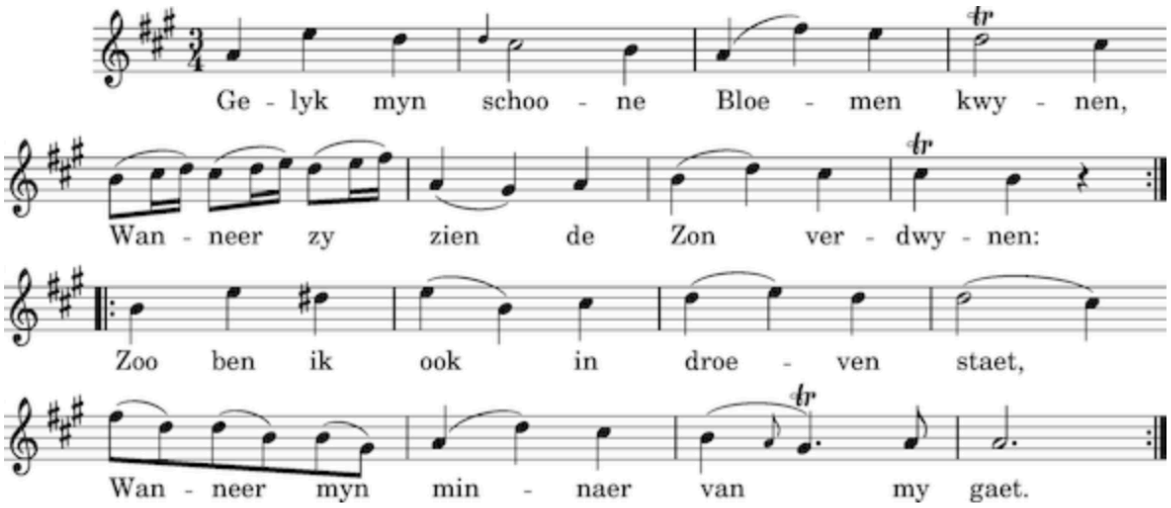
Again, the text has been adapted to convey a religious and moral theme, as the new text reads:

Zou ooit des Heillands dood en lijden,
Den mensch van straf en dood bevrijden,
Hij, die voor ons zijn leven gaf,
Moest weêr verrijzen uit het graf. (algemeen, 1794: 7)

Which, again, when translated into English reads thus:

Should ever the Saviour's death and suffering,
Free man from punishment and death,
He who gave his life for us,
Had to rise again from the grave.

The new melody (Ex. 2.2, below) used in this instance was written by Flemish composer Antoine Mahaut (1719-1785), a symphonist whose style is similar to that of Johann Stamitz.



Ex. 2.2. The new melody to *Gelijk de Schoone Bloempjens Kwijnen* as composed by Antoine Mahaut (Nederlandse Liederenbanken b, 2016)

The Maatschappij to Nut van ‘t Algemeen was generally considered to be very liberal in Dutch society with its mandate partly including educational access and improvement across the class divides. But as the above musical examples illustrate it firmly adhered to its fundamental principle of promoting religion and morals in their role as a mainly Protestant association. By 1806 the government sought to achieve ‘religious and linguistic unity’ (Dodde and Stultjens, 1996: 67) and singing took on an important musical role in the process. This was only partially successful with cultural integration and ‘communal ideology and world view in the shape of a blanket religion covering various denominations’ (Dodde and Stultjens, 1996: 67). This cultural integration theoretically meant that Jews were *not expressly* excluded, but the principle that the public schools should be Christian schools necessitated the establishment of separate educational institutions for the Jewish population. Here, nineteenth-century Dutch Jewish historian Hendrik Jakob Koenen implies that Jewish children were indeed theoretically allowed to be educated alongside Christians (Koenen, 1843: 389), but the whole Christian focus of *the* Maatschappij tot

Nut van ' t Algemeen and the emphasis on Christian content, particularly in music and singing, was possibly a deterrent for many Jews. The only other vocal activity in primary schools was that of singing Psalms, a requirement put in place as part of the Maatschappij to Nut van ‘t Algemeen’s 1806 education reforms and patently did not keep pace with other subject reforms. The Psalms were ‘sung, or rather, shouted out every day at the beginning or end of the school day’ (Kist, 1851: 2), presumably as a consequence of a lack of formal elementary singing lessons. Upon investigating the evidence presented it would appear that the process of reform and introduction of singing in schools was also of little benefit to the majority of Christian Dutch students, even though they were arguably more familiar with the religious content of the texts.

Ultimately then, the 1806 education reforms served to segment Dutch society with a resistance to conform to any reforms from Christian religious groups, leading ultimately to a compartmentalisation into mainly Protestant and Catholic sections, again marginalising the Jewish communities. Instead of ‘social homogenization’ (Dodde and Stultjens, 1996: 69) within the education sector with multi-religious schools being created, Christianity, as seen in singing materials, remained central to educational ethos and separate Catholic, Protestant and Jewish schools instead emerged, although all were expected to deliver literacy and numerical skills. This religious segmentation would be central to ‘pillarisation’ and the formation of religious and political groups which would occur at the end of the century. Consequently, Jewish schools were thin on the ground, and those that existed tended to focus their resources on Jewish religious education. So, it is evident that after emancipation the Jewish population were still not able to integrate into full Dutch society.

In an attempt to counteract this in 1817 the government declared that ‘all denominational schools had to be closed, and new non-denominational state-supervised schools took their place’ (Wingerden and Miedema, 2003: 31). Jewish children were meant to routinely attend state schools for the secular part of their education alongside their Christian counterparts and adhere to a national secular education. In the first ever documented history of the Jews in the Netherlands (1843), Koenen reinforces this point when he states that according to its own statutes ‘the Maatschappij tot Nut van ' t Algemeen should not be allowed to set

aside the principle of being a Christian association, and so when it began to focus on its contribution to the reform of education in the Netherlands, the society did not extend the circle of her work to the Israelites [Jews]' (Koenen, 1843: 389).This sentiment also extended to many state schools resulting in Jewish students again being barred and excluded from mainstream state education.

The few Jewish schools that did exist were known in the Netherlands as Jewish 'poor' schools where the Jewish religious element of their education was meant to have been taught. They were meant to cater for the less fortunate members of Dutch-Jewish society, and only succeeded in continuing to further marginalise Jewish citizens by stigmatising them socially as 'poor' and maintaining the cultural barrier of separate language and religious culture. However, this continued Jewish compartmentalisation in the Netherlands pleased the parnasim (Jewish community leaders) as it maintained their ability to have an element of control within their Jewish communities. This policy of Jewish exclusion and marginalisation was still in existence in 1849, a year after the Maatschappij tot Nut van de Israëliten in Nederland (Society for the Welfare of the Jews in the Netherlands) was founded by a group of Jewish liberals. The year of the society's formation is significant in that it coincided with the 1848 Revolutions which took place across much of Europe. Many of its principles mirrored those of the earlier French Revolution with a basic approach of 'enlightenment, liberalism, and the rights of man' (Baron, 1949: 196). Consequently, Jewish emancipation was granted in several countries and states. The Dutch-Jewish society was created to improve the social conditions of the Dutch Jews, in much the same way that De Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen was doing for non-Jews. One of its founding members, A.S. van Nierop, had petitioned for Jewish inclusion within the Nut for fifteen years, but even in 1849 the society 'kept its doors firmly shut to Jews, denying them access to its national network of schools, lecture courses, and libraries' (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007a: 222).

Ultimately, as Fuks-Mansfeld argues, even the formation of a Jewish Nut was not enough to advance Jewish culture, an issue that was further compounded with future education reforms. The next Dutch education reform came in 1857 and had an equivocal effect on Jewish education and civil status. A withdrawal of government subsidies meant that the religious aspect of education was now removed from the

curriculum in preference to secular subjects, along with the making compulsory of the Dutch language as opposed to the use of Yiddish as a main means of communication and learning. This had the effect of marginalising Jewish education, and according to Dodde and Stultjens, ‘Jewish children were being turned into Dutch children’ (Dodde and Stultjens, 1996: 86). Musically, this was also evident within education, with compulsory singing lessons to take place in primary schools. This programme was organised according to the model of the earlier folk-singing schools of the Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen. Singing books that were widely in use at this time included *De Muzikale Vriend der Jeugd* (The Musical Friend of Youth), and also several books of poems by Jan Pieter Heije (1809-1876) set to music by various composers, the most notable being Henri Viotta (1848-1933) (Stroop, 2002: 243). The common ground that these song books had in common with the music reforms in education is that they were based on the ideals of The Enlightenment which had its roots in nationalism and the promotion of strong native Dutch traditions. Paradoxically, as Dutch society resigned itself to a gradual, albeit amongst the bourgeoisie in particular, reluctant acceptance of Jewish integration in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it may have facilitated the small beginnings of the rise in Jewish participation in Western art music.

De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst and Dutch Musical Nationalism

Eight years after the Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen began to explore the viability of the formation of a society to promote music as an art form, Dutch school music teacher A.C.G. Vermeulen was finally responsible for the establishment of the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, founded on 20 April 1829. The Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst was founded as and organised along the same lines as the Maatschappij Tot Nut van ’t Algemeen; the two shared a number of board members between them. It was not confined to Amsterdam, as other nationwide branches were immediately created in Dordrecht, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Utrecht, with each branch setting up its own specialist independent singing and music schools, several of which formed the basis for current government-sponsored conservatoires such as the Conservatorium van Amsterdam

which was officially established by the Dutch government in 1884. The *Arnhemsche courant* of 21 July 1829 printed an article regarding the content of the society's first general meeting in Amsterdam and in it stated that 'the aim of society is to promote music in the Netherlands by every possible means. In particular, she will try to arouse more and more the appetite for music among the Nation and to spread good musical knowledge' (*Arnhemsche courant*, 21 July 1829: 2). To achieve this goal with what was historically a very limited Dutch national musical tradition regarding both composing and performing at the very highest levels, would theoretically be an arduous task. Again, the society's 1828 book of rules and regulations provides an insight into how this was gradually achieved, and a selection of its aims that helped achieve this are outlined below:

- The promotion of the performance of music by Dutch composers who were encouraged to submit to the society any works that they would like to have published.

- The promotion of the sale of Dutch music both within and outside the Netherlands.

- The presentation of prizes for the best arrangements of well-known larger symphonies or overtures for small orchestras in inner cities where musical instruments and players are less readily available.

- The prioritising of music education and singing as a lasting concern through monetary contributions to promising young students who wanted to study in higher education and enter the profession.

- The maintenance or instigation of good quality concerts, particularly regarding singing associations.[12]

[12] Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief. Archive 611. Folder 1.1.2 *Inventaris van het Archief van de Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst*. *Wetten en Reglementen. 2-3.* 1829

These aims, like the establishment of the society, were as already pointed out intrinsically driven by Dutch Christian nationalistic motives which had its origins in the Age of Enlightenment. Through the medium of music, the society's board members wanted to unite the citizens of the Netherlands and promote the culture of their own nation. This was arguably, by its very nature, a very partisan approach to musically uniting a nation, considering the Jews were still largely an alienated non-Christian faction of Dutch society. As we have seen in Chapter 2, the emancipation at the time of the Batavian Republic, although theoretically granting Dutch Jews equal rights, was still a contentious issue even as late as 1829. From 1796 debates in the National Assembly continued to rage over whether Jews should be accepted as full Dutch citizens, as many members of the assembly still considered Jews to be foreigners. Fuks-Mansfeld wrote that 'it was to take until well into the nineteenth century before Jews in the Netherlands were completely emancipated' (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007b: 190). However, this was not a one-sided affair as, unlike in other European countries, there was initially an element of resistance from a small number of traditionalist Jewish leaders in some communities who felt that emancipation would loosen their control over their individual communities (Fuks Mansfeld, 2007b: 190).

By 1836, in an attempt to drive the development of music in schools and choral singing in the Netherlands, the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst organised a number of music competitions which were of a nationalistic flavour. The entry criteria were explained during the society's seventh annual General Assembly, held in The Hague at the end of August 1836; the critera were published in the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* on 7 September 1836. The first competition was devised 'to give rise to a more frequent practice of church singing and of the doctrine of single and double counterpoint' (Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, 7 September 1836: 2). The second competition was for the creation of 'a manual for the classroom teaching of choral singing, from the very first principles, with regard to what is required for the correct singing and good performance of polyphonic parts. It should be written in the Low German language and adapted to the existing needs in this country, suitable as well as for proper singing schools, as well as to serve as a guide for the teachers at primary schools in the teaching of the art of singing' (Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, 7 September 1836: 2). The prize

money for each category was four hundred guilders (in modern day terms more than £3,500) and was thus a considerable amount of money – a measure of the importance attached to the task in hand. Eventually, by 1840, singing and appropriate singing manuals began to successfully filter into the 'volksscholen', or folk schools, which were the government sponsored primary schools at that time. However, the evidence suggests that the nationalistic nature of this process was dominated by the methods, ethos, and music of the Christian church, which after all, was the dominant religious affiliation as demonstrated in Ex. 2.3.[13] Although not explicitly excluded from such state schools, it was again difficult for Jews to access these opportunities as 'quite a few objections arose on the part of Dutch Israelites against sending their children to such a school' (Janssen, 1977: 51) because of the religious incompatibility involved. This, combined with the Dutch bourgeoisie's still-lingering reluctance to fully embrace Jews as full Dutch citizens, meant that they were still largely excluded from many of the important musical developments that were in progress at that time.

Year	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Jewish	Other
1830	59.1%	40.8%	1.8%	0.1%
1840	59.6%	40.3%	1.8%	0.1%
1849	59.7%	38.4%	1.9%	0.1%

Ex. 2.3. Religious affiliations in the Netherlands, 1830-1849

Liedertafel and Nationalism

Protestant and Roman Catholic religious bias was not the only factor at play here, and the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst's programme of developing choral music and singing festivals harboured some complex nationalistic implications. Many of these newly formed choirs were *Liedertafel* societies ('song table') and the central ethos of these choirs was that in the *Liedertafel* style of

[13] Source for statistics: 1830-1971 Dutch Censuses, www.volkstellingen.nl [accessed 6 February 2022]

singing the social aspect was as important as the unpretentious singing style employed. These ensembles were very important in that they made a significant contribution to the revival of music life in the Netherlands (Heydenrijck, 1861: 3). The origins of Liedertafel go back to Berlin in 1809 where Carl Friedrich Zelter formed an exclusive singing club in the form of a male voice choir specifically for the bourgeois. This first society was known as Zelter Liedertafel and was composed of twenty-five men for whom any form of musical ability was not considered a prerequisite (Dahlhaus, 2011: 48). The social exclusivity of the early Dutch Liedertafel societies was a hindrance to musical and social progress due to their bourgeois belief that the upper classes harboured more musical talent than their poorer brethren. Consequently, these early societies 'had become closed clubs that admitted new members only by vote' (Vos, 2015: 114). This suggests that, like the Maatschappij Tot Nut van 't Algemeen, and Felix Meritis, attempts at Jewish membership on this basis would have again resulted in exclusion.

The German influence on both Dutch Liedertafel and singing festivals was, as in most other musical activity during the earlier part of the nineteenth century, a dominant factor. This is a relevant point, as the Dutch model of what constituted 'nationalism' in Liedertafel developed very much in parallel with the rise of nationalism in Germany[14] during the nineteenth century. According to musicologist James Brinkman, the tradition of German male chorus and German song became synonymous with a 'united Germany [...] and an agent of social and political change' (Brinkman, 1970: 16), and this sort of thinking was also evident in late eighteenth-century German literature which often 'heralded a new age of freedom and nationalism' (Brinkman, 1970: 16). This cultural phenomenon had its origins in the War of Liberation of 1813-1814 when the German nation was part of a coalition that defeated Napoleon and sent him into exile in Elba, hence salvaging and rebuilding national pride after defeats in 1806.

Male choirs developed into a national movement and such groups emerged in all parts of Germany, with their political influence growing with their pursuit of a united Germany. From this grew the Liedertafel where men gathered socially around a table

[14] Germany did not formally exist as a united state until 1864. Throughout this chapter I will refer to the original separate states as 'Germany'

and ‘sang of the ideal German way of life and the unity of their nation’ (Brinkman, 1970: 18). Historian Brian Vick elaborates on this and describes how ‘German nationalists exhibited a pronounced tendency to venerate their ethnic and cultural roots and to abominate any perceived intrusions of other peoples or cultures ‘trumpeting the natural simplicity and noble purity of their Teutonic forebears’ culture and bloodline’ (Vick, 2003: 241). This, along with the historical influence of the romantic movement which was absorbed in the ideas of ‘nature, the deep past, folkways, and organicism’ (Vick, 2003: 241) were to become the central focus of much of Wagner’s rhetoric regarding *Deutschtum*, or the concept of German spirit and character in Germany, and also featured prominently in his Ring cycle which was composed between 1848 and 1874. Wagner’s thoughts and writings in this respect, along with his overt antisemitism, would arguably go on to play a major influence on Hitler who regarded Wagner as a ‘supreme prophetic figure’ (Jacobs, 1941: 81).

It is difficult to ascertain as to whether the same level of nationalistic fervour was stirred up by *Liedertafel* in the Netherlands, but Dutch composer and musicologist Florentius Cornelis Kist (1796–1863) certainly argued that the formation of Liedertafel and singing festivals were a ‘mimicry of what our artistic neighbours the Germans are doing,’ and that the citizens of the Netherlands held a deep fascination for the German nationalistic influence, and ‘kept up with these developments either by reading German newspapers or by going to their festivals’ (Kist, 1852: 211). One thing is however certain, and that is that the Dutch Liedertafel groups, through expression of their fellowship, were able to, and did, express their collective ideals and politics. The social exclusivity and nationalistic tendencies of these groups would certainly not have been appropriate for the Dutch-Jews during the first half of the nineteenth century because the social exclusivity of Christians at this time meant that, like membership of the music societies, ‘most of the male choral societies of the first generation had become closed clubs that admitted new members only by vote’ (Vos, 2015: 114). This also applied to the music and singing festivals that were organised in the Netherlands, particularly the Dutch National Song Festivals which later took place from 1853 onwards. Prior to this, in 1845, Dutch Liedertafel groups, along with German counterparts, participated in singing festivals held in the Lower Rhine. The main aim of these dual nationality singing events was rooted in the desire

of the organisers to encourage and nurture a sense of national brotherhood between the Dutch and German singers. Some historians and writers, such as German-born Otto Elben (1823-1899) who wrote extensively about Liedertafel, expressed a rather extreme interpretation of 'national brotherhood' in his book *Der volksthümliche deutsche Männergesang.* In a chapter entitled 'German Land Above All' he discussed his views that the Netherlands, as well as Flanders and parts of Austria and Switzerland, should unite as part of Germany, although contrary to this view Dutch nationalists were not interested in uniting with Germany, so much as making a Dutch nation. Although Liedertafel would eventually become instrumental in a revival of Dutch music, it at this point had an adverse effect, in that in the words of Jozef Vos, there was no doubt that 'the Lower Rhine Dutch Song Festivals contributed to the "Germanization" of Dutch male choral song' because of the very low representation of Dutch music as compared with German music.

As already mentioned, like the music societies of the early nineteenth century, the evidence presented by Kist points towards an exclusion of Jewish members and participation in Dutch Liedertafel groups mainly because of Dutch nationalism, opposition to Jewish involvement, and the Christian dominance of the Dutch bourgeoisie who dominated many of these choirs, but also the political climate in the first half of the nineteenth-century where there was still a reluctance to acknowledge Jews as full Dutch citizens and not as foreigners. Further evidence to reinforce this claim presents itself in the Dutch media during the 1850s, in which the newly formed Jewish *Liedertafel* group Harpe Davids was widely discussed. This solely Jewish male choir was formed as a separate entity in June 1852 by violinist A.J. Schnitzler with the cooperation of Mr. S. Kaufman, with the purpose of initially performing mainly for Jewish religious events. Harpe Davids evidently received opposition to its formation and participation in concerts and events. An article written in the principal music periodical in the Netherlands, *Caecilia,* on 15 December 1854 singled out Harpe Davids for special comment but also highlighted a certain level of negativity surrounding their foundation and existence. 'Among the Rotterdam Liedertafels, the Harpe Davids certainly deserves high recognition, both because of the perseverance with which [the choir] has continued her work, despite all opposition, and also because of the noble direction which we repeatedly noted in the programmes of [the choir's] performed works' (*Caecilia*, 15 December 1854: 228). A report in the

Rotterdamsche courant during 1855 offers praise for Harpe Davids' musical efforts, but also makes reference to the fact of the low level of public acceptance of the choir's exclusively Jewish identity. The report states that 'Harpe Davids occupies a not unimportant place. If its ideological interests cannot compete with others for priority in practical terms, it has shown a ray of light and has also shown that it does not have to give way to its sister organisations' (*Rotterdamsche courant*, 11 June 1855: 4). These reports indicate a level of reluctance in accepting Jewish musical participation on level terms with the rest of the Netherlands and illustrates the barriers in place which were preventing the development of significant Jewish musical representation. As will be noted later, due to a number of changing factors, this trend would gradually be reversed with Harpe Davids eventually becoming very successful in the field of competitive singing, and the involvement of prominent Jewish conductors and composers such as Sem Dresden, Max Vredenburg, and Sim Gokkes, the latter two composers being involved in Jewish nationalism and the Zionist movement later during the early twentieth century.

Intellectual Advancement

While the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst sought to promote singing and choirs in a Dutch nationalistic manner, and the Maatschappij Tot Nut van 't Algemeen's well-intended efforts were aimed at providing education and welfare for Dutch society's less fortunate population, other societies such as Felix Meritis (Happy Through Merit) were aimed more specifically towards the intellectual advancement of the bourgeoisie in the areas of art, culture, and sciences, and had a significant department devoted to the promotion of music. Felix Meritis was another extremely important and influential society that implied the exclusion of Jews from becoming members. It was founded fifty-two years before the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst in 1777, and below is an extract from the original document from that same year entitled the *Wetten der Maatschappy van Verdiensten, Onder de Zinspreuk: Felix Meritis* (*Laws of the Society of Merits, Under the Title: Felix Meritis*), which in translation clearly states its membership criteria and objectives encouraging specific membership criteria consisting of:

> men of proven good conduct; enthusiasts and experts in useful and noble arts and sciences, whose great objects are chiefly intended, to cultivate, by repaying true earnings, mind and virtue; to make useful and noble Kingdoms and Sciences flourish, and, to the best of their ability, to bring in all that may draw to increase commerce and seafaring from and across these lands; to continue and expand agriculture; to revive in this land the trades, factories, and crafts, so far as they are already decayed, and to preserve the remnant from decay, and to encourage new ones; also in order thus, since this, moreover, must be regarded by all righteous and right-thinking residents as one of the honours and greats duties, to do all that is necessary for the advancement of the prosperity and the timely happiness of the residents of this country in general, and of this city, which is so necessary for the whole republic in particular, can cooperate.[15]

Felix Meritis, founded by members of the Dutch bourgeoisie, was arguably the most important cultural society in Amsterdam by the mid-nineteenth century and was considered by nineteenth-century Dutch society to be a very exclusive organisation. Its main objectives were to promote an appreciation of the arts and sciences for its wealthy and influential members, more specifically Drawing, Physics, Music, Literature, and Commerce, but later focused on the Music Department in providing regular orchestral performances for the wealthy members (Mehos, 2006aa: 31). Access to these very formal concerts was for members only, and anyone who wanted to become a member had to go through a strict system of balloting, which meant that membership was seen as a kind of award and an honour that belonged only to the elite of Dutch society (Van der Wall, 2014: 28). A measure of its elitist image was borne out by the fact that compared to other contemporary Dutch societies ‘it charged significantly higher membership fees and excluded, for example, Jews from membership’ (Mehos, 2006b: 93) and only people who went through life as Christians were allowed to join (Van der Wall, 2014: 28). Again, an extract from the *Wetten der Maatschappy van Verdiensten, Onder de Zinspreuk: Felix Meritis* of

[15] *Wetten der Maatschappy van Verdiensten onder de Zinspreuk Felix Meritis* (1777)

1777 backs up this claim in its membership criteria by stating that members of the society should 'first of all consist of an indefinite number of members, all of the Christian religion',[16] hence enforcing Jewish exclusion. There was however one unsuccessful attempt call to allow Jewish membership when on 26 February 1795 Jacob van der Meersch, a more liberal-thinking member of the commerce department of Felix Meritis, proposed that 'as true Christians [the society] should also allow others to become members who also serve God and that are Jews' (Hanou, 1996: 3). This proposal proved unpopular and unsuccessful amongst other members and Jewish exclusion remain in place until 1857.

Social historian Huibert Schijf also provides some anecdotal evidence to support this Jewish exclusion and writes about the experience of a wealthy Dutch-Jewish family, the Königswarters, who at the start of the 1850s, organised music nights at their home for friends and business contacts. Sometimes, famous Italian opera singers came to the Netherlands to perform at Felix Meritis. However, even though Felix Meritis was just steps from their home, the Königswarters could not attend (Schijf, 1993: 7). Headway was beginning to be made as a result of assimilation and from 1857, Jews were admitted to Felix Meritis as members but were only allowed to attend concerts from 1862. Antisemitism, however, continued to play a more significant role than widely acknowledged in Dutch society, and the barring of Jews from membership in many élite clubs and societies would continue until into the twentieth century (Schijf and Voolen, 2010: 7).

It is notable that several music academics including Reeser and Thijsse who have written extensively about the role of Felix Meritis in Dutch society, have neglected to investigate the importance of this line of enquiry. I would emphasise, therefore, that antisemitism, or at least Jewish exclusion as defined in the introductory chapter, was retained up to and beyond 1880. This is supported by Dutch historian O. Vlessing, who argues that any form of social and civil equity for the Dutch Jews did not come into effect until 'the end of the nineteenth century and into the beginning of the twentieth century. [...] Jews had become increasingly integrated into Dutch society and could stand for public office' (Vlessing, 1996: 195).

[16] Ibid

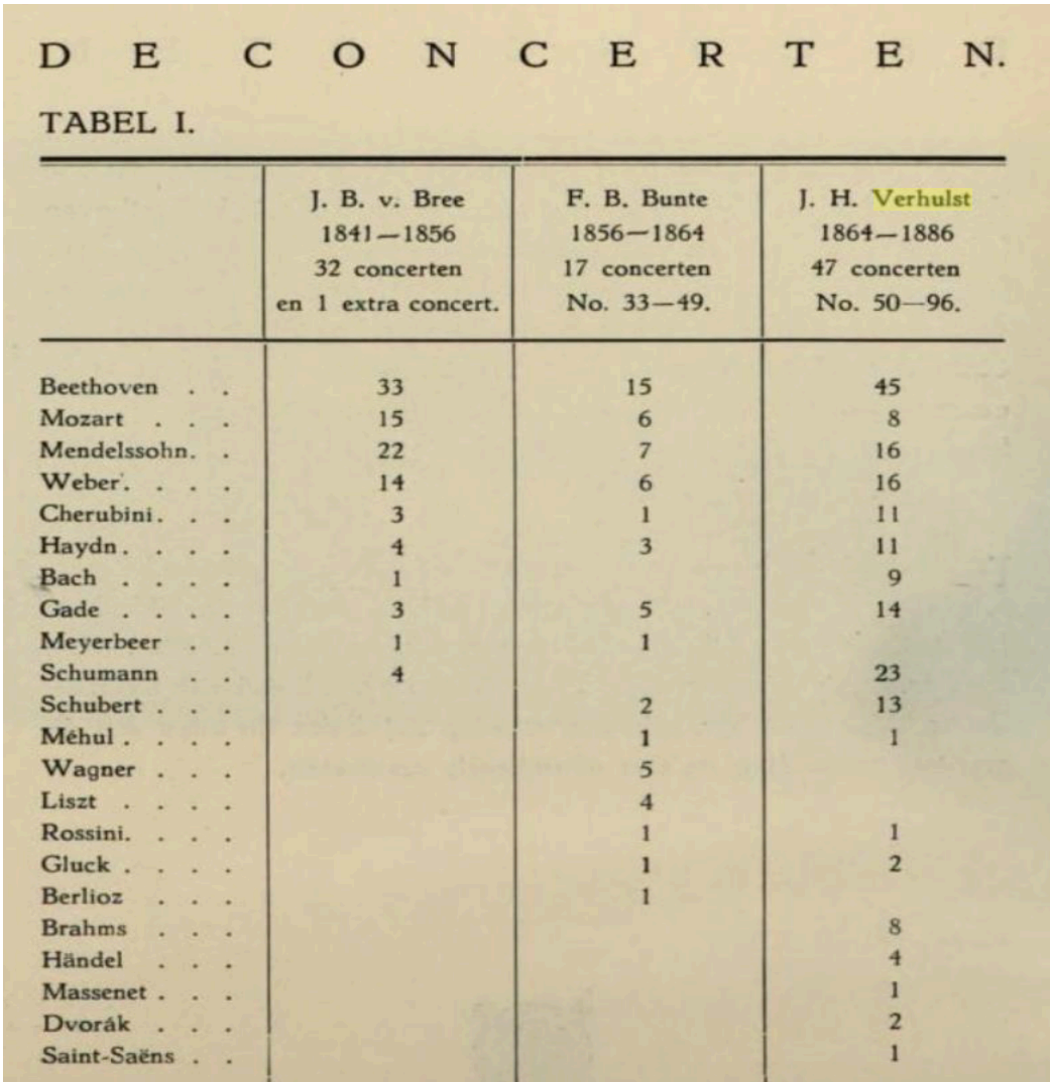
Johannes Verhulst: The Effects of National Musical Stagnation and Jewish Exclusion

Even though concert performances organised by musical societies were accessible to the Dutch bourgeoisie, the elite nature of this target audience meant that this exposure to art music was still not readily available across all social sectors of Dutch society, including the Jews. The conservative and unadventurous nature of the mainly Germanic repertoire also meant that there was little exposure to innovative music from other parts of Europe. Arguably, these factors contributed to there being a relatively low number of notable and progressive native Dutch composers, but this, combined with the level of musical exclusion imposed upon them, meant that Dutch Jews were much more disadvantaged with Joseph Ascher (1829-1869) being the only significant Jewish composer of these times.

It is therefore important to look at musical developments in both Jewish and non-Jewish terms in order to understand the Jewish situation, and by the end of the nineteenth century when Jews were subjected to less exclusion and restrictions Dutch-Jewish composers would begin to emerge as a sizeable group who were influential in changing the course of national Dutch musical development. We have already seen that the exclusion of Jews from Dutch musical society was a major inhibiting factor in the emergence of Jewish composers or art music, but what was the cause of this lack of a national Dutch musical tradition which could be boasted by neighbouring countries such as Germany, France, and Italy? After all, this was ultimately another factor that affected the Jews. Reeser, along with several media journalists of the time, have very much placed the blame for a perceived general stagnation of music in the Netherlands firmly at the hands of the Dutch composer and conductor Johannes Verhulst (1816-1891) who was pre-occupied with performing German music in his concert programmes. Verhulst wielded a considerable amount of musical influence, not only with the Felix Meritis orchestra, but also but also the orchestra of the Caecilia society (Reeser, 1986: 136). On 19 March 1886 the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant* presented a lengthy article regarding Verhulst's career as a conductor where his conservative attitude in refusing to employ a wider repertoire in his concert programmes was highlighted:

> The history of the concert world is therefore closely interwoven with that of the music director Verhulst. In the field of music education, he has moved little, if at all; he has not formed a school [of national musical style] in the proper sense of the word either directly through his education or through his immediate leadership. He has exerted no or at least slight influence on the younger generation of artists (*Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant*, 19 March 1886: 5).

This theory is partly borne out by inspection of an archival copy of the centenary report of the Maatschappij Caecilia which was published in 1941 during the Nazi occupation, presumably to underline German hegemony. Ex. 2.4 illustrates the Germanic bias in Verhulst's concert programmes for Caecilia's orchestra between 1864 and 1886 with a notable emphasis on the music of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Weber, Schumann, and Schubert. The fact that he refused to endorse the music of Liszt, Berlioz, and Wagner is conspicuous in their omission from his concerts (*Maatschappij Caecilia*, 1941: 50).



D E C O N C E R T E N.

TABEL I.

	J. B. v. Bree 1841—1856 32 concerten en 1 extra concert.	F. B. Bunte 1856—1864 17 concerten No. 33—49.	J. H. Verhulst 1864—1886 47 concerten No. 50—96.
Beethoven	33	15	45
Mozart	15	6	8
Mendelssohn	22	7	16
Weber	14	6	16
Cherubini	3	1	11
Haydn	4	3	11
Bach	1		9
Gade	3	5	14
Meyerbeer	1	1	
Schumann	4		23
Schubert		2	13
Méhul		1	1
Wagner		5	
Liszt		4	
Rossini		1	1
Gluck		1	2
Berlioz		1	
Brahms			8
Händel			4
Massenet			1
Dvorák			2
Saint-Saëns			1

Ex. 2.4. Comparison table illustrating Verhulst's tendency to concentrate on a limited German repertoire while director of the orchestra of the Maatschappij Caecilia between 1864 and 1886 (*Maatschappij Caecilia*, 1941: 50)

Moreover, on close inspection of a database of Felix Meritis concert programmes from 1832 to 1888 (compiled at the University of Amsterdam) it can be seen that there was a consistent heavy bias towards the inclusion of music from the Austro-Germanic tradition which did include the music of Jewish composer Felix Mendelssohn (van Nieuwkerk et al., 2020) whose music was elsewhere much esteemed in the Netherlands. This raises the question as to why Mendelssohn's music was acceptable in a cultural world where a certain degree of antisemitism still existed. Musicologist Leon Botstein points out that Mendelssohn was publicly keen

to distance himself from his Jewish background, ‘and, at minimum, played along with widespread anti-Semitic stereotypes of the era’ (Botstein, 2009: 2). There is also evidence that the Dutch contribution was relatively small and under-represented in comparison (van Nieuwkerk et al., 2020). A two-year sample taken from 1832 to 1834 illustrates this, and archival records reveal that the same pattern continued through to 1888, although with the gradual emergence of the inclusion of French repertoire which would eventually attract the focus of Dutch-Jewish composers at the start of the twentieth century.

Date	Percentage of Austro-Germanic Music	Number of Musical items by Dutch Composers
16 Nov 1832	60%	
23 Nov 1832	75%	1
30 Nov 1832	50%	1
7 Dec 1832	50%	1
14 Dec 1832	40%	
21 Dec 1832	70%	
28 Dec 1832	50%	
4 Jan 1833	70%	1
11 Jan 1833	63%	
18 Jan 1833	88%	
25 Jan 1833	25%	
1 Feb 1833	100%	
8 Feb 1833	60%	1
15 Feb 1833	90%	
22 Feb 1833	29%	
11 Mar 1833	60%	1
8 Mar 1833	38%	
15 Mar 1833	81%	

22 Mar 1833	29%	
29 Mar 1833	57%	
15 Nov 1833	100%	
22 Nov 1833	100%	
29 Nov 1833	63%	
6 Dec 1833	80%	1
13 Dec 1833	70%	1
20 Dec 1833	75%	
3 Jan 1834	90%	
10 Jan 1834	80%	
17 Jan 1834	50%	
24 Jan 1834	87%	1
31 Jan 1834	30%	
7 Feb 1834	50%	1
14 Feb 1834	62%	
21 Feb 1834	70%	
28 Feb 1834	55%	1
7 Mar 1834	70%	
14 Mar 1834	100%	
21 Mar 1834	70%	
4 Apr 1834	50%	
11 Apr 1834	75%	1
14 Nov 1834	55%	1
21 Nov 1834	60%	
28 Nov 1834	50%	
5 Dec 1834	70%	1
12 Dec 1834	60%	
19 Dec 1834	60%	

Ex. 2.5. Inclusion of Austro-Germanic and Dutch music in Felix Meritis concert programmes between 1832-1834 (van Nieuwkerk et al., 2020)

Ex. 2.5 demonstrates that the percentage of German/Austrian music included in

Felix Meritis concerts rarely dropped below 50% but was frequently in the region between 60-100%. This amounted to a high ratio of Germanic repertoire to other repertoire that would consequently restrict home-grown music developments within the Netherlands during the nineteenth century; there were only fourteen compositions by Dutch composers included in a three-year span, most of those by the same composer Johannes van Bree (1801-1857), director of Felix Meritis from 1829. This limitation was most certainly true in the case of the Dutch Jews. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century that we saw the emergence of prominent Jewish composers in the Netherlands such as Sem Dresden (1881-1942) who would eventually go on to teach several of a new generation of Dutch-Jewish composers.

Felix Meritis concert programmes of the nineteenth century reveal that there were a small number of notable Dutch composers during the early to mid-nineteenth century whose compositions merited public performance. These included Johannes Josephus Viotta (1814-1859), Johannes Bernadus van Bree (1801-1857), Richard Hol (1825-1904), and Johannes Verhulst, but Jewish composers are a notable omission. As we have already observed via the concert programme archives of Felix Meritis the focus on German repertoire was a common feature from the start of the nineteenth century, so it is unfair to single out Verhulst as the main protagonist in the concept of lack of a Dutch musical tradition and heritage. It is more a case of historical coincidence: it just so happened that Verhulst was a composer and conductor with wide-ranging musical influence who preceded a national appetite for a change of musical direction. Ex. 2 also illustrates that two other conductors of Maatschappij Caecilia before Verhulst, J.B. van Bree between 1841 and 1856, and F.B. Bunte between 1856 and 1864, both conducted programmes with an Austro-Germanic bias, although Bunte ventured into the music of Wagner which Verhulst categorically refused to do.

It is true that Verhulst wielded a great deal of influence on the musical life of the Netherlands, and this was mainly due to the logistics of holding three important positions within various institutions. In 1860 he succeeded Johann Heinrich Lübeck (1799-1865) as the conductor of the Diligentia concerts in The Hague, and in 1864 was appointed as musical director of the orchestras of both Maatschappij Caecilia

and Felix Meritis in Amsterdam. Also, in 1864 he was the director of the local Amsterdam department of De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst or MBT (The Society for the Promotion of Music). As we have established, many of these music societies had a policy of excluding Jews from membership and participation, and although there is no available evidence to demonstrate that Verhulst himself was publicly antisemitic, he did willingly hold prominent positions within these societies. In that respect Verhulst was compliant in accepting and facilitating Jewish exclusion by not questioning their policies, and from a modern perspective can therefore be categorised as an enabler of antisemitism as defined by Lipstadt in the introductory chapter; the same being applicable regarding his close relationship with Robert Schumann. This friendship was forged during Verhulst's own time in Leipzig and may have been the main reason for Verhulst's preoccupation with German repertoire and ultimate influence in the Netherlands. Indeed, musicologist Jeroen van Gessel makes this very point when he writes that 'Verhulst was closer and more intimate with Schumann than any other members of the Leipzig circle; Schumann's opinions mattered more to him than those of other colleagues' (van Gessel, 2010: 141).

Although there is a lack of evidence regarding Verhulst's antisemitism it is worth noting that, as we shall presently see, Schumann had a tendency to lapse into an antisemitic tone, and it would not be unreasonable to assume that his opinions were discussed with Verhulst, who, as we now know, valued Schumann's views and would have been yet another example of Verhulst being an antisemitic enabler. This would particularly have been the case in any discussions between Verhulst and Schumann regarding Felix Mendelssohn who was a friend of both composers. This may seem odd, but there have been many instances of this contradictory behaviour in the world of music with the relationship between conductor Mengelberg and Mahler being an example cited in a later chapter. Mendelssohn had taught Verhulst in Leipzig during 1838 and remained a good friend and was also an old friend of Schumann from their time together in Leipzig in the 1830s and 1840s (van Gessel, 2010: 125).

Evidence of Schumann's alleged antisemitism exists in his marriage diary where he writes about his friend Mendelssohn: 'Clara told me that I seemed to have changed toward Mendelssohn: surely not toward him as an artist, as you know - for years I

have contributed so much to promoting him, more than almost anyone else. In the meantime - let us not neglect ourselves too much. Jews remain Jews; first they take a seat ten times for themselves, then come the Christians. The stones we have helped gather for their Temple of Glory they occasionally throw at us ... We must also work for ourselves' (Sposato, 2009: 4). Clara's simple reply to this letter was that maybe they should not be friends with him anymore. Schumann also demonstrated frequent vitriol towards German-Jewish composer Giacomo Meyerbeer, and in 1837 was scathing of his opera *Les Huguenots*, expressing great distaste that he had incorporated materials based on Martin Luther's hymn *A Mighty Fortress is our God*. Schumann wrote:

> Meyerbeer's success in our musically healthy Germany is enough to make one question one's own sanity [...] I cannot describe or quell the loathing with which the whole thing filled us [. . .] I am no moralist but it is too much for a good Protestant when he hears his most hallowed song [the chorale 'Ein Feste Burg ' is quoted in the opera] bawled forth from the stage [...] One may search in vain for a sustained pure thought, a truly Christian sentiment. Meyerbeer nails heart to skin and says "That's it. You can reach out and touch it!' It is all contrived, all make-believe and hypocrisy! (Schumann and Pleasants, 1988: 137-138)

However, the perceived negative influence cast by the dominance of Verhulst in Dutch musical life through his passion for German music and particularly that of Schumann came to an end in 1883 when the board of directors for the Diligentia concerts began periodically employing Richard Hol (1825-1904) in order that Wagner's music could be included in programmes. There was a general frustration and discontent with Verhulst's musical conservatism and his ongoing obsession with the music of Schumann and Mendelssohn as highlighted in an article written in the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant* published on 19 March 1886, which stated that Verhulst was 'not fond of the so called newer direction that music was moving in, especially the with the works of Wagner, Liszt, and Berlioz', and that there was 'tremendous resistance manifesting itself against [Verhulst's] chosen direction' (*Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant*, 19 March 1886: 5).

Due to this discontent Verhulst gave up his commitment to Diligentia and was consequently made an honorary member on his seventieth birthday in 1886. This was rescinded three months later, whereupon Verhulst resigned from all of his remaining musical commitments (Reeser, 1986: 136). There does seem however to be some discrepancy regarding these events with apparent rumours circulating between the various societies, suggesting that the Board of Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst had actually demanded the resignation of Verhulst as director of its Amsterdam division. In order to clarify this, a letter was sent by the president of Caecilia, Mr W. Stumpff, to the chairman of MBT, Mr D.H. Joosten, requesting clarity so that as 'the largest Association in Amsterdam, consisting exclusively of musical artists, can [publicly] express its feelings about the interests of musical arts in the capital'. The letter from the Board of Caecilia was published in *Het Nieuws van den Dag: Kleine Courant* on 24 July 1886 and clarified the situation stating that 'our contract with Mr. Verhulst is still in progress [and] the board therefore continues to honour the contract, but releases Mr Verhulst from any of his obligations' (*Het Nieuws van den Dag: Kleine Courant*, 24 July 1886: 9). Whether or not the Board of MTB wanted Verhulst's resignation, or he resigned of his own accord is a matter for debate against the backdrop of rumours and lack of initial transparency between cultural societies. The fact remains that Verhulst gave up all his musical commitments in 1886 and this marked the start of a new musical era in the Netherlands.

The Dutch musical landscape began to change quite dramatically after Verhulst's dominance with a move away from the influence of German composers and a gradual but partial integration of Jews into a still antisemitic Dutch society towards the end of the nineteenth century. In place of Germanic repertoire, French music began to gain in popularity and influence in concert repertoire in the Netherlands. The roots of this phenomenon are obscure, but Dutch musicologists Eleonore Pameijer and Carine Alders claim that 'although this was partly a result of the strength of a new school of French composers, the political and cultural climate in the Netherlands was also changing. Directly prior to the Second World War, affinity with French music even became a political statement, a declaration of opposition to the [forthcoming] rising Nazi regime' (Alders and Pameijer, 2015: 10). As very near neighbours, the Netherlands during the second half of the nineteenth century was

certainly living in the shadow of the rise of nationalism in Germany. As direct neighbours, Dutch citizens would have been acutely aware that between 1870 and 1945, nationalism had become a significant presence and at times was more of a 'destabilizing force in politics and social life than it had previously been in German society' (Judson, 2011: 499). After all, on a musical front, Dutch musicians involved in the *Liedertafel* movement would have been particularly familiar with the German fascination with nationalism and the German desire for the Netherlands to be united with Germany before this time. Antisemitic behaviour was also on the rise in various German states throughout the nineteenth century with Jews still having to endure residence restrictions as late as the 1860s, resulting in large numbers of Jews emigrating (Johnson, 1987: 313). A large number of Ashkenazi Jews ended up emigrating to the Netherlands and information regarding the situation for the Jews in Germany would have certainly filtered through into the Dutch Ashkenazi communities.

Conclusion: The Emergence of Jewish Musical Representation

With the prominence of so many cultural and musical societies in the Netherlands during the first half of the nineteenth century, it could be assumed that this should have been a time when potential Dutch composers had many opportunities to immerse themselves in and be inspired by the musical environment that was available to them. Of course, as we have seen, this was not to be the case. There could be several explanations for this: the fact that cultural societies were the domain of the bourgeoisie, hence excluding potential composers not from this social class; a further factor is what is perceived to have been the stagnated state of the Germanic orientated repertoire being performed at that time. This could possibly account for the lack of developing and innovative Dutch composers in general, but what of Dutch-Jews? They faced the same potential barriers as everyone else, but as we have seen, they faced the added difficulties of exclusion from such societies, even though there was patently an appetite for Western art music amongst some Jews, particularly in the synagogues as shall be discussed later in Chapter 5.

Beyond these obstacles, the eventual emergence of Dutch-Jewish composers in the

second half of the nineteenth century was, in my opinion, the result of a convergence of several important factors which included education reforms and the consequent access to music schools which eventually become the music conservatoires, and also the post-Verhulst era which heralded a move away from Germanic musical influence with the emergence of a more varied repertoire in Dutch concerts. This last point is very important as the Dutch-Jewish composers initially found their voice with the stylistic traits found in the music of French composers such as Debussy and Ravel. As argued by Alders and Pameijer earlier in this chapter, the political climate in neighbouring Germany in the aftermath of World War One and beyond may have been a good enough reason to reinforce the move away from this Germanic musical influence and to look more towards the influence of the French as was the case after 1886. This was a move embraced by the Dutch-Jewish composers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There did however seem to also exist a level of Dutch anti-German sentiment throughout the nineteenth century which may have had an influence on musical attitudes, although there is little evidence to support this theory. This anti-German sentiment is, however, echoed by Dutch historian Schrover who states that 'there was [...] a new fear that parts of the Netherlands might be annexed by a unifying German state [and that] the so-called Limburg Issue that arose in 1848 sparked these fears' (Schrover, 2006: 854). As already mentioned, there were also several other factors at play which facilitated a revival in the fortunes of Dutch music and in particular the rise of the influence of the Dutch-Jewish composers on musical developments further ahead during the early part of the twentieth century.

In truth, as we have touched upon, it was possibly a convergence of several influential occurrences that resulted in this phenomenon. Firstly, during the second half of the nineteenth century there was an increasing public tolerance towards Dutch Jews, particularly the bourgeoisie, with restrictions gradually being eased and Jews being able to participate in Dutch culture. Certainly in 1850 numerous cultural societies tentatively began to allow Jewish participation, thus enabling the first real Dutch-Jewish representation in the world of Dutch music, as well as art. This involvement continued to slowly grow as highlighted by Fuks-Mansfeld who states that 'in the 1860s Jewish participation in the cultural [...] life of the country accelerated slightly', and that by 1870 it began to '[assume] more tangible

proportions' (Fuks Mansfeld, 2007a: 226). Secondly, there were the education reforms of 1857 enabling many Jews access to state education, which although not completely successful from a Jewish perspective, eventually presented the opportunity for Dutch-Jewish musicians to attend music schools and conservatoires such as the Amsterdamsch Conservatorium and Koninklijk Conservatorium in The Hague. These institutions provided the advanced musical education which enambled them to progress into various musical careers. Finally, there was an upturn in economic growth in the Netherlands at the end of the century was of great benefit to the arts, helping to remove the social and economic barriers that had until that point prevented Jews from serious participation in music. It also meant that in the aftermath of Verhulst's resignation from Felix Meritis, there was funding for the foundation of the Concertgebouw Ltd. and the consequent building of the Concertgebouw and formation of the Concertgebouw Orchestra in 1888. This resulted in the closure of organisations such as the Felix Meritis and the Parkzaal orchestras with the Concertgebouw Orchestra filling the void under the leadership of Willem Kes between 1888-1895.

With the foundation of the Concertgebouw Orchestra Willem Kes had a sizeable influence on the future development of Dutch music, because he instilled new levels of professionalism and a new and varied repertoire which also included many contemporary works (Veen and Giskes, 2001). The concert programmes were more varied than ever before and the inclusion of French composers was notable and included contemporary works by Léo Delibes, Saint Saëns, Ernest Gillet, Georges Bizet, Hector Berlioz, Charles Gounod, Ambroise Thomas, and Louis-César Desormes. Jewish musicians were now able to access this kaleidoscope of new music from France and indeed other parts of Europe which included the music of Wagner and Richard Strauss from Germany, Glinka from Russia, Edvard Grieg from Norway, Karl Goldmark from Hungary, and Antonin Dvořák from Czechia. The Concertgebouw Orchestra concert archives reveal that the list of composers from all over Europe was extensive. The French influence would later become a dominant feature in the style of many Dutch-Jewish composers, amongst whom was Sem Dresden who would eventually teach composition at the Amsterdam Conservatoire from 1919. These factors, combined with the earlier education reforms that made the Dutch education system readily accessible to Jewish citizens, may have resulted in

diluting Jewish identity in the Netherlands during the second half of the nineteenth century, but in turn gave rise to a large number of influential Jewish composers.

Chapter Three – The Amsterdam Concertgebouw – Built on the Foundations of Exclusion and Oppression (A Case Study)

'While the leaders of all self-respecting cities abroad have made sure their cities are graced with good concert halls, our government has declared that these ill-fated “arts” are not its responsibility’ (Het Concertgebouw, 2020).

The purpose of these words, originally printed in the left-wing weekly newspaper *De Amsterdammer* in 1881, was to denounce the poor state of the performance of Western art music in Amsterdam. The statement may have encapsulated the general mood of many Dutch citizens who were involved in the world of music at all levels, both practitioners and the concert-going public. By the late nineteenth century, it was widely felt that the Netherlands lagged behind other parts of Europe in that there had been no solid musical tradition in the country since the prominence of composer Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621) during the late Renaissance, a situation exacerbated by successive governments’ reluctance to invest in public musical life (Cressman, 2014: 113).

By the very end of the nineteenth century, however, inroads were being made by some of the musically minded members of the Dutch bourgeoisie into making musical life in the Netherlands prosper once again. Up to this point Dutch orchestras were mainly attached to music societies and were of inferior musical quality compared with orchestras in other parts of Europe. These Dutch orchestras included Felix Meritis, Cecilia, and the Parkzaal and preceded the period of improvement which began to gain real momentum in 1881 (Giskes, 1989: 11). The key factor here, it is often said, was the drive towards the foundation of the Concertgebouw and the first performance by the Concertgebouw Orchestra in Amsterdam in 1888 (Delpeut, 2014: 7) although similar ventures would not materialise in other parts of the Netherlands until in excess of twenty years later. From this point on, these twin institutions, under the musical direction of Willem Kes, and later, Willem Mengelberg, gradually ‘evolved into a public institution with an adventurous repertoire and international allure’ which was able to attract many contemporary illustrious

composers to present their own works to a wider Dutch and eventually international audience (Koopman, 2021: 162). According to this perspective, the sheer brilliance and professionalism of the orchestra, along with the newfound exposure of many new and potentially influential compositions, served as a major inspiration to many young Dutch composers and performers. Nineteenth century newspaper articles seem to echo Koopman's sentiment. The *Hoornsche courant* in 1898 reported an occasion when the conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Hans Richter, visited Amsterdam as guest conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra. Richter was a highly regarded conductor, and the newspaper reported his reaction when working with the orchestra for the first time: 'He has not yet found an orchestra prepared like this anywhere, he finds the technique excellent, the tone, both of the whole and of each of the component parts, of great quality. Is it any wonder that the great artist, after the first rehearsal of some of the ones he had planned, declared that he did not need the others?' (*Hoornsche courant,* 6 November 1898: 3).

Nonetheless, in this chapter I intend to give a different account of the usual celebratory one as represented by Koopman. The general consensus has long been that the Netherlands enjoys a strong reputation as a nation that embraces racial equality and tolerance. This is a perception echoed by historians Leo and Jan Lucassen, who describe the Netherlands' traditional image amongst the international community as 'an apparent leader in tolerance and multiculturalism' (Lucassen and Lucassen, 2015: 72). My aim in this chapter is to address this reputation critically, by demonstrating that the Concertgebouw and its resultant successes were in fact built upon the foundations of historic exclusion of Jews from many of the music societies cited above which laid the path for its formation and success. It is important to clarify here that the use of the metaphor 'foundations' does not imply that the whole establishment would have necessarily collapsed if it was not for historic antisemitism. Indeed, Jewish performers were later employed by, and largely tolerated by, the board of the Concertgebouw as long as their instrumental prowess enabled the advancement of the orchestra both in the Netherlands and on the international stage. This was not unusual in other European orchestras at the end of the nineteenth century, and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra can be cited as a similar example. It was in Vienna that 'political antisemitism would celebrate its greatest political triumphs during [the late nineteenth century]' (Brenner and Riemer, 2012: 256) with

the Christian Social antisemitism of Karl Lueger who was the Mayor of Vienna from 1897 to 1910. In January 1899 Lueger and the Vienna city council invited the Vienna Philharmonic to perform a concert in aid of the disadvantaged citizens of the city. Lueger and the other politicians openly demonstrated their antisemitic stance and influence over the orchestra when they rejected the suggestion that Mahler should conduct what was part of a subscription series of concerts 'for the same reasons that the current city council would have declared Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer or Rubenstein to be unsuitable people' (Hellsberg, 1992: 298), The engagement was instead offered to Hans Richter, who refused, with Felix Mottl eventually accepting the invitation. Conversely, as would become the case with Jewish orchestral members of the Concertgebouw Orchestra, 'those with musical talent found few impediments to obtaining both the best professional training and positions of distinction' (Vann, 2007: 14). Jewish musicians were appreciated for their ability regardless of their religious beliefs. However, certain newspapers were often quick to identify Jewish musicians as the main reason for any imperfections during a performance.

Countless of the composers and performers inspired or engaged by the Concertgebouw were Dutch-Jewish; but still they had to struggle against levels of prejudice that were more embedded in Dutch artistic life than is generally acknowledged, with the dominance of Protestants and Roman Catholics in the religious and political spheres, and in particular their power and influence within many of the artistic and educational non-profit societies that had existed in the Netherlands since 1777. Some of these societies' members would ultimately instigate the foundation of the Concertgebouw in 1882, societies such as Felix Meritis (1777), Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen (1784), and Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst (1829). This prejudice is what I shall examine in this chapter.

The Netherlands in the late nineteenth century witnessed an upturn in its national economy which resulted in a newfound interest and appreciation of the arts. This was particularly the case in Amsterdam with a programme of building which included the Rijksmuseum (1885), the Concertgebouw (1888), the Stadsschouwburg (1894), and the Stedelijk Museum (1895) (Post, 2009: 17). As can be gathered from the opening quotation in this chapter, however, 'neither liberal nor conservative

governments felt it incumbent upon them to become actively involved with the arts' (Bank, 1995: 3), and so the initiative to plan and fund such major projects was actually provided by wealthy members of the Dutch bourgeoisie who shared a passion for the arts. The original masterminds behind the planning, funding, and founding of the Concertgebouw, men who would eventually become members of the Board of Directors, are well documented: these were not politicians or statesmen, but men who knew each other from their involvement in the Amsterdam stock exchange. They included: J.A. Sillem (1840-1912), A.F.K. Hartogh (1844-1901), H.J. de Marez Oyens (1843-1911), P.A.L. van Ogtrop (1835-1903), W. Cnoop Koopmans (1837-1895), and D.H. Joosten (1840-1930). Appendix B at the end of this thesis gives details of their biographies.

These very wealthy individuals who were all either Protestant or Catholic donated vast amounts of money to various arts disciplines in the Netherlands, and as well as having interests and involvement in the arts, they also had their own lucrative professional careers. Sillem was a lawyer and realtor who also founded the Rembrandt Society, was on the Board of the Rijksmuseum, and was a keen amateur pianist; Joosten was involved in property sales and also supported the Park Orchestra with financial donations; de Marez Oyens was a stockbroker who was also involved with the Rembrandt Society; van Ogtrop was another stockbroker who was a member of the choir of the Moses and Aaron Church in Amsterdam; Hartogh was a liberal lawyer; Cnoop Koopman was a professor of theology, a partner at distillery, and a good personal friend of Johannes Brahms (Zwart, 2020: 57). It is these men that I intend to use as the frame for a case study in this chapter, in order to illustrate that, while they led lives of privilege and influence, they also encouraged inequality, exclusion and antisemitism in the musical life of the Netherlands during the lead up to the foundation of the Concertgebouw in 1881.

Emancipation and Equality?

Frits Zwart, musicologist and current Director of the Netherlands Music Institute in The Hague, provides us with the brief biographical and professional details given above, but crucially adds one further piece of information that will become an

important element in the argument presented in this chapter. He informs us that, as a group of likeminded philanthropists with a keen interest in promoting the arts, several of what would become the founding Board of the Concertgebouw initially met when they were involved with De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst (The Society for the Promotion of Music, or 'MBT' in its abbreviated form). Considering that Zwart's authoritative and voluminous book *Conductor Willem Mengelberg, 1871-1951: Accused and Acclaimed* examines the early history of the foundation of the Concertgebouw in forensic detail, it is perplexing that this Maatschappij line of enquiry was not pursued any further. This same vital context is also conspicuously absent in Johan Giskes's introductory chapter in the independently published *Historie en Kroniek van het Concertgebouw en het Concertgebouworkest*, a detailed two volume account of the history of the Concertgebouw. The significance of this information is that some of these men were members of the above-mentioned music society, and my further archival investigation has revealed that all six were also involved in some other form of society or guild, memberships that were very popular amongst the gentiles in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century.

Yet why is this significant in the context of the exclusion of Jews? Up until the end of the eighteenth century, 'politically speaking the Jews were excluded from any public office within the [Dutch] Republic' (Schöffer, 1981: 89) as was the case with most societies and guilds. As we have seen, emancipation of the Dutch Jews in 1796 theoretically granted more leniency with regards to civil and social rights for the Jews, but this was not to be the case with excuses being made to justify continued Jewish exclusion from public office. This is exemplified by cultural historian Jan Ramakers, who writes that 'the appointment of Jews to public office [in 1798] met with resistance from the [Dutch] gentile community who argued that there were not enough suitable Jewish candidates' (Ramakers, 1996: 36). In 1817, with the cooperation of members of the Jewish communities, Dutch government intervention into matters concerning Jewish education resulted in changes that meant that Dutch, and not Yiddish, became the mandatory language for teaching and learning in Jewish communities, and there was less emphasis placed on religious education in favour of a more secular approach. This was implemented in a government attempt to foster full Jewish assimilation following the cold response of Jewish communities to the earlier emancipation in 1796. Again, this was not fully successful in its

outcomes as there was once more ongoing opposition from the orthodox majority who ‘saw their religious freedom eroded without any visible improvement in their socio-economic circumstances’ (Ramakers, 1996: 38).

Moreover, even as late as the mid-nineteenth century the Dutch gentile majority were still reluctant to embrace Jews as equals within social and professional circles (Ramakers, 1996: 39). During a period of time following 1848 which marked the introduction of parliamentary democracy in the Netherlands (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007: 209), there was also opposition to Jewish education becoming more assimilated, with some members of the Protestant and Roman Catholic parties advocating the maintaining of separate denominational schools, effectively delaying Jewish assimilation and emancipation. The main Anti-Revolutionary politician in Dutch parliament who drove forward this stance with regard to educational reform was the Protestant political leader Groen van Prinsterer (1801-1876). He would have preferred the Jewish communities to have maintained their own separate school system and identity, with the same being applicable to both Roman Catholics and Protestants. On this theme Schöffer presents his opinion that ‘the maintained existence of a separate and wider Jewish minority was encouraged by the Dutch majority in a positive sense of the word, because of the gradually accepted pluriformity of Dutch society’ (Schöffer, 1981: 97).

A subsequential development of this preference for separated denominations within the education system was perpetuated by Prinsterer’s successor Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) a staunch Calvinist who became leader of the Anti-Revolutionary Party – an orthodox Calvinist organisation – and would also later become prime minister of the Netherlands in 1901. Significantly, Kuyper founded what was to be the Protestant Calvinist ‘pillar’, the purpose of which was to promote the idea of ‘sovereignty within one’s own community’ (Schöffer, 1981: 97), preferring the Jews to give up on gradual path to emancipation and to return to their segregated community. Kuyper’s stance on emancipation was shared by many atheists, socialists, liberals, and a proportion of the Jewish community, and marked a point when ‘pillarisation’ would start to become an integral part of Dutch life from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards.

This concept of ‘pillarisation’ in the Netherlands during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is an important point in relation to the argument in the present thesis, and it will be explored in the next section; social pillars played a significant role in the growth of the non-profit sector. Some of these non-profit organisations were the very same ones that the future members of the Concertgebouw Board would have been patrons of and will be discussed later in this chapter. Before making these connections, however, it is important to devote time to developing a better understanding of how religion and politics became increasingly divisive during the mid-nineteenth century in the Netherlands, eventually resulting in a fully-fledged system of ‘pillarisation’ by 1880. We need to comprehend how these developments had implications regarding the backgrounds and politics of the Board members and how their eventual success with the Concertgebouw was built on the basis of inequality and exclusion at the expense of the Jews.

It could be argued that these men were not necessarily directly or consciously implicit in specific acts of antisemitism, prejudice, or Jewish exclusion, but, given the fine-grained definitions of antisemitism in the introduction to this thesis, they could indeed also be accused of all of the above. I therefore present their professional and social activities as representative of the Protestant and Catholic dominance and influence at the expense of Jewish inclusion in the political, social and musical life of Dutch society throughout the nineteenth century, which from a modern-day perspective can very much be interpreted as antisemitism.

Pillarisation and a Segmented Netherlands

According to Ben Spiecker and Jan Steutel, ‘pillarisation’, or *verzuiling*, is a system which ‘involves a segmentation of society according to different comprehensive moral and/or religious doctrines’ (Spiecker and Steutel, 2001: 294. Put simply, on the basis of their moral and/or religious doctrines, the whole population was split into various divisions regardless of their race, class, or spoken language, none of which was part of the differentiation process. Social Economist Erik Bax describes how the process ‘enabled social groups with incompatible moral-religious doctrines to create their own organised worlds, while at the same time peaceful cooperation was

ensured' (Bax, 1988: 235). The names of each pillar depended on the religious creed that each was to be associated with and included the Calvinist pillar and the Roman Catholic pillar. The Liberal and Socialist pillars were not allied with religion and were based more on political allegiances. The members of each of the different pillars created a variety of institutions which in turn specifically governed the intellectual and spiritual aspects of their everyday lives, such as schools, libraries, a political party, and from 1924 onwards broadcasting cooperation such as the Protestant NCRV (Dutch Christian Radio Association), the Catholic KRO (Catholic Radio Broadcasting Organisation, the socialist VARA (Association of Workers' Radio Amateurs, and the liberal AVRO (General United Radio Broadcasting Organisation).

The earliest pillarized political party was the Protestant Anti Revolutionary Party (ARU) founded at the start of official pillarisation in 1879, and this was followed by the Liberal Union (LU) in 1885, the Socialist Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP) in 1894, and the Catholic General League of Roman Catholic Riding Associations (AB) in 1904. Newspapers with political allegiance to various pillars included *De Standaard* and *Nederlands Dagblad* which were Protestant, *De Tijd* (Catholic), *Het Vrije Volk* (Socialist), and *Algemeen Handelsblad* and *De Telegraaf* (Liberal). Other organisations included sports clubs and hospitals. The state fully funded the education and health system across all pillars, but only partially funded others such as housing and broadcasting (Van Doorn, 1966: 62-71). Spiecker and Steutel describe how this system worked in practice where 'the political elites developed and maintained some kind of consensus in the political arena and made sure that the state accommodated the different ideological groups by pluralizing its services. State subsidies were allocated through the pillars according to the principle of proportionality' (Spiecker and Steutel, 2001: 295). This method of distributing funding for social, cultural, and educational needs firmly embedded itself as an intrinsic part of the ongoing welfare system in the Netherlands.

Following Spiecker and Steutel, we can clearly define the mechanics and history of 'pillarisation', but how and why did it happen in the first place? Hans Knippenberg describes the process as the 'unintentional outcome of an initial state policy of marginalising religious diversity, which was necessarily altered into a policy of institutionalising this diversity' (Knippenberg, 2002: 193). Here Knippenberg

subscribes to what is known as the ‘preservation’ theory where members of specific religious societies isolated themselves from the secularised world (Righart, 1986: 274).

However, I am of the opinion that there was not just one contributing factor involved in the emergence of a pillarized Dutch society. For example, political motivations were important as pillars were erected in order to homogenise a wide variety of members and link them to a specific political organisation, which would in turn uniformly protect their civil and social rights (Dobbelaere, 2000: 182). For example, by far the largest and most influential political wing of Dutch pillarized society was the Protestant Anti-Revolutionary party (ARP) which was founded in 1879 by Abraham Kuyper. An anti-revolutionary party had existed as early as the 1840s under the leadership of Groen van Prinsterer who eventually introduced Kuyper to his brand of politics. Both leaders, and in particular Kuyper, were opposed to the growing liberalism that was creeping into Dutch politics, and this was an area that Kuyper researched extensively. He traced the growth of liberal influence back to the French Revolution (1789-1799) and the resulting Batavian Revolution in the Netherlands which began in 1795. This date is highly significant as it marked the beginning of the process of the emancipation of the Dutch Jewish population, a process that officially began in 1796. In the eyes of Kuyper, the French Revolution marked ‘the progressive decline in Christianity [...] and the growth of liberalism in Holland was a great danger and one that was antithetical to Christianity’ (Kennedy, 2015: 171). Kuyper and the ARP saw the revolution as a ‘revolt against God and an overturning of the divine order of things’ (Kennedy, 2015: 171) which reiterated the party’s political ideology of putting God and the Bible before liberty and was central to Protestant political beliefs from the 1840s until 1879 and beyond. It was this newly acquired ‘liberty’ that presented the opportunity for the development of Jewish equality in the Netherlands.

In fact, none of the above-mentioned theories can stand alone as arguments for the reasons behind pillariation, as each has its limitations, and it is therefore pertinent to consider all of these reasons collectively. Of course, there is one major flaw with the idea of emancipation of minorities being the sole reason for pillarisation, and that

presents the question that is again important in laying the foundations for my overall argument in the present chapter: why was there never a Jewish pillar?

Although pillarisation was officially established in the Netherlands during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, its ethos of religious, social, and political segregation began earlier in the same century. Central to the approach of both Schöffer and Righart towards this question of eventual pillarisation is the situation that arose due to the education reforms of 1857, reforms that were passed by government in 1859 and which were intended to amalgamate and secularise Dutch schools. This, however, had an adverse effect with regard to the Protestants and Roman Catholics, resulting in further religious compartmentalisation; they interpreted it as an erosion of their faiths and societies. Whereas Protestants and Roman Catholics 'were fighting for financial support for their confessional schools' (Knippenberg, 2002: 202), the Jews became the exception to this stance. Schöffer writes that 'somewhere between 1848 and 1860 they [the Jews] missed the boat. Instead of stimulating private schools on a Jewish basis, the Amsterdam Jewry accepted the consequences of the Education Law of 1859 when the Jewish schools for the poor had to give up the all-embracing educational program and restrict themselves to religious teaching; from then onwards almost all Jewish children went to so-called neutral schools, either State or private schools' (Schöffer, 1981: 98). Political scientist Hans Daalder presents several reasons for this, and also the later rejection of pillarisation by the Jewish community: the after-effects of emancipation which weakened the influence of the church due to the increased influence of secularisation, and the 'strong liberalism of the Jewish "haute bourgeoisie"' (Daalder, 1978: 191-194).

It was the debate over the direction in which government education reform was heading that ultimately drove the Protestants and Catholics into erecting their own separate politico-denominational groups or 'pillars' in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This afforded them more control over their own affairs, central to which was education and the desire to maintain their own confessional schools. The Jewish groups did not follow this pattern, and as we have seen, they accepted the government's plans to assimilate them fully into Dutch society, and by the 1880s, by and large, Dutch was the language spoken in schools, and Jewish religious schools

ceased to exist with Jewish students becoming fully absorbed into the Dutch state education system. This was not the only contributory factor, and again, Schöffer informs us that a number of events intertwined, such as the fact that after emancipation and assimilation there was disarray within the church organisations with a distinct lack of leadership and direction, and also the effect of contemporary German Jewish religious reforms that made radical changes to the way synagogues presented their methods of worship. This resulted in a loss of religious autonomy, but also in a process of full assimilation which took over a century to complete (Schöffer, 1981: 195). The Jews never coalesced into their own pillar, instead preferring to show affiliation with liberal and socialist organisations – a result of their assimilation into Dutch society (Knippenberg, 2002: 191); this in turn meant that the Jews were subsequently disadvantaged in many facets of society.

With regard to the historic events that take us through that process of assimilation in the lead up to 'pillarisation' in the 1880s, Schöffer provides a very detailed but ultimately passive account, where he investigates the origins of each pillar as very much separate entities. This is what makes his work passive: Schöffer does not take the opportunity to further investigate the perceptions of a wider spectrum of Dutch society, and consequently how the Jews were treated throughout the process of assimilation up to the point of pillarisation, even though they were not themselves pillarized. It is important to explore the concept of the entwining of religion and politics throughout the nineteenth century further so that we can place the future members of the Board of the Concertgebouw into this very social, religious, and political environment where exclusion and antisemitism were still at play, an environment where the fact that they were collectively either Protestants or Catholics meant that they were able to hold positions of influence and privilege, particularly in the world of the arts. R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld fills in many of these gaps relating to social and political attitudes towards the Jewry and informs us that 'in the Dutch political spectrum after 1848 some members of the Jewish bourgeoisie were admitted to the Liberal and Conservative parties only; the Protestant and Catholic parties neither welcomed them nor were they prepared to stand up for Jewish interests' (Fuks Mansfeld, 2007: 210). The Liberal and Conservative parties amalgamated to form a less influential secular pillar. It was this intrinsic link between religion and politics, and the dominance of the Catholic and Protestant parties that

meant a barrier was erected to Jewish political participation in a wider political and social arena, and in the context of this chapter this would have the effect of limiting Jewish involvement in the world of the arts with societies such as Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen (NUT) and Felix Meritis, and ultimately board membership of the Concertgebouw.

After the period of new Dutch constitutional reform which was implemented in 1848, Jewish participation in the world of politics was initially restricted to a municipal level, but even then, there was social rejection and hostility aimed at Jewish political participants – although a minority were able to take advantage of a modest number of places available to them in the Liberal party, purely down to the fact that many liberals traditionally harboured the same level of dislike towards the Protestants and Catholics as did the Jews. The number of members of the Jewish social élite becoming public servants in the Netherlands did grow very slowly between 1815 and 1870, but most Jews did not even have the basic entitlement to vote throughout this period (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007: 210). This then is evidence that Jewish exclusion was still at play in the Netherlands, even after emancipation and a process of assimilation into Dutch society that had been developing for over fifty years and beyond up to the start of the building of the Concertgebouw in 1883.

The Role of Felix Meritis and De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst in Exclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, I named five members of the eventual board of the Concertgebouw: H.J. de Marez Oyens, P.A.L. van Ogtrop, J.A. Sillem, W. Cnoop Koopmans, and D.H. Joosten. It is evident that these five members of the Amsterdam bourgeoisie, as well as being very wealthy and influential citizens, were very much involved as patrons of organisations that promoted the performance of music and music education in schools and conservatories. At this point, we need to refocus on the original argument presented in this chapter, namely, the fact that the Concertgebouw had its origins, indirectly and historically, in antisemitism and Jewish exclusion. Initially, this may not seem very obvious, but there have been several activities conducted by the board members of the Concertgebouw that illustrate the

point. These five men were between them involved in activities that to a certain extent excluded and oppressed Jewish members of society, and also oppressed and exploited citizens of countries under Dutch colonial rule. The latter is not directly related to the question of antisemitism in the present thesis, but the fact that de Marez Oyens and van Ogtrop both had investments in the forced labour and oppression of Indonesian citizens is a measure of their blinkered view and lack of morals with regard to such exploitation; it may be argued that wealth was the overriding factor for them.

All of the board members of the Concertgebouw were either Protestant or Roman Catholic, and it was the rise of the dominant influence of these religions in political and social circles throughout the middle of the nineteenth century, up to and including formal pillarisation, that meant that this religious division effectively excluded many Jews from membership of societies such as De Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen, Felix Meritis, and De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst. Some societies actively barred Jews from becoming members and others had a more liberal policy, but this did not detract from the fact that Protestant and Catholic dominance continued well into the twentieth century, and this will be examined in more detail in the next section. Even though pillarisation did not exist in its official form until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the seeds were certainly being sown from the 1840s with the Protestant anti-revolutionaries.

This Protestant and later Catholic dominance in Dutch society is possibly why the initial founders and members of the Concertgebouw mirrored this religious dominance, as can be noted in their biographies in the attached appendix. The initial idea behind the founding of the Concertgebouw in 1881 happened to roughly coincide with the advent of pillarisation, so we can assume that the board members were part of this system, which although not actively excluding Jews, made it very difficult for them to have any form of major involvement or influence in such ventures.

It was, however, these board members’ combined membership of the two societies Felix Meritis and De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkust (MBT) that is of most interest here, as both exemplified the roles and privileges afforded to the Dutch-Christian bourgeoisie in the first half of the nineteenth century. Felix Meritis was in existence before the official advent of pillarisation, but its structure still

reflected the build-up to it throughout the middle of the nineteenth century with the dominance of Protestants and Roman Catholics as part of its board and elected membership. More significantly, Felix Meritis actively barred Jews from becoming members, while the MBT's aims and activities actively excluded Jewish participation beyond the middle of the century, even after supposed full assimilation during the mid-nineteenth century. Felix Meritis was arguably the most important cultural society in Amsterdam towards the mid-nineteenth century and counted de Marez Oyens, van Ogtrop, and Cnoop Koopmans amongst its members. It was originally founded in 1777 by members of the Dutch bourgeoisie and was considered a very exclusive society. Its main objectives were to promote an appreciation of the arts and sciences, but later focused on providing regular fee-paying orchestral performances for the wealthy members (Mehos, 2006a: 31). Access to these very formal concerts was for members only, and anyone who wanted to become a member had to go through a strict system of balloting, which meant that membership was seen as a kind of award and an honour that belonged only to the elite of Dutch society (Van der Wall, 2014: 28). A measure of its perceived elitist image is suggested by the fact that, compared to other contemporary Dutch societies, 'it charged significantly higher membership fees and excluded, for example, Jews from membership' (Mehos, 2006b: 93) and only people who went through life as Christians were allowed to join (Van der Wall, 2014: 28). Headway was beginning to be made as a result of assimilation and from 1857, Jews were admitted to Felix Meritis as members but were only allowed to attend concerts from 1862. Antisemitism, however, continued to play a more significant role than widely acknowledged in Dutch society, and the barring of Jews from membership in many élite clubs and societies would continue until into the twentieth century (Schijf and Voolen, 2010: 7). Felix Meritis had its own orchestra which was directed by J.B. van Bree in 1830, and later by Dutch composer and conductor Johannes Verhulst (1816-1871) in 1864, but the high costs involved in the hiring of prominent guest soloists, meant that Felix Meritis gradually became obsolete. The Company ran into financial difficulties in the 1877-1878 financial year. Dissolution seemed to be the only remedy for Felix Meritis, but it would take until the Concertgebouw opened in 1888 before it went that far.

It is notable that several music academics including Reeser and Thijsse who have written extensively about the role of Felix Meritis, both neglected to investigate the

importance of this line of enquiry. My argument is that antisemitism, or at least Jewish exclusion, was retained up to and beyond 1880, as supported by Dutch historian O. Vlessing who argues that any form of social and civil equity for the Dutch Jews did not come into effect until 'the end of the nineteenth century and into the beginning of the twentieth century. [...] Jews had become increasingly integrated into Dutch society and could stand for public office' (Vlessing, 1996: 195).

All five of the members of the Concertgebouw board were also members of another society that promoted the appreciation of music: De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, established in 1829 with the specific aim of developing music education. It succeeded in this by establishing numerous music schools across the country, and in 1881 instigated a system of examinations for performers of a professional standard (Paap and Kolsteeg, 2001). The 1829 version of the MBT's book of aims and regulations states that 'the main aim of the Society is to promote music in the Netherlands by the best possible and most appropriate means' but also 'to arouse patriotic feeling and national solidarity through music'.[17] This aim of creating a national Dutch music was achieved by a drive to move away from the long-established orientation towards Germanic influence, organising large national music festivals and also composition competitions specifically aimed at native Dutch composers (Gessel, 2004: 121).

The operations of MTB were very much modelled on its predecessor Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen (NUT; Society for Public Welfare), a non-profit society which strove to provide opportunities for people from all walks of life to better themselves through education. The Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen was, however, a society that had an active policy of not permitting Jewish membership. 'Although very liberal, the ethos of the society meant that the very principle of being a Christian association could not be set aside, and that it could not extend its circle of activities to the Jews' (Koenen, 1843: 388-389), and this extended to Jewish children not being allowed access to its schools. While membership of MTB was however open to all – apart, in fact, from women – it bore a strong resemblance to the NUT in terms of its goals: the promotion of music in schools in a quest to create a Dutch

[17] Amsterdam City Archives. 1829. Archive 611, Folder 148, *Gedrukte wetten en reglementen, benevens conceptwetten, wetswijzigingen, wetsherzieningen, supplementen van de maatschappij*, 1829-1950.

nationalistic music culture as opposed to a Germanic one.[18] To facilitate this the importance of singing was high on the agenda, starting with the establishment of a singing culture in primary schools with a series of singing books published with this in mind. This process, which was strongly culturally Christian and epitomised what it meant to 'be Dutch', began under the NUT in 1806 and was carried on by the MBT beyond 1829, specifically with the use of Evangelical hymns and a series of singing lessons entitled *Eerste lessen der zangkunst* (First Lessons in the Art of Singing) written by Utrecht organist F. Nieuwenhuyzen and specially arranged to assist children 'to regularly learn to sing the Psalms and other songs in schools' (Reeser, 1986: 14). Folk music schools were also set up by the MBT which would go on to have a great influence on the Dutch choral system with the formation of many nationalistic singing associations (Reeser, 1985: 15).

Much of this emphasis on Christianity and Dutch nationalism might possibly have been ideologically irrelevant to many of the Netherlands' Jewish citizens; or at least may have been seen as unnecessarily exclusionary as even since the onset of emancipation in 1796, 'the vast majority of Jews showed little enthusiasm for Patriotic ideals' (Ramakers, 1996: 35) throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Even in 1857 when the new Education Act amended 'the article in the Liberal constitution of 1849 stipulating that the state was responsible for providing primary education for all children' (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007: 200), the then leader of the Protestant party, Groen van Prinsterer, 'insisted on enshrining the Christian character of public education to such an extent that Jewish children would have been debarred from attending state primary schools' (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007: 200). It would seem then that there were deliberate attempts to exclude Jews from elements of state education, part of which was the emphasis on Christian and Patriotic idealism in music education.

Even the 'inclusive' activities of MBT marginalized Jews with their emphasis on a historic drive to establish Dutch nationalistic and Christian-biased musical repertoire. Antisemitism in the form of exclusion was therefore more ingrained in Dutch society and continued to be so beyond the time constraints of this chapter, as will be

[18] Ibid.

explored in the later chapters of the thesis. The board members of the Concertgebouw may not have exhibited overt acts of antisemitism or Jewish exclusion during their tenure but were indeed implicit in building Amsterdam's iconic concert hall on the historical foundations of exclusion and oppression through their unwavering support and membership of the Dutch non-profit educational and musical societies. These were societies which either had explicit policies regarding Jewish exclusion or encouraged the indirect exclusion of Jews due to music educational emphasis on Christianity and Dutch national patriotism.

The orchestra did however employ Jewish musicians, presumably in an attempt to attract the very best players, and Zwart illustrates this sentiment with reference to Willem Mengelberg who was conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra from 1895 and, as we shall see, arguably demonstrated antisemitic behaviour towards orchestral members. Zwart claims that 'Mengelberg never differentiated between races; what mattered to him was that a musician was good' (Zwart, 2020: 733). Mengelberg's occasional outbursts of antisemitism regarding Jewish members of the orchestra often went unpunished by the board members, such as in 1902, when he was the subject of a complaint made by a delegation of twenty Jewish orchestral members regarding his behaviour towards the players during rehearsals. In a disagreement over this with the orchestra's second conductor André Spoor, Mengelberg used derogatory and antisemitic language aimed at the leader of the delegation, Mr M.B. Seemer, referring to the 'Jewish rudeness of Mr Seemer and his consorts' (Zwart, 2020: 144). The board members also controversially sanctioned a trip where Mengelberg conducted the Concertgebouw Orchestra in Vienna on 8 April 1942, a year after the Nazis occupied the Netherlands, and a year after the board also did not contest the dismissal of sixteen Jewish members of the orchestra (Koopman, 2021: 161-183). These events will be the subject of the next chapters of this thesis.

To conclude, there are several factors highlighted in this chapter that strongly suggest that the institution of the Concertgebouw was founded on a prior tradition of Jewish exclusion and prejudice. At this point it is necessary to explain that the word institution is important here, because the chapter does not necessarily aim to highlight acts that could be perceived as specific antisemitic gestures from

individuals, but rather the institutionalised attitudes that remained ingrained in societies, culture, guilds, and politics of that time. The acts of exclusion and prejudice brought about by these attitudes include the involvement of the Concertgebouw board members in non-profit music and education societies which, directly or indirectly, had policies that excluded Jews from membership and participation throughout much of the nineteenth century. Also, their complicit stance regarding the orchestra's later touring activities during the German occupation, and acts of antisemitism aimed at the Jewish members of the orchestra serve to reinforce this hypothesis. These board members could therefore be categorized as antisemitic enablers having accommodated and accepted antisemitic attitudes in the various organisations that they had been associated with. According to psychologist Avner Falk, recent research in collective psychological processes in antisemitism tend to back up this theory of a collective or institutional form of prejudice. Falk states that 'one began to appreciate that prejudice was inherent in the very structure of all groups' (Falk, 2006: 37) and that individual psychological processes, such as unconscious projection, are not the same as collective psychological processes, such as the human group's needs for boundaries, cohesion, ideolog, identity, leaders, and self. This research has also suggested that, regarding antisemitism as a form of prejudice, 'societies and institutions as collectives have nurtured group psychological processes such as the threat to its ideals, ideology, or religion that the majority group has always perceived from the minority group of the Jews' (Falk, 2006: 38).

Much of what has been presented in this chapter may quite rightly raise the question as to whether these instances of exclusion and prejudice actually constitute acts of antisemitism. As in other parts of Europe, casual antisemitic attitudes were ingrained in Dutch society during the nineteenth century and may not have seemed particularly extreme during that time. From a modern perspective however, we can apply broader definitions of antisemitism which illustrate that at the very least the board members of the Concertgebouw were guilty of enabling what Kenneth Marcus describes as the 'ideological antisemitism' employed by policy makers who promoted the restriction, exclusion, and suppression of Jews in Dutch musical life.

Chapter Four – Antisemitism, Naivety, and Narcissism. Willem Mengelberg's Complex Relationship with the Concertgebouw Orchestra and Gustav Mahler

As we have seen in previous chapters, Jewish emancipation in the Netherlands at the end of the eighteenth century did not yield any immediate positive developments for Jewish musicians. It was not, in fact, until the end of the nineteenth century and the founding of the Concertgebouw and Concertgebouw Orchestra in 1888 was there a notable resurgence of musical creativity in the Netherlands, a phenomenon driven to some extent by the input of Dutch-Jewish composers. Prior to this there were many justifiable reasons for the absence of any form of Dutch musical tradition. Chiefly, there had been a lack of Romantic music-national outpouring linked to an absence of strong national identity – an opinion voiced by an anonymous Dutch critic who in 1819 wrote an article in *Amphion*, the Dutch music journal (first printed in Groningen in 1818) modelled on the German periodical *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* as a response to the increasing development of concert life in the Netherlands during that period. The periodical was published for music scholars as well as general music enthusiasts, and offered news items from different parts of Europe, music reviews, and biographical information about various musicians (van den Hul, 1988: 173). The anonymous critic wrote that 'We Dutch have no music of our own. Hard as I find it to make this confession, it is none the less based on the truth' (Reeser, 1986: 10).

This chapter focuses on the role of Willem Mengelberg and the Concertgebouw Orchestra in facilitating the general development of a Dutch musical identity, and, along with increased availability of musical education, in providing a source of inspiration for a new generation of Jewish composers through choice of concert repertoire, orchestral discipline, and playing of the highest standards. At the same time, existing research has presented Mengelberg as an antisemitic and politically complex individual with an apparent allegiance to German National Socialism. Clearly there are contradictions that need resolving here: this chapter probes Mengelberg's actions and cross-examines the various theories as to whether he was in fact an antisemite, a political naif, or, as I shall ultimately argue, he was able to compartmentalise his antisemitic beliefs when it came to appeasing Jewish orchestra

members and guest soloists whose high levels of musical artistry served to enhance his reputation. However, according to the definitions of antisemitism as described in the introduction, Mengelberg could quite easily fit into several categories of antisemitic behaviour. The fact that he may have been unaware of the offensive nature of some of his comments at the very least would label him as an accidental antisemite. On the other hand, Mengelberg's close interest in Hitler's National Socialist rhetoric would place him firmly as an ideological antisemite.

In the wake of the Concertgebouw's foundation, a significant driver in the Dutch musical resurgence was a small but disproportionately influential core of Dutch-Jewish composers who used the emergence of a new Dutch musical era as a springboard for developing their own musical voice and identity. The presence of Jewish composers at this time was notable as there had not been such a substantial representation in the field of Western art-music in the Netherlands up to this point. This phenomenon is currently under-researched, and, as I have shown in the previous chapters of this dissertation, my enquiry suggests that it found its roots in the social and political developments instigated by the Jewish emancipation in 1796.

Greater assimilation was beginning to be achieved by the middle of the nineteenth century, coinciding with both the government and non-Jewish Dutch citizens gradually adopting a less antisemitic stance in a gradual acceptance of the concept of equal civil and social rights for Dutch Jews. A major concession in 1857 by the Dutch government, potentially encouraging the facilitation of the development of Jewish musicians, was the granting of the right for Jewish citizens to access state education on an equal footing with their non-Jewish counterparts. All schools opened their doors to Jewish children while at the same time ceasing the subsidising of the Jewish schools for the poor. This meant that the 'acculturation process, already well under way, gained momentum' (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007a: 200).

Music education in schools also played an important role at this time with a drive to give greater importance to the field of music education. Protestant and Catholic hymn and Psalm-singing were introduced as compulsory in schools, and in 1826 the establishment of the music conservatoires in the Hague, 1829 in Rotterdam, and 1862 in Amsterdam, had a great influence on music education in general (Reeser, 1986: 14). There is no direct evidence to suggest that Jewish students were initially

excluded from the conservatoires, but it is likely that Jewish admissions were more prevalent after the middle of the nineteenth century when new laws ‘opened the doors of public education to Jewish children’ (Fuks-Mansfeld, 2007a: 200). The convergence of these key social and political events played a major role in facilitating the eventual emergence of Dutch-Jewish composers and musicians by the end of the nineteenth century.

A New Musical Dawn – The Concertgebouw Orchestra

Several scholars, such as Darryl Cressman, have not taken this prior history into account in their research and have given the impression that the end of the nineteenth century marked the point when musical life – in the specific terms of a dedication to national art music – in the Netherlands suddenly started to prosper, beginning in 1880s with the foundation of the Concertgebouw and Concertgebouw Orchestra in Amsterdam in 1888. Of course, this was an important focal point for later musical developments, but we have to remind ourselves that this musical talent could not have instantly emerged in the concentrated decade of the 1880s alone.

In his book *Building Musical Culture in Nineteenth Century Amsterdam: The Concertgebouw* (2016), Cressman cites several reasons for a lack of prominent Dutch composers in musical tradition between the Renaissance period and the second half of the nineteenth century but does not observe the gradual musical growth leading up to 1888 which applied to both Jewish and non-Jewish musicians. He argues that throughout the nineteenth century it was felt by some that the national decline of musical standards in the Netherlands was due to ‘inattentive listening, undisciplined orchestras and a lack of compositional talent’ (Cressman, 2014: 151). In 1881 Dutch author G.C.C.W. Hayward, who had an interest in architecture and acoustics, wrote an article in the newspaper *De Amsterdammer* explaining that one way to rectify the issue would be through ‘a serious attempt to build a temple dedicated to musical performances’ (Cressman, 2014: 143). Hayward saw the musical problem as more of a material problem, and that the construction of a new concert hall, like those in most other major cities across Europe, would be the solution.

There had been several venues in Amsterdam during the nineteenth century, but most of them were unsuitable for symphonic concerts. The two main concert halls were run by music societies and were Felix Meritis, using the same name as the society, and the Parkzaal. Both had issues making them ultimately unsuitable: Felix Meritis had good acoustics but had limited space along with high subscription fees for its concerts. The Parkzaal had its own orchestra and also had good acoustics, but too little space to accommodate its two thousand members. There was also the problem of 'the audibility of noise from the toilets and the fact that 'people sat at tables, smoked and were served during concerts' (Clements and Vercammen, 2019: 427). It was felt that there needed to be improvements towards an appropriate Dutch concert life, in terms of both accommodation and audience habits, and the Amsterdam bourgeoisie of the time took notice of such arguments and took it upon themselves to organise and fund a new concert hall in the city.

A new concert hall that would take the form of the Concertgebouw would be an important development in Dutch musical life; it would provide the springboard necessary for this to happen, but more importantly in the context of this thesis, it would facilitate a significant Jewish contribution to the revival. It is important to understand that these events happened in tandem with the emergence of Jewish composers who were statistically a minority, eventually going on to be a dominant force during the first half of the twentieth century. The most significant of these Dutch-Jewish composers included: Henriëtte Bosmans (1895-1952), Sem Dresden (1881-1957), Marius Flothuis (1914-2001), Jan van Gilse (1881-1944), Sim Gokkes (1897-1943), Dick Kattenburg (1919-1944), Leo Kok (1893-1992), Hans Krieg (1899-1961), Bertus van Lier (1906-1972), Nico Richter (1915-1945), James Simon (1880-1944), Leo Smit (1900-1943), Max Vredenburg (1904-1976), and Rosy Wertheim (1888-1949).

However, to argue that a new concert hall and orchestra would instantly solve the musical issues of the Netherlands is too simplistic: both Hayward and Cressman do not consider the wider picture, in which the ongoing development of music education in schools and conservatories for the general Dutch population would ultimately help to slowly re-establish a musical tradition in the Netherlands in the period before the foundation of the Concertgebouw. Certainly, by 1869 Jewish students were placed

on an equal footing with their Christian counterparts and had access to what were known as ‘municipal’ music schools, and education competitions were organised within the Jewish community to provide funding for suitable candidates for these institutions. The municipal music schools would go on to become the forerunners to the Amsterdamsche Conservatorium, officially founded in 1884 (*Weekblad voor Israëlieten*, 4 June 1869: 1). Essentially, it should be emphasised here that because of increased access to music education, Jewish musicians were not only able to develop musically in parallel with everyone else, but, taking into account the size of the Jewish population of the Netherlands, they would eventually thrive and make a valuable musical contribution. They were very much a part of the resurgence of Dutch music but went on to dominate.

There were not only social developments that informed this, but also cultural ones: the desire to overcome the sense of provincialism in Dutch musical life which was undoubtedly stimulated by landmark performances from external musical institutions such as those given in 1885 by Hans von Bülow and the Meininger Hofkapelle in The Hague, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam. A newspaper review of a concert given by the Meininger Hofkapelle in Amsterdam on Sunday 15 November 1885 was full of superlatives and described the orchestra as ‘an ensemble over which the genius Von Bülow wields the baton, and which may be called one of the most excellent in all of Europe’. The article goes on to say that ‘one does not know what to admire the most: the unity of execution, or the brilliant shades and strength of tone, or the noble and correct interpretation of the creations of our great masters’ (*Nieuwe Haarlemsche courant*, 19 November 1885: 3), and describes the Meininger Hofkapelle as an ‘élite corps’ (*Nieuwe Haarlemsche courant*, 19 November 1885: 3). In fact, during this particular concert Brahms conducted the Meininger Hofkapelle in the Dutch premiere of his Fourth Symphony (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 November 1885: 3). This professionalism of the German orchestra impressed Amsterdam’s concert-going bourgeoisie and, more importantly, proved an inspiration for the Amsterdam musicians, who used it as a model for their own new first professional orchestra which was to be housed in a purpose-built hall, the Concertgebouw.

The fact that Amsterdam now became home to arguably one of the finest orchestras in the world, the Concertgebouw Orchestra under the leadership of Kes, and later

Mengelberg, offered a concert repertoire which was a far cry from the earlier Germanic conservativism of Verhulst. The Concertgebouw not only served as a vehicle for talented Jewish performers emerging from the Dutch municipal music schools and conservatoires but was now also a platform for an inspirational and varied repertoire including French and various contemporary works. It was this repertoire that would soon define the stylistic traits of a new generation of Dutch-Jewish composers who would dominate Dutch art-music during the first half of the twentieth century after a century of musical exclusion from mainstream Dutch musical life.

The Concertgebouw Orchestra had originally wanted either Bülow or Brahms to be its conductor, but they both refused. Bülow declined because he had other obligations and therefore had no time available, and Brahms possibly because he saw Dutch musicianship to be inferior. In 1885 he commented that 'although the food in Amsterdam was exquisite, the musicianship was atrocious',[19] partly because Dutch orchestras still mainly relied upon amateur players. Eventually a Dutch conductor, Willem Kes (1856-1934), was appointed instead (Post, 2009: 21). Kes played an important role in creating a disciplined environment within the orchestra itself: 'they were fined for arriving late, and if they did not know their parts, they were forced to stay after rehearsals and practise in the conductor's room' (Post, 2009: 21). During his leadership concert audiences were 'socialized into the kind of concert etiquette that prevailed in other major centres of classical music around Europe' (Koopman, 2021: 164), and he achieved this by 'banning waiters, smoking and chatting during performances' (Koopman, 2021: 164), all things that had previously been taken for granted in Amsterdam. In a move away from tradition, 'Dutch audiences [...] were now encouraged to sit in complete silence and to listen attentively, to be seated before the start, and to stay until the very end of the performance' (Post, 2009: 22).

Moreover, not only did Kes make changes with the musicians and the audience, but he also made a significant innovation regarding programming. Instead of the mainstay of early romantic German composers such as Mendelssohn and

[19] No author given. Programme notes from a performance of Mahler's Eighth Symphony at the Concertgebouw. 11 May 1918, 5.

Schumann, he introduced works by contemporary composers into the repertoire – such as in 1891 when he performed Richard Strauss's *Don Juan* in the Netherlands for the first time. In 1893 he devoted an entire concert programme to modern French music consisting of Chabrier's *Joyeuse marche*, Chausson's *Viviane* (op. 5), Franck's *Le chasseur maudit*, d'Indy's *Wallenstein*, op. 12, and Lalo's *Rapsodie norvégienne* (Concertgebouworkest Archive, 1893). Also, in 1895 he was responsible for the first performance in the Netherlands of Dvorak's *New World* Symphony (another new work).

The Early Years from 1888 – Willem Kes

There is very little written about Willem Kes's short seven-year tenure as principal conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra from 1888 to 1895, so it is difficult to ascertain, in approaching the Mengelberg focus of this chapter, whether there were any examples of antisemitism displayed by either Kes or the orchestral members at that time. The same can also be said of Willem Mengelberg during the early part of his tenure as conductor of the orchestra. However, documented examples of Kes's attitudes in general portray an image of his tolerance and complicity regarding antisemitism and antisemitic regimes and possibly reflects Dutch attitudes at that time.

Kes's first controversial act took place in 1898 when he took the position as principal conductor of the Moscow Philharmonic Society (now the Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra) and remained there until 1905 whereupon he moved to Koblenz in Germany. A Dutchman conducting in Russia was not in itself a remarkable move, but it could be argued that it was tacit support of a brutally antisemitic regime. However, we have to be careful not portray every conductor that worked in Russia as being indirectly supportive of, or an 'enabler' of antisemitism, as after all, Gustav Mahler had later conducted in St. Petersburg in 1907. The difference here though is that Kes was employed directly by a renowned antisemite and would have been fully aware of this. Historians such as Rob Landman in his book *Willem Kes: Toonkunstenaar uit Dordrech*t (*Willem Kes: Musician from Dordrecht*) relay the fact that Kes conducted in Russia, but do not dissect the possible political motives and implications of such a

move. Another historian, Schlomo Lambroza, reminds us that ‘Russia has never been a good place to be a Jew’ (Lambroza, 1987: 1), especially during the end of the nineteenth century. Before 1881 antisemitic violence in Russia was rare, but between 1881 and 1921 pogroms occurred on three separate occasions when ‘Jews were beaten, killed and burned out of their homes’ (Lambroza, 1987: 1) resulting in a loss of thousands of lives.

As already pointed out, Kes himself would have been fully aware of what he was committing to in a political sense as he was working directly for Grand Duke Sergius Alexandrovich who, in 1891, was himself appointed as governor-general of Moscow, and was himself a bitter anti-Semite. Sergius’s first act in his post of authority was to expel 20,000 Jews from Moscow in 1891. Indeed, it might be argued that Kes was primarily appointed as a cultural ‘smokescreen’ to deflect attention from these acts of barbarity and to protract Sergius’s preferred image as ‘protector of arts and sciences’ (Warwick, 2006: 130), with Kes having even been assured political protection by Sergius’s wife Grand Duchess Elisabeth (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 18 February 1905: 5). Because of the unpopularity of his hard-line political stance, Grand Duke Sergius was assassinated in Moscow by a revolutionary terrorist in February 1905. I would argue that representing the artistic façade of a tyrant such as Sergius would not have been an act of naivety, and Kes’s position was therefore one of being an intrinsic part of a prolifically antisemitic regime. Indeed, the death of Sergius was a cue for Kes to quickly leave Russia for Germany in 1905.

Kes’s link with antisemitism in Moscow was not an isolated case, as we can see a little later during his time in Germany in 1914. He was director of the very first Mittelrheinische music festival that took place in Bonn from 19-21 May 1914 and caused controversy by allowing Polish pianist Ignacy Paderewski (1860-1941) to play there. Paderewski was widely thought of as being fiercely antisemitic, and prior to the festival he received an anonymous letter in Switzerland, in which he was accused of having given the Polish right-wing daily newspaper *Dva Groshe* a large amount of money to continue the fierce antisemitic agitation for which the newspaper was responsible. He was even accused of indirectly giving rise to Jewish murders in Russia which resulted in threats to throw a bomb under his carriage if he left his

hotel. Paderewski protested against these threats in a letter that was taken up by all American newspapers (*Het Vaderland*, 7 March 1914: 5).

It could be argued that Kes's involvement in the above examples were not necessarily directly antisemitic in an individual sense, but that his actions meant that he was complicit by the supporting of different antisemitic collectives. Sociologist Helen Fein lends support to this theory and considers antisemitism as an over-arching cultural ideology defining it as 'a persisting latent structure of hostile beliefs towards Jews as a *collectivity* manifested in individuals as attitudes' (Fein, 1987: 67). Fein's definition 'reflects the insight that the ideology of antisemitism is not merely a matter of a personal belief system but rather a more complex network of "myth, ideology, folklore, and imagery"' (Fein, 1987: 100). Kes's contributions towards accommodation of the antisemitic nature of some of the actions of the above-mentioned collectives places him firmly within the parameters of Fein's definition.

Willem Mengelberg

By 1895, under the baton of Willem Mengelberg (1871-1951), the Concertgebouw orchestra had grown into a formidable and professional ensemble that was able to tackle the most challenging repertoire of that time (Reeser, 1986: 138). As we have seen in previous chapters, antisemitism had persisted in both the Netherlands and the world of Dutch music, but significantly, there was a formal complaint against Mengelberg in 1902 relating to alleged antisemitic comments that he had made during a rehearsal. The complaint was made by a delegation consisting of twenty Jewish orchestral members out of a total of seventy one, as revealed by Frits Zwart in his book *Conductor Willem Mengelberg: Acclaimed and Accused 1871-1951* (Zwart, 2019: 144).[20] This amounted to just over 28% of the total orchestral membership and was possibly a measure of the gradual success of full assimilation, the education policies of 1857 which granted full access rights to all Jewish citizens, and the access to music schools and conservatoires all contributing to Jewish numbers heading on an upwards trajectory.

[20] The purpose of this complaint delegation will be explained at length later in this chapter.

Along with their non-Jewish counterparts, Jewish musicians played a prominent role in the development of the orchestra over the next few decades. Leo Samama writes that, ‘under [Mengelberg’s] inspired and disciplined guidance, the orchestra of the Concertgebouw […] became a world-class ensemble within a decade, with a repertoire that bore witness to courage and insight’ (Samama, 1995: 17). Both Mengelberg and the Concertgebouw Orchestra were very highly regarded by many high-profile composers, and Mengelberg invited many of these composers to appear as guest conductors with the orchestra, some of them giving their own works. These included Richard Strauss, Charles Villiers Stanford, Gustav Mahler, Ferruccio Busoni, Georg Schumann, Hans Pfitzner, Max Schillings, George Enescu, Arnold Schoenberg, Claude Debussy, and Max Reger (Reeser, 1986: 141). The number of German names in the list hints at the continued dominance of German music in concert programmes at that time, but it should be noted that Mengelberg continued in the same vein as Kes and also pioneered non-German music, ensuring that the audiences in the Netherlands were familiar with the compositions of composers such as Paul Dukas, Claude Debussy, Sergei Rachmaninoff, Alexander Scriabin and Jean Sibelius (Reeser, 1986: 142). This new musical impetus would not only influence the listening habits of the concert-going public but would provide a wide array of stylistic influences and a legacy for composers in the Netherlands, including a new generation of Dutch-Jewish composers who would thrive on their exposure to many influential contemporary works, particularly those of the French composers.

Although he worked with many Jewish musicians as both soloists and members of the Concertgebouw Orchestra, Mengelberg’s interest in German music may have originally been as a result of his Germanic heritage, and due to the fact that he openly subscribed to the ideals of National Socialism after Hitler’s rise to power in 1933. He displayed antisemitic tendencies earlier than this, however: as mentioned above, for example, during his tenure with the Concertgebouw in 1902 when he was the subject of a complaint made by a delegation of twenty Jewish orchestral members regarding his behaviour towards the players in rehearsals. The original complaint was contained in a letter which was also signed by a further twenty-seven members of the orchestra and addressed what was perceived as Mengelberg’s

arrogance towards the players during rehearsals.[21] Mengelberg refused to speak to the delegation but discussed their motives with his assistant conductor André Spoor, a discussion in which Mengelberg used derogatory and antisemitic language aimed at the leader of the delegation, Mr M.B. Seemer, referring to the 'Jewish rudeness of Mr Seemer and his consorts' (Zwart, 2020: 144).

It is not clear if the reference to Mengelberg's 'arrogance' was in any way related to Jewish prejudice, but it certainly steered in that direction when under scrutiny from Jewish orchestral members. It is also certain that Mengelberg did have personal issues with several individual Jewish orchestral members, as was the case with Seemer. Again, akin to other examples of Mengelberg's antisemitism, Frits Zwart addresses this particular issue from the viewpoint of an apologist. He reflects of Mengelberg's use of 'Jewish rudeness' merely as a 'choice of words which creates an uneasy feeling at the very least' and supports the idea that 'antisemitic language and expressions [were] not exceptional' (Zwart, 2020: 145). Of course, they were not exceptional during the lead-up to World War II, but the subject matter surely deserves a more balanced debate. This was clearly an example of antisemitism as quoted in a recent survey on Jewish perceptions regarding antisemitism which states that 'it pervades the public sphere, reproducing and engraining negative stereotypes about Jews' (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018: 11). This was a case of Mengelberg re-enforcing such a stereotype within the environment of the Concertgebouw.

Paradoxically, Mengelberg never claimed that he harboured any antisemitic sentiment towards Jewish musicians, and this is where his ideology becomes somewhat contradictory and confusing. Even though he was guilty of antisemitic gestures, and certainly more so during the 1930s as a result of exposure to a rise in National Socialism in Germany, Mengelberg still held both Jewish orchestral members of the Concertgebouw and visiting Jewish soloists in high esteem. An excuse that Mengelberg later frequently used to justify his contradictory standards was that in his opinion 'art has nothing to do with politics' (*Utrechts volksblad*, 16 March 1938: 6). The excuse of music and politics being separate entities in the eyes

[21] Amsterdam City Archives. Archive 1089. Folder 16. Archief van Het Concertgebouw N.V.Letter from members of the Concertgebouw Orchestra. 14 December 1904.

of Mengelberg was frequently used as an excuse for favouring talented Jewish musicians who served to enhance his own musical reputation.

Mengelberg's Complex and Rich Relationship with Gustav Mahler

Mengelberg's complex relationship with Jewish musicians was not only limited to guest soloists and the members of the Concertgebouw Orchestra. It is important also to look at the musical landscape shaped by Mengelberg and the Concertgebouw, as the public exposure of several high-profile composers would to some extent prove to have a wide-ranging influence on the continuing development of Dutch music throughout the early twentieth century. Several of these high-profile composers were of Jewish origin and included, amongst others, Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), Darius Milhaud (1892-1974), and Ernest Bloch (1880-1959). Of course, Mengelberg's acceptance of eminent Jewish composers can again be seen as an act of vanity, and one which served to enhance his own musical reputation. Another such hugely influential Jewish figure who was championed by Mengelberg was Gustav Mahler, who was to become a very close friend of Mengelberg and created a situation which again illustrated the ambiguity of Mengelberg's often antisemitic tendencies. Mahler, for the first time, agreed to conduct the world premiere of his Third Symphony with the Concertgebouw in 1902 at the 38th Composer Festival of the General German Society for Music (Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein) in Krefeld, Germany. He had never heard the Concertgebouw Orchestra perform but agreed due to the recommendation made by the chairman of the society, Richard Strauss. Unfortunately, the Concertgebouw was unable to commit to the festival and the invitation was given elsewhere. Mengelberg attended the subsequent performance and was highly impressed, to the extent that he invited Mahler to perform the piece in the Concertgebouw in their 1903-04 concert season, an invitation which Mahler accepted (Post, 2009: 26).

As part of this concert season in October 1903, Mahler conducted the Concertgebouw Orchestra in a performance of his own First Symphony. The critics and audience were delighted, and a review of the concert by critic Dan. de Lang gushed with praise: 'One cannot speak with enough praise about the performance

and about Mahler's talent as a conductor. Everything at a virtuoso level. As a conductor, these qualities benefit him in every way. It was such a luxury to hear such an orchestra under such guidance. The artist was enthusiastically welcomed by the audience. Everyone realized that they were faced with an artist of extraordinary gifts' (De Lange, 27 October 1903: 9).

Over the years Mengelberg not only developed an admiration of the work of Mahler but also formed a close friendship with him, an admiration which was mutual. Mahler's personal letters to his wife Alma are quite revealing in this respect, and in a letter simply dated 1906, he refers to Mengelberg as a 'capital fellow [and that] there is no-one else I could entrust a work of mine to with entire confidence' (Mahler et al., 1990: 274).[22] On his frequent visits to Amsterdam Mahler would stay at Mengelberg's family home as opposed to hotels because 'The Mengelbergs would not hear of me going to the hotel. They are very warm-hearted and genuine people, and he is a man you can rely on' (Mahler et al., 1990: 273). In another letter written by Mahler dated 1 October 1909 he writes that 'I want to make some return to Mengelberg for his self-sacrificing hospitality. He's been noticing my cigars with filter tips and asked me for the address of the firm' (Mahler et al., 1990: 274). This friendship with Mahler perfectly illustrates Mengelberg's hypocrisy in his views that art and politics are separate entities. In this instance Mahler was a showcase composer whose association with Mengelberg and the Concertgebouw Orchestra served to satisfy what seem to have been his narcissistic tendencies and enhance the conductor's international reputation as a pioneer of Mahler's music in the Netherlands.

At this point it is should be clarified that the term narcissism could quite easily be misused in the case of Mengelberg, and indeed many other conductors throughout history, but a journal published by the National Institutes of Medicine clearly defines narcissism as 'characterized by a persistent pattern of grandiosity, fantasies of unlimited power or importance, and the need for admiration or special treatment' (Kacel et al., 2017: 1). All these traits are clearly present in Mengelberg's behaviour and are illustrated in his self-presentation as a figure of musical importance, his need

[22] This translation from the original German was made by Basil Creighton in 1940 and is therefore slightly archaic in nature.

for admiration from audiences, orchestral members, and composers, and his aura of invincibility in that he could display Nazi sympathies and antisemitism without apparent fear of accountability.

Mahler went on to enjoy great success in Amsterdam even though the performance of his music was to later become forbidden in the Netherlands during the German occupation. Before this occurrence the Dutch media from 1903 to 1940 was generally indifferent to Mahler being Jewish, and there was outrage when a book entitled *Das musikalische Juden A.B.C*. by Christa Maria Rock and Hans Brückner was published in Germany in 1935. This was an alphabetical list of composers and other musicians, whose spirit or works were considered to be disadvantageous to German music life, thus the following is found on page 178 of the list of names: 'Mengelberg, Josef Willem, born 1871 in Utrecht, conductor in Amsterdam, and friend of the Jew Gustav Mahler' (*Eindhovensch dagblad*, 16 November 1935: 6). It should be emphasised though that the reception of Mahler and his music was not always positive, with negativity manifesting itself amongst certain members of the Board of the Concertgebouw, the orchestral members, concert audiences, and several newspapers. For example, when reviewing a concert for *De Tijd* which took place in the Concertgebouw on 10 February 1904, the only aspect of the inclusion of Mahler's Symphony No. 1 that was commented on by the critic was the fact that it was 'performed after the interval and did not illicit the same enthusiastic response as the soloist in the first half'. It was also pointed out that 'before the work had begun, many of those present had left the hall, with a steady exodus of audience members continuing throughout the performance' (*De Tijd*, 10 February 1904: 6).

Even in what were considered to be traditionally liberal Dutch newspapers, some reporters demonstrated a trace antisemitism towards Mahler. On 26 October 1903 in *De nieuwe courant,* Barend Kwast reviewed a concert at the Concertgebouw where Mahler conducted his own First Symphony. Kwast initially offered warm praise for Mahler's conducting skills, but he could not 'testify this [genius] to his creative powers' (Kwast, 26 October 1903: 1). He then continued the review by subtly alluding to some of the antisemitic rhetoric from Wagner's controversial pamphlet *Judaism in Music* (185). Although he doesn't directly mention Mahler's Jewish background, Kwast is of the opinion that Mahler was incapable of drawing artistic

inspiration from nature, and that his music sounded like he was struggling to produce something that was artistically and emotionally more profound and soul-searching. It is interesting that Kwast would appear to have been familiar with Wagner's thoughts as similar opinions can be observed in other newspapers during the Occupation of the Netherlands. Kwast's family links are also worth mentioning: Barend Kwast was a sibling to Jacob James Kwast who had a daughter named Mimi Kwast. Mimi was married to the staunch antisemitic German composer Hans Pfizner who was also a supporter of Hitler (Letzer, 1913: 101).

Another negative review of Mahler's music which is worth mentioning, and may hint at prejudice against him, related to The Mahler Festival of 1920. This was organised to mark the anniversary of Willem Mengelberg's tenure as conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra. A review appeared in the right-wing newspaper *De Telegraaf* on 16 May 1920 and was very critical of Mahler's Sixth Symphony. The newspaper reported that: 'We were not moved by Mahler's Sixth and it did not succeed in stirring our emotions. [...] everything that was, or seemed melodic, raged, howled and groaned. It struggled harmonically and rhythmically and consisted of indeterminate sounds that clashed against each other and were crushed into endless, useless, catastrophes' (*De Telegraaf*, 16 May 1920: 9) . It is evident from this later review published nine years after his death that Mahler's music was still met with opposition and disdain from certain audiences and critics. This raises questions about potential biases against not only his compositional style, but also how societal attitudes towards Jews could have shaped critique at that time.

The 1920s to the German Occupation of the Netherlands in 1940

Even as early as 1924, a mere five years after the formation of the National Socialist Party in Germany, Mengelberg displayed what can be considered to be anti-Jewish behaviour. According to Zwart, Mengelberg was familiar with the antisemitic book *Das Rätsel des jüdischen Erfolges* by F. Roderich-Stoltheim (*The Riddle of the Jew's Success*, published in 1923) and had studied it at great length on its publication. The book portrays an image of Jews as 'absolute power brokers of capitalism' (Zwart, 2020: 732). Again, Zwart describes the fact that Mengelberg's copy of the book was

heavily annotated with comments by Mengelberg who repeatedly underlined parts that were critical of the Jews in the world of finance. Fein's theory that antisemitism can be a development of antisemitic beliefs based on collective attitudes based on 'myth, ideology, folklore and imagery' (Fein, 1987: 67) could easily apply to Mengelberg's very own attitude and beliefs and not necessarily just part of a 'personal belief system'. This ingrained outlook regarding Jews was in this instance possibly motivated by a personal situation: his own financial losses, as brought about by the consequences of monetary devaluation during the Weimar Republic, exacerbated by further national financial losses and subsequent unemployment incurred as a result of the American stock market crash in 1929. These were occurrences for which it was convenient to blame the Jews.

Roderich-Stoltheim's book itself is also highly inflammatory, although Zwart does not present examples of the actual text in order to illustrate the extreme nature of the language used. Inspection of a translation of the original by Capel Pownall is illuminating for Mengelberg's position, as Roderich-Stoltheim describes the Jewish assiduity regarding finance as having grown 'out of his [the Jew's] natural disposition, for the sense of gain and the impulse towards self-enrichment' (Roderich-Stoltheim, 1927: 14). He adds that 'certainly the Hebrew is fond of money; but the mere possession of the metal is not enough for him; he knows that behind the glittering gold lurks the secret also that the precious metal gives him power over others' (Roderich-Stoltheim, 1927: 14). It was therefore evident that the antisemitism that Mengelberg had displayed prior to this had intensified by this point due to his perceived view that the Jews had a disproportionate influence on his economic position. This again is an example of Mengelberg reinforcing an anti-Jewish stereotype.

At this point Zwart claims that Mengelberg 'considered the present antisemitism in Germany a nuisance but one which could not be avoided', and that he 'was, at best, mildly antisemitic' (Zwart, 2020: 732). Put bluntly, this was not a mild form of antisemitism because Mengelberg displayed what American economist Jerome S. Legge, Jr. describes as economic antisemitism, where he conformed to the usual stereotypes of the Jew as 'the moneylender' and as being the 'misfit bourgeois' who 'presents the bill' (Legge, 1996: 618). Mengelberg's opinion mirrored that of Hitler

who ‘blamed the economic and political failures of the Weimar Republic largely on the German Jewish community’ (Legge, 1996: 168), but later described them as Bolsheviks who were responsible for Germany’s economic woes following World War I.

It was after this time, in 1933, that Mengelberg began to take great interest in the ideology of the NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei), a far-right organisation in which German nationalism, antisemitism, and anti-capitalism held central focus. We can gain an insight into how Mengelberg agreed with much of the NSDAP’s ideology by the many annotated comments that he made on his copies of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the Nazi Party newspaper which kept him privately well-informed about Hitler and the political developments in Germany at that time (Tazelaar, 2017: 374), Mengelberg had this newspaper posted to his home in Switzerland. Mengelberg showed particular interest in articles in the newspaper written by its editor, Alfred Rosenberg, who wrote frequently about the Jews and blamed them for the German economic situation. Mengelberg frequently marked many such ideological statements with the word ‘Bravo!’ (Zwart, 2020: 728) indicating his own agreement with antisemitic remarks.

Indeed,this was a word that he often used in similar anti-Jewish articles such as in the *Völkischer Beobachter* of 13 January 1934 in an article referring to ‘Die Nationale Front in der Schweiz’ (Nazis in Switzerland) which condemned Jewish emigrants in Germany being critical of their adopted country (Zwart, 2020: 731). Although Mengelberg privately hoped for the restoration of Germany’s authority and dominance in the world and heartily agreed with antisemitic statements, Frits Zwart claims, as we saw, that he naively ‘considered the present antisemitism in Germany a nuisance but one which could not be avoided’ (Zwart, 2020: 733). The depth of Mengelberg’s understanding and support of Nazi rhetoric and the fact that he was consistently well informed of such developments, along with examples of his own making clearly contradict Zwart’s opinions in this instance.

Antisemitism was a central principle in Nazism and Mengelberg took a great interest in this aspect of Hitler’s NSDAP rhetoric, central to which was the idea of ‘power and purity’ (Zwart, 2020: 729). In the eyes of Hitler, the Jews were to blame for the economic catastrophes that both Mengelberg and Germany had endured during a

time of economic depression that stemmed back to the 1920s. This economic aspect of Hitler's antisemitic rhetoric particularly resonated with Mengelberg, and as already touched upon, it was during this period that his own antisemitism seemed to intensify having initially been fuelled by the fact that his former personal secretary Samuel Bottenheim, was not only Jewish, but was held responsible for the loss of Mengelberg's fortune when he speculated approximately 480,000 guilders on the New York Stock market. By today's standards that would amount to just under £4,000,000 (Tazelaar, 2017: 376). This general stereotyping of Jews as scapegoats was a strategy used by Hitler to unite Germany against a common enemy by blaming the earlier tolerance of the political, financial, and cultural influence of the Jews as the reason for the failure of the Weimar Republic and therefore the problems later inherited by Germany in the aftermath (Hacke, 2015: 154).

Although Mengelberg obviously harboured antisemitic beliefs, depending on whether his contact with Jewish musicians was to his own benefit, he would seem to have been inconsistent in his application of them. We should therefore question the depth of his political leanings and Zwart's idea of the possible naivety involved in his use of offensive behaviour towards Jews. Certainly, German newspapers and books pertaining to Nazi politics belonging to Mengelberg were extensively notated in his hand, although often with quite childlike and superficial comments that make his opinions 'best described as rather impulsive' (Zwart, 2019: 737) and ill-informed rather than deeply heartfelt; this is an example of Zwart incorrectly portraying Mengelberg as politically naïve. Given the evidence of Mengelberg's general racist attitude towards the Jews, Zwart's statement again seems rather apologetic, and to dismiss any form or quantity of antisemitic behaviour as 'naivety' seems tendentious.

I pose the question of how many antisemitic comments or actions does one have to commit before becoming 'an antisemite'? Given the regularity of these occurrences, it is wrong for one to make excuses for such behaviour. After all, if we encounter just one single historic article or comment that displays Jewish discrimination in any form, we must label it antisemitic. There have been apologists for this behaviour throughout history, in for example the case of Wagner, who is often defended by citing his friendship with several Jews, including Hermann Levi who conducted the 1882 premiere of *Parsifal* in Bayreuth (Aschheim, 1996: 58). We have already seen

that Mengelberg was capable of making off-the-cuff antisemitic comments towards Jewish members of the Concertgebouw Orchestra, but conversely, he didn't appear to consistently display overt prejudice when it came to the matter of appointing or promoting Jewish musicians. It can be argued that, along with his relationship with Mahler, this tolerance of Jews in the Concertgebouw Orchestra by Mengelberg was again fundamentally a matter of self-interest and narcissism. Mengelberg considered the Jewish musicians as indispensable in maintaining the high standards and international acclaim achieved by 'his' orchestra. It is unclear to what level he generally mistrusted Jews beyond the world of finance, but he rarely displayed the notion that he disrespected Jewish musicians any less than anyone else.

The extent of Mengelberg's antisemitism has often been the topic of debate, but what is not in question was his sympathy towards Hitler and the Nazi cause; a preoccupation that continued to fuel his increasing antisemitism in the run up to World War II. To this extent it is important to bear in mind that Hitler's ideology was an important factor in Mengelberg's own personal views. Some musicologists such as Eduard Reeser in his authoritative book *Een eeuw Nederlandse muziek 1815-1915* (1986) make no mention of Mengelberg's political leanings. Others have focused on Mengelberg's role as being solely sympathetic towards the Jewish cause, as is the case in Emanuel Overbeeks's chapter 'Vervolgde Componisten in Nederland' where he describes how Dutch-Jewish composer Henriëtte Bosmans (1895-1952) successfully found support from Willem Mengelberg that prevented her Jewish mother from being deported to Westerbork (Overbeeke, 2004a: 154). Considering that the book from which that passage was taken is entitled *Verboden muziek onder het nazi-bewind: Entartete Musik* (Forbidden Music Under Nazi Rule: Degenerate Music). it is surprising that Overbeeke makes no mention of Mengelberg's antisemitic tendencies which would have balanced the narrative. It is important therefore to address this balance and further investigate Mengelberg's antisemitism, his often-contrasting support of Jewish musicians, and his admiration of Hitler and Nazi politics. I would reiterate my argument here that Mengelberg's actions were indeed antisemitic and not acts of naivety, and that his persona in this regard was adapted to suit his own musical reputation and advancement. Jewish musicians of the highest calibre were able to enhance Mengelberg's international

reputation as one of the best conductors of one of the greatest orchestras in the world.

Mengelberg's Jewish Dilemmas

Mengelberg's actions during 1935 and 1936 certainly add fuel to this debate. It was then that he displayed his own identity and political awareness in agreeing to conduct concerts in Berlin and Frankfurt. During 1935 Mengelberg had received invitations from Wilhelm Furtwängler to conduct in Berlin, and also from the Frankfurter Museums-Gesellschaft, the cultural association which organised concerts given at the Frankfurt Museum. It was founded in the latter part of the eighteenth century and since then it has managed the Frankfurter Opern-und Museumsorchester (Frankfurt Opera and Museum Orchestra), the now municipal orchestra of Frankfurt (Oper Frankfurt, 2022). As part of this narrative, we must remind ourselves that from 1933 music in Germany had become politicised as a result of Nazi strictures and was governed by the Reichsmusikkammer. Membership of this organisation was essential in order to pursue a career as a professional musician, but membership was refused 'on the grounds of race and perceived political allegiance' (Levi, 2004: 76). This effectively meant that Jewish musicians were completely prohibited from both performing and having their music performed in public in Germany at that time.

Mengelberg would have been fully aware of these developments as he regularly read the *Völkischer Beobachter* and was therefore well informed of political developments in Nazi Germany. The offer of conducting in Nazi Germany had its practical advantages: it was an opportunity to receive some handsome payments which would help to ease his dire financial situation after the loss of his investments during the earlier financial collapse in America, as well as further enhancing his own reputation within Germany. It was however a difficult decision in public relations terms: Mengelberg was aware of the growing Dutch protests against him conducting in Germany because of concerns about the persecution of Catholics and Jews at that time. An article in the periodical *De Publiek Opinie* published on 19 October 1935 summed up the mood, reporting that when news of Mengelberg's planned concerts in Germany was first made public in Dutch newspapers 'some of the regular visitors to the Concertgebouw reacted immediately by cancelling their subscription

for the coming winter season' (*De Publiek Opinie*, 19 October 1935: 8). Also, that in a meeting of the Amsterdam City Council 'protests were made from various sides against the intention of Prof. Mengelberg to appear as guest conductor in Germany' (*De Publiek Opinie*, 19 October 1935: 8).

Politically, Mengelberg conducting in Germany in 1935 was seen as a disaster by the board members of the Concertgebouw, not only in terms of reinforcing public opinions relating to his attitude towards the Dutch Jews, but also for the future of the Concertgebouw Orchestra which allegedly had eight hundred subscription tickets cancelled because of Mengelberg's actions (Micheels, 1993: 89). The matter was further complicated by the fact that Mengelberg was receiving advice from Dutch governmental ambassadors in Vienna and Budapest that suggested his conducting in Germany would 'improve the relationship – and the commerce – between the Netherlands and its powerful neighbour' (Zwart, 2019: 779). The Board of the Orchestra wrote to him stating that they thought that because of the political uproar this was causing in the Netherlands he should cancel his Frankfurt concert of October 24, 1935.[23] As it happened, Mengelberg eventually cancelled the concert due to genuine ill health, something he frequently suffered throughout his tenure with the Concertgebouw Orchestra.

Mengelberg's continuing sympathies towards Hitler's regime and his obvious disdain for both Dutch Jews and the plight of the Jews in Nazi Germany, as well as the political leanings of his audiences, has been defended by some, such as Frits Zwart who acknowledges Mengelberg's political allegiances and acts of antisemitism but takes a rather apologist stance by accrediting it largely to naivety. This was evident during the period of Mengelberg's controversial musical activities in Germany. This however not only applied to Mengelberg, but also to other members of the Concertgebouw Orchestra in various capacities. An article in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* on 8 July 1937 highlights a proposed visit of the Concertgebouw Orchestra to Nazi Germany, in which Mengelberg addressed the Jewish members of the orchestra reminding them that 'they were completely [contractually] bound [to do as directed] and were not allowed to contradict this commitment. Nazi sympathisers

[23] Amsterdam City Archives, Archive 1089. Folder 27 Archief van het Concertgebouw N.V. CGA, minutes of the Board, September 11, September 16, September 25, October 2, October 16, 1935.

of the orchestra applauded the conductor's insistence on this' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 July 1937: 3). The Jewish members were also pressurised by assistant conductor André Spoor who, because of their resistance to the visit, called them 'characterless, and [that] Mr. Mengelberg would have no respect for them either [as well as himself]' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 July 1937: 3).

From 1940 antisemitism in the Netherlands was more blatant, with Nazi control and censorship of all Dutch newspapers from 1940. The Dutch SS newspaper *Storm SS* again mirrored some of Wagner's opinions where one of its writers criticised Mahler's now banned musical works as 'shallow and artificial in its attempt to assimilate Germanic spirit and is proof that that spirit can never be felt in its purest form by a Jew' (*Storm SS Blad der Nederlandsche SS*, 30 January 1942: 9). Overt antisemitism aimed towards musicians was not only the domain of the right-wing press, and after the Occupation in 1940 such tendencies increasingly manifested amongst concert-going audiences who many of whom would not attend concerts that featured Jewish soloists or music by Jewish composers. A review written by the notoriously antisemitic critic Fidelio in *Het Nationale Dagblad* apparently reflected the mood of a substantial portion of the Dutch concert-going public who would not attend a performance given by a Jewish soloist. In it he wrote that 'a three-quarters occupied hall, of which a very large part consisted of Jews, may be an indication to the Concertgebouw board that the people of Amsterdam people have had an awakening and are no longer impressed by performances of the likes of Carl Flesch. violinist of Jewish blood' (*Het Nationale Dagblad*, 22 July 1940: 6). This certainly calls into question the concept that historically the Netherlands had a reputation as a nation of racial tolerance; antisemitism had always bubbled beneath the surface. On the other hand, it could be argued that this was a deliberate exaggeration as a form of pro-Nazi propaganda which was published in a newspaper printed by the NSB, the Dutch fascist National Socialist Movement, and could be seen as an attempt to 'radicalize' the audience.

Mengelberg's supposed support of Jewish musicians was eventually to take a U-turn in terms of his own self-preservation when the Concertgebouw first encountered the Nazi intent to 'Aryanise' the orchestra as early as the autumn of 1940. This occurred when they received a notice from the Departement van Volksvoorlichting en Kunsten

(DVK or Department of Public Information and the Arts), an organisation that was part of the official Nazi policy to steer Dutch society in a National Socialist direction, instructing orchestra members to sign what was effectively a declaration of Aryan descendancy. At this time the DVK presented an information session where they outlined what would amount to government interference in Dutch musical life. Then, on April 7, 1941, the DVK began in earnest to reorganise Dutch musical life with the founding of the Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer (Dutch Chamber of Culture) of which music made up one of the several departments that represented each arts discipline. Musicians were required to join this organisation and they could only become members if they had signed an Aryan declaration. This process was considered essential if musicians wanted to continue working professionally in the Netherlands, but ultimately it would result in Jewish musicians being automatically excluded from the profession. This resulted in mass dismissals and the performance of music by Dutch-Jewish composers being banned from public concert platforms, a process that mirrored earlier events in Nazi Germany. It was at this point that permitted musicians benefitted from better salaries and working conditions, but also witnessed the 'purification of the orchestras' (Zwart, 2020: 950) with the expulsion of Jewish members. The dismissals of Jewish musicians had been staved off throughout 1940 when other organisations in the Netherlands had already done so because a compromise had already been granted by the Germans in 1940 that to reduce disruption, Jewish players could remain but in demoted positions. Of course, this suited Mengelberg as the orchestra could maintain its high standards with little or no disruption, hence continuing to maintain his musical reputation for as long as possible during the Occupation. This changed in 1941 when the order came to finally 'Aryanise' the Concertgebouw Orchestra and dismiss all Jews (Presser, 2010: 67).

Another component of the Nazi political and cultural agenda in the Netherlands was the promotion music by Dutch composers that was deemed acceptable. Historian Jeroen Dewulf presents his hypothesis on the reasons for this by pointing out that 'there is plenty of evidence that forces within the National Socialist Party wished to re-educate what they considered their "Dutch kinsmen" to enable them to rediscover their "truly Germanic" and essentially German identity' (Dewulf, 2010: 45). The Reichskommissar of the Netherlands, Seyss-Inquart, believed that 'one of the most effective ways of developing and maintaining a harmonious relationship between the

Netherlands and Germany was through culture, and the promotion of acceptable Dutch music was one means of achieving this objective' (Evans, 2020: 14). Consequently,in 1941 there was a notable increase in the frequency of their inclusion in concert programmes.

During the years leading up to the Occupation the amount of music by Dutch composers included in concert programmes was variable, with Mengelberg at times doing little to redress that balance with the Concertgebouw Orchestra. In 1930 there were only eight performances that included any Dutch music, but in 1937 there was an increase with twenty-eight performances, possibly due to the efforts of Maneto (Manifestatie Nederlandse Toonkunst). Maneto was established in 1935 was an important part of the Dutch musical landscape pre-occupation, and with Dutch composer Jan van Gilse as its president, its main purpose was to generate interest in Dutch music (van Dijk, 2015: 93). 18 November 1937 was a significant date in the Concertgebouw's calendar in that it was the only concert conducted by Mengelberg that consisted solely of music by Dutch composers. The programme consisted of Henk Badings' *Symphonische variaties over een Zuid-Afrikaans thema*, Johan Wagenaar's *Feestmarsch*, Alphons Diepenbrock's *Vondels vaart naar Agrippine*, Cornelis Dopper's *Lucifer*, Rudolf Mengelberg's *Hymne op Amstelredam*, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck's *Fantasia chromatica*, and Bernard Zweers' *Gysbreght van Aemstel* (Concertgebouworkest Archive, 1937).

The programme choice in this case is stylistically quite conservative with a bias towards late Romanticism. Certainly, there is evidence of the influence of Richard Strauss in the works of Wagenaar, Mahler in the music of Mengelberg, and the chromaticism of Wagner in that of Diepenbrock. The music of Sweelinck represented a contrapuntal complexity that preceded J.S. Bach, with the only representation of modern innovation being Henk Badings. His compositional style is interesting and certainly displays many modernistic and experimental traits, such as his preference for the use of various modes and scales built on harmonic and sub-harmonic series. Much of his earlier work is Romantic in style but with use of non-diatonic harmonies. After 1950 Badings ventured into the realms of experimental electronic mediums. However, the successful increase in performances of Dutch music was no doubt partly due to the fact that, as well as Dutch composers generally, the numbers were

somewhat boosted by a significant number of innovative Dutch-Jewish composers active in the 1930s whose stylistic approach was generally more aligned with the music of French composers such as Debussy and Ravel. However, from the point of the DVK's intervention in 1941 inclusion of music by Dutch composers would become nigh on impossible because such a large number of them were Jewish, hence their music was banned by the Nazis. These Jewish composers included Daniel Belifante (1893-1945), Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman (1892-1971), Henriëtte Bosmans (1895-1952), Lex van Delden (1919-1988), Sem Dresden (1881-1957), Marius Flothuis (1914-2001), Jan van Gilse (1881-1944), Simon Gokkes (1897-1943), Dick Kattenburg (1919-1944), Leo Kok (1893-1992), Bertus van Lier (1906-1973), Nico Richter (1915-1945), James Simon (1880-1944), Leo Smit (1900-1943), Martin Spanjaard (1892-1942), Marjo Tal (1915-2006), Max Vredenburg (1904-1976), Rosy Wertheim (1888-1949) (Alders and Pameijer, 2015: 10).

Considering the ongoing attempts to 'Aryanise' the Concertgebouw Orchestra throughout 1940 it would seem highly controversial that Mengelberg continued to conduct in Nazi Germany during that same year, and this raises the question of his motives for doing so. In an interview with writer and journalist Néstor Castiglione, Frits Zwart responded to the question whether he thought Mengelberg was a political naive as had been contended. Zwart responded that 'although Mengelberg performed in occupied territories and cooperated with the Germans [...] he did not publicly support the occupation of the Netherlands [and that] he protected many Jews and other victims of Nazi persecution' (Castiglione, 2020). Neither of Zwart's claims appears to be accurate, however, and Mengelberg's stance on the German occupation in particular is clearly exemplified in an interview with him published in *De Telegraaf* on 11 July 1940 while he was in Berlin conducting several concerts with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. Mengelberg clearly made reference to his support of the German occupation saying: 'When the armistice was signed, we stayed up all night: it was in Bad Gastein [Austria], and although I was there for the [Gastein] cure, we, with all our friends, had champagne and celebrated this great hour. It really was a momentous hour and world history will confirm that in the future' (*De Telegraaf* 11 July 1940: 3). It is interesting that Mengelberg refers to the Dutch capitulation as an 'armistice' which infers that he believed there had been a cessation of hostilities while a peaceful settlement was negotiated. Of course, this would have been a

useful contribution to the Nazi's propaganda machine, but in reality, the process was anything but peaceful with the almost immediate expulsion in 1940 of Jews from the Dutch ARP Service, and a note from the Head of the National Insurance and Labour Service, R.A Verwey, stating that 'people who have served long prison sentences, those with clear communist history, and Jews' were unsuitable for work (Presser, 2010: 12).

The Dutch public reaction to Mengelberg seemingly supporting the German occupation in the Netherlands was critical as indicated by several Dutch newspapers including the *Arnhemsche Courant*, *De Indische Courant*, and the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*. An article in *De Indische Courant* on 9 January 1941 intimated that Mengelberg had Nazi tendencies and reported that:

> Willem spent a large part of his youth in Germany and has spent his entire life visiting Germany. For many years he was permanent conductor of the concerts in Frankfurt. His great success as a conductor, if one considers that opinion to be correct, is due to his innate "Nazi mentality" which he possessed long before there was talk of "Nazis". Then as a poor-spirited individual who remains unsympathetic towards the Dutch cause in the highest degree, it should be remembered that he has earned the greater part of his living having spent most of his life in our country. Willem is simply an unsympathetic and unreliable person, and in fact one could actually say that he has discovered a friend in Adolf Hermann Göbbels [sic] (*De Indische Courant*, 9 January 1941: 1).

Mengelberg's response to the allegation that he had celebrated the Dutch capitulation was one of arrogance and displayed his narcissistic tendencies clearly when he replied: 'What if I had drunk a glass of champagne on the evening of the Dutch capitulation? We sailed into Germany and there heard the news that our country was involved in the war' (*Arnhemsche Courant*, 3 August 1941: 2).

Mengelberg further displayed his pro-Nazi sympathies when he ignored both public outcry and the advice of the Board of the Concertgebouw Orchestra and went ahead and conducted in Germany on fifty occasions, and in Austria on seventeen

occasions between 4 May 1936 and 25 June 1943. An open letter to Mengelberg published earlier in this period in the Communist newspaper *De tribune: sociaal democratische weekblad* exemplifies the level of animosity felt by many Dutch citizens towards Mengelberg's blasé attitude regarding his conducting engagements in Nazi Germany and therefore supporting antisemitism during that period. An excerpt from the letter stated:

> Since it is well known that you devote your precious time almost exclusively to music, everyone understands that the political entanglements in Germany are beyond your attention. But what cannot possibly have escaped your attention as a Catholic and as a musical artist is the equation of German religion and art life, the persecutions of your fellow believers [Jews], the eradication and vilification of numerous artists, including to name just one, your friend Gustav Mahler, to the performance and recognition of whose work you have devoted your best efforts. You celebrated Mahler very recently in Amsterdam with a commemoration feast, which rightly provoked a storm of enthusiasm. It is nevertheless our firm conviction that you would have honoured Mahler's memory more aptly [...] by following the example of many of your colleagues and to unconditionally reject German art (*De tribune: soc. dem. Weekblad,* 9 May 1936: 6).

This was not an unexpected response from *De tribune*, the organ of the Communist Party of the Netherlands who in 1941 organised a general strike in support of the Dutch Jews persecuted by the Nazis.

Ironically, Mengelberg did however continue to support the music of Mahler. When, in the late summer of 1940, the Concertgebouw announced the performance programmes for its new forthcoming concert season, part of its plans was the inclusion of Mahler's First Symphony, displeasing the Reichskommissariat Niederlande Seyss-Inquart. Seyss-Inquart had already granted permission for Jewish musicians to temporarily continue playing in the Concertgebouw Orchestra but was not prepared to compromise further with the continuing performances of music by Jewish composers. Although there was still no official ban on the performance of music by Jewish composers at this point, Seyss-Inquart made it very clear that if the inclusion of Mahler in the programme went ahead there could be

possible consequences, amongst which could be: '1) The Reich Commissioner and his employees would not attend concerts at the Concertgebouw. 2) The conductors who performed works by Jewish composers would be denied all support and cooperation from the German authorities. 3) German soloists would be banned from performing with the Concertgebouw. 4) The Concertgebouw would no longer receive a subsidy' (Micheels, 1993: 168).

However, because there was still no official ban in place, Mengelberg's secretary, Johan Koning, surprisingly managed to negotiate and secure one last performance of Mahler's symphony for 10 October 1940. Prejudice was to have been expected from a Nazi politician such as Seyss-Inquart, but the Orchestra having been granted permission to perform music by a Jewish composer was again the target of antisemitic attitudes, this time from the orchestra's own Dutch board members who attempted to block the proposed performance.[24] There was particular resistance from Rudolf Mengelberg, artistic director of the Concertgebouw – and also the nephew of Willem Mengelberg who was very much against his nephew's decision. Ultimately, on the insistence of Willem Mengelberg and as the result of a meeting between the Concertgebouw's vice-chairman De Marez Oyens and Hauptabteilung Volksaufklärung und Propaganda,[25] it was finally agreed to allow the performance of the First in Amsterdam and The Hague under the proviso that 'the gradual cleansing of orchestras of Jewish performers should continue to be given due attention'.[26] Mengelberg was obviously happy for the performance of his good friend's symphony to go ahead, regardless of the cost to the Jewish members of the orchestra.

Mengelberg's continuing tours of Germany during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands took him to Frankfurt, Dresden, Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Halle, Aachen, Magdeburg, Stuttgart, Leuna Merseburg, Mannheim, Göttingen, Potsdam, Nuremberg, Chemnitz, and Leipzig, cities in which he conducted a variety of German orchestras including the Dresdner Philharmonie, Frankfurt Städtische Orchester, Großer Rundfunkorchester Berlin, Berlin Philharmonic, Münchner Philharmoniker, and Nationaltheater Orchester. When in Austria, he conducted the Vienna

[24] Concertgebouw archives, minutes of a meeting with Rudolf Mengelberg on 2 October 1940.
[25] Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.
[26] Amsterdam City Archives. Archive 1089, folder 85. Letter from Oberregierungsrat Fink to the Concertgebouw. 7 October 1940.

Philharmonic. The only time Mengelberg controversially conducted the Concertgebouw Orchestra in either of these countries was in Vienna on 8 April 1942, a year after the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands, displaying complete insensitivity with regards to the fate of the Jewish members of the Concertgebouw Orchestra who were dismissed in 1941.

Until 1941 Mengelberg demonstrated some level of solidarity with the Jewish musicians in that he was able to keep them in the orchestra, albeit in less visible positions when the DVK had announced that, as of 15 May, Jewish musicians 'who according to regulations should have been dismissed months ago' (Presser, 1985: 115) would be expelled from the Concertgebouw Orchestra. The irony of this whole affair is that when the Jewish musicians were asked to leave the orchestra, Mengelberg was quoted as saying that if that happened 'Then I will no longer conduct' (Zwart, 2020: 951), a promise he obviously repeatedly broke very soon afterwards, even going on to conduct in Nazi Germany during the Occupation. This again is an example of Mengelberg's inconsistency and self-preservation when it came to his attitude towards Jews and serves to demonstrate how his superficial neutrality was countered during World War Two by his behaviour and his verbal and written assertions. This raises another question as to why Mengelberg's National Socialist leanings and occasional bursts of antisemitism were tolerated by both the Board of the Concertgebouw Orchestra and Dutch concertgoing public.

From that point on, Jewish musicians were dismissed from the Concertgebouw Orchestra, and the public performance of music by Jewish composers was banned in the Netherlands, mirroring antisemitic policy in Germany since as early as 1933. It also marked the time when Mengelberg, after a lifetime of dedicating himself to the work of Gustav Mahler, arguably exhibited his true political colours in that he no longer possessed the conviction or courage to publicly express his support for a close friend and Jewish composer such as Mahler (Zwart, 2019: 243). This was an act of betrayal in the eyes of many, a betrayal which Mengelberg himself had a taste of after the war in 1945 when the Netherlands' Honour Council presented him with a lifetime ban from conducting in the Netherlands as a result of what was seen as collaboration with, and support of the Nazi regime during the occupation of the Netherlands. A report in *De Tijd* on 5 July 1945 described the response of the

Council: ‘With regard to Professor Willem Mengelberg, the council is of the opinion that for a man in his position he has been guilty of unacceptable acts contrary to national honour, and he will never again be allowed to conduct in the Netherlands’ (*De Tijd*, 5 July 1945: 3). After an appeal this was later reduced to six years, although during this time he had retreated to Switzerland where he remained in exile until his death in 1951.

Conclusion

So, was Willem Mengelberg an antisemite, perhaps naïve in this regard, or was he able to change his views when his narcissism demanded? Opinions are still divided about the level of Mengelberg’s political allegiance and antisemitic attitudes. Many, such as Frits Zwart take an apologist approach and argue that he displayed mere political naivety as a result of his Germanic family roots. However, having examined some of the evidence available, my opinion is that Mengelberg fully understood the implications of his admiration of Hitler and Nazi politics, and that he was indeed an antisemite who was able to accept the presence and input of Jewish musicians if it was of benefit to his own self-advancement and musical reputation as one of the world’s great conductors. Ultimately, he consistently displayed traits of being all three: an antisemite, naïve, and a narcissist. with his antisemitism illustrated by his vocal and written comments, his naivety illustrated by his child-like annotation of newspapers and antisemitic articles, and his narcissism evident in his chameleon-like attitudes towards Jewish musicians depending on whether it enhanced his international musical reputation as a conductor. This was also evident in his response to his alleged celebration of the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands in 1940. Mengelberg’s ongoing admiration of Hitler and his own antisemitism was to be his ultimate downfall of which his aforementioned celebration was the final act.

The case of Mengelberg’s antisemitism was, as illustrated in previous chapters, symptomatic of similar underlying attitudes in Dutch society, both in the lead-up to and during the Nazi occupation from 1940. However, his privileged position and international high profile as conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra meant that his actions were very much in the public eye. Of course, historical attitudes extended

beyond the Mengelberg era, and it is therefore important to acknowledge that the content of this chapter was a snapshot of the antisemitic attitudes that had affected the world of Dutch-Jewish musicians from emancipation onwards as presented in this research.

Chapter Five – The Development of Jewish Nationalism in the Netherlands

'While Zionism creates new great opportunities for Jewish emigration, it provides a constructive response to antisemitism and creates a new era in Jewish history' (*De joodsche wachter*, 30 August 1935: 1). This was part of a speech given by Polish born Zionist Nahum Sokdow to the World Zionist Congress in 1935. Sokdow was the elected President of the Congress, and the speech addressed his views on the rise of antisemitism in Germany at that time. Antisemitism had become more prevalent with a policy of that consisted of 'cutting off thousands of people, without any other basis than racial difference, from the path to honest merit and natural spiritual development' (*De joodsche wachter*, 30 August 1935: 1). In fact, it went beyond this with people barred from their livelihoods, and in many cases arrested on false pretences. Sokdow's view was that the principle of equality of rights should be unassailable, and that the only way to achieve this was Eretz Yisrael (Land of Israel) – the concept of a separate Jewish state which would match the area of what was biblical Israel. Eretz Yisrael was part of the official Hebrew name of Mandatory Palestine which is a term that is still as sensitive now as it was then and has been supported by numerous influential political leaders. Below is a quotation, for example, from Winston Churchill:

> I do not agree that the dog in a manger has the final right to the manger even though he may have lain there for a very long time. I do not admit that right. I do not admit for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to these people by the fact that a stronger race, a higher-grade race, a more worldly-wise race to put it that way, has come in and taken their place (Quoted in Roberts, 2019: 541)

Churchill refers to the Greek fable of the dog in the manger where 'a dog, who cannot eat grain, is inside the manger, the trough used to feed grain to cattle, thereby preventing the cattle from sustenance' (Gibbs, 2008: 178). The underlying

justification for Churchill's statement was possibly racially motivated, where dog in this case represents the Arab population of Palestine who were theoretically preventing the 'stronger' and 'higher-grade' Jewish migrants from taking Arab land and settling there (Wilde, 2022: 389). From this, we can appreciate why this has been a sensitive issue for many years.

The rise of Zionism across Europe began in the late nineteenth century and was a reaction against the rise of antisemitic attitudes and behaviour during that period. However, because the Dutch-Jewish population had been reasonably well established, particularly after the emancipation, Zionism did not initially have an impact. According to Blom and Cahen 'antisemitism in the country was relatively ineffectual, the Jewish population had for long been firmly established, its position appeared unthreatened, and assimilation and integration were the dominating tendencies among Dutch Jews' (Blom and Cahen, 2001: 272). This may have been the case if direct comparisons were made with countries such as Germany or Austria, where during the last few decades of the Habsburg Empire 'antisemitism became a pronounced and firmly established aspect of Austrian life' (Rosensaft, 1976: 57). However, I consider levels of antisemitism to be relative, and although arguably not as prevalent as in the aforementioned countries at that time, antisemitism in the Netherlands was a constant presence and therefore a major concern. It is no surprise, then, that a number of Dutch Zionist organisations were formed in the late nineteenth century, most notably the Nederlandse Zionisten Bond, or NZB (Netherlands Zionist Federation) in 1899. By the 1930s many Dutch Jews sensed the rise in antisemitism across Europe, and indeed within the Netherlands, and consequently membership had risen from 2,094 in 1932 to 4,246 in 1939 (Blom and Cahen, 2001: 273). According to Yad Vashem, the world Holocaust Remembrance Centre in Israel, the Jewish population of the Netherlands in 1940 was 140,000; a conservative estimate would indicate that NZB membership amounted to 3% of the Dutch-Jewish population.

Developments in Synagogue Music

This interest in Jewish Nationalism and a newly aroused interest in their own Jewish

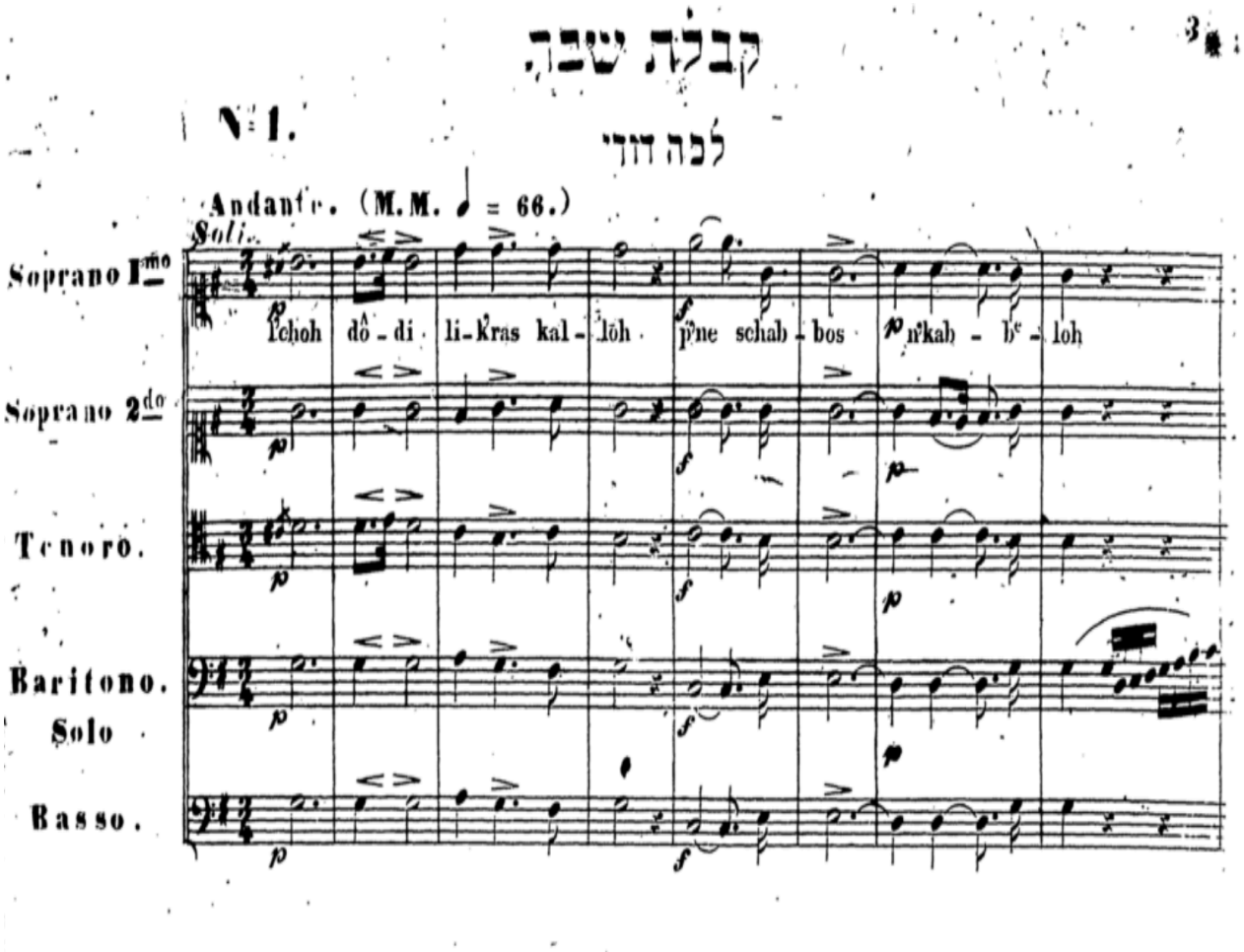
identity was also a matter of concern for several Dutch-Jewish composers, including Max Vredenburg (1904-1976), Sim (Simon) Gokkes (1897-1943), and Dick Kattenburg (1932-1944). Before going any further, however, we must address the question of what might constitute 'Jewish Nationalism' in a musical sense. Because it depends on many factors it would be very difficult to achieve a conclusive answer as opinions over the years have varied enormously. Several of these opinions have been fuelled by antisemitic sentiment such as those of Wagner in his pamphlet *Das Judenthum in der Musik* (Jewishness in Music, 1850) which are well documented. Similar views were expressed by Austrian Jewish music scholar Erwin Felber (1885-1964) who was of the opinion that 'the Jews, like all of the Near Eastern race, are exceptionally musical. In Western music they have created high-quality masterworks but never, not even today, [have they created] Jewish music' (Felber, 1928: 282). Felber argues that in order to create true Jewish music it would have to be based on Jewish spiritual characteristics and that Jewish composers should learn to distance themselves from Western influences. In essence, the rhetoric of Wagner and Felber served to 'cast the Jews as a foreign body in Western culture' (Moricz, 1999).

The westernisation to which Felber alludes was possibly linked to what was seen as the westernisation of synagogue music in central Europe which began to take hold as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century and which would have repercussions at a later stage. This westernisation of synagogue music is an important topic to dwell upon as it was this that drove many Jewish composers to ultimately react against it and was of particular significance regarding the Dutch-Jewish composers at the end of the nineteenth century and start of the twentieth century. Western influence on synagogue music began to exert itself during the Jewish emancipation and Jewish Enlightenment. Musicologist Tina Frühauf states that 'reform minded Jews in central Europe began to develop ideas toward a modernized worship service' and that these reforms to synagogue music 'underwent radical changes to make it appear more current and sophisticated to a public that was increasingly educated in Western art music' (Frühauf, 2015: 187). Ethnomusicologist Abraham Idelsohn originally raised this point in 1928 stating that 'free-thinking Jews [in Germany] and in Central Europe believe that the source of their misery as Jews lay in their seclusion from general modern European culture and in their adherence to an ancient Asiatic religion' (Idelsohn, 1992: 233).

There had been various attempts to reform and modernise synagogue worship throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, mainly in Germany. In the main, early reforms proved to be relatively unpopular, but the first reformer to have any tangible success was Israel Jacobson (1768-1828) who believed that a thorough reform of the Jewish school system was necessary in order to establish any form of modernisation. Jacobson founded several such reformed institutions in Germany between 1791 and 1809, and in these schools 'a service was instituted for the pupils in which reforms were introduced that would not have been tolerated in the synagogue; thus, the children became accustomed to innovations, and when they grew to maturity often enlisted in the cause of reform' (Philipson, 1903: 487). The reforms introduced by Jacobson included several changes to the programme for synagogue services at one of his schools including the addition of an organ, and the introduction of 'German hymns to the tunes of Christian chorales. He also 'abolished the chanting of the Pentateuch and Prophets according to traditional modes as well as the unrhythmical prayer modes' (Idelsohn, 1992: 236).

This ultra-reform was ultimately unsuccessful due to traditional Judaism in Germany remaining strong, but it did serve to create a desire for some form of modernisation. This demand gained significant momentum amongst Jews in Vienna from 1810, and the consequent modernising of the religious service built on earlier German reforms. However, it was not until 1826 that the Viennese Jews found 'the musical architect' (Frühauf, 2012: 15) for their reformations with the appointment of Salomon Sulzer as cantor of the Stadttempel. Sulzer went on to develop what was to become referred to as the Viennese rite. Sulzer's changes to the liturgy of the service balanced 'traditional and modernising elements while adhering to Jewish law' (Frühauf, 2012: 15), but regarding music the legacies of what preceded him had created a corrupted and muddled tradition. To rectify this situation Sulzer took traditional Ashkenazic melodies which were primarily improvised or orally transmitted and presented them in Western musical notation, while at the same time ridding them of any embellishment. Sulzer also harmonised these melodies in line with Western harmonic convention, but also removed 'the imitation, absorption, or parody of late Baroque instrumental and operatic music' (Frühauf, 2012: 17) that had become so pervasive since the German Reformation.

It is however debatable that Sulzer had resurrected and adapted traditional Ashkenazic melodies as claimed, and closer inspection of some of his works seem to confirm this theory. Sulzer's *Schir Zion (Song of Zion)* first published in 1839 was a collection of music for the synagogue and was scored for baritone solo (cantor), choir, and optional organ. The first work in the collection (Ex. 5.1), *L'cho dodi*, is in fact a re-worked secular melody originally composed by Austrian composer Ignaz von Seyfried (1776-1841). This rather contradicts Sulzer's main reform objective of ridding synagogue music of the corrupting influence of melodies from Western sources and replacing them with modernised Ashkenazik melodies. The scoring for four-part choir, soloist, and optional organ, along with its notation in a strictly metered form gives no clue as to the fact this music was intended for use in the synagogue.

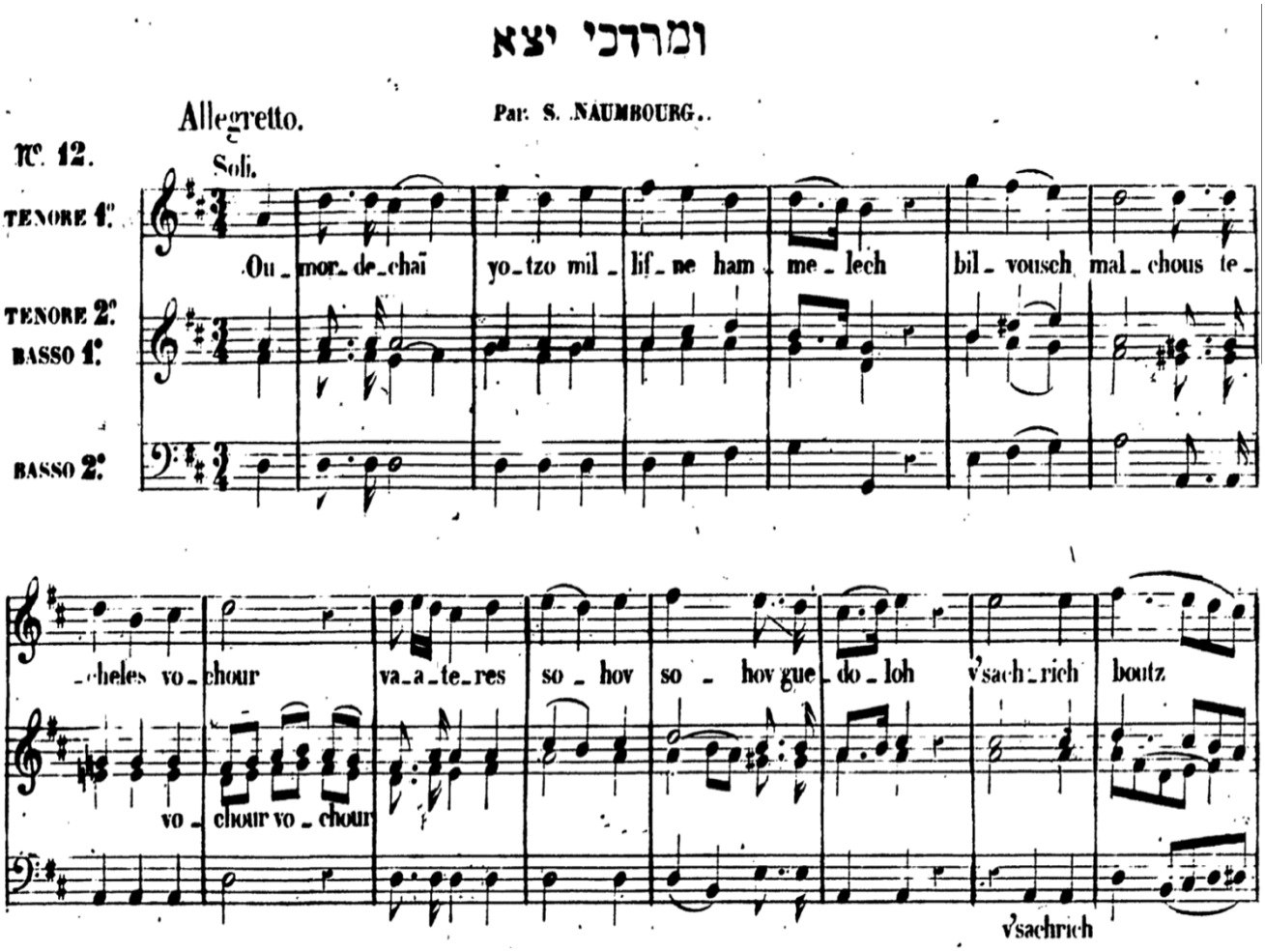


Ex. 5.1. *L'cho dodi* from Sulzer's *Schir Zion.* Original melody composed by Ignaz von Seyfried

The only inclusion that would indicate that this music was intended for such use is

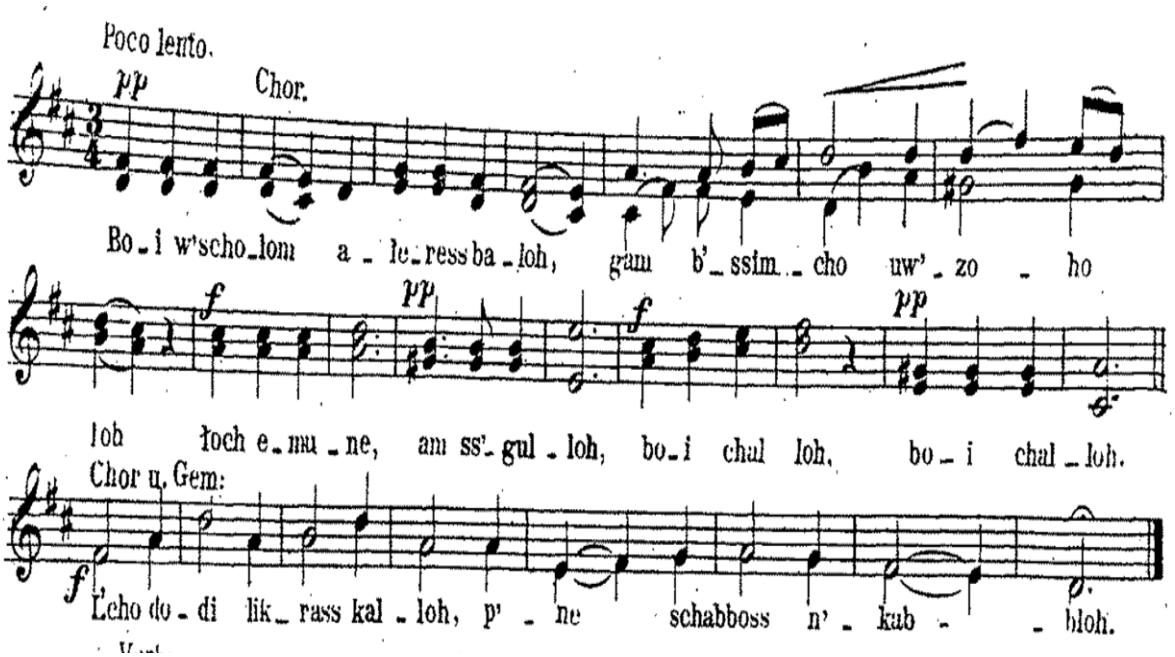
the text. In fact, *Schir Zion* includes material from several composers, none of whom was Jewish, and included Franz Schubert (1797-1828), Joseph Fischof (1804-1857), Wenzel Wilhelm Würfel (1791-1832), Joseph Drechsler (1782-1852), and Franz Volkert (1778-1845) (Lubin, 1985: 24). Another of Sulzer's sacred works for choir and organ is *Venislakh* which has text taken from *Numbers 15:26*. Like *L'cho dodi* this work also sounds very 'Westernised' and is directly reminiscent of the *Dies Irae* from Mozart's Requiem of 1791. Frühauf sums up this westernisation of Jewishness in music by quoting historian Hannah Arendt who 'blamed the nineteenth-century Jews for sacrificing their Jewishness for the sake of "culture"; though remaining aware of their Jewish origin, they now identified with a secular culture without realizing that they were inducing the secularization of their own heritage' (Frühauf, 2009: 132).

These reforms were not unique to Sulzer and Vienna as similar developments were underway with German-born cantor and composer Samuel Naumbourg (1817-1880), and Polish-Jewish composer of synagogue music Louis Lewandowski (1821-1894). In the early part of his career Naumbourg was influenced by two musical styles: traditional synagogue music of South Germany and classical styles that were used in Protestant liturgy (Kligman, 2019: 308). Ex. 5.2. is an extract taken from Naumbourg's collection of music for synagogue and begins with a proclamation in D major scored in four-part harmony for three tenors and bass:



Ex. 5.2. An example of the operatic style utilised by Naumbourg in a section from *Zemirot Yisra'el* (Naumbourg, 1847: 15)

This, along with its lack of vocal embellishment, strictly metered bars and typical westernised harmony create a piece that would not be out of place in the opera house. This is understandable to an extent as Naumbourg had a close connection with the theatre composers Giacomo Mayerbeer (1791-1864) and Jacques Offenbach (1819-1880), both of whom were Jewish. Louis Lewandowski also made a significant contribution to synagogue reforms during his tenure as cantor at the New Synagogue in Berlin which started in 1866. Lewandowski had earlier been influenced by the music of Sulzer, but later developed a new romantic style which was heavily influenced by Mendelssoh, an influence that is evident in Ex. 5.3 which is an extract from Lewandowski's collection of synagogue music *Kol Rinah U'Tfillah.*



Ex. 5.3. Extract from Lewandowski's *Kol Rinah U'Tfillah* (Lewandowski, 1921: 8)

The Rise of Jewish Nationalism

After the publication in 1929 of Idelsohn's *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development* questions were being asked as to the validity of Sulzer's reforms and Dutch-Jewish composers were beginning to challenge the fact that Idelsohn did not question them in his work, hence providing an unbalanced view of musical developments of the era in question. As early as 1931, Dutch-Jewish composer and music critic Max Vredenburg (1904-1996) did start to publicly question the credibility of Sulzer's reforms, seeing them as a further step towards the synagogue distancing itself from ancient Jewish traditions. He stated that 'we [the Jews] now find ourselves in the middle of the all-consuming assimilation. However, skilled musicians, the cantors Sulzer, Lewandowsky or [...] Naumbourg, could not save the day. All kinds of influences made themselves felt. Originality is missing, knowledge and understanding of the antecedents unknown' (Vredenburg, 16 January 1931: 14). Six years later, in 1937, Dutch-Jewish composer and conductor Sim Gokkes (1897-1943) was also quoted in the *Nieuw Israelietisch weekblad* as stating that 'synagogal

music is characterized by a non-Jewish spirit and by a lack of understanding of religious thought and depth, which is evident from the works of the most famous nineteenth century composers Sulzer, Lewandowski and Naumbourg' (Veldman, 19 February 1937: 11). A letter of response by Jewish music teacher Maurits Koekoek published in the same newspaper was broadly supportive of Gokkes. Koekoek studied Jewish music in some depth, and he presented what he considered to be essential traits of Jewish music: '1. it is mainly based on various minor key series, and what is still present in major keys is more mixolydian in nature; 2. Chazzonoes has a free-floating rhythm. Fortunately, as far as chazzonoes is concerned, the latter characteristic has been largely preserved, but operatic influences can be detected in each of the composers mentioned'.

He went on to support Gokkes's opinions claiming that contrary to what he considered to be essential Jewish traits, the 'choral works by Sulzer, Naumbourg and Lewandowski have been kept in a major key, so that both characteristic features have virtually disappeared' (Koekoek, 19 February 1937: 11). He claimed that much of the text was devoid of what he considered to be an essentially mournful style of accompaniment, and that the music, especially for choir, had been completely Westernized. He concluded that 'the compositions of Sulzer, Naumbourg and Lewandowski and their followers run parallel in style with the profane music of their time' (Koekoek, 19 February 1937: 11).

In the Netherlands it would appear that, at this point, a crossroads had been reached regarding the future direction of synagogue music, as not every prominent member of the Jewish community agreed with the rhetoric of Vredenburg and Gokkes. This was evident in the publication of several letters in the *Nieuw Israelietisch weekblad*, in which there were negative responses to Gokkes's statement. Jacob Veldman, who was cantor at the Rapenburgerstraat Synagogue in Amsterdam, raised 'a fierce protest against statements by Mr. S. Gokkes regarding men such as Salomon Sulzer and Louis Lewandowski who are considered celebrities in the field of synagogue singing', quoting statements 'by men who, due to their Jewish scientific and no less musical standing, possess at least as much authority as Mr. Gokkes' (Veldman, 19 February 1937: 11). Veldman cites Idelsohn and questioned whether 'Mr.Gokkes ever studied that extraordinarily beautiful book by Idelsohn, entitled "Jewish Music its

Historical Development?" On page 248 he can read that Idelsohn calls Sulzer a genius. I quote again: "And here it happened that the chassan whom the Vienna community engaged was a genius — Salomon Sulzer"' (Veldman, 19 February 1937: 11). Clearly Veldman was a cantor receptive to the reforms that Vredenburg and Gokkes claimed had gone too far.

This, then, was a significant period in the Netherlands with an awareness of Jewish Nationalistic musical traits beginning to materialise, probably influenced by similar developments in other parts of Europe. These developments began in St. Petersburg, Russia in 1908 with the founding of a Society for Russian Folk Music whose composers utilised Jewish and Yiddish traditions in their music. This later spread across Europe to Vienna where a similar organisation was established in 1928 and was known as The Society for the Promotion of Jewish music. Again, its composers tended to use diverse musical elements taken from various Jewish traditions. These institutions will be addressed in more detail later in this chapter. This return to tradition in general had become an important element in Zionism during the earlier part of the twentieth century, although that is not to say that there was not initially any conflict between 'traditional Judaism and secular-political Zionism' (Reinharz, 1993: 59). However, Zionism ultimately 'drew its spiritual sustenance from ancient sources' (Reinharz, 1993: 59), part of which would be incorporated in a musical sense.

Dutch-Jewish composer and Zionist Max Vredenburg endorsed this in his belief that music could be a positive tool in arousing interest in Zionism. It is worth noting that an increased interest in musical nationalism was not an entirely new concept, as its emergence had its roots at a slightly earlier time in Russia, not as a reaction against the work of Sulzer, but because of the Russian intelligentsia's growing interest in Jewish Nationalism and Yiddish folk culture. In 1908 a group of young Russian-Jewish composers in St. Petersburg, including Mikhail Gnessin (1883-1957), Lazare Saminsky (1882-1959), Efraim Shklyer (1871-1943?), Solomon Rosowsky (1878-1962), Alexander Krein (1883- 1951), and Joseph Achron (1886-1943), founded the Society for Jewish Folk Music (Obshchestvo evreiskoi narodnoi muzyki). Many of the group embraced Zionist ideals. They 'initiated a variety of endeavors related to the performance, study, composition, publication, and general promotion of music as a

cultural expression of Jewish identity' (Loeffler, 2010: 46) and sought to promote Jewish music both secular and sacred. In doing this, the group were able to take traditional Jewish folk tunes and clearly identify its fusion of melody, rhythm, and words. In a short space of time across Russia a huge amount of research and collation of material was completed; an indication of how important this awareness of Jewish nationalism in music was becoming (Sabaneev and Pring, 1929: 458). Although not linked to Sulzer's reforms which did not reach as far as much of Eastern Europe, the foundations of the work carried out by the Society for Jewish Folk Music began to spread across to parts of Western Europe. By 1918 the Society for Jewish Folk Music had more or less dissolved, but it did serve to lay the foundations for what was to become the Jewish Art Music Movement which built on previous work and coincided with a wave of nationalistic trends across Europe.

Were Dutch-Jewish composers such as Vredenburg and Gokkes aware of these developments in Russia? We do know that they were documented in the Dutch media. For example, the periodical *Weekblad voor Israëlietische huisgezinnen* published an article in 1931 which explored the origins and further development of Russian Jewish nationalism mentioning the musicians who attempted to do creative work in the field of national Jewish music who included Alexander Krein, Mikhail Gnessin, and Joseph Achron, and whose aim it was 'to capture the original Jewish musical elements in their completely pure, unalloyed form, in order to distill from them the original essence of the Jewish folk melody' (*Weekblad voor Israëlietische huisgezinnen*, 7 August 1931: 1). Also, in the magazine *De joodsche wachter*, Max Vredenburg reported on a Jewish music evening held in aid of the School for New Hebrew and Jewish Culture where the audience could 'view with joy the revival of the most typical, at least consciously, Jewish music possible' (Vredenburg, 28 February 1930: 46). The programme included music composed by Achron and Gnessin with Vredenburg claiming that with these pieces 'we more or less reach that height that moves us, or makes us so happy, in any case leading us to where a leaden spirit, a Zionist-orientated listener wants to be' (Vredenburg, 28 February 1930: 46). The latter article provides us with several bits of important information illustrating that music composed by Jewish nationalists in Russia was being performed in the Netherlands, and that prominent musical figures such as Vredenburg were very familiar with Russian developments, and how as a Zionist this

was fundamentally important to him as a composer. Also, the very fact that Vredenburg was writing for several publications means we can assume that this information was widely disseminated amongst other Dutch-Jewish composers

A Progressive Ethnic Approach

Indeed, the Russian influence on creating a form of Jewish musical expression that was deemed authentic had gradually spread into other parts of Europe, including Vienna, where in 1928 the Society for the Promotion of Jewish Music (Verein zur Förderung jüdischer Musik) was founded. For a period of ten years Vienna was then to become the epicentre of Jewish classical music in Europe with the founding of its own New Jewish School, with concerts organised by the society regularly incorporating the repertoire of Austrian-Jewish composers who were influenced by the nationalistic style of Jewish music.

It was perhaps this society that had the largest influence on Jewish nationalism in Dutch music as the Society for the Promotion of Jewish Music in Vienna regularly held concerts in the Netherlands in order to promote the Jewish music of the Viennese composers (Nemtsov and Güttel, 2008: 135). These composers included Joachim Stutschewsky (1891-1982), Israel Brandmann (1901-1992), and Juliusz Wolfsohn (1880-1944). Stutschewsky was a Zionist, and his compositions are interesting as they are very much influenced by his study of Jewish folklore resulting in him utilising very diverse musical elements taken from klezmer, Hasidic, Ashkenazi, Sephardic, and Yemeni Jewish folk music, and then combining them with an advanced musical language consisting of an avant-garde art music style. In his own words he summed up his approach to his unique musical approach: ‘When I play Hasidic music, I add a hint of Bach to it, and when I play Bach, a Hasidic flavour slips in‘ (Galay, 2009: 47). Wolfsohn was another Zionist, and although he had no ethnographic or academic background, he began to collect Yiddish folk tunes as early as 1910. His compositions paraphrased these Jewish folk songs, integrating them into the texture of several piano concertos that he had written in a style very reminiscent of Franz Liszt (Nemtsov and Güttel, 2008: 134). Relatively little is known about Brandmann and he appears to be the most historically neglected of the

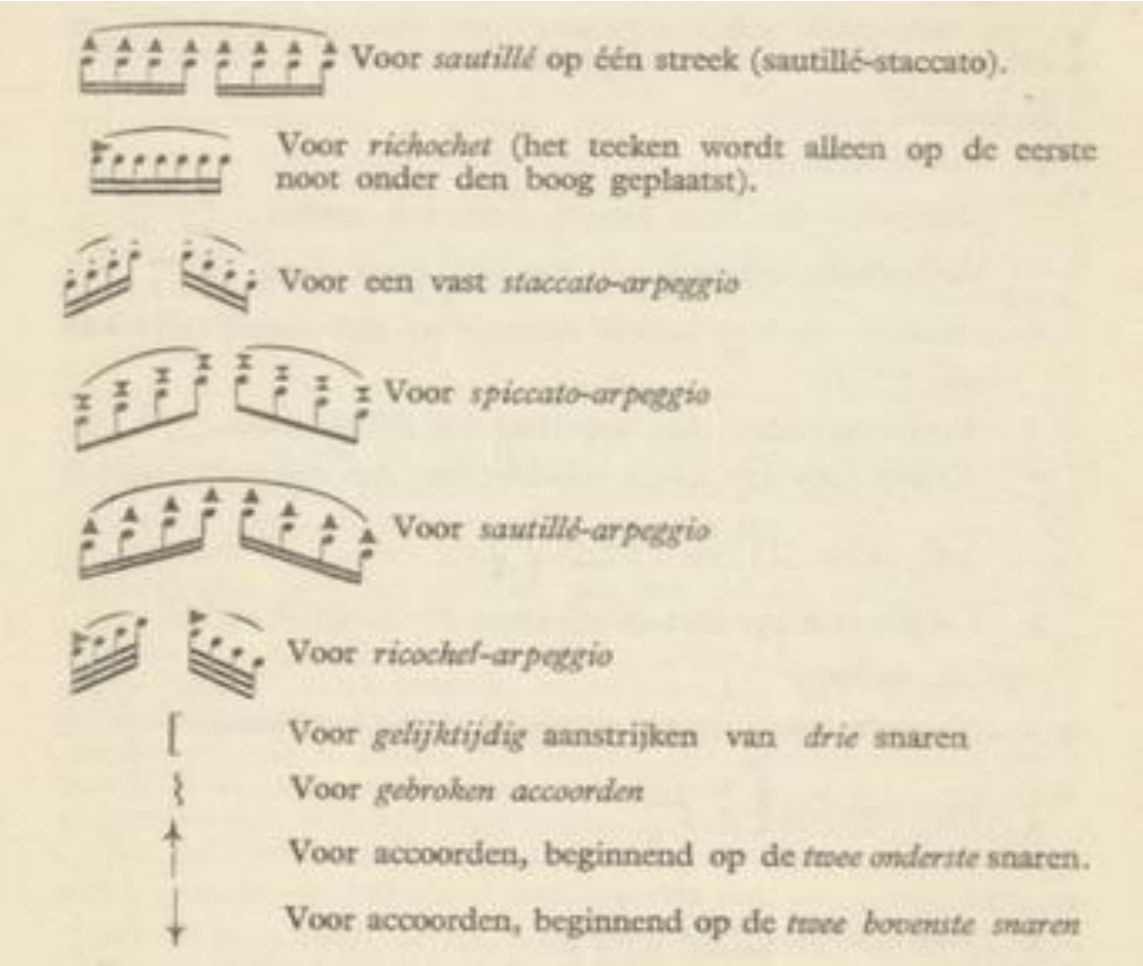
composers associated with the Society with most of his works having been lost.[27] We do know that as a composer he was held in high esteem, with his former composition teacher Franz Schmidt stating in 1928 that 'Brandmann will become a national hero of his people; we can predict a great future for him' (Nemstov, 2016). This never came to pass as due to the political situation he was forced to leave Vienna for Palestine in 1935.

The Viennese Society for the Promotion of Jewish Music concerts in the Netherlands took place throughout the 1920s, and according to accounts in the Dutch media Stutschewsky was certainly a regular visitor as a cellist during that period, implying that he was possibly a well-known figure amongst Dutch music circles. Although Stutschewsky did not move to Vienna until 1924, he would have worked there shortly after a significant period of modernism associated with the arts in the city which lasted from 1890-1910 and was commonly known under the cultural term *Wiener Moderne* (Viennese Modernism). Fundamentally, the aim of Modernism was to break from the past, especially Vienna's traditional conservatism, and was demonstrated by composers such as Gustav Mahler, Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg, and Anton Webern. Mahler's modern compositions were certainly at odds with the conservatism of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, and the works of the other three composers were central to the Second Viennese School. These works of modernism were characterised initially by a use of an expanded late-Romantic tonality, but later by atonal expressionism and the use of Schoenberg's twelve-tone technique.

In a wider sense, Stutschewsky would also have been exposed to a wave of general modernism which had spread across Europe and America at the turn of the twentieth century, 'in part, to the remarkable technological and social changes in the distribution of music' (Schleifer and Levy, 2017: 289). During this time composers such as Debussy, Stravinsky, and Bartók challenged what had until then been considered musical norms and began to push boundaries, experimenting with new techniques, breaking free of conventional tonality and use of rhythm, and exploring innovative forms of musical expression.

[27] An archive of Brandmann's remaining compositions can be located at https://archives.jtsa.edu/repositories/2/resources/157

These influences are often evident in his work and also in the music of composers who in turn may have been influenced by Stutschewsky. An article written by Stutschewsky in the Dutch periodical *De muziek* in 1929 offers one example of the important modern approach that he incorporated into his method of notation for what he considered increasingly diverse bowing techniques in string parts. He wrote that 'with the current progress in bowing technique and the ever-increasing demands of modern music, the lack of clear signs for all types of bowing articulation becomes [...] apparent' and was a perceived problem that he overcame by devising a uniform drawing system that indicated all desired bow strokes precisely. A section from his book of cello studies in Ex. 5.4 below illustrates this:



Ex. 5.4. Drawings of bowing techniques devised and implemented by Stutschewsky

Therefore, as well as bringing the concept of Jewish nationalism in music to the Netherlands, Stutschewsky also implemented a ‘progressive ethnic approach’ (Galay, 2009: 46) in his compositional style which would later manifest itself in the works of several Dutch-Jewish composers including Sim Gokkes (1879-1943), Max Vredenburg (1904-1976), Dick Kattenburg (1919-1944), and Johanna Bordewijk-Roepman (1892-1971), and Hans Krieg (1899-1961).

The question should now be raised as to how the influence of Jewish Nationalism and modernism specifically affected Dutch-Jewish composers. It is difficult to fully gauge potential developments that may have happened beyond 1945 due to so many prominent Jewish composers losing their lives during the Holocaust, but a small number of composers did survive and continued to make a limited impact on such developments. A full picture is therefore impossible to piece together, but we can however use several case studies to dissect what limited information is available up to 1945 which enables us to speculate as to what may have been under very different circumstances.

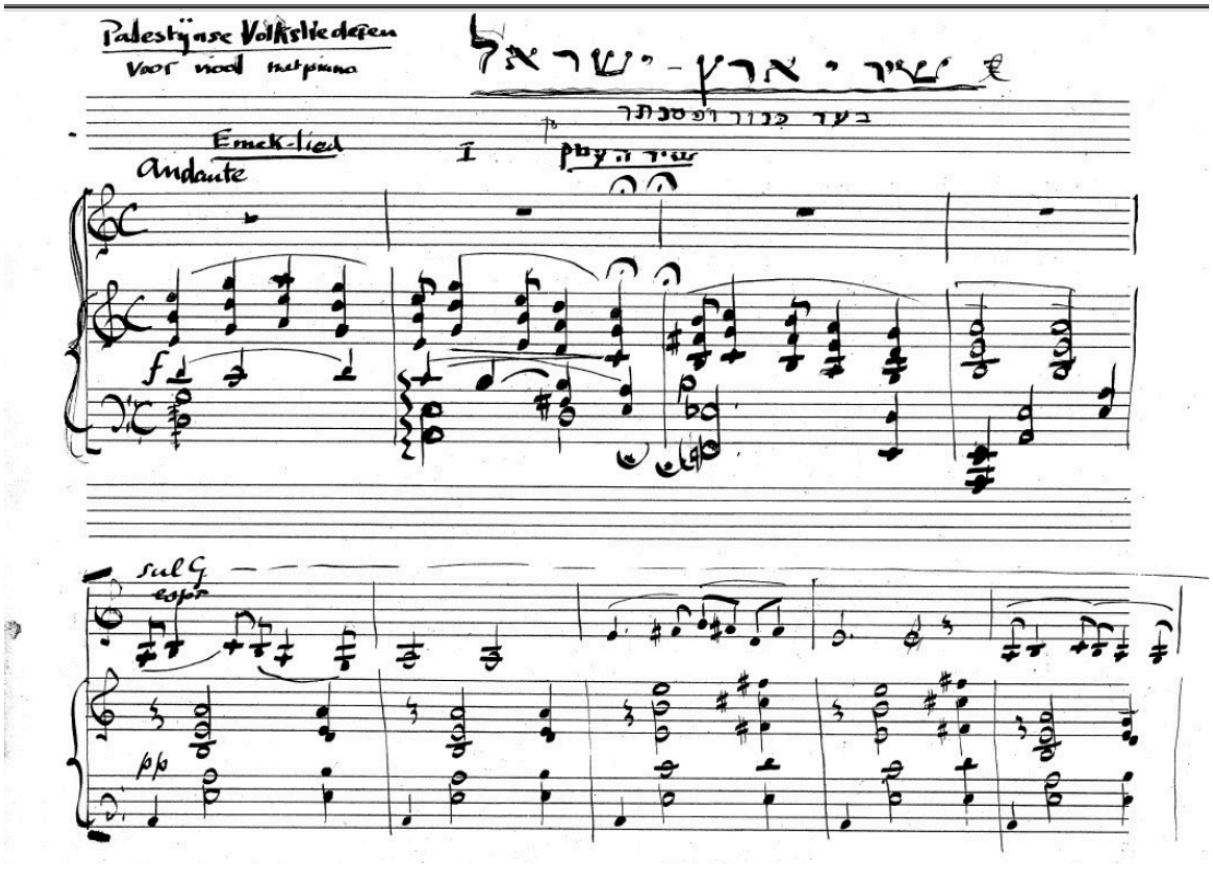
The Dutch-Jewish Contribution

Dick Kattenburg

One composer worthy of an initial mention is the relatively unknown Dick Kattenburg (1919-1944) who only began to embrace his Jewish heritage and take a nationalistic stance during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands. During this period, he continued to compose but because of his own nationalistic feelings began to incorporate Jewish features into his works, albeit in a clandestine manner so as to evade arrest. ‘He began arranging Hebrew melodies, denoting them as Palestinian, Romanian, or even Mexican’ (Alders, 2015a: 133) and this is evident in the works, *Palestijnse liederen* (*Palestinian songs*) (1939), *Roemeense melodie* voor viool, cello en piano (*Romanian Melody* for violin, cello and piano) (1941*), Roemeense volksliederen* (*Romanian Folk Songs*, 1942), *Palestjinse volksliederen* (*Palestinian Folk Songs*) (1942), and *Zes Mexicaanse liederen* (*Six Mexican Songs*) (1943). There is however no apparent evidence to suggest that these works were ever

performed publicly.[28]

The *Palestijnse volksliederen* were composed in 1942, and in this work, as well as the others listed above, there are clear indications as to the clandestine nature of Kattenburg's compositions at the start of the Occupation. This work is dedicated to 'YCWS', and here Kattenburg is careful as to not reveal the person's Jewish name which is Ytia Walburg Schmidt. He also signed the work under one of his several pseudonyms 'K.d.V' Inside the front cover however Kattenberg dates the work and gives movement titles in Hebrew – *Emeklied* and *Alla Hora* respectively which can be seen in Ex. 5.5.



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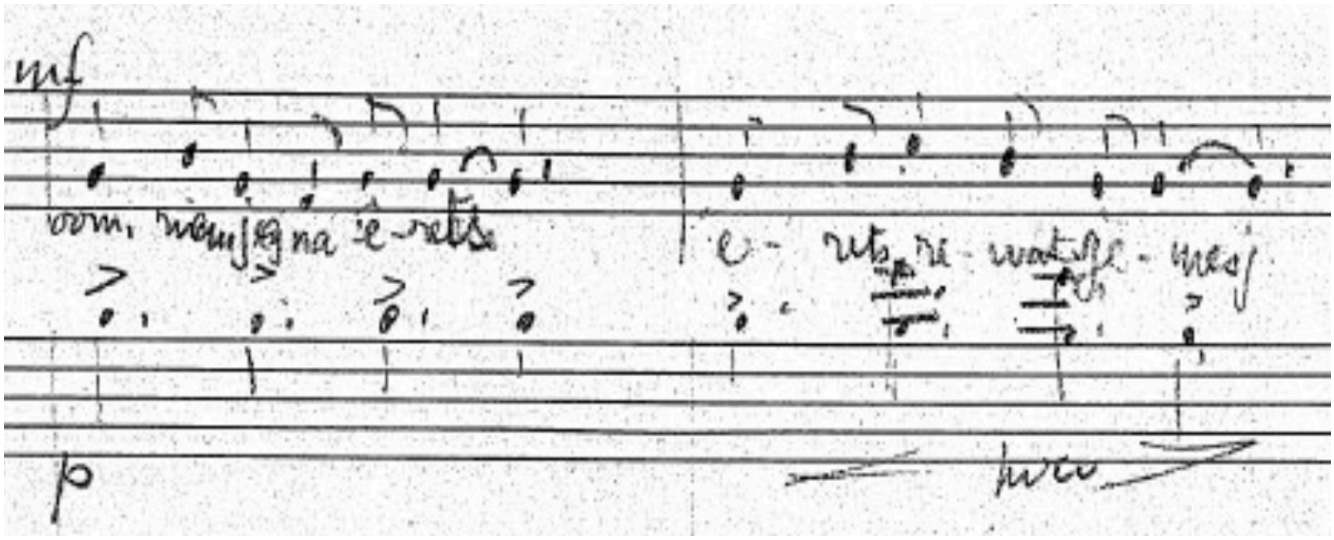
Ex. 5.5. First page of Kattenburg's *Palestijnse Volksliederen*. 1942. Available in the Netherlands Music Institute, archival reference 494/014

[28] two of the works: *Palesinse liederen* and *Roemeense melodie* were published by Donemus Publishing in 2013 and 2019 respectively. I have traced the remaining works within the archives of the Netherlands Music institute (Nederlands muziek instituut) and have the archive reference numbers 494/014, 494/011, and 494/033.

The *Palestinian Liederen* has the composer's name crossed out and the date of composition is unknown. This was originally entitled *Romanian Songs* to deflect attention from the fact that the work, like the *Palestijnse volksliederen*, was composed in the form of seven Palestinian songs with Hebrew text. The first movement, *Kadima* (Forward) is Zionistic in its intent with the simple text of 'Forward, worker! Forward to the Promised Land'. The *Roemeense Melodie* for violin, cello and piano composed in 1941 bears the composer's name as K. van Dunsen. However, beyond the front cover of the score, the individual parts have the original title of *Mene ha-be-ivriet* or 'Hebrew Melody' as well as the composer's Hebrew name of Levi Kattenburg. It is interesting to note that Kattenburg seems to have only been careful to conceal his identity on the front cover of the scores, and this appears to have been a pattern with several of his works. The *Roemeense Volkliederen* for violin and piano which was composed in 1942 also bears the signature and is also based on Hebrew melodies. Composed in 1943, Kattenberg's *Zes Mexicaanse Liederen* is a larger scale work which was unfinished and scored for full orchestra. It was based on six songs written by Joël Engel, a Russian composer who was a leading figure in the Jewish art music movement. It is another work with Hebrew text (Ex. 5.6.) written under a false title with the signature C.J. van Assendelf van Wijck. These works were composed while Kattenburg was in hiding from the Nazis, but he would finally be arrested in a raid and was deported to Auschwitz in May 1944. It is unknown where he died: his death certificate states that it happened somewhere in Central Europe in September 1944 (Alders, 2015b).



Ex. 5.6. Example of Hebrew text in Kattenburg's *Zes Mexicaanse Liederen.* Archive available in the Netherlands Music Institute, archival reference 494/033

Max Vredenburg

Max Vredenburg escaped Nazi persecution in 1941 and fled to the Dutch East Indies, finally arriving in December 1941. Having managed to avoid possible deportation to concentration camps at the hands of the Nazis, he ended up a victim of a different enemy in the form of the Japanese who had seized power in Batavia. Vredenburg was interned in a detention camp in West Java where he remained until the Japanese surrendered in 1945, whereupon he was able to travel back to Amsterdam, finally arriving in January 1946. Upon his return he found that many of his immediate family had been murdered in concentration camps, and that many of his personal possessions, including his piano and most of his composition manuscripts, were gone, probably looted or destroyed by the Nazis.

Before and after the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands, Vredenburg was an influential composer in Dutch musical life and was also a prolific and influential writer and music critic for numerous Dutch newspapers and magazines including the social democrat newspapers *Vooruit,* and *De Socialistische Gids*, as well as periodicals such as *Caecilia* and *De Joodsche Wachter*. Vredenburg used these publications effectively to express his Zionist views and also to promote both Dutch contemporary and Jewish music in a constant drive to raise their general profile throughout the Netherlands.

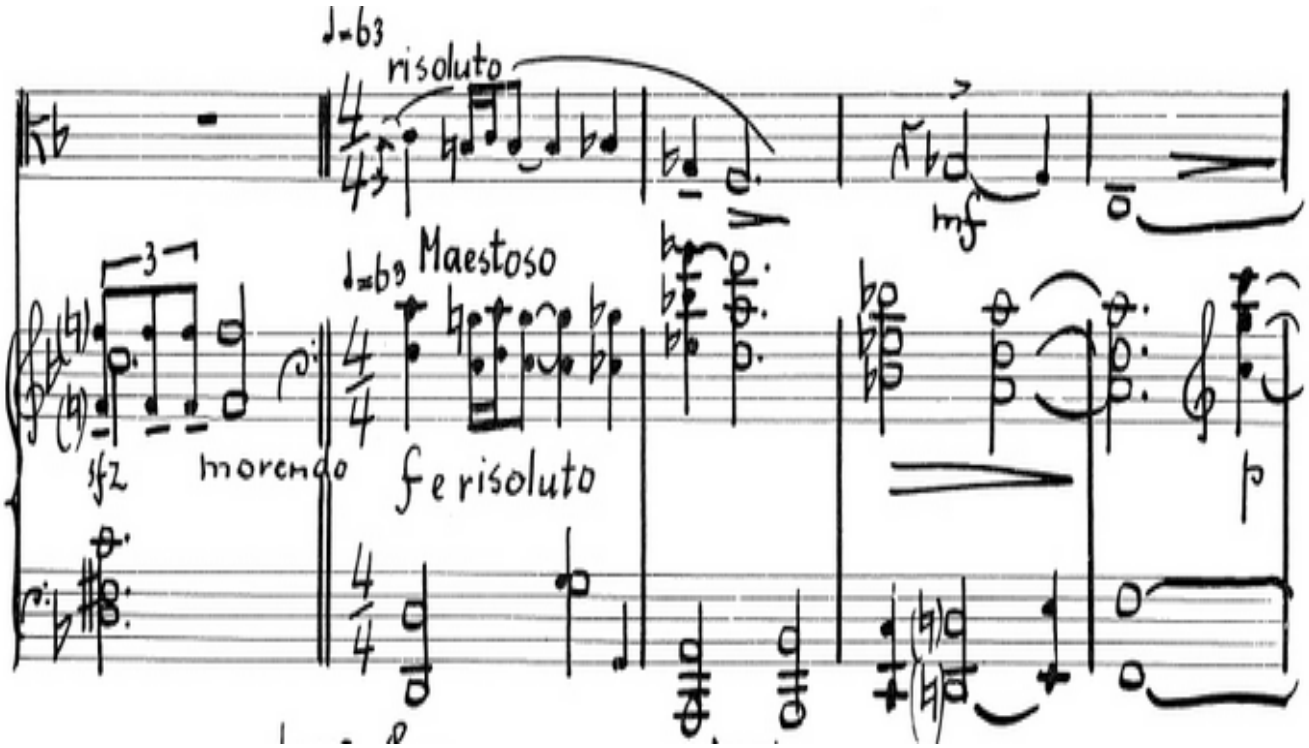
Vredenburg had a particular interest in contemporary Jewish music and this Jewish idiom manifested in his own compositional style. In the Jewish periodical *De Joodsche Wachter* Vredenburg wrote an article stating his belief that musicians and Jews in the world of arts in general should ‘put [themselves] at the service of the cause by supporting it with [their] talents’ (Vredenburg, 19 August 1932: 167); ‘the cause’ in this case refers to Zionism. He believed that cultural practices and studies should serve the purpose of arousing the interest of Jews in Zionism, but in a more positive way than the NZB’s previous limited cultural input at fairs and festive events due to the fact that ‘leading Zionists actually consider this kind of work unimportant’ (Vredenburg, 19 August 1932: 167). Vredenburg believed that the Jewish masses should be reached out to with art in addition to pure politics and as well more traditional outlets such as synagogue music, that this should take the form of things

that were possibly more accessible to a wider Jewish demographic such as ‘political revue, the song in the cabaret, the modern poster, the sung song, the film, pamphlets of psychological value, the caricature, the satire’ (Vredenburg, 19 August 1932; 167), and that it was a cardinal mistake for Jews not to put their skills at the service of the cause. He closes the article by quoting Lunačarskij’s *De taak der arbeiderklasse op het gebeid cultuur* (*The Task of the Working Class in the Field of Culture*, (1919) namely that ‘talent, in a relatively comfortable environment, is the best antidote to the petty bourgeois decline of strength. Talent will not and will not forgive the first impressions of childhood, talent will not close its eyes to the misery of its brothers, nor let the fire go out’ (Vredenburg, 19 August 1932: 167).

The years preceding World War II was Vredenburg’s most prolific and productive period of composing in this style, but much of this work was destroyed during the Occupation, making a thorough analysis of a wide range of his work very difficult. In his pre-war works, because of his Zionist views, Vredenburg was keen to compose in a Jewish idiom, and works from this period include the *Macabi-Nederland-Marsch, Joodsche Liederen*, and music for a Zionist theatre play dedicated to the Jewish People, *Een joodsch leekenspel* (*Die einzige Lösung/The Only Solution*) of which only one section titled *Unser Land* (*Our Country*) remains.

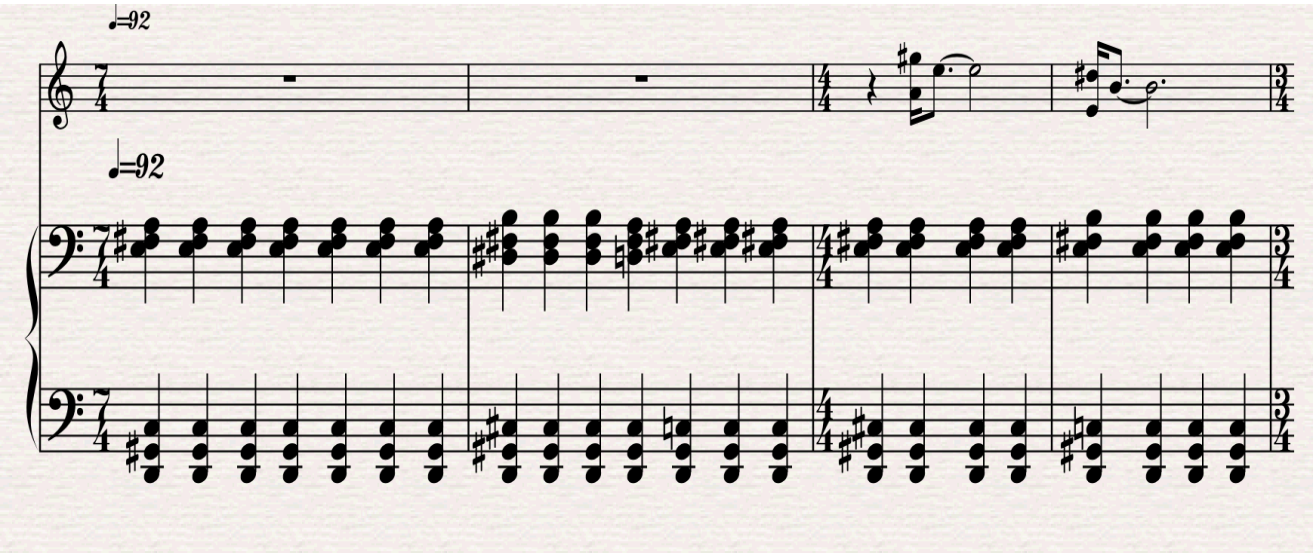
On his return to the Netherlands Vredenburg remained politically active and in 1950 he was co-founder of the Netherlands-Israel Society and continued to deliver numerous lectures on Jewish music. He continued to compose works based on Biblical themes after the occupation, but these works were less prolific. However, many of these compositions still survive and one such example is *Lamento* for viola and piano composed in 1953. Ex, 5.7. shows the opening of the piece (bars 3-6) and notable is the melodic line in the viola, which is constructed from a very important mode, used and sung by the cantor in Jewish synagogue music, known as the *Ahava Rabah* Steiger or mode. It is one of three modes including the *Adonai Malach* and *Magen Avot* modes which are found in ‘a broad cross-section of the liturgical repertoire’ (Tarsi, 2001: 59) with which the chazzan (cantor) improvises sung prayers. The right-hand part of the piano accompaniment is also idiomatic in the way that the harmonies move in parallel fifths, a style that is typical of the Jewish Yemenite groups for whom it ‘is not only an aesthetic value that elevates the music

but also a socio-cultural tool that contributes to the coherence of the society' (Sharvit, 1995: 3).

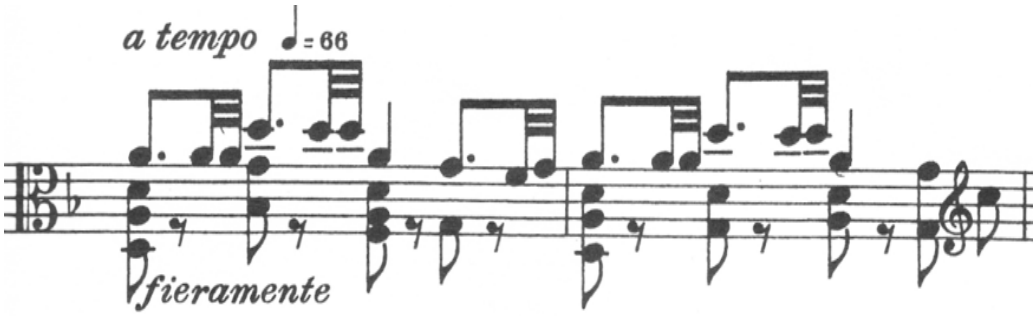


Ex. 5.7. Excerpt from *Lamento* for viola and piano (1953) by Max Vredenburg, bars 3-6. Archive available in Netherlands Music Institute, archive reference 338/005a

This is not dissimilar to the music of Ernest Bloch and a direct comparison with *Suite Hébraïque*, B83, displays several similar traits which possibly influenced Vredenburg. Bloch's composition was written two years earlier than Vredenburg's *Lamento*: they share the use of parallel fifths, the use of modal scale, and the dark, sonorous sound of the viola as a solo instrument which adds an air of solemnity. Another of Vredenburg's compositions that bears a resemblance to Bloch's *Suite Hébraïque* is the opening passage of *Monodie Messianique (*1949), dedicated to Dutch-Jewish violinist Theo Olof (Ex. 5.8). Here, the 'Jewish' feel to the piece is achieved by the dark chromatic chords in the piano accompaniment, and the almost declamatory broken chord style figures in the solo violin part which can be compared with a similar effect achieved by Bloch in Ex. 5.9.



Ex. 5.8. Opening bars of Vredenburg's *Monodie Messianique* (1949). Published by Dominus Publishing 1959

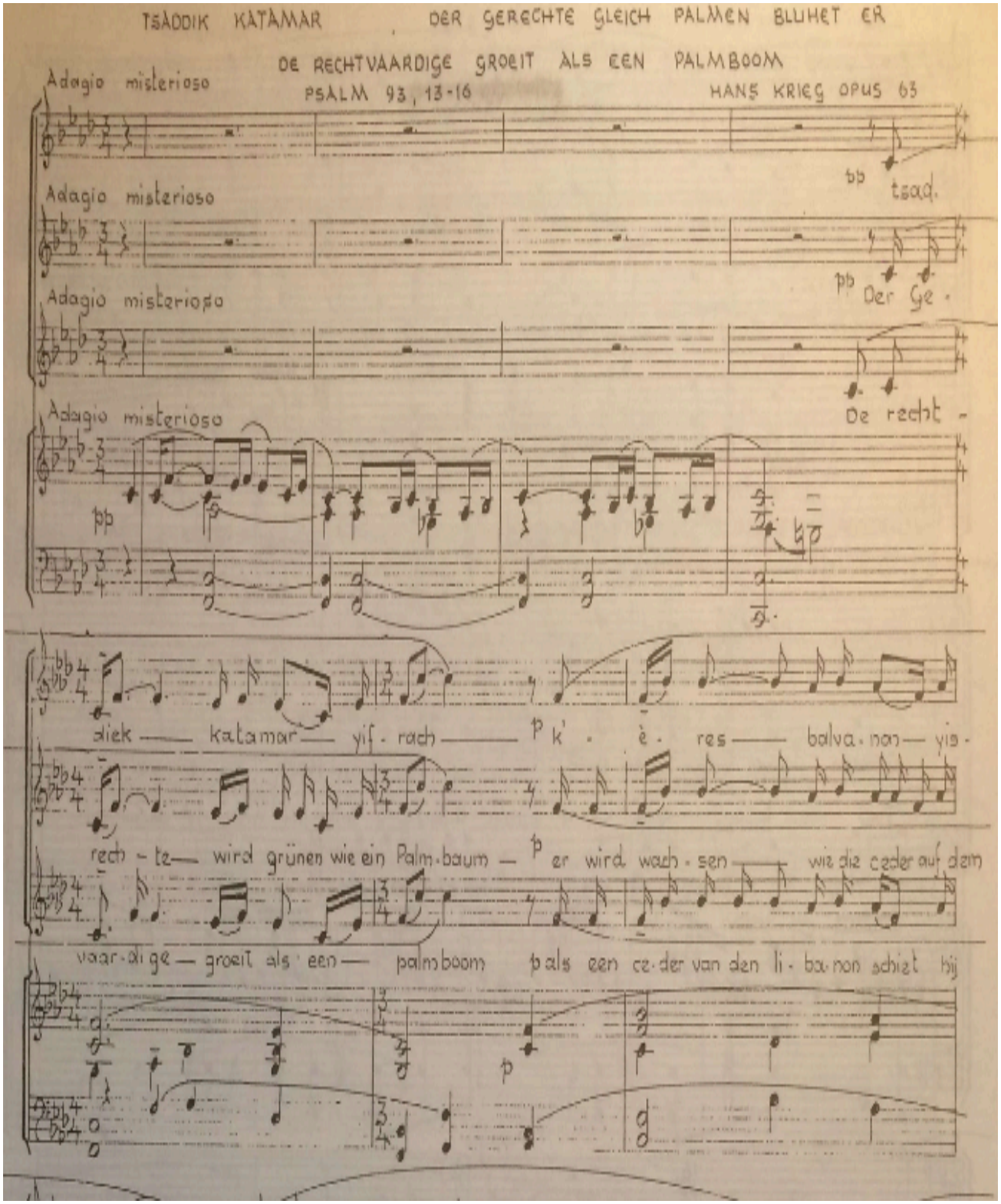


Ex. 5 9. Bars 44-35 of solo viola part of Bloch's *Suite Hébraïque* (published by G. Schirmer)

Hans Krieg

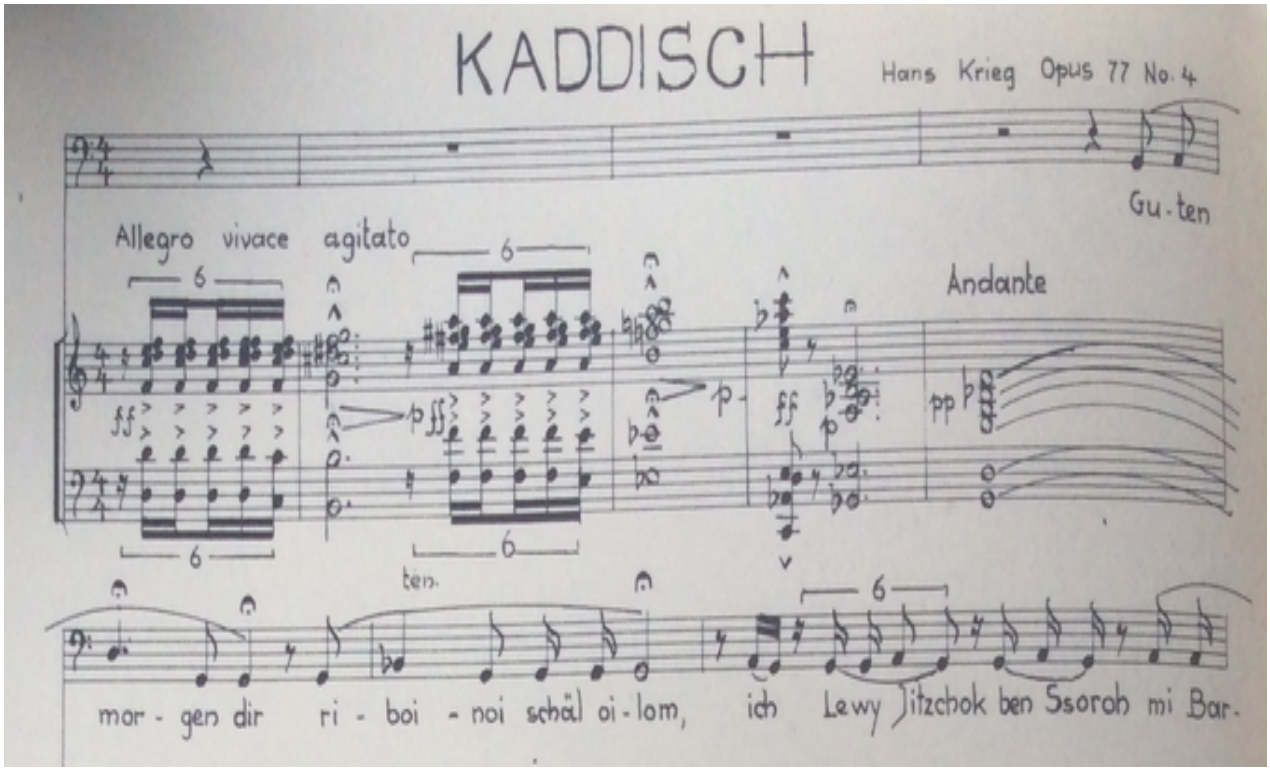
Although born in Germany, Hans Krieg (1899-1961) endured antisemitic treatment at the hands of the Nazis in his home country resulting in him escaping to the Netherlands in 1933. It was at first difficult for him to integrate into Dutch musical life, but he gradually became more involved, becoming a key figure as an accompanist for several synagogues, conducting the Dutch Amateur Operatic Society, and as a musicologist with over thirty publications specialising in Jewish music. Like Stutschewsky, Krieg collected traditional Hebrew and Yiddish melodies – republishing and arranging many of them via his own publishing house, the 'Jewish Music Editions Kadimah' (Pabbruwe, 2015: 146). Although most of his music that embraced elements of Jewish nationalism was composed after his arrest and incarceration at numerous concentration camps during World War II, he still wrote several significant works of a similar nature before this. These predominantly vocal works include *Purim-ballade* (1937), *Tsaddik Katamar – Der Gerechte glein Palmen blühet er* (1936), *Adoshem Ro-I- Der Herr ist mein Hirte* (1937), and *Kaddisch* (1943), all demonstrating the integration of the Jewish nationalistic musical features we have identified above.

Krieg's short work for female choir and piano, *Tsaddik Katamar,* based on text from Psalm 93, 13-16, clearly contains 'Jewish' musical features in the piano introduction as shown in Ex. 5.10. The melodic line of the piano in the opening passage is again constructed from the Phrygian mode. This theme is then taken over by the choir, and the dominant use of this mode, along with the interval of a 5^{th} in the left-hand of the accompaniment, serves to create the work's distinct Jewish identity.



Ex. 5.10. Opening bars of Krieg's *Tsaddik Katamar* (Kadimah, Amsterdam)

Krieg's *Kaddisch* for piano and voice was composed slightly later, in 1943, and Ex. 5.11. demonstrates a further shift towards a modernistic style, as can be seen in the dissonant opening sextuplet chords in the opening piano accompaniment. It begins in a declamatory style before the entrance of the voice which is written to reflect the improvisatory style of cantorial singing. The Jewish overtones of the work are also reinforced by the use of the *Magen Avot* mode in the melodic line – a mode that is identical to the Aeolian mode and is usually included in Shabbat services (Tarsi, 2001: 57).



Ex. 5.11. Opening bars of *Kaddisch* composed by Krieg in 1943 (published by Kadimah, Amsterdam)

Sim Gokkes

Max Vredenburg, as well as being a Dutch-Jewish composer, also wrote extensively on musical matters, including an article in the Jewish periodical *Ha'ischa* in 1931. Vredenburg had extensively researched Jewish music and in this article, he

highlighted the European composers who he considered had been most influenced by Zionism and the rise of Jewish nationalism, and who therefore were most successful in conveying a sense of 'Jewishness' in their compositions. These composers included Mikhail Gnessin (1833 – 1957), Joseph Achron (1866 – 1943), Alexander Krein (1883 – 1951), Moses Milner (1886 - 1953), Ernest Bloch (1880 – 1959), Alexander Veprik (1899 – 1958), Darius Milhaud (1892 – 1974), Ernst Toch (1887 – 1964), Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1895 – 1968), and Sim Gokkes (1897 – 1943) (Vredenburg, 1 May 1931: 98). Although there may have been several Dutch composers worthy of a mention in this list the only one included by Vredenburg was the now relatively unknown composer Sim Gokkes.

During this period of increasing awareness of Zionism and Jewish nationalism Gokkes was unique amongst his Dutch-Jewish contemporaries in that he had become troubled by possible future developments in Jewish music, not only of its fusion with art-music, but crucially, in its sacred music. Gokkes was concerned that synagogue music was losing the purity of its ancient traditions in that it was becoming corrupted by its absorption of Western art-music harmonies and a move away from the use of cantillation in the cantorial style of singing as was instigated by Salomon Sulzer in his earlier reforms of synagogue music (Evans, 2020: 40). Although he openly embraced the concept of Jewish nationalism in both his own music and his articles written for Dutch newspapers, it is difficult to ascertain as to whether Gokkes was indeed an active Zionist. Evidence suggests that his political leaning may have been in that direction as his musical development with the incorporation of traditional and ancient Jewish musical devices demonstrates distinct similarities with the World Zionist Organisation's objectives, in particular their third founding objective from 1897 which aimed to promote 'the strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness' (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013).

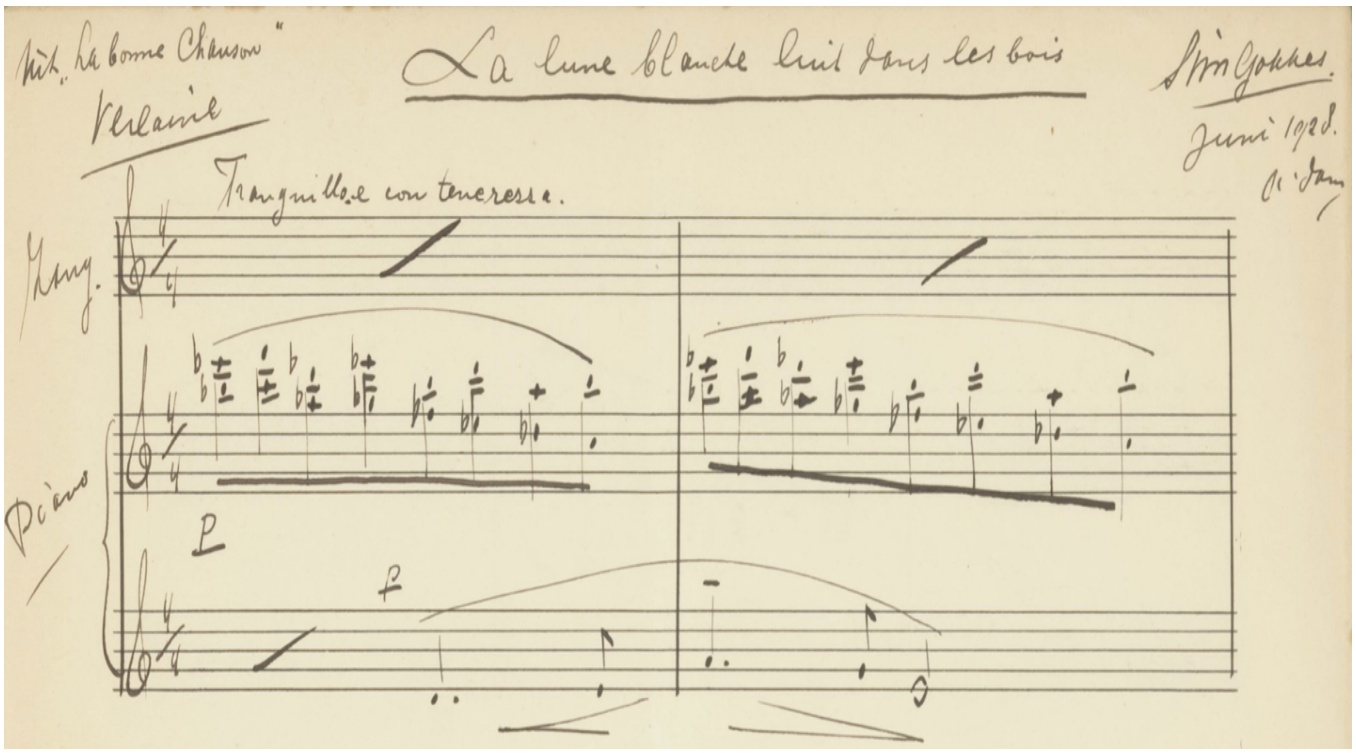
Not only would Gokkes's compositions demonstrate a deep affiliation with Jewish nationalism, but so would his involvement as a musical director for numerous Jewish vocal ensembles during the 1920s. In 1929, for example, Gokkes developed an interest in the fact that other religious denominations in Amsterdam and other parts of the Netherlands had long established their own oratory associations which took

the form of large choirs with singers from all walks of life, both fostering and celebrating their respective faiths through music. One such example is De Konininklijke Christelijke Vereniging Amsterdam (The Royal Christian Oratory Association of Amsterdam) which was founded in 1905 and still performs regularly in the Concertgebouw to this day. However, one oratory association that did not exist was one concerning the Jewish faith, and to reiterate this point in 1929 Gokkes wrote an article in the Jewish newspaper *De vrijdagavond; joodsch weekblad* expressing surprise about how 'Dutch Judaism in general, and the Amsterdam-Jewish population in particular, have been able to live without a specific Jewish oratory for as long as they have' (Gokkes, 11 January 1929: 237).

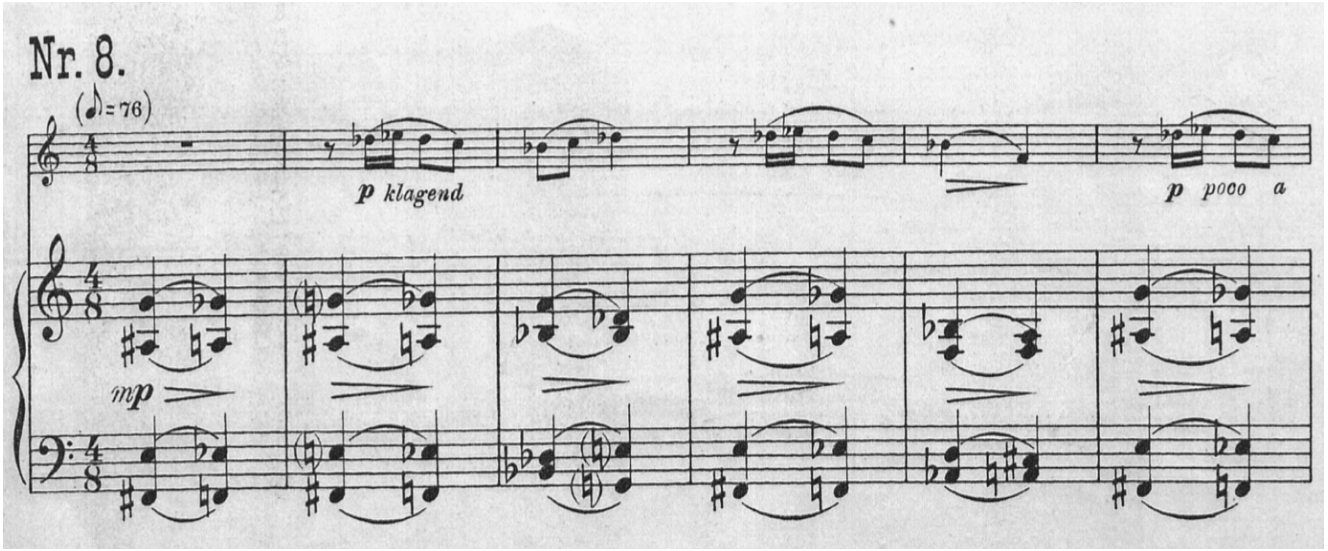
He went on to state that 'Amsterdam in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw an expansion of the Jewish population and had consequently started to establish a powerful musical life in Judaism making it potentially one of the main centres for Jewish music in the whole of Europe' (Gokkes, 11 January 1929: 237). Consequently, in 1929 Gokkes both founded and became musical director of a Jewish oratory association named Een Joodsche Oratorium Vereeniging van Nachaliël (The Jewish Oratory Association of Nathaniel), an organisation whose main concern was 'the awakening of Jewish life' and 'bringing Jewish art into Amsterdam' (*Nieuw Israelietisch weekblad*, 4 January 1929: 2) in order to establish something musical which would revive ancient traditions through the performance of Jewish sacred music composed solely by Jewish composers, while using Jewish or Dutch Biblical text only. Gokkes wanted to develop a musical tradition where Jewish conductors could cooperate with Jewish performers for Jewish audiences, while at the same time establishining a higher profile cultural Jewish presence in line with other religious denominations (Gokkes, 1929: 237).

The musical awareness of Jewish nationalism that was spreading across Europe was impacting upon the compositional styles of a number of established European Jewish composers such as Milhaud and Bloch, who as we shall see had a direct influence on Gokkes's musical rhetoric. Also, direct comparison of some of the works of lesser-known composers like Stutschewsky and Gokkes reveal such similarities, both in terms of the influence of musical Jewish nationalistic traits combined with the modernistic techniques utilised by both Milhaud and Bloch. Although the number of

Gokkes's surviving manuscripts is minimal, a comparison of his *La lune blanche luit dans les bois* (1928) and No. 8 of Stutschewsky's 13 Jewish Folk Tunes (1924) show a similar use of chromatic movement in the piano accompaniment as demonstrated in Ex. 5.12 and Ex. 5.13, demonstrating both composers' use of more modernistic compositional techniques There is one slight difference here in that Gokkes uses a combination of both parallel and contrary movement, whereas Stutschewsky uses contrary movement. Also, their use of intervals is significant here as in these examples both composers make use of the seventh with Gokkes using major sevenths (as well as fourths), whereas Stutschewsky tends to favour the use of the minor seventh, both evoking sounds similar to Debussy and Ravel.



Ex. 5.12. Opening bars of Gokkes's *La lune blanche luit dans les bois* (1928). Netherlands Music Institute, archive reference: 189/04



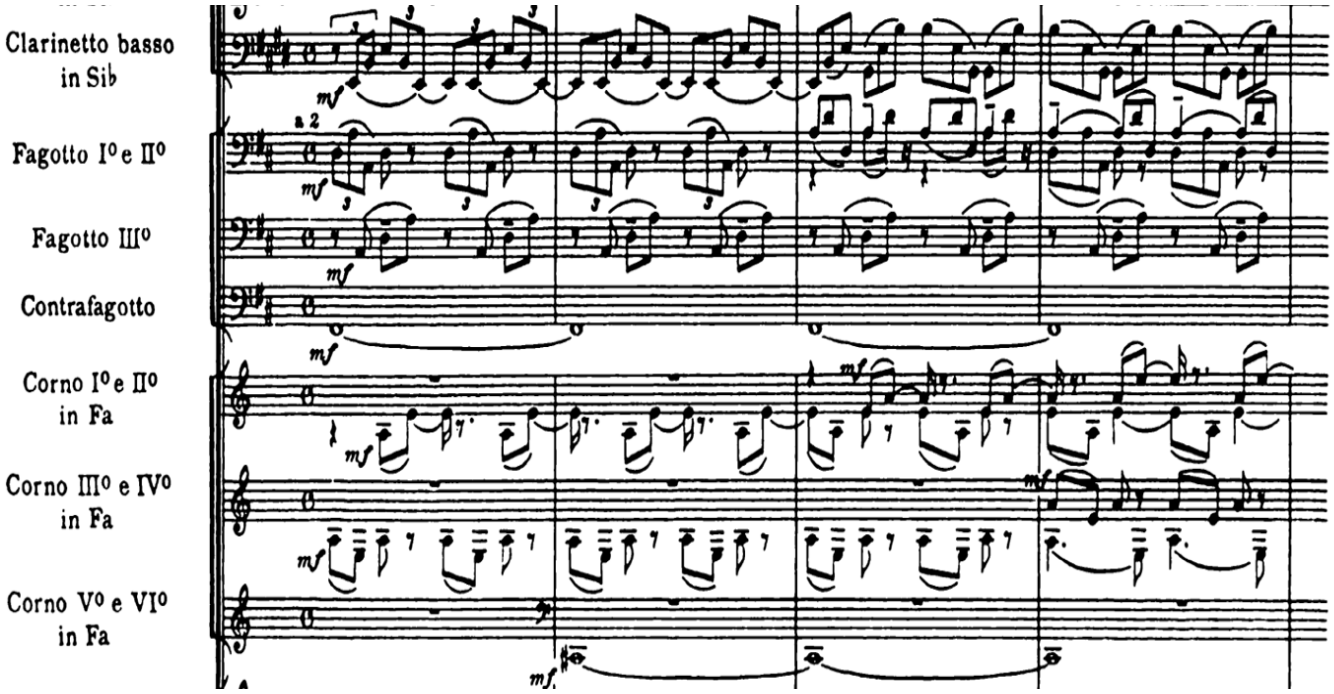
Ex. 5.13. Opening bars of Stutschewsky's 13 Jewish Folk Tunes, No. 8 (1924)

However, it is the influence of the more established European composers such as Bloch and Milhaud which seem to have made a greater impact on the style and direction of Gokkes. A transcription of an interview between pianist and musicologist Frans van Ruth and Gokkes's niece Mina Moppes-Gokkes provides sufficient evidence to suggest that Gokkes had met Bloch on several occasions and that he also possessed copies of several of Milhaud's compositions. It is therefore a fair assumption that he would have been familiar with both composers' methods of embracing and incorporating elements of their Jewish identity in their music (Moppes-Gokkes, 1995). A direct comparison of some of Gokkes's works with those of Milhaud and Bloch reveals the elements of Jewish nationalistic features and modernism that clearly influenced Gokkes, particularly in his later works.

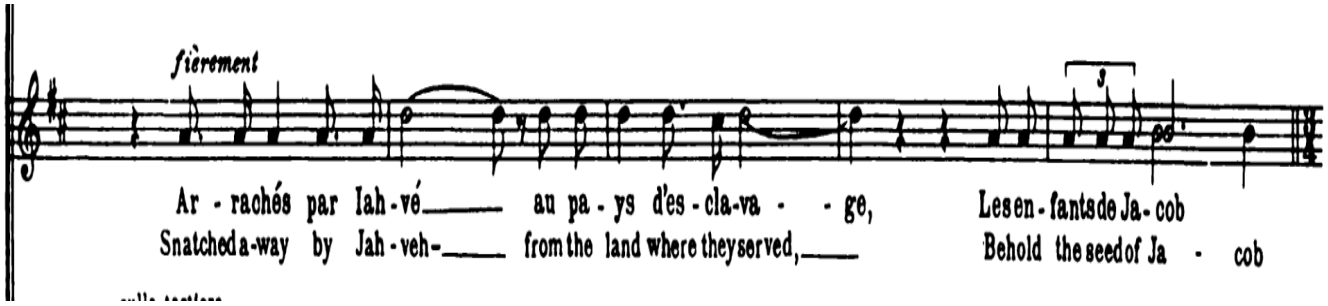
In many works influenced by Jewish nationalism the use of religious text and Jewish poems was often the main source of musical inspiration and an important part of their framework. Certainly Bloch, Milhaud, and Gokkes frequently incorporated such text along with several religious and non-religious poems: Gokkes, for example, used themes from the story of Esther, told during Purim, in his last surviving work *Sonatina* for piano composed in 1939. Likewise, Bloch utilised text from *Psalm 114* for soprano and large orchestra in his work of the same name (1912), and Milhaud used Hebrew poems in his *Chants Populaires Hébraïques* for voice and piano or

orchestra (1925). As with the music of Stutschewsky, direct comparisons can be made between these three pieces to draw out both nationalistic and modernistic similarities that demonstrate the influence that Bloch and Milhaud had on Gokkes.

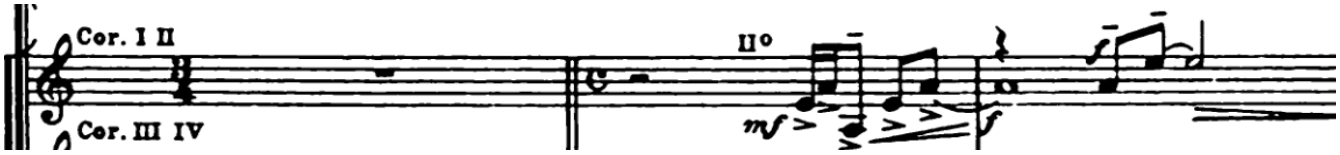
One musical device that features across all three works is the idea of the interval of a 4th or 5th. These harmonic and melodic intervals 'appear to be characteristics of the group of Ashkenazic melodies [...] almost always proclamationary in style' (Bence, 1968: 1) and are frequently related to motifs played by the Shofar, a ram's horn trumpet. They are meant to represent the presence of God (Chabad, 2024). This idea can be observed in several places in Bloch's *Psalm 114*, firstly at the very start of the work where woodwind and brass play a fanfare-like motif based on these intervals which remain a prominent feature throughout most of the work (Ex. 5.14.). These passages were meant as an indirect allusion to the shofar as described in a letter that Bloch sent to French novelist Romain Rolland in 1911 (Schiller, 2003: 17). Again, the proclamatory use of 4ths and 5ths in the same work can be seen in Ex. 5.15 and Ex. 5.16.



Ex. 5.14. An example of the predominant use of 4ths and 5ths in Bloch's Psalm 114

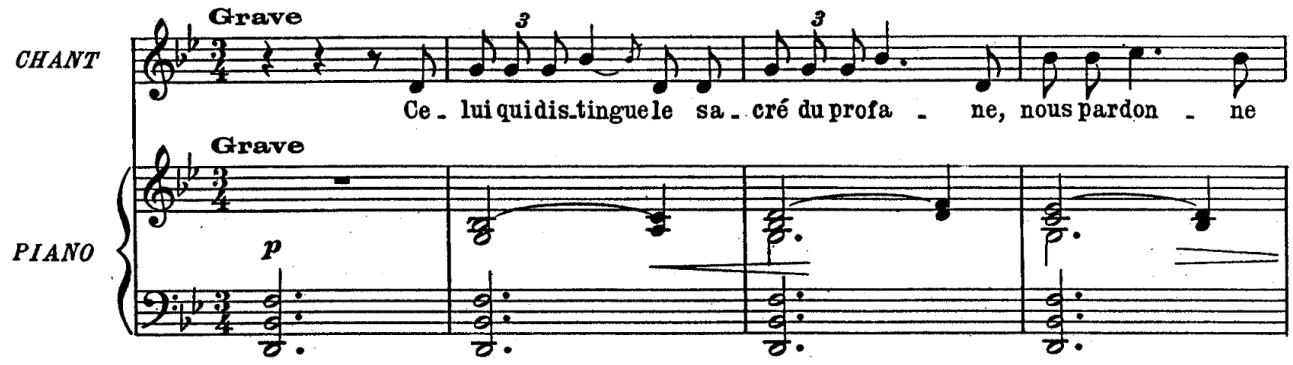


Ex. 5.15. Proclamatory rising 4th in the vocal line of *Psalm 114*



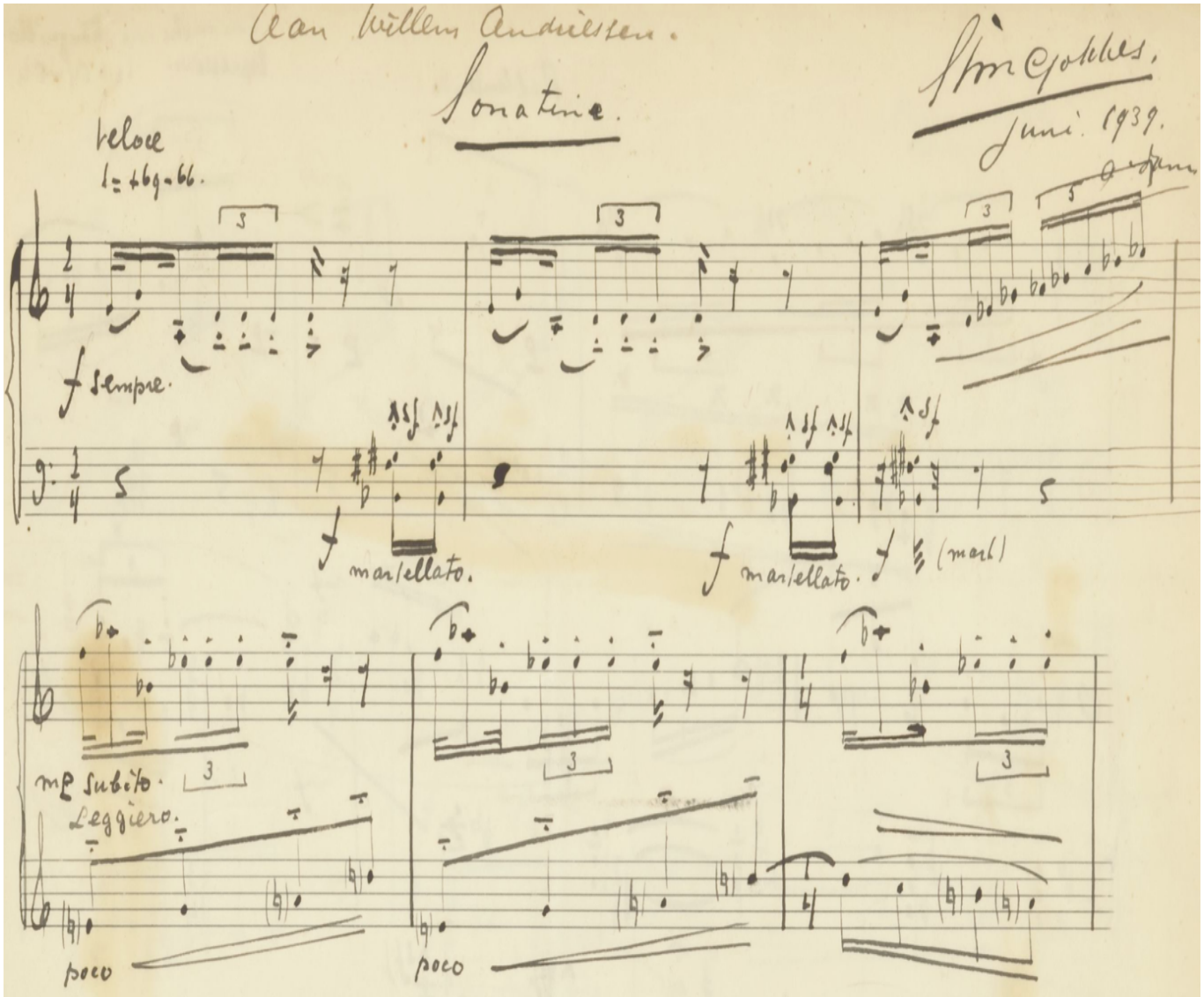
Ex. 5.16. Fanfare-like figures based on 4ths and 5ths from *Psalm 114* (International Music Sore Library Project – IMSLP)

These intervals are utilised to a lesser extent in Milhaud's *Chants Populaires Hébraïques,* but the declamatory opening based on a rising 4th is again, almost fanfare-like in nature (Ex. 5.17).



Ex. 5.17. The use of a rising 4th interval in the voice at the start of Milhaud's *Chants Populaires Hébraïques – La Séparation* (IMSLP)

Held up in comparison with the works of Bloch and Milhaud we can see that there are strong similarities with Gokkes's Sonatine for piano (1939), with the use of this shofar-style motif arguably evoking, along similar lines, a sense of Jewish spirit in the composition. Ex. 5.18. demonstrates this clearly with the right-hand part in bars 1-2 using a triplet semiquaver figure based on a rising fourth as a bold opening fanfare statement. This is then repeated a minor ninth higher in bars 4-5 and goes on to be an important theme in the development of the entire structure.



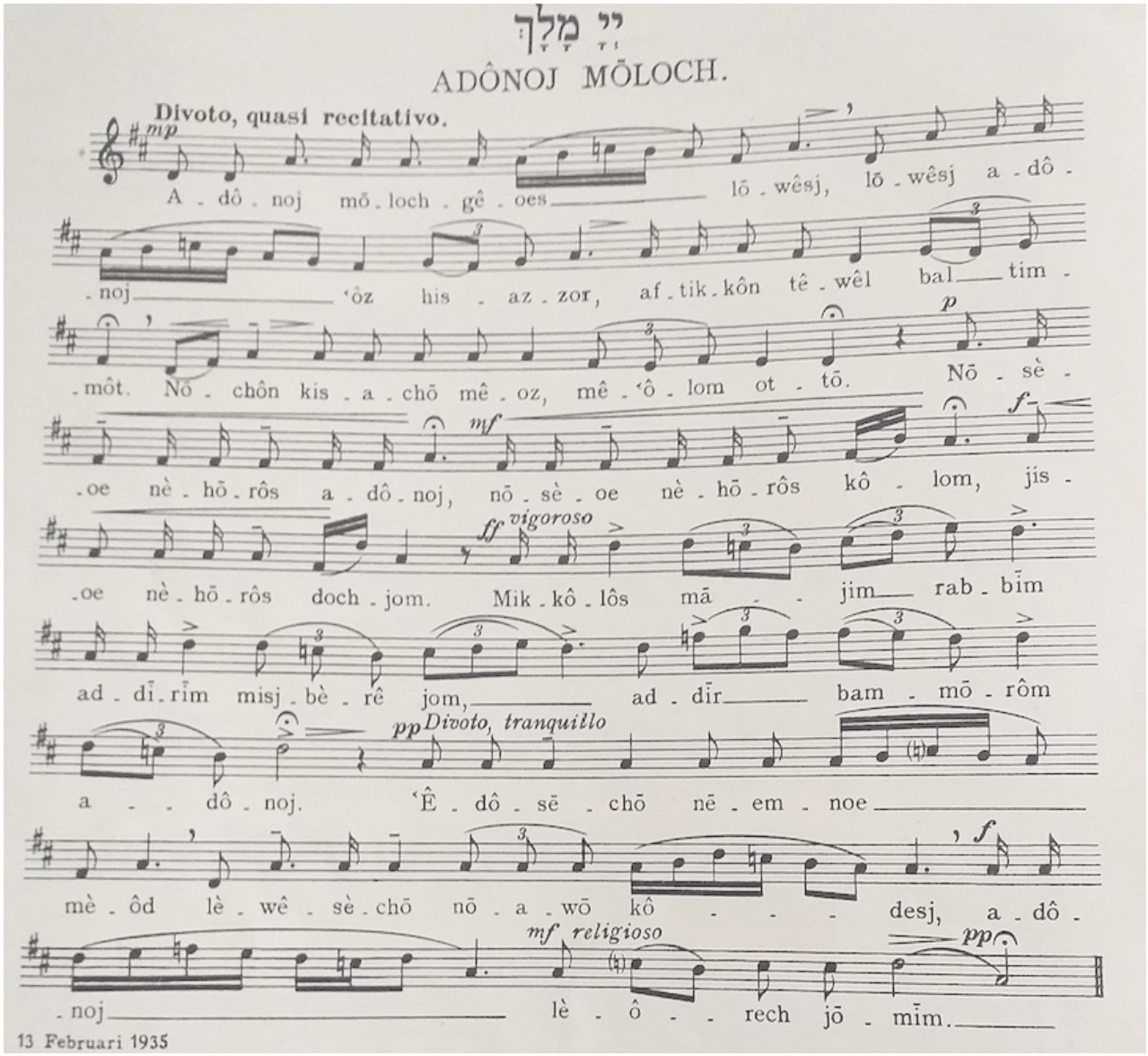
Ex. 5.18. Use of the interval of a 4th in Gokkes's Sonatine for piano. Netherlands Music Institute, archive reference: 189/041

Although very few examples of Gokkes's compositions survived the Holocaust, inspection of what still exists show that he utilised similar devices to create a sense of Jewishness in many of his secular works. His greatest and seemingly most passionate musical contribution to a traditional Jewish revival in his music was his contribution to the purification of synagogue music in his volume of liturgical music entitled *Sjīrê Kôdesj*, published by Broekmans & Van Poppel in 1937. In an introductory note to the volume, Gokkes laid out his reasons for composing the work stating that 'the publication of this collection is a modest attempt to break with the old routine in the field of synagogue music and to bring back the former synagogue song in a more modern form' (Gokkes, 1937: 6). In an interview given in *De joodsche wachter* on 31 March 1939 Gokkes justified his actions by critically adding that synagogue music of that time contained 'many elements that do not actually belong in a synagogue: opera influences are unmistakably present here and there; popular, sometimes even banal melodies are not lacking either and sometimes they are used precisely where prayers had to be performed in a very devout voice' (Pinkhof, 31 March 1939: 89). Although touched upon earlier in this chapter, it is important to reiterate that this was a clear indication that Gokkes wanted to rid synagogue music of elements that he felt did not belong, trying 'as much as possible to avoid all worldly influences' (Gokkes, 1937: 6) by making a return to using old Jewish synagogue motifs and retaining the psalmodic character of the music in juxtaposition with the more modernistic compositional techniques that were being pioneered by Jewish nationalists such as Stutschewsky, Bloch, and Milhaud.

The first section of *Sjīrê Kôdesj* consists solely of hazzanut, or solo cantorial music. Here Gokkes tried to adhere to the use of traditional Jewish *Steiger* (prayer modes) which were historically used as the basis for the structure of the synagogue prayer chant, described as characteristically 'subtle and unrhythmical, yet highly systematized and distinctly prescribed by tradition' (Cohon, 1950: 17). This is certainly evident in Gokkes's *Adônoj Mōloch* (Ex. 5.19). Where he utilises the traditional *Adonoy moloch* scale which is characteristically used in the Friday evening service, and consists of a 'major scale in the classical sense, with the exception of a minor seventh and a minor tenth' (Cohon, 1950: 19).[29] This can be

[29] There are many variations in the transliteration of Adonoy moloch and I have used the versions as used in the documents and manuscripts presented in this thesis .

observed in the use of C natural and F natural throughout the example. Other features that are typical of Jewish tradition are the lack of metre and bar lines, as well as the extensive use of melodic ornamentation, which although transcribed, gives the movement an improvisatory feel.

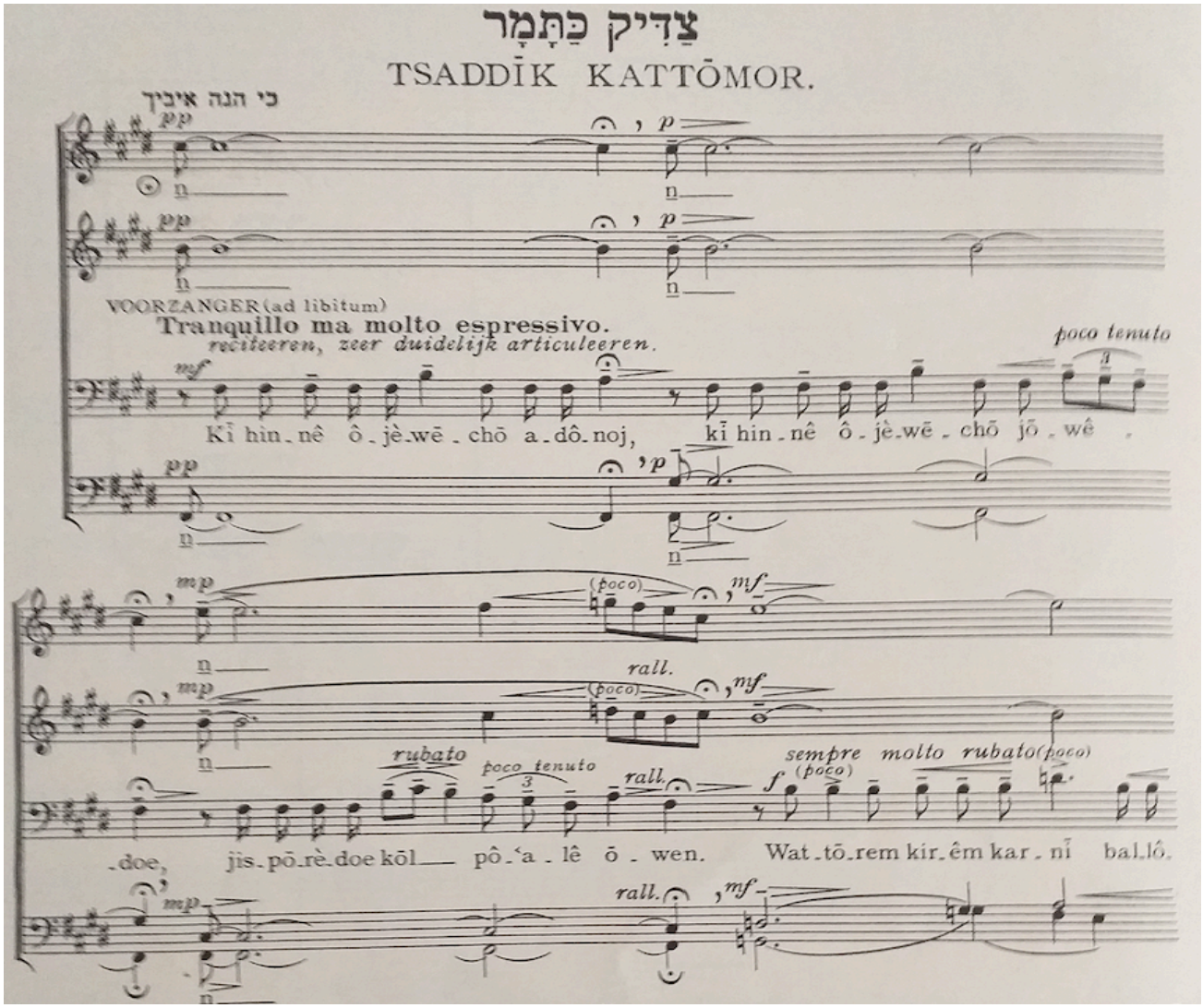


Ex. 5.19. *Adônoj Mōloch* by Sim Gokkes (February 1935) (*Sjire Kodesh*, published by Broekmans & Van Poppel, Amsterdam)

Stylistically the second half of *Sjīrê Kôdesj* heads in a slightly different direction with the incorporation of more modernistic features akin to the religious works of Milhaud

and Bloch. Although the works of these two composers sound very different, they have their own individual distinctive features that can be detected in Gokkes's music: Bloch, for example, utilises unresolved dissonances and parallel 4ths and 5ths in his Jewish themed work *Schelomo* (1916) for cello and orchestra, as well as irregular rhythms and meters which enabled him to be faithful to the original Hebrew texts that he used as the basis of his melodies. Milhaud also used Hebrew text as an inspiration for his compositions, an example of which is *Poèms juifs* (1916) which has several stylistic elements that are also evident in *Sjīrê Kôdesj*. Milhaud's style in this work illustrates his focus for much of his career on the development of polytonality, or what could be better called polymodality, as well as the influence of Debussy with his use of 'long, shapeless, often interminable phrases, and piano parts that are largely chordal or arpeggiated' (Drake, 2001). Also, typical of Milhaud's style after 1913, was the use of more chromaticism, moving towards outright dissonance.

The opening bars of Gokkes's *Tsaddīk Kattōmor* (Ex. 5.20) certainly preserves the solemnity of Jewish sacred music with the improvisatory nature of the vocal bass solo on stave three, but this traditional element is juxtaposed with a contrasting modernist accompaniment and is another example of the influence of composers such as Bloch and Milhaud. The solo line is unmetered and melodically based on an F sharp natural minor scale, while the accompaniment, again unmetered, consists of sustained notes which in places create harmonic dissonance – as in the second half of the first stanza, where the chord is extended in construction with an F sharp, G sharp, B, and C sharp.



Ex. 5.20. Opening bars of Gokkes's *Tsaddīk Kattōmor* (*Sjire Kodesh*, published by Broekmans & Van Poppel, Amsterdam))

Although the works within *Sjīrê Kôdesj* arguably achieved what Gokkes believed to be the inclusion of ancient and authentic Jewish musical features, the elements of modernism as briefly highlighted above were seen to be inappropriate by a small number of Dutch-Jewish traditionalists. In the same newspaper article quoted previously from a Zionist point of view the critic Pinkhof was certainly sceptical of Gokkes's methods, raising the question of what religious character Gokkes aspired to evoke behind the musical notes on the page. He writes that 'it doesn't always match what I imagine it to be; I fear, first, that despite the partly Jewish means that have been used, more thought has been given to "edification" than to "Kavanah"' (Pinkhof, 31

March 1939: 89). Kavanah is the Jewish concept of concentrating the mind on religious prayer so that it does not become a mechanical process. Also, in the *Nieuw Israelietisch weekblad* of 12 May 1939, critic S. de Jong quoted Dutch composer Wouter Paap who echoed Pinkhof's opinion with initial praise for the work, claiming that from a composer's point of view 'the choir compositions are distinguished by the richness of sound and rhythmic diversity' (de Jong, 1 December 1939: 5). However, he was unsure as to whether the synagogue congregation will appreciate this. 'Whether Gokkes's work will take the deserved place in the Synagogue, only the future will tell' (de Jong, 1 December 1939: 5).

Although following trends across much of Europe, opinions were divided about the musical initiatives taken in the drive to establish a new form of Jewish nationalism in the Netherlands, particularly regarding the incorporation of modernistic techniques to a lesser or greater degree. This however would become irrelevant in many respects as the Nazi occupation of 1940 curtailed the musical activities of Dutch-Jewish composers, resulting in Gokkes and Kattenberg meeting their deaths in Auschwitz in 1943 and 1944 respectively. After World War II Max Krieg continued to compose music with a distinct Jewish character, examples of which included a song titled *Waar bleven de Joden van on Amsterdam?* (Where are the Jews of our Amsterdam?) which was dedicated to the many Jews who were detained at the Hollandse Schouwburg Theatre before deportation to the concentration camps. In 1947 Krieg also received the American 'Ernest Bloch Award' for best Jewish composition with his work *Eli-Eli,* a Yiddish folk song for soprano that was consequently performed in Tel-Aviv and broadcast on radio (Pabbruwe, 2015: 148). Vredenburg, to a lesser degree after the occupation, continued to compose in the Jewish idiom with works such as the song *Akiba* and the Concerto for oboe which was based on biblical stories. He also continued his commitment to Zionism and Israel and in 1950 went on to form the Joods Muziekcentrum in Nederland (Jewish Music Centre in the Netherlands) to promote interest in Jewish music and Israel (Van De Meeberg, 1958: 267).

Chapter Six – The Suppression of Jewish Composers During the Nazi Occupation, 1940-1945

> Be merciful unto me, O God, be merciful unto me: for my soul trusteth in thee: yea, in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast.
>
> My soul is among lions: and I lie even among them that are set on fire, even the sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword.
>
> (*King James Bible*, 2008, Psalms 57: 1,4)

The Political Backdrop

On 14 May 1940 the Dutch army capitulated to the invading German forces in an act that would ultimately bring very few changes to life for most in the Netherlands. According to historian Bob Moore, initially, 'German policy was designed to minimise the effect of the occupation and retain as much normality as was practical', possibly due to the fact that the Germans considered the Dutch to be 'fellow "Aryans"' (Moore, 1997: 42) and wished to use the country as a resource for its war efforts because of its strategic ports. This situation of relative 'normality' would not, however, last long as far as Dutch-Jewish citizens were concerned. On 25 November 1941 Reichscommissar of the occupied Netherlands Arthur Seyss-Inquart ordered the establishment of De Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer, the 'cultural chamber'. This was an organisation established by the Nazi occupiers to which all musicians, and other individuals who worked in the arts sectors, had to be affiliated in order to be allowed to work. In order to become a member, an 'Aryan' declaration (declaration of non-Jewish heritage) had to be submitted and confirmed, and in a speech given by Seyss-Inquart in 1942 he stressed the positive need to promote and establish a 'strong' Dutch culture in music and the arts in this way. The Kultuurkamer 'has to cleanse the cultural life of everything that apparently has caused the disease that has resulted in the dissolution and destruction of national culture'; the cause of

this national decline was the case ‘wherever parasites of a foreign race have established themselves within the body of national culture’ (Seyss-Inquart and Snijder, 1942: 11). He goes on to present his solution in that ‘the elimination of the Jews and of the typically Jewish cultural products is the first measure which paves the way for a positive cultural policy’ (Seyss-Inquart and Snijder, 1942: 11).[30] Seyss-Inquart’s use of the phrase ‘de uitschakeling der Joden’ or ‘the elimination of Jews’ was no overstatement: five months later, on July 15 1942, the Nazis ordered the transportation of detained Jews from the Dutch transit camps Westerbork and Vught to the death camps in Poland, Germany, and Austria. Over a duration of two years, 107,000 Jews were deported, most of whom would be murdered (Croes, 2014: 1).

At least fourteen Dutch-Jewish composers were the victims of extreme antisemitism and were consequently murdered by the Nazis. The list is extensive and includes:

Daniel Belinfante (1893-1945)
Bob Hanf (1894-1944)
Paul Hermann (1902-1944)
Dick Kattenburg (1919-1944)
Nico Richter (1915-1945)
Andries de Rosa (1869-1943)
Samuel Schuijer (1873-1942)
Paul Seelig (1876-1945)
James Simon (1880-1944)
Martin Spanjaard (1892-1942)
Franz Weisz (1893-1944)
Leo Smit (1900-1943)
Simon (Sim) Gokkes (1897-1943)

In this chapter I aim to illustrate the stark difference between the emergence of a Dutch-Jewish style of music which incorporated elements of Jewish nationalist music alongside modernistic traits, against the destructive rhetoric of the invading Nazis whose cultural policies abruptly halted these developments. What had begun as a

[30] The original Dutch for this passage reads: ‘in het bijzonder de uitschakeling der Joden en der typisch Joodsche kultuurproducten de eerste maatregel, welke den weg voor een positieve kultuurpolitiek vrijmaakt.’ In this context the English translation of the word ‘uitschkeling’ is elimination (Seyss-Inquart and Snijder, 1942: 11)

musical reaction against the antisemitism that was sweeping across Europe prior to World War II was now about to meet its fate at the hands of the Nazis.

The Implications of the Aryan Declaration for Dutch-Jewish Musicians

In order to understand how the Nazi occupation and antisemitic cultural policy affected Dutch music, we need to look at the genesis of the development of a generation of Dutch-Jewish composers who flourished musically up until the establishment of De Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer. This can be traced back to approximately thirty years before the occupation to the Jewish composer Sem Dresden and the numerous students to whom he taught composition. Sem Dresden played a highly influential role in the emergence of a disproportionate number of Dutch-Jewish composers who had at last started to make a meaningful and innovative contribution to Dutch musical life.

Born into an Ashkenazi Jewish family in Amsterdam, Dresden studied orchestral conducting and composition with Hans Pfitzner at the Stern Conservatory in Berlin from 1903 to 1905. As a composer Pfitzner was initially influenced by the music of Wagner and Schumann, but later in his career embraced the styles of Schubert, Brahms, Marschner, and Weber, specifically as part of a conservative continuation of German romanticism. It is somewhat ironic then that Pfitzner should encourage his student Dresden to adopt the style of Debussy along with ‘sobriety and sophistication into his music, especially by studying the ancient polyphonic masters of the Renaissance’ (van den Dungen, 2015: 66). This deep interest in polyphony and the music of the Renaissance period would continue throughout Dresden’s career and started with the formation of the Madrigal Society in Amsterdam during 1914.

Before further investigating the life and music of Sem Dresden during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands, it is worth briefly taking note of Pfitzner’s political thinking during the same period. Hans Pfitzner (1869-1949) was a German composer who was a fervent German nationalist and harboured a complex relationship with his attitude towards Jews. Like Willem Mengelberg, Pfitzner held the Jews responsible for Germany’s economic decline after the First World War and

the Treaty of Versailles. He held the extreme view that the Weimar Republic was the 'artificial creation of an international conspiracy – a Jewish Republic' (Kater, 2000: 149). Because of this he rejected Jews in the world of music, and it could be argued that Pfitzner's antisemitism was not biological, but rather he saw 'Jews as a collective cultural phenomenon' (Kater, 2000: 148). Although his anti-Jewish sentiment is well documented post-1918, Pfitzner had always been aligned with Wagner both musically and politically, and not unlike Wagner's *Das Judenthum in der Musik* of 1850, the contentious rhetoric of much of his own writing became influential for German thinkers leading up to the rise of fascism (Newsom, 1971: 104).

This highlights the irony that as a student, Dresden did not fully embrace the late-Romantic nationalistic musical style adopted by German composers including Pfitzner yet was instead encouraged to follow the French Impressionist influence of Debussy, Ravel, and Fauré (van den Dungen, 2015: 66). This was unusual in the Netherlands throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as Dutch musical taste and style was very much dominated by Germanic influence. Dresden then, can be considered to have been one of the main pioneers in steering the Netherlands away from Germany and towards new musical horizons; a legacy that is evident in the music of his students.

Dresden started his illustrious teaching career in 1917 when he taught counterpoint, harmony, analysis, and composition at the Amsterdam Conservatory, and then later went on to become its director in 1924, succeeding German-Dutch composer Julius Röntgen (1855-1932) (*De Courant het Nieuws van Den Haag*, 17 May 1924: 1). During his tenure there Dresden was to deviate from the Germanic influence on Dutch composers at that time and was to partly oversee the creation of the building which today exists on the Bachstraat. Dresden's musical ideas were also progressive and in his lessons he 'handled issues of harmony, counterpoint, and form, and suggested practical solutions for instrumentation and orchestration, but never imposing his artistic views on the students' – who included the Dutch-Jewish composers Leo Smit, Rosy Wertheim, and Sim Gokkes. The list of non-Jewish composers taught by Dresden is also extensive including Jacques Beers, Jan Felderhof, Cor de Groot, Marius Monnikendam, Jan Mul, and Jan Nieland.

In 1937 Dresden went on to succeed Johan Wagenaar as director of the Royal Conservatory in The Hague. However, four years later in 1941, Seyss-Inquart's formation of De Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer meant the start of the demise for Dutch-Jewish musicians amongst others, with Dresden forced to relinquish his post at the conservatory in 1942. He was fortunate to have escaped the attention of the Nazis for that long, as Dresden held the dubious honour of being the only Dutch musician included on the Reichskulturkammer's blacklist of predominantly Jewish composers in Germany published by Joseph Goebbels as early as 1935 (Geiger, 2002: 106). The list contained some prominent names and included Alban Berg (1885-1935), Ernest Bloch (1880-1959), Aaron Copland (1900-1990), Ernst Krenek (1900-1991), Erik Satie (1866-1925), and Kurt Weill (1900-1950) (Geiger, 2002: 106). Joseph Goebbels laid out his ideas about the negative influence of Jews in German music in a communication from the Reichsmusikkammer in which he presented his *Zehn Grundsätze deutschen Musikschaffens* (*Ten principles of composing German music*) claiming that 'Judaism and German music, [...] are opposites which, by their very nature, stand in stark contradiction to each other' (Goebbels, 1938: 1.6.1). In 1939 he went on to reinforce the emphasis on Jewish composers as 'degenerate' when he claimed in a speech that 'German musical life has been definitely cleaned of the last traces of Jewish arrogance and domination' and that 'our classical masters again appear before the public in a pure and unadulterated form' (Geisler, 2015: 81). The same reasoning would later apply to Jewish musicians in the Netherlands, and by 1941 Dresden was unable to sign the Aryan declaration of De Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer and was consequently dismissed from his post in The Hague.

Two prominent musicians who did sign the declaration and were therefore accepted as members of De Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer were Willem Mengelberg and composer Henk Badings (1907-1987). Both of them were later accused of Nazi collaboration when the occupation had ended. Between 1942 and 1945 the Nazi-controlled Dutch government appointed Badings as head of the Royal Conservatory of The Hague as a replacement for Sem Dresden (*Vrij Nederland*, 14 March 1942: 203). Such was the national strength of feeling against these actions, along with those of members of the NSB or Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging in Nederland (National Socialist Movement in the Netherlands), there were serious reprisals in

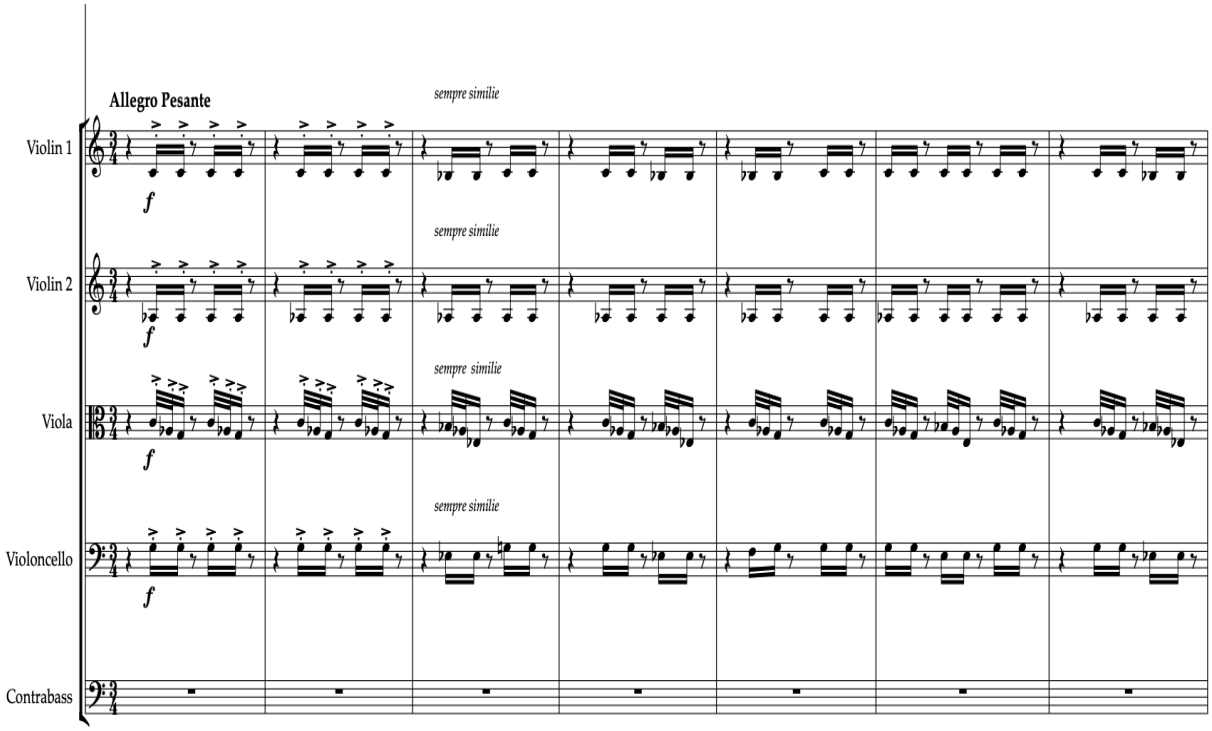
Amsterdam with hostages taken and several bomb attacks on NSB members (*Vrij Nederland*, 14 March 1942: 203).

Even so, Badings' actions during the Nazi occupation appear to be somewhat contradictory, as on one hand he openly supported a Nazi mandate by becoming a member of De Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer*,* but on the other hand went out of his way to protect Dresden and his non-Jewish wife Jacoba Dresden-Dohnt from further victimisation and possible deportation. Badings was able to influence the Nazi occupiers into relieving Dresden of his enforced employment of digging anti-tank ditches and was also able to influence the reversal of Jacoba Dresden-Dohnt's suspension as a teacher due to her having married a Jew. Again, with the aid of Badings, Dresden and his wife were able to avoid deportation and go into hiding at Villa de Pauwhof in Wassenaar, a refuge for artists and intellectuals, (Alders and Pameijer, 2015: 70) where he continued to compose throughout the period of occupation.

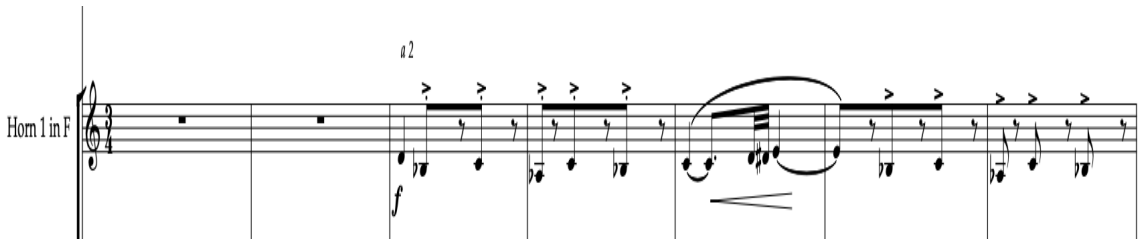
The opening quotation of this chapter is taken from Psalm 57, and along with Psalms 139, 69, and 34, was incorporated into the text of Dresden's *Chorus Symphonicus* for Soprano, Tenor, Chorus and Orchestra, written in 1943-44. The work is allegorical in nature as the text of the Psalms refer to the hardships of daily life, parallels of which can be drawn with his own life as a Jew under the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands from 1940 to 1945. In fact, the work was composed during his period of exile in Wassenaar when Dresden was forced into hiding. This time proved to be very productive musically and he composed at least nine major works, including *Chorus Symphonicus*. Musicologists Carine Alders and Eleonore Pameijer thus describe the work as a form of 'passive resistance' (Alders and Pameijer, 2015: 71).

The opening few bars of the work (Ex. 6.1) instantly set the mood, and its dark overtones are a significant departure from the more whimsical and simplistic nature of the French-influenced works he composed before and after the Nazi occupation. The strings present an aggressive *pesante* accented staccato semi-quaver pattern with a semitone clash present between Ab and G in the initial sonority. This dissonance, which continues throughout this passage, adds tension to the driving force of the rhythm and the unease that Dresden creates. It is complemented by the

addition of a French Horn melody in bar 3 (see Ex. 6.2) which utilises the same heavy accents and adds to the sombre mood by playing in its lower register.

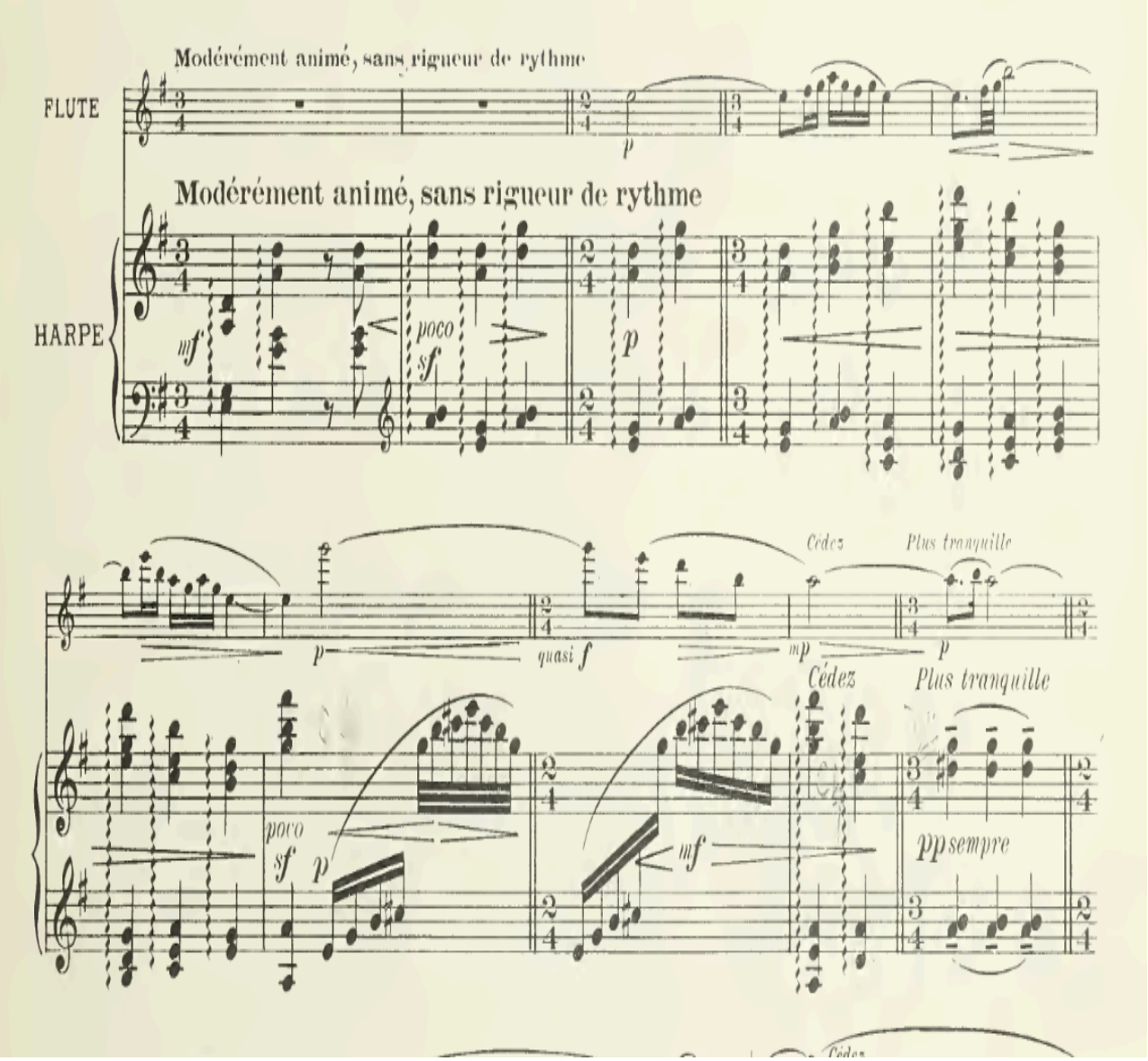


Ex. 6.1. Opening passage of *Chorus Symphonicus, Psalm 139,* by Sem Dresden. Netherlands Music Institute Archive reference 047/135a 047/135b

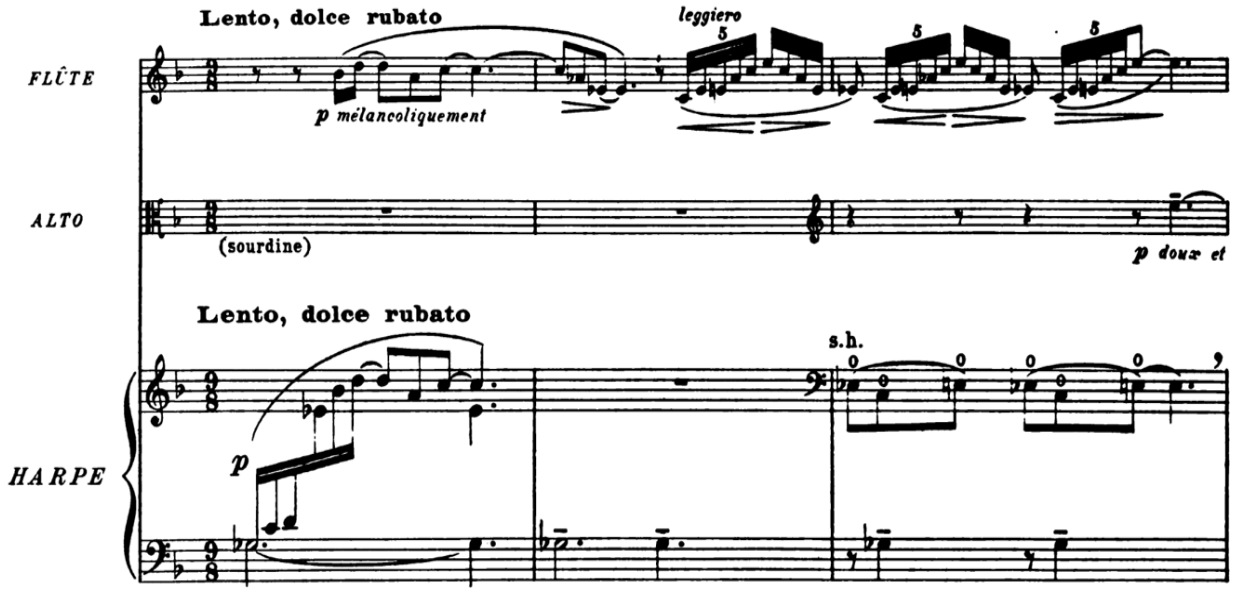


Ex. 6.2. French Horn melody in bar 3 (transposed into concert pitch). Netherlands Music Institute Archive reference 047/135a 047/135b

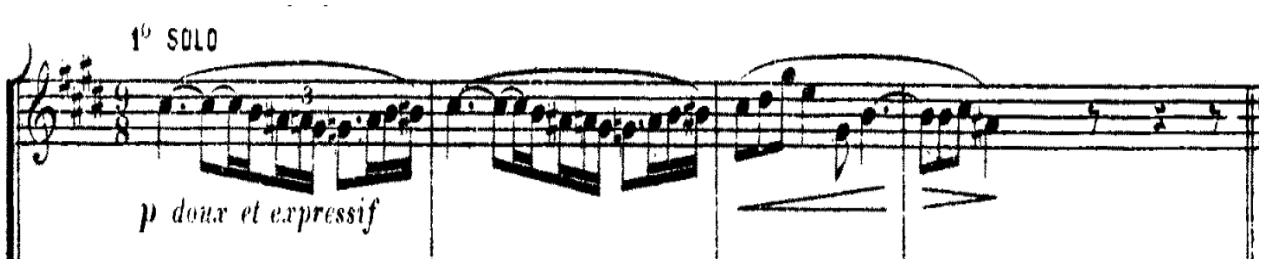
Compare this with Dresden's composition *Sonate voor Fluit en Harpe* (*Sonata for Flute and Harp*) in Ex. 6.3, which was written before the Nazi occupation in 1918. The example is the opening passage, and It presents a simple chordal harp accompaniment and an almost improvisatory flute solo passage reminiscent of the opening flute melody of Debussy's Sonata for Flute, Viola and Harp (Ex. 6.4) and *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (Ex. 6.5). Comparing the flute solos in *Sonate voor Fluit en Harpe* and Sonata for Flute, Viola and Harp another similarity can be seen with the use of the pentatonic scale with additional note in both cases, namely E, F#, G, A, B and D (as the additional note) in Dresden's work, and Gb, Ab, Bb, C and D in that of Debussy with the addition of Eb. The sonata and *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* also share a simple but prominent chordal accompaniment dominated by the harp.



Ex. 6.3. Opening of *Sonate voor Fluit en Harpe*, Sem Dresden (1918) published by Donemus



Ex. 6.4. Opening of Sonata for Flute, Viola and Harp by Claude Debussy (1915). (International Music Score Library)



Ex. 6.5. Opening of *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune,* Debussy (1894). (International Music Score Library)

The end of World War Two marked a slight change in Dresden's style with a return to a more light-hearted approach which musically signified the lifting of the dark shadows that had dominated his existence during the Occupation. This is evident in

his operetta *Toto* which was composed in 1945 at the end of the Occupation, but not fully completed until 1948. In an interview published in the Amsterdam newspaper *Het Parool* published on 6 December 1948 Dresden explained the concept behind the work, stating that '"Toto" is the name of a little dog, and the work was written as a response following the surrender of dogs carried out on German orders' (*Het Parool*, 6 December 1948: 2). Dresden also wrote the text for the operetta and explained that it explored the dog's experiences from a human perspective, namely his own when he had to go into hiding in a bid to escape deportation by the Nazis; this was a process that he saw as his own form of captivity.

After the Occupation in 1945, Dresden returned as principal of the Royal Conservatory in The Hague and remained there as both a teacher and a composer until 1949. He had been, and remained, a pioneer of Dutch music and it was partly because of him that the Netherlands 'broke free from the isolation that had led to the younger generation finding its borders open' (Vlekke, 1 August 1957: 5). Dresden died in 1957 and in the last moments of his life he was accepted into the Catholic Church, possibly due to his wife's faith, although it is unknown why he chose to convert. This desire to convert religion was not unique and Polish/Russian composer Mieczysław Weinberg performed a similar act when, at the end of his life, he converted from Judaism to the Russian Orthodox Church. In this case his decision had been influenced from reading Joseph Brodsky's poem *Nunc Dimittis*, whose depiction of Simeon Stylites the composer found moving (Gwizdalanka, 2022: 151).

An Argument for the Existence of a Dutch-Jewish School

The latter composers from the above list, Leo Smit, Sim Gokkes, with the addition of Rosy Wertheim (1888-1949) who survived the German occupation, were students of Sem Dresden, and it could be argued that, along with Dresden's initial impetus, they stylistically were part of the start of what may have become a Dutch-Jewish School of composition in the same vein as the Second Viennese School in the twentieth century. Indeed, if Leo Smit and Sim Gokkes had not been murdered in the Nazi concentration camps and Rosy Wertheim had not died so soon after the conclusion of World War II, then their innovations and influence may have spread afar through

Dutch music and cultural life for some time to come as was the case with the Second Viennese School which exercised an enormous influence on the avant-garde composers of the 1950s.

All three composers initially embraced the style of French impressionists such as Debussy and Ravel, but they also incorporated other stylistic features that would go on to forge a unique musical voice in the Netherlands at the start of the early twentieth century. Gokkes, for example, began to take a great interest in the developments in 'Jewish national' music that had spread across Europe from Russia, and also the modernism that had been incorporated into this by Viennese composers such as Stutschewsky. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Smit, Wertheim, and Gokkes entered into any personal correspondence, they certainly operated within the same musical spheres, amongst which was an organisation that used the acronym *Maneto*, a shortened form of *Manifestatie Nederlandse Toonkunst* (Manifestations of Dutch Music). Maneto was a pre-war initiative organised by the NMB or Nederlandse Muziekbelangen (Dutch Musical Interests) founded by composer Jan van Gilse (1881-1944) in 1935 with the aim of promoting the performance of mainly Dutch modernist music. The Maneto concerts were the platform for this initiative and from 1937 onwards there were at least four concerts a year which featured forty compositions by thirty Dutch composers in total (*Nieuwe Geneco Genootschap*, 2019). There were also study concerts, the first of which took place in 1940, which were used to promote the works of young and upcoming Dutch composers such as Smit, Wertheim, and Gokkes amongst others.

In these concerts, the works of the composers were analysed during rehearsals, and would eventually be included in a concert. As part of an initial selection process the composers submitted scores, which were first subjected to a test: 'anything that showed little professional knowledge [...] [was] put aside and a programme put together from the remainder' (Van Gilse, 2 July 1940: 5). The composers were then allowed to attend the rehearsals of their work and of course also the performance itself. The first study concert took place in Utrecht and included the new works of ten young Dutch composers, two of whom were Jewish students of Dresden: Sim Gokkes and Rosy Wertheim. The Utrechts Stedelijk Orkest (Utrech Municipal Orchestra) under the direction of conductor and composer Willem van Otterloo

(1907-1978) performed two movements of a piano concerto by Wertheim, and a suite for small orchestra by Gokkes (*Het volk*, 28 June 1940: 5). The emphasis on the study aspect of these events is interesting, as it meant that Wertheim and Gokkes would therefore have been intimately familiar with the workings of each other's music, hence enabling them to incorporate various borrowed stylistic features into their own works. Albeit slightly earlier than Wertheim and Gokkes, Smit's works were also performed along with those of other Dutch-Jewish composers at Maneto concerts and it is highly probable that Wertheim and Gokkes were exposed to the content of these concerts. The newspaper *De Tijd* highlights a series of these earlier concerts that included Dutch-Jewish composers which were held at the Concertgebouw with the Concertgebouw Orchestra under the direction of Dutch conductor Eduard van Beinum:

5 June 1937 – Henriette Bosmans, *Belsazar.*
6 June 1937 – Sem Dresden, *Hymnus Matutinus*; Paul F. Sanders, *De Klacht de Garde*.
8 June 1937 – Paul F. Sanders, Suite voor viool en violoncel; Nico Richter, Trio voor guitaar, fluit en viool; Leo Smit, Sextet voor piano en blaasinstrumenten (wind instruments) (*De Tijd*, 4 May 1937: 5).

The gravitation towards French influence and the argument for the existence of a Dutch-Jewish school is also reinforced by the fact that Wertheim, Smit, and Gokkes all spent varying amounts of time in Paris during the same period. Wertheim was fully immersed in French life from an early age, as she was sent by her parents to a boarding school in Neuilly where 'I learned French perfectly, but more importantly: I had excellent piano lessons, which made me decide to proceed further with music' (Pameijer, 2015: 275). On her return to Amsterdam, it was Dresden that nurtured her interest in modern French aesthetics which would go on to shape her own compositional stylistic traits. In 1929 Wertheim left Amsterdam and moved to Paris to study with French composer Louis Aubert (1877-1968). She wrote of her time there:

> Eventually, I became attracted to newer sounds and colours, and varied rhythms. Debussy, Ravel and Stravinsky were a revelation, and of course my own compositions were influenced by them for a time. I needed to expand my

> horizons, and Paris, at that time an important musical centre, seemed to be the best choice. I got a six month leave of absence from the Lyceum and ended up staying for six years! Paris was an enormous boost, the most interesting years of my life! I worked hard and met many musicians and artists (Pameijer, 2015: 276).

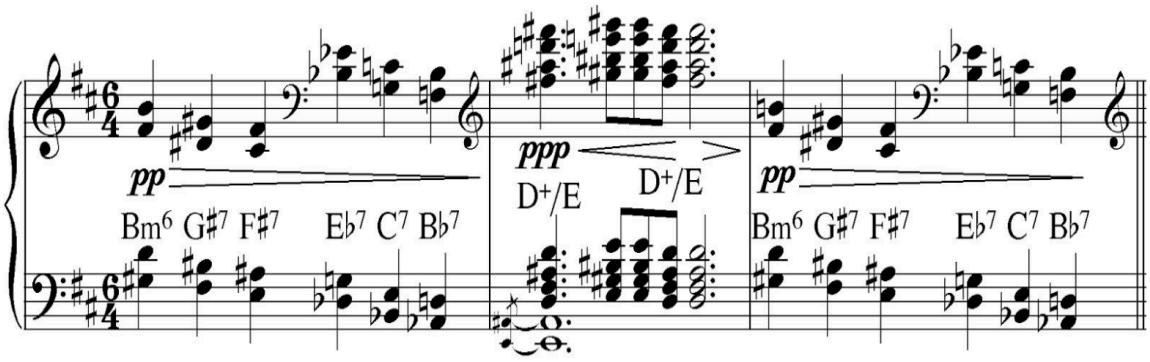
Wertheim regularly held small concerts at her Paris apartment which were attended by prominent French composers such as Milhaud and Messiaen, and it is also likely that they would have been attended by the Dutch-Jewish composers who may have been resident in Paris during that period. This was certainly the case with Smit who left Amsterdam to live in Paris between 1927 and 1936, after a period of disillusionment of his musical life in the Netherlands brought on by a series of negative reviews of his music by critic and influential Dutch composer Willem Pijper.

With reference to a chamber music concert at the Concertgebouw on 16 November 1926, Pijper claimed that Smit's Trio for Flute, Viola, and Harp contained 'coloristic miscalculations: the harp chords in the last movement – too thin – and the viola plays *alla mandolina* a little too often with the effect of too much tremolo for a small hall' (Pijper, 2011: 175). Pijper went on to write that 'the composer [Smit] is not yet accomplished with regard to modernisation' and that he seems to be more in need of a "Klärung seines formalen Bewusstseins"[31] than new sciences of harmony and counterpoint' (Pijper, 2011: 175). There was also criticism from his ex-teacher Dresden, who, cruelly in the mind of Smit, described his music as 'immature' (Bertisch, 2014: 36). His move to Paris was designed to inspire his musical development, something he felt was lacking in the Netherlands where he found criticism hurtful and the musical environment uninspiring. During his time there 'it is highly likely that Smit attended many house concerts like the ones hosted by Wertheim. Their shared Dutch and Jewish heritage most likely intertwined their circles of influence, even in the large city of Paris' (Poole, 2017: 8). His music certainly shares stylistic traits with Wertheim and French composers such as Milhaud.

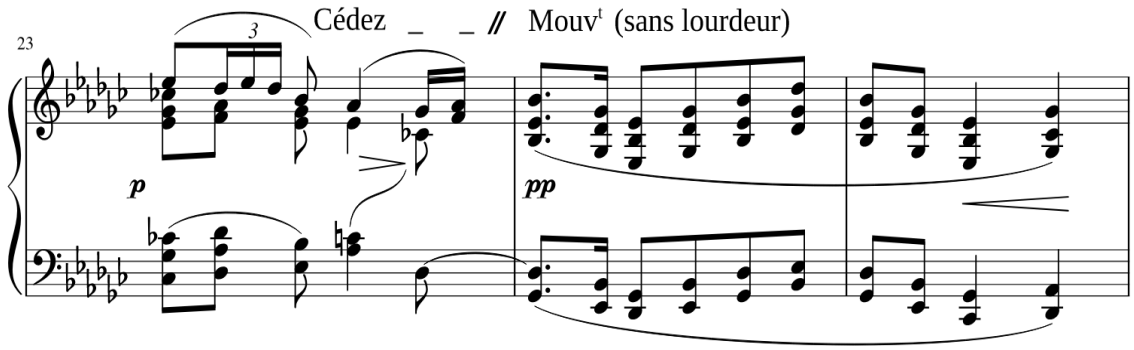
[31] Translated from German: 'clarification of his formal consciousness'

Unlike Smit and Wertheim there is no direct evidence to suggest that Gokkes ever resided in Paris, but we do know that he performed in the city several times including a concert at the Salle Pleyel where he accompanied Dutch soprano Lotti Muskens-Sleur, in a performance of his own work *Twee Hebreeuwse Liederen* (Two Hebrew Songs) which was highly acclaimed (*Nieuwe Israelietisch weekblad*, 27 April 1928: 14). His interest in French music was also evident based on an interview between Dutch musicologist Frans van Ruth and Gokkes's niece Mina Moppes-Gokkes conducted in 1995, in which she stated that he was in possession of several of Milhaud's works which greatly interested him (Moppes-Gokkes, 1995). This point is significant as Milhaud's stylistic influence, along with that of others, is present in the compositions of Wertheim, Smit, and Gokkes. Therefore, the combination of visiting Paris, the connections with French composers such as Milhaud at Wertheim's salons, and Gokkes's keen interest in Milhaud seem to be a unifying factor between these three Dutch-Jewish composers, in addition to their tutelage under Dresden.

Stylistically, the connections between the three composers are very clear with the French influences of Debussy, Milhaud, and – especially in the case of Gokkes and Smit – that of Stravinsky. We can first look at one common feature which is Debussy's 'unconventional use of parallel harmony, both chromatic and diatonic' (Phillips, 2018: 14), which in Debussy's case creates what music analyst Rudolph Reti describes as 'chordal melodies' (Reti, 1962: 44), or non-functional harmony. This idea of consecutive perfect consonances as a prominent stylistic feature was a radical move as they had been prohibited in music theory since the fourteenth century. Examples of this in Debussy's music can be seen in his 'Nuages' from *Nocturnes* (Ex. 6.6). Likewise, Ex. 6.7 demonstrates prominent use of parallel perfect 4ths and 5ths in both hands, with the fifths acting as inverted fourths in this example. This particular trait can be found in the music of Wertheim, Smit, and Gokkes, and is one of several features that bond them together so closely stylistically.

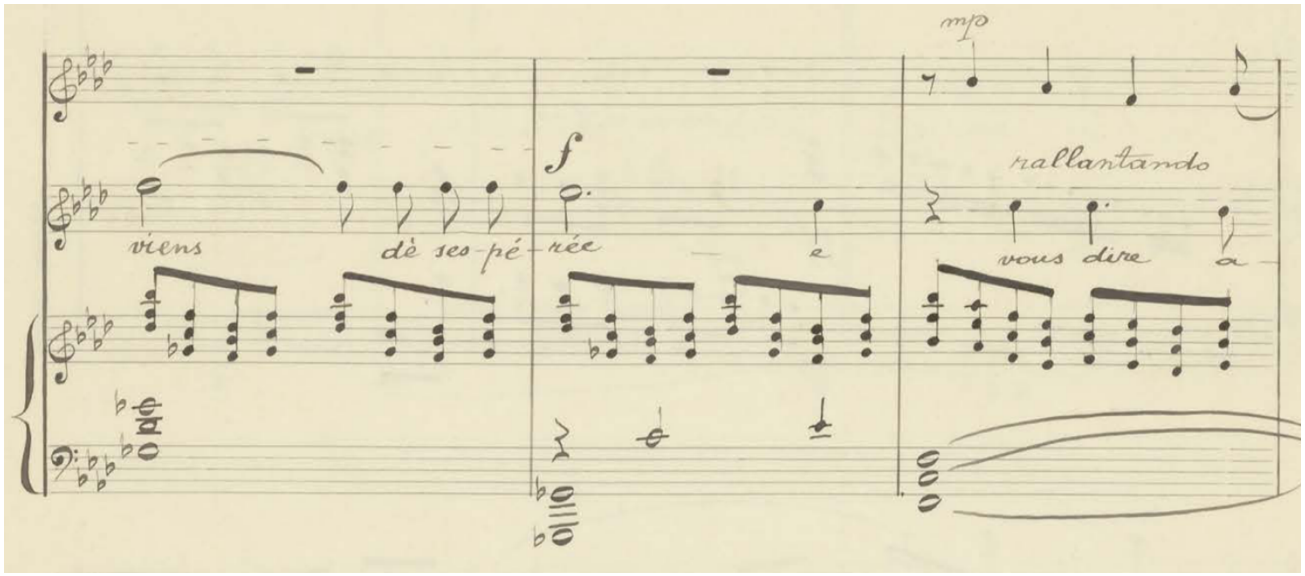


Ex. 6.6. Examples of consecutive perfect consonances in bars 61-63 of a piano reduction of Debussy's 'Nuages' from *Nocturnes*. (International Music Score Library)

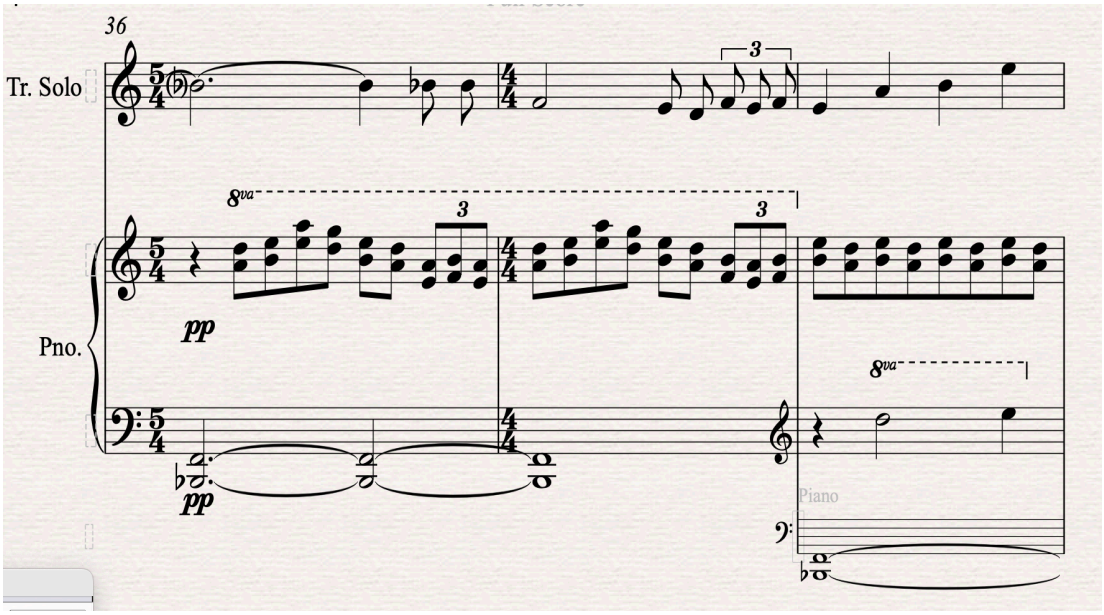


Ex. 6.7. Bars 23-25 of Debussy's *La fille aux cheveux de lin* demonstrating use of parallel 4ths and 5ths. (International Music Score Library)

Ex. 6.8. illustrates a vocal duet entitled *La chanson déchirante* written by Wertheim, composed in 1926. This passage emulates Debussy's style with an undulating quaver accompaniment in the right-hand piano part which, again, consists of movement in parallel 4ths. This is again evident in the right-hand part of the piano accompaniment for Gokkes's song *La lune blanche luit dans le bois* (Ex. 6.9.) which also has the same undulating quaver and triplet pattern as seen in Wertheim's work in Ex. 6.8.



Ex. 6.8. Opening bars of Rosy Wertheim's *La chanson déchirante* with parallel 4ths in the right-hand of the piano accompaniment. Netherlands Music Institute Archive reference 142/144



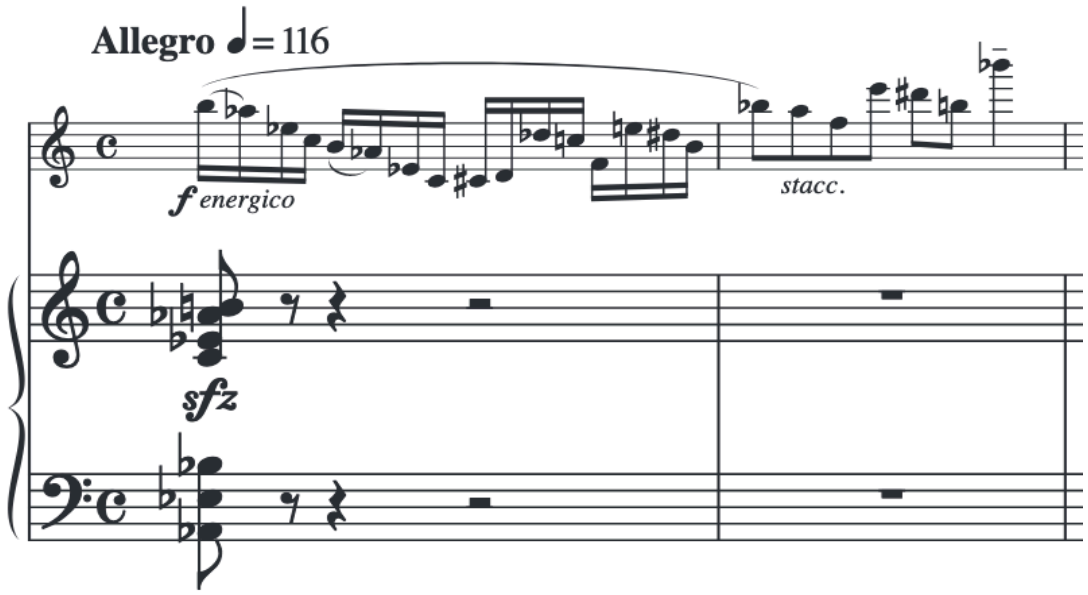
Ex. 6.9. Use of parallel fourths in the piano accompaniment of *La lune blanche luit dans le bois* by Gokkes (1928)[32]

Debussy's music also demonstrates a general interest in symmetry, an example of

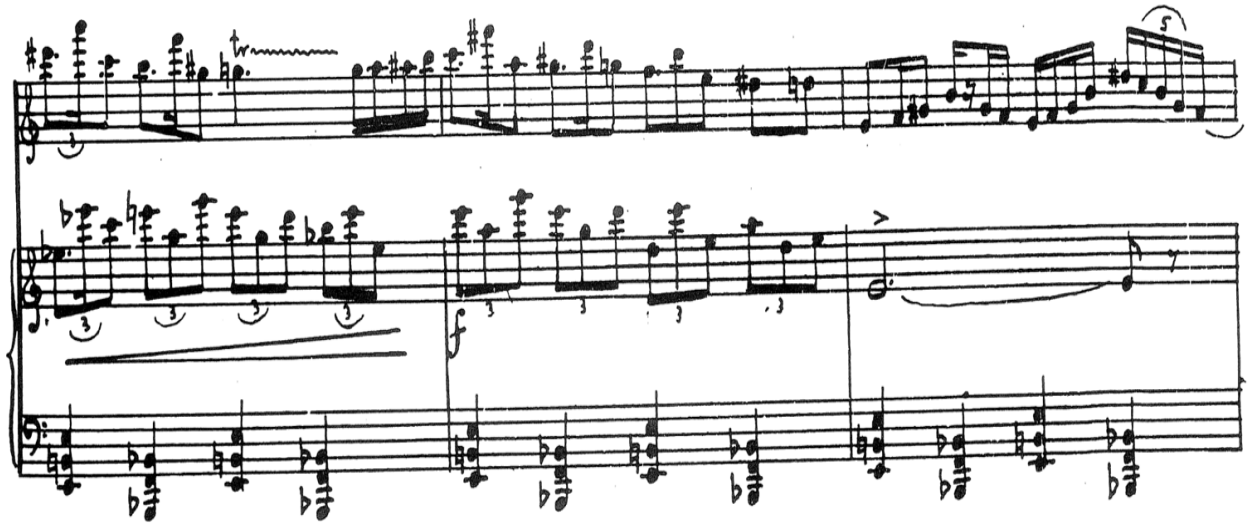
[32] This excerpt is my own transcription from the original manuscript archived at the Netherlands Music Institute, reference number 189/040

which is his use of the symmetrical octatonic scale composed of alternating tone and semi-tone steps. Of course, he utilised other scales such as the pentatonic and whole-tone scales and in a conversation with American-born French composer Ernest Guiraud (1837-1892) he justified his exploration of this approach stating that 'the tonal scale must be enriched by other scales' (Lockspeiser, 1978: 206). It was this new musical colour on the palette that added to the inspiration of some of the Dutch-Jewish composers and, again, is evident in the works of Wertheim, Smit, and Gokkes. It was also extensively used by another very influential Dutch composer Willem Pijper, who, although having been critical of the work of Smit, shared common ground in this instance. Pijper, along with Sem Dresden, was an important figure, responsible for teaching several leading Dutch composers during the first half of the twentieth century. His long association with this scale led to it often being referred to as the 'Pijper scale' in the Netherlands (Taruskin, 1985: 73).

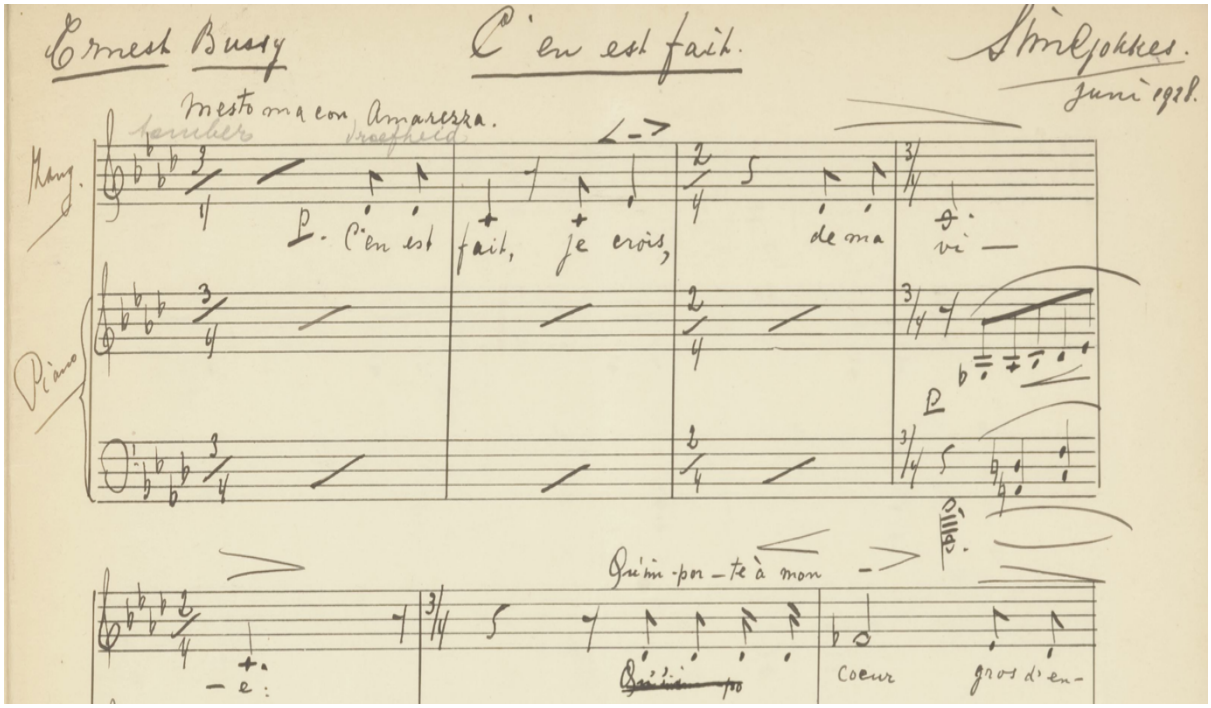
Ex. 6.10. shows the opening two bars from the first movement of Smit's Sonate voor Fluit en Klavier, and the melodic line in the flute is constructed from notes in the octatonic scale and thus provides a clear reference to Debussy. Likewise, in Ex. 6.11 the flute melody in Wertheim's *Trois morceaux* is structured from an octatonic scale and provides us with stylistic writing not dissimilar in places to Smit. The available repertoire of Gokkes is more limited than that of his contemporaries, most of his works having been destroyed or looted by the Nazis after his deportation to Westerbork transit camp. However, the vocal melodic line of his 1928 song *C'en est fait* in Ex. 6.12 again demonstrates his use of four notes of an octatonic collection.



Ex. 6.10. Opening bars of Sonate voor fluit en klavier by Leo Smit (1943). Netherlands Music Institute archive reference 119/011



Ex. 6.11. Rosy Wertheim's *Trois morceaux,* movement III, *capriccio*, bars 38-39 (1939). Netherlands Music Institute archive reference 142/052



Ex. 6.12. The opening bars of Sim Gokkes's song *C'en est fait* (1928) demonstrating the use of the octatonic scale in the vocal melody line. Netherlands Music Institute, archive reference 189/034

The influence of Debussy on this trio of composers was understandable given that his music was regularly performed and made accessible to Dutch composers in concerts given at the Concertgebouw, but also because their teacher and mentor Sem Dresden was himself heavily influenced by the music of Debussy and Ravel. The influence of Darius Milhaud (1892-1974) was, however, likely based more on their own personal exploration of French music which would have included contact with the composer. We know that Wertheim, Smit, and Gokkes all spent varying degrees of time in Paris, and conversely Milhaud also spent time in Amsterdam both as a conductor and a soloist with the Concertgebouw Orchestra. He certainly visited as early as 1923; periodical archives show him appearing as a soloist in a performance of his own *Ballade pour piano et orchestra* (1920) which received a muted review from the media, one critic blandly describing the work as 'unnecessarily modernistic for the time' (*De Kunst*, 8 Dec 1923: 113). Milhaud continued to periodically visit Amsterdam, and his work continued to attract negative reviews even as late as 1928. For example, a review of a concert which Milhaud conducted his own works with the Concertgebouw Orchestra pointed out that 'it

seems that people in Amsterdam do not want Milhaud's music', and reminded readers that 'he is also the only one who, years ago, was scorned by the Concertgebouw audience when he personally came to conduct one of his works — taunted worse than Arnold Schönberg when he first conducted the Concertgebouw Orchestra' (*De Kunst*, 14 July 1928: 464). So, evidence suggests that as well as being easily accessible for young Dutch composers, the music of Milhaud served as the ideal modernist inspiration, known for its ability to unsettle Dutch concertgoers and institutions.

It could also be argued that part of Milhaud's appeal to Dutch-Jewish composers was his own Jewish heritage. Milhaud was born into a Jewish family in Aix-en-Provence in southern France which allegedly was home to Jewish settlers in that region after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD (Gradenwitz, 2007: 234). His religious faith was important to him, and as well as some of his music which adhered to Jewish synagogal traditions several other works contain strong Jewish themes, such as *Service Sacré* (1947), *Poèmes juifs* (1916), and *Chants populaires hébraïques* (1925). After spending two years (1917 and 1918) in Rio de Janeiro he returned to Paris and joined a circle of forward-thinking composers, a core of which went on to become 'Les Six'. Milhaud was certainly resident in Paris after 1918 and it would certainly seem plausible that some of the initial group would have attended Rosy Wertheim's salons and met the likes of herself, Smit, and Gokkes.

Milhaud's synagogue music was likely of particular interest to Gokkes and he may very well have possessed some of Milhaud's manuscripts, but the one stylistic feature that is a common influence to all three Dutch-Jewish composers is that of polytonality. Milhaud's use of polytonality is significant in the development of French modern music, and musicologist Laura Adams states that it was Milhaud's view that it was 'the next link in France's musical tradition' (Amos, 2007: 2). For him it was important 'to align himself with a nationalistic music tradition' (Amos, 2007: 2), and to accomplish this he explored what he saw as the origins of polytonality in the works of earlier composers, such as J.S. Bach and Couperin who had been long admired by the French.

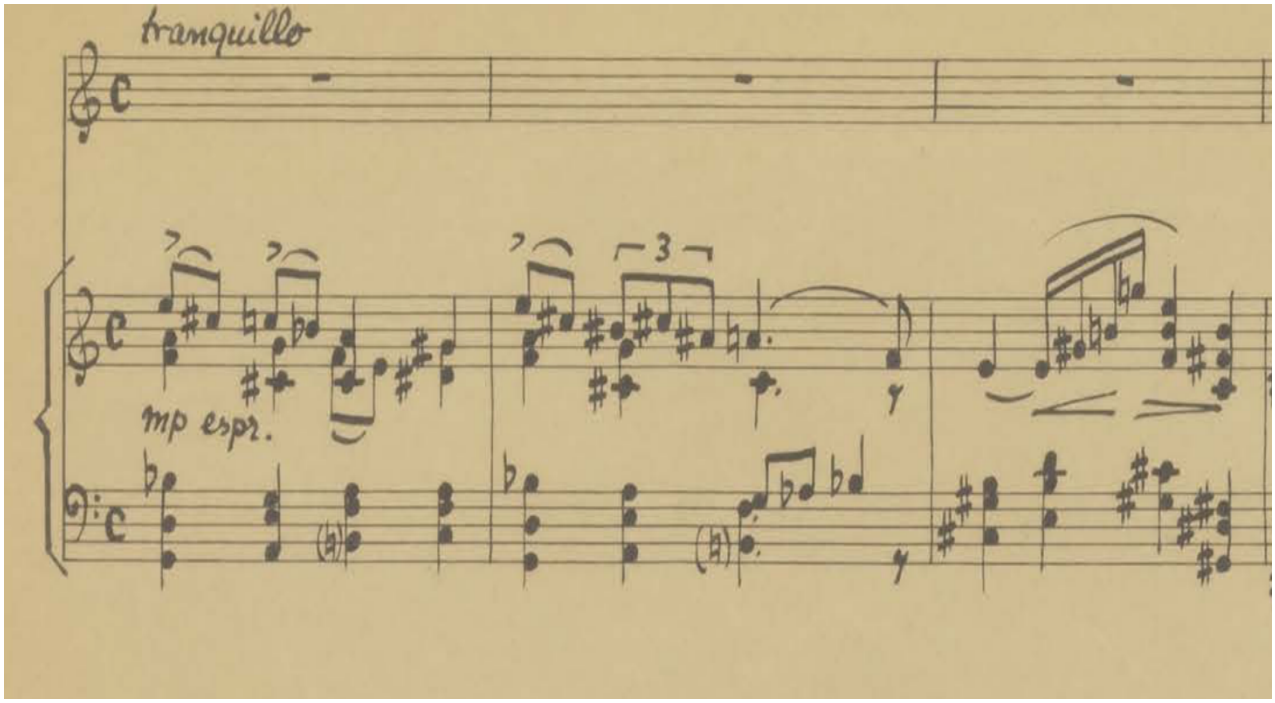
This raises the question as to why Dutch-Jewish composers aligned themselves with

this form of French musical nationalism. There could arguably be several reasons for this alignment, the first being purely musical with developments in Paris during the 1920s and 1930s. This included Ravel's fusion of jazz and classical styles, Stravinsky's revolutionary ballets, and the works of Milhaud, Poulenc and Honegger, all a far cry from Germanic conventions before these decades. Moreover, 'this French influence became even more of a political statement as the war approached, a cultural counteraction of sorts to the German-Nazi regime' (Geiger, 2021: 52-53). The Dutch were certainly aware of the early rise of the Nazi Party in Germany throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s which would have proved as an incentive for (some) composers in the Netherlands to reject Germanic musical influence in favour of France.

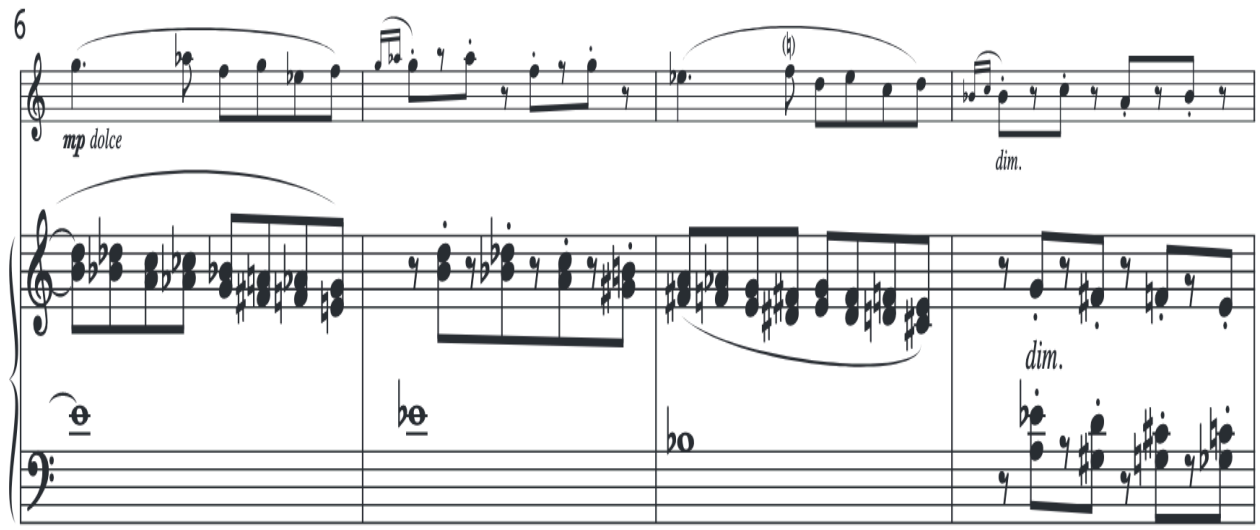
Dutch-Jewish composer and journalist Paul F. Sanders was active in presenting the dangers of what was happening in Germany as early as 1930 in writing regularly for the newspaper *Het Volk.* In one edition published in 1933 he openly criticised the Nazi treatment of German-Jewish conductor Bruno Walter (born Walter Schlesinger) when he was dismissed as conductor of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra in that same year (Sanders, 23 March 1933: 15). Walter was replaced in 1934 by German conductor Hermann Abendroth who had been appointed to head the department of education of the Nazi Reichsmusikkammer, and who then formally joined the Nazi Party in 1937. From Sanders' writings we can speculate that the Dutch-Jewish composers in particular were suspicious of Germany's political motives in the decades leading up to the Nazi occupation and were therefore more likely to show aversion towards Germanic musical influence, instead choosing France as the source of their inspiration in composers such as Milhaud and his extensive use of polytonality. Composer Ryan O'Connor provides a more appropriate description of this technique which he describes as 'a perceived tonal ambiguity' (O'Connell, 2015), and it is this definition that I shall use when highlighting such sections in the works of Wertheim, Smit, and Gokkes.

Ex. 6.13, below, is the opening passage of Wertheim's song *Miserere Domine, Miserere,* and we can see examples of tonal ambiguity between the implied harmonies within the two hands of the piano accompaniment. For example, a semitone clash between the B flat and A natural, and a major second between the E

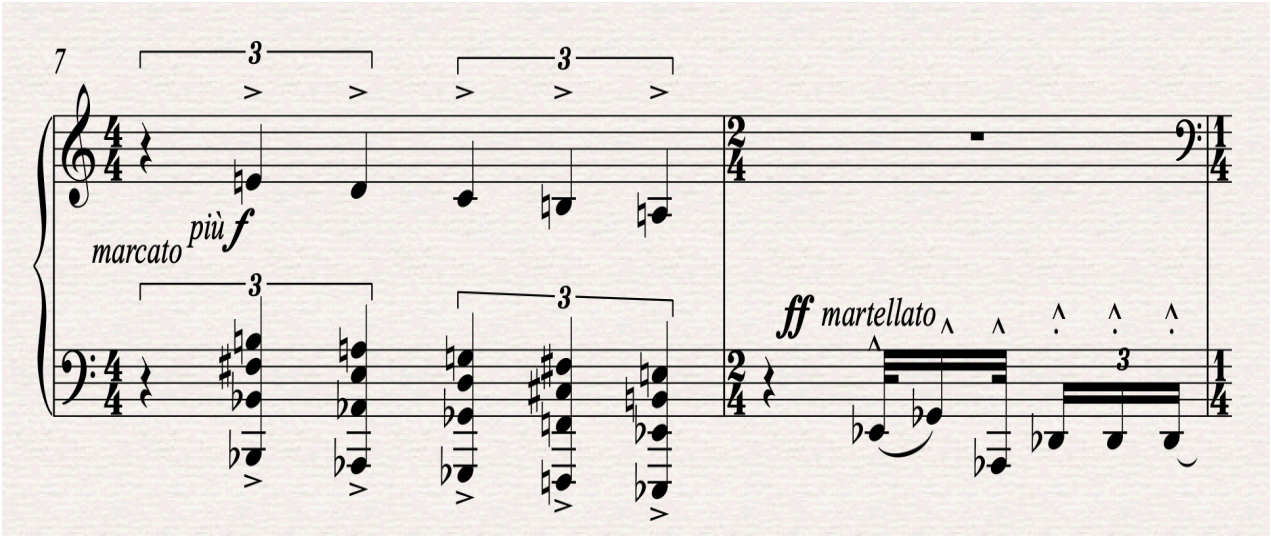
natural and F natural in the first chord. This chord is also ambiguous in that it implies G minor tonality in the left hand and A major in the right hand. Likewise, Smit's Sonate voor fluit en klavier (shown in Ex. 6.14) again demonstrates this with the bass line and flute melody in the first bar implying a chord of Eb major, and the right-hand part of the accompaniment creating ambiguity with chromaticism and several semitone clashes. The same parallel semitone clashes also apply in the left-hand part of bar 7 of Ex. 6.15 which is taken from Gokkes's Sonatine voor piano. All three excerpts point towards the influence of Milhaud and such examples can be found throughout many of their works from the late 1920s onwards.



Ex. 6.13. Opening bars of *Miserere Domine, Miserere* for alto and piano by Rosy Wertheim (1941). Netherlands Music Institute archive reference 142/120



Ex. 6.14. Bars 6-9 of Sonate voor fluit en klavier by Leo Smit (1943). Netherlands Music Institute archive reference 119/011



Ex.6.15. Bars 7-8 of Sonatine voor piano by Sim Gokkes (1939). My own transcription from original manuscript housed at the Netherlands Music Institute, archive reference 189/034

In the realms of Dutch music, this departure from the Germanic influence of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was innovative, more so in that Wertheim, Smit, and Gokkes, all used the French influence of Debussy and Milhaud as a platform to develop their own modernistic styles. This Jewish-led development in Dutch music was, however, cut short by the extremist antisemitic policy of the invading Nazis, resulting in the murder of Smit and Gokkes in Sobibor and Auschwitz respectively. Wertheim survived the war due to the fact that she went into hiding in the Netherlands, later to die in 1949. The potential success of this hypothetical 'Dutch-Jewish School' can be measured against the success of composer Willem Pijper and his students. Pijper himself was not Jewish, and thus not subject to persecution by the occupying Nazis; his musical influence in the Netherlands was left to become far-reaching, leaving a legacy in the form of his successful students who were taught by him at the Amsterdam Conservatoire until 1930, and then as principal of the Rotterdam Conservatoire. Some of these students, of whom Flothuis and Bosmans were Jewish, went on to become prominent composers in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s included Marius Flothuis (1914-2001), Kees van Baaren (1906-1970), Henk Badings (1907-1987), Henriëtte Bosmans (1895-1952), Rudolf Escher (1912-1980), Johan Franco (1908-1988), Hans Henkemans (1913-1995), Piet Ketting (1904-1984), Guillame Landré (1905-1968), Bertus van Lier (1906-1972), Karel Mengelberg (1902-1984), Let Stants (1903-1968), Wolfgang Wijdeveld (1910-1985), and Oscar van Hemel (1892-1981).

In a similar way to that in which Dresden nurtured individual creativity through teaching his composition students, particularly Wertheim, Smit, and Gokkes, it was Pijper's style of teaching which was responsible for producing the next generation of Dutch talent in the absence of Dresden's Jewish protégés who were murdered by the Nazis. Pijper's students were driven by his 'fiery idealism' along with a 'highly logical way of thinking and clarity of expression' (Wouters, 1965: 101) and were encouraged to approach their creativity with an emphasis on individuality within a framework of Pijper's principles of composition. Like Dresden, he felt it necessary to give his students a free rein when processing their own ideas. It is this very principle that possibly led to the extremely wide variety of music that contributed to the development of Dutch art music throughout the middle of the twentieth century. Although it is very important, then, to describe how Pijper shared several musical

influences with Jewish composers of the time and was able to influence the direction of Dutch music generally beyond World War II, we should not forget the focus of this research in that the actions of the Nazis during the Holocaust was the sole cause of what would become a lamented lack of Dutch-Jewish compositional legacy. The death of so many promising and innovative Jewish composers who had begun to emerge at the end of the nineteenth century effectively halted the development of a phenomenon that would have been worthy of the title of a 'Dutch-Jewish School' of music.

Resistance Against Nazi Persecution of Jewish Composers

The establishment of the Kultuurkamer in 1941 was effectively the beginning of the end for young Dutch-Jewish composers, many of whom were murdered by the Nazis during the occupation, and much of their life-long musical work destroyed or looted. Several Jews did survive by going into hiding and were able to employ a form of passive resistance by putting on clandestine performances of Dutch-Jewish compositions that were by then banned from public performance in the Netherlands. Wertheim involved herself in such activities and organised illegal concerts at her home which consisted of compositions by Dutch-Jewish composers whose music was now banned, and also hid other Jews in her own basement. This however was an extremely dangerous activity and the fugitives that she harboured were betrayed and captured, resulting in Wertheim having to go into hiding in 1942 in various villages outside Amsterdam (Pameijer, 2015: 277).

Another such Dutch-Jewish composer who was active in acts of resistance was Daniel Belinfante (1893-1945), who along with his wife Martha Belinfante-Dekker (1900-1989) ran a music school in the Watergraafsmeer area of Amsterdam prior to the occupation, forced into closure by the Nazi administration in 1941. As a Jew who had heard that Jewish persecution in the Netherlands was imminent, Belinfante went into hiding, but took on a role of resistance by providing money and documentation for fellow Jewish fugitives. While in hiding he diligently recorded daily messages on Radio Oranje, a programme that was broadcast by the BBC in London. This updated listeners on events in the war from an Allied perspective and urged that the Dutch

population resist the invading Nazis as well as sending coded messages for the Dutch resistance (Anne Frank House, 2018). Belinfante was caught broadcasting and also for not wearing the yellow Star of David, both offences that meant he was arrested and sent to Westerbork transit camp. From there he was deported to Fürstengrube, a sub-camp of Auschwitz, where he was initially allowed to play in the orchestra but was later forced into hard labour in the mines. Belinfante suffered from malnutrition and was hospitalised, later dying just before the liberation of the camp. (Worms, 2015: 30).

Acts of Solidarity Amongst Non-Jewish Composers

Opposition to the formation and policies of the Nederlandse Kultuurkamer started out with a letter of protest with over 2000 signatures addressed to Seyss-Inquart in 1942. Although not Jewish, prominent Dutch composer Hendrik Andriessen was one individual who signed the letter and refused to join the organisation because of his objection to its cultural and political ramifications for both Dutch culture in general, but more importantly, the exclusion of Jewish participation and persecution. This refusal to join the Kultuurkamer resulted in both he and his pianist brother Willem being arrested and taken hostage by the Nazis – an act supposedly meant to discourage any further acts of resistance against the occupying forces (van Gammeren, 2019: 13). On 4 May 1942 they were both interned in Kamp Haaren along with many prominent Dutch citizens and other political hostages from the world of Dutch arts and culture who had similarly refused to join. These detainees were known as the ‘Präventiv Geiseln’ or anti-resistance hostages taken in an attempt to stop acts of resistance; they were interned as they were considered to be people ‘who would guarantee acts of sabotage with their lives’ a technique used by the German military as early as 1939 that theoretically could be used to ‘nip any resistance actions by the population in the bud’ (Gedenkplaats Haaren, 2022).

By June 1942 an internal organisation was set up in the camp ‘to make the stay in the Haarensche camp as bearable as possible' (Gedenkplaats Haaren, 2022). Hostages like Andriessen were not technically classified as prisoners, and as a result they were afforded certain privileges such as freedom of movement within the camp,

sporting activities, a radio station, and even their own newspaper *Adam in Ballingschap* (Adam in Exile) which was banned in 1943 when the Germans discovered that copies were being smuggled out of the camp. Various lectures and lessons took place at the camp including a lesson on the ideas of Indian independence (British India formally declared war on Nazi Germany in 1939, a declaration taken without consulting Indian leaders. Consequently, there was pushback throughout India to expending lives supporting the colonial British Empire amidst movements for Indian independence), genetics, and psychology in business. Hendrik and Willem Andriessen gave lectures on harmony and theory in music with illustrations on the grand piano, and even gave piano recitals for the other hostages. They also composed a song while in captivity named 'Lied van Haaren' (Bak, 2018: 219). Although on the surface life seemed tolerable, life as a hostage was often as terrifying and deprived as actually being a prisoner. There was always, after all, the threat of execution, as happened on 15 August and 16 October 1942, when several hostages were killed by firing squad.

Andriessen was however released on 17 December 1942, and it could be argued that his continued disdain of the occupiers after his release intensified because of his experience in captivity. This was illustrated when he was later visited by a representative of the Kultuurkamer who informed him that his compositions would no longer be performed, to which Andriessen replied ‘I will be in good company, because the works of Mahler and Mendelssohn are also banned’ (van Gammeren, 2019: 13). When the fact that both those composers were Jewish was picked up on, Andriessen produced a score of Mendelssohn’s Violin Concerto and asked the representative to identify the notes that offended him (van Gammeren, 2019: 13). Although not a contemporary account, a profile in the newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* in 1992 describes the ban on Andriessen’s music which did not come into force until 1944, when he was also no longer allowed to perform in public as a musician. The only exception was that he was allowed to play the organ for services at his own church (*NRC Handelsblad*, 7 February 1992: 21).

Although Dutch composer Marius Flothuis was not Jewish, he did marry Lenie Sternheim who was half-Jewish in 1937. He was also deeply opposed to the German regime and its presence in the Netherlands, but as his father had joined the newly

formed fascist NSB or Nationaal Socialistische Beweging (National Socialist Movement) in 1931, Flothuis had become aware of developments in Germany as early as 1933 during Hitler's rise to power with the expansion of National Socialism. He was also aware of the effect that Nazi policy was having on the musical world outside of the Netherlands when in 1934 he discovered that music by German-Jewish composer Kurt Weill was now marginalised, as the Nazis considered his to be *entartete Musik*, that is, harmful and decadent because it was composed by a Jew (Pabbruwe, 2015: 76).

Flothuis's first open act of opposition during the Nazi occupation was his refusal to join the Kultuurkamer, an act which resulted in him being instantly dismissed from his post as assistant artistic director at the Concertgebouw Orchestra. From that seminal moment, Flothuis became active in a series of actions aimed at the Nazi occupiers, including distributing illegal magazines, hiding Jewish citizens at his own home, and organising house concerts, proceeds from which would be donated to the Dutch resistance fighters. Musicologist Emanuel Overbeeke quotes Flothuis's own thoughts on his actions from 1976 when he wrote that 'treason became our fate, as it did for so many: after all, the Germans were seldom smart enough to discover for themselves' (Overbeeke, 2004b: 135). From the tone of this we can assume that Flothuis was fully aware of his actions and the likely repercussions of being arrested for treason, which is what happened in September 1943 when he was detained after being betrayed and incarcerated in an Amsterdam prison. In November he was sent to Kamp Vught, and a year later sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp in Oranienburg near Berlin (Pabbruwe, 2015: 136).

Jan van Gilse (1881-1944) was another non-Jewish composer who displayed acts of solidarity with Dutch Jews, who held strong political views, and was very much instrumental in the formation of several organisations that would protect the financial and copyright interests of Dutch composers, and promote music written by promising young Dutch composers. Along with other established composers, including Alphons Diepenbrock and Peter van Anrooy, Van Gilse established the Genootschap Nederlandse Componisten or Society of Dutch Composers (GeNeCo) in 1911 with a view to protecting their professional interests, both directly and indirectly. Shortly after this he was involved in the setting up of BUMA or Vereniging Buma which was

a new Dutch copyright agency, and then in 1935 he initiated the Nederlandse Muziekbelangen or Foundation *for* Dutch Musical Interests *(*NMB). In 1936 he then formed the Manifestatie Nederlandse Toonkunst or Manifestation of Dutch Music (‘Maneto’). Both the latter organisations were established ‘to promote and generate interest in Dutch music both in the Netherlands and internationally’ (van Dijk, 2015: 91). We can see from these actions that Van Gilse was very active in the world of Dutch music and was keen to protect and promote composers in the Netherlands as part of the drive to put Dutch back music back on the map after its long hiatus.

When it was announced by Seyss-Inquart that artists of every nature were to register with the Kultuurkamer in order to continue working, it was met with much negativity, with many refusing to sign the Aryan declaration as part of the process. As a protest, an open letter which was signed by a representative of each arts discipline was sent to Seyss-Inquart, with Van Gilse being the music signatory. The letter stated that it was ‘not in keeping with the vocation of the undersigned as artists’ to subordinate art to ‘predetermined political principles, in which the life of art is governed by leaders invested with authoritarian power, and on which admission or non-admission does not solely depend on artistry’ (Lewin, 1988: 71) with the last part of the statement obviously being a tentative allusion to Jewish exclusion from the Kultuurkamer. Seyss-Inquart considered this as an act of treason and the immediate result was Van Gilse’s music being taken out of circulation and banned from public performance. Shortly after the signed letter was sent, between May 1942 and 1944, Van Gilse, along with his wife Ada went into hiding while several others were arrested, later to die in concentration camps. While on the run they were betrayed several times but managed to escape on each occasion saving the manuscripts of his last work, an opera *Thijl* from being destroyed by the Nazis (van Dijk, 2015: 92).

At the start of his enforced hiding in May 1942, Jan van Gilse – along with his son Maarten and Gerrit van der Veen – founded and were part of the editorial team of an illegal publication by the name *De Vrije Kunstenaar* (The Free Artist). This was a resistance magazine that represented Dutch artists and was initially distributed monthly as a mimeograph, but then in printed form from August 1943. In its first edition visual artist Willem Arondéus published a letter that was a justification of the non-cooperation with Seyss-Inquart and the formation of the Kultuurkamer.

Arondéus stated that ‘our profession had to go just as wrong under the Nazi terror as it did in Germany which itself has gradually failed’ and that ‘those who fill in the forms for the Kultuurkamer condemn themselves, not only in the present, but also in the future’. He ended the letter by stating that ‘they will be watched’ which we assume refers to the artists who joined (Lewin, 1988: 73) and can be interpreted as a threat of vengeance.

Although not directly linked with the musical focus of this thesis, the following final anecdote is worth mentioning here as it not only illustrates the level of resistance againt the Nazis that the Van Gilse family were involved in, but was also an incident that had a profound effect on Jan van Gilse – one from which he would never recover and would abruptly halt his valuable musical contribution in the Netherlands. In the summer of 1942 his sons Janric and Maarten, along with Arondéus and Gerrit van der Veen were involved in the distribution of identity cards that Van der Veen had forged. With several others, Arondéus and Van der Veen, and Van Gilse committed a spectacular attack on the Amsterdam population register on March 27, 1943. The aim was to steal blank identity cards, but above all to set fire to the card indexes to make it more difficult to track down Jews. As it turned out, the Jews had already been registered elsewhere, but the attack was an important incentive for other resistance groups. One of the participants could not resist bragging about the attack to an outsider beforehand. The SD arrested twenty-one people, including Jews and communists, who stood trial before an SS court on 18 June. Twelve of them, including Arondéus, were sentenced to death. Gerrit van der Veen and Maarten van Gilse were shot along with Van Gilse's other son Janric. A devastated Jan van Gilse died of cancer and was buried under a false name shortly before the liberation (Lewin, 1988: 74).

These acts of resistance and solidarity from both Jewish and non-Jewish musicians under the Nazi regime were doubtless acts of selfless bravery, but ultimately, could not prevent the inevitable cessation of what had become a remarkably significant development made by visionary group of Jewish composers in the history of Dutch music. The momentum that was slowly gained over approximately one hundred years post-emancipation was brutally destroyed within the space of five short years.

For many, the surrender of the Germans and the liberation of the Netherlands was a huge relief with the return of freedom and liberty to most. Jan Boersen, a six-year-old boy who lived in the Dutch village of Achterveld, witnessed both the German invasion and the liberation in 1945. His written memoir describes the role played by the liberating Canadian soldiers and the emotions felt at the time:

> Bedtime came early for our family. After weeks of uncomfortable sleeps in our basement bomb shelter, we would pass this night in the serenity of our own beds. Never had my own small space felt so welcoming as it did that night.
>
> Before we closed out eyes, each Dutch citizen surely said a prayer for our Canadian friends – those who had freed us from the detested yoke of Nazi tyranny. We prayed that their sleep would be as sweet as ours (Boersen, 2006: 6).

The same could not be said for the many Dutch Jews, and pertinently in the case of the present thesis, Dutch-Jewish composers, who were not afforded this freedom and fear-free lives but were instead condemned to having their lives ended in pain, misery, and degradation, with much of their musical legacy destroyed.

Chapter Seven – Conclusion – 1946 and Beyond: ‘We gaan Dachautje spelen’

Following the capture and trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1962, seventeen years after the end of World War II, a wave of antisemitic incidents swept across the Netherlands. One such incident, possibly caused by coverage of the Eichmann trial, occurred at what was the largest student association in the Netherlands in that year: The Amsterdamsch Studenten Corps or ASC. During an ASC initiation ceremony for aspiring new students seeking membership, their heads were shaved, their torsos were stripped naked, and they were forced together in a confined space. They were then yelled at: ‘We gaan Dachautje spelen’ (We’re going to play the Dachau game). When a Jewish student who had lost relatives in Dachau protested, he was called a ‘vuile rotjood’ (filthy Jew) (Gans, 2016: 127). The incident caused national outrage amongst the Jewish community, a sentiment that was echoed by prominent Dutch-Jewish lawyer and Zionist Dr. Abel Herzberg, who averred that antisemitism was not solely the problem of Jews, but rather of the whole of the nation in general, adding that ‘he found the expression "playing dachau" much more serious. I find it much, much more serious considering the level of civilization of these people. It is completely incomprehensible to me that this can happen, twenty years after what took place in Dachau’ (Herzberg, 19 October 1962: 1).

Yet this incident was arguably merely symbolic of what little was learnt from the persecution of Dutch Jews during the Holocaust. Historian Bob Moore provides more evidence to support this idea:

> Antisemitism at a mild, informal and cultural level had been apparent in Dutch society before the occupation and may even have been growing. German regulations in the early part of the occupation merely served to reinforce the picture of the Jews as being an “apart” group, after which they were progressively removed from Dutch society all together (Moore, 1997: 249).

It should be noted that Moore’s phrase ‘before the occupation’ would in my view extend far back into the eighteenth and nineteenth century which has been the main point of the longue durée approach in this thesis. The quote also In raises the

question of whether the Netherlands and its government actually learnt any lessons from the occupation, and whether anything was done to prevent the continuation of antisemitism after the end of the war, in musical life as elsewhere. Having experienced their own traumas during the occupation, it certainly seemed that there was a reluctance, or inability, for non-Jewish Dutch citizens to accept the fate of the Dutch Jews who suffered in the Nazi concentration camps, partly because non-Jews survived the occupation with their own collective experiences including 'the privations of the hunger-winter, the material losses sustained through German edicts (confiscations and forced labour), and the existence of a national resistance' (Moore, 1997: 249). Other contributing factors were arguably based on a lack of understanding, indifference, and lack of knowledge of what the Jews had endured during the Holocaust. Historian Dienke Hondius catagorises what she sees as typical negative reactions of Dutch citizens towards liberated Jews at this time:

> 1) bureaucracy, red tape, coldness; 2) antisemitic prejudice; 3) lack of understanding and disbelief; 4) warnings to 'the Jews' that they should know their place and be more modest and thankful to non-Jews; 5) open, conscious or aggressive antisemitism; 6) jealousy and envy; 7) pleas for institutional antisemitism and discrimination against Jews in the labour market; 8) materialism and self-interest in respect of the return of Jewish possession (Hondius, 2001: 136)

According to Hondius, it was this non-acceptance that 'allowed the cultural antisemitism of the 1930s to reappear and even to take more virulent forms', and so this re-emergence 'was not primarily a product of the occupation, but a continuation of something apparent in pre-war Dutch history' (Hondius, 1990: 131-132). In post-war Netherlands this manifested itself in the form of job discrimination where Jews were expected to be 'grateful to be allowed to live in the Netherlands, and should therefore know their place' (Moore, 1997: 250) and also in the form of cancelled insurance policies due to non-payment of premiums when the policy owners were in hiding or had been deported, with little sympathy for the Jews that had survived their experiences (Moore, 1997: 250). In sum, the assimilation of the Jews into Dutch society since emancipation, never entirely secure as we have seen, had now been undone, and they now had to re-assimilate as individuals into communities on which

they could depend.

The Dutch media in 1946 provides further insight into the post-war political climate and antisemitism in the Netherlands. The Jewish newspaper *Nieuw Israelietisch weekblad*, for example, suggests that, during the occupation the Dutch NSB collaborated with the Nazis and carried out their actions by assaulting Jews and robbing them of their possessions, not as anti-Dutch measures, but anti-Jewish measures. Due to the cooperation of many Dutch citizens during this period the occupiers rightly knew that the ingrained and institutionalised antisemitism would not simply stop with the end of the war (*Nieuwe Israelietisch weekblad*, 17 May 1946: 1). It could be argued that this Nazi prophecy proved to be accurate because many Dutch people benefitted from the 'Jewish measures' in that they became the direct beneficiaries of Jewish misfortune and disappearance which included the sale of their houses, the forced surrender of their insurance policies, and the sale of their securities.

As this conclusion argues, the same antisemitism existed in post-war Dutch musical life. For example, some of these issues would also become a problem in the world of music regarding Jewish playing members of the Concertgebouw Orchestra, and indeed other Dutch symphony orchestras as well. Many detainees were repatriated in poor health and were severely psychologically scarred by their experiences. Their possessions had either been lost or looted, meaning that they no longer owned musical instruments – which anyway were not insured due to missed payments during their internment. 'No-one, state or city, insurance company or orchestra – accepted financial responsibility for the losses that had been incurred as a result of the wartime situation' (Wennekes, 2017).

The left-wing newspaper *De Waarheid* pointed out that after the complete liberation of the Netherlands in 1945 there were only 21.764 Jews of the original 140,000 included in the 1930 census left in the country – an approximate figure published by the Centraal Registratiebureau voor Joden (Central Registration Office for Jews) which was an organisation established in Maastricht during the liberation of the south in 1944. Most of these emigrated between 1945 and 1953, mostly to North America, leaving a mere 4416 Jewish citizens left. This did not, however, prevent the Dutch

government from implementing what many saw as antisemitic deportation measures (Brasz, 2007: 351). Many of the Jews targeted were of German extraction and had originally fled to the Netherlands before the occupation to avoid persecution in their own country. In 1946 *De Waarheid* reported that ‘last year our government decreed with one stroke of the pen that all Germans were "enemies", completely overlooking the fact that with the few exceptions who sold their souls to the SD, it was precisely the foreign Jews [...] who were to be counted among the most vehement opponents of the [Nazi] regime, and were regarded and treated in the same way by the German authorities’ (*De Waarheid*, 19 December 1946: 3). So, why was there no mercy shown in this case?

These foreign Jews had now been pursued not only once, but in fact twice, and twice they had to surrender their possessions. Through their policy of 'restitution of rights' the Dutch government had again caused wrong to the Jews while seemingly showing a degree of mercy to many wartime collaborators. The restoration of rights thus became a mockery, and 'mercy' in the form of 'justice' should surely have been a priority in taking care of the Jews who had already endured so much.

Of course, the continued instances of antisemitism and the general after-effects of the occupation also had a profound impact on musical life in the Netherlands. After May 1945 orchestras were still not allowed to perform in public, not because of any form of Nazi restrictions, but because as Dutch musicologist Pauline Micheels wrote: ‘the Dutch musical scene had to be “purged” first’ (Micheels, 1993: 494). What Micheels means by this was not the purging of Jewish musicians, but that of those who were deemed to have behaved in a way that was considered supportive towards the Nazi regime. This was tasked by the Ereraad voor de Muziek (Honorary Tribunal for Music) which was set up by the Dutch government in 1944 and permitted judgments on individuals without a hearing, Wilhelm Mengelberg being one example. It is worth noting that at a later date, these actions were retrospectively considered to be non-legal, resulting in several decisions being overturned. One such high profile case of this was again Mengelberg, who was briefly discussed in his absence and the following action consequently taken: ‘Willem Mengelberg is guilty of actions that are unacceptable in his position (toast to the German victory over Holland) and should, therefore, be forbidden to ever again raise the conductor’s baton in The

Netherlands. Wherever Mr Mengelberg now is in Switzerland, this sentence will be handed down in absentia' (Zwart, 2020: 1017). Although not the reason for Mengelberg's fate, a complaint about him had been submitted to the board from Paul Sanders and Bertus van Lier (1906-1972), both of whom were Dutch composers and political activists of Jewish extraction. In 1943 Van Lier, along with Sanders, worked on the illegal publication *De Vrije Katheder* which was very much focused on cultural and political resistance. Musicologist Leo Samama described their involvement in this act of resistance:

> The opposition against the institution of the Kultuurkamer in 1941, had generated several committees; artists and intellectuals rallied together in rebellion, thus laying the foundation for post-war artists' organizations, and anticipating on future structures of the art world. The best-known committees were those from The Hague and Amsterdam; they illegally founded the Federation of Professional Artists in September 1944 (Samama, 2006: 193)

However, it is unknown what the complaint about Mengelberg contained as it was not mentioned during the trial and verdict (Zwart, 2020: 1018), but it would be fair to speculate that it may have mentioned Mengelberg's occasional antisemitic outbursts. The mainstream Dutch media reported widely on the matter of the verdict, and a report in *Het Parool* in 1945 for example stated that 'With regard to Prof. dr. Dr. Willem Mengelberg, the Honorary Tribunal for Music is of the opinion that he has been so guilty of acts contrary to national honour that are inadmissible for a man in his position. Eduard van Beinum will be able to resume his activities as conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra after the festive week' (*Het Parool*, 5 July 1945: 1.

Willem Mengelberg was not the only high-profile member of the Dutch music profession to be sentenced by the Eereraad voor Muziek (Honour Council for Music), and the list included his brother, composer and artistic advisor for the Concertgebouw Orchestra Rudolf Mengelberg (1892-1959), composer Henk Badings (1907-1987), music critic Jan Goverts (1894-1967), pianist Cor de Groot (1914-1993), composer and conductor Jan Koetsier (1911-2006), violinist Hendrik Rijnbergen (1886-1964), jazz pianist Frans Vink (1918-1967), and conductor Toon Verhey (1894-1958) (Samama, 2006: 196). Many of the sentences and sanctions

imposed on these musicians were quite quickly reduced and, given that they were considered to have collaborated with the Nazi regime and were therefore in tacit agreement with anti-Jewish policies, it raises the question as to whether post-war Dutch authorities were serious about renouncing the actions of prominent and influental individuals during the occupation. Author Julia Zarankin describes unacknowledged collaboration as a ‘conspiracy of silence’ and a ‘myth of collective suffering’ (Zarankin, 2011: 106) with Dutch citizens, along with the Jews, collectively considering themselves also to be victims of the events surrounding the Holocaust, thus dispelling any idea that there may have been any Nazi collaboration or anti-Jewish behaviour. This could account for the cold reception that repatriated Jews received after liberation but does not really account for the general persecution of Jews before this period. Dutch criminologist Frank Bovenkerk can offer some explanation for this, and he breaks down the methods of Dutch collaboration into three areas: bystander apathy, betrayal of people in hiding, and bureaucratic cooperation.

In simplistic terms, ‘bystander apathy’ means that the Dutch possibly felt powerless to intervene against what was seen as a far superior Nazi strength, and also what criminologist Leon Scheleff calls ‘diffuse responsibility’, where people were of this opinion: ’There are so many others around who also see it happening so why should I be the one to intervene? And it’s not my business anyway’. The betrayal of fellow humans being who were in hiding may have been part of a common criminality which resulted from the breakdown of what was considered to have been normal society during the Nazi occupation. This is an argument that many Nazis used to defend their own actions in the concentration camps but could certainly have manifested itself amongst Dutch citizens. We easily assume that this sort of treachery and betrayal of the Jews was purely political and widespread across the whole of Dutch society, but one theory suggests that the German authorities were aided by ‘non-political ruffians with their own criminal reasons for doing so’ (Bovenkerk, 2000: 249). These reasons may have included getting rid of business competition, settlement of disagreements, or pure revenge. Bureaucratic cooperation obviously played a significant role with the Reichskommissariat Niederlande, a civil government imposed on the Netherlands by the Germans which was headed by Nazi Arthur Seyss-Inquart. The Dutch government had effectively gone into exile, and the new

authorities engaged in bureaucratic collaboration with the Nazi occupiers (Darcy, 2019: 44-45). Was this collaboration antisemitic in any way? Evidence suggests that it was:

> In the Netherlands, nonideological collaboration was practiced by the so-called secretaries of state who, in the absence of the royal government, ran the everyday affairs and by the national administration at large, which fulfilled the German's political and economic demands. Among other things, governmental offices collected and kept accurate statistics on the country's Jews (Deak and Naimark, 2013: 49).

This information was likely used in the process of deporting Jews, which ironically was carried out on behalf of the Nazis by another Dutch bureaucratic organisation known as the Jewish Council as mentioned in previous chapters. This organisation was comprised of Jewish members, many of whom possibly wanted to protect themselves, but ultimately 'served to give an air of legitimacy to these actions' (Darcy, 2019: 45).

Bureaucratic cooperation was also evident in the world of Dutch music and, as already noted, perpetrators were eventually held to account by the Dutch government. Composer Henk Badings was cited on several counts, the first being his appointment as the director of the Royal Conservatoire of the Hague between 1941 and 1945. This proved to be controversial, as he was given the post by the Nazi regime as a replacement for Sem Dresden who was dismissed because he was Jewish. This acceptance was seen as proof of his Nazi sympathies, as was his acceptance of a commission in 1942 to compose an opera based on the life of the Dutch artist Rembrandt which was instigated by the Nazi sponsored Duitsch-Nederlandsche Kultuurgemeenschap (German-Dutch Cultural Community) and sponsored by the Departement van Volksvoorlichting en Kultuurbescherming (Department of Public Information and Cultural Protection). Superficially, this may appear irrelevant, but it should be noted that 'National Socialist circles zealously promoted the glorification of Rembrandt' (Schöffer, 1978: 200) as they 'saw images to fuel their myth of "blood and soil," supporting the idea that those of German blood had a deep bond with their land and a superior, racially pure character' (Langbehn,

1890: 299). Interestingly, Danish-German composer Paul von Klenau similarly wrote an opera based on Rembrandt, *Rembrandt van Rijn*, in 1933. The Nazis incorporated Rembrandt ideologically in an attempt to win the hearts and minds of the Dutch people during the occupation. Part of this process involved what was perceived as a Nazi cultural 'Rembrandt' award 'for artistic contribution to National Socialist culture' and resulted in the writing of a film, and the opera *De nachtwacht*,composed by Badings in 1943 and inspired by Rembrandt's painting of the same name.

The writing of the opera caused great controversy and resulted in Badings eventually being summoned to appear before the Central Honour Council in 1946; in their opinion 'the incriminating conduct of the appellant is not the result of a traitorous disposition on the part of the appellant, but stems from a political indifference and lack of understanding for the struggle to the death in which our people were engaged during the occupation' (Don, 2020). This resulted in Badings receiving a short ban from carrying out his musical activities until November 1947, and it is the brevity of this sanction, along with those given to others, that calls into question the Dutch commitment to the condemnation of actions during the occupation that may have been considered antisemitic or sympathetic to the Nazi cause. At this point it would be useful to briefly contextualise this experience with those of musicians in neighbouring countries, with similar purges and consequent sanctions in France for example having been equally inconsistent and often extremely lenient. Pianist Alfred Cortot was an enthusiastic Nazi collaborator, or *collabo,* and had performed extensively in Nazi Germany and also had a close friendship with Albert Speer, the German architect and Minister of Armaments and War Production in Nazi Germany for most of World War II. Cortot appeared before a purge committee Épuration légale in 1946, and he was duly banned from public performances in France for one year. As was often the case in the Netherlands this ban was to be short lived as 'every French musician who performed other than sporadically during the Occupation had been obliged to collaborate with Vichy to at least some degree, and few were prepared to single out as uniquely guilty so great an artist' (Teachout, May 2020). Cortot resumed his career, and his wartime conduct was either ignored or considered to be of minor consequence.

Badings' *De nachtwacht* finally received its premiere in Antwerp in 1950 and was meant to have been performed as part of the 1955 Holland Festival, a musical inclusion which caused great debate in the Dutch House of Representatives. The Communist Member of Parliament Henk Gortzak questioned Minister of the Kathoileke Volkspartij (Catholic People's Party) Jo Cals about his enthusiasm for the inclusion of Badings' opera. Cals disagreed with Gortzak's line of questioning as to whether it was offensive to the national feeling of the Dutch people that composer Henk Badings, who adopted an unpatriotic attitude during the occupation, was commissioned to make an opera dedicated to Rembrandt. Cals claimed that the work would be an entirely new opera and remarked that Badings had already started an opera about Rembrandt of his own accord before the Nazi commission. Furthermore, according to the minister, Badings succeeded in delaying the performance of the opera, which he supplied to the fascist client, so that his creation could not be performed during the occupation. Nonetheless, despite such 'wash[ing] clean' of the figure of Badings (*De Waarheid*, 4 August 1955: 1) the opera ultimately proved to be too controversial and was not performed at the Holland Festival but was replaced by Badings' earlier composition *Sinfonischer Prolog* (*Symphonic Prologue*, 1942), a less controversial choice in that it was 'absolute' music.

Although the omission of Badings' opera can be seen as part of the Dutch purge on individuals seen to have collaborated with the Nazis, the consequent inclusion of *Sinfonischer Prolog* served to contradict matters, and again calls into question the level of commitment to completely condemn Nazi rhetoric and sympathies during the occupation. The inclusion of *Sinfonischer Prolog* in the festival could be interpreted as tacitly enabling the rising post-war antisemitism in the Netherlands by not acknowledging the origins and political backdrop of the work. It was actually commissioned for the 100-year anniversary of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and was performed in the 100 Year Anniversary Concert in the Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna on 14 April 1942. The concert was conducted by Austrian Karl Böhm and also included works by Alfredo Casella (1883-1947), Joseph Marx (1882-1964), and Beethoven (Wiener Philharmoniker, 2021). Austria had already been annexed into the German Reich in 1938, and as well as the widespread Nazification brought about by the *Anschluss*, there was also a rapid cultural *Gleichschaltung* ('equalization') which meant that the arts in Austria endured the same fate. This

resulted in many members of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra becoming more politically driven and joining the Nazi Party, while at the same time the orchestra was required to insist that it would be a prerequisite for members to be of Aryan decent. This was problematic as twenty of the orchestra's members were in fact Jewish or Jewish-related, and the forced dismissal of that number of established players would have serious practical ramifications (Trümpi and Kronenberg, 2016: 181-183). Ultimately, the intervention of German conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler meant that only Jews were to be dismissed. Of the remaining eleven Jewish musicians forced to leave, six were murdered in various concentration camps, while others were eventually able to escape the Holocaust in time and find work with the New York Metropolitan Opera.

Although it is unsure whether they were acquainted with each other, the presence of Karl Böhm at this event somewhat compounded the problem for Badings, as evidence suggests that Böhm was sympathetic to the Nazi cause. Historian of Nazism Michael Kater suggests that Böhm's support of Nazism began before 1933 and continued until the end of World War II, and while he was head of the Semper Opera in Dresden between 1934 and 1942 he 'poured forth rhetoric glorifying the Nazi regime and their cultural aims' (Kater, 1997: 65). Kater also states that Böhm had informed the Nazis that his popularity in Vienna meant that he could be 'of propagandist service to the Nazis interests by giving concerts where he had many followers [...] especially in the National Socialist camp' (Kater, 1997: 25). Böhm's political allegiance also presented him with the opportunity to conduct Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* for the Nazi Party's annual Nuremberg Rally on several occasions (Kater, 1997: 25). In 1945, Böhm was banned from all musical activity for two years as part of the denazification programme implemented by the Allied Forces. The sanction can be considered to have been very lenient, and this would become the pattern throughout the process of 'purification' of Nazi collaborators after the war and would include the tribunals of German and Austrian musicians such as conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, and composer and pianist Walter Gieseking. The case of Furtwängler was of a complex nature, because although he never fully bowed to Nazi authority and was not supportive of the Nazi policy of discrimination against Jews – he had signed a contract for the directorship of the National Berlin under the false understanding that Jewish performers be retained – he had still been

vice-president of the Reichsmusikkammer from 1933-35. He had also been conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and became increasingly valuable to the Nazi regime as a cultural ambassador who was able to promote their ideals of German music throughout World War II. During his denazification trial he was initially subject to a performance ban, but he was ultimately able to argue that ‘his allegiance lay with his art, not with the people involved in that artmaking’ (Kater, 1997: 60) . By claiming that he remained in Nazi Germany not as a Nazi, but as a German, Furtwängler managed to convince denazification experts of his 'conviction that art has nothing to do with politics, with political power, with the hatred of others or with that which arises from a hatred of others’ (Music and the Holocaust, 2005). Consequently, his ban was lifted and still remains a point of controversy today.

Gieseking remained in Nazi Germany for the duration of World War II and openly confessed to his support of the Nazi cause and once said, ‘I am a committed Nazi. Hitler is saving our country’ (Kater, 1997: 70). He had also expressed a desire to play for the Führer, and had performed for NS-Kulturgemeinde (National Socialist Cultural Community) whose aim was to make a significant imprint on cultural life in Germany based on the aims and objectives of the inner circles of the Nazi Party. Gieseking also countenanced Rosenberg’s Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (KFdK or Fighting League for German Culture) whose main objective was the promotion of German culture while fighting the cultural threat of liberalism and were best known for disrupting concerts and music classes, insulting and threatening artists, and distributing inflammatory and anti-Semitic pamphlets (Kater, 1997: 70). Gieseking was consequently blacklisted during the initial postwar period, but in yet another case of leniency, by January 1947 he had been cleared by the U.S. military government overseeing the denazification process.

Lenient Sanctions and Token Gestures

This pattern of lenient sanction was certainly the case with influential music critic Jan Goverts, who as well as having been a member of the NSB or Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging in Nederland (National Socialist Movement in the Netherlands), also went on to become Head of Music of the DVK or Department van

Volkslichting en Kunsten (Department of Public Information and Arts) in February 1941. This was a role that gave him a significant input into Dutch musical life. Goverts had long been an admirer of the musical policies and organisation of the National Socialists in Nazi Germany even before the occupation of the Netherlands in 1940, and via negotiations with the antisemitic NSB and House of Representative member Meinoud Rost van Tonningen, was able to gain permission from the Nazis to form a music guild of which he would be head. There were perceived benefits in Goverts's vision for the direction of musical life in the Netherlands, particularly for Dutch orchestral musicians: performance-related pay, pension schemes, higher salaries, professional protection, the expansion of folk music schools, and the works of Dutch composers to be performed more frequently (Bestiaens, 2014: 5). Goverts's policies can possibly be seen as an incentive for musicians to join the Kultuurkamer, as was his intention to reduce unemployment for orchestral musicians. However, this came at a cost with Goverts being responsible for the 'Aryanisation' of Dutch musical life and the removal of Jewish musicians from orchestras which of course created more orchestral vacancies for non-Jews – who thus 'acquiesced in the forced departure of his Jewish colleagues and allowed himself to adapt to the "repertoire adjustments" demanded by the Germans' (Micheels, 1993: 419). In 1941 more than fifty new players had to be found to replace the Jewish musicians displaced by Goverts, so in that respect, his drive to reduce unemployment was a success in the eyes of the non-Jewish replacements, many of whom were of the opinion that 'one man's death was another man's bread' (Micheels, 1993: 419).

Again, the sanction imposed on Goverts for his NSB membership, being head of the DVK, and his implementation of the 'Aryanisation' process of Dutch musical life bears the hallmarks of a retrospective token gesture by the Dutch authorities. Goverts was not generally penalised for his Nazi sympathies and antisemitism, but purely as a music artist which resulted in him merely being excluded from the profession. His hearing finally took place on 11 May 1948, and he was banned from musical activities for a period of approximately eighteen months, until 1 November 1949 (Micheels, 1993: 415). The punishment of Dutch pianist Cor de Groot was even less severe when we consider his actions during the occupation. He was a member of the Kultuurkamer and during that period he regularly performed international concerts in Germany, house concerts for Seyss-Inquart, and even gave a concert in

Germany for the Nazis on the occasion of *Volkstrauertag* or 'Hero's Memorial Day' (Adams, 2016: 16). His musical affiliation with the Nazis even extended to his recording work where he recorded for the Nazi-owned Odeon record label. Odeon originally focused on Jewish music including Yiddish songs and liturgical music, but in 1936 the company was given a Nazi party member as its director (Institut Européen des Musiques Juives, 2021). For this level of Nazi collaboration de Groot was punished in 1945 by the Honorary Council for Music and was banned from public performing for ten years. However, in 1946 the Centrale Eereraad voor de Kunst (Central Honorary Council for the Arts) which was the parent organisation of the Eeraraad voor Muziek, on appeal, annulled and determined the original and found no grounds for taking measures against his initial judgments and actions, resulting in a complete removal of any sanctions (*Het Vrije Volk*, 14 October 1946: 4). Again, this can be interpreted as being a weak stance against Nazi collaboration being taken by Dutch authorities, during a period where there were ideal opportunities to condemn such actions on an international stage in the strongest possible terms.

This form of denial by Dutch authorities was again highlighted in a published defence of the wartime actions of Dr Rudolf Mengelberg,director of the Concertgebouw Orchestra between 1935 and1954. In 1945 he was judged by the Ereraad voor de Muziek to have been too passive regarding Nazi artistic policies and was consequently relieved of his duties at the Concertgebouw. However, on 28 January 1947 the Centrale Ereraad voor de Kunst again overturned the original judgment, and he was immediately reinstated to his post. Dutch composer and music critic Bertus van Lier (1906-1972) was critical of both the actions of musicians who continued to perform throughout the occupation, and of the relaxed Dutch attitude towards punishing those who had supported an antisemitic regime. Van Lier always maintained his stance against Nazi collaboration and in an article written in the *De Vrije Kunstenaar* (*The Free Artist*)[33] on 15 September 1944 he publicly wrote a fierce indictment of Rudolf Mengelberg where he accused him of inducing the conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra Eduard van Beinum not to formally say farewell to the dismissed Jewish members (either at the end of the last concert in which those

[33] *De Vrije Kunstenaar* was an illegal resistance periodical printed between 1942 and 1945.

involved participated, or in an intimate circle in the tuning room), ‘on the pretext that he – R. Mengelberg — would otherwise get into trouble with the German authorities’ (Van Lier, 15 September 1944: 6). Van Lier also accused Rudolf Mengelberg of helping to ensure that musicians from the Concertgebouw Orchestra played mournful music during the funeral of Generalkommissar Schmidt, ‘one of the most hated Nazi villains in the German government in our country’ (Van Lier, 15 September 1944: 6).

Van Lier was also a member of the Ereraad voor de Muziek and must have had some level of influence in the decision to implement sanctions against Mengelberg. This was later unconvincingly challenged in a pamphlet written by J.T. Asser entitled *Is dat zuivering? Beschouwingen in verband met de zaak Dr Rudolf Mengelberg* (‘Is that purification? Reflections on the case of Dr. Rudolf Mengelberg’). In it, Asser attempts to justify Mengelberg’s actions with what was precisely Mangelberg’s own defence; for example, he claims that Mengelberg encouraged van Beinum not to bid the departing Jews farewell as it might have antagonised the Nazis and put them in danger, and that he was not party to Concertgebouw musicians performing at Schmidt’s funeral and that ‘they had agreed to play for their own gain – f 25’ (25 Dutch Guilders which is worth approximately £11 in modern British currency) (Asser et al., 1945: 12-13). Archived letters of response from representatives of the orchestra appear to serve the purpose of attempting to distance the orchestra from Asser’s assertions and seem very defensive in their nature, at the same time offering ambiguous reasons for the above-mentioned actions of Rudolf Mengelberg and several orchestral members. Piet Heuwekemeijer who was the chairperson of the Concertgebouw Orchestra from 1945-1946, and a second violinist from 1935-1959, wrote to Asser on 26 October 1945, stating that ‘we expressly declare that it was not immediately said that this [performance] concerned honouring the Nazi Schmidt’ and that ‘this explanation was given only to those who took the trouble to inquire precisely about the details’ (Heuwekemeijer, 1945).

This defence of his orchestral colleagues is problematic in that there is slight contradiction in the very same letter where Heuwekemeijer stated that a number of members of the orchestra were invited by telephone by an employee of the Concertgebouw to cooperate in a performance of Beethoven’s *Eroica* in The Hague,

implying that the board of the Concertgebouw were fully aware of the nature of the performance (Heuwekemeijer, 1945). It is difficult to believe that the management did not disseminate the information amongst the players, and that the players who had made the necessary enquiries did not pass this information on to their colleagues. Several letters were sent to Asser by orchestral members pleading ignorance to the fact that the performance was related to Schmidt's memorial service, including one by W.P Schrier on 13 October 1945 who declared that he had been invited to participate by the Concertgebouw but was unaware of the reasons for the performance of the *Eroica* (Schrier, 1945). Yet again, letters of this nature can be construed as being defensive in nature as to prevent themselves coming under scrutiny during the post-war purges. There is also the implication that Rudolf Mengelberg was unaware of the reason for the performance booking and perhaps rejected it because he did not want to overload the orchestra during that period, while at the same time welcoming individual requests to participate. Again, given these contradictions in the letters it seems unlikely that Rudolf Mengelberg and various members of the orchestra were oblivious to the Nazi connection, given that certain members of the same committee of which Rudolf Mengelberg was a member was fully apprised of the situation.

While investigations were being conducted by the honour councils, we should not forget that a number of Jewish musicians had survived the horrors of the Holocaust and were gradually returning to their former homes with the hope that they could be re-employed by the Dutch orchestras in the same positions they held before they went into hiding or were deported to the Nazi concentration camps. However, according to historian F.C. Brasz, 'immediately after the war there was unquestionably more antisemitism in the Netherlands than had existed before. German propaganda had not fallen on deaf ears and a good many people became convinced that the Jews had wielded too much influence before the war' (Brasz, 2007: 342).

Post-war levels of antisemitism in the Netherlands were not as extreme as witnessed in France and Poland, but this was probably due to the Netherlands not having to 'reabsorb a greater number of Jewish survivors into their economy' (Brasz, 2007: 342) as compared to the other nations. It was not only the Dutch public that

harboured anti-Jewish sentiment, but also the Dutch authorities, who still retained various German measures until at least 1951, including non-Aryan citizens still having a ‘J’ stamped on their identity cards. German Jews who had escaped to the Netherlands to avoid persecution in Germany before the war and bore arms for the Allies were still held in concentration camps on Dutch territory after liberation. A newspaper article in *De Waarheid* on 23 June 1945 reported that ‘there are still Jews in concentration camps on Dutch territory. There are no more gas chambers, and they have food, but nevertheless they are behind the barbed wire with very limited freedom of movement’ (*De Waarheid*, 23 June 1945: 2).

How did this climate of continued antisemitism affect the repatriation of Dutch-Jewish musicians? In some respects, Jewish musicians who had been employed by, and later dismissed by the Concertgebouw management, were fortunate in that some of them were re-employed by the orchestra after the liberation, albeit often in demoted positions. Other players who had returned to their former orchestras in other cities such as Rotterdam and Den Haag were not so favoured. The main issue awaiting repatriated Jews to the Concertgebouw was that of compensation for lack of earnings and missed pension contributions after their dismissals and time spent in Nazi concentration camps. Letters exchanged between the Concertgebouw board members and representatives of the Jewish contingent demonstrate that a satisfactory compensation package was not at first fully agreed (Masthoff, 1951). Many of these musicians had returned to the Netherlands or come out of hiding having lost their livelihoods, property and valuables to the Nazi occupiers, and even to other Dutch citizens who were unsympathetic to the Jewish cause, their only possessions being what they carried in their suitcases. They could not seek help from the Jewish communities as would have been possible before the occupation, because those communities no longer existed due to the Holocaust (Brasz, 2007: 338).

A letter dated 29 April 1947 from Mr. K. J. Edersheim and Mr. I. L. Hamburg, the legal representatives of the Jewish musicians who had been re-employed by the Concertgebouw Orchestra, informed the Board of the Concertgebouw that Mrs. Rosa Spier and L. Fürth and Mr. Siegfr. de Boer, Samuel Bril, Emanuel Haagman, Joel Hekster, Joseph Koen, Benjamin Meyer, Louis Pens, Louis Salomons, Joseph

Sloghem, Salomon Snijder and Salomon Tromp had asked for assistance in their efforts to obtain legal redress in connection with the fact that the Jewish members of the Concertgebouw orchestra were forced to leave the orchestra during the occupation, as a result of which they lost their salary for several years and their pension scheme was affected. It was pointed out that, even though the board of directors had immediately reinstated all Jewish members after the liberation, necessary provisions were still pending, although it had been stated by board members, both during the occupation and after the liberation, that ‘it was considered a matter of course of justice and fairness that full reparation should be given to the victims’ (Edersheim and Hamburg, 1947) and that they had also expressed a willingness to urge the appropriate government agencies to recognise the legitimacy of this request and bear the associated costs.

The letter goes on to reveal that the victims had by this point been awaiting the result of their employers for almost two years without even the slightest prospect of satisfactory financial settlement. It was all the more frustrating for those involved, since the Law on the Restoration of the Law of Government Personnel 1946 of 28 December 1946 granted all persons who were dismissed from the government service as a result of measures taken by the occupier full right to lost salary. On this point, the legal representatives argued that even though the members of the Concertgebouw Orchestra could not be regarded as persons in government service, the orchestra served a general Dutch cultural interest and was apparently subsidised in the public interest by the State, Province or Municipality. It would therefore be reasonable to expect that the State would also have taken care of the restoration of rights for the eligible members of the orchestra itself. The letter ends by stating ‘we [would] be pleased if, now two years after the liberation, your Board will give the formal assurance to the victims that they can in any case count on the loss of salaries being paid to them in full and the pensions due to them being paid in full’ (Edersheim and Hamburg, 1947).

This apparent reluctance of the Board of the Concertgebouw to pursue these matters was equally matched by governmental bureaucrats who did not seem overly concerned regarding financial promises made to repatriated Jews. In a reply to the above-mentioned letter from the Board of the Concertgebouw it was explained that

government officials had informed them that ‘there was in fact no chance of equalisation in this respect [financially] for personnel working in government-subsidised institutions […] and that [the Secretary-General of O.K. & W.] had no illusions that this would be the case in the future’. The Concertgebouw’s reply can be interpreted as being somewhat hypocritical by pointing the finger of blame in the direction of the government and their ‘unfair element that lies in the discrimination against persons of Jewish blood’ (Cornelis, 1947).

This blame-shifting was particularly evident in the case of Rosa Spier, a former harpist with the Concertgebouw Orchestra. Spier had originally been dismissed from the Concertgebouw Orchestra in 1941 whereupon she was able to join the newly formed Jewish Symphony Orchestra,put in place by Jan Goverts. This was short-lived and she was interned at Westerbork Camp, eventually being deported to Theresienstadt Concentration Camp on 4 September 1944. Spier survived the Holocaust and on her return to the Netherlands in 1945 she was offered re-employment by the Concertgebouw, an offer she refused in favour of the newly formed Radio Filharmonisch Orkest (Radio Philharmonic Orchestra) based in Hilversum (Holman, 2017: 18-45). Having lost all her possessions Spier was keen to recoup wages and pension entitlement from her period of dismissal, but a letter from the Gemeentelijk Pensioenbureau (Municipal Pension Office) dated 29 January 1947 states that Spier’s pension had been calculated and determined based on the amount of time during which Mrs. Spier was absent for reasons connected ‘with the German occupation’. This statement was based on a specific request to the Concertgebouw Orchestra for information pertaining to the period of the dismissal during the occupation; a request which they could have safely challenged or suggested a compromise two years after the liberation (Pensioenbureau, 1947).

Regarding the Jewish musicians as a collective, a mutually acceptable agreement was not reached until 1949, evidence of which exists in a letter sent from the Board of Directors of the Concertgebouw Orchestra to legal representatives in Groningen. The letter, dated 13 April 1949, provided information regarding the agreement concluded by the company with the Jewish members of the orchestra. It stated that the company agreed with the Jewish orchestra members who re-entered the service of the Concertgebouw Orchestra after the liberation that:

1) no obligation on our part to pay wages lost during the occupation could be recognized.

2) we were prepared, however, in view of the great hardship and degrading treatment suffered by said Jewish orchestra members during the occupation, to compensate these members for their financial difficulties caused by the occupation by granting a gratuity corresponding to 50 % of the salaries lost by them during the occupation years, after deduction of their income from other grounds and any support, which had been done clandestinely, including by The Concertgebouw Company during the occupation.

3) this allowance amounts to a total amount not exceeding 10,000 gilder, so that in five years the full bonus will be enjoyed.

4) if the orchestra member concerned leaves the orchestra other than for the urgent reasons provided for in the relevant provision of the Civil Code, the payment will cease, while in the event of death only the widow and orphans are entitled to the payment in question.

5) the pension premium, which would have been paid by our company during the occupation with continuous service, will still be paid afterwards (De Jong Schouwenburg, 1949).

After a prolonged reluctance of government and Concertgebouw officials to prioritise the plight of Jews after the traumas they endured during the occupation, some sort of agreement was finally made, albeit only partial compensation for the war years. These delayed actions were surely not those of a Dutch government which was focused on prioritising Jewish equality at that time.

As for the Dutch-Jewish composers who survived the Holocaust, they had now become part of a Jewish minority in the Netherlands, and any previous hopes of the development of a Dutch-Jewish School of composition were shattered. Several did continue to compose but were unable to make a sustained stylistic impact on the country’s musical landscape. Arguably the most significant Jewish composers

beyond 1945 were Lex van Delden (1919-1988), Sem Dresden (1881-1957), and Max Vredenburg (1904-1976). Van Delden, a self-taught composer, dropped the earlier French influence in his music and went on to follow his own stylistic pathway which frequently expressed his own social concerns: *In Memoriam*, composed in 1955, was his reaction to a flood disaster in 1953, and the Oratorio *De Vogel Vrijheid* (The Bird Freedom) was his protest against slavery (Krill, 2015: 62). Van Delden's music was extensively performed across Europe and in North and South America after the war. As president of the Society of Dutch Musicians (GeNeCo) he also went on to become a great advocate for the promotion of Dutch music and Dutch musicians, both of which he felt were underrepresented, particularly in the Netherlands. He also served as the music editor for the Dutch newspaper *Het Parool* which had been considered an anti-Nazi resistance publication during the occupation years (Obituary, 1988: 619).

Max Vredenburg also continued to make a musical impact after the war with his gravitation towards composing using polytonal and polyrhythmic elements, as well as writing as a music critic for several publications. After the liberation he moved from Paris back to Amsterdam and became an advocate for the development of youth music whilst also becoming director of the Dutch branch of the Fédération Internationale des Jeunesses Musicales, an organisation of which the Dutch National Youth Orchestra was an integral part. Vredenburg composed several works for the youth orchestra as well as many piano works and songs, but perhaps he is best known for his scores for Dutch films and documentaries by Bert Haanstra which were devoid of commentary (Houten, 2001). It was then left to the non-Jewish composition students of Willem Pijper, such as Guillaume Landré, Hans Henkemans, and Rudolf Escher, to project the development of Dutch music beyond 1945. At this point, it is worth reiterating that although there were positive musical developments as covered in this paragraph, antisemitism was not now a thing of the past. The occupation and trauma and persecution during the Holocaust meant that any surviving Jewish composers now chose to adopt a lower profile. For example, the Jewish content and influences previously seen in Vredenburg's music was less prolific after 1945 and can arguably be interpreted as a degree of wariness so as not to attract any further antisemitic attention.

To summarise post-war attitudes towards Dutch-Jews in the Netherlands, Bob Moore states that ‘the ways in which the returning and re-emerging Jews were treated in the Netherlands does not make an edifying spectacle and demonstrates little of which the post-war Dutch state can be proud’ (Moore, 1997: 251). The magnitude of the fact that 100,000 Dutch Jews had been deported and murdered by the Nazis arguably did not really register with Dutch authorities until a few months after the liberation. This attitude may have been by design, but it resulted in the returning Jews not being considered as a special case, and by the time the true facts emerged publicly ‘the bureaucratic processes used to handle returnees had run their course’ (Moore, 1997: 251) as is evident in the way that Jewish musicians were treated by Dutch authorities and the Concertgebouw.

Briefly recapping the chapters of this thesis, we can see that each has made an important link to the others. The introduction defines the whole purpose of this study, through several modern-day definitions of what antisemitism actually means. It is important to reiterate that I have applied these definitions to situations from 1795 onwards during a time when attitudes to what we now call antisemitism were possibly quite different. However, the point is that I have argued that antisemitism in Dutch society, and in the world of Dutch music, existed from an early stage, was ingrained in institutional life, and profoundly affected the input of Dutch-Jewish composers. The first chapter took us back to an important point in Dutch-Jewish history when emancipation should have changed this with Jacob Dessauer’s Yiddish opera and theatre company Hochdeutsche Jüdische Gesellschaft not being allowed to perform in the Amsterdam Schouwburg due to Jews still being considered to be ‘foreigners’, even after 1795. The theme of the exclusion of Jews from Dutch musical and creative life continued into the nineteenth century in Chapter Three with the rise of cultural societies such as Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen, Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, Felix Meritis, and Caecilia, organisations that had policies that excluded Jews from membership.

The board members of these societies, several of whom were actively involved in implementing the policies of exclusion, were influential individuals in the world of music, and by the end of the nineteenth century established what was to be a world-class symphony orchestra in the form of the Concertgebouw Orchestra. This gave

rise to a case study of the orchestra's conductor Willem Mengelberg, who displayed Nazi sympathies throughout the occupation and has been cited as using derogatory antisemitic comments on more than one occasion. Antisemitic treatment of the Jews during this time gave rise to an interest in the incorporation of Jewish nationalistic traits in the music of Dutch-Jewish composers, mainly influence by earlier events that had swept across Europe from Russia and Vienna. Chapter Seven documented events during the Nazi occupation with the destruction of what could arguably been described stylistically as a Dutch-Jewish School of Music. This conclusion investigates developments after the occupation highlighting continued antisemitism and the partial disintegration of Jewish musical momentum in the aftermath of World War II.

Of course, each of these chapters could be treated as separate dissertation-length studies in their own right. But in justifying my *long durée* approach, from the late eighteenth century to the aftermath of the Second World War, I felt it important to present them together in a chronological sequence in order to demonstrate Dutch-Jewish musical evolution over two and a half centuries and how antisemitism proved to be a major obstacle until the late nineteenth century, whereupon the forward-thinking work of several Jewish composers was abruptly halted by the antisemitic policies of the Nazis. Beyond this point and in a general context, but still relevant to the world of Dutch music, historian Evelien Gans sums up Dutch attitudes post-war: 'De oude stereotypen bleken soms nog springlevend. Even springlevend als de joden zelf' (Gans, 1994: 34), that is: 'The old stereotypes sometimes turned out to be very much alive. As alive as the Jews themselves'. This is a sentiment echoed by Israel's United Nations Ambassador Ron Prosor who, at a United Nations Conference in 2015, stated: 'The world pledged "Never again", but here we are again. Seventy years after the Holocaust ended, European Jews are once again living in fear ... Israel will never be silent. We will stand guard, and we will safeguard the Jewish state and the Jewish people'. Even though the latter quotations originated after the timeframe of this thesis it is worth taking the time to contemplate that issues of antisemitism are still very much alive today and show no sign of abating.

As the world continues to witness antisemitism and racial hatred on a large scale, it seems that society has not learned any lessons from the atrocities that were

committed upon fellow human beings during the Holocaust. Human lives were lost, and national creative treasures were lost, all in the name of hatred fuelled by race and religion. The quote below by author Raoul Martinez should make us pause and take time to reflect on these actions from a personal perspective. After all, any of us could very well have become victims of the Holocaust if we were unlucky enough to have been born into different circumstances. We should remember this and be thankful that, if we were lucky, our own individual fate steered us onto different pathways.

> We do not choose to exist. We do not choose what environment we will grow up in. The people we become, the lives that we lead, the beliefs and values we learn to hold, owe much to the lottery of our birth. Our starting point in life is one of complete dependence on forces – genetic and environmental – beyond our control. And these forces can shape us into many things. In fact, human history suggests that there's neither a belief too bizarre nor an action too appalling for humans to embrace given the necessary cultural influences. This simple idea has profound implications for our personal and political freedom (Martinez, 2017: 1).

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APPENDIX A

This lists all performances by the Hoogduitsche Joodsche Gezelschap at three different institutions: the Hoogduitsche Schouwburg (Röder, 1795), Rotterdamsche Schouwburg (Stadsarchief Rotterdam), and the Amsterdamse Schouwburg (De Leeuwe, 2003: 19-253). Information regarding the Rotterdamsche Schouwburg was obtained from archival materials at Stadsarchief Rotterdam (Rotterdam City Archives).

*(Irregular spellings taken directly from original playbills)

Date	Day	Hoogduitsche Schouwburg	Rotterdamsche Schouwburg	Amsterdamse Schouwburg
12 January 1795	Monday			x
23 January 1795	Friday			x
26 January 1795	Monday			x
31 January 1795	Saturday			x
2 February 1795	Monday			x
5 February 1795	Thursday			x
7 February 1795	Saturday			x
9 February 1795	Monday			x
12 February 1795	Thursday			x
16 February 1795	Monday			x
23 February 1795	Monday			x
2 March 1795	Monday			x
4 March 1795	Wednesday			x
7 March 1795	Saturday			x
9 March	Monday			x

1795				
12 March 1795	Thursday			x
14 March 1795	Saturday			x
19 March 1795	Thursday			x
21 March 1795	Saturday			x
23 March 1795	Monday			x
26 March 1795	Thursday			x
28 March 1795	Saturday			x
30 March 1795	Monday			x
2 April 1795	Thursday			x
4 April 1795	Saturday			x
7 April 1795	Tuesday			x
13 April 1795	Monday			x
18 April 1795	Saturday			x
20 April 1795	Monday			x
27 April 1795	Monday			x
29 April 1795	Wednesday			x
4 May 1795	Monday			x
7 May 1795	Thursday	*Der Baum der Diana* – Martini		
12 May 1795	Tuesday	*Nina* – D'Alayrac		
13 May 1795	Wednesday	*Heinrich und Henriette* – Dessauer		
19 May 1795	Tuesday	*Heinrich und Henriette* – Dessauer		
21 May 1795	Thursday	*Der Talisman* oder *die Ziegeuner* – Salieri		
26 May	Tuesday	*Hieronimus*		

1795		*Knikker* – Dittersdorf		
2 July 1795	Thursday	*Heinrich und Henriette* – Dessauer		
2 July 1795	Thursday	*Die Beiden Kleinen Savoyarden* – D'Allayrac		
4 July 1795	Saturday	*Die Liebe im Narrenhaute* – Dittersdorf		
9 July 1795	Thursday	*Der Gutsberr oder: Der Schifspatron* – Dittersdorf		
11 July 1795	Saturday	*Die Schöne Arsene* – Monsigni		
16 July 1795	Thursday	*Cosi Fan Tutte* – Mozart		
18 July 1795	Saturday	*La Frascatana das Mädchen von Frascati* – Paisiello		
23 July 1795	Thursday	*Alexsis und Justine* – Dessaides		
23 July 1795	Thursday	*Het Alliantie Feest* – Dessauer		
25 July 1795	Saturday	*Der Directeur in der Klemme* – Cimarosa		
25 July 1795	Saturday	*Het Alliantie Feest* – Dessauer		
28 July 1795	Tuesday	*Zemire und Azor* – Gretry		
6 August 1795	Thursday	*Don Juan* – Mozart		
13 August 1795	Thursday	*Die Entziffering* oder: *Das Kästchem mit der Chiffer* – Salieri		
18 August 1795	Tuesday	*Der Apotheker und der Doctor* – Dittersdorf		
20 August 1795	Thursday	*Der Liebhaber* – D'Allayrac		
20 August 1795	Thursday	*Azemia* oder: *Die Wilden* – D'Allayrac		
25 August	Tuesday	*Axur* oder: *De*		

1795		*persiaansche Veldheer Taraar* – Salieri		
27 August 1795	Thursday	*Nina* – D'Allayrac		
1 September 1795	Tuesday	*Der Baum der Diana* – Martini		
3 September 1795	Thursday	*Die Schöne Müllerin* – Paisiello		
8 September 1795	Tuesday	*Die Zauberflöte* – Mozart		
10 September 1795	Thursday	*Die Zauberflöte* – Mozart		
12 September 1795	Saturday			x
19 September 1795	Saturday			x
24 September 1795	Thursday	*Die Zauberflöte* – Mozart		
25 September 1795	Friday			x
26 September 1795	Saturday	*Paul und Virginie* – Kreutzer		
29 September 1795	Tuesday	*Die Zauberflöte* – Mozart		x
1 October 1795	Thursday	*Die Zauberflöte* – Mozart		x
2 October 1795	Friday			x
5 October 1795	Saturday			x
6 October 1795	Tuesday	*Die Schöne Arsene* – Monsigni		
7 October 1795	Wednesday			x
8 October 1795	Thursday			x
10 October 1795	Saturday	*Axur* of: *De Persiaansche*		

		Veldheer Taraar – Salieri		
12 October 1795	Monday	*Die Liebe im Narrenhause* – Dittersdorf		x
14 October 179520	Wednesday			
17 October 1795	Saturday			x
19 October 1795	Monday			x
20 October 1795	Tuesday	*Don Juan* – Mozart		
22 October 1795	Thursday			x
24 October 1795	Saturday	*De Directeur in der Klemme* – Cimarosa		x
27 October 1795	Tuesday			x
28 October 1795	Wednesday		*Paul und Virginie* – Kreutzer	
28 October 1795	Wednesday		*Die Heirath des Antoni* – Gretry	
31 October 1795	Saturday		*Doctor und der Apotheker* – Dittersdorf	x
3 November 1795	Tuesday			x
4 November 1795	Wednesday		*Die Zauberflöte* – Mozart	
5 November 1795	Thursday			x
7 November 1795	Saturday		*Talisman oder: Die Ziegeuner* – Salieri	
11 November 1795	Wednesday		*Lieberhaber als Statue* – D'Allayrac	
11 November 1795	Wednesday		*Alex und Justine* – Desaides	
12 November 1795	Thursday			x
14	Saturday		*Der Baum der*	

November 1795			*Diana – Martini*	
16 November 1795	Monday			x
17 November 1795	Tuesday	*Hieronimus Knikker* – Dittersdorf		
19 November 1795	Wednesday			x
21 November 1795	Saturday	*Die Baum der Diana* – Martini		
23 November 1795	Monday	*Nina* – D'Allayrac		
23 November 1795	Monday	*Das Fest Auf Dem Dorfe* – Villageoise		
25 November 1795	Wednesday	*Die Zauberflöte* – Mozart		
26 November 1795	Thursday			x
28 November 1795	Saturday			
1 December 1795	Tuesday	*Zelia* – Deshayes		
3 December 1795	Thursday			x
5 December 1795	Saturday	*Zelia* – Deshayes		
7 December 1795	Monday	*Die Schöne Mullerin* – Paisiello		x
9 December 1795	Wednesday	*Zelia* – Deshayes		x
12 December 1795	Saturday			x
14 December	Monday			x

1795				
15 December 1795	Tuesday	*Das Automat* – André		x
15 December 1795	Tuesday	*Blaise und Babet* – Desaides		
16 December 1795	Wednesday			x
17 December 1795	Thursday	*Die Hochzeit der Figaro* – Mozart		
19 December 1795	Saturday	*De Beiden Billets* – Anton Wall		
19 December 1795	Saturday	*Paul und Virginie* – Kreutzer		
21 December 1795	Monday	*Der Talisman* – Salieri		
22 December 1795	Tuesday			x
23 December 1795	Wednesday	*Die Zusammenkunft* – Desaugier		
24 December 1795	Thursday			x
26 December 1795	Saturday			x
28 December 1795	Monday			x
29 December 1795	Tuesday	*Axur* oder: *Der Persische Feldherr Tarar* – Salieri		x
31 December 1795	Thursday			x
2 January 1796	Saturday	*Zelia* – Deshayes		
2 January 1796	Saturday	D*ie Zusammerkunft* – Desaugier		
4 January	Monday	*Die Eingebibleten*		

1796		*Philosophen* – Paisiello		
6 January 1796	Wednesday	*Die Zauberflöte* – Mozart		
9 January 1795	Saturday			x
11 January 1795	Monday			x
12 January 1796	Tuesday	*Der Apotheker und Der Doctor* – Dittersdorf		x
14 January 1796	Thursday	*Der Guthsherr oder: Der Schifspatron* – Dittersdorf		x
16 January 1796	Saturday	*Die Schöne Müllerin* – Paisiello		x
18 January 1796	Monday	*Das Schöne Landmädchen* – Guilielmi		x
19 January 1796	Tuesday			x
20 January 1796	Wednesday	*Die Schöne Arsene* – Monsigni		
21 January 1796	Thursday			x
25 January 1796	Monday			x
26 January 1796	Tuesday	*Aukassin und Nikolette* – Gretry		
28 January 1796	Thursday	*Die Eifersucht auf der Probe* – Anfossi		x
30 January 1796	Saturday	Die Liebe im Narrenhause – Dittersdorf		x
1 February 1796	Monday	*Der Directeur in der Klemme* – Cimarosa		
1 February 1796	Monday	*Das Fest auf dem Dorfe* – Gretry		
3 Febrruary 1796	Wednesday	*De Baum der Diana* – Martini		
9 February 1796	Tuesday	*Azemia* oder: *Die Wilden* – D'Allayrac		
9 February 1796	Tuesday	*Die Beiden Kleinen*		

		Savoyarden – D'Allayrac		
11 February 1796	Thursday	*Im Trüben ist Gut Fischen* – Sarti		
13 February 1796	Saturday	*Oberon König der Elfen* – Wranitzky		
15 February 1796	Monday	*Oberon König der Elfen* – Wranitzky		
17 February 1796	Wednesday	*Oberon König der Elfen* – Wranitzky		
18 February 1796	Thursday	*Oberon König der Elfen* – Wranitzky		
23 February 1796	Tuesday	*Oberon König der Elfen* – Wranitzky		
25 February 1796	Thursday	*Oberon König der Elfen* – Wranitzky		
29 February 1796	Saturday	*Paul und Virginie* – Kreutzer		
2 March 1796	Wednesday	*Der Talisman* oder: *Die Zigeuner* – Salieri		
8 March 1796	Tuesday	*Axur, König von Ormus* – Salieri		
10 March 1796	Thursday	*Der Apotheker und der Elfen* – Dittersdorf		
12 March 1796	Saturday	*Oberon Konig Der Elfen* – Wranitzky		
14 March 1796	Monday	*Die Entzifferung* oder: *Das Käschen mit der Ziffer* – Salieri		
22 March 1796	Tuesday	*Alexis und Justine* – Desaides		
22 March 1796	Tuesday	*Die Zusammenkunft* – Desaugier		
25 March 1796	Friday	*Das Neue Sontagskind* – Müller		
26 March	Saturday	*Das Neue*		

1796		*Sontagskind* – Müller		
27 March 1796	Monday	*Oberon König der Elfen* – Wranitzky		
4 April 1796	Monday		*Apotheker und der Doctor* – Dittersdorf	
6 April 1796	Wednesday		*Oberon, König der Elfen* – Wranitzky	
9 April 1796	Saturday		*Neue Sontahgs Kind* – Wenzell Müller	
11 April 1796	Monday		*Die Zauberflöte* – Mozart	
13 April 1796	Wednesday		*Schöne Mullerin* – Paisello	
16 April 1796	Saturday		*Nina* oder: *Wahnsin aus Liebe* – D'Allayrac	
18 April 1796	Monday		*Der Baum der Diana* – Martini	
20 April 1796	Wednesday		*Oberon, König der Elfen* – Wranitzky	
25 April 1796	Monday			
27 April 1796	Wednesday			
2 May 1796	Monday	*Zelia* – Deshayes		
2 May 1796	Monday	*Die Beiden Kleinen Savoyarden* – Dallayrac		
4 May 1796	Wednesday	*Die Liebe im Narrenhause* – Dittersdorf		
9 May 1796	Monday	*Axur* oder: *Der Persiamische Feldherr Tarar* – Salieri		
11 May 1796	Wednesday	*Paul und Virginie* – Kreutzer		
11 May 1796	Wednesday	*Der Liebhaber als Statue* – D'Allayrac		
23 May 1796	Monday	*Hieronimus Knikker* – Dittersdorf		
29 August	Monday		*Schöne Mullerin* –	

1796			Paisiello	
30 August 1796	Tuesday		*Zonnerfeest der Braminnen* – Wensel Müller	
31 August 1796	Wednesday		*Oberon, König der Elfen* – Wranitzki	
1 September 1796	Thursday		*Hieronimus Knikker* – Dittersdorf	
1 September 1796	Thursday		*Het Dorpfeest* – Gretri	

APPENDIX B: The Board Members of the Amsterdam Concertgebouw

H.J. de Marez Oyens

Hendrik Jan de Marez Oyens was born in Amsterdam into a protestant family in 1843 (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 April 1897: 1), and died there in 1911. He maintained many financial interests in various parts of the world throughout his life, and his professional work included banking and stockbroking, as well as commissioning agent in securities. Culturally, he was very active and was involved in a wide spectrum of societies and associations, some of a charitable nature. These included board membership in the following: the Felix Meritis society, Vereniging Rembrandt, De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, and De Amsterdamsche Vereeniging voor Gezondheids-en Vakantie-Kolonies. Marez Oyens was also a committee member of Liefdadigheid naar Vermogen (Mahler Foundation, 2017).

Although this chapter is an investigation into what I see as antisemitism in the form of Jewish exclusion and oppression, something that de Marez Oyens was an arguably an indirect participant in, it is first worth briefly looking at his professional life. De Marez Oyens's financial interests were not only confined to the Netherlands, but also in the colonial Dutch East-Indies, an area in which he had large investments and made substantial gains. We know that this is the case as he is listed as a

commissioner for various companies in the Regeerings-almanak voor Nederlandsch-Indie of 1898 which ties van Marez Oyens to the Serajoedal Stoomtram-Maatschappij and also the Semerang-Joana Stoomtram-Maatschappij (Dutch East Indies Company, 1898: 491). It is important to understand that this wealth was the result of colonial oppression in Indonesia, and illustrates that de Marez Oyens, as would have been the case with many of the Dutch bourgeoisie at that time, had limited scruples when it came to accumulating wealth and maintaining status. A perfect illustration of what life would have been like for the recipients of the oppression is captured in a letter written on 28 October 1876 by Frans Carl Valck who was at that time the Assistant Resident in East Sumatra. He wrote: 'It would be a miracle indeed, if respectable Chinese coolies[34] would be attracted to a place where coolies are beaten to death or at least so mistreated that the thrashings leave permanent scars, where manhunts are the order of the day. [...] Just recently I heard a rumour about a certain European who prided himself on having hung him upside down after the coolie had turned entirely blue' (Stoler, 2009: 188). De Marez Oyens was an also an 'élite' member of several societies that actively excluded Jews from membership. In my opinion this very specific form of exclusion in fact constituted antisemitism, and indeed oppression which in this case is defined as 'prolonged unjust treatment'.

Socially, de Marez Oyens was a member of several societies and associations, two of which were particularly significant. The first was his membership of the board of the Felix Meritis society, and the second his membership of the board of De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst (The Society for the Promotion of Music). The future Concertgebouw founders were initially acquainted via their financial dealings at the Oude Beurs (the 'Old Exchange') in Amsterdam, and their mutual love of the arts drew them towards becoming members of the musical societies of which de Marez Oyens was himself a member.

D.H. Joosten

Very little is written about Dirk Herbert Joosten (1840-1930) apart from the fact that

[34] 'Coolies' is a derogatory term for unskilled native labourers in China, India, and other Asian countries

he was born into a Lutheran family (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 21 August 1883: 4),[35] he was a realtor and accumulated vast wealth through selling properties (Bank, 1995: 8-11). From newspaper reports during the nineteenth century, we do however also know that in 1873 he was a board member of De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 29 March 1873: 4). By 1884 Joosten had become the chairman of the society and was at that point instrumental in the founding of the Amsterdam Conservatory in that same year. A report in *Het nieuws van den dag* described the occasion of the conservatory's opening ceremony: 'The ceremony was as simple as possible. In the presence of the majority of the students of which there are twenty-eight in total, Mr. D.H. Joosten, chairman of De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, declared that the new conservatory had now been opened. He then paid tribute to those who deserved it, in particular to the real mastermind behind the idea, Mr. Dan. De Lange[36] whom he had helped bring the plan to maturity' (*Het nieuws van den dag: kliene courant*, 16 September 1884: 6). In 1873 Joosten was also one of three future Concertgebouw board members, including van Ogtrop and Sillem, who instigated the formation of a limited company with the aim of raising capital of f350,000[37] to cover the cost of the demolition of the Parkzaal and replacing it with the future Concertgebouw. This was exemplified in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* in which it was pointed out that 'the main objective of the newly to be established company is to rebuild the present Parkzaal in such a way that Amsterdam could have a well-furnished, spacious, organ-equipped and easily accessible concert hall' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 29 March 1873: 4).

Joosten appears to be a man of many talents and was also an author and frequently wrote article relating to music matters in Dutch newspapers. He was presumably also a proficient orator as he often made speeches at concerts on behalf of the Concertgebouw. In one of his public letters published in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* for example, he writes at length and reveals his in-depth knowledge of music and also the music societies Felix Meritis, Cecilia, and Diligentia. He also makes an interesting comparison between the above-mentioned societies and *De*

[35] This newspaper advert makes reference to the fact that his brother, A.C. Joosten was a member of the Lutheran Evangelical Congregation at the Oude Lutherse Kerk in Amsterdam
[36] Daniël de Lange (1841-1918) was a Dutch composer and conductor
[37] 350,000 guilders, today worth approximately £137,000

Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst of which he was a member. He wrote that ‘she is not a concert enterprise, but a society, whose aim is to educate individual artists, and in particular to educate people in general. It is a society that disseminates historical and scientific knowledge of musical works, which through music and folk song schools demonstrates both the love for, and the dedication and desire to promote music’ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 October 1883: 3). This all demonstrates that Joosten held a deep-rooted passion for music and his will to musically educate a much wider spectrum of Dutch society in the hope of re-establishing a long absent culture of musical tradition in the Netherlands.

J.A. Sillem

Throughout his life J.A. Sillem (1840-1912) pursued varied careers and personal interests which spanned politics and governance, education, and science.[38] He also had a great interest in Dutch history of the Batavian Revolution which marked the end of the Dutch Republic and was proactive in improving the lives of less fortunate and needy members of Dutch society. For example, Sillem was chairman of the Kosthuizen department of the Maatschappij voor den Werkenden *Stand* and was also a co-founder of the Burgerziekenhuis (hospital) in Amsterdam. Sillem made much of his wealth as inheritance from his grandfather’s banking work and was himself commissioner at the banking house Hope & Co in Amsterdam where his older brother Johann Gottlieb Sillem was also a partner (Mahler Foundation, 2017).

Before his time with the Concertgebouw Sillem was a board member of *De* Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst or MBT (Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis, 1869: 135-140), and along with fellow members Cnoop Koopmans and Joosten, Sillem was instrumental in organising concerts for some of the private music societies in Amsterdam. He also organised one concert in particular that demonstrated his commitment to helping both some of the less fortunate members of society and the musical education of young people. He was a close friend of Johannes Brahms and invited Brahms to conduct a programme of his own works at De Vrije Gemeente, including the yet unpublished

[38] Amsterdam City Archives. Archive 5416. Folder 216. *Inventaris van het Bevolkingsregister afgedane collectie of overgenomen delen.* 1911-1920.

Third Symphony. The concert was performed by the Amsterdamsche Orkestvereeniging (Amsterdam Orchestral Society), and in attendance alongside fee-paying audience members were patients from the Institute for the Blind and fifty students from the MBT music school[39] that had been set up by Sillem and his colleagues with the aim of providing music education for young students (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 March 1884: 2). Sillem remained a member of the society for twenty-five years until 1889, when he was appointed as an honorary member in appreciation of his efforts and long-standing service (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 15 October 1889: 3).

With regard to religion, Sillem was Lutheran, and although 'he had not adopted the formal ecclesiastical hue of his Lutheran mother, [...] a religious urge never ceased to inspire him, he never joked about the Holy, and when he died his remaining sister and nieces acted in his spirit and at his funeral read aloud chapters from the Bible Paul 1, and Corinthians 13 (Quack, 1912: 124).

P.A.L. van Ogtrop

Pieter Anton Lodewijk van Ogtrop (1835-1903) was heavily involved in the world of finance being a board member of the family firm H.J van Ogtrop & Son where he accumulated his vast wealth. He traded in securities and was also Chairman of the Dutch Stock Exchange where he would eventually become acquainted with the other board members of the Concertgebouw (Van der Wall, 2014: 32). Van Ogtrop also traded in cotton (Zwart, 2020: 57), which like some of de Marez Oyens's finanance interests, was controversially based in the Dutch colony of Indonesia, where 'forced cultivation [of various crops] by Javanese peasants contributed an estimated 52% to Dutch central tax revenues and an estimated 4% to Dutch GPD' (Buelens and Frankema, 2016: 198).

With regard to his religious persuasion Van Ogtrop was an active Roman Catholic who sang in the choir of the *Mozes en Aaronkirk* in Amsterdam, and who also

[39] *Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst* Archives. Archive 298. Housed at the Regional Archives, Nijmegen

conducted it when the need arose.[40] Historically, the church had been a clandestine operation providing a place of worship during the sixteenth century when Roman Catholic worship was officially forbidden during the aftermath of the Protestant Restoration. The Roman Catholics suffered the same fate as the Jews in many ways until the 'constitution of 1815 granted equal protection and political and civil rights. [However], Catholics remained subject to discrimination and were more or less classified as second-class subjects' (Homan, 1966: 201).

Being an active member of the Amsterdam bourgeoise, van Ogtrop, like his Concertgebouw contemporaries, was a member of several artistic societies and associations, the most significant with regard to the present thesis being Felix Meritis and De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst. Membership records show that he was a member of Felix Meritis by at least 1880 (*Felix Meritis*, 1882), and as already stated, a board member of *MBT* in 1873 as mentioned in an advert to raise capital to rebuild the Parkzaal in Amsterdam (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 29 March 1873: 4). Van Ogtrop also appears on an MTB membership list dated 1 January 1872 (Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, 1869: 136). From 1888 to 1914 P.A.L. van Ogtrop went on to become chairman of the Concertgebouw, and after his death in 1914 was replaced by his son H.J. van Ogtrop (1866-1944) (Zwart, 2020: 57).

W. Cnoop Koopmans

The professional life of Wilhelm Cnoop Koopmans (1837-1895) is not particularly well documented, and in one source in 1882 he is actually listed as 'without profession' (*Nederlandsche staatscourant*, 22 April 1882: 9). This is in the context of an article that links him as an investor in a company operating the American Hotel in Amsterdam. He must however have inherited substantial wealth in order to be in a position to invest in such a venture, and it was his dealings at the stock exchange in Amsterdam where he was originally acquainted with J.A. Sillem, D.H. Joosten, H.J. de Marez Oyens, and P.A.L. van Ogtrop (Zwart, 2020: 57). Cnoop Koopman's father,

[40] Amsterdam City Archives. Inventory 688. Folder 487, *Zakboetkje van P.A.L. van Ogtrop met overzicht van de muziekuitvoeringen met achterin alfabetisch geordend op componist de orkesscmenstelling per uitgevoerd werk,* 1861

Wopko Cnoop Koopmans[41] was a professor of theology and was a member of the General Society of the Association of the Mennonites (*Leeuwarder courant*, 9 March 1849: 1), a branch of Protestantism was passed down to his son Wilhelm. Wilhelm later married Joosten's sister Louise Catharine Joostens in 1864,[42] a union which illustrates the close nature of the connections between the future Concertgebouw board members.

Like his contemporaries, Cnoop Koopmans was a member of several societies, the two most significant being Felix Meritis, and De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst. He is listed as a member of Felix Meritis in a society membership list of 1882 (*Felix Meritis*, 1882), and he is also listed as general secretary of De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst in a meeting report that was published in 1881 (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 12 June 1881: 9). The same newspaper also mentions him in a concert organised by MBT at the Odeon in Amsterdam with a programme of music performed by the students of the conservatoire. The chairman of MBT, D.H. Joosten publicly welcomed Cnoop Koopmans who had attended as a committee representative of the Conservatoire (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 April 1885: 1).

[41] *Ancestry* genealogy database [Accessed 3 July 2022]
[42] *Ancestry* genealogy database [Accessed 3 July 2022]