KAPITTEL 3

In the beginning was the organ: On the institutionalisation of professional music education in Norway

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Abstract: This article examines the early years of the institutionalisation of professional music education in Norway. Against the background of a social and political debate on the need for a national conservatoire, the central question is why the first Norwegian music conservatoire did not develop out of a nationally motivated initiative but rather from a private organist school. By comparing the *Organistskole* of Ludvig Mathias and Peter Lindeman with the *Musik-Akademi* of Otto Winter-Hjelm and Edvard Grieg, different approaches to the realisation of a national conservatoire are outlined.

One of the decisive points for the lasting success of the *Organistskole* was the underlying family pedagogical tradition within the Lindeman family, which had been established over several generations and adapted to local conditions. This tradition was based on a functioning work process, a proven method and public recognition. Winter-Hjelm and Grieg, on the other hand, first had to build these structures by adapting a foreign model (in this case, the Leipzig model) and then attempting to establish a similar network through the founding of the *Musik-Akademi* itself.

If one traces the teaching tradition of the Lindeman family back to the Bach reception of the Berlin School around C. P. E. Bach and J. P. Kirnberger – the so-called 'golden chain' – one can speak of an international education transfer in the case of both the *Organistskole* and the *Musik-Akademi*, the time frame of which, however, differs considerably. As the example of the present article shows, the longer time frame of cultural transfer in the Lindeman family had a decisive influence on the success of the exchange process.

Keywords: Music education traditions, Lindeman-family, Music Academy by Winter-Hjelm and Grieg, Organ School

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Introduction

When the Norwegian Academy of Music (NMH) celebrates its 50th anniversary in 2023, it will not be the only milestone in the history of Norwegian music education. For 140 years ago, Ludvig Mathias and Peter Lindeman founded the *Organistskole* (Organist School), the institution that under the later name *Musik-Konservatoriet* (The Music Conservatoire) was to be the forerunner of today's NMH.[1] In this article, I will look at the genesis of this institution in the context of the institutionalisation of music education in Norway.

The study focuses on the question of why Norway's nationally representative conservatoire only gradually developed out of a school for organists. In contrast, several other attempts to establish an institution for professional training of musicians, which offered education in several instruments, singing and also teacher training from the beginning, failed. As a concrete example of this, I will focus on the short-lived *Musik-Akademi* (Music Academy) of Otto Winter-Hjelm and Edvard Grieg (1867–1869).

In a thematic comparison, the focus is on the background of the founding of the institutes themselves and the teaching methods used. What was the aim of the founders in setting up a new educational institution? How did they encounter the pedagogical approaches? What were the role models? How did the choice of method affect the success of the institutes? To answer these questions, the methods of Educational Transfer and Intercultural Transfer will be used, which pay special attention to the international linking of teaching traditions.

Professional music education and international education transfer

Educational Transfer describes a process that is frequently found in pedagogical history: educational policies that have proven successful in a particular place under certain circumstances are copied by other actors and

1 Founded in 1883 as *Organistskolen*, the institution changed its name to *Musik- og Organistskolen* only two years later. In 1894 it received its final name: *Musik-Konservatoriet* (later specified as *Musik-Konservatoriet i Kristiania* and *Musik-Konservatoriet i Oslo*). In the following, *Musik-Konservatoriet* refers to the institution since its foundation in 1883. Whenever only certain periods are referred to, the corresponding name will be used.

applied outside the original scope. The transferred strategy undergoes a process of change that reveals conclusions about its own nature, as well as the character of the actors and nations involved. Research into provenance, transformation and assimilation processes of educational methods therefore already has a longer tradition, especially in the social sciences. David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs have examined the transformation processes of educational strategies in numerous studies on Educational Transfer. In the following, I will refer to the special type of "Educational Policy Borrowing", which "presumes one interest in foreign practices and policies rather than its involuntary reception of foreign ideas" (Phillips & Ochs, 2004, p. 10). Especially in the French and German language areas, transfer processes have also been described using the method of Intercultural Transfers. This model can be seen as an idea related to Educational Transfer, although its focus is not solely on questions of educational systems but on cultural practices in general (Espagne & Middell, 2021). Both of them examine the appropriation processes of cultural concepts, objects or practices that are connoted with a collective identity. What differentiates them is the thematic focus within the transfer process; while Educational Transfer emphasises the transferred policy, Intercultural Transfer especially looks at the situation in the receiving culture, which changes as a result of the transfer process. The latter even argues that the specific situation in the receiving culture determines the success of a cultural transfer. Despite this difference, both share an approach that opposes a cultural imperialism of the copied culture.

Applied to musicology, the methods provide an alternative approach to reception research. It is not about the historiographical highlighting of individual works or composers, but about the special emphasis on structural processes. Alexandra Kertz-Welzel dedicates her research to the field and argues for a 'culturally sensitive global music education community', which means a constant educational exchange with fluid cultural and political boundaries (Kertz-Welzel, 2018, p. 10). Stefan Keym and Michael Meyer have recently shown the possible applications of Intercultural Transfers for musicology (Keym & Meyer, 2022). Going beyond reception research, the focus here is on a more collectivist approach that takes into account, among other things, economic and material aspects. Stefan Keym shows how the development of a widely branched publishing and press system based in Leipzig contributed to the transregional dissemination of a canon of classical music (Keym, 2021).

The models are very similar in their methodological approach. Divided into four work steps, the motive, actors, implementation and changes in the receiving culture are examined. However, according to the different emphasis on educational policy and the receiving culture, there are minor deviations. Comparing the work steps of the methods, their differences become clear:

Table 1 Comparison of 'Educational Policy Borrowing' and 'Intercultural Transfers'

Method/ Phase	Educational Policy Borrowing (Phillips & Ochs, 2004, p. 10)	Intercultural Transfers (Keym & Meyer, 2022)
1.	*'Cross-national attraction*: Why is one country interested in the educational policies and practices in another country? What are the internal impulses for attraction, and the objectives of looking elsewhere?	What are the needs and motivation of the receiving culture (for the appropriation of a transfer object)?
2.	*Decision making*: [...] How [is] the foreign example [...] used in the decision-making process at home? [...]	What channels, media or actors were used for the transfer to the receiving culture?
3.	*Implementation*: [Considering] the logistical requirements of implementing foreign practices and policies. Who supports or resists implementation, and on what scale? Are there national or local ambitions to implement foreign practice? How might the policy or practice be adopted to suit the local context?	How did the appropriation process take place in the receiving culture? Which elements of the object were adapted to local conditions? Middell calls this process an 'interpretation based on understanding and interest' (Middell, 2000, p. 18), Keym calls it a 'translation' (Keym, 2021).
4.	*Internalisation*: Once the policies or practices are adopted, how do they become internalised in the existing system? [...] How do the "foreign" practices become absorbed and synthesised?'	Discourse on the transfer process by contemporaries and posterity.

When comparing the models, the second phase is particularly striking as an essential difference. In Educational Policy Borrowing, the term 'decision-making' suggests the active involvement of a ministry or influential (educational) politician. Based on the situation and needs in the receiving culture, a decision is made about the applicability of a given policy; policies that are found to be unsuitable are dropped. Intercultural Transfers also take a look at the actors in the second step, but here they appear rather neutral. They may be decision-makers, but they may just as well be a newspaper or a single emigrant teacher, someone who has disseminated an educational

system without a political agenda in the receiving culture. The success of the transfer process is not decisive for the examination of the subject matter. If necessary, the reasons for the failure are questioned.

In my following reflections, I will follow the four phases described, but I will address aspects of both methods. I believe that the further nuance that this provides to the approach will outweigh any problems that might emerge in the process. Precisely because of the different considerations of political influence in transnational cultural transfer processes, it is important to distinguish between a national idea as an aesthetic principle and actual ministerial involvement.

International competition

The question of motivation and need as the starting point of a transfer process already leads to the first conflict of the issue with the principles of the methods. Both the Educational Transfer and the Intercultural Transfers models seek to eliminate national stereotypes and do not regard educational systems as country-specific. Consequently, the question arises of how to justify the examination of a concrete cultural area.

The idea of the approach chosen here is to compare several transfer processes of different actors who have a similar motivation in common. In doing so, it is necessary to define the term motivation more broadly and not focus on the initial idea of only one transfer process. Rather, a look at Norwegian music education in the 19th century reveals an overarching idea: the desire to establish a national conservatoire. Harald Herresthal gave this wish the title 'The Dream of an Academy of Music'[2] (Herresthal, 1993, p. 15), thus describing a period that spanned almost 70 years from its first expression in 1815 by Lars Roverud (Roverud, 1815, p. 23) to the founding of the *Organistskole* by Ludvig Mathias and Peter Lindeman in 1883.

The fact that the first expression of the desire for a national music academy in Norway coincides with the country's separation from Denmark in 1814 emphasises the political character of the establishment of a conservatoire, which was typical for many countries at the time (Tregear, 2020, p. 281). The need for a national institution for the specialised education not only of musicians arose from the striving for national independence

2 'Drømmen om et musikkakademi'.

from the educational institutions of other states. In Norway, this process was expressed in the founding of the University of Christiania (now Oslo) in 1813 and the establishment of several art academies, such as *Den kongelige Tegne- og Kunstskole* (The Royal School of Drawing and Art) in 1818, which followed a trend that was modelled on France. After the French Revolution, specialised academies such as the Paris *Conservatoire* (1795) and the *École polytechnique* (1794) were founded there. Thus, the debate about a Norwegian conservatoire finally also experienced a strong politicisation (Vollsnes, 2000, p. 12). This gained additional momentum with the founding of conservatoires in northern Europe from the 1860s onwards. In 1867, Niels W. Gade founded the *Københavns Musikkonservatorium* (Copenhagen Conservatoire of Music). In Stockholm, the *Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien* (Royal Swedish Academy of Music) had already existed since 1771, but it was not until the mid-19th century that the institute developed into a conservatoire on an international scale (Karlsson, 2005, p. 229).

Political motivations, however, were only one factor in the founding of conservatoires. The mere fact that one had to travel abroad for further studies represented a considerable financial barrier. Lena Haselmann shows how the summary statement of *Norges Musikkhistorie* – namely that class differences in the mid-19th century were more a result of the economic situation than of social or cultural background (Vollsnes, 2000, p. 12) – applied particularly to the education of female musicians (Haselmann, 2018, p. 127). The National Music Committee – an advisory body to the *Kirkedepartement* (Church Ministry) to evaluate young musicians – responded to this situation by recommending talents for state travel grants from the late 1840s onwards. However, the financial situation was only one concern. When evaluating a handful of Norwegian musicians, their basic education came into focus. The Committee members complained about the lack of a consistent basic education in the home country. Thus, the preparation for studying abroad was quite varied. The desire arose for a 'pre-school' that could prepare the domestic music students for the stay abroad, but also provide a uniform basis of assessment for the Committee itself (Herresthal, 2005a, p. 179).

Political and technical arguments for the foundation of a national music academy were thus strongly intermingled. As a starting point for the envisioned transfer process, the perception of a national deficit was even more important than the cross-national attraction of a foreign education system.

National debates

In accordance with the rather general desire for a national conservatoire in Norway, more efforts were made to engage individual actors who had the expertise to establish a national educational institution. This explains the plurality of attempts to make the plans a reality. After Roverud, it was above all Norway's leading musicians who committed themselves to musical life in their homeland. Ole Bull made a few attempts to realise the vision of a music academy in the early 1840s (Wergeland, 1927, p. 210) and later in 1862 (Vollsnes, 2000, p. 155). The most successful attempt, however, was made by Edvard Grieg and Otto Winter-Hjelm, who founded the *Musik-Akademi* in 1867 but had to close it down after a few years. In the late 1870s, Johan Svendsen also submitted an application to the *Storting* (Norwegian parliament) to found a national educational institution for musicians, but it was rejected (Herresthal, 2005b, p. 111).

In addition to all these individual actors, the role of the National Music Committee must be highlighted. Founded in 1849, it worked from then on at the interface between musical practice and political participation. Its activities must therefore be considered not only in terms of the evaluation of individual talents, but also against the background of the national interest in the gradual establishment of a national professional music education. It is not surprising that its push for the establishment of a national pre-school in 1858 combined individual needs for the assessment of applicants with national interests in a central training institution. Such a pre-school, or even an academy, would not only function as a starting point for students, it would also provide jobs for teachers and thus benefit already trained musicians in Norway (Siems, 2021, p. 185).

It may be asked at this point whether the selection of scholarship holders and their destinations also reflects a political agenda, namely an intended educational transfer of a certain role model. Looking at the musicians who were awarded scholarships in the 1850s, however, a balanced plurality can be observed.[3] Stays at the conservatoires in Leipzig and Berlin were promoted just as much as study trips to Paris or Brussels. Comparing the first applications from the 1850s, it is evident that string musicians in particular were drawn to Paris and Brussels, whereas composers, organists and singers often applied for grants to travel to Germany. This observation is also in

3 An overview of the scholarship applications and approvals can be found in Herresthal, 2005 a & b.

line with Øyvind Norheim's (Norheim, 1992, p. 132) and Lena Haselmann's (Haselmann, 2018, p. 101) research. This plurality does not reflect the aim of transferring a particular educational system.

The reasons for choosing the destination were often complex. The strong attraction of the French-speaking institutions is probably partly a result of the Francophile orientation of the *Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien* (Karlsson, 2005, p. 238), where some aspirants had gained their first experience. The fact that there were neither education opportunities for composers nor for advanced singers in Stockholm until the end of the 19th century can also be seen as a reason for the students' orientation towards Germany and France (Karlsson, 2005, p. 241). Lena Haselmann also emphasises that there were often pecuniary reasons for choosing the place of study. A stay in the German cities was considerably cheaper than Paris, where the number of foreign students was also restricted (Haselmann, 2018, p. 122).

The Leipzig Conservatoire as role model

Looking at what were ultimately the most developed attempts to found an academy in Norway, however, the example of the Leipzig Conservatoire was to prove particularly important. Founded in 1843 by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, the educational institute attracted foreign students in particular in the first years of its existence. Unlike the Conservatoire in Paris, it did not limit itself to the education of mainly local musicians but even highlighted the large number of international students and the charisma this brought with it (Schiller, 1968). Between 1843 and 1880, the proportion of foreigners among the students was 41% (Wasserloos, 2004a, p. 64).

With this international orientation, the Leipzig Conservatoire pursued the idea of contributing to the dissemination of a musical aesthetic that had been developing in the bourgeois concert and publishing city since the end of the 18th century. Judging by Mendelssohn's letters during the founding stage of the conservatoire, one of the main goals he pursued was the 'preservation of a true sense of art and its propagation'[4] (Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 2013). In other words, a conception of music was to be cultivated and disseminated which was particularly understood as a distancing from exuberant and sensational virtuosity. Rather, the focus was on an academisation of music education that not only emphasised the playing itself, but

4 'Erhaltung ächten Kunstsinnes und seine Fortpflanzung'.

also instruction in music theory, music history and aesthetics. According to this understanding, the musician was less of a craftsman, in the sense of a mere reproducing player, than an artist who, enlightened by theoretical and historical knowledge, also appeared as a mediator. This idea is symbolised by the formulation of 'teaching in all branches of music understood as art and science'[5] (Directorium des Conservatoriums der Musik, 1861), a dictum that goes back to the founding protocols. Rebecca Grotjahn shows how close this understanding of music comes to Humboldt's concept of 'higher education' in its consideration of music as part of general education (Grotjahn, 2005, p. 310).

The Leipzig model also included the establishment of a musical canon, of which the main focus was German music going back to Johann Sebastian Bach with an emphasis on the orchestral music of the Viennese Classical period. Through the interwoven interaction of music publishing houses, music journals and the emerging concert scene around the *Gewandhaus* orchestra, this musical ideal – linked to the city of Leipzig – consolidated itself both regionally and nationally (Keym, 2021). With its 'multiplying factor', the Leipzig Conservatoire was to represent a further element in the dissemination of this aesthetic idea (Grotjahn, 2006, p. 26).

The institutional mission of the Leipzig Conservatoire had a kind of reciprocal effect on the striving for a national professional music education in the mid-19th century. Yvonne Wasserloos reports that between 1843 and 1880, 12% of the students who graduated from the Leipzig Conservatoire went on to found music schools, orchestras, associations, etc. in their home countries, thus propagating elements of the Leipzig model (Wasserloos, 2004a, p. 79). In this way, the Leipzig model can be seen as a catalyst for educational transfer processes.

A central factor that made the model of the Leipzig Conservatoire interesting to transform and further develop was the founding process of the institution. Here, the driving force was not public financing or royal patronage in the sense of monarchical self-promotion, as was the case in many other places, but the dedicated commitment of the city's middle classes. Only a few years after it was founded, the Belgian music critic Francois-Joseph Fétis expressed his doubts in a report on his experiences in Leipzig: 'An art school can only flourish if the government covers the costs and the

5 'Unterrichts in allen Zweigen der Musik als Kunst und Wissenschaft verstanden.'

lessons are free of charge, as in the conservatoires of France and Belgium'[6] (Fétis, 1849, p. 426). However, the origins of Leipzig's music publishing and concert business, as well as its music journalism, were proof that it was possible to create a musical life mainly through the commitment of an active citizenry. This increased the attractiveness of the Leipzig model for places with little chance of public funding (Grotjahn, 2006, p. 30).

Among the students attracted to the Leipzig Conservatoire from other countries were numerous musicians from Scandinavia. The strong attraction for northern European students was due in large part to Niels W. Gade, who was a member of the teaching staff at the Leipzig Conservatoire in the 1840s and advocated a classically inspired style that was characteristic of Leipzig (Wasserloos, 2004b). In Norway, regular advertisements in local magazines and newspapers drew attention to the educational institution in Leipzig in the 1860s at the latest (e.g., Direktionen for Musik-Conservatoriet i Leipzig, 1864).

The Leipzig model found its way into the national debates on the establishment of a Norwegian conservatoire at about the same time. In 1863, the National Music Committee took up its call of 1858 once again. Together with Ole Bull, its members applied for annual support for a music academy (Christiania den 9de Marts, 1863). The primary aim of the music school was to train music teachers and musicians for the military and the Church. The applicants were clearly dissatisfied with the current level of practising musicians. It can be assumed that several institutes served as models for the applicants. However, only the *Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien* is explicitly mentioned; its staff organisation and appeal to talented teachers are cited as exemplary. Like Stockholm, a 'Central-Institut' was to be established in Christiania that would bring together all national musical competencies in one place. With the founding protocols of the Leipzig Conservatoire in mind, however, one formulation in this letter also attracts attention, namely that 'the most important branches of music science should be taught theoretically and practically'[7] (Christiania den 9de Marts, 1863).

It is initially surprising to read a Leipzig reference in a document linked to Ole Bull. Bull was known for his criticism of study trips to Germany,

6 'Eine Kunstschule kann nur dann gedeihen, wenn die Regierung den Kostenpunkt bestreitet und der Unterricht unentgeldlich ist, wie in den Conservatorien von Frankreich und Belgien'.

7 'de vigtigste Grene af Musik-Videnskaben theoretisk og praktisk skulde læres'.

especially Leipzig (Herresthal, 2009, p. 286). Nevertheless, it does not seem to be merely a coincidental expression similar to the Leipzig curriculum. Rather, the emphatically theoretical orientation of the music school and the expressed goal of using music to 'elevate and ennoble People's lives'[8] (Christiania den 9de Marts, 1863) also point to the idea of a 'higher education' in the Humboldtian sense. It is likely that these references do not come from Ole Bull but from one of the other proponents, such as a member of the National Music Committee like Halfdan Kjerulf. Kjerulf had been in Leipzig in 1850–1851 and had taken private lessons with Ernst Friedrich Richter. He subsequently arranged for young Norwegian talents to come to Saxony (e.g., Otto Winter-Hjelm, who enrolled at the Leipzig Conservatoire in 1857) (Hochschule für Musik und Theater 'Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy' Leipzig, 1858).

The fact that the aims mentioned here were subject to the condition of sufficient public funding, unlike in Saxony, shows how the collaboration of several actors led to a draft that combined aspects of different educational concepts. Even though the application remained unsuccessful, the 1863 proposal by Bull and the Music Committee shows the combined efforts to establish an institution for the professional training of musicians in Norway. As a jointly presented proposal with several institutional models, influences from different countries were taken and renegotiated according to local needs.

The *Musik-Akademi* of Otto Winter-Hjelm and Edvard Grieg

After the unsuccessful attempt in 1863, it took only one year before Otto Winter-Hjelm tried his hand at founding a national music school. In 1864, he announced the foundation of a music school for children shortly after returning from his studies at the Leipzig Conservatoire and the *Neue Akademie der Tonkunst* (New Academy of Music) in Berlin (Winter-Hjelm, 1864). As one of the essential innovations of the school, he introduced the method of group teaching as he had become acquainted with it in Berlin. Advanced students were to act also as teachers. In this way, Winter-Hjelm wanted to 'combine elementary and higher education'[9]

8 'at hæve og forædle Folkelivet'.
9 'Forening af Elementær- og høiere Undervisning'.

(Winter-Hjelm, 1864) and address students with different levels of knowledge simultaneously. Consequently, the model is to be understood from a pedagogical point of view, but it also had economic reasons. Unlike Bull, his financial plan did not include any state subsidies. Similar to the Leipzig Conservatoire, he was thus dependent on the income generated by student fees. The group teaching method promised the most students per teacher.

Only two years after opening the music school for children, Winter-Hjelm reported that the method had produced good results in the lessons and convinced the parents of the pupils (Winter-Hjelm & Grieg, 1866, p. 1). The success encouraged him to expand the music school into an academy that would operate according to the same teaching principles. Edvard Grieg, who had just returned from his study visits abroad, was to join him as director. Essentially, the expansion of the institution consisted of the higher education of professional musicians and the establishment of a seminar for music teachers. Financing was to continue to come from the income generated by the students. The founding announcement states that the *Musik-Akademi* is characterised by its ability to go beyond the teaching of one method, aiming at an all-round education of the pupils. Regular 'evening entertainments'[10] and public concerts, as well as lectures in music history were to underline its versatile character. In addition to Winter-Hjelm and Grieg himself, well-known artists from Christiania's music life taught there.

The educational approach continued to focus on group teaching, which ultimately also emphasised the all-round instruction of the pupils. Both Grieg and Winter-Hjelm had come into contact with the teaching model during their studies in Leipzig. The latter also argued for its advantages with an advanced version at the *Neue Akademie der Tonkunst* in Berlin, where he studied later. Unlike the application of Bull and the National Music Committee in 1863, however, the Leipzig references by Winter-Hjelm and Grieg were obvious and even explicitly mentioned. Quoting the Berlin singing instructor Gustav Engel, the founders of the *Musik-Akademi* emphasise the importance and value of the Leipzig-inspired teaching method. The Leipzig model therefore seems to have served not as a secret pattern, but as a reference for the quality of teaching.

10 In the original Norwegian *Aftenunderholdning*, referring to the German expression *Abendunterhaltung*, which was a special feature of the Leipzig pedagogy.

The financial strategy of the *Musik-Akademi* and its focus on group lessons meant that many dilettantes had to be admitted to the student body. However, this was not only done out of financial necessity, but also expressly with the idea of inspiring more dilettantes to pursue music and expand concert audiences in the Norwegian capital (Siems, 2021, p. 199).

> An institution is needed here, if only with a view to the future development of a larger audience for music […]. We are optimistic that the dilettantes who emerge from this academy will form a healthy and strong core in this respect.[11] (Winter-Hjelm & Grieg, 1866)

It becomes clear that Grieg and Winter-Hjelm pursued the political goal of strengthening national musical life. The *Musik-Akademi* was to help establish a concert scene like the one the two founders had seen in Germany.

The large-scale project, however, was to be short-lived. Only three years after declaring its foundation, the *Musik-Akademi* came to an end, the reasons for which can only be described in vague statements. Harald Herresthal offers three possible explanations: 1) economic difficulties, which arose soon after the academy was founded due to its uncertain financial strategy; 2) a failure to reach the target groups, as more upper-class circles preferred private tuition to an academy. At the same time, the fees were too expensive for the lower social classes; and 3) the young age of the teachers, who had not yet established themselves and were dependent on the income. They reacted to the economically insecure situation by accepting private pupils and thus undermining the operation of the academy (Herresthal, 2005b, p. 68).

Another factor may also have been a problem already known at the Leipzig Conservatoire. There, the financial predicament also had a negative effect on the quality of teaching. Out of the need to attract as many students as possible, more and more amateurs with poor prior knowledge were admitted, which affected the content of the lessons. This in turn affected the reputation of the institution (Wasserloos, 2004a, p. 42). Yet it was precisely the group teaching method that had this effect.

11 'Man traenger nemlig her til en saadan Anstalt, om man alene tager Hensyn til den fremtidige Udvikling af et større Publikum for Musiken. […] Vi nære den Fortrøstning, at den Stok af Dilettanter, som fra et saadant Akademi bliver sendt ud blandt Publikum, skal danne en sund og kraftig Kjerne i denne Henseende.'

The *Organistskole* of Ludvig Mathias and Peter Lindeman

While Winter-Hjelm and Grieg pursued a cultural-political goal with the *Musik-Akademi*, the *Organistskole* must be viewed in a different light. As was the case with Winter-Hjelm and Grieg, the foundation of a music school by Peter Lindeman followed immediately after his graduation as a cellist in Stockholm (1880) and his subsequent return home to Kristiania (now Oslo). Unlike the founders of the *Musik-Akademi*, however, he initially limited himself to organ lessons, supplemented by the theoretical subjects necessary for an organist.

In doing so, he reacted to a lack of music education for church musicians, which was also noticed in the political arena (Musik- og Organistskolen i Kristiania, 1886). What was different in Lindeman's case from the foundation of many other music institutes was his family background. At 25, he could count on the full support of his family. His father, Ludvig Mathias Lindeman, was at the time considered an authority in Norwegian musical life. His name as co-founder of the *Organistskole* not only attracted a great deal of attention from the public, but also created a trustworthy basis for attracting supporters such as the Church Ministry. The *Statsraad* (Secretary of State) at the time, Johan Sverdrup, commented as follows on the headmasters' application for state support in 1885:

> The reason why the matter met with so much sympathy was that it was linked to the name of old Lindeman [Ludvig Mathias]; not because they wanted to pay him a personal tribute, but because they found in him an assurance that the school would be run in a good spirit and achieve the goal to which it aspired.[12] (*Storthings Forhandlinger*, 1888, p. 277)

Even when L. M. Lindeman died in 1887, the 'memory of an outstanding musician'[13] (*Storthings Forhandlinger*, 1888) was a weighty argument that convinced the government of the need to subsidise the institution. It is questionable whether Peter would have had similar success as a sole applicant to the Church Ministry.

12 'Grunden til, at Sagen blev omfattet med saa megen Sympathi, var, at den knyttedes til gamle Lindemans Navn; ganske vist ikke, fordi man vilde vise ham saa at sige en personlig Honnør, men fordi man i ham fandt en Sikkerhed for, at Skolen vilde blive drevet i god Aand og opfylde det Maal, som den sigtede mod'.

13 'den fremragende Musikers Minde'.

However, the father's assistance was not limited to ideational support for the project. Rather, he was a practical help, especially in the very first years. His flat with its harmonium was used for teaching. He also taught without taking a salary for it (Vollsnes, 1999, p. 261). With the publication of the *36 Fugerte Preludier* (1881) and the *54 Små Preludier* (1883), L. M. Lindeman also made an important contribution to the study literature that was used in the lessons. Furthermore, in the lessons of the first years, the *Orgelskole* (Organ School) by Just Lindeman – a brother of Ludvig Mathias – was used, which had been published between 1876–1880. This is evident from the first annual report written by Ludvig Mathias and Peter Lindeman in 1884:

> Of other organ works we have used in teaching, *Orgelskole* (published by [Just] Lindeman), *Seminaristen*, a collection of organ pieces published by Josefsohn, L. M. L. fugal preludes and small preludes, as well as already some preludes and fugues by Bach, etc.[14] (Lindeman & Lindeman, 1884)

The dominance of the Lindeman name both among the teachers and as authors of the teaching material suggests the strong family character of the institute in the early years. In the first application for a state subsidy, it is stated that the existence of the *Organistskole* 'rests completely and permanently on private devotion'[15] (Musik- og Organistskolen i Kristiania, 1886, p. 38). This private commitment was possible thanks to a long music-pedagogical tradition within the family, which goes back to Ole Andreas Lindeman – the father of Ludvig Mathias and Just.

Having studied with C. P. E. Bach's pupil Israel Gottlob Wernicke in Copenhagen, Ole Andreas Lindeman developed a personal style that was firmly rooted in the Berlin Bach reception of the late 18th century. After his studies, Lindeman returned to Norway with numerous handwritten copies and translations of music theory treatises. The estate contained over 60 titles with a focus on Johann Philipp Kirnberger and the Berlin Bach School.[16] This collection was the basis of a teaching tradition that extended from Ole Andreas Lindeman to almost all subsequent members of the Lindeman family. He himself taught his children based on the old

14 'Af andre orgelsager har vi ved undervisningen benyttet «Orgelskole» (udgitt af Lindeman), «Seminaristen», en samling orgelstykker udg. af Josefsohn, L.M.L. fugerte preludier og små preludier samt allerede tildels Bachs preludier og fuger'.

15 'at den helt og holdent hviler paa privat Opofrelse.'

16 An overview of the family library can be found in Karevold (1996, p. 187).

theoretical treatises, but there was also a diligent exchange of writings and notes among the family members. The traces of use, comments and additions by several authors bear witness to this (Karevold, 1996, p. 109).

Ole Andreas Lindeman can therefore be seen as the starting point of an inner-familial music pedagogy that can be described as unique due to his 'solitary position' (Karevold, 1996, p. 105) in the musical life of Norway in the first half of the 19th century. In his 1857 obituary of Ole Andreas Lindeman, Marcus Jacob Monrad called this family tradition a 'golden chain'[17] (Monrad, 1857), which was continued by the younger members. Even if the younger generations were always striving for adaptations of the theoretical core, the rootedness in the aesthetics of the 18th century remained. The emphasis on polyphony and the organ works of Bach in the annual report quoted above also reflects this.

The continuation of this family tradition can also be seen in the school concerts of the 1880s and 90s. If one adds up the compositions of all members of the Lindeman family, the works of Bach (8.8%) and the Lindemans (10.8%) were played most frequently at the first 100 student concerts between 1885 and 1896. In addition, their prominent positions within the programmes as opening and closing numbers also underlines the fundamental importance of the compositions (Førisdal, 2022, p. 47). Anders Førisdal argues on the basis of these data for the continuity of the 'golden chain' in the institutional framework of the music conservatoire.

Against this background, the founding of the *Organistskole* in 1883 appears to be a moment of making public a tradition that had been more or less internal within the family until then. The extent to which this tradition was still present not only in the early years – when the focus was still on organist training – but also at the beginning of the 20th century becomes clear in the tribute to Ole Andreas Lindeman on the 50th anniversary of his death in *Musikbladet, Musik-Konservatoriet's* journal, which dedicated a 'reality poem' in several parts to the 'old organist' (Buseth, 1909). Also, the *Preludes* by Ludvig Mathias Lindeman were still compulsory literature for the institution's organ students at this time (Lindeman, 1912, p. 44).

17 'gylden kjede'.

An organ school becomes a conservatoire

However, the question arises of how a fully fledged conservatoire could develop from an organist school. In accordance with the original name of the institution, the focus in these early years was especially on organ playing. The annual report of 1884 states that the pupils learned modulations, voice leading and basso continuo (Lindeman & Lindeman, 1884, p. 2). Soon, however, the focus broadened, and more and more students studied other instruments (Førisdal, 2022 p. 47). As a result, the name of the institution changed to *Musik- og Organistskolen* (The Music and Organist School) only two years after its foundation. In 1894, the name changed once again, this time to *Musik-Konservatoriet*.

The separation of musicians and organists in the 1885 name may be surprising. But a glance at the annual reports reveals that this also reflects a different treatment of the students. Even in 1913 – the institute was called *Musik-Konservatoriet* for almost 20 years – the curriculum included special requirements for organists: 'Organist students must also study counterpoint and composition to compete for larger posts'[18] (Lindeman, 1913, p. 2). The link between practical playing and theoretical understanding, which was particular to organist training, differed from the curriculum of the other instrumentalists. Many forms of musical creativity, especially in the sense of improvisation and composition, were therefore directly linked to playing the organ. The practical relation to organ playing thereby also had an impact on the composition and counterpoint lessons of the other students.

To understand how a teaching institute for organists could develop into a fully fledged conservatoire, it is important not only to think of training in organ playing, but to look at the professional field of church musicians in general. They were not only responsible for the accompaniment of the church service, but – especially in small villages – acted as a local music teacher. The quite broad range of studies offered in the first year at the *Organistskole* was already directed towards this professional field. If one understands the institution from this point of view, less as a school for organists and more generally as an academy for church music, then the focus of the institution, which broadened over the years, makes sense.

18 'Organistelever maa desuten studere Kontrapunkt og Komposition, for at kunne konkurrere om større Poster.'

Musik-Akademi and *Organistskole* in comparison

When comparing the two models regarding the initial motivations, it is evident that in both cases cultural-political ambitions played just as much a role as economic reasons. Just like Lindeman, Winter-Hjelm and Grieg founded their institution only a short time after returning from study trips abroad. The desire to establish themselves at home with a teaching post was thus significant for all three. In addition to the expected economic benefits for their own livelihood as musicians, the idea of founding a conservatoire was made lucrative by a national cultural-political programme. The striving for national independence in matters of music education, as it was articulated in national debates, was thus a leading principle that made the new founding of conservatoires look promising. The *Musik-Akademi* project must clearly be seen in this context. Peter and Ludvig Mathias Lindeman also responded to a political agenda. However, in their case it was the observed and politically criticised lack of an institute for the training of church musicians.

The choice of teaching method followed the initial decision to found a music school. Here, the main actors in the transfer process were the teachers themselves. In both cases, it was based on the personal experiences of the young musicians during their studies or at home. The broad range of experiences of the founders proved to be a decisive difference. While the Lindemans could build on a strong educational tradition that had been proven in the family, Winter-Hjelm and Grieg had to rely on establishing new strategies and applying teaching methods that were familiar to them. The proportion of borrowed methods is, consequently, significantly higher in their case. They integrated experience gained from studies in Leipzig and Berlin into their own school concept.

In the case of the Lindeman family, the borrowing of educational structures took place over several generations. Beginning with the Bach reception by Ole Andreas Lindeman, a unique understanding of music developed within the family circle. The theoretical writings, collections and study materials that were passed on indicate that the pedagogical practice was, at its core, an internally developed 'private' strategy. The founding of the *Organistskole* in 1883 marked the moment when this pedagogical heritage was made public.

The Lindemans' wealth of family experience was also to prove useful in the practical implementation of the educational method. First of all, it was the pedagogical knowledge and the corresponding teaching material that made it easier to integrate the method into the teaching process. In addition, L. M. Lindeman's reputation as an organist helped to convince both students and sponsors of the project. With this, he helped the later conservatoire to get off the ground. Thanks to the family's cohesion and their pedagogical work as a collective self-image, it was also possible to compensate for additional strains and to support each other. It can be observed that several family members taught at the *Organistskole*. Private living quarters and instruments were the property of the conservatoire. Thus, the family character of the institution played a large part in its success, especially in the early years.

Winter-Hjelm and Grieg could not rely on such family assistance and protection. Without any public funding, they were entirely dependent on the solvent student body. Thus, they were even more dependent on adapting to local needs. In Leipzig and Berlin, they had become acquainted with the group teaching method, a concept that promised both financial security and a broad pedagogical impact. By applying the method in the context of a music school for children, Winter-Hjelm first made an attempt to test its suitability for the Norwegian market. The success of this attempt was the decisive argument for him to design the *Musik-Akademi* along the same lines. Only a few further adaptations were made during the expansions, such as employing more renowned teachers, offering public concerts, etc.

The different conditions of the *Organistskole*, which, from the beginning, was built on relatively solid pedagogical experience and the *Musik-Akademi*, which had more the character of an experiment to introduce a new teaching method in Norway, were clearly noticeable in the lasting success. Although the method of group lessons in the music school for children was successful, the model failed in the field of professional music education. Teachers accepted private pupils and thus stole solvent pupils from the institution. This was also a rejection of the teaching method and created a competitive situation between the teachers. Private and business interests were subsequently in conflict with each other. However, the very fact that beyond the testing in the context of the music school for children, only a few adaptations of the teaching method to local needs were made may be one reason for the early failure of the institution. Rather than

responding to local needs, the founding advertisements speak of the idea of using the *Musik-Akademi* to change local musical life in Norway.

In this way, it differed significantly from the *Organistskole's* aspirations. With the direct reaction to the need – and not a national dream – for a training school for organists, which was also recognised by the government, the *Organistskole* appealed to a clearly defined target group. Favoured by the family's reputation as church musicians, the attraction was strong and the school grew steadily over the first years. Førisdal also points out that even when the *Musik-Konservatoriet's* teaching staff grew, it was largely made up of teachers who had been trained at the institution themselves (Førisdal, 2022, p. 54). Thus, even in an increasingly public environment, the *Musik-Konservatoriet* retained a private character to a certain extent.

Despite these strategic advantages that an essentially family-based institute had over a public music academy, the question remains as to why an organist school would be the starting point for a fully fledged conservatoire. The *Organistskole* focused on an instrument that was not even included in the portfolio of Grieg's and Winter-Hjelm's academy. A look at music education in Norway in the years before shows that organ schools tended to have more lasting success than other music schools. Ferdinand Vogel ran an organ school in Bergen for almost half a century, and Carl Arnold's organ school in the 1860s was similarly successful. The reason for this was probably that organists or cantors were among the few musical professions in Norway that promised permanent employment. The demand for church musicians was constantly high. A thorough training of the candidates was important, because they were often required to carry out additional tasks such as conducting choirs and ensembles, teaching music, etc. A teaching institute for organists therefore had a market in Norway because there was a demand for it. An academy like that of Winter-Hjelm and Grieg appealed to a smaller, more bourgeois audience. In addition to the advantages of a privately run educational institution, this was probably the most important explanation why *Musik-Konservatoriet* developed from an organ school and not from one of the fruitless politically motivated attempts.

Résumé

A closer look at the models from Leipzig and the Lindeman family reveals that the two quite different designs share the common idea of a practical-theoretical understanding of music, which, despite its quite practical

anchoring in the Lindemans' profession as organists, was based on a broad theoretical foundation that can be traced back to the 18th century. It is therefore hardly surprising that Monrad's formulation in the obituary of Ole Andreas Lindeman, in which he calls him a 'preserver and propagator of the true musical tradition'[19] (Monrad, 1857), recalls Mendelssohn's aims for the Leipzig Conservatoire: 'Preservation of a true sense of art and its propagation' (Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 2013). In particular, the work of Bach appears to be the common point of reference for two musical traditions that developed separately from one another in different cultural areas: on the one hand, the Lindeman reception of Bach in the tradition of Kirnberger; on the other, the Romantic interpretation of Bach by Mendelssohn, which represented the stylistic ideal of the Leipzig School.

While Mendelssohn's pedagogical model in Leipzig was oriented towards the cultural interests of the local middle classes and had a strongly public and multiplying character, Lindeman's framework initially served primarily as a private pedagogy – limited to a few members – which gradually developed and finally took on a public character with the founding of the organist school in 1883. By then, it had produced several members of a family that was both musically as well as pedagogically highly gifted, and thus – with a multiplying factor of its own – laid the foundation for Norwegian music pedagogy. We can therefore speak of educational borrowing or transfer in each of the cases – both in the spatial and, not least, in the temporal sense.

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