

Manfred Gurlitt and the Japanese Operatic Scene, 1939-1972

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Manfred Gurlitt (1890-1972), a gifted composer and conductor, came to feel he had to escape his native Germany in the late 1930s, as did many other musicians. Although he had, in an idiosyncratic fashion, come to terms with the National Socialist regime, he exiled himself to Japan in 1939, hoping to obtain a position that would allow him to maintain or even to burnish his reputation in the world of music. His most brilliant earlier successes had been in opera, and in Japan his career was mainly linked with opera. He worked diligently to affirm the "correct" European way of performing the operatic repertoire, and produced many first-time productions of high quality. His competent, rigorous work in the field grounded the whole operatic domain of postwar Japan, and indeed his influence continues to be felt to this day. An article in the *Mainichi shinbun* in 1956 stated that "no musician has had such a vast and important influence over the Japanese musical world." His years in Japan, however, were spent with an underlying sentiment of displacement. His sense of unease was compounded by dissatisfaction with and unfulfilled desire for Western (particularly German) acknowledgment of the merit of his work. In this article I aim to shed new light on the place of Manfred Gurlitt in twentieth-century music history by reexamining his Japanese activity, with some reference to his early oeuvre as a composer and success as a conductor in Germany.

Keywords: MANFRED GURLITT, OPERA, MUSIC HISTORY, EXILE, NATIONAL-SOZIALISTISCHE DEUTSCHE ARBEITER-PARTEI (NAZI PARTY), TŌKYŌ KŌKYŌ GAKUDAN (TOKYO SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, TOKYO PHILHARMONIC), FUJIWARA YOSHIE, FUJIWARA OPERA COMPANY, KLAUS PRINGSHEIM, NIKIKAI

Much has been written during the last few decades in order to give a measure of justice to the many Central European composers—some of them very talented—who died, experi-

enced persecution, or were forced to abandon their families and musical work because of the policies of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany.¹ Performances of compositions by these artists have won for them the recognition that they were once denied. Works by Viktor Ullmann, Pavel Haas, Gideon Klein, Viktor Kohn, Hanus Krása or Erwin Schulhoff, to name just a few, have been restored to concert programs.

Some musicians and composers chose exile, mostly in the U.S.A., to escape detention and torture. Almost always, this forced resettlement seems to have resulted in difficulties, both psychological and economic; the case of Bela Bartók is an example. Another musician who went into exile was Manfred Gurlitt, a very talented and musically gifted German composer and conductor. Finding life difficult in Nazi Germany, he chose Japan as the alternative to the land of his birth. There, his competent and rigorous work in the field of opera grounded the whole operatic world of postwar Japan. Indeed, his influence continues to be felt to this day. His life in Japan, however, was spent with an underlying sentiment of displacement. His sense of unease was compounded by dissatisfaction with and unfulfilled desire for Western (particularly German) acknowledgment of the merit of his work.

Gurlitt is mentioned in encyclopedias and books of music history, both in the West and in Japan—but only briefly. His work, however, is starting to be more seriously examined by both German and Japanese musicologists alike, each looking at his activity in one of his two countries of residence. In this article I aim to shed new light on Manfred Gurlitt by reexamining his Japanese activity, with some reference to his early musical success in Germany.

Background

Manfred Ludwig Hugo Andreas Gurlitt was born in Berlin on 6 September 1890 to an antiques dealer, Fritz Gurlitt, whose father was a painter. His mother's family likewise stemmed from generations of artists and musicians. Manfred was the fourth child of the family. Decades after his birth, the validity of Fritz Gurlitt's claim to paternity would be challenged. After the establishment of the Nazi government in 1933, Manfred began to encounter serious problems because his paternal grandmother was a Jew. His mother came to his defense, writing to him that his grandmother had converted to Protestantism. At the same time, she revealed that his father was actually a Willi Waldecker, by then her second husband (after Fritz's death of a long-term illness). Waldecker in fact nominated Manfred as his sole heir, and for his part, Manfred was declaring Waldecker's paternity as early as May 1933. This paved the way for Manfred to obtain membership in the National Socialist party. The dissimulation about his forebears—if that is what it was—would not, however, save him from a destiny of marginalization in Germany.

Gurlitt began his career as a professional musician as something of a prodigy. At seventeen years old, he was already studying composition with Engelbert Humperdinck (1854-1921), and soon thereafter was engaged as substitute maestro at the Berlin Hofoper. There he made the acquaintance of Richard Strauss (1864-1949), of whom he was to remain a fervent admirer, and the conductor Carl Muck (1859-1940), whose assistant he would become in

1911 at Bayreuth, meeting Wagner, so to speak, in person. After other experiences as conductor at Augsburg and Essen, Gurlitt was nominated First Kapellmeister (director of the chorus) of the City Theater in Bremen in 1914; ten years later, probably with the support of Strauss, he was elevated to the position of Generalmusikdirektor, the youngest in Germany. After his promotion, he founded a society for new music (Neue Musikgesellschaft) in Bremen, similar to that begun by Hermann Scherchen (1891-1966) in Berlin in 1918. Yet despite this success, the growing impoverishment of the city in the mid-twenties and the consequent problems arising for the theater, together with Gurlitt's absolutist style of leadership and personality clashes with a new theater superintendent, all led to Gurlitt's decision in April 1927 to return to Berlin. He left Bremen amidst general accusations and slander. He had often been guest conductor of the Berlin State Theater² and had already established a growing reputation as a composer. His opera *Wozzeck*, based on the drama by Georg Büchner (1813-1837), won favorable notices when it was staged in April 1926. (Alban Berg [1885-1935] had also written an opera based on Büchner's play, and his work was first performed a few months before Gurlitt's.³ Ultimately Berg's *Wozzeck* became more famous.) Back in Berlin, working as a freelance artist, Gurlitt embarked upon a fertile period, full of commissions and performances of his works. Among his operas of these years were *Die Soldaten* (1930) and *Nana* (1932), both of which, like *Wozzeck*, tell stories of the *arme Leute* (poor people).⁴ *Nana*, from Zola's novel, with a libretto by Max Brod (1884-1968), was programmed to be debuted in Dortmund, but was cancelled due to the Jewish descent of the librettist and to the obvious incompatibilities between the story and Nazi ideology. Despite the disappointment he must have felt at the cancellation and despite the rumors about his paternal grandmother, Gurlitt continued refining compositional techniques, though he seems to have become almost obsessed with maintaining his position in the German musical tradition. This fixation is also seen in his unrelenting persistence in the attainment of membership in the NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische deutsche Arbeiter-Partei). Nazi Party acceptance, although granted, was quickly nullified in 1937, together with his Reichsmusikkammer membership. (The latter would be reinstated a year later in order to facilitate his emigration.) Indeed, this period between 1933 and 1939 was particularly painful for Gurlitt, probably due in part to his penchant for new music and linguistic experimentations, but



Figure 1. Young Manfred Gurlitt.

also because of his difficult character, which produced more than a few enemies. In April of 1939 he boarded a ship in Bremerhaven and left his homeland.

Arrival in Japan

At midnight 23 May 1939, a German steamboat trading with Japan arrived at the port of Yokohama. Many diplomats were on board, together with some traders and Manfred Gurlitt and his third wife, Wiltraut Hahn, to whom he had been married just a few years.⁵ The Gurlitts lacked permission for disembarkation and were detained at the dock. A Mr. Tanomogi Shinroku 頼母木真六 intervened and initiated negotiations with the Japanese authorities for the couple's admission to Japan. Tanomogi, who was responsible for foreign affairs in NHK (the Japanese state radio), had found Gurlitt's name in the Grove Dictionary of Music. His negotiations with immigration officials would last nearly a month.⁶ Almost immediately Gurlitt benefited from favorable press coverage. On 24 May, the *Asahi Shinbun* reported on his arrival, describing him as "a member of the Music Section of the German Ministry of Propaganda." The newspaper was generally sympathetic to but not completely aligned with the government. The journalist who wrote the 24 May article, however, reflecting the enthusiasm some felt for the Axis Pact of 1937, stated that the authorities could do nothing less than support Gurlitt and his work.⁷ And so began Manfred Gurlitt's stay in Japan.

The composer's long residence in Japan would turn out to be an exile of suffering, particularly in the years following the war when he was seeking, in vain, to reestablish himself musically in Germany. In that May of 1939, though, Tokyo looked like it offered a solution to contradictory German anxieties. Lacking a serious interest in politics, Gurlitt had tried positioning himself between adherence to the approved musical style of the Third Reich and his interest in new music. But notwithstanding internal manoeuvres at the Reichsmusikkammer, from which he had received a nominal permit to perform his own works, it had become practically impossible for him to continue his musical activities in Germany, and he had been planning his exile for some time.

It is not clear why Gurlitt chose Japan, where the situation was much the same as that in Germany.⁸ All musicians in Japan were regulated. After 1940, a section of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association was dedicated to control of music, and heavy censorship was applied.⁹ As we search for motives for Gurlitt's move to Tokyo, we note that his very first opera, *Die Heilige*, staged in Bremen in 1920, was set in twelfth-century Japan,¹⁰ but that may be no more than a strange coincidence. Probably decisive was the prospect of continuing his career. Gurlitt thought he would be able to benefit in Japan both from established acquaintances there (Konoe Hidemaro 近衛秀麿 [1898-1973], Klaus Pringsheim [1883-1972], Yamada Kōsaku 山田耕筰 [Kosçak Yamada, 1886-1965], and Hashimoto Kunihiko 橋本国彦 [1904-1949], to name but a few) and from the strong political ties that bound the two nations together. Gurlitt originally might have had a choice between Japan and China (Shanghai). He chose the former in the hope of enhancing his brilliant professional reputation for a while before going back to Germany.

In 1937, when Gurlitt's situation in Germany had become critical, it was suggested that he might find work at the Tōkyō Ongaku Gakkō (Tokyo School of Music).¹¹ He himself might have originated the idea, but it may also have been proposed by the conductor Konoe Hidemaro¹² and the composer Hashimoto Kunihiko,¹³ who met Gurlitt in Berlin around this time. The oldest existing document relating to Gurlitt's employment at the Tokyo School of Music is a letter sent by Hashimoto, dated 11 August 1937. The following month, on 18 September, there is another letter from Hashimoto with an agreement of employment detailing that the annual salary will amount to 6000 yen, the cost of an annual rent will be 480 yen, and the teaching will consist of piano, chamber music, and composition. Orchestral conducting was not included among his duties. Hashimoto explains that "a new conductor from Danzica [Hans Schwieger (1907-2000), officially sent to Tokyo by the Nazi regime] has been given the responsibility of conducting the orchestra." The new job is to commence April of the following year. In November, a letter from the school's principal, Norisugi Kaju 乗杉嘉寿, outlined various issues, among which was his discussion with the Minister of Education about budget matters and the first day of the new scholastic year. It would seem that the agreement with Hashimoto was nearing realization.¹⁴ On 26 November, Gurlitt, full of enthusiasm, wrote to his editor imagining a secure and prominent future in Japan.

But complications emerged as a result of telephone calls between the Director of Foreign Affairs of the Reichskammer and associated authorities, who informed their official Japanese counterparts that it was unacceptable that Gurlitt be offered a contract as Kapellmeister at the Japanese radio, given that "the post has been held until now by a Jew of German nationality who resides in Japan."¹⁵ Norisugi reported in a letter dated 14 December that "according to what has been conveyed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the Japanese Embassy in Berlin, 'as far as the German administration is concerned, you should not be nurturing hopes of a position at the School of Music in Japan.'" In January, Gurlitt personally made preparations as the veto seemed to have been resolved. Indeed, he had already planned to leave Germany on 15 January 1938 but this was unrealizable. Hashimoto had written again on 20 December saying, "As we are doing all we can to help, please stay in Berlin until our telegram arrives."

A postscript to Hashimoto's December letter also revealed that "the travel visa for Japan will have to be obtained in person at the Japanese Embassy in Berlin." In fact, Gurlitt was already in negotiations with the Embassy at the time of Hashimoto's correspondence, and in January he sent a telegram to Tokyo saying, "According to the Japanese Embassy, the German authorities, right up to the highest levels, have no objection to my new post in Japan." Gurlitt had obtained a permit from the Reichsmusikkammer for the performance of his works, but to obtain permission to take an overseas position, it was necessary to be an "irreproachable national socialist." Norisugi, in the second half of January, responded, maintaining that "without an official consensus of the Ministry of Education, our contract cannot be formalized." Five days later, describing the difficulties of the situation, which by then had led to the nullification of the contract, he added, "In this case, the current situation seems to be assuming the proportions of a governmental problem." In short, Gurlitt was prevented from obtaining a

position at the Japanese School of Music by the opposition of German authorities and by the willingness of the Japanese government in to interfere in school administrative decisions.

Gurlitt had obviously suffered a huge setback. On 14 April of that year, he wrote to Konoe Hidemaro, “My assured contract has been annulled. I have lost much in terms of time, money, and prestige.” By that date, he had left his house in Berlin and moved to Munich, where he stayed with friends. Toward the end of the year, having lost all social status, he started making enquiries regarding a passage to Japan. In order to get around the German veto, he declared that the trip was for, “study, observation, and documentary” purposes. During March 1939, he obtained the necessary documents from the Reichsmusikkammer, and on the 31st he received permission. A certificate dated 20 March 1939 declares Manfred Gurlitt to be a German composer active in the Reichsmusikkammer and in possession of an identity document number 50575, issued in Berlin on 1 January 1938.¹⁶ With his membership status at the Reichsmusikkammer, Gurlitt was able legally to leave Germany. He set sail for Japan. All his worldly goods, he left behind. On his arrival in Yokohama, he had eight yen in his pocket and vague hopes for the future.

Gurlitt in Japan

Gurlitt arrived in Japan with dubious and contradictory identities—“German official” on the one hand, “persecuted artist” on the other. He insisted that the ostracism he had experienced in Germany was for cultural reasons, rather than on account of race. His name was well known in Japan, at least within academic circles, as many scholars had studied in Germany. Many Japanese lovers of music were familiar with the Deutsche Grammophon set of recordings of great works directed by such notables as Arthur Nikisch (1855-1922), Richard Strauss, Erich Kleiber (1890-1956), Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886-1954), Otto Klemperer (1885-1973), and others—among whom was the young Manfred Gurlitt.¹⁷ Immediately upon reaching Tokyo, Gurlitt started exploring work possibilities, doing what he could to exploit his network of acquaintances. From the beginning, he used his ambiguous position derived from having been a member of the National Socialist Party to try to establish an advantage over German musicians and conductors who had been identified as Jewish, such as Josef Rosenstock (1895-1985) and Klaus Pringsheim.¹⁸

Not a month passed from Gurlitt’s arrival before he received a letter from Nippon Victor that stated, “In Japan, we have the Shinkyō 新響 Orchestra,¹⁹ but we think it would be better if another symphony orchestra existed. To that end, we would like to create a new musical ensemble.”²⁰ It is probable that Victor was having logistical problems in realizing a plan that it had formulated somewhat earlier. The director of Victor, M. Oka, had suggested a merger of Victor’s existing studio orchestra and one of Japan’s leading regional musical ensembles, the Chūō Kōkyō Gakudan 中央交響楽団 (Central Symphonic Orchestra) of Nagoya. The new entity would bring together thirty-four musicians from Nagoya and twelve from Victor’s studio unit, and be based in Tokyo. As resident conductors, Victor (which was backed by a much larger company, Tōkyō Denki Kabushiki Kaisha [Tokyo Electric])

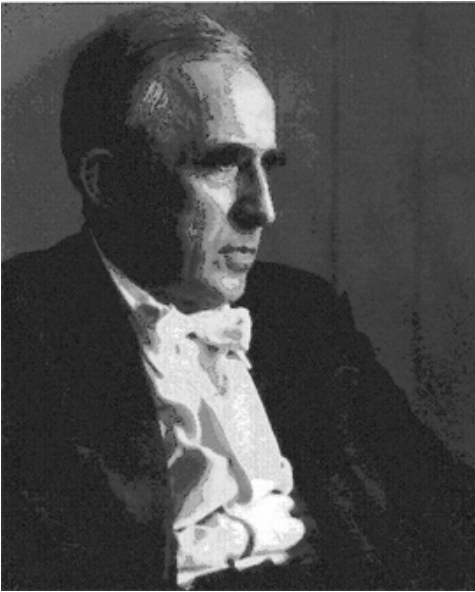


Figure 2. Gurlitt in middle age.

had originally thought of Rosenstock and of Konoe Hidemaro. Agreements between Germany and Japan led to enforcement of anti-Semitic policies in Japan, however, and Jewish musicians were not considered as candidates for the new post. Rosenstock, despite the huge respect he enjoyed in Japan, could not be nominated resident conductor. Gurlitt was a credible substitute.²¹

The monthly salary was fixed at 600 yen for three three-hour recording sessions per week. Terms of the contract executed in 1939 provided for more than orchestral direction in the recording studio, however. The company required Gurlitt to serve in three areas of activity: (1) musical direction, (2) organization and the make-up of the orchestral repertoire (arrangement of popular and salon music, and music based on Japanese

melodies, plus rehearsal and recording of this music), and (3) recording of discs. Regarding the fulfillment of the second point, while there was interest in Western music among Japanese youth, their own ethnic melodies were certainly not neglected. Although we do not know whether or how much Gurlitt resisted being obligated to arrange and perform the kind of music specified in this second area of the contract, the letter from Victor culminated in an agreement a few months later.²² On 29 January 1940, Gurlitt conducted the new orchestra in a concert that featured Mozart's *Symphony No. 41*. The orchestra called itself the *Tōkyō Kōkyō Gakudan* (Tokyo Symphony Orchestra; it was renamed the Tokyo Philharmonic in 1945)²³ and initiated the first of a regular season of concerts on 12 September 1941, playing Wagner's *Tannhäuser* overture, Liszt's *Faust Symphony*, and five *Lieder*.

This orchestra became Gurlitt's major source of activity. Eta Harich-Schneider, a German pianist and academic who also fled to Japan, recalls the huge success of these concerts. The programs, it is interesting to note, reflected Gurlitt's musical interests, particularly in their emphasis on overtures and operatic extracts. Harich-Schneider remembered the concert of January 1944, the last before the war reached Tokyo in earnest in the form of regular firebombings, as having been especially well received.²⁴ Actually Gurlitt was on the podium only occasionally, for in 1943, he had fallen victim to extreme Japanese nationalism and was replaced by Japanese conductors, but the orchestra continued working under these other conductors until March.²⁵ In September 1944, like many other foreigners, Gurlitt fled to Karuizawa in the mountains northwest of Tokyo. The following spring, in the heavy aerial bomb attacks suffered by Tokyo on 13 April, everything belonging to the *Tōkyō Kōkyō Gakudan*—rehearsal hall, music, equipment, and materials and supplies—was destroyed.

Many instrumentalists were also killed in these air raids. After the war, Gurlitt's contract was not renewed. He did continue fairly often to direct the orchestra, however, and in 1957, he was designated honorary conductor.

In Gurlitt's early days in Japan, director Norisugi of the Tokyo School of Music and probably Hashimoto, too, had pressed the school's board of directors to offer employment to Gurlitt. And from existing records, there is no doubt that in June of 1939, Gurlitt had started to teach as assistant in composition, piano, chamber music, and conducting at the school. Yet there is not one signed contract in the school's archives, nor are things made clearer in Norisugi's documentation. However, correspondence of 11 August 1939 makes clear that Victor Company was eager to avoid problems that might have arisen as a result of Gurlitt's other existing obligations including employment at the school.²⁶ The prized post of Kapellmeister of the Japanese radio network, as we have seen, was denied to him out of concern for then-prevailing German official sensibilities. His employment at the music academy was terminated in 1942, when government checks on artists became tighter and Western music came to be viewed with suspicion by some officials. It would seem that in 1944, however, the German embassy remonstrated with Japanese authorities over the dismissal of Gurlitt, who had been reinstated among "those German musicians active in Japan" who were acceptable to the German state. His name appears on a document listing German musicians resident in Japan that the German Embassy sent to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²⁷ The inflexible (and seemingly anti-Gurlitt) ambassador Eugen Ott had been succeeded in 1942 by Heinrich G. von Stahmer, a more conciliatory man, and through skillful manipulations, Gurlitt succeeded in acquiring for himself an annual stipend of 550 marks. Accepting this money (categorized as aid "to Germans remaining in Japan as a result of the war"), the composer-conductor showed his acquiescence yet once more to the Nazis. An acquaintance later remarked with some asperity on his stance: "[P]icture then the maestro presenting himself at the garden party of the Embassy."²⁸

Japan's Operatic Scene

Opera was introduced into Japan when the country's geographical barriers were forced open in the mid-1800s.²⁹ Following in the footsteps of Western technology and cultural forms generally, opera was immediately seen as an adjunct to or complement of the Japanese theater arts.

The pinnacle of the theatrical arts in Japan prior to its nineteenth-century opening, one might argue, was to be found in music, song, and dance, from the solemn expression of *noh* to the brilliant scenes of *kabuki*.³⁰ Urban productions reached an extraordinarily high artistic level, remarkable even within the overall Asian theatrical scene. The traditional genres of Japanese theater were very popular and full of spectacle, and Japanese audiences at early performances of Western opera initially responded tepidly. This foreign import was largely neglected, and indeed it is only quite recently that Western opera has started to receive much

serious attention. Opera, together with other Western musical forms, was for years left for the enjoyment of foreign residents in Tokyo and, to a considerably lesser extent, a new Japanese class of state functionaries. Light opera meanwhile began to conquer the bourgeoisie and lower classes.

Soon after they were permitted to reside in Japan, foreigners, especially those belonging to military or diplomatic circles, held concerts at their own residences and set up operatic societies in which the Japanese also assisted. At the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912), Tokyo and Yokohama were *the* places for Western music making. Not coincidentally, these were the cities where foreign delegations based themselves. In 1889, no fewer than nine foreign operatic companies came to Japan.³¹ Of particular note was the performance of the first act of Gounod's *Faust* in 1894, organized by the Japanese Red Cross, at the new concert house of the School of Music in Tokyo. A member of the Italian embassy sang Faust, and Mephistopheles was interpreted by an Austrian government minister, the Baron Coudenhoven. The orchestra was that of the Music Department of the Imperial House, and the chorus was from the Tokyo School of Music. Franz Eckert directed.

Toward the end of the Meiji period, choral performances and operatic stagings by Japanese artists started to appear. In 1902, students of the Tokyo School of Music founded the Kageki Kenkyūkai (Research Group on Opera) and on 23 July 1903, Gluck's *Orphée et Eurydice* was staged as the first public performance of an opera exclusively by Japanese artists. Shibata Tamaki 柴田環 (later Miura 三浦 Tamaki, 1884-1946), a soprano who was to conquer an international public with her interpretation of Cio-Cio-San in *Madame Butterfly*, played the part of Eurydice and Yoshikawa Yama 吉川やま (also known as Yamako) was Orfeo.³² Students of the Imperial University of Tokyo translated the libretto, and students of the Tokyo School of Music interpreted the vocal roles. The scenery was produced by the School of Fine Arts. The only foreigners involved were the German Raphael von Koeber (1848-1923), who accompanied the production on piano, and the Frenchman Noel Peri (1865-1922) who conducted.³³ Complementing the performance of *Orphée et Eurydice* was a small publication that contained a translation of the libretto and also a brief look at the history of opera and an examination of the myth of Orfeo. This 1903 production quickly became a hotbed of controversy. The Minister of Education felt it inappropriate for students to undertake dramatic leading roles. Insurmountable economic problems ensured that this experiment was not repeated, notwithstanding the efforts to give a new edition with orchestral accompaniment rather than a lone piano. It would be some thirty years later when the next opera was staged at the Tokyo School of Music. That would be Kurt Weill's *Der Jasager*, conducted by Klaus Pringsheim in 1932.

Ishikura Kosaburō 石倉小三郎 (1881-1965) and Okkotsu Saburō 乙骨三郎 (1881-1934), the students who did the translation of *Orphée et Eurydice*, using excellent, contemporary Japanese, were both great admirers of the works of Wagner, and had originally planned to produce *Tannhäuser*.³⁴ On Peri's advice, however, they switched to Gluck's *Orfeo*. Both were surprisingly well-informed on the events and history of European music and were youths destined to later fill posts in local government. They were very interested in European human-

istic thought, especially that of German philosophy, aesthetics and literature. Indeed, these subjects had been explored by Japanese intellectuals since the end of the previous century. Even if, in the first half of the Meiji period, opera was staged largely by overseas companies, young Japanese intellectuals were well-equipped to actively engage in the programming and realization of their own productions.

Toward the end of the Meiji period, the first Japanese operas were created, to which great musicians, both of the classical Japanese tradition and of the Western tradition, great writers and famous actors of the Kabuki Theater all contributed to.³⁵ The first of these experiments was a production of *Roeti no yume* 露営の夢 (Camp Dream), by Kitamura Sueharu 北村季晴 (1872-1931). In its structure this work was closer to a cantata, with its use of recitative-arioso interrupted by orchestral interludes; its story was based on events in the Russo-Japanese War. It was performed by the famous actor Matsumoto Kōshirō 松本幸四郎 with the Wagner Choir of Keiō Gijuku University and it was staged as an interlude in a performance of *kabuki* at the Kabuki Theater in 1905. Performances continued for a month and a half and aroused some interest.

In 1906, the Gakuenkai 楽苑会 company was founded by Yamada Gen'ichirō 山田源一郎 (1869-1927) and Komatsu Kōsuke 小松耕輔 (1884-1966), both faculty members at the Tokyo School of Music. Their first production was the one-act opera *Hagoromo* 羽衣 composed by Komatsu.

In 1904, Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙 (1859-1935), one of the most famous novelists, playwrights, and critics of the period, stirred up debate with the publication of *Shin gakugeki-ron* 新樂劇論, a treatise on the use of new ideas of theater in music in which he hypothesized a new kind of opera that was entirely Japanese.³⁶ He put his theories into practice in *Tokoyami* (Eternal darkness), for which the court musician Tōgi Tetteki 東儀鉄笛 (1869-1925) wrote the music, using a variety of elements from *gagaku* music. The work was performed in 1906 at the Kabuki Theater by a choir of hundred singers, fifty dancers, and an orchestra of thirty musicians. In 1906, the Bungei Kyōkai company staged a second work by Tsubouchi, a choreographed drama called *Shinkyoku Urashima* 新曲浦島 with music by Kineya Rokuzaemon XIII 杵屋六左衛門.³⁷ The year 1907 saw a Japanese version of part of Gounod's *Faust* and *Reishō* 靈鐘, the second production by the Gakuenkai. The libretto was by Kobayashi Yoshio 小林愛雄 (1881-1946) and the music again by Komatsu. One of the most interesting of all stagings was toward the end of 1909 on 26 December when the small-size opera *Chikai no hoshi* 誓いの星 (Star of Promise) was produced at the Unitarian Church in Tokyo's Shiba ward. This was composed by the young Yamada Kōsaku, who took the birth of Christ as the opera's main focus point.

In the space of about two decades, the Japanese musical world passed from passivity to activity—from merely receiving to freshly creating—though the process was fraught with difficulties. In 1911, an article with the title “Teikoku Gekijō to Kageki” (The Imperial Theater and Opera), authored by a certain Gyokugan 玉巖 (nom de plume of Komatsu Kōsuke), appeared in the music magazine *Ongakukai* 音楽界.³⁸ The article was essentially a comprehensive study of a series of problems vexing the operatic world at the time. According

to Gyokugan, “the primary reasons for this stemmed from an insufficiency of adequate performers, largely vocal but also instrumental. This would obviously have rendered less amenable those companies willing to economically support operatic ventures. The article’s title referred to the much-awaited Teikoku Gekijō (Imperial Theater), opened in March 1911 with a resident philharmonic orchestra directed by August Junker (1868-1944) and Heinrich Werkmeister (1883-1936), Germans who taught at the School of Music. The new hall was intended specifically for musical theater, both Japanese and Western. Six months after the opening, an operatic company was founded, and shortly thereafter the Theater produced its first works, among them a program of selections from *Cavalleria Rusticana* by Mascagni in 1911, sung by the Italian tenor Adolfo Sarcoli and the soprano Miura Tamaki. The opera was not warmly received, particularly by the public. In 1912, the Imperial Theater employed the Italian Giovanni Vittorio Rossi (dates unknown), and under his direction extracts of Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte* and Humperdink’s *Hänsel und Gretel* were performed.³⁹ Also produced were *La figlia del Reggimento* by Donizetti, *Orphée aux Enfers* by Offenbach and *Boccaccio* by Suppé. Rossi would later go on to produce operas and operettas at a big cinema-hall in Akasaka, soon after renamed the Royal Theater (Royal Gekijō ロイヤル劇場), which flourished briefly, then folded in 1918.

Opera production at the Imperial Theater, notwithstanding the efforts of Rossi, was very much criticized. In February 1912, the opera *Yuya* 熊野, based on the noh drama and composed by August Junker, was offered. It was not a success. Critics at the time complained that the music and the text seemed to be substantially remote from and incompatible with one another. Another reason for the cold reception of this opera was the fact that many of the new intellectuals had a precise and complete concept of the drama *Yuya*, and they were sceptical of a foreigner’s attempt to interpret it. The fiasco of that performance raised yet another obstacle, at least for opera, in the way of attempts to discover an ideal fusion between European and Japanese music. The newspaper *Yomiuri* in 1912 gave prominent play to a pessimistic assessment in a feature article that discussed the future of Japanese opera. “If we want to be honest,” the writer said, “we have to confess that there is no one in Japan who knows how to compose an opera. The only one who possesses a knowledge of the basics is Yamada [Kōsaku], who is currently in Germany. If the latest information is correct, it is unlikely that he will be returning to Japan soon.” The article suggested that at least initially, Japan should restrict itself to importing and studying Western opera only.⁴⁰ Yamada in fact returned to Japan in 1913, but planned to go immediately back to Germany. The outbreak of the First World War forced him to postpone this, and he instead directed one of his operas, *Die Sieben Prinzessinnen*, in 1914. He also secured an important post in the operatic field in Japan, as director of the Osaka Theater. His first completely Japanese opera was *Kurofune* (The Black Ships) (1929) with a libretto by Percy Noel (dates unknown). This was produced with success at the Saint Petersburg Opera in 1931 under Yamada’s own direction. As for the much-anticipated Imperial Theater of Tokyo, however, it lasted only five years, folding in 1916.

The great difficulties in the translation of texts and the misgivings expressed by the press and intellectuals toward large productions of dubious success—doubts that only intensified in the course of various controversies—fortified the growing preference for operetta over opera. Audience attraction to operetta started to assert itself in the late Meiji years. The many tours of Japan made by operetta companies, among which was the English company *Bandman*, which came for the first time in 1906, made possible the staging of innumerable performances. This had the effect of recruiting a growing number of admirers, and not just from the lower classes.

From the end of the Meiji period through the start of the Showa (1926-1989) epoch, while opera was rarely frequented, many operettas and American musicals were staged in Tokyo by different groups. Casts often included Western performers. One of the first successes was *Les cloches de Corneville* by R. Planquette (1877), produced in 1916 by Rossi at the Imperial Theater. That same year, a group of artists, brought together by Takaki Tokuko 高木徳子 (1892-1919), started various activities in Asakusa, historically renowned for theatrical performances and certainly one of the liveliest parts of Tokyo. In many Asakusa theaters between 1916 and 1917, a new form emerged, interpreting the Western *bel canto* tradition in a liberal and original way, between opera and operetta. The Asakusa Opera group started by Takaki continued for several years, but it did not long survive the destruction of the theater by the great earthquake of Kantō in 1923. Among its members, one who enjoyed a longer career and left a mark on Japanese opera was Fujiwara Yoshie 藤原義江 (1898-1976).

Fujiwara was a tall, handsome man born of a union of a Scotsman and a geisha. Not being recognized by his father, he took his name from a house of pleasure in Osaka. It was in this city that for the first time he saw a theatrical show, a work of Tolstoy, and decided to enter into the field of opera. (In Japanese stage performances of the day, it was perfectly acceptable and indeed customary to insert singing parts.) Yoshie initially began work in the field of the new Japanese theater (*shingeki*), but quickly moved to the Shinsei Company and finally to the Asakusa Opera. He conceived a desire was to sing in Italy, and a timely inheritance from his father made it possible for him to leave Japan in 1920 to study abroad. For a few years, he studied in Milan with Nina Galassi (dates uncertain), the famous prima donna. He also spent some time in Rome, where, at the Teatro Costanzi, he saw *Madama Butterfly* sung by Miura Tamaki, who was later introduced to him.⁴¹

After Italy, Fujiwara went to London and in 1923 to the United States, where he interpreted Rudolfo in *La Bohème*. Newspapers hailed him the Japanese Valentino. Returning to Japan, fortified by the Italian experience and with the help of the chairman and chief executive of the Imperial Hotel,⁴² Ōkura Kishichirō 大倉喜七郎, Fujiwara founded his own opera company, attracting the best singers from the Asakusa Opera. Under the name of the Tokyo Opera Company, the group debuted in 1932 in a Hibiya theater near the Imperial Hotel with the first complete Japanese performance ever of *Rigoletto*. Due to the absence of performers, Maddalena was interpreted by a stage actress. This was followed in September 1934 by *La Bohème*, with Fujiwara singing Rudolfo and Mimi by Ito Atsuko 糸厚子.⁴³ In 1939, for the production of *Carmen*, with seven performances, the company was renamed Fujiwara

Kagekidan 藤原歌劇団 (Fujiwara Opera Company). One cannot speak about these operas as premieres with any certainty. For a long time, different theatrical/operatic companies active in Tokyo produced versions, selections, and adaptations of the most famous operas. The group Vocal Four (ヴォーカル・フォー), for example, who were active in the Fujiwara Company, had already performed *Carmen* and *Rigoletto* in concert format as early as 1928.

Radio and recordings were also vitally important in the diffusion of European opera in Japan. From early on after its 1926 beginning, Japanese radio broadcast operatic extracts, and from 1927 to 1930, it carried a series of operatic programs in which fifteen works using Japanese artists were performed. Important also was the discography market which was growing. From the end of the twenties, Japan set off to create the first home market of classical music records in the world.

Gurlitt and Opera in Japan

For pre-war Japanese with highly developed aesthetic sensibilities—sensibilities that were informed in part by appreciation of the great finesse of classical Japanese works—what was depicted as “realism” by Western opera was both puerile and uninteresting. Opera appeared to them to involve much expenditure and to result in productions with vulgar plots that were contrary to conventional notions of decorum. It is only since the end of World War II that opera, as opposed to symphonic music, has conquered the Japanese public. Early twentieth-century attempts to popularize opera enjoyed only limited success, and the freest and most imaginative early Japanese operatic activities were very often linked with operetta and, of necessity, popular. It is in this context that Manfred Gurlitt came to prominence in Japan, striving always to promote an “orthodox” and serious approach to opera. He worked with great determination and vehemence until both Japanese singers and instrumentalists came to respect, to the letter, the prerequisites of the score. In his correspondence, he often complained of the extreme difficulty he encountered in staging operas in Japan, where, unlike in Germany, there was no state subsidy. Gurlitt observed that taxes were considerably higher in Japan. This might have discouraged him, but instead he worked with missionary-like zeal to construct an operatic world in Japan. It was with great satisfaction, at the beginning of the sixties, that he was able to claim that he had formed two generations of singers. He could be proud also that he had brought to the Tokyo stage in 1957 a production of *Der Rosenkavalier* that matched that of the Berliner Staatsoper in its quality.⁴⁴

In 1941, Manfred Gurlitt started collaborative work with the Fujiwara Company which, at that time, was accompanied by the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra. On 16 May, the company produced *Aida*, the first of a series of operas that it presented in “correct” form. In previous “first performances” in Japan, the works were often cut or re-worked for the interpreting artists. The *Aida* performances took place at Kabukiza, the Kabuki Theater inaugurated in 1889 (a brick building in an architectural style that itself seemed to compromise with the Western idea of theater). A year later, again at the Kabukiza, Gurlitt directed a *Tosca* that had

undergone slight changes to the plot, probably in order to obtain financial backing. At the time of this production, the government favored Fujiwara with a generous 2000 yen grant.⁴⁵ In November of that year, Gurlitt directed *Lohengrin* with Elsa played by a Japanese singer. It was a huge success. It is to be noted that librettos were often translated, sometimes by great literary figures. It was also the case however that original versions were used, generally by singers who had studied in the West. As he explains in his essay *Die traditionelle Musik Japans*,



Figure 3. Cover of program for a staging of *Tosca*.

Gurlitt was receptive to translations in order that the text would be easily accessible to the public. One finds a preoccupation with making things accessible also in the fabric of his own works.

The Fujiwara Company moved in 1943 to Tōkyō Gekijō (Tokyo Theater), where it was accompanied by the Shōchiku orchestra. Under the oversight of nationalistic control, that ensemble took the rather pompous name Daitōakyō (Grand Orchestra of Asia). The choir, the Nihon Gasshōdan (Japanese Choral Group), was still external, and was recruited as needed for performances, occasionally by placement of newspaper advertisements. That year, under the baton of Gurlitt, *Bohème* and *Fidelio* were performed, in April and May respectively. This was a genuine “first” for Japan, even though the second round of performances was interrupted by air

raids which reduced the theater to rubble. Undaunted, the company relocated for a performance in Osaka before shutting down temporarily—as it turned out, until the end of the war.

Guru-Sensei: Gurlitt and Opera after the War

Fairly soon after Japan’s surrender, opera activities recommenced, with performances transferred to the Imperial Theater. Already in 1946, despite no heating, seven performances of *Traviata*, again under Gurlitt’s direction, were staged. *Bohème*, however, was shelved due to Fujiwara’s refusal to play the part of Pinkerton in protest of the heavy bombings the U.S. Army Air Forces had inflicted on the Japanese population. *Traviata* was a great success, and

following on from this was *Carmen* in April/May, and *Cavalleria Rusticana* and *I Pagliacci* in September. This period also saw the establishment of a permanent opera chorus, to be additionally used in many productions of touring overseas theater companies. It is not easy to trace the steps of the Fujiwara Company under Gurlitt's direction. The orchestra that he directed was the Tōkyō Kōkyō Gakudan.⁴⁶ Some highlights, such as *Tannhäuser* in June 1947, are remembered, and the *Don Giovanni* of December 1948 caused something of a stir.⁴⁷ It is said that the Japanese, under the Allied Occupation led by Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers Douglas MacArthur and in the midst of an uncomfortable confrontation with Western morals, considered the subject matter embarrassing.

In 1951, Yoshida Noboru 吉田茂, who looked after Fujiwara's administrative affairs, broke with the tenor-company head. Yoshida was upset by the tenor's casual financial conduct regarding the State subsidies granted to him for investment in his productions. Gurlitt, who trusted Yoshida implicitly, went into partnership with him in founding a new company. This terminated, of course, the composer-conductor's privileged relationship with Fujiwara, who immediately took on the well-known Mori Tadashi 森正 (1921-1987) as director. That same year, Gurlitt divorced his third wife and married Hidaka Hisako 日高久子 (b. 1924) a soprano in the Fujiwara Company who was thirty-four years younger than he was. In 1952, another company was formed, the Nikikai 二期会, in part affiliated with the Fujiwara Company and promoted by formidable singers who both studied and taught at the Tokyo School of Music (e.g., Nakayama Teichi 中山悌一, Shibata Mutsumu 柴田睦陸, Hatanaka Ryōsuke 畑中良輔, Miyake Harue 三宅春恵, Kurimoto Tadashi 栗本正 and others). The group was structured democratically, in contrast with the companies of Gurlitt and Fujiwara, in which the leader wielded absolute power. The Nikikai's official history dates its inauguration in 1952, with a production of *La Bohème*, but the group actually launched its activity in 1951 at Hibiya with *La Damnation de Faust*. Gurlitt would often collaborate with the Nikikai, and it was he who directed the "inaugural" *La Bohème*. At about this time, the decline of the Fujiwara Company became observable, partly due to economic difficulties but also due to the deteriorating health of Fujiwara himself. The Fujiwara Company, however, maintained relatively high artistic standards, even after the "divorce" from Gurlitt. It undertook the first ever overseas tour of Japanese opera, performing at the New York Metropolitan Opera in 1952 with *Madam Butterfly*. This production toured the U.S. in 1953 and again in 1956. In 1952, the company produced the world premiere of *Yūzuru* 夕鶴 by Dan Ikuma 團伊玖磨 (1924-2001) and staged the first Japanese rendition of *Il Console* by Menotti in 1955. Fujiwara collaborated again in 1970 in *Aida*, giving his own personal stamp to the production. He died in 1976, sick and debt ridden, after having handed over the tenorial "reins" to Shimoyakawa Keisuke 下八川圭祐 (1900-1980).

In 1952, Gurlitt founded his very own company, the Gurlitt Opera Kyōkai グルリットオペラ協会 (Gurlitt Opera Society) which opened on 27 October with *Traviata* at Nagoya.⁴⁸ *Die Zauberflöte* however is regarded as the company's "official" public debut production, and

its February 1953 opening was certainly the first Japanese staging of this opera.⁴⁹ Gurlitt put on Johann Strauss, Jr.'s *Zigeunerbaron* in September, and brought Mozart's *Zauberflöte* back again in December with Gerhard Hüsich (1901-1984) in the lead. The German tenor

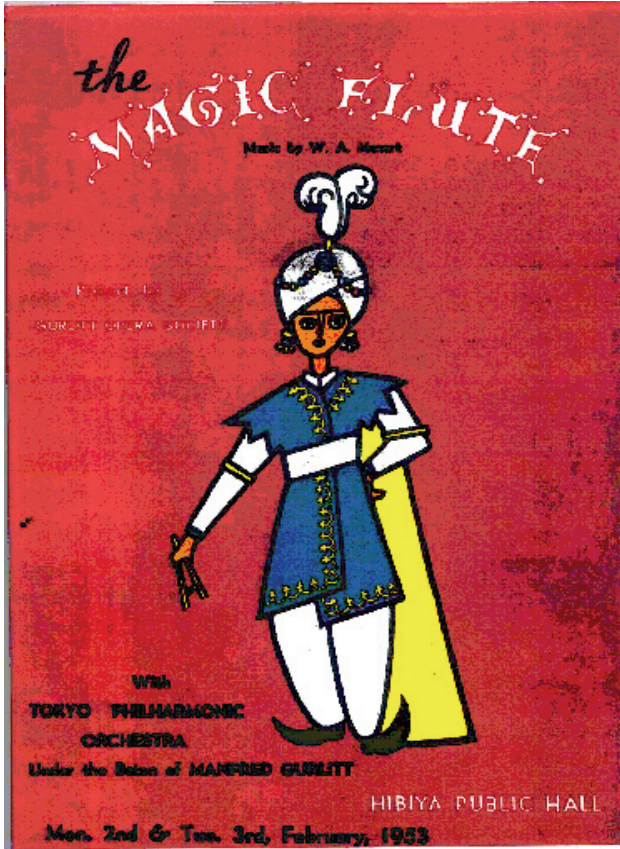


Figure 4. Cover of program for Gurlitt's production of *The Magic Flute* (*Die Zauberflöte*).

returned to Tokyo for an extremely successful *Tannhäuser*, although the first performance left the public somewhat perplexed. Gurlitt's wife played the role of Venus and Gurlitt himself directed all performances. In 1954, Gurlitt's company staged a *Bohème* with Ferruccio Tagliavini (1913-1995),⁵⁰ a singer acclaimed for his *Werther* at the side of Pia Tassinari (1909-1995).⁵¹ This was followed in June with *The Tales of Hoffman*, and in November, *Boris Godunov*. Boris was played by Ishizu Ken'ichi 石津憲一 and Fyodor by Hidaka Hisako. In 1957, Hidaka sang the part of Sophie in the first ever Japanese staging of *Der Rosenkavalier*, directed by Gurlitt and featuring some singers from the Fujiwara Company. The opera gained notoriety because Gurlitt, at the beginning of a performance, in front of a full house, burst into rage at one singer, demanding, "What are you doing after everything I have taught you?" *Rosenkavalier* was staged again by Gurlitt's company in 1966, this time in its original language, with the main parts entrusted to German singers but Japanese artists in other roles. Accompanying the singers was Tokyo Philharmonic Orchestra, which played "at its best," in the discerning opinion of Klaus Pringsheim, "under the baton of Manfred Gurlitt, German operatic conductor par excellence."⁵²

In the sixties, numerous touring companies from important European and American opera theaters came to Japan, raising the profile of their art. Midway through the seventies, Gurlitt, afflicted with serious sight problems, abandoned the podium and ceased all public musical activities. It seems likely that he felt bitter about the lack of recognition given to him

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in his homeland. In the fifties, if one compares his productions mentioned above with at least four other active operatic companies, besides the innumerable companies of operetta, Gurlitt must be judged favorably. He produced several first-time productions of a high quality, generally after two or three weeks rehearsal and with either double or triple casts: *Eugen Onegin* (December 1949, with little success), *Falstaff* (1951), *Othello* (1953, which received numerous awards), *Werther* (October 1955), *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (June 1956), *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (November 1960), *Salome* (1962), *Mignon*, *Manon Lescaut*, and more.

He was encouraged by the enthusiasm and selflessness of the Japanese musicians and singers—although he lamented that the label of “foreigner” impeded attempts to get close to the women! Conductor Wakasugi Hiroshi 若杉弘 (b. 1935), looking back to the 1958 premier of *Nana* in Dortmund, recalls Gurlitt saying with a smile and a certain pride, “All the singers of opera in Japan are my students.” Gurlitt, in his article on opera in 1949, stressed the importance of working with singers at the piano and maintained that opera was the most elevated musical genre, uniting instruments, voices, and scenography together. He went on to say that it was more difficult to direct operas than symphonic works, because the expressive environment of opera was greater; it was in this larger expressive ambient that the veracity of “unrealistic” opera existed, unappreciated as radio or recorded reproductions.⁵³ At the Tokyo School of Music, “Guru-sensei”⁵⁴ taught a seminar on opera in 1950, and in 1958, he authored a pamphlet entitled “To You, Student of Tokyo.” In this, after recounting how he and director of NHK Nagata Kiyoshi 永田清 had founded an Association for the Promotion of Opera and remarking that he himself had been an opera director in Japan for the last twenty years, he appealed to all university students to unite in forming an Opera Association for Japanese Students. This idea was supported and aided by the rector of Waseda University. The programme for 1959 started with a concerto of European operatic pieces in January, Wagner orchestral pieces in March, Puccini’s masterpiece *Bohème* in May, the first Japanese production of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* in October and *Lohengrin* in December.

It is quite clear that Gurlitt’s undertakings greatly contributed to the maturation of the Japanese operatic world. Wakasugi Hiroshi recognized this in the mid-eighties when he said that, “If it wasn’t for [Gurlitt’s] insistent efforts, opera in Japan would still be at kindergarten levels. . . . Even if now we’ve only arrived at junior high school, without his dedication, opera in Japan would not have managed to make it this far.”⁵⁵

Gurlitt’s Japanese Opuses

The “Jew of German citizenship” mentioned in the German documents that had thwarted Gurlitt’s appointment as chorus master of the Japanese radio in 1939, and who had, at that time, been teaching at the School of Music was Klaus Pringsheim. A comparison of the two artists, both active in Japan for a long time, is of interest to us here. Pringsheim had been invited officially to the chair of composition at the Tokyo School of Music. He received numerous commissions, wrote with some frequency for various musical publications, and busily engaged in orchestral and symphonic activities. Officially supported and highly regarded by the

Japanese, and probably more loved from a “human” point of view than Gurlitt, Pringsheim also was never forgotten at home in Germany in the same way that Gurlitt, for decades, was. The two composers were aware of one another from about 1915 when Pringsheim was nominated Oberspielleiter (General Director of Performances) at the theater of Bremen.⁵⁶ Initially, there was much reciprocal admiration, and their meetings were friendly, but at some point something happened between them and slander started to circulate. Gurlitt responded sarcastically to parts of the 1917 February performance of Pringsheim’s opera *Lojko Sobar*, which was staged in Bremen. After years of cool relations, they met again in 1954 in Tokyo, collaborating on the Japanese *Boris Godunov*, with Gurlitt conducting and Pringsheim stage directing. Whatever the state of their personal relations and professional rivalry, Pringsheim, in various writings, never stopped praising Gurlitt’s activities and talents. Both eventually received official recognition from the Japanese government: Gurlitt was awarded the fourth rank of the Order of the Sacred Treasure (*zuihōshō* 瑞宝章) in 1955 for his musical activities in Japan, and Pringsheim was given the fifth rank.

Not long after the war came to an end, from 1947 onwards, Gurlitt was able to get regular directing assignments with Tōhō, an important orchestra with a repertoire that embraced more than just operatic music. With the establishment of his own company came growing recognition, and that led to opportunities to work with the main orchestras of Tokyo in the production of operas for the Tomin Gekijō 都民劇場 (Tokyo Citizens Theater Council), for the important musical association Rōon 労音,⁵⁷ for radio, and (from 1960) for television. In 1951, NHK started to broadcast concert and opera recordings directed by Gurlitt including those from the podium of the NHK Orchestra.⁵⁸ In 1961, he was nominated principal director. At the end of the sixties, he retired from concert work and concentrated on teaching at the Tōkyō Seisen Ongaku Gakkō (Tokyo Academy of Vocal Music), an institution tightly connected to Fujiwara’s opera group. He stayed there until (probably) the end of 1970.⁵⁹

As a composer, Gurlitt won almost no recognition in Japan, and there were few performances of his works. In 1963, he wrote, “My ardent desire to be listened to here in Japan as ‘creator’ in one of my own operatic works has always remained an unfulfilled hope.”⁶⁰ He had arrived in Tokyo without any of his scores, as they would have been confiscated. He did refine his *Goya Symphony* (1938) and directed the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra in a performance of it in January 1943. It received a somewhat tepid response from critics, who felt the piece to be relatively superficial. Certainly, it fully corresponded to Gurlitt’s idea of music adapted for German regime tastes. It is his only symphonic piece comprising more than one movement, and it has been the most performed of all his instrumental works. The composition was inspired by Gurlitt’s visit in 1933 to the Prado Gallery, where the paintings and sculptures of Goya, together with the emotion of Spain’s transition to the nineteenth century, impressed him deeply.⁶¹ He sometimes performed his works with the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra. Examples of this include his first *Klavierkonzert* of 1941, sections of his *Nobutoki Variations*, which in 1944-45 were also broadcast, the last two movements of his *Goya Symphonie*, undertaken in February 1955, and in the same year, his *Violin Concerto*. Other performances were held in March 1990 for the centenary of his birth when Wakasugi Hiroshi directed “Gurlitt’s orchestra” in a concert of his works.

In Tokyo, despite the stresses of exile, Gurlitt was relatively productive. After the first few years of adjustment, he directed his energies once again to composition, working with the tenacity that had been characteristic of him from the early days of his youth. In 1941, he worked on *El Colosso*, a symphonic poem based yet again on goyaesque impressions, but it remained a series of fragments. Between 1942 and 1945 he completed the opera *Warum*, the title of which he later changed to the less-problematic *Feliza*, that he had mostly sketched out while still in Germany. He also wrote its libretto, based on events of the Spanish insurrection against Napoleon's occupation in 1808. Three characters lead the rebellion: Amadeo, a youth of noble birth; Mariano, a common man; and a priest. In one scene Goya appears, representing the freedom of art, and is saved by Mariano. The Goya figure might represent an autobiographical trait. The opera seems to demonstrate Gurlitt's attempt to express his true sympathies in terms of musical language, while in his overt behavior he had adopted a posture of acquiescence to Nazi authority already before his departure from Germany.

In 1943-44, Gurlitt worked on an opera based *The Treasure of Mr. Arne*, a tale by the Nobel Prize-winning Swedish novelist Selma Lagerlöf (1858-1940). *Nordische Ballade*, as Gurlitt renamed it, comprises a prologue, four acts, and an epilogue. It reworks the familiar theme of "die arme Leute." In it, two Scottish soldiers, finding themselves in Sweden, contemplate an insurrection, get thrown into prison, manage to escape, and then, in order to survive, rob a parish priest, killing him and his family in the process.⁶² Musically, Gurlitt returned to a style visible in his works before the thirties—that is, before the time of musical conformity to Nazi aesthetics. In this style, there is a fluid adhesion of words to the melodic line that seems to be the product of a personal harmonic freedom and a plasticity of timbre. Despite its musical appeal, however, *Nordische Ballade* has never been performed.

In 1944, Gurlitt composed the so-called *Nobutoki Variationen*, a work based on a melodic theme by the composer Nobutoki Kiyoshi 信時潔 (1887-1965), a composition graduate of Berlin under Georg Schumann, who had taught composition from 1923 to 1932 at the School of Music. Nobutoki's piece *Akagari* 赤狩り was cited as an example of successful Japanese harmony in an important debate between Pringsheim and the composer Mitsukuri Shūkichi 箕作秋吉 (1895-1971).⁶³ The Osaka-born Nobutoki had fully aligned himself with government directives on national mobilization, turning out, on commission, pieces that exalted the national spirit, most notably the paradigmatic *Umi yukaba* 海行かゝば (If You Go Toward The Sea, 1937), which praised the invasion of the Asian continent. The melody of *Umi yukaba* became a kind of theme song of the imperialist venture in Manchukuo, and later it was used as the jingle for wartime radio bulletins. In 1940, Nobutoki had contributed to the celebrations of the 2600th anniversary of the foundation of the Japanese state, writing the symphonic poem *Kaidō tōsei* 海道東征 celebrating the purported founding of the state by Jinmu in 660 B.C.E. and depicting the incursions by "Japan" into "Korea" in ca. the third century C.E. under the semi-mythical Empress Jingū. Richard Strauss, incidentally, had also contributed a celebratory work for the same august occasion, his *Japanische Festmusik* op. 84. Nobutoki's melancholy *Umi yukaba*, based on the articulation of two different pentatonic scales and therefore close to the musical sensibility that prevailed in Japan prior to the

introduction of Western music, is based on an ancient poem that venerates soldiers who die at sea or on land “at the side of the emperor.” So popular did this melody become that it is said it was sung even more frequently than the national anthem during the remainder of its composer’s lifetime.⁶⁴ Immersed in the atmosphere of wartime mobilization and probably susceptible also to political pressure on German composers active at the School, Gurlitt composed a series of twenty variations in his homage to Nobutoki Kiyoshi. This work represents his only attempt to internalize the musical culture of his new country and incorporate it into his own writing,⁶⁵ although he did occasionally direct performances of the music of Japanese composers.



Figure 5. Page from the manuscript score of *20 Orchesterstücke* (*Nobutoki Variations*).

The *Nobutoki Variations* are diverse in musical character. Often this results in the theme being unrecognizable, a trait that is exacerbated by Gurlitt’s habit of working on brief thematic fragments and modifying their rhythm and expression. The harmonic climate is absolutely unswerving; Gurlitt’s harmony in this work accords with the reactionary aesthetic of the Nazi regime. The connection between the music and the theme of praise of the nationalistic Nobutoki is so tenuous, however, that Gurlitt’s later decision to rename the variations *20 Orchesterstücke* does

not seem at all unreasonable.⁶⁶

Two more important pieces of the early 1950s, very close in structure, merit mention here. One is *Vier dramatische Gesänge* (Four Dramatic Songs) for soprano and orchestra, composed in 1950 and textually based on two of Gretchen's monologues from Goethe's *Faust*, on a work from Martin Hart's *Tantris der Narr*, and on a selection from Gerhard Hauptmann's *Der arme Heinrich*. The other significant piece from this period is the *Shakespeare Symphonie*, composed between 1951 and 1954 and demonstrating a much larger structure on the whole. Despite its "symphony" title, the work consists of a collection of nine vocal pieces, with texts from Shakespeare's dramas. Interpreted by three female voices, two male voices and orchestra, the nine vocal pieces are each divided into three distinct parts, a reference perhaps to the symphonic structure. The order of the pieces is relatively flexible. There are also interludes and cuts in the text which are followed faithfully by the melody. In any one piece therefore, one finds solo ensembles, duets and solos, all of which superimpose on one another. The tempi are left unspecified, with no metronomic or agogic indication such as *allegro* or *lento*, and the orchestra is large, with extra parts for string soloists. Variations of texture and dynamics psychologically present the apparition of every Shakespearean person. The instrumental parts are very chromatic, linear more than chordal, and in many places the harmonic make-up is frankly atonal. The first third of the work is titled "Separations," the second third, "Problematics," and the last third, "Love." The texts are no anthology of the bard's most famous passages; rather, material is taken from those places where characters transcend reality in the course of life, death and love. Gurlitt intones Shakespeare's verses with an appropriate "melodic methodology" in which brief motives pass from some instruments of the orchestra to others, and sometimes to the voices of the singers (and back), on the one hand, and contrasting dramatic passages tie one piece to another like an unbroken thread, on the other. The harmonic technique is completely personal. Depending on the tempo, *Shakespeare Symphonie* takes between an hour and three quarters and two hours to perform. It has never been presented in public, perhaps because it was slightly premature for Japanese audiences, whose taste for Shakespeare only started to boom after the seventies.

Other works in Gurlitt's Japanese *oeuvre* include the sketches of a *Klavierkonzert*. The best work of his Japanese years, however, was probably his *Drei politische Reden*, based on *The Death of Danton* by Georg Büchner. The score, for baritone, choir, and orchestra, was finished in January 1947. The texts are of the three great dialogues of St. Just, Robespierre, and Danton; Gurlitt subtitles these, respectively, "Spirit," "Intellect," and "Passion." The cynical dialogue of St. Just is dramatically realized with an insistent 4/4 over which the brief motives of the baritone emerge, sometimes supported by the orchestra, and limited to a few notes with a melodic line very close to spoken intonation. The orchestra limits itself mostly to emotionally surrounding the voice and to expanding the lines during the long and profound vocal rests. The harmony is harsh, contrasting sharply with those few tonal passages and a free atonality. The dialogue of the demagogue Robespierre is, by contrast, extremely melodic, using a simple harmony and a homophonic texture between voice and orchestra. In the last work, which deals with the passionate dialogue of Danton, Gurlitt abandons the

previous declamatory style. The orchestra is rhythmically more dynamic, the instrumental parts more expressive and the voice used in passages more lyric and meditative. The male choir is divided to play two important roles here, the accusers and the sceptics who mock the accusers; the choir, singing in unison, contrasts to the orchestra in its singular choice of timbre. The texture is harmonically free and demonstrates a development growing from those works undertaken before 1933. In the final movement, one can perceive an almost autobiographical identification.

Bitterness

Soon after the war, from the refuge in Karuizawa to which he had fled to escape the American firebombing of Tokyo, Gurlitt wrote to Toscanini and to Alfred Einstein, telling them of his latest works and also of the German persecution and his general living conditions. These 1946 letters perfectly express his impatience but also his rage that even after the fall of the Nazi regime, recognition in the German musical world and a welcome back home was not forthcoming. Hoping to raise his profile by making his scores readily available, he sought contracts with the prestigious music publishers Universal and Schott, and he tried to interest German theatres in staging some of his operas. But exhausting negotiations ended almost invariably in failure. Two letters from the great conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886-1954)—received in response to his own letters—fired up Gurlitt's hopes. The two had never known one another in Germany, but Furtwängler was well aware of, and sympathetic toward, the exile's position. His letter of 2 December 1952 revealed his recognition Gurlitt's musical activities, and reported that he had talked about him to Gerhart von Westermann, the new superintendent of the Berlin Philharmonic. Furtwängler suggested that Gurlitt contact Westermann directly. Furtwängler ended the letter by expressing his hope to be able to meet Gurlitt in Germany. We do not know if Gurlitt tried to get in touch with Westermann. It would appear that the exchange of correspondence with Furtwängler did not lead to a reversal of Gurlitt's fortunes in Germany; certainly no invitations to perform or to allow use of his scores were forthcoming anytime soon.

In 1958, Gurlitt contacted the Wiesbaden theater about the possibility of staging one or more of his works in the 1960 season. He received a response in which the writer recalled seeing the first performance of the opera *Die Soldaten* in Düsseldorf. There would, however, be no possibility of putting on any of Gurlitt's works in 1960. The correspondent expressed some interest in *Wozzeck*, but in the event, a Wiesbaden production of Gurlitt's version of that opera has never been realized.

Gurlitt also approached the Cologne Opera, suggesting that they might do his *Die Soldaten*. The response was brutally frank: they had no interest in his opera because they were already in the process of planning performances Bernd Alois Zimmermann's version of *Die Soldaten* (staged in 1965). The theater denied that it had initiated talks with Zimmermann to commission this opera, saying that the composer had for some considerable time demonstrated great interest in Lenz's subject; he had brought the project to the theater, rather than

the other way around. Herbert Maisch, supervisor at Cologne Opera who wrote to Gurlitt, did remember having produced *Nana* in 1933 at Mannheim, with Rosenstock conducting; and it was Rosenstock who was to direct the first opera of the forthcoming Cologne season. The writer failed to recall, however, that Gurlitt's *Nana* had been cancelled in 1933! (It would finally be staged in 1958 in Dortmund, attracting modest success.)

At the very end of the 1950s, Gurlitt sent a copy of his *Drei politische Reden* to the authoritative critic Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (1901-1988). Stuckenschmidt was impressed, as his response of 7 January 1960 makes clear: "I read the score of your *Politische Reden* and the music made a great impression on me. It is written in an original style and the dramatic effect is particularly strong. The problem will be, however, to find an interpreter who will have the necessary personality."⁶⁷ The musicologist suggested the name of Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau (b. 1925). Gurlitt may have hoped that Stuckenschmidt would do him the favor of contacting the celebrated baritone. He himself had in fact already been in touch with Fischer-Dieskau the previous year, and had received a letter declining collaborative work. Fischer-Dieskau had at least made a gesture in the way of assisting Gurlitt, passing on the name of Doelder mann, who, he said, would definitely be able to understand his music.⁶⁸ Nothing ever came of this.

Still another avenue that Gurlitt explored in his effort to revive his career and reputation in Germany was with the theater director and Bayreuth impresario Wieland Wagner (1917-1966). Wagner rejected Gurlitt's *Die Soldaten* for the Bayreuth Jugend Festspieltreffen of 1965, but demonstrated a certain interest in *Nana*, which was produced in Bordeaux in 1967. The text was translated into French and critics were very positive. Antoine Golea wrote a lengthy review, praising the libretto by Lenz and the impressive orchestration. Besides the many positive French reviews, there was a favorable notice in a German newspaper, the *Dortmunder Echo*.⁶⁹ After this, there were other stagings of *Wozzeck* in Germany and a few radio broadcasts, notably in 1969, directed by Klaus Bernbach and broadcast by Radio-Bremen.

These sporadic and modest successes did not make way for a triumphant exile's return. The reality was close to—if not exactly as bad as—what one of his friends wrote in September 1965: Gurlitt's name had been completely forgotten in Germany. In my opinion, Gurlitt's compositions went largely unperformed in Japan and Germany not for lack of talent, but because they appeared too problematic to realize. Mostly this was the result of the obsessive strictness of the composer himself, combined with his difficult and aggressive temperament. He had a reputation, both in Japan and Germany, for demanding everything, and more, in performances—a reputation for manufacturing unnecessary difficulties, particularly in the staging of his own works. After the war, moreover, he tended to be classified as belonging to a sad, remote, forgotten past. Fairly or unfairly, many regarded him as having been superseded by other younger composers.

In December 1956, Gurlitt won a measure of redemption. He was honored with the Merit Cross (Verdienstkreuz erster Klasse), "in recognition of exceptional services rendered to the Federal Republic of Germany."⁷⁰ The award was actually presented to him on 28 February

1958—in Tokyo, not in his homeland. The German ambassador presided at the ceremony. In 1959, he received honors from the International Foundation of the Salzburg Mozarteum. A number of Japanese awards, too, came his way, including the prestigious Mainichi Prize, which he won on more than one occasion and which was an award for contributions made to operatic activities. Other recognition from Japan included a highly laudatory article in the newspaper *Mainichi shinbun* on 17 June 1956, in which it was asserted that “no other musician has had so vast and important an influence on the world of Japanese music as Gurlitt.”⁷¹ He was also awarded the fourth rank of the Minor Order of the Rising Sun (*kyokujitsushō* 旭日章) in 1959. Obviously, however, no amount of recognition could make up for the fact that there was absolutely no interest in his compositions. His postwar trips to Germany all turned out to be relatively short journeys, marked by intense but largely vain effort; none became a return to stay. The first was in 1955, when he accompanied his wife, Hidaka Hisako, who sang *Butterfly*. The second trip was in April 1958, for *Nana* in Dortmund. Gurlitt wanted personally to direct this staging but there were a number of problems with both artists and theater administrators, probably arising from the fact that Gurlitt was unused to Western “democratic” theaters, and in any event, he took ill at the last moment and had to be substituted for. His wife was sent numerous times to Germany to interpret *Butterfly*, and a television broadcast of one of her performances received an award in 1957. Persistent in the face of adversity, Gurlitt continued inviting German musicians to Tokyo, often establishing enduring friendships; one such friendship was with Wolfram Humperdinck, son of the exile’s onetime mentor Engelbert, who looked after the production of *Hänsel und Gretel* and *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*. Yet no progress was made on establishing professional contacts in Germany for performances of his own works.

Immediately after the war, and heedless of the enormity of the damage caused by the Nazis, Gurlitt resolved to ask for compensation for damages arising as a result of Nazism, such as his dismissal from public services in Berlin, his loss of property as a result of fleeing to Japan, and his loss of professional reputation and fame. The legal battle lasted from September 1953 until 1957. He failed to win satisfaction. The postwar Federal Republic of Germany refused to recognize that Gurlitt had incurred any injury. He had been, after all, a member of the National Socialist Party.

Conclusions

In the Ōmori suburb of Tokyo, maestro Gurlitt is remembered as being a handsome man, tall and impatient, whether at traffic lights or anything else, and always with a jacket and *papillon* perfectly placed. In general, however, the Japanese image of Gurlitt is vague and uncertain. Apart from a few dates marking important public performances, it would seem that his activities have been largely forgotten. Even during his lifetime, not a few Japanese viewed his personal history as ambiguous. The first things they heard, typically, were that he escaped Germany for a “study trip” in Japan, whereupon he was immediately viewed

with suspicion by the Japanese authorities, in part because of what they heard from German government representatives in Tokyo; and that he was regarded with suspicion in intellectual circles. He emerged from under the cloud to an extent when he was reevaluated in Germany as a result of his activities in promoting German culture.⁷² In many cases, however, the political and cultural stance of the Japanese was stronger than that of the Germans, as reflected for example in his brief, if unofficial, tenure at the School of Music. Gurlitt's time there was cut short even after the German authorities had started to reevaluate his place in the cultural life of the nation. After the war, rather ironically, although Gurlitt had been embraced by German representatives in Tokyo and included on their wartime list of (officially approved) "German musicians working in Japan," it was the former enthusiastic Nazi Helmut Fellmer (whose name had also been on the officially approved list) who was the preferred candidate for the direction of the Tokyo Strauss performances in 1949, work which Gurlitt had much aspired to. In any case, Gurlitt's status during the war years was different from that of German-born Jews such as Josef Rosenstock, who had his German citizenship removed, or Klaus Pringsheim. The latter, persecuted and forced to leave Japan in 1937, was reappointed to work in various Japanese institutions after the war; Pringsheim ended up teaching at the Musashino Academy of Music from 1952 until his death in 1972.

Almost nothing is known of the last few years of Gurlitt's life. He conducted a final *Rosenkavalier* at the Osaka Festival Hall in 1966, but for the most part, regrets and bitterness, suffered in solitude,⁷³ seem to have dominated his retirement. He died on 29 April 1972 of heart problems and sclerosis. As he himself had requested, he was buried near Tokyo with Shintoist rites. To his wife and son, he had presented a serene front in his waning years, and had been so convincing that after his death they were greatly surprised to discover letters and other evidence of his suffering.

Until 1986, when the Tokyo Alban Berg Gesellschaft organized a symposium on Gurlitt, in which his widow and the director Wakasugi participated, the exiled composer-conductor had been almost entirely forgotten, not only in Germany but also in his adopted homeland, an irony considering how hard he strove to affirm in Japan the great repertory of European opera. Nowadays, as Japanese society has begun to consider opera as more than just a bizarre Western entertainment, Gurlitt's activities are starting to be reevaluated. During the year 2000, a number of performances and concerts demonstrated this growing recognition. In a certain sense, it is only now that the Japanese are starting to feel a debt of gratitude toward the man.⁷⁴

Out of what seems in retrospect to have been political naiveté, Gurlitt, neither a committed supporter of the brutal politics of Nazi Germany nor a dedicated objector to such evils, chose his art. He tried to defend his own position and his own musical creations. Exile was a tactic in his struggle. In order to defend himself and protect his art, Gurlitt, perhaps without even realizing it, adapted himself to the iron-like spirit of Germany, losing his way

in the production of work that could not, in consequence, raise any interest. This is a bitter conclusion, but it harmonizes with the finding of music historian Irene Suchy, who exposed the ironic fact that it was the more compromised musicians like Fellmer, rather than Manfred Gurlitt, who were able to find steady work and recover their prestige in postwar Germany.⁷⁵

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NOTES

¹ See for example the series of compact disks *Entartete Musik* by Decca, produced by Michael Haas, and the essays, transactions of symposia, and other materials and monographs issued under the series title "Verdrängte Musik. NS-verfolgte Komponiste und ihre Werke" by von Bockel, a Hamburg publisher, since 1991 (e.g., on Viktor Ullmann, ed. by Hans-Günther Klein and Ingo Schultz; on Gideon Klein, ed. by Hans-Günther Klein; on Pavel Haas, ed. by Lubomír Peduzzi). See also Dutlinger et al. 2000; Heister and Klein 1984; Steinweis 1993; Kater 2002.

² Staatstheater; this name was given after the fall of the Wilhelmian empire.

³ For a comparison of the two operatic adaptations of Büchner's *Woyzeck*, see Winkler 1997, p. 189. Berg completed the first version of his *Wozzeck* in 1921, but it was not immediately performed in public.

⁴ Gurlitt's *Die Soldaten*, based on Jakob Lenz's (1751-1792) tragedy, would be overshadowed by Bernd Alois Zimmermann's (1918-1970) more famous work of 1965, much as his *Wozzeck* had been by Berg's opera of the same name. On Gurlitt and Zimmermann's *Die Soldaten*, see below.

⁵ Curiously, Hahn's presence is not referred to in any Japanese text, and Kuriyama Masao talks of Gurlitt's "solitary move" (i.e., without family); Kuriyama 2000, p. 10.

⁶ His wife and son Amadeus related this story to the author in a personal interview in Yokohama on 5 May 2000.

⁷ Chōki 1989-90, p. 5.

⁸ Gurlitt's fourth wife, Hidaka Hisako, maintains that Gurlitt did not want to emigrate to the United States because he wanted to "continue to be German," and that until the end of his days, he continued to maintain German attitudes and customs; personal interview on 5 May 2000.

⁹ The Taisei Yokusankai (Imperial Rule Assistance Association), founded in 1940, represented the institution of a capillary-type structure of organization and control. It placed the Association of Japanese Musical Culture at the head of other musical organizations, which subsequently were closed down by the police.

¹⁰ The text is based on a novel by Karl Hauptmann, brother of the more famous Gerhart, and deals with the famous episode "Giō" of *Heike Monogatari*. The main character's name became "Giwau" in Hauptmann's spelling.

¹¹ Today the school is known as the Tōkyō Ongaku Geijutsu Daigaku (Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music), and is commonly called simply Geidai.

¹² The conductor and composer Konoe Hidemaro (1898-1973), an aristocrat and younger brother of sometime prime minister Fumimaro (1891-1945; prime minister June 1937-January 1939, July 1940-

October 1941), had been to Germany many times and had conducted the Berlin Philharmonic on 18 January 1924, the first Japanese conductor to do so. He was also present at the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936.

¹³ Hashimoto Kunihiko (1903-1959) studied in Berlin from 1934 to 1937. After returning to Japan, he became a teacher at the Music Academy of Ueno where he taught a large number of post-World War II Japanese composers and from where he strove to help Gurlitt. See Galliano 2002.

¹⁴ Nishihara 1989-90, p. 9.

¹⁵ Götz 1996, p. 125; also see the section “His Activity,” below.

¹⁶ I reconstructed this episode from Nishihara 1989-90 pp. 9-10; the precise details regarding Gurlitt’s passport are quite difficult to reconstruct. See also Götz 1996, p. 124.

¹⁷ Gurlitt had signed a contract with Deutsche Grammophon at the end of the twenties.

¹⁸ Klaus Pringsheim (1883-1972), conductor, teacher, music critic and composer, studied music under Gustav Mahler in Vienna. In 1931 he left Germany for Japan, where he became a professor at the Ueno Academy of Music. He was forced to leave Japan in 1937, staying first in Thailand as a guest of Thailand’s Ministry of Culture, and then in the United States. He returned to Japan and from 1941 to 1946 he directed the Tokyo Chamber Symphony Orchestra. From May to August 1945 Pringsheim (together with Leonid Kreutzer) was, as a Jew, interned in a Tokyo-Koishikawa camp but was finally reappointed to work in various Japanese institutions. See below on his later years. He was the brother-in-law of Thomas Mann. On Pringsheim see Hayasaki 1994.

¹⁹ Founded by Konoe in 1926, incorporating elements of an orchestra established with the composer Yamada Kōsaku, who also conducted. The Shinkyō Symphony Orchestra changed its name to Japan Symphony Orchestra (Nihon Kōkyō Gakudan 日本交響楽団) in 1942, and since 1951, when it began to receive full financial support from the Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai 日本放送協会 (Japan Broadcasting Association), it has been known as the NHK Symphony Orchestra (NHK Kōkyō Gakudan NHK交響楽団).

²⁰ Letter dated 20 June 1939, quoted in Nishihara 1989-90, p. 15.

²¹ This may be why Rosenstock, whose memoirs were published only in Japanese, does not mention Gurlitt a single time.

²² In fact, it was just the start of stable employment; the actual orchestral contract itself was signed by Gurlitt only in September of 1940, or so affirms Isaka Hitoshi, curator of public relations of the orchestra.

²³ Today there exists another orchestra called Tōkyō Kōkyō Gakudan, but this has no connection with that currently under examination here, which today is called the Tokyo Philharmonic Orchestra.

²⁴ Harich-Schneider 1978, p. 248. Harich-Schneider is author perhaps the most complete English book on Japanese music yet undertaken, *A History of Japanese Music* (Oxford University Press, 1973).

²⁵ In 1943-44, the orchestra was directed by the irreproachable Nazi Helmut Fellmer. See *Tōkyō Firuhāmonī Kōkyōgakudan 80-nenshi* 1991, pp. 213-214.

²⁶ “Upon my inquiry at the Tokyo School of Music I have learned that you were appointed Lecturer of the School under date of 30 June 30 1939. Being in such a position you have to conform to the service regulations of the School. I am informed that according to such regulations anybody in your position should obtain the approval of the School authorities when he wishes to engage in an outside job. Therefore, you will have to get the approval of your School when you enter into business relations with this Company [Victor Record Company].”

²⁷ The musicians were categorized as (1) German musicians resident in Japan, (2) active musicians

resident in Japan who had lost their German citizenship, and (3) musicians who had German citizenship but whose activities were of no interest to the Embassy. Jews such as Pringsheim were placed in the third category. See Götz 1996, pp. 134-35.

²⁸ Harich-Schneider 1978, p. 240. Harich-Schneider was a long-standing neighbor and sometime colleague of Gurlitt, and recalls him in these words: "In his youth, he must have been an Adonis. His brutal simplicity surprised, entertained and amazed me. He was a phenomenon. He shamelessly flaunted his opportunism like an evangelist in, so-to-speak, perfect innocence." Also see p. 251. Harich-Schneider remembers the Nazi, Arian pretext exhibited before the war, the vindictive spirit and the malice with which he treated other Germans, denying Jews and only seeking friendship after the downfall of the Third Reich. On Gurlitt's compromises with the Nazis, see Götz 1996, pp. 110-127.

²⁹ See Eppstein 1994.

³⁰ On Japanese theater in general see Ortolani 1990.

³¹ Amy Sherwyn with her English Opera Company, the Royal Compnie Italienne [*sic*], the Carandini Operatic & Ballad Company, the Loftus Company, P. Maurel's Operntruppe, the Ensemble Emilie Melville, the Petite Troupe Francaise and the Salinger Company. See Naka 1996; also see Masui 1984.

³² See Wassermann 2001; see also Galliano 1997.

³³ See Galliano 2002.

³⁴ *Tannhäuser* was partly produced in 1920 to inaugurate the association Nihon Gakugeki Kyōkai (Japanese Opera Society) in Osaka under the direction of Yamada Kōsaku.

³⁵ See Masui 1984.

³⁶ Tsubouchi 1904.

³⁷ Kineya Rokuzaemon XIII (1870-1940) was a member of the oldest family of *nagauta* musicians and was a well-known *kabuki* musician.

³⁸ *The Musical World*, born in 1908 with Tsutsumi Masao (at that time known as Yamamoto Masao) as the publisher and Komatsu Kōsuke as the editor. With an ambitious editorial plan, *Ongakukai* was published until 1923 and was one of the most prestigious and widely read of the musical magazines.

³⁹ Giovanni V. Rossi was mainly a stage director, although he had been employed at the Royal Theater of London as a choreographer. He was very disappointed on his arrival in Tokyo because he had understood he would be employed at the Imperial *court* theater. See Kusaka 1984.

⁴⁰ Naka 1996, p. 170-171.

⁴¹ This production of *Madama Butterfly*, was seen by Puccini himself, and Miura Tamaki was presented to him.

⁴² Constructed in 1923, the Imperial Hotel, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, had its own symphonic orchestra.

⁴³ Ito later moved to Italy, and died in Milan at the age of eighty-two.

⁴⁴ In *Die traditionelle Musik Japans*; this text, undated but probably written in 1960, is in the collection of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg. It demonstrates the authentic obsession Gurlitt has for his work in the field of opera. Only about twenty percent of the text refers to superficial and imprecise news on Japanese music. The rest of the text is devoted to the problems often referred to in Gurlitt's correspondence—the economical and logistical difficulties of staging works, for example, and his own personal works and projects.

⁴⁵ According to Chōki, the opera produced in May was *Faust*. My version of events comes from programs and magazines, and I have corroborated it with a student of Fujiwara's school (who prefers to remain anonymous). She has shown me copies of a text, *Shōwa ongakushi* (History of Music in Shōwa), that was

used by students. I was not able to determine from which publication these copies came.

⁴⁶ Founded in 1946, in 1951 it took on its current name, the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra.

⁴⁷ The reasons are not clear but it would appear that the opera was entitled *Don Juan*. For *Tannhäuser*, see note 34.

⁴⁸ Gurlitt Opera Society was the name currently used in leaflets and programs. In his writings Gurlitt sometimes refers to Gurlitt Opera Company グルリット歌劇団, similarly to Fujiwara Opera Company.

⁴⁹ In 1953, Hatanaka Ryōsuke sung the role of Papageno, the first Japanese to do so. There is an amusing anecdote associated with this. Before the performance, Hatanaka was distracted by a painter friend who had come to take his portrait as birdman. The singer messed up his make-up, and after appearing onstage looking less than perfect, was summoned in the interval to explain himself to a furious Gurlitt. *Die Zauberflöte* was the first opera that Gurlitt had ever seen; he had been nine, in Berlin, at the time. See Gurlitt 1949 and 2000, p. 149.

⁵⁰ As reported in the *History of Music in Shōwa*, “It is difficult to imagine that so many *Bohèmes* could be represented in such a brief space of time, even if the artists and places of performance are different.”

⁵¹ Pringsheim 1956, p. 303.

⁵² Pringsheim 1969, p.113.

⁵³ Gurlitt 1949.

⁵⁴ The name “Maestro Guru,” an affectionate title given to Gurlitt by his students and friends, can also be seen in various documents. For the Japanese, to pronounce the name “Gurlitt” was particularly difficult.

⁵⁵ See Ishida 1985.

⁵⁶ According to Irene Suchy, Pringsheim was active in Bremen in 1909. See Suchy 1992, p. 223.

⁵⁷ Abbreviation for the Kinrōsha Ongaku Kyōgikai (Workers Association for Musical Events). This was organized in 1949 in Osaka with the intention of offering an economical program of concerts to the working class. It was organized by the same workers who, with a modest inscription fee, participated in concert activities announced by the society. From the initial 400 to 500 members, the association grew in twenty years to half a million members. Its heyday was in the 1960s.

⁵⁸ According to Gurlitt’s wife, the NHK was the only organization to grant Gurlitt a regular pension for the remaining years of his life.

⁵⁹ The academy, now called Shōwa Music Academy, is reluctant to disclose information that it regards as confidential. Its system of preserving documenting appears to be *sui generis*. I have been unable to determine which documents there relate to Gurlitt’s activities. An ex-student named Watanabe gave me dates that he remembered.

⁶⁰ In “Mein Opern schaffen.” See Gurlitt 1963, p. 159.

⁶¹ See Takaku 1989-90. Also refer to Petersen 1992.

⁶² Elsalill, the adopted daughter of the priest, survives, however, and falls in love with one of the Scotsmen. After a difficult internal struggle between love and family loyalty, she dies in the attempt to bring the two men to justice.

⁶³ See Galliano 2002, pp. 67-69.

⁶⁴ By “national anthem,” I mean *Kimigayo* 君が代, which was not designated as the official anthem until passage of the law on the national flag and the national anthem in August 1999.

⁶⁵ See Suchy 1991, p. 480. The decision was perhaps motivated by the second article of the contract with Victor. Suchy refers to the distinctly militaristic character of the melody, “despite the fact that the text

could be interpreted as a song against war.”

⁶⁶ Gurlitt transcribed this work for piano in the same year as he finished the original orchestral version, 1944.

⁶⁷ Nishihara 1989-90, p. 13.

⁶⁸ Ibid. The “Doeldermann” named by Fisher-Dieskau may have been Bernhard Doerdelmann who, under the pseudonym of Cornelius Streiter, published in *Die Silberdistel* a very positive critique on the opera *Nana*, staged in Dortmund in 1958. The article was sent to Gurlitt in Tokyo who was greatly cheered and encouraged by this. I have no means of verifying Doeldermann’s identity.

⁶⁹ Nishihara 1989-90, pp. 13-14, also with reference to the above-mentioned negotiations with European theaters.

⁷⁰ To me it seems quite possible that the German government had mixed motives in bestowing this honor on Gurlitt—not only to recognize his services, but also simply to pacify him. He was at the time still pressing a claim against the government for compensation; see below.

⁷¹ See Götz 1996, p. 140.

⁷² Evidence of the wartime reassessment of Gurlitt appears in an article that appeared in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of 29 September 1940, in which the author recalls the exiled composer’s fiftieth birthday and expresses hope that his works will be heard once more in the German musical scene. Ibid., p. 133.

⁷³ His wife Hidaka Hisako and son Amadeus referred to this in the personal interview on 5 May 2000. As for the last opera he conducted, his wife mentioned a *Tannhäuser* with the Nikiikai at Tokyo Bunka Kaikan in July 1966 as well.

⁷⁴ In its 26 May concert, as part of its subscription series, the Tokyo Philharmonic Orchestra used pieces from his operas; his *Wozzeck* was performed in November. Zen-on, an important Japanese music publisher, between 1969 and 1974 had published five collections of works for piano by Cornelius Gurlitt, great-uncle of Manfred and famous both as composer and as educator.

⁷⁵ Suchy 1992, p. 189. See also Suchy 1995.

要旨

マンフレット・グルリットと日本のオペラ界（1939–1972）

ルチアーナ・ガリアーノ

豊かな才能に恵まれた作曲家かつ指揮者であったマンフレット・グルリット(1890–1972)は他の多くの音楽家たち同様、1930年代末祖国ドイツを去ることを考えるようになる。当時の風潮に乗ってか、ナチ体制と関わりを持つに至ったにも拘らず、それまでに築き上げてきた音楽界での地位の維持、あるいはそれ以上の名声を求めて、結局1939年自ら日本へ亡命する。

彼が作曲家として初期の段階で最も輝かしい成功を収めたのはオペラであり、日本においても主にこの分野で活動が続けた。ヨーロッパの正統的オペラ上演を多数手がけ、高水準の多くの日本初演を実現した。専門的知識と厳格さに裏付けられたこの分野での彼の業績は、戦後の日本オペラ界の総合的な基盤を作り、その影響は今日まで続いている。1956年の毎日新聞の記事は「日本の音楽界にこれほど広範で重要な影響を与えた音楽家は他に存在しない」とグルリットを高く評価している。

しかし長期間にわたる日本滞在中、心の奥底にある流離感から彼が解放されたことはなかった。彼の満たされぬ思いは彼の作品の価値が西洋、ことにドイツで認められなかった不満に起因している。

本稿では、ドイツでの作曲家としての初期の作品や指揮者としての成功を視野に入れつつ、グルリットの日本での活動を再検証することにより、二十世紀の音楽史におけるマンフレット・グルリットの新たな視点を提供したい。