

## Unveiling Arnold Schönberg's Japanese Connection\*

Among the 265 items in Erwin Stein's collection *Arnold Schoenberg Letters*,<sup>1</sup> Schönberg's letter to Takatoshi Kyogoku, dated October 19, 1947, is the only correspondence that was sent to Japan. In the letter, Schönberg makes a statement intended for music lovers in postwar Japan, writing "*if we expect appreciation of what we have achieved, we know our debt to our predecessors and want them to be included in our successes.*" Other than the letter itself, however, we do not know anything about the correspondence. Who was Kyogoku and what were the surrounding circumstances?

The first part of this essay focuses on Kyogoku's encounter with Schönberg in Berlin in March 1931 and the communication that followed, examining articles by Kyogoku's that were published in Japan and the correspondence of Schönberg that is archived at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. Schönberg's interest in an employment opportunity in Japan is revealed; the composer heard about this from Wilhelm Furtwängler in July 1933 during his sojourn in Arcachon, France, as an exile from Nazi Germany. The second part of this essay investigates the origin of Furtwängler's information and why this

\* An earlier version of this essay was presented at the Pacific-Southwest Chapter of the American Musicological Society, Fall Meeting, on September 30, 2017. I would like to thank Philip Stoecker for reading the manuscript of this essay and for his invaluable suggestions. All translations (German to English and Japanese to English) in this essay are mine unless otherwise noted. For the Romanization of Japanese words in the main text of this essay, I adopt the "Hepburn system" because Kyogoku employed this system to spell his own name and address in his communication with Schönberg. For the Japanese words appearing in the notes of this essay,

hereafter, I use the "American Library Association-Library of Congress (ALA-LC) Romanization Table" to be consistent with their catalog. For example, since "Kyogoku" is spelled "Kyōgoku" with the macron that indicates a long vowel in the ALA-LC system, it is spelled Kyōgoku in my notes. As exceptions, I maintain the original spelling of proper nouns in the notes, such as *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* (*Osaka Mainichi Shinbun* in the ALA-LC system) and Tokyo Music School (instead of Tōkyō Music School), which have been widely recognized, and titles of articles and books whose spellings were determined by their authors.

1 The Library of Congress, Washington D.C., Music Division (Arnold Schoenberg Collection) | ASCC ID 4568. Published in Arnold Schoenberg: *Letters*. Edited by Erwin Stein (London 1964), 248–249. This letter, which had not been included in the German edition (Arnold Schönberg: *Ausgewählte Briefe*. Edited by Erwin Stein [Mainz 1958]), was added in the English edition as one of Schönberg's fifteen letters that were originally written in English.

opportunity ultimately did not materialize by studying additional sources such as the correspondence of Wilhelm Solf – a former German ambassador to Japan under the Weimar Republic – that is deposited at the Federal Archives in Koblenz, Germany. By comparing Kyogoku's articles with source documents available in the West and Japan, which complement each other, this study will attempt to shed light upon Schönberg's Japanese connection, a connection that has until now never been explored.

### Arnold Schönberg Through the Eyes of Takatoshi Kyogoku

Takatoshi Kyogoku (1900–1974) was born in Tokyo, Japan, as Eigo Kato, the fifth son of Baron Terumaro Kato, a physician to the Emperor of Japan.<sup>2</sup> Born to a father who had studied medicine in Germany, Kato was exposed to Western culture growing up.<sup>3</sup> At Gakushuin, the school designated for the children of nobility, Kato played viola in a school orchestra and also took vocal lessons. After graduating from Tokyo Imperial University with a degree in Economics, Kato worked as a political writer at the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun* (now *Mainichi Shimbun*) before working for *Yomiuri Shimbun*, both major Japanese newspapers. Between October 1930 and April 1932, he traveled to major cities in Europe and the United States as a music correspondent for the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun*. Kyogoku viewed himself more as a music journalist than a critic, and tried to inform his readers about public performances of musicians that he saw or heard without attempting any aesthetic evaluation. In May 1934, he married and changed his name to “Eigo Kyogoku”, and two years later he inherited the title of viscount from his father-in-law. In 1937, Kyogoku retired from the *Yomiuri Shimbun* to work for the Cabinet Information Division, and was involved in the operation of a government-sponsored competition for selecting a patriotic march song. He was elected to the House of Peers in July 1939, and changed his first name to “Takatoshi” the following year. After the end of World War II, the House of Peers as well as the peerage system were abolished when the Constitution of Japan was enacted in May 1947. While working as a music journalist, Kyogoku held various posts: director of NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) and a committee member for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics were among them.

2 Regarding Kyōgoku's biography, see Takahisa Furukawa: Kyōgoku Takatoshi no shisō to kōdō: shōwa chūki no seiji to ongaku [Thought and Behavior of Kyōgoku Takatoshi: Politics and Music in War-time

Japan], in *Gunji shigaku* [The Journal of Military History] 44/2 (September 2008), 4–21.

3 Terumaro Katō studied pediatrics and immunology in Berlin and Munich between 1884 and 1888. See *Who's Who Hakushi in Great Japan 1888–1922*. Vol. II. Edited by Kurō Iseki (Tōkyō 1922), 90.

During his time in Europe and the United States as a music correspondent, Kyogoku attended numerous concerts and interviewed a great number of composers and performers.<sup>4</sup> In Berlin in March 1931, he visited Franz Schreker, Arnold Schönberg, Erich Kleiber, and Wilhelm Furtwängler. Kyogoku's interview with Schönberg appeared eleven years later in a Japanese music journal.<sup>5</sup> Kogoyku's article was based on his letter to Hisanaga Shimazu – Kyogoku's friend and an attaché to the Japanese embassy in London in the early 1930s – which was written two days after the interview.

According to his article, Kyogoku went to Schönberg's apartment at Nürnberger Platz 3 around 11:00 am on March 25, 1931, with a letter of introduction, which he obtained in Vienna.<sup>6</sup> Kyogoku did not make an appointment because he was not sure whether the address, which he found in a telephone directory, was the correct one since the apartment was located on a busy street; Kyogoku had assumed that Schönberg would have lived in a quieter residential area.<sup>7</sup> When Kyogoku rang the bell, an old man opened the door. Kyogoku did not recognize him as Schönberg as he did not have a mustache, unlike in the photographs with which Kyogoku had been familiar. After reading the letter, Schönberg introduced himself, and invited Kyogoku in. There were two adjacent rooms: one housed a ping-pong table while the other had a Flügel (grand piano), a harmonium, and a cello. Above the Flügel was a drawn portrait of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and a photograph of Gustav Mahler. Schönberg told Kyogoku: "*I respect Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven [...] Gustav Mahler is a most brilliant conductor, and so is Hans Rosbaud in Frankfurt.*"<sup>8</sup>

Rosbaud had conducted Schönberg's *Variations for Orchestra*, op. 31, at the Frankfurt Radio Orchestra concert on March 23, two days before Kyogoku's interview.<sup>9</sup> For this performance, Schönberg had delivered an introductory lecture that was broadcast by Radio Frankfurt.<sup>10</sup> When Kyogoku asked the composer to sign his autograph book in memory of the occasion of their encounter,

4 These interviews were published in music journals after Kyogoku came back to Japan. For bibliography of his writings, see Takahisa Furukawa: Kyogoku Takatoshi no cyosaku mokuroku to kaisetsu [Takatoshi Kyogoku: Bibliography and Commentary], in *Nihon daigaku bunrigakubu jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho kenkyū kiyō* [The Bulletin of The Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nihon University] 77 (2009), 5–10.

5 Takatoshi Kyogoku: Shēnberuku hōmonki [Interview with Schönberg], (Ongaku kikō 3 [My Musical Travel Journal no. 3]), in *Ongaku kōron* [Music Forum] 2/10 (October 1942), 56–62; for an English translation see Appendix, 160–163.

6 Kyogoku recalled in 1948 that he obtained the letter of introduction from Erich Wolfgang Korngold when he visited the composer in Vienna. Regarding his 1948 essay, see fn. 26.

7 Schönberg occupied the third floor of the Meran Corso-Hotel, Nürnberger Platz 3 in Berlin. The interior of this apartment is discussed in *Arnold Schönberg in Berlin. Sonderausstellung 28. September 2000 – 2. Februar 2001* (Wien 2000), 63, 70–71.

8 Takatoshi Kyogoku: Shēnberuku hōmonki [Interview with Schönberg], see fn. 5, 60.

9 Joan Evans: Hans Rosbaud and the Music of Arnold Schoenberg, in *Canadian University Music Review* 2/21 (2001), 42–43.

10 Schönberg went to Frankfurt on March 19, and the lecture was broadcast on March 22 according to his letter to Alban Berg, March 19, 1931 (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [F21.Berg 1231/330] | ASCC ID 6309). An English Translation of the lecture transcript appeared in *Schoenberg's Program Notes and Musical Analyses*. Edited by J. Daniel Jenkins (New York 2016), 294–319 (Schoenberg in Words 5).

Schönberg wrote down the theme of Opus 31. He also presented Kyogoku the cover of his score of Opus 31 when the visitor asked him for any kind of manuscript. In addition, Schönberg gave Kyogoku a printed score of the *Five Piano Pieces*, op. 23, and his portrait with his signature.<sup>11</sup> Although Kyogoku did not specify which portrait it was, it may well have been the one that appeared as the frontispiece of Hiroshi Koizumi's book on Schönberg published in 1933, the first Japanese book that dealt exclusively with the composer: Koizumi noted that "*this photograph is the possession of Mr. Eigo Kato*"<sup>12</sup> in the book's appendix. When Kyogoku was about to leave, Schönberg invited him to play ping-pong with him. Above all, Kyogoku found Schönberg friendly and cheerful. Given that this visit was made without an appointment, it turned out to be a rare spontaneous observation concerning the composer's life in Berlin.

Kyogoku and Schönberg continued to exchange letters afterwards, although their communication was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II: as reproduced in Plate 1, Kyogoku wrote to Schönberg after the end of the war, "*I wish to express my genuine appreciation of your kindness that you used to write to me and send me printing [printed] matters and Christmas cards since I came back to Japan,*" and asked Schönberg to resume the interrupted communication. There are seven correspondences between Schönberg and Kyogoku, archived at the Library of Congress, including this letter. As listed in Table 1, all of these items (labeled items 1 to 7 in this study) are dated after the end of World War II. Item 1 is the letter discussed above. In item 2, Kyogoku requested Schönberg to write a statement to Japanese musicians and music lovers, as they were expecting the composer's musical guidance and advice. Schönberg must have taken this seriously; he underlined the request, using a red pencil. Item 3 is the correspondence published in *Arnold Schoenberg Letters*. Item 4 is Kyogoku's thank-you letter in which he stated that he received Schönberg's letter by air mail (on October 22, 1947) and its copy by postal mail (on November 14, 1947). Items 5 to 7 are Christmas and New Year greeting cards.

The dating of items 1, 5, 6, and 7 (marked with asterisks in Table 1) is described as "*either questionable in some sense or was deducted by the compilers*" in the *Journal of Arnold Schoenberg Institute's* "Preliminary Inventory of Schoenberg Correspondence."<sup>13</sup> This is because the items are undated and contain no

11 Although Kyōgoku did not refer to Schönberg's portrait that the composer gave to him in his "Interview with Schönberg," he described it in his letter to Schönberg sent after the end of World War II. Regarding the letter, see Plate 1 and information on item 1 of Table 1.

12 Hiroshi Koizumi: *Shēnberuhi* [Schönberg] (Tōkyō 1933), frontispiece, photographed by Karl Schenker in Berlin (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien | ASCI PH1416). Regarding Hiroshi Koizumi, see Fusako Hamao: *The Reception of Arnold Schönberg in Japan*, in *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 13/2016. Edited by Eike Feß and Therese Muxeneder (Wien 2016), 138–139.

13 These questionable dates are marked with an asterisk in Paul Zukofsky, R. Wayne Shoaf, Stephen Davison, Marilyn McCoy, Camille Crittenden, Jacob Vonk: *Preliminary Inventory of Schönberg Correspondence*, in *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 18/1, 2–19/1, 2 (June & November 1995 – June & November 1996), 16.

THE HOUSE OF PEERS,  
TOKYO.



36 Otsuka-Nakamachi,  
~~Koishikawa-ku~~, Tokyo.  
BUNKYO KU.

Dear Prof. Schönberg

You had an interview with myself, Eigo Kato, when I visited ~~BERLIN~~ in the spring of 1931 as a musical correspondent of the outstanding newspaper in Japan. I believe, you can remember me even now. Upon that occasion, you signed in my souvenir book and gave me your portrait with your signature which are being preserved carefully as a memory of you.

Now I wish to express my genuine appreciation of your kindness that you used to write me and send me printing matters and Christmas cards since I came back to Japan.

Having come to an end the long draw-out War, peace has returned. Now I want to correspond with you, receiving your informations as to your activities in New York musical circles.

Now being called by the name of Viscount Takatoshi Kyogoku, due to the adoption into the Kyogoku Family, I, formerly Eigo Kato, am working actively as a member of House of Peers and a Director of Broadcasting Corporation of Japan. My address is as follows:

36 Otsuka-Nakamachi  
~~Koishikawa-ku~~, Tokyo.  
BUNKYO KU

Yours truly,

Viscount Takatoshi Kyogoku.  
Viscount Takatoshi Kyogoku (Eigo Kato)

Plate 1: Kyogoku's letter to Schönberg written after the end of World War II (item 1 of Table 1)  
(The Library of Congress, Washington D.C., Music Division [Arnold Schoenberg Collection] | ASCC ID 4568)



| Item No. | Sender    | Recipient | ASC ID No. | Type of Correspondence      | Date in the Letter | Date given in JASI-PI |
|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1        | Kyogoku   | Schönberg | 13571      | Typed letter                | Undated            | Dec. 25, 1945*        |
| 2        | Kyogoku   | Schönberg | 13573      | Typed letter                | Sep. 6, 1947       | Sep. 6, 1947          |
| 3        | Schönberg | Kyogoku   | 4568       | Carbon copy of typed letter | Oct. 19, 1947      | Oct. 19, 1947         |
| 4        | Kyogoku   | Schönberg | 13572      | Typed letter                | Dec. 20, 1947      | Dec. 20, 1947         |
| 5        | Kyogoku   | Schönberg | 13574      | Greeting Card               | Undated            | Dec. 24, 1947*        |
| 6        | Kyogoku   | Schönberg | 13575      | Greeting Card               | Undated            | Dec. 24, 1948*        |
| 7        | Kyogoku   | Schönberg | 13576      | Greeting Card               | Undated            | Dec. 24, 1949*        |

\* indicates the date which is "either questionable in some sense or was deducted by the compilers" according to the *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute's* "Preliminary Inventory of Schoenberg Correspondence" [JASI-PI]

Table 1: Correspondences between Schönberg and Kyogoku in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. Music Division (Arnold Schoenberg Collection)

information that would allow the determination of a date, such as an envelope with a postmark.<sup>14</sup> Since items 5 to 7 are greeting cards in which no personal messages are added, let us focus on the dating of item 1. Whereas this letter has been conventionally dated December 25, 1945, it could not have been sent from Japan before 1947 for the following two reasons, which reflect the social and political situation of postwar Japan:

- 1) Following the end of World War II, the Allied Powers occupied Japan from August 1945 to April 1952. Under the direction of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, international mail service was suspended with few exceptions in the early stage of the occupation.<sup>15</sup> Although the service between Japan and foreign countries except Germany resumed on September 10, 1946, it was limited to postcards dealing with personal or family matters only.<sup>16</sup> It was not until January 3, 1947, that people in Japan were allowed to send international business or personal letters; these were subjected to censorship. In any case, that means that Kyogoku could not have sent his letter to Schönberg before this date.<sup>17</sup>
- 2) There was a municipal reorganization in Tokyo to adjust the differences in the populations of districts, some of which were severely damaged

14 Regarding the archival decision at the Library of Congress in which the librarians discarded the original envelopes in most cases, see *Schoenberg's Early Correspondence. 1891 – May 1907*. Edited by Ethan Haimo and Sabine Feisst (New York 2016), xiii (Schoenberg in Words 8).

15 For example, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers approved the mail service between Japanese war veterans, who were awaiting return in former Japanese occupied areas, and the people in Japan on October 28, 1945. See Mail Request Granted, in *Nippon Times* (November 4, 1945), 2.

16 Detailed Regulations Issued on International Mail Service, in *Nippon Times* (October 17, 1946), 4.

17 Restriction Eased on Letter Sending; in Effect on Jan. 3, in *Nippon Times* (January 4, 1947), 1.

by the war. As shown in Plate 1, while providing his address, Kyogoku crossed out “Koishikawa-ku” and changed it to “Bunkyo[-ku]” in blue ink at the beginning and end of the letter.<sup>18</sup> “Ku” is a special ward in Tokyo, a city municipality within a prefecture. There were 35 special wards in Tokyo since October 1932 which were reduced to 22 in March 1947.<sup>19</sup> Due to this reduction, Koishikawa-ku was merged with Hongo-ku to become Bunkyo-ku. This change was announced on March 5, 1947, and took effect on March 15. The name of the new ward “Bunkyo” was not decided until the last minute, leaving no time for Kyogoku to have corrected the address before March 5, 1947.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the above, Schönberg’s address book provides more information in dating this letter.<sup>21</sup> On a page of the address book indexed as K, Schönberg pasted a piece of paper indicating Kyogoku’s name and address, as shown in Plate 2a. This fragment must have been cut out from the envelope of item 1, not only because it bears a postmark, but also because both the fragment and the letter exhibit the same typeface: although two more such pieces of paper are pasted on the last two pages of the mailing list, they show the typeface of items 2 and 4 so that they must have come later.<sup>22</sup> As enlarged in Plate 2b, we can read the following postmark on the fragment: “*Brookline MASS April 30 11:30 AM.*” The bottom of the postmark was cut off, but we can assume it is “1947” because Kyogoku’s first name became Takatoshi in 1940 and the last number can be read as “7.” This postmark indicates that the letter was sent to Brookline, Massachusetts – where Schönberg resided from November 1933 to March 1934 – and was sent on to his house in Los Angeles, California, on April 30, 1947. Although it is hard to believe that the post office in Brookline could forward Kyogoku’s letter to Los Angeles thirteen years after his relocation, Schönberg was a well-known figure so finding his address might not have been difficult: newspaper articles about the composer in the 1940s often mentioned that he currently lived in Los Angeles, and his home address was published in the City Directories of Los Angeles County.<sup>23</sup> In any case, he seems to have received the letter.

18 It is very likely that Kyōgoku used the same blue ink pen when he wrote “*Prof. Schönberg*” as the salutation, and signed his name at the end of the letter. Kyōgoku also corrected “*New York*” to “*Berlin*” and “1932” to “1931,” probably employing the same blue ink pen. Since Kyōgoku stayed in New York City in early 1932, he might have confused the time and location when he wrote this letter to Schönberg.

19 *Tōkyō tosei gaiyō: Shōwa 22-nen ban* [Overview of the Municipal Affairs of Tōkyō: 1947 edition] (Tōkyō 1948), 30. In August

1947, one more special ward was added (as a result, 23 special wards in total).

20 The new name was decided on February 25, 1947, in the assemblies of both Koishikawa-ku and Hongo-ku. *Bunkyo-ku shi* [Records of Bunkyo-ku] (Tōkyō 1956), 24–25.

21 This mailing list is in the Arnold Schönberg Center (Address Files | ASCI A4074).

22 Compare the typeface of Kyōgoku’s address in ASCI A4082 and ASCI A4083 with that of item 2 and item 4.

23 For example, see Schoenberg wins \$1,000 Institute Award, in *New York Times* (April 3, 1947), 30. Schönberg’s home address is listed in *Los Angeles Directory Co.’s Santa Monica City Directory, including Brentwood Heights, Ocean Park and West Los Angeles 1947–48* (Los Angeles 1948), 606. According to *United States Official Postal Guide* (July 1953), foreign mails were entitled to have directory service in case they were undeliverable, and were forwarded without extra charge.

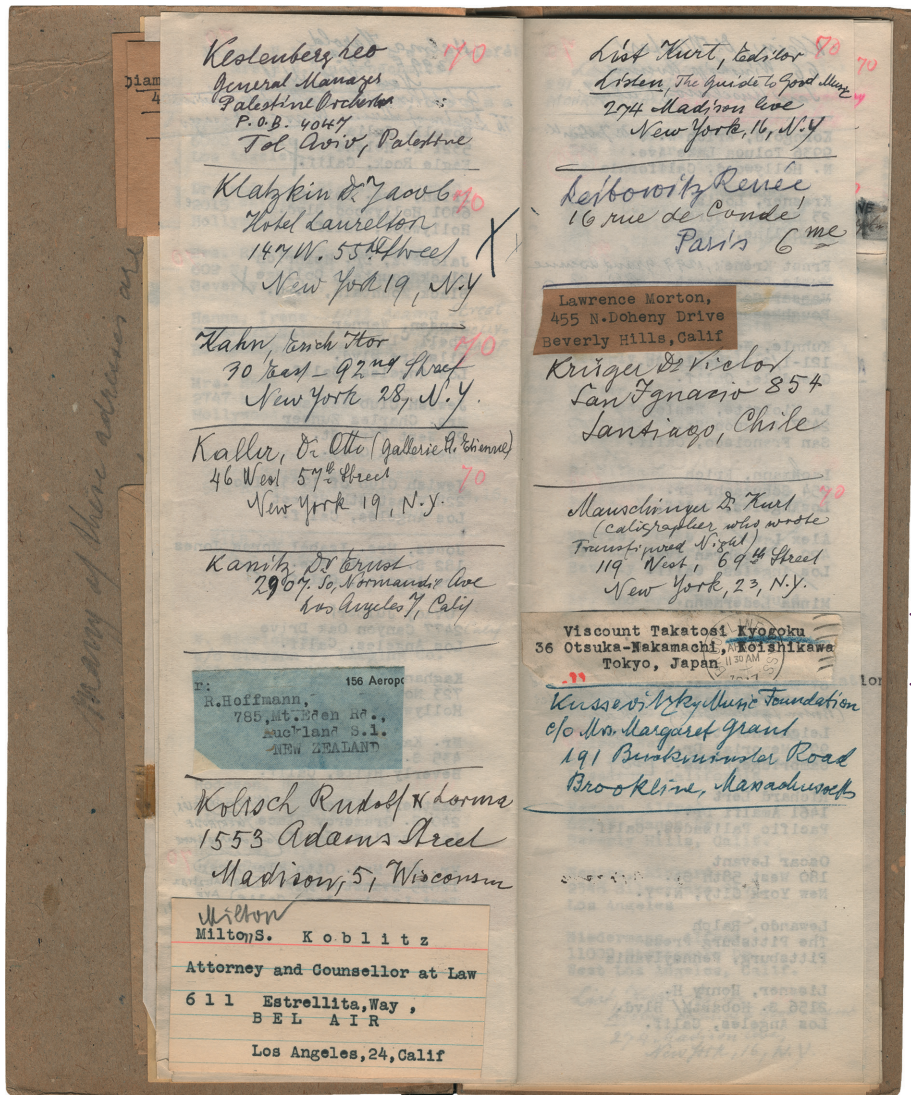


Plate 2a: Schönberg's address book, pages indexed as K  
(Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien [Address files] | ASCI A4074)

Plate 2b: Entry of Kyogoku's address in  
Schönberg's address book. The postmark is  
'BROOKLINE MASS | April 30 | 11<sup>30</sup> AM | 19[ ] 7'





If this was the case, when would Kyogoku have had to send the mail to Schönberg in order to make it to Brookline by April 30, 1947? Given that item 2 from Tokyo was answered six weeks later by Schönberg in Los Angeles, and this reply (item 3) was received by Kyogoku five weeks later according to item 4, it must have taken six to seven weeks from Tokyo to Brookline, factoring in an extra week as postal mail from Japan arrived at a port on the West Coast to be transported by ground to the East Coast.<sup>24</sup> As the letter reached Brookline by April 30, 1947, Kyogoku must have sent it by the middle of March 1947. This explains that the fragment in the mailing list still shows “Koishikawa[-ku],” while it was corrected to “Bunkyo[-ku]” in the letter because the change of address might not yet have been occurred when he dropped off the mail. All of the above points indicate that item 1 was sent during the first half of March 1947 and not on December 25, 1945, as was previously assumed. As a result, items 1 to 4 can be classified to be letters that were written in 1947. This means that the communication between Kyogoku and Schönberg resumed in early 1947, after the suspension of international mail service was lifted in Japan.

In April 1948, Kyogoku’s translation of Schönberg’s statement appeared on the opening page of a monthly musical publication intended for a general audience.<sup>25</sup> In the same issue, Kyogoku provided an introduction to the statement, which consists of his recollections of: 1) Kyogoku’s interview with Schönberg in Berlin in March 1931, and 2) Schönberg’s letter to Kyogoku, written shortly after the composer’s arrival to the United States.<sup>26</sup> According to Kyogoku, Schönberg was asked by Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886–1954) before coming to America whether he was interested in teaching composition in Japan. Although talks on this matter did not progress, Schönberg wrote to Kyogoku from New York State, asking whether this position was a good fit for him in case this offer was available again. In his reply, Kyogoku explained that the level of musical life in Japan did not meet the high standards that would satisfy a great composer like Schönberg. Although this particular letter from Schönberg to Kyogoku is not available today for examination,<sup>27</sup> we can

24 It took about one week to answer a letter from Arnold Schönberg to the Koussevitzky Foundation in Brookline, Massachusetts in 1947. See Arnold Schönberg’s letter to Margaret Grant, executive secretary of the foundation, dated July 7 (carbon copy; The Library of Congress, see fn. 1 | ASCC ID 4531), which was answered by Grant on July 14 (ibidem | ASCC ID 21324).

25 Shēnberuku no tegami [Letter from Schönberg], in *Shinfonyō* [Symphony] 6 (April 1948), cover page. To express his

appreciation, Kyōgoku sent Yoné Noguchi’s *Hiroshige and Japanese Landscapes* (Tōkyō 1946) – an English book by a Japanese author about a famous Japanese Ukiyoe painter published in Japan – with the following notes on the title page: “To Prof. Arnold Schönberg, with my best regard, May 18, 1948, from Takatoshi Kyogoku.” This book is in Schönberg’s library in the Arnold Schönberg Center (BOOK N16).

26 Takatoshi Kyōgoku: Shēnberuku no inshō [My Impression of Schönberg], in *Shinfonyō* [Symphony] 6 (April 1948), 8.

27 According to Kyōgoku’s wife, when his residence burned down in May 1945 during the Great Tōkyō Air Raids, most of his possessions were lost. See Takahisa Furu-kawa and Jun Yoshihara: Shōwa zenhanki no jōryūshakai to ongaku geinō: Kyōgoku Noriko shi Shōda Michiko shi danwa kiroku [Music and arts in the upper-class society during the first half of the Shōwa period: Interview with Noriko Kyōgoku and Michiko Shōda], in *Yokohama shiritsu daigaku ronsō jinbun kagaku keiretsu* [The Bulletin of the Yokohama City University, Humanities] 54/1–3 (2003), 418–419.

estimate the period during which Schönberg wrote the letter given that it was sent from New York State.<sup>28</sup> Schönberg's escape from Germany started several months after Adolf Hitler's rise to power in January 1933. Schönberg and his family moved to Paris from Berlin in May 1933 after being dismissed from the Berlin Academy of Arts. This was due to the enforcement of the "Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service." Passed on April 7, 1933, the law called for the firing of Jewish teachers, professors, judges, or government workers. In late July, the family went to Arcachon, France, and stayed there for the next two months. They sailed to America in October, arriving in New York on the last day of the month. The family settled in Brookline, Massachusetts – a suburb of Boston – on November 4, 1933, and Schönberg immediately started teaching at the Malkin Conservatory in Boston.<sup>29</sup> Schönberg commuted weekly to New York City until the family moved there by March 27, 1934.<sup>30</sup> After a sojourn in Chautauqua, New York, during the summer, the Schönberg family left for Los Angeles on September 16, 1934.<sup>31</sup>

His movements at first seem to suggest that Schönberg wrote to Kyogoku between March 27 and September 15, 1934, while he lived in either New York City or Chautauqua, New York. However, even before his relocation to New York City, there were several occasions that Schönberg had sent letters from the city during his business trips.<sup>32</sup> When he wrote to Roberto Gerhard from the Park Central Hotel (7<sup>th</sup> Avenue between 55<sup>th</sup> and 56<sup>th</sup> Street) in February 1934, for example, Schönberg used the hotel's stationary and letterhead while providing his home address in Brookline at the beginning of the letter.<sup>33</sup> In this situation, the letter practically came from New York City, but Schönberg's return address was his residence in Brookline. Kyogoku may have received such a letter because, as we have seen (see Plate 2b), Brookline was a postmark on the envelope of the first letter he sent to Schönberg after World War II:

28 Although Kyōgoku recalled in the essay that he received the letter shortly before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese Incident, we do not take this point into consideration here as there were disagreements regarding the starting point of the incident. While recent studies regard Marco Polo bridge incident in July 1937 as the beginning of the Sino-Japanese incident, some publications in the early 1930s regarded the Manchurian incident in September 1931 as the starting point. For example, see *Nisshi jihen shash-inchō: furoku tsuki* [Sino-Japanese Incident Photo Album: with Appendix] (Tōkyō 1931), 1.

29 The Schönberg family moved to Boston on November 4, 1933, according to Arnold

Schönberg's letter to Georg Schönberg of November 2, 1933 (Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [IN 209.531] | ASCC ID 23177).

30 The Schönberg family must have moved to New York City by March 27 because Schönberg wrote to Alban Berg on March 27 from The Park Central Hotel in New York City (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Musiksammlung [F21. Berg.3621] | ASCC ID 2331). They moved to Hotel Ansonia on Broadway & 73<sup>rd</sup> Street by April 3 according to Schönberg's letter to Berthold B. Neuer, April 3, 1934 (The Library of Congress, see fn. 1 | ASCC ID 2665).

31 According to Arnold Schönberg's letter to Chemical Bank and Trust Company, his

family left Chautauqua on September 16 for Pasadena, California (ibidem | ASCC ID 2765).

32 For example, Arnold Schönberg to Gertrud Schönberg, November 1933 (ibidem | ASCC ID 2424) from Hotel Ansonia in New York City.

33 Arnold Schönberg to Roberto Gerhard, February 19, 1934 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz [N.Mus. Nachl. 55, 18] | ASCC ID 7891). Similarly, Schönberg used the same stationary and provided his home address in his letter to Georg Schönberg on February 20, 1934 (Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [IN 208.345] | ASCC ID 23167).

this indicates that Schönberg wrote to Kyogoku during his time in Brookline at least once, although it is not certain whether this was the letter regarding the teaching opportunity in Japan. Moreover, the fact that Kyogoku wrote in item 1 that he would like to receive the information “*as to your activities in New York musical circles*” implies that, not aware of the composer’s relocation to Los Angeles, Kyogoku likely addressed his letter to Brookline when he tried to resume communication with Schönberg in 1947. Consequently, we cannot exclude the possibility that Schönberg’s letter was sent to Kyogoku before he moved to New York City, between November 4, 1933, and March 26, 1934. Here again, the change in Kyogoku’s name helps identify the dating: his name was changed from Eigo Kato to Eigo Kyogoku when he married on May 14, 1934.<sup>34</sup> In item 1, Kyogoku informed Schönberg about his marriage: he was still Eigo Kato before the interruption of their communication. And while Schönberg always attempted to keep his address book up-to-date, Kato’s family name was not changed to Kyogoku there.<sup>35</sup> Kyogoku must have received the letter and replied when his name was still Kato: sometime before May 14, 1934. Since letter delivery from the American East Coast to Tokyo took about three weeks at that time, the letter must have been sent before the last week of April 1934.<sup>36</sup> This means the letter must have been sent between November 4, 1933, and the middle of April 1934.

The reliability of Kyogoku’s recollection is confirmed by the correspondence between Furtwängler and Schönberg in the summer of 1933. Schönberg had asked Furtwängler to negotiate with Bernhard Rust – Minister of Science, Education and National Culture of Germany – to settle the unpaid salary after he was forced to leave the Berlin Academy of Arts.<sup>37</sup> In response to the request, Furtwängler wrote to Rust on June 4, 1933: “*Arnold Schönberg [...] gilt bei der Jüdischen Internationale als der schlechthin bedeutendste Musiker der Gegenwart. Es ist dringendst zu empfehlen, ihn nicht zu einem Märtyrer zu machen* [Arnold Schönberg [...] is considered by the Jewish International as the most significant contemporary musician. It is highly recommended not to make him a martyr.]”<sup>38</sup> On July 17, Schönberg wrote to Furtwängler that he had not heard from Berlin yet.<sup>39</sup> In his reply to Schönberg on July 27, Furtwängler

34 Roppa Furukawa: *Furukawa Roppa Shōwa nikki: senzen hen Shōwa 9-nen – Shōwa 15-nen* [Diary of Furukawa Roppa in the Shōwa era: Prewar Period (1934–1940)] (Tōkyō 2007), 49. Roppa Furukawa attended the wedding as Eigo Katō’s brother.

35 Arnold Schönberg’s address book (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien [Address Files] | ASCI A4126). Eigo Katō’s name also

appears in the index card (ibidem | ASCI A2280) without any update.

36 Yukimasa Kobayashi, *Riron jitsumu gaikoku kawase* [Theory and Practice of Foreign Exchange] (Tōkyō 1936), 32. According to Kobayashi, it took about 20 days to mails to arrive from Yokohama to New York.

37 Michael H. Kater: *Composers of the Nazi Era. Eight Portraits* (New York 2000), 185.

38 Wilhelm Furtwängler to Bernhard Rust, June 4, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Berlin [R56I/140]).

39 Arnold Schönberg to Wilhelm Furtwängler, July 17, 1933 (carbon copy; The Library of Congress, see fn. 1 | ASCC ID 2385).

hoped that the composer would have finally heard something from Berlin and continued:

*Nun noch etwas. Japan wünscht 3 aus ihrem deutschen Wirkungskreise ausscheidende Künstler von erstem Rang und Meister von Weltruf, mit einem drei- bis fünfjährigen Vertrag zur Hebung des dortigen Musiklebens zu gewinnen. Ich wurde deshalb angefragt und möchte Sie fragen, ob Sie (ein anderer Name, der die japanischen Bedingungen erfüllt, ist mir vorerst garnicht eingefallen) für so etwas Interesse haben. Da die Sache allerdings als sehr eilig bezeichnet wird, wäre ich Ihnen dankbar für ein Wort, wie Sie sich zu der Sache überhaupt stellen würden.<sup>40</sup>*

[Now, one more thing. Japan wishes to have three [musicians] from first-class artists and world-renowned masters, who withdrew from their areas of influence in Germany, with a three to five year contract to enhance the country's musical scene. [Underlines by Furtwängler]. That is what I was asked and I would like to ask you if you (at present I can think of no one else that fulfills the Japanese requirements) would be interested in such a position. Since the matter here is very urgent, I would be grateful for a word whether you would even consider this.]

At the bottom of Furtwängler's letter, Schönberg wrote "*beantwortet 30/VII* [Answered on July 30]." Although Schönberg's original reply is missing, Renate Samson's letter to the composer on August 2, 1933, indicates his favorable answer: Samson wrote, "*nachdem ich von Fräulein Dr. Geissmar erfahre, dass Sie an dem Plan nach Japan zu gehen Interesse nehmen, möchte ich Sie bitten, mir umgehend einen Lebenslauf zu senden, da ich mit der Weitergabe der Anträge, die nach Japan gehen müssen, beauftragt bin.*"<sup>41</sup> [after hearing from Miss Dr. Geissmar that you have shown interest in going to Japan, I ask you to send me your curriculum vitae immediately because I am responsible for forwarding the necessary application documents to Japan.] Berta Geissmar, Furtwängler's secretary,<sup>42</sup> must have received Schönberg's reply dated July 30, and then contacted Samson soon after it. On August 5, Schönberg answered Samson from Arcachon that "*ich habe hier begreiflicherweise keine Möglichkeit, Ihnen genaue Daten über mich zusammen zu suchen. Da jedoch alles Wichtige über mich sich in der vollen Oeffentlichkeit abgespielt hat, so finden Sie die entsprechenden Daten in den speziellen Nachschlagwerken; so vor Allem, mit aller erforderlichen Ausführlichkeit, in Riemanns Musiklexikon.*"<sup>43</sup> [It is not possible for me to gather accurate data about myself here. However, since everything important about

40 Wilhelm Furtwängler to Arnold Schönberg, July 27, 1933 (The Library of Congress, see fn. 1 | ASCC ID 20906).

41 Renate Samson to Arnold Schönberg, August 2, 1933 (The Library of Congress, see fn. 1 | ASCC ID 15555).

42 About Berta Geissmar, see Sam H. Shirakawa: *The Devil's Music Master: The Controversial Life and Career of Wilhelm Furtwängler* (New York 1992), 37.

43 Arnold Schönberg to Renate Samson, August 5, 1933 (carbon copy; The Library of Congress, see fn. 1 | ASCC ID 2399).



me has taken place publicly, you will find the corresponding information in the specialized reference books; above all, with all necessary details, in Riemann's *Musiklexikon*]. Renate Samson was the wife of Dr. Richard Samson, who was practicing medicine in Berlin, as indicated in the letterhead with his name and address, although further investigation regarding her connection to Japan is necessary.<sup>44</sup>

Furtwängler wrote to Schönberg that “*Japan wishes to have three [musicians], who withdrew from their areas of influence in Germany.*” Here, Japan is an ambiguous expression. Does it indicate the government, an institution, or an individual? Although Furtwängler did not explicitly use the word “Jewish,” those “*who withdrew from their areas of influence*” must have implied musicians with Jewish origins. Did the Japanese government officially invite such musicians? Among the reports of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan is a file on the invitation of Erich Wolfsfeld, a German-Jewish artist who had taught painting and etching at the Berlin Academy of Arts.<sup>45</sup> The file contains the following memorandum dated July 18, 1933 from Keinosuke Fujii, chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Japanese embassy in Berlin, to Teiji Tsubogami, Cultural Division Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan:

*After Adolf Hitler carried out his plan to exclude Jewish people from professional civil service, Jewish scientists, artists, musicians – even doctors and lawyers that were certified nationally – recently lost their jobs; they escaped from the country or were trapped inside. Among such people, some of them are searching for job opportunities in the East, and frequently come to our embassy to seek employment opportunities in Japan. Although we sympathize with their situation, we cannot do anything about it in reality. However, because Professor Wolfsfeld, who came to our office [...], is a renowned German artist and I am very sorry for his situation, I brought up this inquiry to you.*<sup>46</sup>

Through Tsubogami, this inquiry was delivered to Nobuyoshi Akama, Special Education Division Director of the Ministry of Education.<sup>47</sup> Responding to Akama's inquiry, Eisaku Wada, the president of the Tokyo Art School, the only national art school in Japan, replied that there was no opening in the Oil Painting Department, and the school did not have a Printmaking Department.<sup>48</sup> Akama concluded that, because the invitation involved a substantial cost

44 Richard Samson was an assistant doctor at the Charité Hospital, practicing medicine at Burggrafenstraße 4 in Berlin. See Kurt Preuß: *Weitere jüdische Biografien und Schicksale, in Jüdische Familien in Groß Glienicke. Eine Spurensuche*. Edited by Groß Glienicker Kreis (Potsdam 2011), 28 ([http://www.grossglienickerkreis.de/images/ggk\\_texts/jf\\_28.pdf](http://www.grossglienickerkreis.de/images/ggk_texts/jf_28.pdf); accessed February 16, 2019).

45 Berurin Bijutsu Gakkō kyōju Uorufu-sufueruto o honpō e syōhei hō ni kansuru ken shōwa 8-nen 7-gatsu [Invitation of Professor Wolfsfeld at Berlin Academy of Arts to Japan, July 1933] (Japan Center for Asian Historical Record National Archives of Japan [Reference Code B05015653800]).

46 Office memorandum from Keinosuke Fujii to Teiji Tsubogami, July 18, 1933, *ibidem*. Translated from Japanese.

47 Office memorandum from Teiji Tsubogami to Nobuyoshi Akama, August 18, 1933, *ibidem*.

48 Office memorandum from Eisaku Wada to Nobuyoshi Akama, September 2, 1933, *ibidem*.

that only the Tokyo Art School could afford, it was not possible to accept Wolfsfeld's request.<sup>49</sup> Since this case began on July 18, 1933, nine days before Furtwängler wrote to Schönberg, it could comparably represent the attitude of the Japanese government towards inviting Jewish professionals around this time: if a world-renowned professional came to the Japanese embassy for help, the government would at least consider the possibility of finding employment in Japan. However, it is not certain whether the Japanese government initiated such a search, and above all, we cannot find the documents regarding the search for three musicians among the files of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Does Furtwängler's "Japan" then refer to a private institution or an individual?

### Aihiko Sata's Campaign for Inviting Jewish Scholars to Japan

Newspaper articles published in Japan shortly after the establishment of Nazi Germany often expressed sympathy for Jewish people who were discriminated by their government, especially for professors who were expelled by the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service.<sup>50</sup> Among such articles, we find Schönberg's name in a campaign for inviting eminent Jewish scholars to Japan, initiated by Aihiko Sata (1871–1950), a medical doctor and president of the Japanese-German Society in Osaka, the largest metropolitan area in the western part of Japan.<sup>51</sup> Sata was born to a former high-ranking samurai family of the Satsuma Domain (now Kagoshima Prefecture) in Kyusyu Island, located southwest of the main island of Japan.<sup>52</sup> After studying medicine at the Kagoshima Medical School and Tokyo Imperial University, Sata was sent by the Japanese government to pursue his research on pathology and bacteriology in Berlin and Freiburg between 1887 and 1900.<sup>53</sup> In 1902, he became president

49 Office memorandum from Nobuyoshi Akama to Teiji Tsubogami, September 8, 1933, *ibidem*.

50 Masashi Iwamura: *Senzen Nihonjin no tai Doitsu ishiki* [Image of Germany among Prewar Japanese] (Tōkyō 2005), 7–11.

51 Peter J. Hemenstall, Paula Tanaka Mochida: *The lost man. Wilhelm Solf in German history* (Wiesbaden 2005), 214. Hans-Joachim Bieber: *SS und Samurai: Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945* (München 2014), 172 (Monographien aus dem Deutschen Institut für Japanstudien 55). Sata's first name is consistently indicated as "Aihiko" in recent studies, although it is catalogued as "Yoshihiko" in the National Library of Japan: whereas his first name is read as "Yoshihiko" in earlier

literature, such as *Who's Who Hakushi in Great Japan 1888–1922*, see fn. 3, 42–43, it is indicated as "Aihiko" not only in *Arbeiten von Prof. Dr. med. Aihiko Sata* [Works by Professor Medical Doctor Aihiko Sata]. Edited by his students for celebrating his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday (Ōsaka 1940), but also in the United Kingdom Outward Passenger List (April 9, 1913) and the New York Passenger List (October 14, 1927). Given the nature of the Japanese language, it is possible to read the character used in his name in multiple ways.

52 Kōji Takanashi: *Sata Aihiko sensei den* [Biography of Professor Aihiko Sata] (Ōsaka 1940), 1–6. The members of high-ranking samurai class were categorized as "shizoku" in 1869. Although "shizoku" came to lose their traditional privileges along with

the government's order of prohibition of carrying swords in 1876, this social class continued until 1947 when it was abolished completely.

53 Sata studied the pathology of tuberculosis under Rudolf Ludwig Karl Virchow at the Humboldt University of Berlin and under Ernst Ziegler at the University of Freiburg. Takuji Yoshikawa and Tomohiro Egashira: *Sata Aihiko ni okeru sei'yō tonō bunka kōryū: 3–dome no yōkō ni syōten o awasete* [The Cultural Exchange with the West in Sata Aihiko: Focusing on His Third Visit to the West], in *Bulletin of the Graduate School of Education and Human Development (Educational Sciences)*, Nagoya University 61/2 (2013/14), 77.

of the Osaka Prefectural School of Medicine, and played a leading role in upgrading it to the Osaka Prefectural College of Medicine (now Graduate School of Medicine, Osaka University) in 1915.<sup>54</sup> To make this upgrade possible, Sata negotiated actively with the Ministry of Education for the reform of the existing university law: he believed that the public should receive universally high-quality health care throughout the country, and for this purpose each medical school must provide the same level of education.<sup>55</sup>

While working as educator and researcher, Sata founded the Japanese-German Society in Osaka to restore the cultural and industrial links between Germany and Japan, which were interrupted during World War I.<sup>56</sup> The Society promoted interactions between locally-residing Germans in the Osaka area (including Kobe and Kyoto) and Japanese people who were interested in German culture and industry. At the first society meeting in December 1920, Sata invited Wilhelm Solf (1862–1936), recently-appointed German ambassador to Japan, as a distinguished guest.<sup>57</sup> Solf attended the following meetings whenever possible and continued to communicate with Sata even after returning to Germany in 1928. The society hosted numerous parties for prominent German visitors and Sata often maintained contact with them after such occasions. Among them were Fritz Haber (1868–1934), Nobel Prize winner in Chemistry, and Ludwig Aschoff (1866–1942), pathologist who taught many Japanese students at the University of Freiburg.<sup>58</sup>

The article about Sata's rescue campaign appeared in the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* – a daily newspaper serving the Osaka area – on September 15, 1933.<sup>59</sup> According to the article, Sata asked Solf, Haber, and Aschoff to nominate Jewish professionals who were interested in teaching in Japan. Sata named sixteen scientists and artists, one of whom was Arnold Schönberg, as listed in Table 2, to which we will return later. Sata told the journalist in the newspaper article:

54 "Osaka Prefectural College of Medicine" was renamed to "Osaka College of Medicine" in 1919 under the University Ordinance which became in effect in 1919.

55 Aihiko Sata: Furitsu ōsaka ika daigaku seiritsu no yurai [The Origin of the Osaka Prefectural College of Medicine] in *Sata Aihiko sensei ronbunshū* [Articles by Professor Aihiko Sata]. Edited by the Association for Celebrating Professor Sata's 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday (Osaka 1940), 346–361.

56 Kōji Takanashi: *Sata Aihiko sensei den* [Biography of Professor Aihiko Sata], see fn. 52, 584.

57 Wilhelm Heinrich Solf was ambassador to Japan between 1920 and 1928 during the Weimar Republic. He arrived at Tōkyō on August 1, 1920, according to: German Diplomat Arrives in Tōkyō, in *The Japan Times & Mail* (August 5, 1920), 8.

58 Fritz Haber received the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1918 for his synthesis of ammonia. Sata's son, Naoyasu Sata, studied colloid chemistry under Haber at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry and Electrochemistry in Berlin. When Sata traveled to Europe and North America to give lectures at several universities in 1927, he was awarded the title of honorary

senator from the University of Freiburg by the recommendation of Aschoff (see Kōji Takanashi: *Sata Aihiko sensei den*, see fn. 52, 597 and 697).

59 Nachisu ni owarete ienaki meishi [Prominent Scholars without Homeland, Expelled by Nazis], in *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* (September 15, 1933), 11.

*I am truly sorry for their situation. However, if we could transfer the knowledge and mastery of these respected people to our country, it would greatly contribute to our culture. I am asking Mr. Ichizo Kobayashi, president of the Hanshin Express [Electric Railway Company], to give the musicians a chance at his Tokyo Takarazuka Theater, which is now nearing the completion.*<sup>60</sup>

Ichizo Kobayashi (1873–1957) was an industrialist who led the Hanshin Express Electric Railway Company, which linked the industrial districts of Osaka and Kobe and the surrounding residential areas.<sup>61</sup> Additionally, Kobayashi founded the Takarazuka Revue Company, an all-female musical group based in Takarazuka, a city near Osaka and Kobe.<sup>62</sup> Kobayashi was planning to open a theater in Tokyo in January 1934 to accommodate a large audience, and it was at this theater that Sata sought job opportunities for displaced Jewish musicians.

Further details of Sata's campaign are found in Solf's "Aryan File," deposited in the Federal Archives in Koblenz, Germany.<sup>63</sup> This file consists of approximately 200 items (original letters or duplicates) regarding racial discrimination in Nazi Germany, written or received by Solf between 1933 and 1936 and received by his wife, Hannah Solf, between 1937 and 1941 after his death in February 1936. In his letter to Solf, dated June 6, 1933, Sata expressed his sympathy for Jewish people in Germany, who had been driven into a very difficult situation by Adolf Hitler's anti-Semitic policies. Sata wrote:

*Durch diese Ereignisse veranlasst, wurde vielfach in den japanischen Kreisen der Gedanke ausgesprochen, ob es zweckmaessig sein duerfte, wenn wir verschiedene Gelehrte, Forscher, Techniker und Kuenstler, die durch die politischen Ereignisse in Deutschland ihre Position verloren haben, nach Kraeften in unser Land berufen wuerden. Der Zweck meines heutigen Schreibens ist nun der, Sie in dieser Frage um Ihre offene Meinungsaeusserung zu bitten. Und ausserdem wuerden wir Ihnen sehr verbunden sein, wenn Sie, sollten Sie unsere Absicht guenstig beurteilen, uns die Adressen von in Frage kommenden Persoenlichkeiten angeben und sich eventuell mit den Betreffenden in Verbindung setzten.*<sup>64</sup>

[As a result of these developments, the idea whether it would be practical for us to invite various scholars, researchers, engineers, and artists who lost their position because of the political developments in Germany was often discussed in Japanese circles.

60 Ibidem. Translated from Japanese.

61 Ichizō Kobayashi had also participated in management of the Tokyo Electric Light Company. See Ichizo Kobayashi, Idealist of Theater, Is Founder of Takarazuka Girls' Opera, in *The Japan Times & Mail* (November 24, 1933), 3.

62 The first performance of the Takarazuka Revue Company in Tokyo took place in 1918; see Sepp Linhart: *The Culture of Japan as seen through its leisure* (New York 1998), 273.

63 Bundesarchiv Koblenz (Nachlass 1053 Solf, Amtlicher und politischer Werdegang,

Ruhestand, Nr. 93: "Arier-Akte") (Nachlass 1053/93 hereafter).

64 Letter from Aihiko Sata to Wilhelm Solf, June 6, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, documents No. 6 and 7]).

The purpose of my letter today is to ask your openly expressed opinion on this matter. In addition, if you are favorably disposed to our intentions, we would be very grateful if you could give us the addresses of any potential candidates, and possibly contact the relevant people.]

It took about three weeks for mail to reach Berlin from Osaka: Solf's secretary wrote to Sata on June 26 that Solf was on travels and that he expected his return to Berlin in the middle of July.<sup>65</sup> On July 21, Solf responded to Sata that he had already started searching for candidates:

*Ich habe mich an die Stellen gewandt, die die Namen der Opfer der Ihnen bekannten Regierungsmassnahmen sammeln. Sobald ich diese Liste habe, werde ich sie durchsieben und Ihnen vielleicht ein Dutzend Namen vorschlagen, die ich für würdig halte, in den japanischen Regierungs- oder privaten Dienst zu treten. [...] Ich glaube nicht, dass die deutsche Regierung es irgendwie übel empfinden wird, wenn Japan sich dieser stellungslos gewordenen Menschen annimmt.*<sup>66</sup>

[I have approached the agencies that collect the names of the victims of the government policies which you are familiar with. Once I have this list, I will sift through the candidates and suggest to you perhaps a dozen names that I consider worthy to enter into Japanese government or private service. [...] I do not believe that the German government object if Japan takes on these people who have become unemployed.]

Solf must have asked Arthur Salz (1881–1963) – a Bohemian-born sociologist and economist who was recently expelled from the University of Heidelberg due to his Jewish faith – for help compiling the list since Salz wrote to Solf on July 28:

*Bezugnehmend auf die Unterredung, die Euer Excellenz mir zu gewähren die Güte hatten, beehre ich mich zu melden, dass eine Liste von Gelehrten der verschiedenen Fächer und Techniker vorliegt, die ausdrücklich ihre Bereitwilligkeit erklärt haben, einer Einladung nach Japan für mehrere Jahre Folge zu leisten und imstande sind, englisch zu dozieren.*<sup>67</sup>

[In regard to conversation which your Excellency was kind enough to involve me in, I have the honor to announce a list of various scholars and engineers who have explicitly stated their willingness to comply with an invitation to Japan for several years and are able to lecture in English.]

This is followed by the names of the scholars with brief descriptions: “Professor Paul Levy, Aachen, für organische Chemie, Professor George Jaffé, Giessen, für theoretische Physik, Dr. ing. Franz Eisner, Berlin, für Elektrotechnik, Dr. W. Ehrenberg,

65 Secretary of Wilhelm Solf to Aihiko Sata, June 26, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 16]).

66 Wilhelm Solf to Aihiko Sata, July 21, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 35]).

67 Letter from Arthur Salz to Wilhelm Solf, July 28, 1933. (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 38]).



Stuttgart, Röntgenologie, Professor Plaut, Hamburg, und Professor Salz, Heidelberg, für Nationalökonomie.” There were six professionals including Salz himself, and under certain conditions, there were two more professors: “Professor Courant, Göttingen, für Mathematik, Professor Traube, Charlottenburg, für physikalische Chemie und Kolloidlehre.”<sup>68</sup> Salz wrote:

*Es fehlen noch die Künstler, deren Nomminierung [sic] Frau Hahn-Warburg übernommen hat. Da ich unvorhergesehenerweise plötzlich nach Heidelberg abreisen muss, habe ich mich mit Frau Hahn in Verbindung gesetzt und sie gebeten, Euer Excellenz die Liste persönlich zu überbringen und das Weitere mit Euer Excellenz zu besprechen. Jedem Bewerbungsgesuch ist ein Lebenslauf und ein Schriftenverzeichnis der Kandidaten beigelegt.*<sup>69</sup>

[Still missing are the artists, whose nomination Mrs. Hahn-Warburg has taken over. Since I have to leave for Heidelberg suddenly for unexpected reasons, I have contacted Frau Hahn and asked her to deliver the list to your Excellency in person and discuss the rest of the matter with your Excellency. Each application is accompanied by the candidate’s curriculum vitae and a bibliography.]

Lola Hahn-Warburg (1901–1989), whose help Salz had enlisted in finding suitable artists, was born Lola Warburg, the eldest daughter of Max Warburg (1867–1946), a German-Jewish banker who was a member of the Warburg banking family based in Hamburg, Germany.<sup>70</sup> Lola was a sister of Renate Samson (1904–1984), the second daughter of Max Warburg. In 1921, Lola married to Rudolf Hahn, an industrialist, and they lived in the Berlin suburb of Wannsee with their two children.<sup>71</sup> Renate married Richard Samson, son of the Warburg family lawyer, in 1927.<sup>72</sup> Here, we find a possible link between Furtwängler’s inquiry about the employment in Japan and Sata’s campaign for relocating Jewish professionals to Japan: Lola and Renate being sisters, the former might have asked the latter regarding Salz’s request. Like her father, Lola was “*totally committed to social causes.*”<sup>73</sup> She was a member of the *Zentralausschuss der deutschen Juden für Hilfe und Aufbau* [Central Committee

68 Peter J. Hemenstall and Paula Tanaka Mochida assumed that Solf and Salz chose these people from the list of displaced teachers compiled by the Academic Assistance Council, a British-based group that had been established to raise funds to assist their relocation, probably because their list is included in Solf’s file. See Peter J. Hemenstall and Paula Tanaka Mochida: *Lost Man: Wilhelm Solf in German History* (Wiesbaden 2005), 214. However, only three (Paul Ernst Levy, Theodor Plaut and Richard Courant) of eight professors named by Salz appeared in the list so that Salz must have consulted other sources as well.

69 Arthur Salz to Wilhelm Solf, July 28, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 38]).

70 Lola Hahn-Warburg is known as a key member of the Kindertransport, which rescued Jewish children from German occupied countries, and brought them to the United Kingdom between 1938 and 1940. See Ron Chernow: *The Warburgs: The Twentieth-Century Odyssey of a Remarkable Jewish Family* (New York 1993), 465 f.

71 Ibidem, 298.

72 The Samson family moved to India in the mid-1930s. Renate divorced Samson, and married to Walter Strauss in 1940. They moved to England, with Renate’s son. In 1959, Renate remarried to Sir William Calder. Ibidem, 423.

73 Ibidem, 424.

of German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction], founded in April 1933, which consisted of several German Jewish political and social welfare organizations.<sup>74</sup> Given that she later forwarded a letter from Paul Eppstein (1902–1944) of the *Zentralstelle für jüdische Wirtschaftshilfe* [Central Office for Jewish Economic Assistance] regarding the updates of the list to Solf, Lola may have consulted the Central Office, a division of the Central Committee, about the list.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps Salz contacted Hahn-Warburg through these organizations, although it is not known exactly how he became acquainted with her.

On August 7, 1933, Solf sent Sata the list of names and addresses of scholars and artists who wished to find employment in Japan, saying that “*Ich bin nicht der Meinung, dass die deutsche Regierung der japanischen Regierung in irgend einer Weise übelnehmen wird, wenn die japanischen Regierung versucht, diesen unglücklichen Opfern eine hilfreiche Hand zu reichen.*”<sup>76</sup> [I do not think that the German government will in any way resent the Japanese government if the Japanese government tries to give a helping hand to these unfortunate victims.] The list of the names and addresses is not attached to the copy of the letter in the file because Solf sent the original list to Sata immediately after receiving it from Hahn-Warburg without making a copy: this is explained in Solf’s letter of September 24, 1933, to Hahn-Warburg, in which he asks her to send a copy to him.<sup>77</sup> Upon his request, she sent a copy of the list on September 27.<sup>78</sup> According to this copy, the list originally contained ten scientists and two musicians; these are marked with “x” in the rightmost column of Table 2. As shown in this column, four people were added to the list of Sata that appeared in the Osaka Mainichi Shimbun. The last two people marked with “z” – Franz Bergel<sup>79</sup> and Rudolf Stern, – must have come from other sources than Hahn-Warburg because Sata himself presented them as additional candidates in the newspaper article. The two musicians marked with “x1” and “y” – Rudolf Kastner and Bernhard Abramowitsch, respectively – were added by Hahn-Warburg after she had sent the original list to Solf.

74 Laying an Ugly Rumor at Rest, in *The Jewish Advocate* (August 1, 1933), 2.

75 See Hahn-Warburg to Wilhelm Solf, November 1, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 93]). To this letter, Paul Eppstein’s letter to Hahn-Warburg, October 20, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 94]) is attached. Regarding Paul Eppstein, see the Inventory of the Paul Eppstein Collection, 1928–1967, Leo Baeck Institute (<http://digifindingaids.cjh.org/?pID=4854994>; accessed February 16, 2019).

76 Wilhelm Solf to Aihiko Sata, August 7, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 58]).

77 Wilhelm Solf to Lola Hahn-Warburg, September 24, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 72]).

78 Lola Hahn-Warburg to Wilhelm Solf, September 27, 1933, with a copy of the list (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 75–77]). This list includes Schönberg’s name and a brief description, as discussed in p. 150–153.

79 Although the article indicated “Bergen” without the first name, it should be Franz Bergel because the description about Bergen (Docent in Biology at University of Freiburg) is consistent with that of “Bergen.” Bergel inquired Solf about an employment opportunity in Japan in his letter of July 19, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 23]).

|            | Name                      | Area              | Previous Employment etc.                     | *See below |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------|
| Scientists | [George Cecil] Jaffé      | Physics           | Universität Giessen                          | x          |
|            | [Werner] Ehrenberg        | Physics           | Technische Hochschule Stuttgart              | x          |
|            | Hilda Pollaczek Geiringer | Mathematics       | Universität Berlin                           | x          |
|            | [Wilhelm] Traube          | Chemistry         | Technische Hochschule Berlin                 | x          |
|            | [Paul Ernst] Levy         | Chemistry         | Technische Hochschule Aachen                 | x          |
|            | [Willy] Prager            | Engineering       | Technische Hochschule Karlsruhe              | x          |
|            | [Max] Kronenberg          | Engineering       | Technische Hochschule Berlin                 | x          |
|            | Franz Eisner              | Engineering       | Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Luftfahrt       | x          |
|            | Arthur Salz               | Economics         | Universität Heidelberg                       | x          |
|            | Theodor Plaut             | Economics         | Universität Hamburg                          | x          |
| Musicians  | Hermann Reichenbach       | Music Pedagogy    | Akademie für Kirchen- und Schulmusik, Berlin | x          |
|            | Arnold Schönberg          | Composition       | Akademie der Künste, Berlin                  | x          |
|            | Rudolf Kastner            | Music Criticism   |                                              | x1         |
|            | [Bernhard] Abramowitsch   | Piano Performance |                                              | y          |
| Others     | Bergen**                  | Biology           | Universität Freiburg                         | z          |
|            | Rudolf Stern              | Medical Science   |                                              | z          |

\* x Person listed in Hahn-Warburg's original list

x1 Person whose curriculum vitae was sent after the list was prepared

y Person whose application and supporting materials were sent after the list was prepared

z Person added by Sata

\*\* "Bergen" must be "Bergel" (see fn. 79)

Table 2: Candidates listed in the newspaper article on Sata's campaign (*Osaka Mainichi Shimibun*, September 15, 1933)

|          | Date in 1933:                                  | Before Aug. 7 | On Aug. 7 | On Aug. 9    | Aug. 10 – Aug. 14 | On Aug. 15 | By Aug. 30 | By Sept. 5 |
|----------|------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|-------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Content* | x: List of candidates and supporting materials | Hahn-Warburg  | → Solf    | → Sata       |                   |            |            |            |
|          | x1: CV of Kastner                              |               |           | Hahn-Warburg | →                 | Solf       | →          | Sata       |
|          | y: application of Abramowitsch                 |               |           | Hahn-Warburg | →                 | ↑          |            |            |

\* See Table 2 for x, x1 and y

Plate 3: Chronology of two shipments to Sata

As summarized in Plate 3, Sata received the names of the candidates from Solf in two shipments: by August 30 and by September 5. The first shipment was the list of the candidates (“x”) with their supporting materials with Solf’s cover letter dated August 7.<sup>80</sup> The second shipment included the materials for two additional candidates – Kastner’s curriculum vitae (“x1”) sent from Hahn-Warburg to Solf on August 9<sup>81</sup> and the materials for Abramowitsch (“y”) sent from Hahn-Warburg to Solf between August 10 and August 14 – with Solf’s cover letter dated August 15.<sup>82</sup> According to Salz, each application was accompanied by a curriculum vitae and a bibliography so that Kastner’s application and bibliography must have been sent with the list in the first shipment, whereas his curriculum vitae must have been sent with the application and the supporting materials for Abramowitsch, a new candidate, in the second shipment.

After receiving the second shipment, Sata wrote to Solf on September 5 that he had received Solf’s letter of August 15 with the paperwork of another candidate about one week ago.<sup>83</sup> In this letter, Sata wrote that he was in Tokyo for one day at the beginning of September and met Ichizo Kobayashi there:

*Da in Ihrer Bewerberliste drei Musiker aufgeführt sind, sprach ich mit Herrn Kobayashi darüber, ob er nicht vielleicht wünschte, solche Kräfte für seine Unternehmungen zu gewinnen. Er dankte sehr herzlich für diese Vorschläge und will mit seinem musikalischen Leiter, den er zu Studienzwecken nach Berlin geschickt hatte und der am 14. ds. M. zurückkehrt, darüber sprechen und seine Meinung einholen will.*<sup>84</sup>

[Since there are three musicians in your list of candidates, I asked Mr. Kobayashi whether he would be interested in obtaining such personnel for his enterprises. He thanked [me] very warmly for these suggestions and wants to discuss this with his musical director, whom he had sent to Berlin for studies and who will return on the 14<sup>th</sup> of this month, and seek his opinion.]

Takarazuka Revue Company had its own orchestra – the Takarazuka Symphony Orchestra – which not only accompanied the revue, but also provided its own subscription concerts.<sup>85</sup> Led by Joseph Laska (1886–1964), an Austrian conductor and composer, since 1923, the orchestra offered ambitious programs, such as the Japanese premiere of Anton Bruckner’s *Symphony No. 4*.<sup>86</sup>

80 Aihiko Sata to Wilhelm Solf, August 30, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 68]). According to this letter, Sata was away when the mail arrived.

81 Lola Hahn-Warburg to Wilhelm Solf, August 9, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 59]).

82 Wilhelm Solf to Aihiko Sata, August 15, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 61]).

83 Aihiko Sata to Wilhelm Solf, September 5, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 69]).

84 Ibidem.

85 Kazumi Negishi: *Yōzefu Rasuka to Takarazuka Kōkyō Gakudan [Yoseph Laska and Takarazuka Symphony Orchestra]* (Ōsaka 2012), 41–45 and 63–65.

86 Ibidem, 66–71.

Sata's above statement not only reveals his plan for Schönberg's employment in Japan, but also supports the link between Furtwängler's inquiry and Sata's campaign. Furtwängler wrote to Schönberg, "*Japan is looking for three [musicians] who withdrew from their areas of influence in Germany [...]*" while Sata wrote to Solf that "*[...] there were three musicians in your list of candidates.*" Both Furtwängler and Sata are consistent in stipulating that the number of the musicians is three. Indicated as "x" and "x1" in Table 2, the "three musicians" in the list must have been Reichenbach, Schönberg, and Kastner, as the materials supporting Abramowitsch's candidacy arrived later than the list itself.<sup>87</sup> When Sata asked Solf to nominate Jewish professors who were interested in relocating to Japan, he did not specify the number. In the reply to this letter, Solf wrote that he had already contacted the relevant organizations and would send the list of a dozen people. This means that Solf probably asked Salz to nominate about twelve people, and Salz or Hahn-Warburg decided to nominate three artists because there were eight scientists in Salz's incomplete preliminary list, which had room for additional names.

Not only the number of musicians but also the chronology of events coincides between Sata's campaign and Furtwängler's inquiry. Furtwängler wrote to Schönberg (on July 27) after Salz had asked Hahn-Warburg to nominate artists to complete the list of the candidates (before July 28, possibly before July 21). Solf sent the list to Sata (on August 7) after Schönberg had answered Furtwängler (July 30), who then communicated with Samson through Geissmar (before August 2). The only issue that needs further justification is whether Samson could have received Schönberg's reply from Arcachon (of August 5) before Hahn-Warburg sent the list to Solf (before August 7); it took Schönberg three days to answer Samson's letter from Berlin (of August 2). However, even if Schönberg's reply did not arrive in time for Samson to write Hahn-Warburg, she could have provided the information about the composer by consulting other sources – by asking Geissmar about Schönberg and his family, for example. In fact, while Schönberg asked Samson to refer to sources like Hugo Riemann's *Musiklexikon* for his curriculum vitae (see p. 142–143), the description of Schönberg in the list, as shown below, exhibits an incorrect birth date (February 13 instead of September 13) and includes the name of Schönberg's second wife, which was not found in the 1929 edition of the *Musiklexikon*, the most recent edition at that time.

*Komponist, Leiter einer Meisterklasse f. musik. Kompos. Akad. d. Künste Berlin. Berlin, Pariser Platz, Akademie der Künste, geb. 13. II 74 Wien[.] Verh. mit Mathilde*

87 Although Sata wrote to Solf on September 5 that he received Solf's letter of August 15 "about one week ago," it is very likely that Sata received the letter in early

September while he was in Tōkyō because it usually took about three weeks for a letter to reach Tōkyō from Berlin at that time.



Zemlinsky – zum 2. Mal mit Gertrud Kolisch, 2 Kinder[.] Kapellmeister, Theorielehre, Kurse in Komposition, Werke: Lied – Kammermusik – Orchesterwerke-Drama mit Musik.<sup>88</sup>

[Composer, teacher of a masterclass for music composition. Academy of Arts Berlin. Berlin, Pariser Platz, Akademy of Arts, born on 13. II 74, Vienna. Married with Mathilde Zemlinsky – a second time with Gertrud Kolisch, 2 children. Kapellmeister, theory teaching, courses in composition, works: songs – chamber music – orchestral works-drama with music.]

This suggests that Samson did not consult the encyclopedia regardless of whether she received Schönberg's reply in time, and went ahead detailing his information, working on the assumption that his response would be affirmative.

The coincidence of chronology and the number of musicians – as well as the familial relationship between Lola and Renate as sisters – strongly suggests that Furtwängler's search must have originated from Sata's campaign.<sup>89</sup> If this was the case, the invitation of Schönberg involved ten people of various professions, as summarized in Plate 4. They are mentioned in Solf's letters in the Aryan File or Schönberg's letters in the Library of Congress. In this chart, an arrow indicates that person A contacted person B about the search for Jewish professionals who wished to work in Japan, although person B did not necessarily communicate with person A afterwards: for example, Hahn-Warburg directly wrote to Solf after Salz left for Heidelberg. Among the people listed here, only two of them are Japanese, as indicated by the shaded rectangles.

Sata's idea was unique in that he attempted to find employment opportunities for Jewish people in both the corporate and academic worlds; he wrote to Solf, "*Ich werde alles genauest durchstudieren und mich dann mit den betreffenden Fachleuten an Instituten und in der Industrie in Verbindung setzen*" [I will study everything [about the candidates' documents] carefully and get in touch with the relevant professionals at institutes and in the industry].<sup>90</sup>

88 See fn. 78 regarding the list. For the description of Schönberg see *Hugo Riemanns Musiklexikon*. Edited by Alfred Einstein (Berlin 11929), 1642–3.

89 Although it is known that Furtwängler had his own Japanese connections (as explained below), I could not find any evidence suggesting that these people were involved in the search for three musicians who wished to work in Japan. In the fall of 1930, Kenzō Satō, Japanese violinist who had been living in Berlin since 1921, initiated a plan to invite the Berlin Philharmonic with Furtwängler to Japan through the Deutsche Kunstgesellschaft that undertook the cultural division of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kenzō Satō: *Berurin ni itakoro* [When I Lived in Berlin], in *Ongaku Hyōron* [Music Criticism] 4/9 [July 1936], 51). This plan was

supported by Marquis Yoshisada Tokugawa, who asked Japanese Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Education, and Railways for their approval. In the early April 1931, the Berlin Philharmonic accepted the invitation, although the tour didn't take place due to the significant decline in the exchange rates of Japanese Yen. For further details on this project, which lasted until 1939, see Shōichirō Yokota: *Furutoyengurā maboroshi no Tōkyō kōen* [Furtwängler's Tōkyō Concert Tour That Never Took Place] (Tōkyō 2002).

90 Aihiko Sata to Wilhelm Solf, August 30, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 68]).

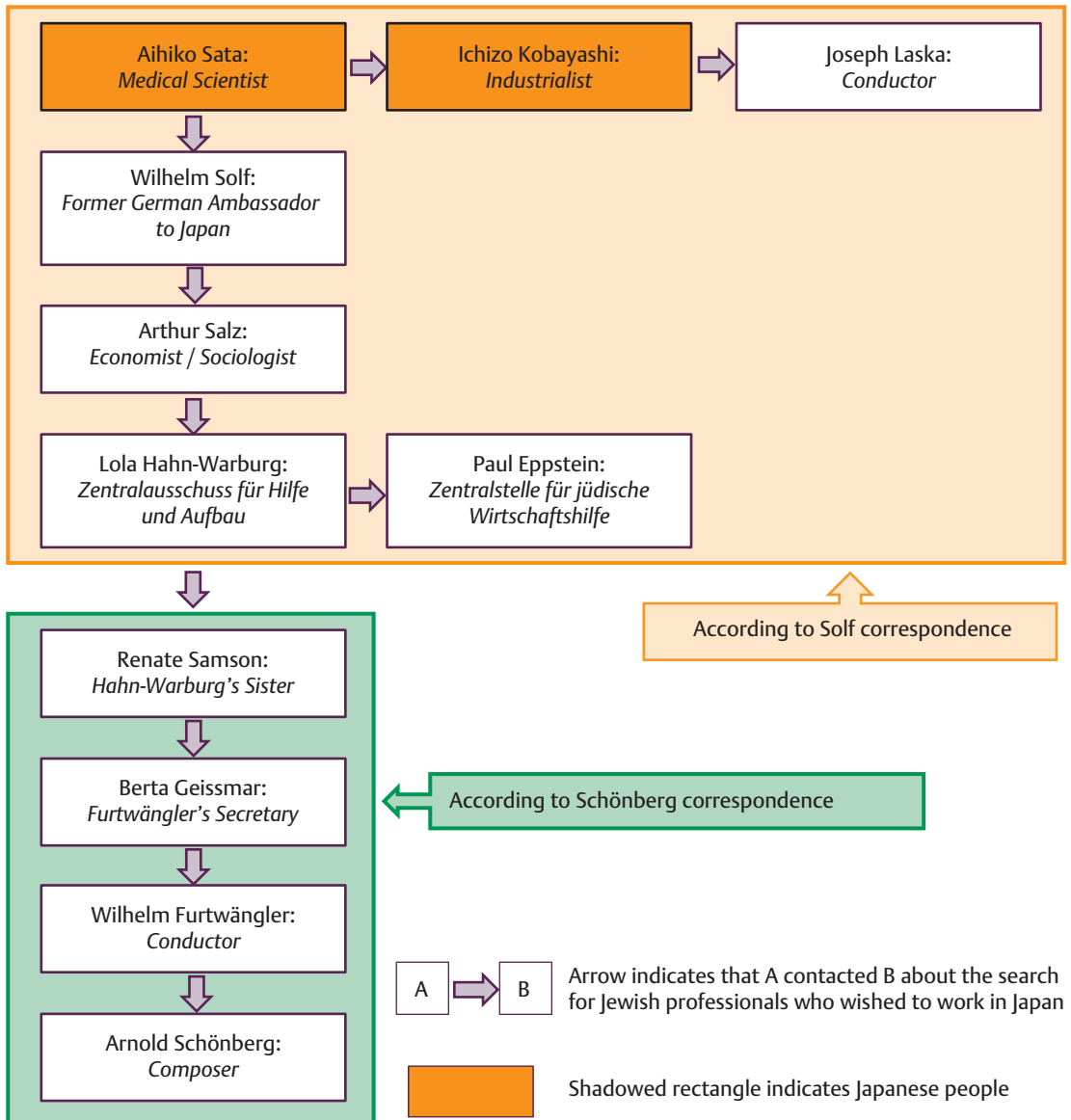


Plate 4: People involved in the invitation of Schönberg to Japan

Sata's attitude might have been influenced by his living environment: Osaka had been developing as a city of industry since the Meiji Restoration in 1868, when the modernization of Japan began after a long period of diplomatic seclusion.<sup>91</sup> As the object of the Japanese-German Society in Osaka was “*cultural improvement and industrial development of German and Japan*,”<sup>92</sup> Sata had strong connections with the business people in Osaka, and Ichizo Kobayashi must have been one of these.<sup>93</sup>

Although Sata was optimistic about finding musical opportunities in the Takarazuka Tokyo Theater, he was running into difficulties for the non-musicians, according to what he sent Solf on September 27, 1933:

*Was die Berufung jüdischer Gelehrter und Techniker betrifft, so ist der Gedanke von allen vernünftigen Japanern mit grösstem Beifall aufgenommen worden. Die Realisierung allerdings ist nicht so einfach, wie wir vorher gedacht haben. Viele Widerstände sind noch zu überwinden. Auch in dieser Angelegenheit habe ich während meines Aufenthalts in Tokyo verschiedene Schritte getan. Wenigstens für die Musiker erscheinen die Aussichten positiv, ich hoffe, sie unterbringen zu können.*<sup>94</sup>

[Concerning the appointment of Jewish scholars and engineers, the idea has been received with the greatest applause by all rational Japanese. However, the realization will not be as easy as we previously thought. Much opposition has yet to be overcome. In this matter, I have taken several steps during my stay in Tokyo as well. At least for the musicians, the prospects look positive. I hope to accommodate them.]

On his birthday on October 5, 1933, Solf received a birthday letter with a translation of the article in the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* from Emil Ohrt (1868–1934), the German consul general in Kobe. Although this letter from Ohrt is not included in Solf's Aryan File, Ohrt must have been surprised to find the article, and asked for an explanation because Solf defended Ohrt what had happened in his reply dated on October 12:

*Sata hat streng vertraulich an mich geschrieben und mich gebeten, zu sondieren, ob die deutsche Regierung es etwa übel vermerken würde, wenn die Japaner von den entlassenen jüdischen Berühmtheiten diese oder jene in Japan anstellen. Ich habe ihm ebenso vertraulich geantwortet, dass ich glaubte, dass man das nicht übel nehmen würde und habe dann auf seinen Wunsch eine Liste von ungefähr 10 oder 12 Leuten geschickt, die mir als besondere Koryphäen von sachverständiger Seite bezeichnet worden waren. [...] Dass er unsere*

91 Ōsaka was called the “Manchester of the Orient” from the 1870s until the early 1920s due to its flourishing spinning industry; see Takeshi Abe: *Kindai Ōsaka keizaishi* [Economic History of Modern Ōsaka] (Ōsaka 2006), 95–125.

92 *A Handbook of International Cultural Organizations in Japan* (Tōkyō 1934), 94.

93 Kōji Takanashi: *Sata Aihiko sensei den* [Biography of Professor Aihiko Sata], see fn. 52, 644–651.

94 Letter from Aihiko Sata to Wilhelm Solf on September 27, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 74]).

*Photographien und die vertraulich eingeforderte Liste in der “Mainichi” veröffentlichen würde, das allerdings habe ich nicht erwartet und auch nicht voraussehen können.*<sup>95</sup>

[Sata wrote to me with strict confidentiality and asked me to sound out whether the German government would take it badly if the Japanese hired one or the other of these dismissed Jewish luminaries in Japan. I responded to him with equally strict confidentiality that I believed that it would not be offensive, and at his request, I sent a list of about ten or twelve people that were referred to me as distinguished experts by the authorities. [...] However, I did not expect and could not foresee that he would publish our photographs and the confidential list in the “Mainichi.”]

Solf complained that by breaking the agreed-upon confidentiality of the list, Sata had jeopardized their plan by at least 75% by publishing it in the *Osaka Manichi Shimbun*. The newspaper appearance of the list did eventually jeopardize the campaign, as Solf wrote to Ohrt, although there was a case in which a Jewish professor found a teaching position in Japan after his story was published in a newspaper.<sup>96</sup>

Perhaps, Solf's estimation in the summer of 1933 was too optimistic. Despite the fact that nobody from Sata's list emigrated to Japan, Herbert von Dirksen (1882–1955) – German ambassador to Japan from October 1933 – reported to the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin on March 13, 1934: *“Bei dem Japanisch-Deutschen Kulturinstitut erkundigte sich ferner ein Beamter des Polizeipräsidiums danach, ob etwas Näheres über die nachstehend aufgeführten Personen bekannt sei, deren Einreise nach Japan ihm gemeldet worden sei”*.<sup>97</sup> [At the Japanese-German Cultural Institute, an officer of the police headquarters inquired as to whether anything more was known about the people listed below, whose entry into Japan had been reported.] This was followed by names of the fifteen people with brief descriptions:

*Arnold Schönberg, Professor, Komponist, geboren 13. November 1874, Arthur Salz, Dr., a.o. Professor der Nationalökonomie, geboren 31. Dezember 1881, Rudolf Stern, Bergen, Freiburg, Abraham Witch, Pianist, Ludwig Kastner, Komponist, Reichbach, Professor, Berlin, Musikakademie, Eisner, Hamburg, Kronenberg, Berlin, Flager, Karlsruhe, Levy,*

95 Letter from Wilhelm Solf to Emil Ohrt, October 12, 1933 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz (Nachlass 1053/93, document No. 85)).

96 Hans Kleinmann was Privatdozent at the chemistry department of the Pathological Institute, University of Berlin between 1928 and 1933 (*Exodus der Wissenschaften aus Berlin. Fragestellung, Ergebnisse, Desiderate; Entwicklungen vor und nach 1933*. Edited by Wolfram Fischer et al. [Berlin 1994], 308). In June 1933, Kleinmann

wrote to Tomihide Shimizu, Professor at the biochemistry department of the Okayama Medical College, asking for an employment opportunity in Japan. Within two weeks after this story was published in *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun* (June 14, 1933), Kleinmann was offered a position at a hospital in Iwate Prefecture in Japan. See Nachisu ni owarete [Expelled by Nazis], in *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* (June 29, 1933), 11. Despite the offer, Kleinmann went to Paris, and then moved to the United States in 1934 to become a

faculty member at the Medical College of Virginia according to Baltimore Passenger List (May 21, 1934).

97 Dirksen's report to the German Foreign Ministry on March 13, 1934, titled “Inhalt: Deutsche Emigranten” (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes [R85961]). This report is mentioned in Hans-Joachim Bieber: *SS und Samurai*, see fn. 51, 369.

Aachen, Traube, Professor, Berlin, Hilda Geiringer, Universität Berlin, Ehrenberg, Professor, Stuttgart, Jaffe, Professor, Giessen.

This report must have been based on the English translation of the newspaper article about Sata's campaign, which appeared on September 16 (the day after the original publication) in *Osaka Mainichi and Tokyo Nichi Nichi* (the English version of the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, circulated within Japan), as both have the same mistakes in common: Theodor Plaut of the University of Hamburg was confused with Franz Eisner of the German Research Institute of Aviation, so Theodor Plaut's name did not appear while Franz Eisner was listed as being associated with the University of Hamburg.<sup>98</sup> Also, the last name of Bernhard Abramowitsch was divided into two parts, and Romanized as "Aburamu Witch" in the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*. This was transcribed as "Abraham Witch" in the *Osaka Mainichi and Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, and this spelling was maintained in Dirksen's list. As it is hard to imagine such mistakes occurring consistently by pure chance, somebody who read the English version of the newspaper article must have reported on Sata's campaign to Dirksen.<sup>99</sup>

"The Japanese-German Cultural Institute" in Dirksen's report must have been the Japanese-German Society in Osaka. This suggests that the German Embassy suspected the organization's involvement with Sata, despite there being no recorded trace of its involvement in his letters in the Aryan File. Nevertheless, being president of the society must have complicated the matter: members of Japanese-German Societies in Japan and Germany, which existed in several cities, had started to join the National Socialist German Workers' Party, becoming vehicles for Nazi Germany to propagate their situation favorably and for surveillance.<sup>100</sup> The Japanese-German Cultural Institute in Tokyo was no exception: Sata discussed his plan for relocating Jewish professors with members of the Cultural Institute in Tokyo, whose president from 1927, Wilhelm Gundert, joining the Nazi party in April 1934 led to members of Jewish descent leaving the society.<sup>101</sup> When the Japanese-German Society in Osaka

98 Franz Eisner was spelled "Franz Aisnel" in the *Osaka Mainichi and Tokyo Nichi Nichi* (September 16, 1933), 2. Perhaps, this spelling was transcribed from "Furantsu Aisuneru" that appeared as the Romanization of Franz Eisner in the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* on the day before.

99 This report includes the birth dates of Schönberg and Salz, which were not included in the newspaper article. Although it is not known who added the information, Schönberg's birth date is incorrect (November 13 instead of September 13).

100 Burūno Petsoruto [Bruno Petzold] in *Petsoruto no sekai* [The world of Petzold] 5 (2014), 46–49. Bruno Petzold, German journalist and scholar, came to Japan in 1910. He converted to Buddhism in Japan and became a priest of the Tendai Buddhism. His wife, Hanka Schjelderup Petzold, was Norwegian musician, who taught piano and voice at the Tokyo Music School.

101 Christian W. Spang: The German East Asiatic Society (OAG) during the Nazi Era, in *Transnational Encounters between Germany and Japan: Perceptions of Partnership in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Edited by Joanne Miyang Cho, Lee Roberts, and Christina W. Spang (Houndmills/Basingstoke/Hampshire, New York 2016), 136.

held a banquet for the new German ambassador, Herbert von Dirksen, on the occasion of his visit to Osaka on May 28, 1934, Sata gave a welcome speech.<sup>102</sup> In a situation in which the German government was cautiously observant of Jewish professionals entering Japan, it must have been difficult to pursue the rescue campaign.<sup>103</sup> Sata himself later recalled that his plan was not successful because of the German government's increased scrutiny of him.<sup>104</sup>

There is no record that Schönberg knew either Sata or Solf. However, the fact that Schönberg wrote to Kyogoku to ask about music circles in Japan suggests that he seriously considered such an opportunity before he eventually settled in Los Angeles, where he lived until his death. Schönberg wrote to his friends on his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday that his first year in America had been filled with “*disappointments, annoyance and illness*.”<sup>105</sup> Because of sudden temperature changes during the winter of 1933/34, he had a severe asthma attack and mysterious stomach cramps in March 1934.<sup>106</sup> Schönberg thus searched for teaching opportunities away from the East Coast, writing his son Georg on June 10, 1934, that he had no engagement for yet the next year and “*Wir haben ernstlich daran gedacht, eventuell nach Europa zurückzuehnen*.”<sup>107</sup> [We have seriously thought of possibly returning to Europe] Schönberg even asked Fritz Stiedry about music education in Soviet Union after hearing of an employment opportunity there from Hanns Eisler.<sup>108</sup> In the midst of political turmoil caused by the establishment of the Nazi regime, Schönberg must have felt that he needed to explore all options, including relocation to Asia. It is ironic that Kyogoku's negative answer might have discouraged Schönberg from pursuing the opportunity, even though Sata's campaign had already come to a standstill when Schönberg arrived in New York in the fall of 1933.<sup>109</sup>

As shown in this study, Schönberg's Japanese connection between 1933 and 1934 was not simple: although Kyogoku was most likely the only Japanese person with whom Schönberg made direct contact regarding the employment

102 Japan, Germany One in Arms Demands; Security First, Claims Envoy Dirksen, in *The Osaka Mainichi & The Tokyo Nichi Nichi* (May 29, 1934), 2.

103 For example, see Dirksen's report to the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin regarding the survey of immigrants from Germany, on May 30, 1934 (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes [R85961]).

104 Kōji Takanashi: *Sata Aihiko sensei den* [Biography of Professor Aihiko Sata], see fn. 52, 655.

105 Arnold Schönberg: *Rundschreiben an Freunde* (ASSV 5.1.2.18.); English translation

published in Arnold Schoenberg: *Style and Idea. Selected Writings*. Edited by Leonard Stein (London 1975), 25.

106 Arnold Schönberg to Anton Webern, April 12, 1934 (Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [I.N. 185.538] | ASCC ID 7809).

107 Arnold Schönberg to Georg Schönberg, June 10, 1934 (carbon copy; The Library of Congress, see fn. 1 | ASCC ID 2706).

108 Arnold Schönberg to Hanns Eisler, July 16, 1934 (carbon copy; The Library of Congress, see fn. 1 | ASCC ID 2730).

109 Kyōgoku might have thought of the presence of Klaus Pringsheim (1883–1972), who taught at the Composition Department at the Tokyo Music School between 1931 and 1937. Pringsheim was a German-born composer, conductor, and music educator, and he was a strong opponent of atonality, writing articles attacking Schönberg's music. Considering Pringsheim's negative attitude towards Schönberg as well as his significant influence within his department, Kyōgoku might have thought that these two professors would not coexist well within Japan's music circles. Regarding Klaus Pringsheim, see Fusako Hamao: *The Reception of Arnold Schönberg in Japan*, see fn. 12, 142.



opportunity in Japan,<sup>110</sup> Schönberg was surrounded by people who were willing to help him. They were not necessarily limited to Japanese people, or musicians for that matter. In this regard, exploration into his employment opportunity in Japan requires consideration of the social and political situations of Europe as well as Japan during the interwar period.

Schönberg's Japanese connection did not end here, as we saw at the beginning of this essay. Answering Kyogoku's request, Schönberg sent a statement to music lovers in postwar Japan despite anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States during World War II.<sup>111</sup> He wrote:

*To me[,] a music lover is one who loves things which I love myself; it is music, not style. Whether it is Bach or Mozart, Beethoven or Brahms, Wagner or Mahler, Richard Strauss and modern music and even Offenbach and Johann Strauss; all this is music, and all this deserves Love.*

*The idea that we Western musicians can never forget the centuries of tradition upon which our culture is founded – this idea will probably find an echo in your own heart – though we are modern, [...] we never forget what we owe to our predecessors.*<sup>112</sup>

Here, Schönberg conveyed in writing the very essence of his thoughts expressed in his “New Music, Outmoded Music, Style and Idea,” in which he stated that it is “*very regrettable that so many contemporary composers care so much about style and so little about idea.*”<sup>113</sup> This was certainly a concise, yet assuring, message not only to music lovers, but also to a young generation of composers who were about to rebuild the country's musical landscape by adopting Western music while keeping the tradition of Japanese music alive.

110 Hisato Ōsawa, a Japanese composer and conductor who graduated from Boston University in June 1933, might have approached Schönberg between the fall of 1933 and the spring of 1934; Ōsawa wrote to his father on September 11, 1933, that he hoped to take private composition lessons with Schönberg, who was coming to Boston in the fall of 1933. Although it is not known whether such lessons actually took place, Ōsawa later recalled that he attended all of the musical events in Boston associated with Schönberg, including his lecture given at a library. Ōsawa might have become

acquainted with Schönberg on such occasions. Regarding Ōsawa's activities in Boston and his view on Schönberg's music and theory, see Mikiko Ikushima: *Tensai sakkyokuka, Ōsawa Hisato: kakemeguru Bosuton, Pari, Nihon* [Genius Composer, Hisato Ōsawa: Who was active in Boston, Paris, and Japan] (Tōkyō 2017), 145–158.

111 For example, regarding anti-Japanese films, see Anthony Sheppard: An Exotic Enemy: Anti-Japanese Musical Propaganda in World War II Hollywood, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54/2 (Summer 2001), 303–357.

112 Arnold Schönberg to Takatoshi Kyogoku, October 19, 1947, see fn. 1.

113 Arnold Schönberg: New Music, Outmoded Music, Style and Idea (1946–1949) (ASSV 3.1.2.3.); published in idem: *Style and Idea*, see fn. 105, 123.

**Appendix: A partial translation of Takatoshi Kyōgoku: Shēnberuku hōmonki [Interview with Schönberg], (Ongaku kikō 3 [My Musical Travel Journal no. 3<sup>1</sup>]), in *Ongaku kōron* [Music Forum] 2/10 (October 1942), 56–62**

To: Mr. Hisanaga Shimazu, Japanese Embassy in London, the capital of the United Kingdom

From: Eigo Kato in Berlin, Germany

Dear Mr. Shimazu,

I have certainly received your letter at the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha in Berlin. I am looking forward to going on a road trip to Wales region with you after returning to London. [...]

As I am sure you already know, Arnold Schönberg is a revolutionary composer in contemporary music. He was born in Vienna in 1874. Although Schönberg studied music mostly by himself, he has established himself as a prominent composer, and created many works based on his innovative music theory. Schönberg began as a Romantic composer, influenced by Richard Strauss for a period, before starting to write in an Expressionist style, as he resonated with Expressionist art and literature. By disregarding courageously the distinction between consonance and dissonance, which had been taught in the traditional *Harmonielehre*, he began writing “atonal” music. Schönberg employed various kinds of chords in his music. Schönberg has reached his current compositional style under the great influence of Gustav Mahler, whom he highly admires.

Schönberg’s disciples include famous composers such as Alban Berg and [Anton] Webern. Among Schönberg’s music – which I heard from time to time, although I am not entirely familiar with – particularly well-known works are *Gurre-Lieder* for soli, chorus and orchestra, composed when he was twenty-six year old, *Pelleas und Melisande*, [First Chamber] Symphony<sup>2</sup>, *Verklärte Nacht*, *Variations for Orchestra*, *Five Orchestral Pieces*, and so forth.

Before I met Schönberg, I had imagined that he must have a gloomy personality – like his music, seemingly always dark – and a temperament of an artist that would not welcome foreign visitors. I was also concerned that his telephone number and address were private and it would be difficult to find

1 Ongaku kikō [My Musical Travel Journal] is a series of five essays written by Takatoshi Kyōgoku that appeared in *Ongaku kōron* [Music Forum] between August and December 1942.

2 Although Kyōgoku’s Japanese translation of the title of this piece would be translated literally into English as “Court Symphony,” he must have meant “First Chamber Symphony” because it was the

only symphony among Schönberg’s works published before 1931.

them. In any event, I began planning to visit Schönberg as soon as I arrived in Berlin, since I had already obtained a letter of introduction in Vienna. When I looked at the Berlin Telephone Directory without much expectation, I found the following telephone number and address there:

“Schönberg, Arnold. Bavaria B. 4-44-66. Nürnberger Platz 3. Berlin.”

Nürnberger Platz is near Bayerischer Platz in Schöneberg district, where I was staying. At first, I thought he was a different person of the same name because this building is located on a busy street. I had assumed that Schönberg would have lived in a quieter residential area. Although I was not sure whether this information was the one I was looking for, I decided to give it a try because I thought it would not be a big trouble to go there. I stopped by this location around 11 am on March 25<sup>th</sup> without calling the telephone number to make an appointment. When I rang the bell, a short, old man wearing white working clothes opened the door.<sup>3</sup> I asked him, “Is this composer Schönberg’s residence? If this is the case, please tell Mr. Schönberg that a Japanese journalist with a letter of introduction from Vienna would like to meet him.”

The old man disappeared into the apartment with the letter and my business card. A little later, the same man came back, and to my surprise, he introduced himself, saying “I am Mr. Schönberg.” I could not recognize him because he did not have a mustache, unlike in the photographs with which I had been familiar. Schönberg was about 5 feet, 2 to 3 inches tall. He was shorter than I imagined, and it was a reason for my misunderstanding. Mr. Schönberg turned out to be a short man without a mustache.

This bald man moved around restlessly. Probably because I made a foolish mistake at the beginning, I was a little embarrassed and could not speak German well during the interview. My ability to speak German changes day by day, just like any other person starting to learn a foreign language: I have good days and bad days. Unfortunately, it was not a good day due to the awkward start. Although I proposed that I speak to him in English, Schönberg said that he did not speak the language. He continued to move around restlessly; for example, by tidying up things around him. I could not understand his German very well either: it sounded as if he was stammering a little.

Schönberg told me, “I respect [Johann Sebastian] Bach, [Wolfgang Amadeus] Mozart, and [Ludwig van] Beethoven, these three composers.” He continued, “Among modern composers, I respect Gustav Mahler and Max Hager [Reger]<sup>4</sup>. Gustav Mahler is a most brilliant conductor, and so is Hans

3 Kyōgoku recalled in 1948 that Schönberg was wearing a white smock to protect his clothing while painting. See fn. 26 of the main text about his 1948 essay.

4 Kyōgoku corrected “Hager” to “Reger” as a typographical error in My Musical Travel Journal no. 4. See Berurin no daishikisya no yokogao: kuraibā to buraizahha [Profiles of Great Conductors in

Berlin: Kleiber and Breisach], (*Onaku kikō 4* [My Musical Travel Journal no. 4]), in *Onaku kōron* [Music Forum] 2/11 (November 1942), 31.

Rosbaud in Frankfurt.” As I did not know about Rosbaud,<sup>5</sup> Schönberg wrote down his full name in my notebook.\*

There were two bright and large adjacent rooms: one housed a ping-pong table while the other had a Flügel, a harmonium, and a cello. A big dog was sleeping, but when I entered the room, the dog woke up and came toward me as if alerting the unexpected visitor. On the walls were many grotesque paintings, which reminded me of Schönberg’s painting, “Vision.”<sup>6</sup> They had scary faces based on Schönberg’s imagination and were difficult to understand. Above the Flügel was a drawn portrait of Mozart and a photograph of Gustav Mahler. On the bookshelf, there were an entire collection of scores of Mahler’s works. In addition, there were scores of Beethoven and Mozart. Still with a restless look, Schönberg asked me whether his works have ever been played in Japan, and about the current situation of the Japanese music circle. I answered that Japanese people love classical music in general, but contemporary music is not performed often there: although orchestras occasionally play contemporary music, such music is rarely heard in either vocal or instrumental music concerts.

Schönberg pointed at his grotesque paintings of faces on the wall, and explained to me, “They are expressionistic paintings based on my fantasies. As you know, I was influenced by [Wassily] Kandinsky, my friend who expresses music with his paintings.”

Schönberg asked me to send his kind and friendly regards to my Japanese colleagues. Schönberg wrote the theme of the Variations for Orchestra, op. 31 when I asked him to sign my autograph book. In addition, Schönberg gave me a Wilhelm Hansen edition of the Five Piano Pieces, op. 23. Schönberg said to me, “Please do not hesitate to tell me if there is anything I can do,” so I requested to have any sort of his manuscript in memory of this occasion. Schönberg gave me a cover of his score of the Variations for Orchestra, op. 31 with his signature. Schönberg suggested that I see Darius Milhaud in Paris, and kindly wrote me a letter of introduction.

5 According to *My Musical Travel Journal* no. 4, Kyōgoku recently received information from Mr. Suganuma, the director of the Western music division at Nippon Phonograph Co. [now Nippon Columbia Co., Ltd.] that there are recordings of piano concertos played by Walter Gieseking and conducted by Hans Rosbaud. Ibidem, 31.

\* [Note by Kyōgoku:] Unfortunately, I could not find the information about Hans

Rosbaud in the biographical dictionaries of musicians such as Riemann’s *Musiklexikon*, which I have in my study. Schönberg seemed to acclaim him as a great conductor, although Rosbaud may not be a well-known musician.

6 By “Vision” Kyōgoku probably meant a group of Schönberg’s paintings, described by Kandinsky as “*intuitiv empfundene Köpfe, die er ‘Visionen’ nennt*” [intuitively perceived

heads, which he [Schönberg] calls ‘Visions’]. See Wassily Kandinsky: *Die Bilder* [The Paintings] in *Arnold Schönberg – in höchster Verehrung* (München 1912), 59. In the same book, Schönberg’s two paintings are reproduced under the title of “Visionen.” See the inserted page between 72 and 73. These paintings are titled “Kritiker I” and “Satire” by Schönberg himself (CR 112 and CR 111, respectively, in image archive of Arnold Schönberg Center).

This interview did not go very well because I was embarrassed at the beginning. When I was about leave, Schönberg invited me to play ping-pong together. Unfortunately, I had never played ping-pong before, so I excused myself.

This was the profile of Arnold Schönberg, a revolutionary composer of modern music. I found this meeting fascinating, although you may not have been as interested as I am: contrary to my expectation of Schönberg as a somber person – as his music and paintings, such as “Vision,” gave me a dark impression – I was surprised to find that he is a friendly person, and a musician who loves to play ping-pong.

I will meet many musicians including [Wilhelm] Furtwängler in Berlin in the next two weeks, then come back to London via Paris. I will leave the plan for our forthcoming trip to you. Goodbye, until then.

March 27, 1930 [1931]<sup>7</sup>

In Berlin

*I sent this correspondence to Mr. Hisanaga Shimazu, a young Attaché to the Japanese Embassy in London, in the spring of 1930 [1931].<sup>8</sup> Mr. Shimazu – the Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Japan at present – recently sent this letter back to me, saying that he had found an interesting letter. When I read my letter again, I found it most memorable. I decided to publish the letter as it is in this journal in hopes of attracting readers. By the way, Eigo Kato is my former name.*

<sup>7</sup> Kyōgoku corrected the year from 1930 to 1931 in *My Musical Travel Journal* no. 4. See fn. 4 of the Appendix, 31.

<sup>8</sup> See fn. 7.