Max Kowalski's *Japanischer Frühling*: A Song Collection from the Period of the Jewish Cultural Alliance in Nazi Germany

Nils Neubert

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MAX KOWALSKI’S JAPANISCHER FRÜHLING:

A SONG COLLECTION FROM THE PERIOD
OF THE JEWISH CULTURAL ALLIANCE IN NAZI GERMANY

by

NILS NEUBERT

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts in Music Performance,
The City University of New York

2017
Max Kowalski’s *Japanischer Frühling*:

A Song Collection from the Period
of the Jewish Cultural Alliance in Nazi Germany

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Nils Neubert

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts.

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ABSTRACT

Max Kowalski’s Japanischer Frühling:
A Song Collection from the Period of the Jewish Cultural Alliance in Nazi Germany

by

Nils Neubert

Advisor: Prof. Chadwick O. Jenkins

The topic of this dissertation is the song composer Max Kowalski (1882-1956) and his song collection Japanischer Frühling (1934-1938). This dissertation presents a critical edition of this previously unpublished song collection, which sets adaptations of Japanese poetry by the German poet Hans Bethge (1876-1946). Aside from the edition and critical report, the dissertation includes chapters on the literature (Chapter One); the composer’s biography (Chapter Two); his output and reception (Chapter Three); Hans Bethge’s adaptations of the Japanese poetry that form the basis of the collection (Chapter Four); the genesis, performance history, and reception of the song collection (Chapter Five); and numerous observations on genre, narrative, musical interpretation, performance practice, and programming (Chapter Six). This is the first doctoral dissertation on Max Kowalski, and thus adds to the still small English-language literature on the composer and his works. By providing an edition of an important song collection from Kowalski’s mature period, this dissertation aims to facilitate future performance and study.
PREFACE

Max Kowalski (1882-1956) was a German-Jewish composer, primarily of lieder, whose career flourished during the Weimar Republic. He fled Nazi Germany for London in 1939 and continued to compose until 1954.\(^1\) Owing to the oppression prevalent during the Nazi period, the turmoil of the Second World War, and his inability to find a receptive English publisher for his songs once the war had ended, Kowalski’s works written after 1933 are virtually unknown.

Max Kowalski was a respected lawyer in Frankfurt and a specialist in the field of copyright. His musical career in Germany began in the 1910s and reached its peak during the early 1930s.\(^2\) After 1933 and the Nazi accession to power, his activities were limited to the auspices of the *Jüdischer Kulturbund* (Jewish Cultural Alliance), as well as a few other Jewish cultural organizations. He attempted to rebuild his compositional career in exile but to little avail. Instead, he earned his living in London first as a piano tuner and chorister, and later as a sought-after répétiteur and singing teacher.

Of the more than 250 songs that Kowalski composed, 85 were published in sixteen opus numbers (opp. 1-5, and 7-17) during his lifetime. His one remaining publication, Op. 6, contains two piano pieces.\(^3\) All but twelve of the published songs fell

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1 Kowalski’s last known composition, *Arabische Nächte*, a collection of seven songs set to Arabic poems adapted by Hans Bethge, bears a dedication dated July 21, 1954. The songs were dedicated to Kowalski’s sister-in-law, Trude Kowal, for her birthday.
out of print after the collapse of the Third Reich, and though the majority of those that initially vanished have recently been reissued, eleven songs still remain out of print.

This dissertation presents a critical edition of the previously unpublished song collection Japanischer Frühling (1934-1938), which sets adaptations of Japanese poetry by the German poet Hans Bethge (1876-1946). Aside from the edition, the dissertation includes chapters on the literature (Chapter One); the composer’s biography (Chapter Two); his output and reception (Chapter Three); Bethge’s adaptations of the Japanese poetry that form the basis of the collection (Chapter Four); the genesis, performance history, and reception of the song collection (Chapter Five); and numerous observations on genre, narrative, musical interpretation, performance practice, and programming (Chapter Six).

This is the first doctoral dissertation on Max Kowalski, and thus adds to the still small English-language literature on the composer and his works. By providing an edition of an important song collection from Kowalski’s mature period, this dissertation aims to facilitate future performance and study.

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Finally, I wish to thank my family, teachers, and colleagues, and extend special thanks to Wilfried and Hanne Förster for their many years of support and friendship.

I dedicate this work to my wife, Yuri Kim, for her loving support and inspiration,

and to both our fathers.
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CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This opening chapter is devoted mainly to a review of the scholarly literature on Kowalski from its beginnings in the late 1920s to the present day. It concludes with a brief look at collections of resources, a review of sound recordings, and a preview of a number of projects that are currently in progress.

One of the primary concerns of recent Kowalski scholarship has been to correct and expand his biography. Given the unrest in Germany during the years immediately prior to the rise of the Third Reich, Kowalski’s name appears only sporadically in reference works of that period. Worse still is the faulty information that was perpetuated by subsequent references, especially those from after the Second World War. Indeed, references to Kowalski, especially those that are both representative and accurate, are rare between the earliest references in 1929 and the beginning of the 21st century, which sees a surge in Kowalski scholarship, as well as new editions and the return of his music to the concert stage and recordings.

In his 2013 master’s thesis from Salzburg’s Mozarteum, subsequently published as five separate articles in the symposium collection *Facetten I*, the Austrian baritone Wolfgang Holzmair provides a comprehensive discussion and review of the Kowalski literature. Fittingly, his own review is entitled “Spurensuche in Lexika und Nachschlagewerken.” The following discussion is based largely on Holzmair’s work, adding a few items along the way, in order to bring it up to date.

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1 Holzmair, “Max Kowalski: Spurensuche in Lexika und Nachschlagewerken,” in *Facetten I*, 177-189. Holzmair divides his review of the Literature into the
(1) Dictionaries, Encyclopedias, and Other Reference Works

(a) 1930s-1990s

The two earliest references to Kowalski in a reference work seem to have appeared in 1929, when he was listed in the Deutsches Musiker-Lexikon as well as in the Riemann Musiklexikon. While the Deutsches Musiker-Lexikon omits a birthplace, Riemann incorrectly lists Kowalski’s birthplace as Frankfurt (he was, in fact, born in Kowal, Poland—see Chapter Two, p. 17). This error is imported into subsequent editions under Alfred Einstein, who promoted the encyclopedia in the United States when he emigrated there in 1939. The 1959 edition of Riemann adds both Kowalski’s date of death (1956), and a single reference to another piece of literature (an article by Hans F. Redlich, see below). That Riemann did not correct Kowalski’s birthplace until 1972, under the editorship of Carl Dahlhaus, is just one example of the types of obstacles one encounters in the Kowalski literature. And though Dahlhaus mentions Kowalski’s emigration to England and adds a few new items to the works list, he introduces new biographical errors, including, most glaringly, an incorrect incarceration period at Buchenwald of 1933-1939 (the correct term of incarceration was November 11-27, 1938).

The Philo-Lexikon of 1935 lists Kowalski and gives his birth year under “Komponisten, j.” (“jüdisch”? — see note 5) while the Große Jüdische National-Biographie lists him as a prolific composer and gives the nearly correct number of fifteen published song volumes totaling 79 songs (indeed there were at that time 85 published songs, grouped into seventeen collections).\(^5\)

The Jüdischer Musikalien-Katalog of 1936 constitutes an antithesis to many publications during the Hitler years in that it proudly takes stock of important musical contributions by Jews.\(^6\) Kowalski is listed along with his most successful and popular work, the Zwölf Gedichte aus Pierrot Lunaire, Op. 4. In stark contrast to the Musikalien-Katalog’s celebratory stance are the denunciatory indices of composers and artists whom the Nazis considered politically and morally questionable. Of particular note with respect Max Kowalski are two 1940 publications: Judentum und Musik and the Lexikon der Juden in der Musik.\(^7\) Both works contain extensive registers of names that include the home address of individuals, facilitating and encouraging denunciation, and, ultimately, arrest.\(^8\) The former publication, which lists Kowalski as both lawyer and composer, once again provides the wrong birthplace (it offers Frankfurt). The Lexikon is an index

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\(^7\) Judentum und Musik, mit dem ABC jüdischer und nichtarischer Musikbeflissener, ed. Hans Brückner (Munich: Brückner, 1940), 154; Lexikon der Juden in der Musik, ed. Theophil Stengel and Herbert Gerigk (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnefeld, 1940), 143.

\(^8\) Eva Weissweiler, Ausgemerzt!: Das Lexikon der Juden in der Musik und seine mörderischen Folgen (Berlin: Dittrich-Verlag, 1999), 377-418.
compiled by the Nazi’s Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage, and contains some 10,000 names. It is the most comprehensive “effort” of this sort, and led to hundreds of deportations to concentration camps.\footnote{Holzmair, “Spurensuche,” 180; see also, Weissweiler, \textit{Ausgemerzt!}, 377-418.}

Not surprisingly, the wartime years are devoid of any new or noteworthy references to Kowalski. Following the war, he appears in a few reference works but is omitted from others.\footnote{Holzmair takes particular note of his omission from Hans Joachim Moser, \textit{Musik Lexikon} (Hamburg: Sikorski, 1951). To this day, Moser is considered an important authority on the lied, owing in particular to his book \textit{Das deutsche Lied seit Mozart} (Tutzing: Schneider 1968). Holzmair remarks that the fact that Kowalski is not even mentioned for his popular \textit{Pierrot} songs can be explained in light of Moser’s anti-Semitism, but is nonetheless incomprehensible on musical grounds; see Holzmair, “Spurensuche,” 181.}


The first truly important encyclopedia reference after the war (and after Kowalski’s death) appears in 1979 with Philip Lieson Miller’s article in the
Ergänzungsband of Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG).\textsuperscript{13} Miller’s article, which for the first time paints a concrete picture of Kowalski, is organized in three parts that discuss his life, works, and style. It is the first time that a reference work includes a discussion of the musical characteristics of Kowalski’s songs (see Chapter Three, p. 35). The following year, Miller contributed a similar article to the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, while a full-length Italian translation of his article (including the works list) appears in the Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti of 1986.\textsuperscript{14}

The Bibliographica Judaica of 1981 lists only Kowalski’s name and basic data, as does the Kurzbiographien bedeutender deutscher Juden in 1982.\textsuperscript{15} Juden in Preussen, also from 1982, lists Kowalski’s major works as “song cycles on German, French, Japanese and Chinese texts.”\textsuperscript{16}

In 1983, the Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 provided unprecedented information on Kowalski’s personal life, including information regarding his parents, brothers, wives, and daughter, his hometown of


Ballenstedt (where his family settled after leaving Poland—see Chapter Two, p. 17), his school in Frankfurt, and his legal expertise in copyright. The English version, the *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933-1945*, takes note of Kowalski’s “abilities as a singer and pianist and his sensitivity to the inflections and meaning of poetry,” as well as his being a “master of the late-Romantic lied.”\(^{17}\)

In 1983, Paul Arnsberg’s *Die Geschichte der Frankfurter Juden seit der Französischen Revolution* devoted roughly four pages to Kowalski, though not without some minor inconsistencies and errors. New and noteworthy items include references to his activities as an articled clerk, as an assessor, as an interpreter of his own songs, as well as to his association with Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), illustrated with a letter from Schoenberg. As for the errors: Kowalski is credited with 300 songs (too many), while the claim that 50 of these songs are known in Germany is, in Holzmair’s words, “wishful thinking, unfortunately.”\(^{18}\) Furthermore, Kowalski did not escape from Buchenwald, as stated here, but was released.\(^{19}\) Finally, Kowalski set eight German translations of Yiddish texts, not five, as Arnsberg, who is the first to list these works, has it.

The *Kurzbiographien zur Geschichte der Juden 1918-1945* of 1988 mentions Kowalski’s membership in the *Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland* (ZVfD) and the

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18 Holzmair, “Spurensuche,” 183: “... dass davon “in Deutschland nur 50 Lieder bekannt” sein sollen, ist leider Wunschdenken.”
Jüdischer Kulturbund as the sole platform for showcasing his songs.\textsuperscript{20}

In 1993, the Deutsche Juristen Jüdischer Herkunft listed Kowalski as an eminent specialist in copyright law, his musical gifts and contributions as a song composer, provides his correct dates, and mentions his friendship with Schoenberg. It does all of this while giving his first name as Ludwig!\textsuperscript{21}

The Frankfurter Biographie of 1994 adds one new piece of information: that the premiere of the Marienlieder took place in Frankfurt in 1927.\textsuperscript{22} As for The Harvard Biographical Dictionary of Music of 1996: it devotes a short paragraph to Kowalski that includes an incorrect date for his release from Buchenwald, but is otherwise accurate, noting his almost exclusive devotion to the “genre of the Romantic lied,” except for a few piano works, and listing his Pierrot settings.\textsuperscript{23}

The last entry from the twentieth century, that in the Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie of 1997, offers nothing new, as it simply takes its information from the Biographisches Handbuch (see note 17 above).\textsuperscript{24} Finally, to conclude this section by breaking the chronological sequence: a number of works on Frankfurt’s Hoch’sches...

\textsuperscript{20} Joseph Walk, Kurzbiographien zur Geschichte der Juden 1918-1945, ed. Leo Baeck Institute (Jerusalem/Munich: Saur, 1988), 204.
\textsuperscript{22} Frankfurter Biographie—personengeschichtliches Lexikon, ed. Wolfgang Klötzer, Vol. 1, A-Z, rev. ed. Sabine Hock and Reinhard Frost (Frankfurt: Kramer 1994), 420; Holzmair, “Spurensuche,” 184, notes, that while Kowalski is here listed as the “most notable late romantic song composer along with Wolff” (sic!), this opinion must not necessarily be shared, given the contributions of composers like Strauss, Pfitzner, Zemlinsky, and Mahler: “neben Hugo Wolff [sic!] als bedeutendster Liederkomponist der Spätromantik.”
\textsuperscript{24} Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie, Vol. 6, ed. Walter Killy and Rudolf Vierhaus (Munich: Saur, 1997), 57.
Konservatorium, the Kulturbund, and Frankfurt legal history provide supplemental information on Max Kowalski’s studies and career through his years in Nazi Germany. 25

(b) The New Millennium and Online Resources

Though neither the revised edition of New Grove nor that of MGG has made any additions to Miller’s article of 1979 (see notes 13 and 14 above), and New Grove has actually condensed the entry over the years, the new millennium and the rapid growth of online reference tools have brought with them a number of additions to the Kowalski literature. The Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit, a reference site maintained by the University of Hamburg, includes an entry by Jutta Raab Hansen (2008, updated 2013, modified 2014) with a coherent biography that mentions a performance of the Pierrot songs at London’s Aeolian Hall in 1934 (thus while Kowalski was still in Germany), as well as his difficulties in finding a publisher after emigrating to London in 1939. 26


A one-paragraph paraphrase of an unpublished paper by Susan Morehead is stored at s9.com Biographical Dictionary, which also includes Morehead’s list of Kowalski’s works and a discography. Two items deserve special mention: the entry lists Kowalski’s nationality as “N/A” (perhaps because of his activity in both Germany and England), and Morehead, unlike anyone else, has assigned opus numbers to unpublished works in her catalogue.

The German-language version of Wikipedia’s Kowalski entry was last updated on June 22, 2016, and thus postdates Holzmair’s review of the literature. Though it contains a few new items, such as a reference to Kowalski’s own dissertation, it is not free of errors; these include a wrong year for the family’s relocation to Frankfurt (taken from Raab Hansen, see note 26), and the incorrect statement that Kowalski reached London together with his daughter, who, in fact, had arrived there earlier on a children transport. Neither error has been corrected to date. On the plus side: the entry now lists the 2014 compendium Facetten I, which includes Holzmair’s articles, and among other sources, articles by Peter Gradenwitz, Gottfried Eberle (see § I/(2) below for both items), Miller, and Walk’s Kurzbiographien. Among links to the Leo Baeck Institute’s Max Kowalski collection and Recital Publications in Huntsville, TX, the German Wikipedia entry’s list

of online sources includes a French site, *Musiques Régénérées*, which itself includes links to purchase portals for most of the currently available recordings of Kowalski’s songs.\(^{30}\)

The French site also has links to a Kowalski entry in both English and French that includes passages and information from Morehead’s paper and Raab Hansen’s article.\(^{31}\)

In addition to a discography that includes information particular to individual tracks, this site also provides links to various *Youtube* videos with performances of Kowalski’s songs.

The English *Wikipedia* entry on Kowalski, though minimal, is largely accurate. The only errors pertain to the date of Kowalski’s release from Buchenwald (1938, not 1939) and a statement that he worked as a cantor in a London synagogue, when he was, in fact, only a chorister. The article lists only two sources: The Leo Baeck Institute’s Kowalski Collection, and *Baker’s Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (see note 19 above).\(^{32}\)

Finally, Kathrin Massar’s biographical article, “Max Kowalski—Rechtsanwalt und Komponist (2010/2012),” is stored at the online historical encyclopedia *Frankfurt am Main 1933-1945*,\(^{33}\) while the American-Canadian *Lieder.net*, formerly hosted at *recmusic.org* and a popular resource thanks to its thousands of song texts and their

\(^{30}\) “La Musique sous surveillance, Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland (Fédération Culturelle Juive en Allemagne): "Le ghetto sans murs (1933 - 1941),” last modified in 2016 and maintained by Claude Torres, http://www.musiques-regenerees.fr/GhettosCamps/MusiqueKulturbund.html


translations into various languages, has an entry for Kowalski that can only be described as glaringly incomplete.\(^\text{34}\)

### (2) Articles and Obituaries

In addition to the entries in the various reference works there are a few noteworthy articles on the composer and his works. The first important one is by Hans F. Schaub and dates from 1952, the year of Kowalski’s seventieth birthday, which inspired several radio programs devoted to Kowalski and his music as well as newspaper references and articles. Schaub includes the names of a number of prominent singers who sang Kowalski’s songs, and is the first to distinguish between two generations of singers, pre- and post-war (see Chapter Three, p. 43).\(^\text{35}\) Kowalski’s passing in 1956 was followed by a number of obituaries, most notably an \textit{in memoriam} by Hans Ferdinand Redlich.\(^\text{36}\)

In 1981, Peter Gradenwitz wrote an article for the \textit{Bulletin of the Leo Baeck Institute}\(^\text{37}\) that provides an engaging outline of Kowalski’s biography and output, though he, too, incorrectly dates Kowalski’s release from Buchenwald as “at the beginning of the year 1939.” At several points, Gradenwitz focuses on Kowalski’s association with Arnold Schoenberg, both in terms of their simultaneous work on the \textit{Pierrot lunaire} poems and the fact that Kowalski provided Schoenberg with legal counsel, which led to an


endorsement letter by Schoenberg that enabled Kowalski to achieve his final publication with Universal in Vienna in 1934. Gradenwitz also devotes part of the article to Kowalski’s London years. In 1998 and 2006, Gottfried Eberle published two articles on Kowalski and his Pierrot songs. Even in the second of the two articles (thus as late as 2006), Eberle laments Kowalski’s meager representation in the literature. Finally, Kowalski’s activity as a lawyer, his main profession prior to his exile, is chronicled in a Festschrift for the 125th anniversary of the Frankfurt bar association.

II. Collections of Resources

The Leo Baeck Institute (New York, NY) houses a collection of articles, correspondence, concert programs, reviews, obituaries, photographs, and other items from Kowalski’s bequest, all of which are accessible via a digital online archive. Correspondence between Max Kowalski and Arnold Schoenberg is also housed at the Library of Congress and the Arnold Schönberg Center in Vienna.

The private collection of Michael Kowal (Kew Gardens, NY), Kowalski’s nephew, houses copies of published works, the original manuscripts of all unpublished works, sketchbooks, correspondence, diaries, photographs, and other materials. Several

39 Festschrift 125 Jahre: Rechtsanwaltskammer Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main, Oberlandesgericht Frankfurt am Main, Rechtspflege, ed. Rechtsanwaltskammer Frankfurt am Main and Oberlandesgericht Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt: RAK and Oberlandesgericht Frankfurt am Main, 2004), 166.
other manuscripts are currently housed in the private collection of Susan Morehead (Cottonwood, AZ). Some of these were acquired personally and through her voice teacher, Deborah Taylor, others via Kowalski’s daughter’s widower (see Critical Report).

III. Sound Recordings

There are a number of CD and LP recordings that contain performances of Kowalski’s songs, with the more recent ones often having informative liner notes about the composer and the featured works. They are listed here in the order of their release. One should note that there were no recordings issued between 1935 and 2001, though some of the unissued (and historically significant) recordings from the intervening years were broadcast on radio stations (see below).


Recordings of opp. 1-16 on the Lil Red Hen label (recorded from 2008 to 2015) by singers Susan Morehead, DJ Abbamont, and André Lamar Smith, and pianists Victoria Griswold, Angela Manso, Glenn Tiedemann, and Kendell Kardt are available for download on CDbaby.com, either by individual opus number or (as of 2016) as a collection. This site also hosts recordings of Op. 17 and selected songs from the song collection Japanischer Frühling.

The following recordings have not been commercially released (though they were broadcast on radio stations), and therefore serial numbers do not exist. They were kept at the True Tone Recording Co., 160 West 73rd Street, New York, either on LP or on acetate. Digitized versions in the Kowal and Morehead collections were made from cassette tape copies of these recordings.

Sieben Lieder nach Rilke, Willy Berling and Walter Faith, True Tone Recording Co., no serial number, 12” LP, n.d.

Pierrot-Lieder, Hans Hotter and Michael Raucheisen, True Tone Recording Co., no serial number, 12” LP, n.d.

7 Lieder nach Texten von Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, Otto von Rohr and Wolfgang Rudolf, True Tone Recording Co., no serial number, 12” LP, n.d.;

5 Lieder nach Hölderlin, Otto von Rohr and Wolfgang Rudolf, True Tone Recording Co., no serial number , 10” LP, n.d.

IV. Summary and In-Progress Projects

In summation, this review of the Kowalski literature, besides identifying the benchmark contributions, serves to illustrate the scholarly challenges surrounding the

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composer’s biography and career. Not all references are necessarily accurate or representative, and Kowalski’s biography extends beyond the field of music into the fields of law and Jewish studies. Among the publications that have filled significant gaps and provided a more comprehensive view of the composer’s life, career, and work are Miller (notes 13 and 14), the Biographisches Handbuch (note 17), the article in 125 Jahre: Anwaltskammer (note 39), Raab Hansen’s entry in the Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit (note 26), and the Kulturbund-related studies listed in note 25. Finally, the papers presented at the 2011 symposium Künstler und Emigration—Max Kowalski at the Hochschule für Musik und Theater in Munich, to which Wolfgang Holzmair, among others, contributed significantly, were published as a collection in Facetten I in 2014, and constitute the largest and most comprehensive compendium of Kowalski scholarship. Additionally, the Frankfurt-based musicologist Luitgard Schader is currently working on a new biographical article for the dictionary Komponisten der Gegenwart.

Now that Kowalski’s biography and career have been captured more clearly (though research is ongoing, and a study of Kowalski’s London diaries will surely provide new insights into his career in exile), we may safely say that the main goals of recent scholarship have been the “rediscovery” and performance of his music, and the publication of previously unpublished works. The Mainz-based Edition Schott is currently preparing two volumes of Kowalski’s songs for what will be their first publication, these edited by Luitgard Schader and Melinda Paulsen. Volume I is slated to

43 Facetten I, 109-265.
44 Luitgard Schader, abstract to “Max Kowalski,” in Komponisten der Gegenwart (Munich: edition text + kritik, forthcoming; my thanks to Dr. Schader for sharing the abstract with me prior to publication of the article).
contain four of the eight *Jüdische Lieder* (1935-1937),\(^{45}\) all seven Heine settings (1937), and the four English settings (1941-1946), while volume II will have the *Sechs Lieder auf Gedichte von Friedrich Hölderlin* (1950-1951), as well as the *Sieben Geisha-Lieder* (1951).\(^{46}\) The present dissertation is intended to fill another such gap with an edition and discussion of Kowalski’s song collection *Japanischer Frühling*.

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\(^{45}\) The song titles are “Messiaslied,” “Ein Lied der Schechina,” “Mittenwegs steht ein Baum,” and “Zum Sabbatausgang.”

\(^{46}\) My thanks to Dr. Schader for sharing the contents with me prior to publication.
CHAPTER TWO
MAX KOWALSKI (1882-1956):
A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Early Years to 1933

The German-Jewish composer Max Kowalski was born on August 10, 1882, in the Polish town of Kowal (then belonging to Russia). The family settled in Germany in 1883; Kowalski spent his childhood and adolescence in Ballenstedt and Frankfurt.¹ His father Abraham Michael Kowalski (1866-1926)² was a cantor and teacher of religion, and it was likely he who was responsible for Kowalski’s early musical exposure and training, about which little is known beyond the fact that it must have included vocal and piano studies.³ Despite his musical gifts and interests, Kowalski’s parents urged him to pursue a more respectable profession.⁴ After law studies in Heidelberg (spring 1900) and Berlin (fall 1900), he enrolled at the University of Marburg in the fall of 1902 and earned a doctorate in law there in 1906, at the age of twenty-four.⁵ Parallel to his law studies, he

⁵ Luitgard Schader, “Neben meinem Hauptberuf bin ich Lieder-Komponist,” in Max Kowalski: Songs, Melinda Paulsen and Lars Jönsson, Zuk Records, 335 (2014), [3].
took singing lessons with the noted baritone and Kammersänger Alexander Heinemann (1873-1919) in Berlin in 1903-1904. Kowalski also worked as a cantor in the town of Bingen am Rhein (which has played a continuous role in German-Jewish history since the twelfth century) from 1903 to 1905. He lived there with his parents and it is therefore likely that he was guided in the cantorial tradition by his father.⁶

Specializing in copyright law, Kowalski opened a law practice in Frankfurt in 1909, and soon after began to take private composition lessons with Bernhard Sekles (1872-1934), whose notable students included, among others, Theodor Adorno (1903-1969), Paul Hindemith (1895-1963), Anthony van Hoboken (1887-1983), Cyril Scott (1879-1970), and Max Rudolf (1902-1995).⁷ In 1910, Kowalski married Anna Rosalie Meyer (1887-1938), the daughter of the Frankfurt justice council Dr. Fritz Meyer. They separated in the late 1920s.⁸ In 1911, Kowalski registered as a student at the Hoch’sches Konservatorium in Frankfurt, a prestigious institution founded through the bequest of Dr. Joseph Hoch (1815-1874) in 1874 and opened in 1878. The conservatory boasted a long list of important musicians among both its faculty and its student body.⁹ Kowalski remained there until 1913, studying composition, piano, score reading, and conducting.¹⁰

Entering as a senior student in Sekles’s composition class at the conservatory, Kowalski had already composed more than forty songs, and would produce an œuvre of

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⁶ Holzmair, “Daten,” 138-139.
⁸ Holzmair, “Daten,” 141.
⁹ Ibid., 139-140.
¹⁰ Dates from Schader, abstract to “Max Kowalski,” in Komponisten der Gegenwart (Munich: edition text + kritik, forthcoming; my thanks to Dr. Schader for sharing the abstract with me prior to publication of the article).
more than 250 songs over the course of his life.\textsuperscript{11} While still a student, Kowalski gained a reputation as a song composer and was able to publish his works with such Berlin-based companies as Eos, Simrock, and Raabe & Plotho.\textsuperscript{12} The renowned Austrian baritone Wolfgang Holzmair, who in recent years has devoted himself to the research and performance of Kowalski’s songs, puts it rather aptly: “as a composition student at the age of 27, Kowalski was both a late starter and an early bloomer.”\textsuperscript{13} He had, after all, been largely self-taught in composition prior to 1909.\textsuperscript{14}

Kowalski’s earliest and most lasting success is his \textit{Zwölf Gedichte aus Pierrot Lunaire}, Op. 4 (1913). Like Arnold Schoenberg (whose more famous settings date from 1912), Kowalski set poems from Otto Erich Hartleben’s (1864-1905) translations of Albert Giraud’s (1860-1929) \textit{Pierrot Lunaire}. Kowalski’s cycle of twelve songs for voice and piano was published by Simrock in two volumes. During this year, Kowalski also published 27 songs (opp. 1-4) and the \textit{Zwei Klavierstücke}, Op. 6, and from this time on (and throughout the years of the Weimar Republic) his music was distributed by a number of major publishers and was performed and promoted by some of Germany’s foremost singers (see Chapter Three).\textsuperscript{15}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{11} Though Schader does not include the number of songs in the abstract (see note 10 above), she provides a count of “over 250” in “Neben meinem Hauptberuf,” [3]; Holzmair, “Werkkatalog,” in \textit{Facetten I}, 252-265, lists 235 songs, not accounting for the early, pre-Op. 1 songs.
\bibitem{12} Holzmair, “Anhang: Max Kowalski—Werkkatalog,” in \textit{Facetten}, 252-253.
\bibitem{13} Holzmair has five separate essays in this collection.
\bibitem{15} Schader, abstract to “Max Kowalski,” 1.
\end{thebibliography}
Of the seventeen works published during Kowalski’s lifetime, the Pierrot cycle is by far the most successful and widely known, providing the foundation for his success. It is also the only composition that remained in print following the Second World War.\textsuperscript{16}

**The Third Reich**

Adolf Hitler’s (1889-1945) appointment as Chancellor on January 30, 1933, was followed almost immediately by a first wave of anti-Jewish measures, including the Judenboykott (boycott of Jewish businesses on April 1, 1933) and the Gesetz zur Widerherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums (law for the restoration of professional civil service, April 7, 1933.)\textsuperscript{17} This latter legislation put many Jewish lawyers out of work, and reassigned those who had earned their credentials before 1914 to represent Jews only.\textsuperscript{18} As such, Kowalski, an Altanwalt (old lawyer), was allowed to continue his practice under severe restrictions.\textsuperscript{19} Eventually, though, the cultural and musical repression that ensued affected Kowalski profoundly, as possibilities for performances became increasingly limited, and he was no longer able to publish in Germany with the passing of the Schriftleitergesetz (editorial law) on October 4, 1933.\textsuperscript{20} Yet thanks to the mediation of his composer colleagues Arnold Schoenberg and Paul Graener (1872-1944), Kowalski was

\textsuperscript{16} Holzmair, “Werkkatalog,” 253. Holzmair notes that the publishing rights for Op. 4 were transferred to Associated Music Publishers in New York in 1928.
\textsuperscript{17} For a discussion of Nazi legislation in English, see, Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005).
\textsuperscript{19} Holzmair, “Daten,” 147-148.
able to secure a final publication with Universal in Vienna in 1934: "Sechs Lieder aus dem Westöstlichen Divan von Goethe, Op. 17.\textsuperscript{21}

After 1933, Kowalski’s primary artistic platform in Germany became the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden (Cultural Alliance of German Jews), established on June 16, 1933, and subsequently forced to change its name to the Jüdischer Kulturbund (omitting the term “German” as of 1935).\textsuperscript{22} This organization hired approximately 2,000 male and female Jewish musicians, actors, visual artists, and lecturers out of forced unemployment, and grew to a membership of over 70,000, with a network of nearly fifty institutions across Germany. The Frankfurt branch was formed on April 17, 1934, and Kowalski was one of the 24 members of the commission for music.\textsuperscript{23}

Historically, the Kulturbund has often been considered a complex and controversial organization: on the one hand it constituted a remarkable example of Jewish intellectual and creative life in spite of oppression and marginalization; on the other, it helped the Nazis both to control intellectual activities among Jews and to conceal their suppression of Jews from other nations.\textsuperscript{24} Yet regardless of the angle from which one views it, the Kulturbund played an important role in Kowalski’s reception and resulting productivity during his years in the Third Reich. As Joachim Martini notes in Musik als Form geistigen Widerstandes: “As of 1933 Max Kowalski devotes all his energy to the cause of the Kulturbund, participates in the organization of concerts, and occasionally

\textsuperscript{21} Schader, abstract to “Max Kowalski,” 1. Beginning in 1924, Kowalski was active as a notary, and specialized in copyright law. In 1930, he represented Schoenberg in a lawsuit, which led to their correspondence and a letter of endorsement from Schoenberg, intended to help Kowalski’s application to publishers.
\textsuperscript{22} Holzmair, ”Max Kowalski und der jüdische Kulturbund 1933 bis 1941,” in Facetten I, 155-156.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 157
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 159.
accompanies his songs.”

In addition to administrative and literary tasks (he worked as a reviewer for journals such as the *Israelitisches Familienblatt*), his membership in the organization allowed Kowalski to continue working with a number of fine singers.

Being a member of the Frankfurt commission certainly helped him secure some exposure, though it is evident that his songs were also popular on programs outside his direct area of influence. While many of his colleagues were struggling or falling silent altogether, Kowalski managed to devote more of his time to music and composition—even if by a tragic and ironic circumstance. (Chapter Five, on the genesis of the *Japanischer Frühling*, will discuss in more detail some of the developments within the *Kulturbund* and their impact on Kowalski’s career between 1934 and 1939.)

**War Years in England**

Max Kowalski was arrested following *Kristallnacht* on November 11, 1938, and deported to the Buchenwald concentration camp. Fortunately, he was released sixteen days later, on the condition that he leave Germany. This initial wave of short-term incarcerations was a way for the Nazis to extort Jews into handing over their estates and possessions before leaving the country. Like many refugees, Kowalski tried to make his

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26 Holzmair, “Kulturbund,” 161-162.

27 Ibid., 162.

28 Holzmair, “Daten,” 149.

way to the United States, which frequently involved a transfer in London, where his
daughter Vera (1922-2007)\textsuperscript{30} was living with relatives and awaiting him.\textsuperscript{31} However, he
missed his transfer ship in March 1939, and decided to remain in London.\textsuperscript{32} A younger
brother Bernhard (1884-?)\textsuperscript{33} had already emigrated to São Paolo (Brazil) in 1936,
following his incarceration at the Dachau concentration camp, while his youngest brother
Oskar (1894-1984)\textsuperscript{34} emigrated to the United States with his wife Trude and their son
Michael in 1938, changing the spelling of his first name to Oscar, and the family name to
Kowal during the United States naturalization process.\textsuperscript{35}

The historian Anthony Grenville identifies two predominant waves of German-
Jewish immigration to England. The first, between 1933 and 1938, saw an average of
about 2,000 immigrants per year, while the second—following the Anschluss of Austria
in March 1938 and the subsequent pogroms in Germany and Austria—saw several
thousand refugees from both Germany and Austria entering England each month,
bringing the total to around 46,500 by the outbreak of the war.\textsuperscript{36} In response to this

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{30}{Raab Hansen, “Max Kowalski—Personendaten,” last modified on April 2, 2014, http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003097; jsessionid=4B333AD79E76D132EAC2D89E1A0ED34E?wcmsID=0003&XSL.lexmlayou
ut.SESSION=lexmperson_data.}
\footnotetext{31}{Schader, abstract to “Max Kowalski,” 1.}
\footnotetext{32}{Holzmair, “Daten,” 153.}
\footnotetext{33}{Raab Hansen, “Max Kowalski—Personendaten,” last modified on April 2, 2014, http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003097; jsessionid=4B333AD79E76D132EAC2D89E1A0ED34E?wcmsID=0003&XSL.lexmlayo
ut.SESSION=lexmperson_data.}
\footnotetext{34}{Ibid.}
\footnotetext{35}{Holzmair, “Daten,” 137.}
\footnotetext{36}{Anthony Grenville, Jewish Refugees from Germany and Austria in Britain, 1933-1970: Their Image in AJR Information (London/Portland: Mitchell, 2010), 2. See also: Norman Bentwich, The Refugees from Germany, April 1933 to December 1935 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1936); Bentwich, They Found Refuge. An Account of British Jewry’s Work for Victims of Nazi Oppression (London: The Cresset Press, 1956).}
\end{footnotes}
influx, the British government introduced a visa system by which refugees could enter the country through an affidavit of financial support.\(^\text{37}\) Who vouched for Max Kowalski is as yet unknown.\(^\text{38}\) After Britain declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939, all refugee visas became invalid, and rising xenophobia and anti-Semitism even led to the temporary internment of roughly 29,000 refugees during 1940-1941.\(^\text{39}\)

When Kowalski settled in London’s middle-class district of Hampstead in March of 1939, he had entered the country not as a lawyer but as a musician, which placed him in the third of four ranked categories of professional importance.\(^\text{40}\) He had been disbarred in Germany prior to his arrest in 1938,\(^\text{41}\) and would further be stripped of his German doctorate in absentia during expatriation in 1940.\(^\text{42}\) Kowalski became a British citizen after the end of the war in 1945.\(^\text{43}\) While England provided safety from persecution by the Nazis, Kowalski nevertheless had to endure many professional and personal setbacks.


\(^{38}\) Holzmair, “Daten,” 150.


\(^{40}\) Holzmair, “Daten,” 150.


Although Kowalski and both of his brothers had settled abroad, Kowalski’s mother stayed behind in Germany and would eventually perish some time after January 1943 in Theresienstadt.\textsuperscript{44} His former wife, Anna (apparently denounced by a maid),\textsuperscript{45} took her own life following her release from multiple incarcerations in concentration camps in October 1938.\textsuperscript{46} Fifteen other family members fell victim to the horrors of Nazi Germany.\textsuperscript{47}

Kowalski was already in his fifties when he arrived in London, and thus had a harder time establishing himself than some of his younger colleagues.\textsuperscript{48} This situation was complicated further by the fact that Kowalski had attended a humanistic grammar school in Germany that focused on Latin and Greek, and thus he was, at least initially, unfamiliar with the language and customs of his new homeland.\textsuperscript{49} Moreover, his being a composer primarily of German lieder surely contributed to his difficulties.\textsuperscript{50} As Raab Hansen remarks, the Austro-German musicians who settled in England in the 1930s and 1940s suffered from a double standard: they were revered as performers and educators yet kept at bay professionally.\textsuperscript{51} Moreover, the precarious financial stability of these immigrant musicians was further exacerbated by the fact that once the war broke out, approximately 3,000 British musicians lost their jobs in London alone.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{45} Gradenwitz, “Max Kowalski (1882-1956), Rechtsanwalt und feinsinniger Musiker,” 49.
\textsuperscript{46} Schader, abstract to “Max Kowalski,” 1.
\textsuperscript{47} Holzmair, “Daten,” 150.
\textsuperscript{48} Raab Hansen, “NS-verfolgte Musiker,” 135.
\textsuperscript{49} Gradenwitz, “Max Kowalski,” 49.
\textsuperscript{50} Holzmair, “Daten,” 150.
\textsuperscript{51} Raab Hansen, “NS-verfolgte Musiker,” 126.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.
Immigrant musicians were subject to measures like the BBC’s 1940 *Ban on Alien Composers*, an index of enemy musicians and their music, one of whose goals was to cease indirect financial support of enemy nations in the form of royalties. The criteria by which musicians ended up on these lists (which included the name of Max Kowalski) are difficult to determine, and at times even appear arbitrary, as delineations between “anti-Nazi” and overall “anti-Austro-German” are elusive. Indexed musicians ranged from known Nazi-sympathizers and non-living composers (some of whose music had been used to promote Nazi ideology and propaganda) to those who were themselves being actively oppressed by the Nazis. The conditions of the ban were revised and loosened several times during the war, and lifted completely at the end of the war. Britain’s Home Office granted highly limited allowances to certain refugees, and Raab Hansen lists two organizations that served as cultural holding centers: the Austrian Centre and the *Freier Deutscher Kulturbund*. She lists Kowalski performances presented by the latter organization.

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53 Holzmair, “Daten,” 150.
54 Raab Hansen, “NS-verfolgte Musiker,” 133. Raab Hansen cites the following files kept at the BBC archives labeled *Music General, Alien Composers, ‘private & confidential’* that were closed for over 50 years: BBC Written Archives: WAR, R 27/3/1; WAR, R 27/3/2; WAR, R 27/3/3; WAR, R 27/3/4; WAR, R 27/3/5; 1935-1945.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., 129.
Post-War Years in England

After the war, Kowalski married his second wife, Gertrud Remak (in 1946) and made his livelihood as a full-time musician, teaching, singing in the choir of a synagogue, and working as a piano tuner. Other employment included work as a copyist, pianist, cabaret performer, composer of incidental music, and conductor. He also sang in an opera chorus and over time became a respected pedagogue and sought-after répétiteur, who eventually counted among his clients—a number of whom sang at the Royal Opera House at Covent Garden—the German bass-baritone Hans Hotter (1909-2003), who employed Kowalski’s expertise during engagements in London after the war, and performed and recorded his songs. Eventually, his London circle of acquaintances grew to include such figures as Bruno Walter (1876-1962), Otto Klemperer (1885-1973), Erich Kleiber (1890-1956), and Artur Schnabel (1881-1951).

Just what lasting ramifications for Kowalski’s career ensued from his having been listed on the BBC’s index is difficult to determine. Correspondence kept at the Leo Baeck Institute establishes that Kowalski repeatedly asked his musical colleagues in and outside of the United Kingdom for help in finding a publisher, an endeavor that, despite the attempt by some to help, proved unsuccessful. Holzmair suggests that the public

58 Ibid.; she is also listed under the name “Gertrude Blumenfeld-Remak” in Joachim Martini, Musik als Form geistigen Widerstandes, 231.
59 Raab Hansen, “NS-verfolgte Musiker,” in Facetten I, 126.
60 Holzmair, “Daten,” 152; Schader, abstract to “Max Kowalski,” 1.
61 Gradenwitz, “Max Kowalski,” 50.
62 Schader, abstract to “Max Kowalski,” 1.
64 Raab Hansen, “NS-verfolgte Musiker,” in Facetten I, 133.
success of Kowalski’s music remained tied to Germany, sporadic performances and
broadcasts in other countries after the war notwithstanding.66 Unlike many colleagues
who emigrated to the United Kingdom or the United States, Kowalski never chose to
assimilate, musically speaking.67 He certainly never abandoned his native musical idiom
and language in his serious compositions; and a contemporary witness, Alfred Goodman
(1890-1972), supports the notion that Kowalski always identified himself as a German
composer.68 Kowalski visited New York City once in 1950 to reunite with his two
younger brothers.69 He passed away unexpectedly on June 6, 1956, owing to
complications resulting from a routine surgery.70

For a number of years after Kowalski’s passing, Oscar Kowal strove to preserve
the memory of his brother’s music, an effort that is continued today by Kowalski’s
nephew Michael Kowal (New York), who describes his uncle’s final years:

The composer's last years appear to have been spent in an atmosphere of domestic calm
and professional contentment. He had become a sought-after singing teacher and vocal
coach, his works could once again be heard in concerts and on the radio in Germany and
in England, and his house, thanks to the social talents of his wife, became a center of
hospitality for many visitors.71

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66 Holzmair, “Max Kowalski und der jüdische Kulturbund,” 161.
67 In an e-mail message to Wolfgang Holzmair on December 16, 2012, Michael Kowal
surmises that Kowalski may have written his four English songs to poems by Walter
S. Landor (1775-1864), William Butler Yeats (1865-1939), W. H. Davies (1871-1940),
and Walter de la Mare (1873-1956) in hopes of having them presented by the BBC.
68 Gottfried Eberle, “Ein zweiter “Pierrot lunaire”: Der Komponist Max Kowalski (1882-
CHAPTER THREE

MAX KOWALSKI’S COMPOSITIONAL OUTPUT AND RECEPTION

Many of Kowalski’s songs feature texts by major German-speaking poets, as well as non-German poets in translation:

**Table 3.1:** Major German- and French-speaking poets set by Kowalski

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German-speaking</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832)</td>
<td>Paul Verlaine (1844-1896)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843)</td>
<td>trans. Sigmar Mehring (1856-1915)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heinrich Heine (1797-1856)</td>
<td>César Flaischen (1864-1920)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (1825-1898)</td>
<td>Stefan Zweig (1881-1942)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900)</td>
<td>Alfred Henschke (“Klabund”) (1890-1928)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stefan George (1868-1933)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermann Hesse (1877-1962)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kowalski also set a large number of German adaptations of Eastern poetry by</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hans Bethge (1876-1946) and Klabund, as well as <em>Fünf Marienlieder</em>, Op. 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1927), eight <em>Jüdische Lieder</em> (1935-1937, unpublished), fourteen <em>Kinderlieder</em> (1936, unpublished), and even four English settings (1941-46, unpublished).¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With its review of the literature and its catalogue of Kowalski’s works, Wolfgang Holzmair’s 2013 graduate thesis at Salzburg’s Mozarteum (subsequently expanded and published as five separate articles in *Facetten I*) contains what stands as the most

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A comprehensive discussion of Kowalski to date. Holzmair compiled the catalogue of works from previous listings by Oskar and Michael Kowal, Philip Lieson Miller, and Susan Morehead. His catalogue lists a total of sixteen published song collections, an additional two having since been published in first editions by Recital Publications in 2009 and 2012. This brings the current count of unpublished collections to fourteen, though this dissertation contains the previously unpublished Japanischer Frühling and its four omitted songs, and the Mainz-based publisher Schott is preparing two new volumes of first editions (see Appendix I on page 191 for a current listing of published works, and Chapter One, pp. 15-16, for a reference to forthcoming works). Furthermore, Holzmair lists a number of unpublished works, including four individual songs, two works for piano, a suite for clarinet and piano, and a score of incidental music. Finally, he cites orchestrations and adaptations of Kowalski’s songs by other composers, including Richard Karp (1902-1977), Max Rudolf (1902-1995), Johannes Schöllhorn (b. 1962), and several anonymous arrangers.

**Publication History**

Kowalski was able to publish opp. 1-17, all of which except for Op. 4 (Pierrot Lunaire) fell out of print after 1933. His publishers included Raabe & Plotho, Simrock,

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Eos, Leuckart, Zimmermann, and Universal. A recent reprint/republication project by Walter Foster at Recital Publications in the United States (Huntsville, TX) made opp. 1-11 and 17 available again, and produced two first editions: *Acht Lieder auf Gedichte von Hafis*, composed in 1948,\(^5\) and *Sechs Lieder auf Gedichte von Rainer Maria Rilke* of 1951. Opp. 12, 13, and 16 (*Fünf Marienlieder, Sechs Gedichte von Paul Verlaine*, and *Fünf Lieder*) have been republished by Thomi-Berg in Planegg (who inherited the rights from Leuckhart in Leipzig), while opp. 14 and 15 (*Fünf Gedichte von Hermann Hesse and Sechs Gedichte von Klabund*), which had been published by Wilhelm Zimmermann (also in Leipzig) remain out of print. In the end, the majority of Kowalski’s mature compositions remain as yet unpublished and thus unknown.

**Creative Periods**

Kowalski’s compositional career falls roughly into the following timeline:

**Table 3.2:** Compositional periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pre-1909</td>
<td>Early works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909-1913</td>
<td>Formal studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913-1933</td>
<td>Early professional success and Weimar Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-1939</td>
<td>Third Reich—Kulturbund—Exile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-1946</td>
<td>London I (WWII)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-1956</td>
<td>London II (late works)(^6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^5\) These are Kowalski’s second group of songs on poems by the Persian poet Hafez (1325/26-1389/90), adapted by Alfred Henschke (1890-1928) under the pseudonym “Klabund.” They are not to be confused with the 1933 *Sieben Gedichte von Hafis*, adapted by Georg Friedrich Daumer (1800-1875), which, although unpublished, bear the opus number 18 on the typewritten cover of the manuscript.

Obscured by this outline are two periods of productive hiatus in Kowalski’s career. The first spans the years 1921-1927, which overlap with the birth and early childhood of his daughter Vera.\(^7\) The second occurs from 1939 to 1946, bookended by his arrival in London and marriage to Gertrud Remak, which marriage ushered in a new period of creativity.\(^8\) The only documented output from the wartime years in England is *Ein Liederzyklus auf Vierzeiler des Omar Chajjam* (1941) and *Lieder auf Englische Texte* (1941-1946).\(^9\) One should also note that Kowalski’s last known composition, *Arabische Nächte*, dates from 1953-1954, two years prior to his death.

**The Influence of Bernhard Sekles**

Kowalski owed much to his teacher Bernhard Sekles, who, though he appreciated innovation, was rooted in traditional ideals, both as a composer and as a pedagogue. His teaching focused heavily on form and counterpoint, and this is evident in the works of Kowalski, who remained close to his teacher’s maxims.\(^10\) Sekles’s conservative approach led to reported tensions with some of his more progressive pupils, including the young Paul Hindemith.\(^11\) In a commemorative address dating from 1961, we find the following description of Sekles by the German musicologist Karl Holl:

Sekles found inspiration in impressionism, the expressive tendencies of emerging music, and the rhythmic layout of modern dance. Nevertheless, he made the gain of those stylistic means subject to his traditionally schooled formal consciousness and

\(^7\) Theresa Lechthaler, “Max Kowalski: Leben und Werk des Komponisten” (Term paper, Landesschulamt Frankfurt, 2015), 19.
\(^10\) Lechthaler, “Max Kowalski,” 16.
\(^11\) Ibid., 14.
compositional design. He was no revolutionary, no trailblazer, he was a cautiously progressing builder of tones.\textsuperscript{12}

Though Sekles was one of the more conservative composers and pedagogues of his time, he was certainly among its most forward-thinking arts administrators. As director of the Hoch’sches Konservatorium from 1923 to 1933, he created an opera school, a department of sacred music, divisions for teacher, early childhood, and adult music education, and in 1928 what must have been the first jazz class offered anywhere in Germany.\textsuperscript{13} Kowalski and Sekles remained in amicable contact until Sekles’s death in 1934.\textsuperscript{14}

“Exotic” Poems and their Adaptations

Kowalski and Sekles share two traits: both cultivated song (the majority of Sekles’s early compositions [1895-1905] are songs), and they both drew on non-German subject matter. Well over one third of Kowalski’s songs feature texts that have been referred to as “exotic.”\textsuperscript{15} Sekles set poetry from Hungarian, Serbian, Russian, Moravian, Rumanian, Chinese, and Arabic, among other languages, frequently in German


\textsuperscript{13} Peter Cahn, \textit{Das Hoch’sche Konzervatorium in Frankfurt am Main: 1878-1978} (Frankfurt: Waldemar Kramer, 1979), 257-270.

\textsuperscript{14} Holzmair, “Max Kowalski: Daten, Fakten, Stationen, Umfeld—ein erweiterter Lebenslauf,” in \textit{Facetten I}, 139.

adaptations by Georg Friedrich Daumer (1800-1875) and Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866), both important adaptor-translators of the 19th century.\textsuperscript{16}

Though Kowalski set six poems from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s 
*Westöstlicher Divan* in 1934, and about eighteen French poems transferred into German by adaptors active in the second half of the 19th century, he drew primarily upon the contemporary adaptors Hans Bethge and Klabund. Kowalski’s songs feature poetry originally in Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Indian, Afghan, Nepalese, Armenian, and Japanese.\textsuperscript{17} According to Hofmann, “the personal preference for these lyrics is surely as considerable as the possibility that Kowalski was building upon the maxims of his esteemed teacher Sekles, who had himself set adaptations of other poets by Rückert and Daumer.”\textsuperscript{18}

Roughly one third of Kowalski’s songs are settings of adaptations by Bethge and Klabund, while the remaining translations and adaptations set by Kowalski include the works of the following poets: \textsuperscript{19}

\textbf{Table 3.3:} Additional settings of translations and adaptations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number of Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Franz Arnold, formerly Levinsohn (1872-1938)</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georg Friedrich Daumer (1800-1875)</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Dehmel (1863-1920)\textsuperscript{20}</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cäsar Flaischlen (1864-1920)</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{16} Lechthaler, “Max Kowalski,” 9.
\textsuperscript{17} Holzmair, “Werkkatalog,” 252-265.
\textsuperscript{18} Hofmann, “Das ‘Eigene’ und das ‘Andere’,” 231: “[D]ie persönliche Vorliebe für diese Lyrik ist sicherlich ebenso in Betracht zu ziehen wie auch die Möglichkeit, Kowalski habe hier an die erwähnten Maximen seines geschätzten Lehrers Sekles angeknüpft.”
\textsuperscript{20} A translator is not listed in the published score, the identification of Dehmel appears in Hildemar Holl, “Max Kowalski und einige seiner deutschsprachigen Dichter und Übersetzer,” in *Facetten I*, 196.
Vocal-Compositional Style

Philip Lieson Miller offers the following reflections on Kowalski’s style and vocal writing in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*:

A singer himself, Kowalski had a natural feeling for the voice and he knew how to write tellingly for it. His skill as a pianist is also abundantly evident in his songs. His taste in poetry was exceptional and he was sensitive to both the inflections and the inner meanings of the verses he chose to set. His ability to create and sustain a mood was outstanding. His songs took their form directly from the poems; he never imposed purely musical development upon them. Almost never in his songs do we find verbal repetition. Like Hugo Wolf he had the ability to set words so that they could be clearly understood. To achieve this he rarely took the singer beyond a moderate range and he did not as a rule favor wide melodic skips. If one looks for a formal pattern, one finds his lieder predominantly throughcomposed, though in setting strophic poetry he retains the feeling of the stanza form. His piano parts are never mere “accompaniments,” but supply an imaginative background and commentary on the vocal line. Often voice and piano seem to be holding a kind of dialogue, somewhat as in the songs of Mahler; but whereas Mahler called upon colors of the orchestra, Kowalski’s writing is distinctly pianistic. His harmonic vocabulary was rich and expressive, though conservative in its time, much as Mahler’s was.²¹

To be sure, Kowalski was trained in—and consequently composed in—a tonal idiom and formal aesthetic that is very much anchored in the second half of the nineteenth century, an idiom he had absorbed deeply. His nephew Michael Kowal offers personal insight into the composer’s musical and spiritual ideology:

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His lineage was Jewish, which shaped him profoundly, but he didn’t want to be altogether confined by this. He remained a seeker spiritually, at least to the extent that within the artistic realm his scope included songs of the Virgin Mary, as well as Jewish and far-eastern spirituality. In his style, both musically and personally, he favored the conservatively tried and true, and since he based his work on melodies, he was rather averse to the emerging twelve-tone music.  

The music critic Artur Holde observes in *Das Frankfurter Israelitische Gemeindeblatt* in September 1934:

The tender, vibrant, warmhearted tone that characterizes his first offering also inhabits the later publications, his forthcoming six *Goethe Lieder*, op. 71< [sic], without any substantial change. The now subsiding era of stormy combat against conventional forms, which also surged around the lyricism of recent decades, has passed Kowalski by entirely. He is, however, intent on providing release by means of fine harmonic inflections. He stands, preserving his individuality, as he always has, on the foundation of harmonic thinking. A gifted singer himself, the composer knew to treat the vocal part favorably; one more reason for the many recitalists who have gladly reached for his works.


Luitgard Schader describes Kowalski’s vocal writing as a recitation embellished in a late-romantic tonal language and through-composed form, in which rhythm, meter, and tessitura emerge from the text, and large melismas are rare. The piano part supports the voice, and interprets the text through allusions and ornamental gestures that she refers to as “baroque figures.” The composer Johannes Schöllhorn, who arranged Kowalski’s *Pierrot* for voice and “Pierrot Ensemble” (i.e. using the instrumentation of Schoenberg’s *Pierrot Lunaire*) in 1992, considers Kowalski’s style in the *Pierrot* “somewhat conservative, slightly salon-like, and frequently droll.”

Unlike Miller, Kowal, Holde, Schader, and Schöllhorn, Wolfgang Holzmair can speak about Kowalski from the perspective of a performer who, towards the latter part of his long international career (which rests in one part on his success as a recitalist), has explored the majority of Kowalski’s work as part of his academic research, and has performed and recorded his works. He notes that the composer embraced a startling breadth of poets, themes, and moods, adding: “Kowalski, who as previously mentioned was professionally trained as a baritone, always writes for and never against the voice, owing to his knowledge of the instrument’s capabilities.” On the subject of the *Pierrot* songs, he writes:

24 Schader, abstract to “Max Kowalski,” in Komponisten der Gegenwart (Munich: edition text + kritik, forthcoming; my thanks to Dr. Schader for sharing the abstract with me prior to publication of the article), 2: “Kowalski bediente sich zeitlebens einer spätromantischen Tonsprache; die Singstimme seiner “durchkomponierten” Lieder gestaltete er als ausgeschmückten Textvortrag; Rhythmik, Metrik und Tonlage folgen dem Text, große Melismen sind selten . . wobei der Klaviersatz die Singstimme stützt und den Text durch Anspielungen, zum Teil auch barocke Figuren ausdeutet.”


26 Holzmair, “Ein Max Kowalski Liederabend aus Sicht des Interpreten,” in Facetten I, 241, 244: “Kowalski, der wie breits erwähnt, sich zum Sänger ausbilden ließ und
Kowalski remained faithful to his “conventional” late Romantic style of composition. With a sure hand and an unerring sense for all the linguistic nuances, he gives each poem a distinct color and also avails himself musically of the rondo-like form of the verse. For him as a trained singer, melody and singability were matters of course. The piano part, at once foundation and commentary, is rich in hues and paints at times in strong colors, then again in pastel. Grotesque, capricious, weary or frivolous, nervous, mondain, gay or dreamy, Pierrot, this melancholy clown, has many aspects, and Kowalski shows them to us. Christian Morgenstern’s bizarre verses are not far off, nor the literary cabaret or the musical revue (Überbrett). Putting them in a different context I could envision Kowalski’s Pierrot Lieder beside Schoenberg’s cabaret songs. They did not fail in their effect either with the public or the singers.27

In many accounts, we read that it was of great importance to Kowalski to set only excellent texts.28 His remark “Whether my songs are good I cannot say; the texts certainly are” is easily the most frequently quoted statement about his own music.29

Holzmair adds:

The fact that Kowalski, like few others, knows how to sense the poetry and exalt its content through music is reason enough to give him our undivided attention. He does not take a blanket-approach with the literary models, but finds a unique musical and emotional language for each one of his poets. Rilke does not sound like Giraud, Hölderlin not like Hafiz, Verlaine not like Heine, Hesse not like the Japanese poetry in Bethge’s adaptations, Goethe not like George. Kowalski knows and loves literature. 30

Bariton war, schreibt im Wissen um das Leistungsvermögen der Stimme immer für, nie gegen diese.”
28 Holzmair, “Ein Max Kowalski Liederabend,” 243-244.
29 Kowal, “Max Kowalski by Michael Kowal,” in Lieder by Max Kowalski, 14.
Kowalski in the Context of 19th- and 20th-Century Exoticism

An affinity for exoticism was already part of German and European culture in the 19th century and before, especially after the publication of Hammer-Purgstall’s *Der Diwan des Hafis* in 1812, which made exotic poetry widely accessible for the first time. This collection inspired Goethe to write his still more famous *Westöstlicher Diwan* (1814-1819), historically one of the German collections of poetry most widely used by composers. 31 Another current prevalent in the early 20th century, however, was that of an increasingly escapist exoticism:

Around the turn from the 19th to the 20th century, the increasing perception of “end times” led to an intensification of exotic preferences. Not only did exotic operatic plots, or at least colorful oriental productions, offer the opportunity to escape reality, but they also inspired further adaptations from Chinese by poets like Hans Bethge and Klabund (=Alfred Henschke), which are linguistically akin to expressionism. One hoped for new inspiration for one’s own creations from the foreignness of the remote, different-seeming cultures. 32

A notable spike in Kowalski’s use of the Eastern texts came during his *Kulturbund* years (1933-1939), which were truly productive, as the following extract from Wolfgang Holzmair’s catalogue will readily demonstrate: 33

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Table 3.4: Compositions from the Kulturbund years

- Sieben Gedichte von Hafis, Op. 18 (1933)
- Vier Schäferlieder (Op. 19) (1933)
  —extended by four songs, reordered, and re-titled Rokoko-Lieder (1933)
- Jüdische Lieder (1935-1937)
- Drei zusätzliche Jüdische Lieder (1935-1937)
- Kinderlieder (1936)
- Japanischer Frühling (1934-1938)
- Four Additional Songs for Japanischer Frühling (1934-1938)
- Sechs Heine Lieder (1937)
- Zwölf Lieder auf Gedichte von Li-tai-pe (1938/1939)34

With the exception of the Japanischer Frühling, whose first edition is the subject of this dissertation, all of the works listed above are unpublished, and survive only in manuscript form; though some are currently being edited for publication by Schott in Mainz (see Chapter One, pp. 15-16). One is immediately struck by the fact that Kowalski, who had previously set a number of important German poets—either as the single source of poetry for a collection, or grouped with other poets—now set predominantly non-German and non-Western subject matter, or, in the case of Heinrich Heine (Heine Lieder, 1937) and Ludwig Strauß (Jüdische Lieder, 1935-1937), texts by Jewish authors.

Although Kowalski had set non-German and even non-Western poetry prior to 1933, it was with the Sechs Lieder aus dem westöstlichen Divan von Goethe, Op. 17, of that year (published by Universal in Vienna in 1934), that we see an extended period of the predominance of Eastern themes in Kowalski’s works.35 We have no indication from Kowalski himself as to why he turned to these texts just at that time, but we should note that the Nazis interdicted the use of so-called Aryan poetry by Jewish composers. The presentation and use of “Aryan” works by the Kulturbund was strictly prohibited around

34 Kowalski notated opus numbers on the manuscripts of opp. 18 and 19, but publication did not occur.
the time of the 1936 Berlin Summer Olympics, and the sanctions also fell upon Austrian works and composers after the *Anschluss* in 1938.\(^{36}\) Even though the *Kulturbund* promoted Jewish material with an increased commitment following the conference known as the *Reichsverband der jüdischen Kulturbünde* (September 5-7, 1936),\(^{37}\) Jewish texts constitute almost the smallest portion of Kowalski’s song output (trailed only by the four English settings, and a single translation from Danish called “Im Garten des Serails”, Op. 3, No. 5).

In all, though, it is difficult to determine exactly to which “brand” of exoticism Kowalski ultimately subscribed. First and foremost, of course, the sanctions imposed by the Nazis forced these composers to seek out other, at times seemingly exotic texts. Kowalski’s turn to such texts, however, may not have been simply capitulation to external force. Rather, a desire to engage with the exotic is consistent with a larger trend in German culture dating back to at least the late 18\(^{th}\) century. As noted above, this interest in the exotic became a full-blown obsession among German artists of the 19\(^{th}\) century, the milieu in which Kowalski was himself deeply rooted both musically and intellectually. Perhaps artists working during the war-torn early 20th century looked to this penchant for exoticism as a means of escape from grim reality and from the seemingly bellicose associations of *echt*-German culture.\(^{38}\) All things considered, it would seem that Kowalski’s inspirations were ultimately just as much aesthetic as they

\(^{36}\) Holzmair, ”Max Kowalski und der jüdische Kulturbund 1933 bis 1941,” 157.
\(^{37}\) Ibid., 155.
were pragmatic. After all, he continued to set Eastern texts in exile, alongside major German poets, as a quick glance at his London works will show.\(^{39}\)

**Table 3.5: Compositions from the London years**

- *Ein Liederzyklus auf Vierzeiler der Omar Chajjam* (1941)
- *Sieben Lieder auf chinesische Gedichte* (1947, first song composed 1939)
- *Lieder auf englische Texte* (1941-1946)
- *Acht Lieder auf Gedichte von Hafis* (1948)\(^{40}\)
- *Sieben Lieder auf Gedichte von Conrad Ferdinand Meyer* (1949/50)
- *Sechs Lieder auf Gedichte von Friedrich Hölderlin* (1950/51)
- *Sieben Lieder auf Gedichte von Rainer Maria Rilke* (1951)
- *Sieben Geischa-Lieder* (1951)
- *Sechs Lieder auf indische Gedichte* (1951-52)
- *Fünf Lieder auf Gedichte von Stefan George* (1952)
- *Arabische Nächte: Sieben Lieder auf arabische Gedichte* (1953/54)

Settings of non-Western texts significantly outnumber settings of German poetry after World War II. Why would Kowalski have continued to set these texts, when he no longer had to, if not out of personal preference?

**Reception**

Recent scholarship has shown that Max Kowalski enjoyed excellent reception and professional success as a composer, particularly throughout the years of the Weimar Republic. His creativity in song continued to flourish under oppression during the Third Reich, as well as in exile, where, despite all adversity, he was able to build a career as a respected musician. Yet the public success of his music declined after 1939, in part due to circumstances already outlined in Chapter Two, and his songs were only sporadically performed, recorded, and broadcast, whether in Germany or abroad. Recently, though,

\(^{39}\) Holzmair, “Werkkatalog,” 259-263.

Kowalski has been “rediscovered” in both scholarship and on recordings and the concert stage.

The subject of reception with regard to a composer, especially one whose biography and career still display numerous lacunae, gains clarity when one approaches it from several angles. Thus while references to Kowalski in scholarly and journalistic contexts are still of a manageable size, his representation on recordings, the recital stage, and in publications (predominantly reprinted or republished) has continued, and grown notably in recent years. What follows provides a partial list of singers who have performed his songs.41

Table 3.6: A partial list of singers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singers</th>
<th>Voice Type</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assenheim, Hans; later Alten</td>
<td>baritone</td>
<td>1907-197442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bender, Paul</td>
<td>bass</td>
<td>1875-1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Recorded selections from <em>Pierrot Lunaire</em>. Brügge notes that Bender was only recorded a few times, and that these recordings likely stem from studio sessions in 1919 or 1933.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjakonski, Masha; later Benya</td>
<td>soprano</td>
<td>1908-2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berling, Willy</td>
<td>baritone</td>
<td>1909-1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Recorded the <em>Rilke</em> songs.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41 Joachim Brügge provides a thorough listing with discussions on individual performers in “Max Kowalski und seine Sänger,” in *Facetten I*, 205-212; Additional information can be found in the previously cited works by Schader, Holzmair, and the composer and critic Hans Ferdinand Schaub, who first identifies the two generations of Kowalski’s singers prior to and following the Second World War in Hans F. Schaub, “Wir erinnern an: Max Kowalski,” *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 113 (1952), 407-408; Brügge and Holzmair add many of the singers during the Third Reich to the list.
44 *Sieben Lieder nach Rilke*, Willy Berling, Walter Faith, True Tone Recording Co., no serial number, 12” LP, n.d.
Bodenoff, Alexander
Baritone
Dates unknown

Branzell, Karin
Contralto
1891-1974

Fischer, Albert
Bass-baritone
1882-1948

Guttmann, Wilhelm
Bass-baritone
1886-1941

Heinemann, Alexander
Baritone
1873-1919

Hotter, Hans
Bass-baritone
1909-2003

Recorded Pierrot Lunaire.

Ivogün, Maria
Soprano
1891-1987

Kipnis, Alexander
Bass
1891-1978


Krüger, Emmy
Soprano
1886-1976

Lindberg Salomon, Paula
Alto
1897-2000

Lussheimer-Joseph, Emmy
Soprano
Dates unknown

Mysz-Gmeiner, Lula
Alto
1876-1948

Olitzki, Walter
Baritone
1899-1949

Peissachowitsch, Julius (later Benno?)
Baritone and cantor
1903-1942?

Rehkemper, Heinrich
Baritone
1894-1949

Rohr, Otto von
Bass
1914-1982

Recorded Sieben Lieder auf Gedichte von Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (1949/1950), and Sechs Lieder auf Gedichte von Friedrich Hölderlin (1950/51).

Rosenblüth, Leo
Cantor
1904-2000

Salomonski, Hermann
Baritone?
1870-1943?

Schey, Hermann
Bass-baritone
1895-1981

Schlusnus, Heinrich
Baritone
1888-1952


Schützendorf, Leo
Bass-baritone
1886-1931

Schwarz, Joseph
Tenor
1880-1926


46 Pierrot-Lieder, Hans Hotter, Michael Raucheisen, True Tone Recording Co., no serial number, 12” LP, n.d.


Clearly, Kowalski’s songs have attracted mainly baritones and bass-baritones, though the *Kulturbund* years featured an impressive number of female performers.\(^\text{57}\)

Upon examining Kowalski’s compositions, one finds that he generally wrote for medium voice, though there are hand-written transpositions—both by Kowalski himself and unidentified copyists—that suggest that Kowalski was not married to particular voice types or keys, and was happy to accommodate individual singers. Kowalski scholarship also contains references to many professional and semi-professional singers, about some of whom we know nothing more than their name, which attests to Kowalski’s wider popularity.\(^\text{58}\) Another proponent of Kowalski’s songs both before and after the Third Reich was the famous pianist Michael Raucheisen, husband of the noted soprano and voice teacher Maria Ivogün. Holzmair notes the oddity that Kowalski maintained a lifelong friendship with Raucheisen, an outspoken Nazi, and ascribes this to Kowalski’s positive, forgiving character.\(^\text{59}\)

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\(^\text{54}\) Brügge, “Sänger,” 208.


\(^\text{57}\) Holzmair, “Kulturbund,” 176.

\(^\text{58}\) Brügge, “Sänger,” 206.

\(^\text{59}\) Holzmair, “Kulturbund,” 176.
In recent years, Kowalski’s songs have been performed by, among others, the baritone Wolfgang Holzmair (b. 1952), the mezzo-soprano Melinda Paulsen (b. 1964), and the soprano Ingrid Schmithüsen (b. 1960), all of whom have also recorded Kowalski’s songs, as well as the countertenor Jochen Kowalski (b. 1954, no family relation). In all, a combination of recent scholarship, recordings, and live performance has begun to restore both Kowalski’s reputation and his music to the status that they deserve.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE POET HANS BETHGE AND THE JAPANISCHER FRÜHLING (1911)

Although he wrote poetry, novellas, short stories, essays, plays, travelogues, kept diaries, and had considerable success as an editor of contemporary poetry, the German poet Hans Bethge (1876-1946) is most widely known and remembered for his adaptations of Eastern poetry.¹ Bethge was born in Dessau on January 9, 1876, and studied philosophy, German philology, and Romance languages at the universities of Halle, Geneva, and finally Erlangen, where in 1899 he earned a Ph.D. at the age of twenty-three.² Following his studies, he lived and taught in Barcelona for a year and a half, before settling in Berlin in 1901.³ Bethge admired the arts, especially painting and the other visual arts, and he socialized with a number of important contemporary painters, sculptors, and writers.⁴ He also became an important patron in the field of Bibliophilie.⁵

¹ A number of Bethge’s works, including the anthology Deutsche Lyrik seit Liliencron (Leipzig: Max Hesses Verlag, 1906), were successful in their time. The Deutsche Lyrik first appeared in 1905, and ran through fifty editions. Along with Hans Benzmann’s (1869-1926) anthology Die moderne deutsche Lyrik (Leipzig: Reclam, 1904), it was among the first works to enable a broad base of German readers to become acquainted with contemporary German poetry.
² His dissertation is titled Zur Technik Molières (Berlin: W. Gronau, 1899).
⁴ Eberhard Gilbert Bethge, Hans Bethge: Leben und Werk. Eine Biographie (Kelkheim: Yinyang Media Verlag, 2002), 15-16. This now stands as the definitive biography of Bethge.
⁵ Ibid., 46. While the English term bibliophilia refers to a love of books, and in a broader sense connotes an involvement in writing, publication, or sales, the aesthetic movement known as Deutsche Bibliophilie, had its heyday in the 1920s and involved the artful embellishment of books beyond the commercial norm.
Over the course of his life, Bethge traveled across Europe and into Africa. He had a particular affinity for the Mediterranean, spoke Spanish and French fluently, and was also conversant in Italian and Portuguese.\(^6\) His cultural interests extended into the near and far East, and his oeuvre includes roughly fifty compact volumes of varying genres that enjoyed wide popularity in his day. Nevertheless, in the words of his nephew and biographer Eberhard Gilbert Bethge—he never quite made “literary history.”\(^7\)

There is, however, one important avenue through which contemporary readers will often discover his works: musical settings. Arguably, Bethge’s most significant contribution to the musical canon—and concurrently his best remembered works—are his adaptations of Tang Dynasty texts, of which seven are used in Gustav Mahler’s *Das Lied von der Erde* (1908-1909). These adaptations first appeared in the 1907 collection *Die Chinesische Flöte*. More than 160 other composers, including Richard Strauss, Karol Szymanowski, Arnold Schoenberg, Anton von Webern, Felix Weingartner, Hanns Eisler, Viktor Ullmann, Gottfried von Einem, Ernst Krenek, Bohuslav Martinů, Joseph Marx, Ernst Toch, and Krzysztof Penderecki, have drawn upon his works.\(^8\)

Bethge published adaptations of Eastern poetry well into World War II, though his final project in 1943 was thwarted by the bombing of the printing house in Drugulin near Leipzig, where ten thousand copies of his 1913 collection *Die indische Harfe* were to be reprinted.\(^9\) Eberhard Gilbert Bethge sums up his uncle’s accomplishments as follows: “Bethge’s lasting contribution is that through his adaptations, for which he purposefully chose to create a new form, he brought oriental poetry closer to us,

\(^6\) Ibid., 12.
\(^7\) Ibid., 57.
\(^8\) Ibid., 154.
\(^9\) Ibid., 54.
stimulated world music, and thus contributed to its enrichment."\(^{10}\) Although Bethge saw the end of the war, he died only months after the surrender, on February 1, 1946.\(^{11}\)

Well-regarded among friends and colleagues, Bethge’s character has been described as gentle, sensitive, and intelligent, his way with words as idiosyncratically sensual, expressive, dreamy, and at once solemn and full of zest for life, yet also highly self-disciplined, astute, and free from slag (“schlackenfrei”).\(^{12}\) His gift for capturing sentiment, sensuality, space, and atmosphere through words allowed him to elicit these characteristics even from foreign texts.\(^{13}\)

The following comment by Hermann Hesse describes the picturesque and musical qualities in Bethge’s poetry that were valued by many of his contemporaries: “I have attended poetry evenings where the mellow sweetness of Hofmannsthals or the yearningly tender poetry paintings of Bethge . . . affected a small audience of receptive listeners in a magical fashion that can only be compared with that of music.”\(^{14}\) The Austrian writer Stefan Zweig reflects: “The peculiarity that we love so much in his poems, grows simply and beautifully among the colorful entwinement of events: that clear, cool harmony of

\(^{10}\) Ibid., 59.: “Das bleibende Verdienst Bethges ist es, uns durch seine Übertragungen, für die er bewußt die Form von Neuschöpfungen gewählt hat, die orientalische Lyrik nahe gebracht, die Weltmusik angeregt und so zu ihrer Bereicherung beigetragen zu haben.”

\(^{11}\) Ibid., 55.

\(^{12}\) Ibid., 4-5, 11.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., 42.

style, which contains an artistic completeness of mood within itself,” while the graphic artist Georg Alexander Mathéy draws a further connection to music:

Bethge, this master of subtle sounds, never avails himself of the full orchestra to express his emotions. His is always intimate chamber music, which enchants with its sparkling delicacy . . . the most beautiful of his own original poems, not adaptations, are the Liebesverse. Here, a strong masculine feeling, always harnessed with noble measure—as excess was one of those things that saddened him—streams forth in free rhythms. These poems have the burnished coolness of settled passion, and the strict chastity of those who love sincerely.

Bethge’s engagement with Eastern literature continued a long tradition of exotic interests that had inspired such poets as Goethe and Rückert, though the degree to which Bethge devoted his career to the poetry of other cultures, as well as the fact that it is this work for which he is best remembered (particularly through song), invites comparison with another important adaptor of the 19th century, Georg Friedrich Daumer, whose name we already encountered in connection with Berhard Sekles in Chapter Three. Like Max Kowalski, Bethge was both intellectually and culturally rooted in the 19th century, though the nature of his prolific engagement with foreign poetry was different from Kowalski’s in that Bethge didn’t face the same external pressures during the Third Reich. Many of his adaptations, including the Japanischer Frühling, even antedate World War I.

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The exact history of Bethge’s connection with Asian literature, culture, and philosophy has not yet been treated in great depth, but its origins can be outlined. In a self-portrait for his fiftieth birthday, Bethge writes: “Germany is my fatherland, Europe my garden, and the world is my meadow.”17 His description of his initial exposure to Asian poetry is quoted in his biography:

One silvery spring day in 1906 in Paris remains unforgettable, where in an antiques store in the Rue de Rennes, I rummaged through the beautiful old book “Poésies de l’époque des Thangs” by the Marquis Hervey-Saint-Denys . . . at first I absent-mindedly flipped through the pages, until suddenly and in utter bewilderment, I came upon those prose texts inspired by ancient Chinese poetry, which wafted towards me like a fair greeting, not merely from the most beautiful regions of the Asiatic arts, but also from an admirably refined humanity.18

The publication of Die chinesische Flöte in 1907 was followed by eleven other volumes of adaptations including poetry from the Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Indian, Afghan, Nepalese, Armenian, and Japanese cultures.19

Although Bethge was an expert in Romance linguistics, he didn’t actually speak any of the Eastern languages, nor did he ever visit any Eastern countries. He based his adaptations on previous German, English, and French translations rather than on the

original poems, and this has sometimes been the basis for criticism of his works. In the 1907 foreword to Die Lyrik des Auslandes in neuerer Zeit Bethge asserts: “It is not vitally important to translate a poem literally, but rather to enable its spirit, style, and melody to be, in a way, newly created in a foreign language. It is impossible to establish norms for the art of translation.”

In his commentary to Japanischer Frühling, Bethge describes how he familiarized himself with the formal characteristics and history of classical Japanese poetry before deciding to break out of the form and create his own. He cites Karl Florenz’s Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur (1906, see note 23 below), and shorter works by Paul Alfred Enderling, Otto Hauser, Julius Kurth, and Antoni Lange as models and inspiration for his collection.

Classical Japanese poetry, known as waka, features various permutations of two basic formal characteristics: a specific number of lines (ku), and a meter (on) of either five or seven syllables. The predominant form is the tanka (or uta), whose lines are organized into an upper phrase (kami-no-ku) of 5-7-5, and a lower phrase (shimo-no-ku).

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20 Ibid., 7.
22 Karl Florenz (1865-1939) was a preeminent German scholar in the field of Japanese studies, also known as Japanologie. Paul Alfred Enderling (1880-1938) was a German writer and translator of Japanese poetry and novellas. Julius Kurth (1870-1949) was a German pastor, author, and student of Japanese and Chinese woodcut printing. Otto Hauser (1876-1944) was an Austrian writer and translator. Antoni Lange (1863-1929) was a Polish writer, translator, and philosopher.
of 7-7.\textsuperscript{23} The syllables in Japanese contain only five basic vowels (a, i, u, e, and o—the order in which they appear in the Japanese syllabary). Rhyme is no object in Japanese poetry, which relies instead on the purposeful variation of vocal cadence and logographic detail, and strives to convey the maximum amount of expressive nuance within its condensed form.\textsuperscript{24} It is important to remember that Japanese is a syllabic language, whereas German is a phonetic language, and that any poetic form will present specific challenges when transferred into another language.\textsuperscript{25}

The following comparison of three of Karl Florenz’s translations with the Bethge adaptations they inspired is intended to illustrate Bethge’s approach, including the liberties he took, and the possible rationale behind them. Syllable count is shown next to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} Hans Bethge, \textit{Japanischer Frühling} (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1922, reprinted by University of Michigan Library, 2014; originally published in 1911), 112.
\item \textsuperscript{25} The three Japanese alphabets are logographic syllabaries in which each character on its own represents a whole syllable, whereas in German, most syllables require a combination of several characters (phonemes). In other words, Japanese uses contains units of information per character, thus lending itself better to condensed writing than German.
\end{itemize}
each author’s realization. English translations are provided below each text, though they do not retain the same number of syllables and serve mainly to show differences in translation.

**Table 4.1: Betrachtung (Akahito, fl. 724-736)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Florenz</th>
<th>Bethge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wenn auf dem breiten</td>
<td>Wenn stets der Kirschenbaum so wundervoll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berge die Kirschenblüten</td>
<td>Wie jetzt auf allen Höhen blühen würde,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viele Tage lang</td>
<td>Wir liebten seine schneeige Schönheit dann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So herrlich weiter blühten</td>
<td>Nicht so wie jetzt, da nur den Lenz sie ziert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wer würde sie so lieben?^{28}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If on the wide  
Mountain the cherry blossoms  
For many days  
Were to bloom onward so gloriously  
Who would love them so?

If the cherry tree were always to  
Bloom so wonderfully on all heights as now  
We wouldn’t love its snowy beauty  
As we do now, for it adorns spring alone.

Though Florenz manages to transfer both the Japanese formal template and content into German, he does so at the expense of having to limit his choice of words and nuance more than would a Japanese poet in his own language. His implicit belief that the deeper meaning and atmosphere would still emanate from the poems despite the formal restriction, however, is vindicated by the mere fact that Bethge found them so inspirational.

While Bethge is fond of concise expression in the German language, compactness is only a secondary concern in his adaptations, which strive for clarity and transparency.

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^{26} Bethge, *Japanischer Frühling*, 120, dates Akahito from the “middle of the 8th century”, but provides no precise dates. The above dates are listed at “Yamabe no Akahito,” unknown modification date, [http://www.wakapoetry.net/poets/manyo-poets/yamabe-no-akahito/](http://www.wakapoetry.net/poets/manyo-poets/yamabe-no-akahito/).

^{27} Bethge, *Japanischer Frühling*, 17.

^{28} Florenz, *Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur*, 98.
in the German idiom.\textsuperscript{29} His phrasing and syllabic organization show clearly that while he breaks out of the form of the \textit{tanka}, he does not abandon a sense of formal discipline and concentration. He often favors iambic, in this case pentameter. In addition to these formal changes, Bethge has taken liberties with the content. Instead of cherry blossoms, for instance, he speaks of a blooming cherry tree, of “all heights” instead of a single mountain, and he adds his own embellishments when he speaks of the tree’s “snowy beauty,” and the fact that “it adorns spring alone.” Bethge chooses to emphasize the ephemerality of natural beauty and our love for it. Florenz poses the question “who would love them so?” while Bethge insists: “we wouldn’t love its snowy beauty.”

The following example shows that Florenz himself does not always retain the form exactly in translation:

\textbf{Table 4.2:} Frühlings Ende (Okishima, 8\textsuperscript{th} c.)\textsuperscript{30}

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Florenz} & \textbf{Bethge} \\
\hline
5 Die Nachtigallen & 11 Im Bambushaine meines Gartens hör ich \\
6 Klagen im Bambushain & 11 Die Nachtigallen mit müder Stimme klagen, — \\
5 In meinem Garten & 11 Sie trauert, weil die weißen Pflaumenblüten \\
7 Aus Trauer, dass die Blüten & 11 In Scharen von den Bäumen niederfallen, \\
  & 10 Weil nun der Lenz mit seinen Wundern flieht.\textsuperscript{32} \\
7 Der Pflaumenbäume fallen\textsuperscript{31} & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

The nightingales
Lament in the bamboo grove
In my garden
Out of sadness, that the blossoms
Of the plum trees fall.

In the bamboo grove of my garden I hear
The nightingale lamenting with a weary voice, —
She mourns because the white plum blossoms
Are falling from the trees in hosts,
For spring now flees with all its miracles.

It is worth noting that Florenz could very easily have achieved seven syllables in the second line by adding a final e to “Bambushain” in the dative case (as we see in

\textsuperscript{29} Bethge, \textit{Japanischer Frühling}, 116.
\textsuperscript{30} Okishima is the only inhabited island on lake Biwa.
\textsuperscript{31} Florenz, \textit{Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur}, 114.
\textsuperscript{32} Bethge, \textit{Japanischer Frühling}, 21.
Bethge’s adaptation), but perhaps Florenz preferred the slightly leaner sound and look of “Bambushain.” Bethge continues to take the liberty of embellishing the text, referring to the “weary voice” of the nightingale, having changed Florenz’s plural “nightingales” to a single nightingale. This has the narrative consequence that the singing nightingale, which in German romantic poetry often symbolizes longing and unrequited love—love being one of the “miracles” of spring—now stands alone in contrast to the multitude of blossoms. Bethge has chosen to manipulate the original poem in a way that might bear deeper significance to a German reader, and his decision is validated by the fact that most nouns (except those referring to people) have no plural form in Japanese. Bethge involves the first person more actively in the scene by having the “I” listening to the lament of the nightingale, a musical allusion in and of itself, and one that Kowalski, in turn, incorporates into his setting of the text (see Chapter Six).

One logical problem arises from Bethge’s adaptation, however, because unlike Florenz, he explicitly mentions the end of spring in connection with the nightingale’s lament over the falling plum blossoms both in the poem and its title. East Asian and German plums, however, bloom at different times. In East Asia, the blossoms do not actually appear at the end of spring, but in late winter and early spring, as early as January.33 Thus they are the heralds of spring to the Japanese. German plums bloom anywhere between March and May, depending on regional climate, and thus in the

Bethge’s decision creates a narrative conflict that will be discussed further in Chapter Six (p. 87).

Clearly, then, even this brief comparison shows that each writer finds his own strategies and makes his own concessions in order to balance form and content. Bethge’s decision to break out of the tanka’s form is rooted in a self-professed desire to enable a reader to simply read through the poems, without—as Florenz often requires of the reader—having to consult footnotes that explain emendations or items likely lost in translation.

At times, however, Florenz’s own stance on the matter appears to lie closer to Bethge’s than one might expect. In the preface to Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur, Florenz states that the Japanese world of thought and emotion—only truly comprehensible to a native rooted in custom and history—might appear foreign, and even strange, to Europeans: “Thus, in my efforts to provide a characteristic translation, I had no reservations to add a trifle more, rather than a trifle less to the spiritual life of the Japanese as it emerges through and in the national literature.” He continues:

The translations, which are mostly mine except for those few cited specifically, aspire to the highest level of fidelity in their rendering, thought, and wording, even at the expense of the German idiom. The fact that, due to the great difference in the structure and phraseology of the Japanese and German languages, they only provide an incomplete alternative to the originals, and cannot convey the unique aesthetic effect of the original

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35 Bethge, Japanischer Frühling, 116.; Florenz, Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur, 54. Florenz provides cohesion through commentary, occasionally noting that a particular line is difficult to translate, or by accompanying particularly elusive passages with a footnote.
text, is a shortcoming of all literal translations, on behalf of which I need not vindicate myself. I must however appeal to the kind indulgence of the audience, as well as that of my expert colleagues in Japan and Europe, if at times I failed to separate the essential from the inessential, or if I erred in fact or judgment.\textsuperscript{37}

Perhaps, then, the fundamental difference between Florenz and Bethge comes down to literary priorities and personal taste, which differ naturally between translator and adaptor, a circumstance that Bethge was well aware of based on his own assessment of his studies of Florenz and others:

The extraordinary brevity of the \textit{uta or tanka} has its drawbacks. Poets strive to express as much as possible in such a short poem, and frequently become obscure due to excessive condensation. Commentators have interpreted old \textit{tankas} time and time again,

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.: “Die Übersetzungen rühren mit wenigen am entsprechenden Orte gekennzeichneten Ausnahmen von mir selbts her und erstreben, wenn nötig, sogar unter Aufopferung des deutschen Idioms, die größtmögliche Treue in der Wiedergabe sowohl des Gedankens als auch des Wortlautes. Dass sie infolge der grossen Verschiedenheit der deutschen und japanischen Sprachstruktur und Phraseologie nur einen unvollkommenen Ersatz für die Originale bieten und namentlich die eigenthümliche ästhetische Wirkung der Urtexte nicht wiederzugeben vermögen, ist ein allen wörtlichen Übersetzungen anhaftender Mangel, um dessentwillen ich mich nicht zu verteidigen brauche. Wohl aber muss ich um die freundliche Nachsicht des Publikums und meiner Fachgenossen in Japan und Europa bitten, wenn es mir nicht immer gelungen ist, das Wesentliche vom Unwesentlichen zu sondern, und wenn ich in Sachen oder Urteilen mich geirrt haben sollte.”}

Florenz has had his critics, both in his day and in ours. From February to September 1895—eleven years prior to \textit{Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur}—a lengthy and heated dispute unfolded between him and the Japanese scholar Kazutoshi Ueda (1867-1937), who attacked Florenz for a lack of fidelity, authenticity, and conciseness in his review of Florenz’s \textit{Dichtergrüße aus dem Osten} (Leipzig: Amelang, 1894) in the Tokyo Imperial University’s literature magazine \textit{Teikoku-bungaku}. The argument is discussed in Roland Schneider, “Karl Florenz als Übersetzer—Der Übersetzungsdisput zwischen Karl Florenz und Ueda Kazutoshi,” \textit{Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, e.V.}, 137 (1985): 69-74. Schneider, too, is critical of the liberties that Florenz took in order to gain the favor of his German audience. The more concise style of Florenz’s translations in \textit{Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur} may have been an outcome of this and other disputes, and the slightly defensive tone of his preface may have been intended to ward off future ones.
and to this day one has not been able to come to an agreement about the meaning of certain poems from classical times.\footnote{Bethge, Japanischer Frühling, 113: “Die außerordentliche Kürze des Uta oder Tanka hat ihre Nachteile. Die Dichter wollen möglichst viel in einem solchen Kurzgedicht ausdrücken und werden nicht selten dunkel durch übertriebene Kondensierung. Kommentatoren haben alte berühmte Tankas immer wieder ausgelegt, und über den Sinn so mancher Gedichte aus klassischer Zeit hat man sich bis heute nicht einig werden können.”}


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Florenz</th>
<th>Bethge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Könt’ ich ein einzig Mal</td>
<td>Noch einmal lass mich, o Geliebter,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dich jetzt noch wiedersehen!</td>
<td>Bevor ich diese Welt verlasse,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auf dass ich jenseits,</td>
<td>Dein liebes Antlitz wiedersehen,\footnote{Kowalski sets “wiedersehen” as “wiedersehn” with three syllables, in order to accommodate the musical phrase.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Von dieser Welt geschieden,</td>
<td>Dass ich es tief in meine Seele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erinn’rung süß genössse.\footnote{Florenz, Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur, 153.}</td>
<td>Einpräge und es mit mir nehme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would that I could now</td>
<td>Ins dunkle Land der Ewigkeit.\footnote{Bethge, Japanischer Frühling, 86.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See you still one single time</td>
<td>Once more, my beloved, let me see,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So that beyond,</td>
<td>Before I leave this world,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated from this world,</td>
<td>Your dear countenance,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I might relish sweet memory.</td>
<td>So that I may deeply imprint it in my soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And take it with me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Into the dark land of eternity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once more, then, Bethge expands the original by having the “I” (presumably Izumi Shikibu herself) directly address her beloved by that moniker, referring to her departure from this world, and her desire to capture his face in her soul in order to take it along to the “dark land of eternity.” These are very specific ideas, images, and emotions not present in Florenz, who instead stresses the singular nature of this last encounter, the
separation from this world in the beyond, and a precious memory, rather than Bethge’s clearly imprinted image. Florenz presents the reader with a situation and impression to ponder, while Bethge develops a personal interpretation of the subliminal meaning he detects in Florenz’s translation, even including a physical description of the beyond. He writes in the commentary to *Japanischer Frühling*: “My wish was to fashion poems that exuded a poetic appeal of their own, and I should like to hope that at least as many of the Japanese colors have been transferred to them as one should be able to demand of such adaptations.” An announcement by the publishers Morawe & Scheffelt (Berlin), for the release of *Die indische Harfe* in 1913 attests to the popularity of Bethge’s approach:

Bethge is the only one among the modern poets of our time who has taken it upon himself to recreate the beauty of oriental poetry in our language. His adaptations display an entirely German form, and he has indeed avoided playfully mimicking the verse structure of the Orientals, but rather, he has consciously formed German poems that are filled with oriental beauty.

Song—which contains the forms of poetry in music—features a multitude of its own formal elements. It is perhaps because Bethge’s texts unite exotic themes with lyrical and formal attributes that are idiomatic to German, that they have enjoyed such popularity with song composers. In his article on Karol Szymanowski’s Bethge settings, Peter Andraschke considers the following: “The broader audience of readers, among which one may count the large circle of composers who set Hans Bethge’s texts to music

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43 Ibid., 116: “Mir lag daran, Gedichte zu bilden, die durch sich selbst einen poetischen Reiz ausüben sollten, und ich möchte hoffen, daß von der japanischen Farbe wenigstens soviel auf sie übergegangen ist, wie man bei derartigen Nachdichtungen verlangen muß.”

... was seeking the exotic and wistful sound of Bethge’s language, and took a liking to it. Composers including Joseph Marx (1882-1964), Hans Hermann (1870-1931), and Wilhelm Kienzl (1857-1941) have set Karl Florenz’s poems to music, albeit in much smaller numbers, and virtually always poems from the 1894 collection *Dichtergrüße aus dem Osten* (see footnote 37), not from *Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur*. In his (by 1906) purported scholarly desire to remain faithful to the original source, Florenz probably no longer had intentions to appeal to the aesthetic Zeitgeist with these translations beyond well-considered academic principles, let alone inspire musical settings. Conversely, Bethge, in his poetic desire to transport the essence of a foreign idiom into his own, blended the Japanese and German aesthetic mindsets, and laid no scholarly claims to his work.

Hans Bethge’s *Japanischer Frühling* is a chronologically ordered collection of 104 poems, originally published in 1911. His commentary opens with the following lines:

> Japanese lyricism can be likened to Japanese ink drawings: just like them, it offers suggestion over completion, seeks through brevity to achieve a firmly contoured impression, and is thus predominantly impressionist in character. Just as in the drawings, we find in it, above all, a love for the tender and blossom-like, for spring, flowers, and exquisite fragrance. Individual personalities do not stand out in this poetic art in the way they do in Chinese poetry. 

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As we can see from the three comparisons above, Bethge would imbue the Japanese poems with a stronger presence of individual characters and develop impressions into more fully formed images. While he does paint the characters, situations, and images more explicitly than the Japanese poets or Florenz, his poems nevertheless do not lack subtlety or delicacy in the German language. It is worth considering, however, that prior to adapting the Japanese poems, Bethge had worked with Chinese poetry since his aforementioned Paris discovery in 1906, and that the only other adaptations he published prior to Japanischer Frühling were inspired by Hafez. Both of these styles, according to Bethge, were stronger in tone and in delineation of characters. Thus while Bethge perceived them to differ from Japanese poetry in their assertiveness, they may have influenced the tone of Bethge’s reading and method of adaptation for the Japanese poems.

Bethge refers to Japan as a culture of “occasional poets” who came from all walks of life and social strata, and notes that the writing of short poetry remains a popular practice in Japanese culture. His collection stretches from “archaic times” to the 19th century. Though a variety of forms exist in classical Japanese poetry, Bethge refers only to the tanka, which outnumbers all other forms in the two major Japanese anthologies from which Bethge draws through his translated sources: the Manyoshu and the Kokin Wakashu. These two anthologies contain poems about nature and its various seasons,

dieser lyrischen Kunst nicht stark hervor, im Gegensatz zur chinesischen.”
48 Bethge, Hafis (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1910).
49 Bethge, Japanischer Frühling, 111.
50 Ibid., 4-5. Poet and date are not given for Die schöne Nuna-Kawa-Hime, the first poem following Motoori Norinaga’s (1730-1801) Die Seele Japans, which Bethge uses “as a motto” for the collection.
51 Ibid., 113-114.
For the *Japanischer Frühling*, Bethge focused on poems that describe the coming and passing of springtime, and, more specifically, the ways in which winter and spring overlap as a natural backdrop and reflection of human spirituality and romance.

Max Kowalski chose to set fourteen poems from across the collection, eventually settling on ten settings for his 1938 *Japanischer Frühling*. The poems are listed below in Kowalski’s ordering, alongside the original poet and the Bethge numbering for reference. Where possible, names and dates have been adjusted in order to supplement or correct Bethge’s listings, which are largely based on Florenz and contain or retain occasional errors. The compositional chronology and performance history of Kowalski’s *Japanischer Frühling* will be discussed in Chapter Five.

**Table 4.4:** The ten poems in Kowalski’s *Japanischer Frühling*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kowalski Ordering</th>
<th>Poet/Source</th>
<th>Bethge (out of 104)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>Frühlings Ende</em></td>
<td>Okishima (8th c.)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall</em></td>
<td>Tomonori (c. 845-c. 905)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>Schnee im Frühling</em></td>
<td>Tsurayuki (872-945)</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <em>An den Schnee</em></td>
<td>Emperor Monmu (683-707)⁵²</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <em>Blütenstern</em></td>
<td>Tsurayuki</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. <em>Betrachtung</em></td>
<td>Akahto (fl. 724-736)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <em>Gleiche Sehnsucht</em></td>
<td>Tomonori</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. <em>Die Träume</em></td>
<td>Ono no Komachi (c. 825-?)⁵³</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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⁵² Ibid., 120, lists him as “Kaiser Mommu”, and gives only the dates of his reign (697-707.)

⁵³ Ibid., 122, lists the year of death as “approximately 870.” Little about her life is known with certainty, and her exact dates have not been established. Some sources list the year of death as late as 900. Her birth is placed some time between 820 and 830 in Donald Keene, *A History of Japanese Literature, Vol. 1: Seeds in the Heart — Japanese Literature from Earliest Times to the Late Sixteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 233.
Kowalski eventually omitted four of the songs that he set from the collection; these were assembled in a separate manuscript. They are listed below and will be treated further in the context of the edition.

**Table 4.5: Four additional poems**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kowalski Ordering</th>
<th>Poet/Source</th>
<th>Bethge (out of 104)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Die Wartende</td>
<td>Empress Iwa no Hime (<em>4th</em> c.)&lt;sup&gt;55&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bitte an den Hund</td>
<td>Unknown female poet (<em>Manyoshu</em>)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vergebeines Bemühen</td>
<td>Unknown male poet (<em>Manyoshu</em>)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Der Blütenzweig</td>
<td>Fujiwara no Hirotugu (<em>8th</em> c.)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chapter will conclude with my own translations of the fourteen poems listed above. For consistency, β and ss (which were often used interchangeably until the latter part of the twentieth century) have been adjusted to reflect contemporary orthography, in which β is considered a single consonant, before which a vowel will be long, and ss a double consonant, before which a vowel will be short. This practice has also been applied in the edition of the music (see Introduction to the Critical Report). Variants in text and punctuation between Bethge and Kowalski will be discussed in the critical report, and an

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<sup>54</sup> Most likely Marshal-Admiral Prince Higashifushimi Yorihito (1867-1922), listed by both Bethge and Kowalski as “Yorikito” from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Dates listed at "Materials of IJN: Higashifushimi Yorihito," last modified 2002, http://homepage2.nifty.com/nishidah/e/px00.htm#p002

<sup>55</sup> Also known as Empress Iwa no Hime. Her dates are unknown, except that she was the alleged consort of Emperor Nintoku, about whom little is known also, but who is believed to have ruled during the late fourth and early fifth centuries, according to Isaac Titsingh, *Annales des empereurs du Japon (Nihon Odai Ichiran)* (Paris: Royal Asiatic Society, Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1834), 22-24, and H. Paul Valey, *Jinnō Shōtōki: A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 110-111.
interpretation of the musico-poetic narrative will be presented in Chapter Six. I also include translations for the *Four Additional Songs*, which appear in Appendix II.

**Table 4.5: Translations of the fourteen poems**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese Title</th>
<th>English Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Japanischer Frühling</em> (1938)</td>
<td><em>The End of Spring</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lyrics:</strong> Hans Bethge</td>
<td><strong>Translations:</strong> Nils Neubert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Frühlings Ende</td>
<td>The End of Spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okishima</td>
<td>from Okishima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Im Bambushaine meines Gartens hör ich Die Nachtigall mit müder Stimme klagen, — Sie trauert, weil die weißen Pflaumenblüten In Scharen von den Bäumen niederfallen, Weil nun der Lenz mit seinen Wundern flieht.</td>
<td>In the bamboo grove of my garden I hear The nightingale lamenting with a weary voice, — It mourns because the white plum blossoms Are falling from the trees in hosts, For spring now flees with all its miracles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall</td>
<td>Longing for the Nightingale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomonori</td>
<td>Tomonori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ich will den Frühlingswind, o Nachtigall, Mit weichen Blumendüften zu dir senden, Damit sie dir den Weg herüberweisen In unsre Flur, — wir warten schon so lang!</td>
<td>I want to send you the wind of spring, oh nightingale, With the gentle fragrances of flowers, So that they will guide you on your way To our fields, — we’ve been waiting for so long!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Schnee im Frühling</td>
<td>Snow in Springtime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsurayuki</td>
<td>Tsurayuki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Frühling naht mit seinem Dunst. Die Bäume Setzen schon Knospen an. Doch von dem Himmel Fällt Schnee auf Schnee, als wollt er nimmer enden. Wie sonderbar, — nun sinken Blüten nieder, Obwohl der Lenz noch keine Blüten schuf.</td>
<td>Spring is approaching with its mist. The trees Bring forth buds already. Yet from the skies Snow upon snow is falling, as if it would never end. How peculiar, — now blossoms float downward, Even though springtide has not yet created blossoms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. An den Schnee</td>
<td>To the Snow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiser Mommu</td>
<td>Emperor Mommu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Wolken sind von Flocken ganz erfüllt, Der Wald scheint voll von weißen Weidenkätzchen, Das ganze Firmament ist schimmernd hell, Vom Wind getrieben weht der Schnee am Flusse, — Wenn ich die weißbebedneten Pflaumenbäume In meinem Garten sehe, möchte ich glauben, Sie blühten schon vom Frühling ganz und gar.</td>
<td>The clouds are completely filled with flakes, The forest seems full of willow catkin, The whole firmament is radiantly bright, Propelled by the wind, snow is blowing by the river, — When I see the plum trees covered in white In my garden, I almost want to believe That they were already wholly abloom from the spring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Blüten schnee</td>
<td>Blossom-Snow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsurayuki</td>
<td>Tsurayuki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leis senkt sich Schnee auf uns herab, und dennoch Weht lauer Windhauch zart an unsre Stirnen. Geschah ein Wunder denn? O welch ein Schnee,</td>
<td>Quietly, snow floats down on us, and yet A balmy breeze touches our foreheads. Did a miracle occur? Oh, what kind of snow,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Des Heimat nie der Himmel war! Es ist ja Whose home the heavens never were! It is the
Der holde, duftgeborene Frühlingsschnee Lovely, fragrance-born snow of spring,
Der Kirschenblüten! Of the cherry blossoms!

6. Betrachtung
Akahito

Wenn stets der Kirschenbaum so wundervoll If the cherry tree were always to
Wie jetzt auf allen Höhen blühen würde Bloom as wonderfully on all heights as now,
Wir liebten seine schneeige Schönheit dann As we do now, for it adorns spring alone.
Nicht so wie jetzt, da nur den Lenz sie ziert.

7. Gleiche Sehnsucht
Tomonori

Der Abend kommt herab. Nun wandr’ i Evening is falling. Now I walk towards
Den Sao-Fluss, im Windhauch seines Ufers The river Sao, in the breeze of its bank
Die Freundin zu erwarten. Was erklingt To await my woman friend. What resounds
Im Dunkel so voll Sehnsucht? Horch, das ist In the darkness so full of longing? It is
Der einsam-schwermutvolle Ruf der Möwe, The lonely, melancholy call of the seagull
Die sich nach der Gefährtin sehnt, wie ich. That is pining for its mate, just like me.

8. Die Träume
Frau Komachi

Seit ich im Traum den Mann seh, den ich liebe Ever since I saw the man I love in my dreams, —
Seit jener Zeit erst liebe ich der Träume Only since that time do I cherish the dreams’
Buntfarbene Falter als das köstlichste Colorful butterflies as the most exquisite
Geschenk der Nacht, das ich nicht missen möchte. Gift of the night, which I would not want to miss.

9. Täuschung
Yorihito

Ich glaubte, dass die weißen Blüten I thought that the white blossoms
Des Frühlings mir entgegentrieben. Of spring were wafting my way.
Ich irrte mich. Es war das Glänzen, I was mistaken. It was the radiance,
Das Liebesglänzen deiner Schönheit. The loving radiance of your beauty.

10. Noch einmal
Frau Izumi Shikibu

Noch einmal lass mich, o Geliebter, Once more, my beloved, let me see,
Bevor ich diese Welt verlasse, Before I leave this world,
Dein liebes Antlitz wiedersehen, Your dear countenance,
Dass ich es tief in meine Seele So that I may deeply imprint it in my soul,
Einpräge und es mit mir nehme And take it with me
Ins dunkle Land der Ewigkeit. Into the dark land of eternity
Four Additional Songs

**Der Blütenzweig**
Fujiwara no Hirotsugu

Nimm diesen Blütenzweig! In jedem Blatte
Der zarten Blüten schlummert hundertfach
Ein Liebeswort aus unruhvoller Brust.

O weise meine Liebe nicht zurück!

**The Branch of Blossoms**
Fujiwara no Hirotsugu

Take this branch of blossoms! In every petal
Of the tender blossoms slumbers one-hundredfold
A word of love from a restless bosom.

Oh, do not reject my love!

**Vergebnes Bemühen**
Unbekannter Dichter

Dass wir uns lieben, hab ich abgestritten,
Mit heftigen Worten hab ich es geleugnet,
Ich habe mich so angestrengt mit Leugnen,
Wie man sich anstrengt, wenn man einen Lastkahn
Am Kap des leuchtenden Naniwa-Hafens
Mit einem Seile mühevoll dahinzieht, —
Und dennoch bin ich, nichts hat mir genützt,
In das Gerede aller Welt gekommen!

**Vain Efforts**
Unknown poet

That we love each other, I have disputed,
With ardent words I have denied it,
I have so exerted myself with denial,
As one would struggle to pull a barge
At the cape of the radiant Naniwa port
With a rope, —
And yet, it has been to no avail, for I have
Become the chatter of all the world!

**Die Wartende**
Empress Iwa no Hime

Bis dass der weiße Reif des Alters sich
Auf meine rabenschwarzen Haare legt,
Will ich mein ganzes langes Leben durch
Nichts weiter tun als warten, warten, warten
Auf dich, den meine ganze Seele liebt.

**The Waiting Woman**
Empress Iwa no Hime

Until the white frost of age
Comes upon my raven-hued hair,
Throughout my whole life
I shall want to do nothing else but wait, wait, wait
For you, whom all my soul adores.

**Bitte an den Hund**
Unbekannte Dichterin

Wenn mein Geliebter in der Nacht
Den Binsenzaun durchbricht und leise
Zu mir hereinsteigt, — Hund, ich rate
Dir ernstlich: hüle dich in Schweigen,
Verrate ihn den Leuten nicht, —
Es soll dir gut gehn, lieber Hund!

**Plea to the Dog**
Unknown female poet

When at night my beloved
Breaks through the fence of cane
And climbs quietly into my room, — dog,
Hear my earnest advice: cloak yourself in silence,
Do not reveal him to the people, —
You shall be treated well, dear dog!
CHAPTER FIVE

MAX KOWALSKI’S JAPANISCHER FRÜHLING: GENESIS, PERFORMANCES, AND RECEPTION

Hans Bethge’s collection Japanischer Frühling was popular with composers. In fact, Eberhard Gilbert Bethge’s biography of his poet-uncle lists more than twenty song collections—including orchestral song cycles—that consist either fully or partially of poems from the Japanischer Frühling.¹ Among the composers who set texts from the Japanischer Frühling are such well-known figures as Felix Weingartner (1863-1942), Hanns Eisler (1898-1962), and Gottfried von Einem (1918-1996), as well as many lesser-known composers, such as Erich Liebermann-Roßwiese (1886-1942), Philippine Schick (1893-1970), Wilhelm Grosz (1894-1939), Ludvig Irgens-Jensen (1894-1969), and Dietrich Erdmann (1917-2009).² One name that is conspicuously missing from both the Bethge and the YinYang lists (see note 1) is that of Max Kowalski. That his name is missing is nonetheless easily explained. Only a single Bethge setting of his ever saw publication: a Tschan-Jo Su adaptation titled “Abend auf dem Fluss,” Op. 3, No. 1, from Sechs Gesänge of 1913, which, however, once having gone out of print, remained so until it was reprinted by Recital Publications in 2004.³ In addition, Max Kowalski set (but did not publish) Bethge adaptations in the following works, bringing the total to twenty-nine songs:

² Bethge, Hans Bethge, 154-173.
Table 5.1: Additional Bethge-settings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese Frühling (1934-1938)</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vier zusätzliche Lieder (1934-1938)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Ihre Locken” (1947)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sechs Lieder auf indische Gedichte (1951-1952)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabische Nächte (1953-1954)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Genesis

Thanks to Kowalski’s having entered an exact date on the cover page of the manuscript of each of the fourteen songs originally slated for the cycle, we can establish a compositional timeline with a high degree of accuracy. One should note, however, that these dates almost certainly signify dates of completion (see below, p.71, Table 5.2); supporting materials that would offer detailed information about the exact schedule and nature of the compositional process—such as sketchbooks and diaries—are lacking. In the end, we can date the fourteen songs that originally constituted the Japanischer Frühling from 1934 to 1938.

The composition of the Japanischer Frühling is thus framed by the inception of the Frankfurt branch of the Kulturbund on April 17, 1934, and Kowalski’s exile to London in March 1939. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the Kulturbund became Kowalski’s primary artistic forum, and played a key role in both his career and reception during his time under the Hitler regime. In fact, Kowalski was one of about seventy Jewish composers who, collectively, wrote and premiered around 150 works

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4 Kowalski omitted these four songs from the final version of the Japanischer Frühling; see below.
under the auspices of the *Kulturbund* between 1933 and 1941. Concert programs stored at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York City show that Kowalski was able to have his works presented by a few other Jewish organizations as well, such as the *Gesellschaft für Jüdische Volksbildung, Die Jüdischen Tonkünstler Frankfurts*, and the *Jüdische Winterhilfe*. There were, of course, also private house concerts, so that Kowalski’s works were likely to have been performed more frequently than the few surviving programs indicate. On the other hand, while many of his published works gained popularity among performers and audiences, the Nazis would soon forbid performances of songs by Jewish composers that featured texts by Aryan poets, or Aryan subject matter. As noted in Chapters Two and Three, these changes ushered in a period of creativity that focused upon setting non-German or non-Western themed lyrics. Moreover, surviving concert programs from 1935 onward attest to a decline in the programming of Kowalski’s pre-1934 compositions, the notable exceptions being songs that set texts originating in other languages, as, for instance, the *Goethe-, Verlaine- and Pierrot-Lieder*.

Kowalski set the fourteen poems that he selected from Bethge’s *Japanischer Frühling* in several phases. Ten of these settings make up the song collection of 1938, while the remaining four were omitted and assembled in a separate manuscript. The

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6 Ibid., 158.
8 As noted in Chapter Three, Kowalski composed relatively few works during the 1920s, with a complete hiatus from 1921 to 1927. During his years in Nazi Germany, however, he composed a total of 68 songs.
following timeline is based on the dates entered in the manuscripts, with Arabic numerals
denoting the eventual order.\textsuperscript{10}

\textbf{Table 5.2:} Compositional timeline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanischer Frühling (1938)</th>
<th>Four Additional Songs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{1934}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Gleiche Sehnsucht (Oct 14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Blütenschnee (Oct 21)</td>
<td>Der Blütenzweig (Oct 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Täuschung (Nov 11)</td>
<td>Vergebenes Bemühen (Nov 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Die Träume (Nov 15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{1935}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Frühlings Ende (Aug 14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{1936}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Schnee im Frühling (Nov 21)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{1937}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die Wartende (Mar 29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{1938}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall (Mar 14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Betrachtung (Mar 27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Noch einmal (Apr 17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kowalski, then, worked on these fourteen songs intermittently for roughly three-
and-a-half years, with two predominant periods of productivity in October-November
1934, when he began setting Bethge’s texts, and March-April 1938, when he completed
the collection. He set only one poem during each of the intervening years (1935-1937).
Interestingly, all the dates fall into the months August-November, and March-April,
though it is unclear why Kowalski composed them during these particular intervals.

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{The Four Additional Songs} are assembled as loose, unnumbered manuscripts in a file
folder; thus they have no order number and will appear in order of composition in the
critical report and edition (see Appendix II).
Finally, the last six of the fourteen songs were composed right around the seasonal moment they describe. Whether this occurred by coincidence, or because Kowalski had already planned to complete the collection towards April of 1938, is unknown.

Kowalski dedicated and presented his Japanischer Frühling to his brother and sister-in-law, Oskar and Trude, on April 17, 1938 (Easter Sunday), in Berlin. This, incidentally, is also the date on which he dedicated five of the Heine-Lieder to them.\(^\text{11}\)

We do not know if the four additional songs to the Japanischer Frühling were part of the same Easter present.\(^\text{12}\)

The composition of the Japanischer Frühling overlaps with several other works, namely the eight Jüdische Lieder (1935-1937), the fourteen Kinderlieder (dedicated to Kowalski’s nephew Michael Kowal in 1936), and the aforementioned Heine-Lieder (1937).\(^\text{13}\) Perhaps it also overlapped with the beginning of work on the Zwölf Lieder auf Gedichte von Li-tai-pe, which followed immediately in 1938-1939.

**Performances and Reception**

Several of the songs from the Japanischer Frühling received premieres in Germany in the 1930s in concerts presented by the Kulturbund. These premieres occurred prior to the final compilation, ordering, and naming of the Japanischer Frühling in 1938, and are likely to have included two of the four songs that Kowalski eventually chose to omit. It is unclear, however, whether the collection ever received a complete performance

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\(^\text{11}\) Holzmair, “Anhang: Max Kowalski—Werkkatalog,” in *Facetten I*, 249.

\(^\text{12}\) Michael Kowal, e-mail message to author, November 23, 2015.

\(^\text{13}\) Holzmair, “Werkkatalog,” 249, 259. Holzmair lists the Heine songs (of which there are actually seven [a group of six plus one individual setting]) in his catalogue, and notes that Kowalski omitted the sixth song “Werdet nur nicht ungeduldig,” and transposed Song 2, “Wie des Mondes Abbild zittert,” down a half step in the Easter 1938 manuscript.
in Germany before Kowalski left the country in March of 1939. Given the short timeframe between the completion of the collection and Kowalski’s arrest, and his professional struggles in London during the wartime years, a premiere of the work in its entirety—whether in Germany or in England—would probably not have occurred until after the war.\(^\text{14}\) As with other works of Kowalski’s, it is likely that the songs of the Japanischer Frühling were performed more frequently than is evident from the few surviving concert programs and references, particularly since the Kulturbund had a national network.\(^\text{15}\)

Wolfgang Holzmair cites a premiere of excerpts from the collection that occurred in Frankfurt on January 27, 1936, on a Kulturbund program titled “Kammermusik-Abend.”\(^\text{16}\) The performer was the soprano Emmy Lussheimer-Joseph of Mannheim, a music teacher who left for the United States in 1937.\(^\text{17}\) The Japanischer Frühling is listed on the program under a preliminary title: *Lieder-Zyklus nach japanischen Gedichten in der Übersetzung von Bethge*.\(^\text{18}\) Holzmair notes that, while the program listing lacks details, only the following songs were completed by then:

\(^\text{14}\) Holzmair, “Kulturbund,” 175-176.
\(^\text{15}\) Ibid., 162.
\(^\text{16}\) Ibid., 166, citing Judith Freise and Joachim Martini, Ausstellungsbegleitheft: Jüdische Musikerinnen und Musiker in Frankfurt 1933-1942. Musik als Form geistigen Widerstandes (Frankfurt: Lembeck, 1990), 236. An announcement in the Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt 14/4 (1936): 155, lists January 27, while a surviving program from the collection “Ernst Drucker” gives the date as January 25. See also, Martini, Musik als Form geistigen Widerstandes. Jüdische Musikerinnen und Musiker 1933-1945. Das Beispiel Frankfurt am Main, Vol. 2 (Frankfurt: Brandes & Apsel, 2010), 254.
\(^\text{17}\) Holzmair, “Kulturbund,” 167.
\(^\text{18}\) Also referred to as “Liederzyklus nach Texten von Hans Bethge (japanische Lyrik),” in Martini, Musik als Form geistigen Widerstandes, Vol. 2, Personenregister, 458.


**Table 5.3:** Songs completed prior to January 27, 1936

- Gleiche Sehnsucht
- Der Blütenzweig (later omitted)
- Blütenschnee
- Vergebener Bemühen (later omitted)
- Täuschung
- Die Träume
- Frühlings Ende

The following review by the Kulturbund’s critic Dr. Ehrenreich describes this premiere:

Max Kowalski had a new cycle premiered, in which he set Japanese texts by Bethge, and which complemented in a positive manner the image of his sensitive work, which turns away from everyday-noise. The tender, poetic creations are immersed in an equivalent, finely shaped, and individually felt sound world, whose melting impressionist color maintains a clear sense of construction through a nobly shaped vocal line. Akin to these slightly exotically tinted songs are the Hafiz miniatures that were also performed. The Rococo-Love Songs show Kowalski as a charming mocker, who can always be certain of his effect on a listener.

Since the 1938 manuscript from the collection of Michael Kowal transmits the cycle in medium keys and Lussheimer-Joseph was a soprano, there is the possibility that she sang the songs in transposition, although, practically speaking, all of the keys in the Frankfurt manuscript are viable in a standard high voice; they don’t, however, showcase the high range. That Lussheimer-Joseph’s performance predates the completion of the

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19 Holzmair, “Kulturbund,” 166.
manuscript offers the possibility that her performances, like others prior to the completion of the Japanischer Frühling, may have influenced Kowalski’s decisions as to order, tonal plan, and omissions (see further discussion in Chapter Six).

The following songs were presented in a recital featuring the singers Susanne Stein, Wilhelm Guttmann, and the pianist Leo Taubman, some time in early June 1937 (the exact dates are unknown) in Berlin:21

Table 5.4: Songs performed in early June 1937

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frühlings Ende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blütenschnee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleiche Sehnsucht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Träume</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Holzmair further speculates that a March 1938 program of premieres sung by Thea Stuckenschmidt may have included at least those settings that date from 1936 and later.22 Based on the above conjectures, these would have been:

Table 5.5: Songs dating from 1936 and later without known premiere

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schnee im Frühling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Wartende (later omitted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An den Schnee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitte an den Hund (later omitted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betrachtung</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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22 Holzmair, “Kulturbund,” 170, citing Stompor and Borchers, Jüdisches Musik- und Theaterleben, 125-126.
Information about the venue and the program of the concert has been lost. Thus the performance could have featured all or some of these songs, or, as Holzmair adds, a different work altogether, namely the Hafez settings of 1933.\textsuperscript{23} Theresa Lechthaler refutes this latter claim, citing the 1936 Frankfurt performance of the Hafez songs by Emmy Lussheimer-Joseph, and arguing that, therefore, they could not have been presented on an evening of “premieres” in 1938.\textsuperscript{24} There is, however, the possibility that there were local premieres, and we do not know the location of the 1938 concert featuring Thea Stuckenschmidt.

The final known performance of a song from \textit{Japanischer Frühling} prior to Kowalski’s departure for England occurs on an orchestra concert in Frankfurt on April 7, 1938. A program kept at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York City lists “Gleiche Sehnsucht” alongside three songs from other collections, though the details of the program are obscure.\textsuperscript{25} We know that Kowalski’s colleague, the conductor Richard Karp, orchestrated “Ein Lied an Gott”—this orchestration had been performed on previous \textit{Kulturbund} concerts—but whether he also orchestrated “Gleiche Sehnsucht” is unknown. Then again, Kowalski himself may have done the orchestration.\textsuperscript{26} Furthermore, conflicting statements and opinions about this concert abound.\textsuperscript{27} Susan Morehead refers to the program in the Leo Baeck collection in New York, while Martin Goldsmith writes

\textsuperscript{23} Holzmair, “Kultubund,” 170.  
\textsuperscript{24} Theresa Lechthaler, “Max Kowalski: Leben und Werk des Komponisten” (Term paper, Landesschulamt Frankfurt, 2015), 49-50; Martini, \textit{Musik als Form geistigen Widerstandes}, Vol. 2, 254; see also, note 18 above.  
\textsuperscript{26} Holzmair, “Kulturbund,” 171.  
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 170-171.
that the program included four of the Heine settings. Yet another unidentified source cited in Freise and Martini’s *Ausstellungsbegleitheft* speculates that the program may have been changed.

Aside from these references and a few scattered statements in the literature referring to the popularity of Kowalski’s Japanese and Chinese songs—particularly in the obituaries of 1956—we know relatively little about the performance history and reception of the *Japanischer Frühling*, especially after 1938. One review by the music critic Ludwig Misch from February 21, 1941, mentions two songs from *Japanischer Frühling*:

“Of the two songs to Japanese texts by Max Kowalski, “Schnee im Frühling” is ultimately a well-wrought piece of distinctive atmosphere, superior to the other one (‘Gleiche Sehnsucht’).” These performances are supposed to have taken place on February 8, 15, and 22, 1941, sung by Wilhelm Guttmann, accompanied by the pianist Rudolf Schwarz.

**Revisions**

Max Kowalski evidently reworked the *Japanischer Frühling* after Easter 1938.

Two manuscripts in the collection of Susan Morehead (one complete, one partial, neither can be dated precisely) display variants in both the vocal and piano parts, suggesting that

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31. Holzmair, “Kulturbund,” 175.
Kowalski either heard the whole collection (or at least the majority of the songs) performed, prompting him to make light revisions, or at the very least, that he was reworking the songs for a forthcoming performance. The upward transposition of four of the songs in the complete manuscript, for instance, points towards Kowalski’s adjusting the collection for performance by a specific singer (see Chapter Six and the Critical Report for a more detailed discussion).

That partial manuscripts of the Frankfurt/1938 and alternate versions of the Japanischer Frühling reach us from Germany and the United States (discovered by Susan Morehead and her voice teacher Deborah Taylor in music stores in Frankfurt and New York)—and that one manuscript corresponding to the revisions (and notated on English staff paper) is not in Kowalski’s hand—suggests that these songs, though unpublished, were disseminated and performed, even if to a limited extent. Among the newspaper clippings included with Kowalski’s bequest at the Leo Baeck Institute, there is one from the journal Aufbau, a publication of the German-Jewish Club in New York City that dates from September 15, 1950:

One of the best representatives of contemporary lyricism, Max Kowalski, who relocated from Frankfurt to London after Hitler’s takeover, and is currently staying in New York, has the great gratification that his songs and song cycles are once again frequently performed in European—especially German—concert halls and radio stations with great success. The “Pierrot Lunaire-Lieder,” which are among his most often-sung works, are back at the top. Also frequently performed are his Chinese and Japanese songs.32

Since Kowalski’s only other Japanese collection is the *Geisha-Lieder* of 1951 to texts by Klabund, the article must refer to the *Japanischer Frühling*. The reference was undoubtedly the outcome of an interview or correspondence with the newspaper that would have occurred during Kowalski’s visit with the Kowals in Kew Gardens, Queens (New York City) in 1950.³³ Another reference to the success of Kowalski’s Japanese and Chinese settings appears in his obituary in *Aufbau* from June 8, 1956—again they are mentioned explicitly alongside the *Pierrot-Lieder*;³⁴ and they are mentioned again in a clipping from an obituary at the Leo Baeck Institute that contains the handwritten citation “*Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung* Nr. II/17 Seite 14.”³⁵

Two sources seem to point to a performance on a Munich radio station in April 1949: a clipping from an unidentified German paper in the Leo Baeck collection reads: “In a Max–Kowalski-Hour by the Munich channel, new Chinese and Japanese songs were premiered”;³⁶ a letter to Max Kowalski from the violinist Max Rostal dated April 14, 1949, mentions a radio broadcast of “first performances” on an unspecified Munich

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station. They are most likely referring to the same broadcast, though we cannot be sure; and if Rostal’s letter (which does not refer to specific repertoire) were to sufficiently antedate the clipping, the newspaper reference might be to the Geisha Lieder. Although many of the songs from the Japanischer Frühling had already received premieres in the 1930s, it is nonetheless possible that Kowalski considered or advertised certain performances of unpublished works after the war as “premieres” to heighten their impact. Finally, there is the possibility that a performance of the reworked version of the cycle would have constituted a premiere.

A few other performances are worthy of note. An obituary by Robert Pirk in the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung mentions that Heidi Tanaka, a student of the renowned Hungarian soprano and teacher Maria Ivogün, performed the Geisha-Lieder in Berlin shortly before Kowalski’s death in 1956. We know that radio broadcasts and concerts were presented in Germany on the occasion of Kowalski’s 70th birthday in 1952, as well as in the years following his death, and that recordings by Hans Hotter (Pierrot-Lieder) and Otto von Rohr (Hölderlin and Meyer lieder) were among those transmitted. And though one cannot point to specific documentation, it is possible that the recordings of Paul Bender (Pierrot Lieder) and Willy Berling (Rilke Lieder) were also broadcast at

39 Michael Kowal, e-mail message to author, May 24, 2016.
some point. Of these works, the Hölderlin, Meyer, and Rilke settings (all composed in the
years 1949-1951, leading up to the anniversary) were unpublished. ⁴⁰

In 2012, Songs 1-5 and 7 from the alternate manuscript of the Japanischer Frühling were recorded commercially by the American soprano, voice teacher, and author Susan Morehead (under her stage name Suzi More) and the pianist Angela Manso,⁴¹ while 2014 saw the Zuk label issue Songs 5-10 of the Frankfurt/1938 manuscript with American mezzo-soprano Melinda Paulsen and pianist Lars Jönsson.⁴² Paulsen continues to include these songs on her recital programs, most recently at the Hochshule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst in Frankfurt on June 12, 2016.⁴³ Finally, the Alternate Version of the Japanischer Frühling was performed and recorded on October 15, 2015, at The City University of New York’s Graduate Center by tenor Nils Neubert (author) and pianist Miori Sugiyama.⁴⁴

In conclusion, one might suppose that, given the many references to and performances of the Japanischer Frühling, Kowalski felt strongly about the songs and


⁴² Max Kowalski: Songs, Melinda Paulsen and Lars Jönsson, Zuk Records, 335 (2014).

⁴³ “Blick in die Fremde—Dass der Ostwind . . . ,” concert program kindly provided by Melinda Paulsen.

⁴⁴ The performance is archived online at: http://videostreaming.gc.cuny.edu/videos/video/3821/in/channel/9/.
made repeated efforts to find interested performers, audiences, and publishers. The composition of *Japanischer Frühling* began about a year after the passing of the *Schriftleitergesetz* in 1933, only shortly after Kowalski achieved his final publication in 1934.\(^45\) Indeed, his efforts to pick up where he was forced to leave off would seem to be confirmed by his reworking and re-copying of the collection after settling in England. In sum, the *Japanischer Frühling* held an important position in his output and therefore—together with its intrinsic aesthetic value—deserves the attention that this dissertation is expending upon it.

\(^{45}\) See Chapter Two, 20-21.
CHAPTER SIX

QUESTIONS OF GENRE, NARRATIVE, MUSICAL ELEMENTS, PERFORMANCE PRACTICE, AND PROGRAMMING

While previous chapters generally focused on a central theme, this chapter discusses several topics that relate, in different ways, to matters of performance in Max Kowalski’s Japanischer Frühling. After exploring the notion of whether or not the Japanischer Frühling constitutes a song cycle, the discussion will consider narrative themes and musical elements in the individual songs, and, finally, questions of performance practice and programming, this last matter bringing us full circle to the question of cyclicity and its implications for performance.

The Japanischer Frühling as a Song Cycle

That reviews and concert programs during Kowalski’s Kulturbund years refer to the Japanischer Frühling as a Liederzyklus warrants some consideration. The criteria for what constitutes a song cycle are contested and have been the topic of some scholarly debate. Susan Youens offers the following definition in the revised edition of the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians:

A group of individually complete songs designed as a unit... Song cycles can be difficult to distinguish from song collections, which were frequently presented in a planned design... The coherence regarded as a necessary attribute of song cycles may derive from the text (a single poet; a story line; a central theme or topic such as love or nature; a unifying mood; poetic form or genre, as in sonnet or ballad cycle) or from musical procedures (tonal schemes; recurring motifs, passages or entire songs; formal structures); these features may appear singly or in combination. Because the elements that provide cohesiveness are so many and variable, however, exceptions abound...
Beethoven’s *An die ferne Geliebte* (1815-16, A. Jeitteles) is the first known cycle with *Liederkreis* in its title . . . (*Liederkranz, Liederzyklus, Liederreihe, Liederstrauss* and *Liederroman* were also used later, the last carrying the clearest implication of a plot or story.)

Similarly, Laura Tunbridge notes in *The Song Cycle*: “Devoting an entire book to the song cycle obviously implies that it is an established genre; but it is far from the monolith one might assume.”

She adds:

Because lieder, like the poems they set, were relatively small-scale, they tended to get published in collections. Gradually—taking their cue from poetic cycles . . . various terms were borrowed to mark such groupings: Reihe (series), Kranz (ring), *Zyklus* (cycle), or Kreis (circle).

In current scholarship, these terms are often used to distinguish genres of song collections either from one another or from the song “cycle” itself. For instance, *Liederreihe* (literally “song row”)—a term apparently coined by Schumann with his *Kerner-Lieder*, Op. 35—has become a label of choice for song collections that are somehow unified, but lack the narrative or musical cohesion conventionally assumed of a true cycle. Holzmair, for instance, argues that most of Kowalski’s “cycles,” including the *Japanischer Frühling*, are in fact *Liederreihen*. By the same token, as Tunbridge

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3 Literally: “wreath.”


suggests, these terms were and continue to be used interchangeably by composers and performers:

These terms might be decided before the poems or songs were composed, or they might be applied afterwards. But in large part they were granted with an eye to making a sellable identity rather than out of any abstract concern to establish a new genre . . . Although there are many song cycles that nicely illustrate the ‘musically composed’ model, there are many more that are arranged more loosely, by topic or simply by poet: the different types have continued side by side, and all can be referred to as cycles. To put this another way: . . . the idea of the song cycle has often been more important than whether the cycle itself is a coherent, cyclical structure.7

Kowalski’s Japanischer Frühling meets several of the criteria of the contemporary model of the song cycle, even if only to varying degrees; what contributes to the making of a cycle are topic, poetic forms, and musical elements. While both Bethge’s Japanischer Frühling and Kowalski’s selections from it span more than fifteen centuries, and are consequently by various poets and from different eras, Bethge is their sole adaptor, so one might argue that the song collection is also unified by poet. Bethge orders his anthology chronologically and by author, thus evincing no concern for grouping together particular themes or attempting to create an implicit narrative.8

Kowalski’s selection, however, can be read as a quasi-narrative, though one rendered through a non-linear succession of events. And though the narrative aspects are muted—there is no cohesive plot, no continuous timeline—they may well play an intriguing role in the cycle’s interpretation. Furthermore, a narrative reading of the Japanischer Frühling may bolster the notion that this is indeed a cycle. Youens uses the example of Robert Schumann to describe a related practice: “Notable in several of his cycles is Schumann’s

7 Tunbridge, The Song Cycle, 3, 5.
8 Hans Bethge, Japanischer Frühling (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1922; originally published in 1911).
way of reordering the poetic material, thus assuming (in part) the role of *Dichter.*" Since all the poems of the *Japanischer Frühling* are grouped under Bethge’s thematic umbrella of spring, the collection might even be considered what Ruth Bingham calls a “topical cycle.”

**Themes and Narrative**

Depending on the focus of one’s reading, Kowalski’s *Japanischer Frühling* can be seen to have a number of layered and overlapping sections: (1) Song 1 is a short monologue that laments the end of spring; (2) Songs 2-6 fondly describe the intermingling of winter and spring; and (3) the final four songs (Nos. 7-10) feature concise love monologues by different male and female speakers (as do all four of the songs Kowalski eventually omitted). At the same time, human romance is also mirrored among the birds, namely the nightingale in Song 1, and the seagull in Song 7. In many ways, then, the natural tension between the two seasons analogizes that between the different pairs of lovers, while the generally blurred progression of events corresponds to the overlapping of winter and spring. Song 1 and Songs 8 and 9 are essentially past-oriented, whereas Songs 2-7 are future-oriented. Finally, Song 10 is unique in that it looks both ways: back at life and the beloved, as well as ahead to the unknown, “dark land of eternity.”

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9 Youens, “Song Cycle,” 718.
Song 1 is the only song that laments the end of spring, as all other songs appear to occur during spring.\footnote{Similarly, Song 1, “Im wunderschönen Monat Mai,” in Schumann’s song cycle \textit{Dichterliebe}, Op. 48, is in the past tense.} As noted in Chapter Four, however, Bethge was evidently unaware that in Japan, plum blossoms, which in “Frühlings Ende” are supposed to signal the end of spring, bloom in late winter and early spring, and thus herald the beginning of the season. This “cultural-arboreal” error is surprising, since in Germany, plum blossoms do not bloom at the end of spring either, but in the middle of the season. Thus in the Japanese poem, and in the translation by Karl Florenz on which Bethge based his adaptation, the nightingale is merely lamenting the falling of the blossoms and not the end of spring, as Bethge has it. Nevertheless, “Frühlings Ende” is a poem of farewell to spring in both Bethge’s and Kowalski’s minds, and one might therefore argue that it is the last event in Kowalski’s apparent chronology. Since Song 10 is also about farewell (to life and the beloved), these two songs frame the other eight with a symbolism that plays an important role in traditional Japanese philosophy: the blossoms of spring represent the ephemeral nature of life itself.\footnote{Khoon Choy Lee, \textit{Japan—Between Myth and Reality} (Hackensack, NJ: World Scientific Publishing, 1995), 142.}

Songs 2-5 anticipate, invite, and welcome spring, while Song 6 is the only song in the collection that clearly occurs at the height of the season, signified by the fleeting beauty of the cherry blossoms. In fact, the annual Japanese tradition of \textit{hanami} (flower viewing), which nowadays is almost exclusively associated with cherry blossoms \textit{(sakura)}, embraces a concept known as \textit{mono no aware} (“the pathos of things”), which involves both wistfulness and melancholy over impermanence, as well as the role
impermanence plays within our existence.\textsuperscript{13} This idea is pervasive in the \textit{Japanischer Frühling}, and emblematic of the melancholy we encounter in its two outermost songs. The term itself was coined by Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801),\textsuperscript{14} whose poem “Die Seele Japans” opens Bethge’s collection as a motto: “With what might I compare the soul of Japan most tellingly? With the secret scent of the cherry blossom, when the golden morning sun rises victoriously from the dawn.”\textsuperscript{15}

After Song 1 establishes the end of spring with the nightingale’s lament, Song 2 follows with an invitation for the migrant nightingale to join us, now that spring has arrived. Winter and spring are juxtaposed throughout Bethge’s anthology by presenting snow and blossoms as mutually evocative. Songs 3 and 4, for instance, both depict snow as suggestive of a longing and excitement for the arrival of spring by mimicking white blossoms, with Song 4 referring specifically to willow catkin and plum blossoms.

Before cherry blossoms became the object of \textit{hanami} during the Heian Period (794-1185), plum blossoms (which also appear in Song 1) were widely admired, particularly during the Nara period (710-794), which began shortly after the reign of Emperor Monmu, the author of the poem of Song 4.\textsuperscript{16} The more ancient tradition of viewing plum blossoms at the beginning of spring continues in Japan today, and is known

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Douglas Slaymaker, \textit{The Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction} (New York: Routledge, 2004), 122.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Bethge, \textit{Japanischer Frühling}, 3: “Womit vergleich ich Japans Seele wohl am treffendsten? Mit dem geheimen Duft der Kirschenblüte, wenn die goldne Sonne des Morgens sieghaft aus der Dämmerung steigt.”
\end{itemize}
as *umemi*. While no tree is named in Song 3, it is likely that the poet, Tsurayuki, a Heian-period poet, is indeed referring to the buds of the plum tree amidst the falling snow.

Songs 5 and 6 (dating from the Heian period and the Nara period, respectively) both feature cherry blossoms. The former likens the falling cherry blossoms to snow, while the latter speaks of the singular “snowy beauty” of the blossoming cherry tree during spring. Songs 3-6 therefore form a non-chronological group, as the blooming periods of these trees partially overlap.

Song 7 begins the group of love monologues, which includes the anticipation of an evening rendezvous with the beloved in Song 7, recollections of a dream of the beloved in Song 8, and a vision of the beloved’s beauty in Song 9, these followed by a final farewell to the beloved in Song 10. Songs 8 and 9 form an abstract dyad within this progression, as they speak of dreams, memories, deception, and visions.

Thus different angles of interpretation reveal different relationships across the collection, relationships that hold the work together both locally and in its entirety, even in the absence of an obvious cyclical construct such as a “plot.” Ultimately, it may be through the non-linear and anachronistic blending of poetry and events—and therefore through the collage of different periods, traditions, and philosophies involving specific aspects of spring (such as the blossoms)—that Kowalski creates a unique, effective, and seemingly integrated trajectory through the affects of Japanese spring. In all, the *Japanischer Frühling* might qualify as a “song cycle” in the abstract sense with which Kowalski imbues it.

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**Tonal Planning**

The texts Kowalski selected from Bethge’s collection are all between four and eight lines long (a few poems in the collection contain as many as eighteen lines), and Kowalski adheres closely to Bethge’s line breaks and punctuation, which affect the musical and tonal architecture of the individual songs. The tonal plans for the 1938 Frankfurt and alternate versions unfold as follows:

**Table 6.1:** Two tonal plans of the *Japanischer Frühling*

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frankfurt/1938</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>A♭</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>A♭</td>
<td>E♭</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alternate</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>A♭</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>g</td>
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</table>

While Kowalski keeps the same keys for six of the ten songs in the Alternate Version (Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9), four songs have been transposed: Songs 3 and 8 are transposed up a whole step, Songs 2 and 7 up a major third, possibly to accommodate the request of a particular singer, who was in all likelihood a soprano. That Kowalski carried out these two pairs of transpositions around the second “pillar” of retained keys (Songs 4-6), adds an intriguing (if most likely coincidental) element of organization to the changed trajectory. While both tonal plans are appealing in their own way, the 1938 plan provides a better overall balance of vocal tessitura in that the singer remains in a similar range throughout, rather than suddenly jumping to a higher (transposition-induced) tessitura from one song to the next.
Items of Note in Individual Songs

Although unifying musical elements are not pervasive in the *Japanischer Frühling*, they are nonetheless present, if subtly. Most songs in the cycle feature one notable departure from and return to the tonic; these coincide either with a shift in the narrative or a line break in the poem. These departures include dominant, mediant, and submediant relationships, or simply modal mixture. Individual songs also feature (and sometimes share) specific textures or musical events in the piano part that clearly represent instances of word painting.

The opening song, “Frühlings Ende,” hovers around the tonic throughout, but Kowalski achieves a formal division by emulating two different musical styles. The austere outer sections, corresponding to lines 1, 2, and 5 of the poem (mm. 1-13 and 18-25), feature a recurring rolled, or broken tonic chord in the right hand of the piano that might represent a strummed or plucked string instrument (see Example 5.2). While one cannot prove Kowalski actually intended this effect, or whether he had specific knowledge of traditional Japanese instruments, instruments that might play such a figure include the *biwa, koto, kugo,* and *yamatogoto.*

Kowalski makes use of the lowered seventh scale degree at the second tonic arrival in measure 5, and uses progressions of fourths, fifths, and parallel sixths, which create a texture and modal environment reminiscent of organum, or the harmonic parallelism known as “planing.” Bethge himself refers to Japanese lyricism as being impressionist in character,\(^\text{18}\) so it is possible that Kowalski appropriated these devices from early 20\(^{th}\)-century French music, among other styles, to create a sense of foreignness and antiquity. The piano part also features a post-cadential motif in the right hand at measures 12 and 13, repeated at measures 20-22 and 24, that is likely to represent a nightingale call (Example 5.2).


Just as the nightingale in the poem laments the end of spring, its musical motif is also backwards looking in that it appears directly after the first major cadence of the song. The middle section corresponds with lines 3 and 4 of the poem, and features a richer and more chromatic texture than the outer sections (retaining the “planing” intervals) to express the nostalgia of the poet hearing the song of the lonely nightingale.

\(^{18}\) Bethge, *Japanischer Frühling*, 111.
At measure 22, the nightingale call is developed in a more chromatic context on the word “Wundern”—again expressing the nightingale’s (and now perhaps also the poet’s) mournful longing for spring.

Furthermore, measure 22 is the only measure in 3/2 in this song (otherwise 4/4 throughout in the Frankfurt/1938 version, interspersed with measures of 2/4 in the Alternate Version); this change of meter rhythmically augments the word “Wundern” and, at the same time, the return of the nightingale call.
The pattern and contour (though not the exact rhythm and intervallic content) of the nightingale call are echoed immediately in the right hand of the piano in Song 2, “Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall.”


The call, which here becomes an accompanimental figure used throughout the song, appears in the major mode, appropriate to the more positive mood of the poem, as opposed to the minor mode for the melancholy text of Song 1. Like Song 1, Song 2 prolongs the tonic throughout, here filling in the spaces in the lower fifth of the octave (F-A-C) diatonically, and the upper fourth of the octave (C-F) chromatically. This creates a texture that is at once harmonically static and contrapuntally active, which heightens the impact of the chromatic slippage at the cadence in mm. 16-20 on the words “in unsre Flur—wir warten schon so lang.”
Example 6.6: Kowalski, “Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall,” mm. 16-20.

Song 3, “Schnee im Frühling,” describes the wonder and confusion of seeing blossoms on the branches, even though spring has not yet created them, and the branches are only bearing buds. This song displays a higher degree of chromaticism than other songs in the cycle, and avoids firmly establishing its nonetheless apparent tonic by means of frequent arrivals on the prolonged dominant. Even the final cadence in the vocal line is imperfect, ending on scale degree 5, as does the final cadence in the piano postlude. The poet’s wonder at the blossoms is also expressed by means of dynamics: sudden accents on weak beats or pickups in the piano part (which also create a perceived metric unevenness), as well as several hairpin crescendos and decrescendos, and sudden shifts to loud or soft contribute to the sense of uncertainty and surprise.

Song 4, “An den Schnee,” features a movement from the tonic to the submediant (vi) at measures 12-19, corresponding to the third and fourth lines of the poem. In fact, Kowalski hints at the relationship between F and D already in measure 1, where a high D6 appears in the right hand of the piano as the added 6th over a tonic triad in the left hand. Similarly, Kowalski hints at D minor in measure 4 by briefly arriving at its dominant A major.
Example 6.7: Kowalski, “An den Schnee,” mm. 1-5.

As seen above, the piano provides a motoric eighth-note figure in the right hand (perhaps evocative of snowflakes twirling in the breeze) above widely spaced repeated tonic triads in the left hand that emphasize the second beat. The middle section in D minor (mm. 12-19) features text painting, as the vocal line rises on the words “Das ganze Firmament ist schimmernd hell,” reaches a climax on a shift to D major on the word “hell,” and descends again on the words “Vom Wind getrieben weht der Schnee am Flusse.” The “motor” comes to an abrupt halt at measures 24-26 on the words “möcht ich glauben.” Not only does the accompaniment halt, but it abandons the grounding of the left hand, leaving only two high, suspended triads under the vocal line—namely F♯ minor and F augmented—which despite their physical proximity to the tonic are tonally quite remote. This serves to highlight the word “glauben” and the wish fulness and doubt it implies here. On three words in the last line of the poem (italicized below), pianistic flourishes replace the accompanimental texture at measures 27, 29, and 31: “sie blühten schon vom Frühling ganz und gar” (mm. 26-33). This is another example of Kowalski’s style of word painting, as the florid musical event in the piano clearly represents the apparent bloom of the trees.
The brief postlude again features the motoric figure with D6 over F major, though the penultimate measure contains a D♭5 (lowered 6th scale degree), inviting the notion that the ubiquitous D served as its upper appoggiatura all along, finally yielding to the pull of the fifth scale degree.

Example 6.8: Kowalski, “An den Schnee,” mm. 34-38.

The two outer sections of Song 5, “Blütenschnee” (mm. 1-17, and the postlude at mm. 28-35), feature a blending of the Lydian and Ionian modes. The right hand of the piano contains a melodic motif (♯4-5-6) throughout these outer sections, and the raised fourth scale degree also appears harmonically in a D half-diminished chord.

Example 6.9: Kowalski “Blütenschnee,” mm. 1-6.

The middle section corresponds to lines 3, 4, and 5 of the poem (mm. 17-28), and features a movement to the mediant (III) at the outburst “O welch ein Schnee” (m. 19).
The return to the tonic appears during the second part of the middle section (starting at m. 24, corresponding with line 5 of the poem), and the perfect authentic cadence before the postlude occurs on the last syllable of the word “cherry blossoms” at measure 31, to express the poet’s realization that he mistook the gently dropping blossoms for snow.

Song 6, “Betrachtung,” travels through two cycles of fifths with brief stations on the mediant (III, mm. 8 and 12), and the submediant (VI, m. 13). We have already seen Kowalski’s play on the tonics D and F in Song 4, and again he uses an F-major triad with an added sixth (m. 8). The blurring of seasonal divisions, and the symbolism of blossoms and snow in Song 4 are also prominent in the poem of Song 6. Kowalski emphasizes this connection with a textural reference. As in Song 4, the piano creates continuous eighth-note activity in the right hand, far from the left hand.


Whereas in Song 4, this texture accompanied the image of snowflakes evoking white plum blossoms, in Song 6 it paints the “snowy beauty” of the cherry tree on top of the mountains. While one cannot determine whether this was intentional, the fact that plum and cherry blossoms actually look quite similar is reflected in Kowalski’s use of these similar textures, as well as the same key and time signatures.
Song 7, “Gleiche Sehnsucht,” opens with a somewhat secretive and flirtatious motif in the piano that represents the lover stealing out at night to meet his girlfriend at the bank of the river Sao. This opening statement of the motive contains the same D half-diminished chord in an A♭ major context that we saw in Song 5 (see Example 5.9).

Example 6.11: Kowalski, “Gleiche Sehnsucht,” mm. 1-5.

The song also features oscillation between tonic major and minor (I-i-I). The shift from major to minor occurs as the poet wonders about the plaintive sound in the dark, which turns out to be the call of the seagull, represented by a repeated figure in the right hand of the piano that appears in measures 12, 14, 17-20, and 22, and that rises in pitch and urgency starting at measure 17.

Song 9, “Die Träume,” features a movement from tonic to the submediant (VI). This shift corresponds to the second line of the poem, where Lady Komachi thinks back to when she first saw her lover in her dreams. This song, like Songs 4 and 6, displays continuous eighth-note motion in the piano, though this time in both hands.


Measures 5-18 feature a chromatic descent through the whole octave from Eb3 to Eb2, outlined by the bass notes of the piano. The accompanimental texture unravels at measure 17, just before the arrival on the tonic, at the final words of the poem: “das ich nicht missen möchte.”

Song 9, “Täuschung,” sets the last poem in Bethe’s collection. Taken together, the right and left hand in the piano provide another example of continuous eight-note movement:

The beginning of the song hovers around its dominant, featuring E♭ in the harmony and E♭ in the melody, thus further obscuring the sense of the tonic F, just as the poet is trying to make sense of what he is seeing. Indeed, Kowalski frequently uses harmony as a device to express wonder, doubt, and realization. His use of the dominant to evoke uncertainty is already familiar from Song 3, and both poems involve the mistaking of objects for blossoms: in Song 3 it is the snowflakes, in Song 9 the beloved’s beauty. The cadence to the tonic coincides with the end of the second line of the poem, which concludes the first section of the song. The dominant is used again at the beginning of the second section (mm. 11-21, lines 3 and 4 of the poem) accompanying the poet’s realization that he has been mistaken, and resolves to the tonic as he comes to the conclusion: “Es war das Glänzen, das Liebesglänzen deiner Schönheit.” The words “Glänzen” and “Liebesglänzen” are painted with washes of repeated cascades in the right hand of the piano (mm. 14-17, 19), and the climactic high F4 in the vocal part, which is also the highest sung pitch in the 1938 Frankfurt version, falls on “Liebesglänzen.”

The tenth and final song, “Noch einmal,” has a recurring melodic motif in the upper voice of the piano’s right hand that in the Frankfurt version appears three times each at both the beginning and the conclusion of the song, and twice in the middle (mm. 15 and 16).
Example 6.15: Kowalski, “Noch einmal,” mm. 1-5.

Each set of repetitions involves the addition of voices and/or the alteration of the bass line. The conclusion of the poem features a plagal cadence (enriched through modal mixture) on the word “eternity” (“Ewigkeit”) at measures 28-30.

In the Alternate Version, there are only two fragmented final statements of the motif at the conclusion of the song. They are, however, each preceded by an added measure of a single, accented, lowered second scale degree: a pang of heartache, perhaps, over having to leave this world and the beloved forever.

Example 6.16: Kowalski, “Noch einmal” (Alternate Version), mm. 32-37.

Performance Practice

Falling as it does within the tradition of the late Romantic lied, Kowalski’s Japanischer Frühling does not require vocal or pianistic abilities beyond what that
tradition customarily demands. The notations and markings found in his songs are all common, and the extant historical recordings, some by noted singers with important recital careers, all display readings that align with the contemporaneous performance practice of lieder singing in Kowalski’s day.

Based on both his extensive experience as a recitalist and his thorough research into Kowalski’s life and works, Wolfgang Holzmair asserts: “It goes without saying that much of what Kowalski requires of lieder singers is general in nature and applies to all types of lieder singing.” Among such prerequisites, he lists flawless legato, a broad palette of vocal colors, harmonic sensitivity, animated text delivery, phrasing, perfect vocal onset, a well-developed upper middle range free of registration and intonation problems, and skillful parlando singing. Regarding a vocal aesthetic in performing Kowalski’s songs, Holzmair cites one potentially telling description in an obituary by Walther Gruner in the Londoner Post from July 1956, in which Gruner recalls Kowalski interpreting his own songs: “As I gratefully write these lines, I see him at the piano, and hear once more how a real song composer performs his own creation. There was no vocally vulgar singer’s conceit, there was only expression, inspired emotion.”

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19 Holzmair, “Ein Kowalski Liederabend aus Sicht des Interpreten,” in Facetten I, 244: “Vieles von dem, was Kowalski Liedsängern und –sängerinnen abverlangt, ist selbstredend genereller Nature und gilt für jede Art des Liedgesanges.”
20 Ibid.
Kowalski spent the years from 1934 to 1938 “workshopping” the *Japanischer Frühling* at *Kulturbund* concerts before assembling ten of the fourteen songs that he originally set for the 1938 collection. These premieres and performances, involving several singers of varying voice types, undoubtedly influenced Kowalski’s decisions pertaining to the order of the songs, the tonal plan, and which songs to omit. The keys of the Frankfurt/1938 version all fall in the medium-high range, which is easily accessible to most singers but does not showcase the high range of the voice.

Even though Kowalski achieves a viable tonal plan in the sometimes higher-pitched Alternate Version, the shifts in tessitura brought about by the transpositions are somewhat jarring, and seem out of context, so much so, in fact, that, when I performed the Alternate Version of the collection at The City University of New York’s Graduate Center in 2015, I decided to restore the keys of the Frankfurt/1938 version for Songs 2, 3, 7, and 8 while retaining the Alternate Version’s other musical variants. Another possible option, in my estimation, would have been to consistently transpose the whole collection for higher voice, retaining the relationships of Kowalski’s Frankfurt/1938 trajectory. Either of these approaches strikes me as preferable to performing the work with the Alternate Version’s key-scheme. Furthermore, the tonal plan in the complete manuscript of the Alternate Version differs from that in its parallel partial manuscript, the keys of which are uniformly a whole step higher than those in the Frankfurt/1938 version, thus retaining the latter’s trajectory in transposition.  

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22 The partial manuscript (Songs 1-5 and 7) of the Alternate Version (see Critical Report)—which is not in Kowalski’s hand—transposes all songs up a whole step from the Frankfurt/1938 keys. Whether or not the unknown copyist used yet another (currently unaccounted for) manuscript, or, perhaps, received instructions from Kowalski to
I also decided to omit the opening tonic chord in Song 6 from the alternate reading, which may have been intended to aid the singer for whom the transpositions were carried out in traversing a tritone relationship from the key of A♭ major of Song 5 to D minor of Song 6. Kowalski makes this transition in the Frankfurt 1938 version by having the voice sing the pickup on an unaccompanied A. The “auxiliary” chord in the Alternate Version—at least to my ear—is superfluous for this transition, making it less refined, and less interesting than that of the Frankfurt/1938 version.

**Programming Kowalski’s Songs and the *Japanischer Frühling***

Although the *Japanischer Frühling* could certainly be programmed as part of a recital devoted exclusively to the music of Max Kowalski, it would also fit comfortably within a Bethge-themed program—featuring works by Kowalski and other composers who set the poet—as it would within an exploration of settings of translations of non-Western poems more broadly, as in a recent performance by Melinda Paulsen.\(^{23}\)

Along with Paulsen, Wolfgang Holzmair is among the few artists in recent years to have undertaken the project of programming an entire recital of Kowalski’s songs. His recital was presented on the occasion of the Max Kowalski Symposium held at the Hochschule für Musik und Theater in Munich in November 2011, and was subsequently recorded for Bridge Records and released in 2015. He summarizes his programming approach as follows:

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The rules and criteria which have guided me over the years in setting up programs would also hold good in this case: variety in themes and moods; in keys; in choice of poets; lyrical Lieder beside dramatic or parlando Lieder, and so forth. In general, to work out the differences and gather them into a kind of logical whole which the audience need not “understand” but only apprehend. If upon a declamatory Lied, a legato Lied suddenly follows, if voice and piano present the poems colorfully enough to avoid monotony, this will be felt by the audience.  

In a song cycle (or any ordered group of songs), these “problems” are, to a large extent, already solved by the composer. Holzmair does raise one practical point of particular interest with respect to programming Kowalski’s works: "Kowalski loved keys with flat key signatures, especially D♭ major and A♭ major . . . [A] singer has to inconspicuously countersteer by means of varied vocal color, animated text delivery, and phrasing.”

This observation holds true for both versions of the Japanischer Frühling, as well as for the four omitted songs. Most songs have flat key signatures (see Table 6.1 above), though Kowalski did avoid using the same tonic for adjacent songs (except for Songs 8 and 9 in the alternate version, which are in F major and F minor, respectively), or emphasizing one particular key in the ten-song collection. Moreover, two of the four omitted songs, “Der Blütenzweig” and “Vergebenes Bemühen,” are in A♭ major. This raises the question of whether Kowalski left them out in order not to overuse this key (Songs 5 and 7 of the Frankfurt/1938 version are also in A♭ major), or whether there were other musical reasons for their omission. To be sure, when programming multiple

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works of Kowalski’s in succession, a recitalist ought to take recurring keys into account, and even position the works in a manner that results in the most varied succession.

Finally—and this brings us back to Holzmair’s argument of the Japanischer Frühling being a Liederreihe—one could simply perform excerpts, as was done in Kowalski’s time with his approval, and has been done on both the commercial recordings of the Japanischer Frühling by Melinda Paulsen and Susan Morehead. Holzmair argues the following, in general:

The question of whether we are talking of a song cycle, row, or circle, or of individual songs may be of an academic nature, but it plays an important role in programming, and in answering the following question: do we wish to present the opus as a whole, or just in a selection (which is plainly not advisable with the song cycle)?

In all, the Japanischer Frühling can, owing to its musical, thematic, and formal attributes, contribute to and yield a variety of programming approaches. And I would hope that this dissertation, with its editions of both versions of the work, will inspire performers to study and perform this significant and still virtually unknown work by an excellent song composer. I would end by drawing once more upon Wolfgang Holzmair: “. . . one thing can never hurt: to open up the conventional repertoire and extend it. In such a repertoire someone like Max Kowalski should have a firm place.”

28 Holzmair, “A Concert of Lieder by Max Kowalski from the Perspective of the Interpreter,” 8.
CRITICAL REPORT

Introduction

The *Japanischer Frühling* reaches us in two versions: (1) a version that was completed and copied at Frankfurt—though its dedication was inscribed in Berlin—by 17 April 1938 at the latest, and (2) what is likely a later version, probably from Kowalski’s London years.¹ Further, each version survives in two manuscripts: one that transmits the complete ten-song collection, and one that has only part of the collection, with the manuscripts that contain the fragmentary versions not agreeing in terms of the number of songs that they transmit. This edition presents both versions in their entirety. Finally, there is a fifth manuscript that contains an additional four songs that Kowalski ultimately decided not to include in the collection; these are included in Appendix II.

The Sources of Version I: Frankfurt/1938

**Frankfurt/1**

This manuscript, now in the private collection of Michael Kowal, Kew Gardens and Manhattan, New York, transmits the whole ten-song cycle and bears a dedication to Oskar and Trude Kowalski (later Kowal) dated Easter Sunday (April 17), 1938, in Berlin (thus eleven months before Kowalski left for England). The dedication reads: “To my dear Oskar and his (my) dear Trude. Berlin, Easter 1938. Max.”² It stands as the earliest

¹ This is supported by the fact that the manuscript for this later version did not find its way to the Kowals, but reached Susan Morehead through the widower of Kowalski’s daughter Vera, who received materials from Kowalski’s widow, Gertrud Remak.  
² “Meinem lieben Oskar und seiner (meiner) lieben Trude. Berlin, Ostern 1938. Max.” Note, although the date 17 April does not appear in the dedication, that is the day on which Easter Sunday fell in 1938, and also the composition date Kowalski entered for Song 10, “Noch einmal,” the cover sheet of which reads: “17.IV.38/(Ostern).”
known manuscript—and the only one to be precisely dated—of the complete cycle. The manuscript consists of 34 pages, measures 26.2cm x 33.2cm, is written in black ink, with some markings in pencil, and contains occasional corrections over white out; the cover sheet of the cycle as a whole, and the cover sheets of Songs 1, 7, 8 and 9 bear the following mark: >>Sünova<< No. 4 – 12 zeilig. The cover sheets of Songs 2-6 and 10 bear the mark: No. 4/ B. Firnberg Nachf. R Hinrichs/ Frankfurt/Main, Schillerstr. 20. The scores themselves do not bear a mark.

Frankfurt/2

This manuscript, consisting of 10 pages and written on paper similar to that of Frankfurt/1, contains only Songs 2-4, though it is possible that it constitutes part of what was once a complete set. Frankfurt/2 was discovered by Susan Morehead of Cottonwood, Arizona, who found it in a used-music bin at Musikalien Petroll in Frankfurt in 1995. Its readings correspond closely to those in Frankfurt/1; perhaps the most interesting difference between the two manuscripts is that Frankfurt/2 occasionally shortens the final note of a phrase (e.g., it changes a quarter note into an eighth note followed by an eighth rest). Furthermore, the cover page of Song 4, “An den Schnee,” bears the dedication “Für Nora!”

The Sources of Version II: Alternate Version

A/1

Manuscript A/1 is a Kowalski autograph of the complete cycle now in the private

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3 Though “Nora” remains unidentified, Susan Morehead, “Max Kowalski: His Music and Life,” unpublished, 8, 16, surmises that she was a singer, perhaps an alto, though Song 4, in Frankfurt/2 features the same medium-voice key of Frankfurt/1, which would be appropriate for a variety of voice types.
collection of Susan Morehead. This manuscript very likely postdates Frankfurt/1, possibly dating from the period of the composer’s exile in London, though there is no diplomatic evidence in the manuscript itself to support such a provenance (but see below). The manuscript transmits the cycle with a number of alternate readings—including the transposition of four songs (Nos. 2, 3, 7, and 8), alteration of note values and meter, added measures, and adjusted textures in the piano part—many of which appear in a partial manuscript (also undated) that is notated on English staff paper (A/2, discussed below). Manuscript A/1 consists of 32 pages, measures 24.13cm x 30.48cm, and is notated in black ink, with occasional markings in pencil or colored pen, at times over white out. Some of these are dynamic indications, while others are performance instructions that may have grown out of a coaching session with a singer. Thus one instruction, found at the top of page 16, reads “forte mit dem Kopf,” and was possibly intended to caution a singer not to over-sing at the dramatic shift at measure 20 in Song 5, “Blütenschnee.” Likewise there is the word “Dunkel” above the vocal part at measure 14 of Song 9, “Die Träume” (p. 28), again possibly an instruction pertaining to vocal color for the singer. In all, I would argue that manuscript A/1 represents Kowalski’s latest (final known) thoughts about the cycle as a whole, though at least the transpositions may have been forced upon him by the practicalities of performance.

A/2

This manuscript, measuring 26.67cm x 35.56cm and containing 21 pages, includes Songs 1-5 and 7, and was acquired by Deborah Taylor (Susan Morehead’s voice teacher) at the Joseph Patelson Music House in New York in 1975. The scores were apparently sold individually at 2 cents per song, and, as with Frankfurt/2, likely constitute
part of what was once a complete set. The manuscript paper bears the following markings: “A.L. No. 6/ Printed in England.” Pages 4-6 and 18-21, however, are notated on staff paper that includes pre-printed braces for the piano part, and are marked as follows: “A.L. No. 28/ Printed in England.” Thus manuscript A/2 is unarguably of English provenance and must surely date from Kowalski’s London period.

A/2 is notable for not being in Kowalski’s hand (we do not know who the copyist was), except for a few dynamic and expression markings that must have been added by Kowalski after copying. Its readings resemble predominantly those in A/1, though it also displays some markings that are missing in the latter source but are present in both Frankfurt/1 and Frankfurt/2. The one notable exception is Song 5, “Blütenschnee,” which was without a doubt copied from a manuscript that contained the readings of Frankfurt/1938. Furthermore, all songs in A/2 have been transposed up a whole step from the keys in Frankfurt/1. Because this source is predominantly not in Kowalski’s own hand, I have, in editing A/1 as the principal source, not adopted any of its unique variants, but only those that are also supported by Frankfurt/1 and/or Frankfurt/2. I have accounted for all other variants in A/2 in the list of variants (see below).

**Main Differences between the Two Versions**

Although there are a number of differences between the versions transmitted in the manuscripts Frankfurt/1 and A/1, they are—with the exception of the transpositions mentioned above—minor and may be thought of as light revisions. For instance, whereas Frankfurt/1 transmits Song 1, “Frühlings Ende,” with the time signature 4/4 throughout (except at measure 22, which is in 3/2 in both versions), A/1 has the time signature 2/4 in

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4 Morehead, e-mail message to author, February 1, 2015.
measures 1, 4, 11 (likewise in A/2). In addition, the manuscripts of version A contain subtle adjustments to the piano part and/or the vocal line in a few other songs, and in song 10, “Noch einmal” (preserved in A/1 but not A/2), Kowalski adds new material to the piano postlude. Since the edition presents both versions in their entirety, there is no list of variants that collates the versions against one another; readers may compare them directly.

The Source for the Four Additional Songs

Frankfurt/additional

Now housed in the private collection of Michael Kowal, this 14-page manuscript, measuring 33.2cm x 26.2cm, bears the title 4 Additional Songs for Japanischer Frühling. These are the four songs that Kowalski chose to omit from the collection in 1938. The score is notated in black ink, with a few markings in pencil, and on the same paper as Frankfurt/1 and Frankfurt/2, which suggests that it may have originated in Frankfurt and that it reached the Kowals before their emigration to the United States. The four songs are listed under different names in different catalogues. The unbound

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5 This title appears only on the file jacket containing the manuscript. Since it appears in English, it could have been entered by Kowalski himself in London, or during his visit with the Kowals in New York in 1950. Moreover, it is possible that the title was entered by Oscar Kowal once he had moved to Kew Gardens, New York, though we do not know when the manuscript came into his possession, if not in 1938, along with Frankfurt/1. In any case, it appears to be a filing designation rather than an official title.

manuscript does not contain numbers for the songs, so they are presented in chronological order of the composition dates entered by Kowalski on the cover sheet of each song (see Table 4.2 on page 54).

**Editorial Method**

As noted above, the *Japanischer Frühling* reaches us in two basic traditions that display minor differences; the Frankfurt/1938 version (preserved in Frankfurt/1) and an “alternate” version (preserved in A/1). Both traditions share the same number and order of songs. In addition, the two traditions agree with respect to the dates of nine of the ten songs. These differ only for No. 8, “Die Träume,” for which Frankfurt/1 gives November 15, 1934, while A/1 offers November 21, 1934.

In editing the two versions, I have followed Frankfurt/1 and A/1 closely, emending them only when there was (in my judgment) an outright error (scribal) or when manuscripts Frankfurt/2 or A/2 offered such things as dynamic indications or slurs that were (inadvertently?) missing from Frankfurt/1 and A/1, respectively. Material added with the support of those sources appears in parentheses. Emendations that lack such support appear in square brackets. Emended scribal errors resulting in missing or superfluous dots, rest, stems, or flags that appear correctly in other sources are accounted for in the critical report, but do not appear in parentheses in the edition. Variants in the poetic text and punctuation (that is, differences from Bethge’s original) are retained unless patently incorrect. As with scribal errors in the music, such emendations are recorded, but do not appear in parentheses in the edition. I have departed from all

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N.B.: unlike all the other Kowalski catalogues, Morehead’s includes opus numbers for unpublished works.
manuscripts only in transferring some of the information that appears on the cover sheet of each song (number, title, date, and possible dedications) to the head of the songs themselves, while listing composer and poet and a numbered list of song titles on a single cover page for the edition of each version. I have not included those instructions in A/1 that appear in pencil, other inks, or colors, when they clearly appear to have grown out of a specific rehearsal or coaching session, and thus pertain to one specific performer only.

The Report

The critical report for each version begins by citing the principal source (Frankfurt/1 or A/1), partial manuscript (Frankfurt/1 or A/2), supplementary sources from the other version, and the text source. Each song is individually located within the edition and these sources. The report for each song then lists any emendations made to the principal source chronologically by measure, part (voice, text, piano, piano right hand, piano left hand), and item number within the part and measure.

Table CR.1: Sigla

V: Voice  
T: Text  
P: Piano  
PRH: Piano right hand  
PLH: Piano left hand

Items in each part and measure are counted from left to right, and, in connection with vertical alignments, from top to bottom. Items to be counted include notes, rests, accidentals, dots that lengthen the value of a note, ties (counted separately from the notes
that they connect), and, when they appear anywhere but at the beginning of a piece, clefs, key signatures, and time signatures. If a tie extends over a bar line, it is counted as an item (possibly the last) in the measure in which it starts. Articulation markings and items that appear above or below the staff—dynamic indications, tempo indications, and terms of expression—have not been assigned item numbers but are listed with the items they affect.

Thus if a measure begins with three vertically aligned accidentals, three vertically aligned notes, three dots that add to the value of the notes, and a tie extending from each note, we have twelve items: accidentals = 1 - 3, notes = 4 - 6, dots = 7 - 9, ties = 10 - 12. If the listing for an emendation in the principal source or for a variant in another source extends across the bar line, I log the emendation/variant as (hypothetically) measures 11/12 and items 7/1. When a gesture in the piano extends from one staff to the other (such as a run or an arpeggio), items will be counted either within the right hand (PRH, i.e. upper staff) or the left hand (PLH, i.e. lower staff), depending on where the notes are written in the score. In such cases, the report offers the part designation PRH/PLH or PLH/PRH, depending on contour, and (hypothetically) item numbers 1-8/3-11. When variants become too extensive for clear tabulation, a musical example is provided. Finally, all emendations to the principal source and variants in one or another of the partial sources and text source are logged against the reading as given in the edition.

Pitches are listed in Scientific Pitch Notation (SPN, also known as American Standard Pitch Notation [ASPN], or International Pitch Notation [IPN]), which lists the musical note name followed by a number identifying its octave, thus C2, G#4, A♭3, etc.

Clef changes and octave displacements in partial manuscripts are not listed as variants
when they retain the same actual pitches. Emendations such as the addition of subscripts in “8va” and “8vb” instead of Kowalski’s “8,” as well as stem direction and courtesy accidentals are affected silently, as are changes affecting the names and dates of the Japanese poets at the head of each song, misspelled markings, or items inadvertently missing from markings (such as parentheses), and adjustments in spelling to reflect the current use of ß and ss.

Thus, to provide one example: if in listing the variants in say, Frankfurt/2, a variant is logged as “18, PRH, 7, dotted half note,” it means that at measure 18, item 7 in the right hand of the piano, Frankfurt/2 offers a dotted half note instead of the note value in the edition against which it is being collated. Finally, when variants involve a transposition, I cite the transposition before any other variants, and then list subsequent variants that involve pitches as though the pitch in question is the same as that in the edition, followed by a parenthesis containing the corresponding pitch of the transposed version.
VERSION I: FRANKFURT/1938

EMENDATIONS AND VARIANTS

Table CR.2: Emendations and variants for Version I: Frankfurt/1938

Principal Source: Frankfurt/1
Partial Manuscript: Frankfurt/2
Supplementary Sources: A/1; A/2

1. Frühlings Ende (143-144)

   Music

   Emendations to Principal Source (2-4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>7-9</td>
<td>dots added</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Text

Variants in Text Source (21)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;klagen.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;klagen,—&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall (145-146)

Music

Emendations to Principal Source (5-7)

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>tie added per Frankfurt/2 (pencil), A/1, and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>4, 9</td>
<td>dots added per Frankfurt/2 and A/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>cresc. and dim. hairpins added per Frankfurt/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22/23</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>last eighth/all</td>
<td>dim. hairpin added per Frankfurt/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variants in Frankfurt/2 (1-3)

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<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 4</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>A5 and F5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>&quot;Blumendüften&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;weichen Düften&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>V/P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>etwas langsamer missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>espr. missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>&quot;weisen&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;zeigen&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>2, 5</td>
<td>E4 with (♭) instead of F♯4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>courtesy ♭ miss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>F♯2 instead of G♯2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(♭) in pencil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>superfluous dot in pencil</td>
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Text

Variants in Text Source (44)

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<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>“Blumendüften”</td>
<td>“weichen Blumendüften”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>“Flur—“</td>
<td>“Flur,—“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>“lang.”</td>
<td>“lang!”</td>
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</table>

3. Schnee im Frühling (147-148)

Music

Emendations to Principal Source (8-10)

<table>
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<th>Part(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>D4 in chord added per Frankfurt/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>C6 in chord added per Frankfurt/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>“nieder,”</td>
<td>comma added per Bethge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>courtesy ☞ added per Frankfurt/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24/25</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td>dim. hairpin added per Frankfurt/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variants in Frankfurt/2 (4-6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>before 1</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
<td><em>Moderato</em> instead of <em>Molto Moderato</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>before 1</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>dolce missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>accent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>accent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>beat 3</td>
<td><em>dolceissimo</em> placed between staves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>accent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Element</td>
<td>Tempo</td>
<td>Note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/7</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>4/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>downbeat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/11</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>3/1</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beat 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22/23</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>4/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/26</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>7-13/1-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/26</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>all/1-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>“schuf.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>after 2nd beat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text**

**Variants in Text Source (61)**

None
4. An den Schnee (149-151)

Music

Emendations to/Variants in Principal Source (11-14)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>courtesy Added per Frankfurt/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>eighth rest added per Frankfurt/1, A/1, and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>eight flag added per Frankfurt/1, A/1, and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37/38</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beat 4/downbeat</td>
<td>dim. hairpin added per Frankfurt/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variants in Frankfurt/2 (7-10)

The cover page of Song 4 in Frankfurt/2 bears the dedication “Für Nora!”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>A3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>7-10</td>
<td>G4 and A3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>dotted half note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>7, 9-10, 12</td>
<td>missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>quarter note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>3-6</td>
<td>tenuto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-15</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>see musical example below</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{poco a poco cres. quasi f} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
16 & \text{ PRH } 9 & \text{ B=b3} \\
17 & \text{ PRH } 8 & \text{ A3} \\
17 & \text{ PLH } 3 & \text{ dot missing} \\
\end{align*} \]
Variants in Text Source (15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 10         | "Weidenkätzchen."
|            | "hell."
| 15         | "Flusse."
| 19         | "seh."

5. Blütenschnee (152-154)

Music

Emendations to/Variants in Principal Source (15-18)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 6          | T       | "herab."
| 12         | PRH     | 3       | comma added per Bethge          |
| 20         | V       | 2       | dot added per A/1 and A/2       |
| 23         | PLH     | 13-17   | superfluous dot removed per A/1 and A/2 |
| 34         | V       | all     | accents added per A/1 and A/2    |

Text

Variants in Text Source (62)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>&quot;duftgeborene&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;duftgeborene&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Betrachtung (155-156)

Music

Emendations to/Variants in Principal Source (19-21)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>dot added per A/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur added per mm. 1-14, 16-18, and A/1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text

Variants in Text Source (17)

None

7. Gleiche Sehnsucht (157-159)

Music

Emendations to/Variants in Principal Source (22-25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7/8</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>“Sa-o-fluss”</td>
<td>second hyphen added in text underlay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/13</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>5-8/1-6</td>
<td>slur added per mm. 14/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>dot removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>slur added from m. 14 (page turn in MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>dot removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>dot removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4, 7</td>
<td>tie added per mm. 18-20 and 22-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>12-14</td>
<td>fermata added per A/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Text

Variants in Text Source (46)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7/8</td>
<td>&quot;Saofluss&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Sao-Fluss&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>&quot;schwermutvolle&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;einsam-schwermutvolle&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>&quot;sehnt&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;sehnt,&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Die Träume (160-161)

Music

Emendations to/Variants in Principal Source (26-28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>§ added per m. 3 and A/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>&quot;möchte.&quot;</td>
<td>period added per Bethge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text

Variants in Text Source (37)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>&quot;liebe,&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;liebe,—“</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. Täuschung (162-163)

Music

Emendations to/Variants in Principal Source (29-31)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>dot added per m. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>sextuplet bracket added per mm. 15, 17, and A/1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text

Variants in Text Source (108)

None

10. Noch einmal (164-164)

Music

Emendations to/Variants in Principal Source (32-34)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>dots added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>¶ per mm. 3, 5, 15, 17, 30, 32, and A/1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Text

Variants in Text Source (86)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14/15</td>
<td>“wiedersehn,”</td>
<td>“wiedersehen,”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VERSION II: ALTERNATE VERSION

EMENDATIONS AND VARIANTS

Table CR.3: Emendations and variants for Version II: Alternate Version

**Principal Source:** A/1

**Partial Manuscript:** A/2

**Supplementary Sources:** Frankfurt/1; Frankfurt/2

**Text Source:** Hans Bethge, *Japanischer Frühling* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1922; originally published in 1911).

1. Frühlings Ende (167-169)

**Music**

**Emendations to Principal Source (1-3)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>pp added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>p added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>cresc. hairpin added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>dim. hairpin added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>7-9</td>
<td>dots added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>quasi forte added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Variants in A/2 (1-3)

The song has been transposed to D minor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>$p$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>4, 7</td>
<td>slur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/6</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>9/3</td>
<td>slur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>5-7</td>
<td>tenuto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>one slur over both measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>cresc. hairpin extends through whole measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>dim. hairpin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>dim. hairpin extends through whole measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>cresc. hairpin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>cresc. hairpin extends through whole measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>dim. hairpin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>dim. hairpin extends through whole measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>4, 11</td>
<td>tenuto missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>1, 4, 8, 11</td>
<td>eighth rests below (separate voice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>3, 7, 10, 14</td>
<td>notated as separate voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>quarter note instead of tied eightths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Es2 missing in chord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>2-4</td>
<td>tenuto missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>cresc./dim. hairpins missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20/21</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>whole note tied to quarter note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>$p$ instead of $pp$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>poco cresc. missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>dim. hairpin missing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Text

Variants in Text Source (21)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>“klagen.”</td>
<td>“klagen,—”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall (170-171)

Music

Emendations to Principal Source (4-6)

None

Variants in A/2 (4-6)

The song has been transposed to G major

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>“Blumendüften”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>6, 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>6, 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/12</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>“damit”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-16</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: dolcissimo placed above grand staff, cresc. and dim. hairpins, diacritics missing, tenuto missing, slur missing, hyphen missing from underlay: “da-mit” see musical example below.*
Text

Variants in Text Source (44)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>“Blumendüften”</td>
<td>“weichen Blumendüften”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>“Flur—”</td>
<td>“Flur,—“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>“lang.”</td>
<td>“lang!”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

rit. missing
langsam missing
molto rit.
molto rit. at beginning and end of measure
cresc. and dim. hairpins missing
ppp missing
a tempo between staves, no (Tempo I) above
ritard above grand staff at beginning of measure
rit. missing at end of measure
tie
3. Schnee im Frühling (172-173)

Music

Emendations to Principal Source (7-9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16/17</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>“sonderbar,—“</td>
<td>“,—“ added per Bethge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>after beat 2</td>
<td>fermata added per PRH and PLH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variants in A/2 (7-9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>accent missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beat 3</td>
<td>dolcissimo above chord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>6/3</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>see musical example below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>molto inside cresc. hairpin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>tenuto missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beats 1 and 2</td>
<td>cresc. hairpin instead of dim. hairpin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>≈ instead of †</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beat 3</td>
<td>poco f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>accent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/12</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beat 3/downbeat</td>
<td>cresc. hairpin missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>tenuto missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure(s)</td>
<td>Item(s)</td>
<td>Comment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>&quot;wollt&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;wollt&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>tenuto missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>&quot;wollt&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>(↑) missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>dim. hairpin with molti inside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>tenuto missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>caesuras missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>↓ missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>pp instead of ppp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16/17</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>&quot;sonderbar,&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>accent missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>pp instead of p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>tenuto missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>etwas breiter missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22/23</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22/23</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>pares missing from molti espr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23/24</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>cres. hairpin missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>one slur over whole measure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>dim. hairpin missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>one slur over whole measure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>dotted half note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>fermata missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26/27</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Anfangstempo instead of Tempo I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>(sehr ruhig) missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. An den Schnee (174-176)

Music

Emendations to Principal Source (10-13)

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<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>eighth rest added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>1</td>
<td># added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>tie added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>19-22</td>
<td>eighth flag added per Frankfurt/1/2 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>PLH/PRH</td>
<td>10-30/5-17</td>
<td>slur added per mm. 27 and 31</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Variants in A/2 (10-13)

The song has been transposed to G major

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>Allegro moderato instead of Zart bewegt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>5, 9</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>6, 10</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>“erfüllt.”</td>
<td>“erfüllt,”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>molto espr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4, 8</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>poco a poco cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>quasi f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>8, 10</td>
<td>tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>G3, D3, and B♭2 (A3, E3, and C3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>13, 16</td>
<td>tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>14-16</td>
<td>D3, A2, and D2 (E3, B2, and E2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>mp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>poco rit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Text

Variants in Text Source (15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>“erfüllt.”</td>
<td>“erfüllt,”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>“Weidenkätzchen.”</td>
<td>“Weidenkätzchen,”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>“hell.”</td>
<td>“hell,”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>“Flusse.”</td>
<td>“Flusse,—“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>“seh”</td>
<td>“sehe”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Poco rit./decresc. a tempo a tempo missing p instead of f

mf instead of poco f, slur missing

slur missing

slur missing

mf

slur missing

slur missing

double-dotted half note and eighth note

p missing

tie missing

dim. hairpin starts on beat 4 of m. 37
5. Blütenschnee (177-179)

Music

Emendations to Principal Source (14-17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>G4 instead of A\textsuperscript{4} per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>schneller added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>tie added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>11-13</td>
<td>ties added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>caesura and fermata added per PRH and PLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>fermata added per Frankfurt/1 and A/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variants in A/2 (14-17)

N.B.: Unlike all the other songs transmitted in A/2, Song 5, “Blütenschnee,” was without doubt copied from a manuscript that displayed the readings of Version I: Frankfurt/1938. Thus its variants will exceptionally be logged against the edition of Version I, which can then be easily compared to Version II, since both scores are presented in this edition. They can be found on pages 152 and 177, respectively.

The song has been transposed to B\textsuperscript{b} major

<table>
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<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>dim. hairpin not continued from m. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>\textit{p} missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-15</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>all/downtie</td>
<td>slur missing over inner voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>all/downtie</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>PLH/PRH</td>
<td>1-20/1-21</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>1, 11</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure(s)</td>
<td>Item(s)</td>
<td>Comment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>“duftgeborene”</td>
<td>“duftgeborene”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/31</td>
<td>“Kirschenblüten.”</td>
<td>“Kirschenblüten!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Betrachtung (180-181)

Music

Emendations to Principal Source (18-20)

<table>
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<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>missing dots added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>7, 11</td>
<td>ties added per Frankfurt/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>fermata added per V and PRH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur added per mm. 1-12, 14-19, and Frankfurt/1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text

Variants in Text Source (17)

None

7. Gleiche Sehnsucht (182-184)

Music

Emendations to Principal Source (21-23)

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<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>“wandr” “</td>
<td>corrected from “wandr” per Bethge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-16</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>dot removed</td>
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</table>

Variants in A/2 (18-21)

The song has been transposed to B♭ major
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<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>pp instead of p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>tenuto missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>cresc. hairpin with poco inside missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>1-5, 6-8</td>
<td>staccato missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>1-3, 4-5</td>
<td>staccato missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/7</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>4-5/all</td>
<td>ruhig (nicht eilen!) missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>“wandr” “</td>
<td>“wandr”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>quarter note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beat 3</td>
<td>dim. hairpin missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>B2 (A2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>PLH/PRH</td>
<td>1-4/1-4</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beat 3</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/13</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beat 3/downbeat</td>
<td>cresc. hairpin missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beat 3/downbeat</td>
<td>dim. hairpin missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beat 3</td>
<td>dim. hairpin missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>etwas vorwärts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>poco cresc. missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>accel. e cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>accents missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>“sehnt”</td>
<td>“sehnt.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>wieder langsamer missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/26</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>beat 2/all</td>
<td>dim. hairpin missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>accent missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>Tempo I missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
30        PLH        1-2, 3-4        staccato missing
31        PRH        9-11        tenuto missing
31        PLH        1-3, 4-5        staccato missing
31        PLH        6-7        tenuto missing
32        P          all          slur missing
32        P          all          *leggiero* missing
33        P          all          *p* instead of *pp*

Text

**Variants in Text Source (46)**

<table>
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<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>7/8</td>
<td>&quot;Saofluss&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Sao-Fluss&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>&quot;schwermutsvolle&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;einsam-schwermutvolle&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>&quot;sehnt&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;sehnt,&quot;</td>
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</table>

8. Die Träume (185-186)

Music

**Emendations to Principal Source (24-26)**

<table>
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<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>&quot;Nacht,&quot;</td>
<td>comma added per Bethge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>half note per Frankfurt/l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>dot added per Frankfurt/l</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Text

Variants in Text Source (37)

<table>
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<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;liebe,&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;liebe,—&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Täuschung (187-188)

Music

Emendations to Principal Source (27-29)

<table>
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<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>quarter stem added per Frankfurt/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>dot added per Frankfurt/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>dots added per Frankfurt/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-12</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>ties added per Frankfurt/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>tie added per m. 15 and Frankfurt/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>tie added per m. 14 and Frankfurt/1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text

Variants in Text Source (108)

None
10. Noch einmal (189-190)

Music

Emendations to Principal Source (30-32)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>dot added</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text

Variants in Text Source (86)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14/15</td>
<td>“wiedersehn,”</td>
<td>“wiedersehen,”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Max Kowalski

Japanischer Frühling

Version I: Frankfurt/1938

Japanischer Frühling

Zehn Lieder auf Nachdichtungen japanischer Gedichte

von Hans Bethge

für eine Singstimme und Klavier

Komponiert

von

Max Kowalski

Edited by Nils Neubert

1. Frühlings Ende
2. Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall
3. Schnee im Frühling
4. An den Schnee
5. Blütenschnee
6. Betrachtung
7. Gleiche Sehnsucht
8. Die Träume
9. Täuschung
10. Noch einmal

Meinem lieben Oskar
und seiner (meiner) lieben Trude.

Berlin, Ostern 1938

Max
1. Frühlings Ende
Okishima (8. Jahrhundert)
14. August 1935

Im Bambus- Hai - ne

mei - nes Gar - tens
hör ich die Nach - ti - gall mit mü - der

Stim - me kla - gen.

Sie
trauert, weil die weißen Plau-men-blüten in Scharen von den Bäumen
nie-der-fallen,
weil nun der Lenz
mit sei-nen Wun-dern flieht.
2. Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall
Tomonori (ca. 845-ca.905)
14. März 1938

Andantino

Ich will den Früh___lings wind, o Nach____ti-

pp

molto espr.

mit Blu___men-düf___ten zu dir sen__den,

etwas langsamer

da__mit sie dir den Weg herü__berwei___sen

etwas langsamer
in unserer Flur—

wir warteten schon so

molto rit. 

lang.

a tempo 

ritard.

pp
3. Schnee im Frühling
Tsurayuki (872-946)
21. November 1936

Molto moderato

Der Frühling naht mit sei-nem Dunst.

Die Bäume setzen schon Knospen an.

Doch von dem Him-mel fällt Schnee auf Schnee, als wollt er nim-mer

sehr zart poco f
enden. Wie sonder-bar, — nun sin-ken Blü-ten nie-der,

etwas breiter werden

ob-wohl der Lenz noch kei-ne

Blü-ten schuf.

Anfangtempo
4. An den Schnee
Kaiser Mommu (683-707)
11. März 1938

Ziemlich langsam
(zart bewegt)

Die Wolken sind von

p sempre legato

Fлокken ganz erfüllt,
der Wald scheint

toll von weissen Weiden-kätzchen.

Das
gan____e Fir-ma ment ist schimmerd hell. Vom

poco a poco cresc. quasi f

Wind ge-trie- ben weht der Schnee am Flus-se.

mp
decres.
cresc.

Wenn ich die weiß-be-deck-ten Pflau-men-bäu-me

in mei-nem

Gar-ten seh, möchte ich glau-ben, sie
5. BlütenSchnee
Tsurayuki (882-946)
21. Oktober 1934

Langsam, aber nicht schleppend

Leis senkt sich Schnee auf uns her-ab,

und den-noch weht lauer

Wind-hauch zart an uns-re Stir-nen.

Ge-schah ein
Wunder denn? O welch ein

Schnee, des Heimat nie der

Himmel war! Es ist ja der hold de,

rit...... accel. e cresc.
duft - ge-bor-ne Früh - lings - schnee

Tempo I (langsam) der

(Bass hervorheben !)

Kir-schen - blü - ten!

p sub.
6. Betrachtung  
Akahito (fl. 724-736)  
27. März 1938  

*Andante espressivo*

Wenn stets der Kirchenbaum so wundervoll wie

p (zart)

jetzt auf allen Höhen blühen

etwas gehalten

würde, wir liebten seine schneeige Schönheit
dann nicht so wie jetzt, da nur den Lenz sie ziert.

pp

a tempo

rit.
7. Gleiche Sehnsucht
Tomonori (ca. 845-ca. 905)
14. Oktober 1934

Moderato

Der Abend kommt herab.

(ruhig! nicht eilen!)

Nun wand' ich an den Sao-fluss, im Wind hauch seines

Ufers die Freundin zu erwarten.
Was er-klingt im Dun-kel so voll Sehn-sucht?

Horch, das ist der schwer-muts-volle Ruf der

Mö____we, die sich nach der Ge-fähr-tin
wieder langsamer

sehnt

wie ich.

Anfangstempo

langsam
8. Die Träume
Frau Komachi (ca. 825-?)
15. November 1934

In ruhiger, sanft fließender Bewegung

Seit ich im Traum den Mann seh, den ich liebe,

seit je - ner Zeit erst lie - be ich der

Träume bunt - far-be-ne Fal - ter als das
köstlichste Geschenk

der Nacht,
das ich nicht missmöchte.
9. Täuschung
Yorihito (1867-1922)
11. November 1934

(In schwebender Bewegung) nicht schnell

Ich

poco ten.

glaubte, dass die weissen Blüten des Frühlings mir entgegen

trieben.

Ich irrt mich.
Es was das Glänzen, das Lieben deiner Schönheit.
10. Noch einmal
Frau Izumi Shikibu (* 976?)
17. April 1938 (Ostern)

Molto moderato
Mit tiefer Empfindung

Noch ein - mal

lass mich, o Ge - lieb - ter, be - vor ich die - se Welt ver - las - se, dein lie - bes Ant - litz

wie - der - seh, dass ich es
tief in meine Seele ein-präge und es mit mir neh-me ins

dunkle Land der Ewigkeit.

poco rit. a tempo

poco rit. a tempo

poco f
Max Kowalksi
*Japanischer Frühling*
Version II: Alternate Version

**Japanischer Frühling**

Zehn Lieder auf Nachdichtungen japanischer Gedichte

von Hans Bethge

für eine Singstimme und Klavier

Komponiert

von

Max Kowalski

Edited by Nils Neubert

1. Frühlings Ende
2. Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall
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5. Blütenschnee
6. Betrachtung
7. Gleiche Sehnsucht
8. Die Träume
9. Täuschung
10. Noch einmal
1. Frühlings Ende
Okishima (8th c.)
14. August 1935

Langsam

Im Bambus-Hain

(meines Gartens) höre ich die

Nachti-gall mit müder Stimme klagen.
Sie trauert, weil die weissen Plau-men blüten in

Scharren von den Bäumen niedergelassen, weil nun der

Lenz mit seinen Wundern
flieht.
2. Sehnsucht nach der Nachtigall

Tomonori (845-905)
14. März 1938

Andantino

Ich will den Frühling

_dolcissimo_

mit Blumenfüden

_molto espr._

damit sie den Weg

_eu specular._

herüberweisen
in unsere Flur—

wir

langsam  

rit. . . . ppp

wart den schon so lang.

(Tempo I)

rit. . . .
3. Schnee im Frühling
Tsurayuki (882-946)
21. November 1936

Moderato

Der Frühling naht mit sei-nem Dunst. Die Bäu-me

set-zen schon Knos-pen an. Doch von dem Him-mel fällt

Schnee auf Schnee, als woll't er nim-mer en-den. Wie son-der-bar,
nun sin-ken Blü-ten nie-der, ob-wohl der Lenz

noch kei-ne Blü-ten schuf. \textit{Tempo I}

\textit{etwas breiter}

\textit{poco f (molto espr.)}

\textit{pp (sehr ruhig)}

\textit{sehr zart}
4. An den Schnee
Kaiser Mommu (683-707)
11. März 1938

Zart bewegt

Die Wolken sind von

Flocken ganz erfüllt.

Der Wald scheint

voll von weissen Weiden-kätzchen.

Das
ganze Fir-mament ist schimmerd hell.
Vom Wind getrieben weht der Schnee am Flusse.
Wenn ich die weiß-be-deckten Pflumen-bäume in meinem Garten seh,
möchte ich glauben, sie
blüh   ten schon   vom

Früh   ling

ganz   und gar.
5. Blütenschnee
Tsurayuki (882-946)
21. Oktober 1934

Langsam, aber nicht schleppend

Leis senkt sich Schnee auf uns her

ab,

und den-noch weht lauer

Wind-hauch zart an uns-re Stir-nen.

Ge-schah ein
Wunder denn?
O welch ein

(schneller)

quasi f

Schnee, des Heimat nie der

Himmel war!
Entist der holde,

molto accel.

rit.
molto accel. e cresc.
duft ge-bor-ne Früh-lings-schnee der
dufte ge-bor-ne Früh-lings-schnee der
Kirschen-blüten.
Kirschen-blüten.

Tempo I
basso marcato
p sub

30

34
6. Betrachtung
Akahito (fl. 724-736)
27. März 1938

Andante espressivo

Wenn stets der Kirchenbaum so wunder-voll wie

jetzt auf allen Höhen blühen

würde, wir liebten seine schneeige Schönheit
dann nicht so wie jetzt, da nur den Lenz sie ziert.

a tempo

pp

ppp

rit.
7. Gleiche Sehnsucht
Tomonori (ca. 845- ca. 905)
14. Oktober 1934

Moderato

Der Abend kommt her-ab.

ruhig (nicht eilen!)

Nun wandr'ich an den Sao-fluss, im Wind-hauch sei-nes

U-fers die Freun-din zu er-wa-ten.
Was er-klingt im Dun-kel
so voll Sehn-sucht?

Horch, das ist der schwer-
muts-vol-le Ruf
der Mö___ we,

die sich nach der Ge-fähr-tin sehnt

wieder langsamer
wie ich.
8. Die Träume
Frau Komachi (ca. 825-?)
21. November 1936*

In ruhiger, sanft fließender Bewegung

Seit ich im Traum den Mann seh, den ich liebe, seit jeder Zeit erst liebe ich der

Träume bunte farbene Falter als das

köstlichste Geschenk der Nacht,

das ich nicht missmochte.
Täuschung
Yorihito (1867-1922)
11. November 1934

In schwebender Bewegung
Nicht schnell

Ich glaubte, dass die weissen Blüten des Frühlings mir entgegentrieben. Ich irrte mich.
Es was das Glänzen,

erheblich langsamer

erheblich langsamer (etwa doppelt so langsam)

mf legato

molto

Liebesglänzen deiner

Schönheit.

poco rit. a tempo sempre rit. molto
10. Noch einmal
Frau Izumi Shikibu (* 976?)
17. April 1938

Molto moderato
Mit tiefer Empfindung

Noch ein - mal

lass mich, o Ge - lieb - ter, be - vor ich die - se Welt ver - las - se, dein lie - bes Ant - litz

poco più mosso

wie - der - sehn,
dass ich es
20

\[ \text{tief in mei-ne See-le ein-prä-ge und es mit mir neh-me ins} \]

26

\[ \text{dunk-le Land der E__ wig-keit.} \]

32

\[ \text{sfp} \]
APPENDIX I

LIST OF PUBLISHED COMPOSITIONS

Table AI.1: Max Kowalski’s Published Works

Sechs Lieder, Op. 1
(Berlin: Raabe & Plotho, 1913; reprinted, Huntsville, TX: Recital Publications, 2004).

Die Sonne Sinkt, Op. 2
(Berlin: Simrock, 1913; reprinted, Huntsville, TX: Recital Publications, 2004).

Sechs Gesänge, Op. 3
(Berlin: Eos, 1913; reprinted, Huntsville, TX: Recital Publications, 2004).

Zwölf Gedichte aus Pierrot Lunaire, Op. 4
(Berlin: Simrock, 1913; as of 1928 Associated Music Publishers [now Boosey & Hawkes]; reprinted, Huntsville, TX: Recital Publications, 2004).

Drei Lieder nach Texten von Martin Greif, Op. 5
(Berlin: Eos 1915; reprinted, Huntsville, TX: Recital Publications, 2004).

Zwei Klavierstücke, Op. 6
(Berlin: Eos, 1913; reprinted, Huntsville, TX: Recital Publications, 2004).


Drei Gedichte von Martin Greif, Op. 8

Vier Gesänge, Op. 9

Sechs Lieder auf alte Gedichte, Op. 10

Sechs Lieder aus dem Rokoko, Op. 11
(Berlin/Leipzig: Simrock, 1921; reprinted, Huntsville, TX: Recital Publications, 2004).

Fünf Marienlieder, Op. 12
(Leipzig: Leuckart, 1927; now Planegg: Thomi-Berg Musikverlag).
(Leipzig; Leuckart, 1928; now Planegg: Thomi-Berg Musikverlag).

Out of Print

Fünf Gedichte von Hermann Hesse, Op. 14
(Leipzig: Wilhelm Zimmermann, 1930; out of print).

Sechs Gedichte von Klabund, Op. 15
(Leipzig: Wilhelm Zimmermann, 1930; out of print).

Fünf Lieder, Op. 16
(Leipzig: Leuckart, 1931; now Planegg: Thomi-Berg Musikverlag).

Sechs Lieder aus dem Westöstlichen Divan von Goethe, Op. 17

Published Posthumously

Acht Lieder auf Gediche von Hafis (1948)

Sieben Lieder auf Gedichte von Rainer Maria Rilke (1951)
APPENDIX IIa

FOUR ADDITIONAL SONGS

EMENDATIONS AND VARIANTS

Table AII.1: Emendations and variants for the Four Additional Songs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal Source:</th>
<th>Frankfurt/additional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

When Kowalski assembled the *Japanischer Frühling* in 1938, he chose to omit four of the fourteen Bethge adaptations that he had originally set, the first three of which may have received performances alongside several of those songs that would make up the eventual collection (see Tables 5.2 and 5.5 on pp. 71 and 75). These four songs were omitted from both versions of the *Japanischer Frühling*, and unlike the songs of Version I: Frankfurt/1938 and Version II: Alternate Version, they are not numbered or ordered, and their manuscript is unbound. Frankfurt/additional, housed in the private collection of Michael Kowal in Kew Gardens, NY, is a file folder with the designation “4 Additional Songs for Japanischer Frühling” that simply holds the loose manuscripts of the individual songs, and we don’t know whether Kowalski had any specific order in mind for them once he separated them from the collection. For this reason, they are presented here without numbers, but in the order of their composition, the dates of which Kowalski inscribed on the cover sheet of each song, and which can be found in Table 5.2 on page 71.
Der Blütenzweig (198-199)

**Music**

**Emendations to Principal Source (1-3)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>dot added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>fermata added</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text**

**Variants in Text Source (24)**

None

Vergebene Bemühren (200-202)

**Music**

**Emendations to in Principal Source (4-7)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>bass clef added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/11</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>“Naniwa=Hafens”</td>
<td>corrected from “Nanina=Hafens” per Bethge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>‡ instead of ²,‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>1-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10-12</td>
<td>slurs added per other iterations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text**

**Variants in Text Source (35)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>“heftigen”</td>
<td>“heftigen”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>“geleugnet.”</td>
<td>“geleugnet,”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/11</td>
<td>“Naniwa=Hafens”</td>
<td>“Naniwa-Hafens”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Die Wartende (203-204)

Music

Emendations to in Principal Source (8-10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>&quot;warten,&quot;</td>
<td>comma added per Bethge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text

Variants in Text Source (6)

None

Bitte an den Hund (205-207)

Music

Emendations to Principal Source (11-14)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PRH</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>tie added to agree with m. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>dots removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>PLH</td>
<td>6, 8</td>
<td>staccato added per other iterations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Variants in Text Source (27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure(s)</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>&quot;leise, leise&quot;</td>
<td>no text repetition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/10</td>
<td>&quot;hereinsteigt—“</td>
<td>&quot;hereinsteigt,—“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>&quot;ernstlich,”</td>
<td>&quot;ernstlich:”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;nicht.”</td>
<td>&quot;nicht,—“</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX IIb

FOUR ADDITIONAL SONGS

EDITION

Japanischer Frühling

Four Additional Songs

By

Max Kowalski

Edited by Nils Neubert

Der Blütenzweig
Vergebene Bemühen
Die Wartende
Bitte an den Hund
Der Blütenzweig
Fujiwara no Hirotsugu (8. Jahrhundert)
20. Oktober 1934

Andantino tranquillo

Nimm diesen Blütenzweig! In jedem Blatte der

zar-ten Blüten schlummert hundert-fach ein Liebeswort aus

un-ruh-vol-ler Brust.

O wei-se mei-ne
Liebe nicht zurück!

f Tempo I

mp

poco rit.

p a tempo

(weich)

rit.
Vergebenes Bemühen
(Unbekannter Dichter)
6. November 1934

Lebhaft

Dass wir uns lieben,

hab ich abgestritten, mit heftigen Wörtern

hab ich es gelegnet. Ich habe mich so
ange-strengt mit Leug-nen, wie man sich an-strengt,

wenn man ei-nen Last-kahn am Kap des leuch-ten-den Na-
ni-wa = Ha-fens mit ei-nem Sei-le
mü-he-voll da-hin-zieht. Und den-noch bin ich,
nichts hat mir genützt,
in das Gerade
Die Wartende
Kaiserin Iwa no Hime (4. Jahrh. nach Chr.)
29. März 1937

Moderato

Bis dass der weis-se Reif des Al - ters

sich auf mei-ne ra-ben-schwar-zen Haa - re legt,

will ich mein gan-zes lan-ge Le ben durch nichts wei-ter tun als
war-ten, war-ten, war-ten auf dich, den mei-ne gan-ze See-le liebt.
Bitte an den Hund
(Dichterin unbekannt)
25. März 1938

Andantino

Wenn mein Ge-lieb-ter in der Nachtden

p dolce

espr.

recht leicht

Bin-sen-zweig durch-bricht und lei-se, lei-se

poco

poco

zu mir her-ein-steigt— Hund, ich ra-te dir

(lang)

ziemlich lebhaft

(lang)

molto rit. (lang)

mf

lang

espr.
ernstlich, hüle dich in Schweigen, verrate ihn den Leuten
nicht.
Es soll dir gut gehen, liebe...
Hund!
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Encyclopedias and Reference Works


Stengel, Theophil, and Herbert Gerigk, eds. Lexikon der Juden in der Musik. Berlin: Bernhard Hahnefeld, 1940.


II. Books and Articles


“Max Kowalski: Daten, Fakten, Stationen, Umfeld—ein erweiterter Lebenslauf.”


### III. Online Resources


IV. Collections

BBC Written Archives:

1935-1945:

WAR, R 27/3/1
WAR, R 27/3/2
WAR, R 27/3/3
WAR, R 27/3/4
WAR, R 27/3/5

Leo Baeck Institute, New York:


Series I: Personal, 1909-1978, 7 folders.
Series II: Correspondence, 1910-1957, 43 folders.

Michael Kowal, Private Collection:


_____ Frankfurt/additional. Unpublished manuscript, 14 pages.

Concert Programs
Susan Morehead, Private Collection:


_____ A/1. Unpublished manuscript, 32 pages.

_____ A/2. Unpublished manuscript, 21 pages.

Arnold Schönberg Institut, Vienna


V. Sound Recordings

Published


Recordings of opp. 1-16 on the Lil Red Hen label (recorded from 2008 to 2015)

by singers Susan Morehead, DJ Abbamont, and André Lamar Smith, and pianists

Victoria Griswold, Angela Manso, Glenn Tiedemann, and Kendell Kardt are available for

**Unissued**

\textit{Sieben Lieder nach Rilke}, Willy Berling and Walter Faith, True Tone Recording Co., no serial number, 12” LP, n.d.

\textit{Pierrot-Lieder}, Hans Hotter and Michael Raucheisen, True Tone Recording Co., no serial number, 12” LP, n.d.

\textit{7 Lieder nach Texten von Conrad Ferdinand Meyer}, Otto von Rohr and Wolfgang Rudolf, True Tone Recording Co., no serial number, 12” LP, n.d.;

\textit{5 Lieder nach Hölderlin}, Otto von Rohr and Wolfgang Rudolf, True Tone Recording Co., no serial number, 10” LP, n.d.

**For a list of published compositions by Max Kowalski, see Appendix I on page 191.**