

# Josephine Lang

*Her Life and Songs*



HARALD KREBS & SHARON KREBS

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HER LIFE AND SONGS

Harald Krebs and Sharon Krebs

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To our dear friend  
Brigitte Berenbruch

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We thank the following libraries and archives for permission to reproduce images from their collections: the Württembergische Landesbibliothek (Manuscripts Division); the Deutsches Literaturarchiv (Bildabteilung); the Sächsische Landesbibliothek-Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden; and the Archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna.

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Finally, we must acknowledge each other. Neither of us could have done this research and written this book alone; for a project involving so many sources, so much translation, and so much checking of details, two people were required. Our lives have been enriched by working together, as scholars and performers, on Josephine Lang's life and songs.

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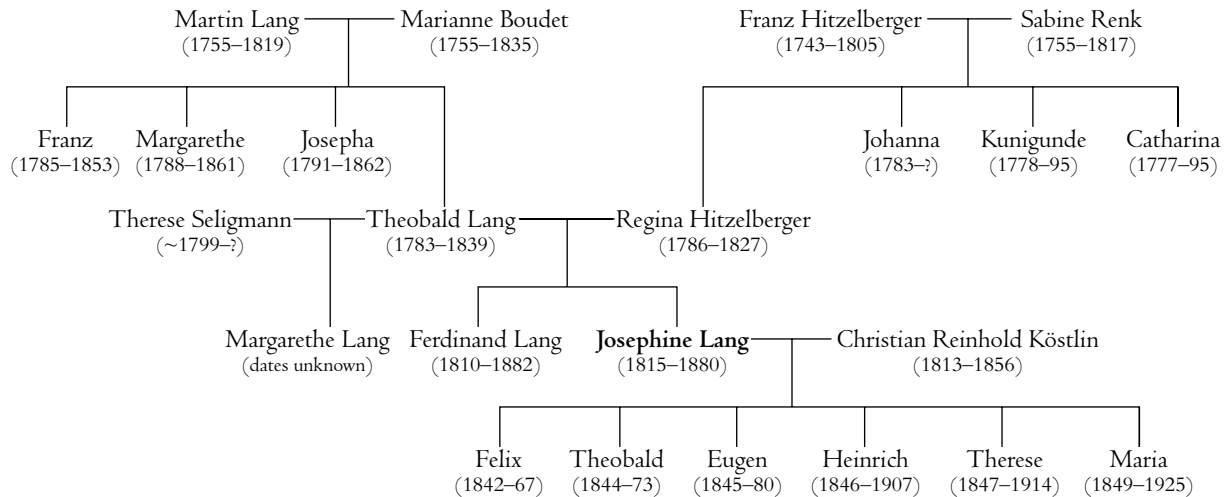
# CONTENTS

Abbreviations	xiii
Genealogical Charts of Lang and Köstlin Families	xiv
Introduction	3
ONE The Beginning of Josephine Lang's Compositional Career	9
TWO The 1830s: Significant Contacts and Friendships	35
THREE Josephine Lang and Christian Reinhold Köstlin	73
FOUR 1842 to 1856: The Early Years in Tübingen	115
FIVE 1856 to 1867: The Difficult Years	149
SIX Lang's Final Years	183
SEVEN Josephine Lang as a Person and as a Composer	221
APPENDIX Thirty Songs of Josephine Lang, with Translations	235
Notes	251
Selected Bibliography	291
Index of Cited Compositions by Josephine Lang	295
General Index	298
Photo gallery follows page 72	

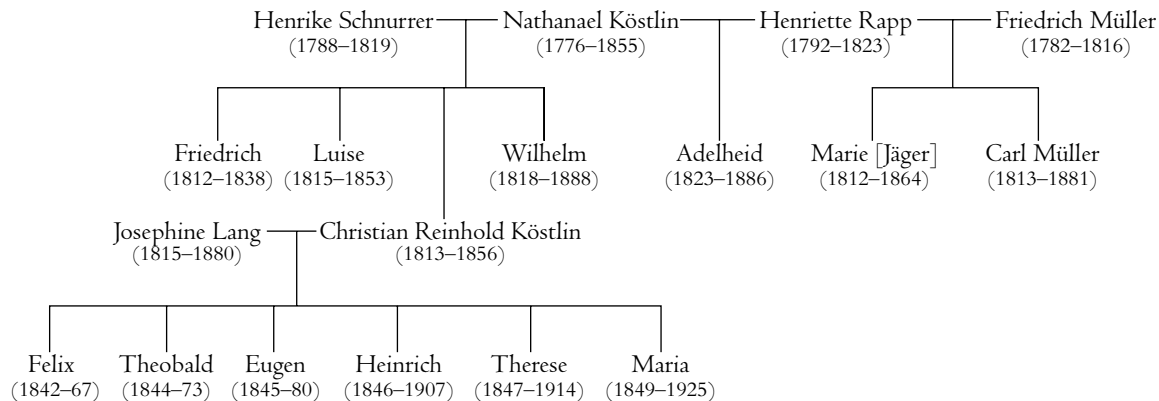
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## ABBREVIATIONS

BL	Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK
DLA	Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach, Germany
GdMf	Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, Austria
HASK	Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Cologne, Germany
SAL	Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, Germany
SAS	Stadtarchiv Stuttgart, Germany
SPK	Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany
WLB	Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Germany



Partial Lang Family Tree. Sources: Imogen Fellingner, ed., *Klänge um Brahms: Erinnerungen von Richard Fellingner* (Mürzzuschlag: Österreichische Johannes Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1997); *Großes Sängerlexikon*, eds. K. J. Kutsch and Leo Riemens (Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag, 1999, 2000), CD-ROM (Digitale Bibliothek 33); Maria Köstlin, *Das Buch der Familie Köstlin* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1931); Heinz Schuler, "Münchener Künstlerfamilien aus dem Mozartschen Freundeskreis," *Genealogie* XIV/28 (1979), 435–49; Roberta Werner, *The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang: The Expression of a Life* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1992).



Partial Köstlin Family Tree. Sources: Mathilde Haug, “Großonkel und Großtanten-Bilder (1901),” transcribed and annotated by Stefan J. Dietrich, 2005; Maria Köstlin, *Das Buch der Familie Köstlin* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1931).



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*Josephine Lang*

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## INTRODUCTION

Unsere Sngerin heit Josefine. Wer sie nicht gehrt hat, kennt nicht die Macht des Gesanges. Es gibt niemanden, den ihr Gesang nicht fortreit . . . <sup>1</sup>

Our singer, too, is called Josephine. Her full name is Josephine Caroline Lang (1815–80). In her childhood, she was often known by the variant “Josepha,” and by the common Bavarian nicknames “Pepi,” “Peppi,” “Pepperl,” or “Bebi.” Later, she was usually called “Josephine,” although the spelling of this name fluctuated between the Germanic “Josefine” and the French “Josephine” (depending on how popular the French were in Germany). After she married Christian Reinhold Kstlin, she referred to herself in letters and other documents as “Josephine Kstlin, ne Lang.” On the title pages of her published compositions, however, she continued to use her maiden name, Josephine Lang.<sup>2</sup> Unlike many other nineteenth-century women artists,<sup>3</sup> Lang apparently never considered using a pseudonym (male or female) in her publications. It is the name “Josephine Lang” with the “ph” spelling familiar to English readers that we shall use in this volume.

We first “heard” Josephine Lang in 1994, when, during a six-month stay in Germany, we became acquainted with her music as we browsed through a collection of songs by women.<sup>4</sup> We discovered that many of her musical manuscripts were located at the Wrttembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, and we visited that library in March 1994. In the Manuscripts Division, the friendly staff brought us several boxes of manuscripts, many of them autographs, and many of them bound into booklets. We soon found that multiple versions of the same songs were scattered among different booklets and different boxes, and realized that before we or anyone else could do detailed work on Lang’s music, it would be necessary to prepare an index of the manuscripts. Dr. Reiner Ngele, director of the Music Division of the library, supported the mounting of the index as a searchable database on the library’s website. We worked on this project, one or two weeks per year, from 1994 until 1999, then for weeks on end during a second longer stay in Germany in 2000.<sup>5</sup>

As we worked on the database, we transcribed all of Lang's inscriptions on her autographs, including those on the title pages, which are covered with notations in multiple languages. We also searched out and transcribed other documents relating to Lang—not an easy task, as her handwriting (*Kurrentschrift*, of course) is, as she herself admitted, “hieroglyphic” in nature.<sup>6</sup> Armed with all of this material, we were finally ready to start serious work on a book on the composer, singer, and pianist Josephine Lang.

Our study joins a series of writings that began in Lang's lifetime. Few women composers have been written about so frequently. Already in the nineteenth century, two biographies appeared—one by the composer and conductor Ferdinand Hiller (in 1867),<sup>7</sup> the other by Lang's son Heinrich Adolf Köstlin (in 1881, just after her death).<sup>8</sup> These biographies became the basis for numerous later writings, the most substantial of which is a dissertation by Roberta Werner.<sup>9</sup> This dissertation provides a large amount of valuable information on Lang's family, her educational and musical background, her cultural environment, and her circle of acquaintances. For information on Lang's life specifically, it relies somewhat too heavily on H. A. Köstlin's biography. Werner's brief analyses of all of Lang's published songs are useful but necessarily superficial summaries of the musical events. Although the dissertation was an admirable first attempt at a modern reconsideration of Lang's life and music, there was room for a more thorough treatment of both. Such a treatment became feasible once Lang's musical manuscripts had been worked through and catalogued, and once other extant primary sources had been located and consulted.

A brief summary of the extant sources for Lang scholarship will be useful at this point. The aforementioned nineteenth-century biographies, written by a close friend and a close relative of the composer, respectively, are important sources. Both are based to a large extent on Lang's own notes, which she prepared for Ferdinand Hiller in the late 1860s.<sup>10</sup> Hiller's essay is relatively short (about twenty pages) and mentions only the main events of Lang's life. H. A. Köstlin's biography is more detailed and takes into account a wider variety of sources than Hiller's. Köstlin cites not only Lang's “memoirs” (presumably the notes that she prepared for Hiller) but also her diary and a number of letters; as Lang's son, he had access to such documents. Although it is based on primary sources, H. A. Köstlin's biography is not a scholarly study of the composer, as he himself acknowledged in his introductory remarks:

These modest pages are to offer only a simple portrait of the life of the late artist to the immediate and the more extended circle of friends and admirers of her songs. One will not justifiably be able to demand from the son an aesthetic evaluation of

the latter. These pages are directed in the first instance toward those who years ago became familiar with and enamored of the songs of Josephine Lang, [those] who do not require a critical evaluation of them, but who follow with heartfelt sympathy the thorny path from which the noble artist wrested her finest blossoms.<sup>11</sup>

For several reasons, it is dangerous to rely too heavily on H. A. Köstlin's biography. First, he was Josephine Lang's youngest son (1846–1907), and thus was not yet born or very young during a significant portion of her life. Second, his biographical sketch was originally intended as a family document, not as a scientific and scholarly investigation. There is considerable scope for the fleshing out of portions of the biography in the light of sources that H. A. Köstlin did not know or did not consult. Third, a family member can easily be led by a natural reticence or bias to hold back or distort certain events—and that is definitely the case at various points of H. A. Köstlin's biography. A questioning attitude toward his remarks is for these reasons more appropriate than the blind acceptance that they have received in much of the later literature about Lang. Such a questioning attitude, combined with an objective assessment of extant documentary evidence, can open the door to new interpretations of the described events and to new viewpoints on some of the described individuals.

A wealth of documents exists for the consideration of those who wish to go beyond Hiller's and Köstlin's accounts. Particularly significant are Lang's musical manuscripts. In addition to those housed at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, a somewhat smaller number is found at the archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna (Sammlung Fellingner). The former collection includes 44 booklets of manuscripts. Some of these contain very neat manuscripts, which are the work of at least three different copyists. Other booklets contain Lang's autographs; she apparently bound these herself, as the title pages are in her hand.

The Stuttgart manuscripts span Lang's entire compositional career. Many of them are inscribed with detailed information about the date and circumstances of composition. From these inscriptions, much can be learned about Lang's compositional process, her health, her circle of friends, and so on. Even richer in biographical information are the title pages and sometimes the final pages of Lang's manuscript booklets. About fifteen such pages, from the years 1834 to 1840, are covered with quotations, diary-like jottings, drawings, and so on, from which one can deduce a great deal about Lang's education, her friends, and the circumstances of her life (see fig. 3 in the photo gallery for a sample).

The Vienna manuscripts, most of which originated in Lang's late years (1860–80), were in the possession of the family of Lang's daughter Maria—the

Fellinger family.<sup>12</sup> Some of them are loose pages; others are bound into hardcover books, probably intended as gifts for the Fellinger family. Aside from musical manuscripts, the Vienna collection contains two albums. The smaller of these was Lang's autograph album, in which she, like many young women of her time, gathered inscriptions, poems, drawings, and pages of music from her acquaintances. This album reveals much about her wide circle of illustrious friends and supporters. A larger album was a gift for Lang's son-in-law, Richard Fellinger, from his wife and children. Since it contains a number of documents that are addressed to Lang rather than to members of the Fellinger family, it seems that the purpose of this large album was to accommodate the "overflow" of material from the small album. In the center of the cover of the large album is an oval portrait of Lang as a young woman (see the cover of this volume), and above it are photos of Lang's three grandchildren (the Fellinger boys, and her one surviving son's daughter), framed with little angels' wings. Maria further decorated the cover with embroidered *Edelweiss*.<sup>13</sup> Over the years, the Fellinger family continued to add to the album, using it as a scrapbook for letters, music, and artwork from and by friends and family members.

Letters are, of course, an important source for any research on Lang. Some of Lang's own letters are still in existence. Among the most significant and informative are her letters to Felix Mendelssohn (preserved in the famous Green Books at the Bodleian Library in Oxford), and her twenty-one letters to Ferdinand Hiller (housed at the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, along with the rest of Hiller's estate).<sup>14</sup> One letter from Lang to Clara Schumann is preserved at the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. The Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach also holds a few letters in Lang's hand, within the papers of her husband, the poet Christian Reinhold Köstlin. Finally, some letters from Lang to her son's doctor are located in the son's patient file at the Staatsarchiv in Ludwigsburg, Germany.

Just as informative as Lang's letters to others are letters addressed to her—for example, letters from her brother, the actor Ferdinand Lang, and from her aunt Margarethe Carl, spouse of a prominent theatre director in Vienna (both groups of letters are held at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna); letters from Marie Jäger, her husband's step-sister (these letters are preserved at the Stadtarchiv in Stuttgart); and letters from prominent musicians, such as Felix Mendelssohn (Köstlin incorporated some of these into his biography) and Stephen Heller (two of the latter's letters are preserved, one in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, the other in the Stadt- und Staatsbibliothek in Augsburg). In addition to Lang's own correspondence, it is valuable to consult letters from Lang's friends and family members to third parties, since they frequently mention

Lang. The Mendelssohn and Hiller letter collections, for example, contain a number of significant letters from other individuals who allude to Lang. The letters of Lang's husband and those of her father-in-law, Nathanael Friedrich Köstlin (the latter held at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek), also contain interesting information about Lang and about her family life.

Even more informative than the letters of Lang's husband are his poems. Before his marriage, he wrote poetry on an almost daily basis and dated it quite meticulously. After his marriage, his output declined, but he resumed his daily poem-writing whenever he traveled. Much of his poetry deals with events of his life and is therefore a revealing source about Lang's life as well. Through Köstlin's poetry, we can even cast some tantalizing glimpses into Lang's diary. We know from citations in her son's biography that Lang kept a diary, but it has apparently not survived. Fortunately, Reinhold Köstlin enjoyed using letters and diary entries as sources for his poems. Several of his poems are framed in quotation marks and have titles such as "Aus Deinen Briefen" (Taken from Your Letters) or "Josephine am 29. August." In 1854, Köstlin used Lang's diary as the basis for a whole series of poems. During that year, he took a cure at the small spa of Kreuth, where he had first met Lang in 1840. Apparently, she gave him her diary from the time of their first meeting to read during his trip. Some of his poems from 1854 set down his own reminiscences of the events of 1840. Ten of them, set in quotation marks and written in a feminine voice, seem to be direct conversions of Lang's diary entries into poetry. Of course, one cannot uncritically accept poetry as biographical evidence, for a poet has no obligation to adhere to the facts. Nevertheless, if used with care, Köstlin's poems can be very significant biographical sources.

The biographical portions of our study take all of the above sources into consideration.<sup>15</sup> It is possible that additional sources will come to light after the publication of this book. The collection of materials at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna may still yield unsuspected treasures. Although we were generously granted access to this collection before it was catalogued, the restricted hours of the archive and our limited time and funding for research in Vienna rendered it difficult for us to study this material as thoroughly as we would have wished. There may also be additional archives that, unbeknownst to us, hold relevant materials. We apologize for any gaps in our research and hope that our study will encourage others to fill them.

A vitally important source for Lang scholarship is her published music. The Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart holds almost all of her first editions, and other libraries in Germany (notably the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin) also possess many of them.<sup>16</sup> Some modern editions are available as well. In 1981, Da Capo Press issued a volume (now out of print) of



fifty-two of Lang's songs—a reprint of a collection issued in 1882 by Breitkopf & Härtel, with twelve additional songs.<sup>17</sup> A few of Lang's songs have appeared in various anthologies.<sup>18</sup> A two-volume set of Lang's songs is forthcoming from Hildegard Publishing,<sup>19</sup> and Furore Verlag in Germany is also preparing a collection. Additional scores of Lang's songs can be found on a website relating to the poet Johann Georg Jacobi.<sup>20</sup>

With the kind cooperation of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, we have established a companion website to this book, which contains scores of songs that we discuss and that could not be included in the volume.<sup>21</sup> Among the musical examples in this book, however, there are numerous complete songs. We hope that the sources mentioned here will enable readers to access the scores that they require in order to follow the discussions in this volume.

Our study interweaves an account of Lang's life with comments on her songs because the songs are interesting in their own right and also because they interact in fascinating ways with her life. In fact, her songs are in some respects yet another source of information about her life. Lang once said, "My songs are my diary"<sup>22</sup>—a remark that readers should keep in mind as they explore Lang's life and songs with us.

# ONE

## The Beginning of Josephine Lang's Compositional Career

### Family and Earliest Years

Josephine Lang was born into a musical family.<sup>1</sup> Her grandfather and great-uncle, Martin Lang (1755–1819) and Franz Lang (1751–1816), were both well-known horn players,<sup>2</sup> and both obtained positions in the Munich court orchestra. Martin Lang's son Theobald (1783–1839) followed in his footsteps, assuming a position as violinist in the same orchestra in 1798 (when he was only 15). In 1808, Theobald married Regina Hitzelberger (1786–1827), the daughter of two prominent musicians: her father was a flute virtuoso, and her mother, Sabine Renk (1755–1817), one of the most celebrated singers of her day. Regina Hitzelberger became famous in her own right. After a solid musical education under Peter von Winter, Carl Cannabich, and Abbé Vogler, she became an opera singer, in which capacity she favorably impressed Carl Maria von Weber. It is not surprising that the children of such parents were artistically talented. Their first child, Ferdinand (1810–82), became one of the best-known comic actors in Munich. Their daughter, Josephine, became a composer.<sup>3</sup>

Josephine Lang was born on 14 March 1815. Because her birth was two months premature, she was frail and sickly (which she was to remain throughout her life), and her parents referred to her as their “child of anxiety” (*Angstkind*).<sup>4</sup> Among her childhood peers she was an outsider, partly because of her poor health, but also because of her intense interest in music to the exclusion of all else. She wrote in her memoirs:

I was greatly distressed when from time to time my parents sent me into the street to join the other children. I once heard the children say to each other, “That little Pepperl is worthless! She’s no good for anything! She can’t even play.” While the others tumbled about with joyful shouts and enjoyed their game, I usually stood alone off to the side and sulked, for I found it all so boring. On the other hand, I was able to sit for days at my mother’s feet when she sang or played piano.<sup>5</sup>

Regine Hitzelberger-Lang's first music teacher had been *her* mother.<sup>6</sup> Following the pattern established in her own childhood, she in turn became her daughter's first teacher. Lang later wrote, "It was my greatest pleasure when she took me onto her lap and with a thousand caresses let my fingers walk on the piano, taught me to sing children's songs, or even to play little pieces. Thus it often occurred that I went to sleep while singing and playing."<sup>7</sup> Lang's mother had a significant impact on her musical career not only as a teacher but also as a role model, particularly in not allowing her marriage to end her career. She continued to perform on the stage for four years after her marriage, and even the birth of her son in 1810 seems not to have interfered with her career. In 1812 or 1813, she traveled to Vienna,<sup>8</sup> apparently hoping for a position at the Vienna Opera.<sup>9</sup> After leaving the stage, she continued to teach and give recitals; H. A. Köstlin mentions highly acclaimed concert tours with her husband to Stuttgart, Amsterdam, and Hamburg.<sup>10</sup>

A number of Lang's other female relatives were involved in the arts. Unfortunately, her illustrious maternal grandmother, Sabine Renk-Hitzelberger, died when Lang was only two years old,<sup>11</sup> but Lang definitely had contact with her paternal grandmother, Marianne (known as Anna) Lang (1755–1835), who was an actress and acting teacher (see below). She corresponded with her aunt, Margarethe Lang, who was trained as a singer and actress and who married and ably assisted a prominent theater director in Vienna, Carl Andreas Freiherr von Bernbrunn. The wealth of female role models in Josephine Lang's immediate family undoubtedly had a significant impact on her life.

Lang described her earliest forays into performing and composing as follows:

In the third year of my life, my mother already taught me songs, which I had to sing when we had guests. In unguarded moments I fetched the footstool to the piano, climbed up so that I was able to reach the keyboard, searched out accompaniments for myself, and invented new melodies with facility.<sup>12</sup>

This quotation reveals that Lang had a strong urge to "make music" in both senses from an early age.

### Education and Significant Early Impressions

Although Lang's mother was a superb musician, eminently qualified to initiate her daughter's musical training, it soon became necessary to seek other instructors for the gifted child. Her older brother's piano teacher came upon the five-year-old Lang as she stood on her footstool, singing and playing one of her own songs.

He was amazed by her talent, took the trouble to write down her song (which unfortunately does not seem to have been preserved), and urged the parents to let her take piano lessons. Although they consented, it appears that they initially did not put much thought into the selection of her teachers. According to H. A. Köstlin, "no real seriousness or effort went into this matter. Neither the teacher nor the method was suited to the individuality of this distinctively talented being."<sup>13</sup> One of her teachers was so apathetic as to fall asleep during her lessons.<sup>14</sup> Increased rigor was, however, applied as Lang's talent became more widely recognized. H. A. Köstlin summarized the beginning of a new phase of her training as follows:

One day, standing on a footstool, [Lang] had to display her ability at the piano at a social gathering. Among the invited guests was Mlle. Berlinghof, an artist gifted with a rare pedagogic skill. . . . She recognized at first glance what the talented child lacked, namely the strict discipline of a good method and conscientious direction. Unasked, the noble woman volunteered to offer both to the child. And during these lessons, as [Lang] herself related, "the heavens opened" for the little artist. She progressed so rapidly that she was already allowed to appear as a pianist in a Museum concert at the age of eleven, playing variations by Henri Herz on "Donna del Lago."<sup>15</sup>

The Museum Society sponsored regular concerts for its membership, which included royalty and prominent government officials. Lang's appearance on a Museum program indicates that she was recognized as possessing notable talent.<sup>16</sup>

Mlle. Berlinghof, with her "rare pedagogic skill," was no doubt an improvement on Lang's previous instructors. The fact that Lang was performing variations by Herz under her tutelage, however, suggests that Lang's musical training remained somewhat superficial and did not go beyond what was typical for young women at that time. As we learn from a letter that Felix Mendelssohn wrote from Munich, the trivial variations of Henri Herz were very popular in that city as display pieces for young women:

Even the best pianists [in Munich] had no idea that Mozart and Haydn had also composed for the piano; they had just the faintest notion of Beethoven and consider the music of Kalkbrenner, Field and Hummel classical and scholarly. . . . The young ladies, quite able to perform adequate pieces very nicely, tried to break their fingers with juggler's tricks and ropedancer's feats of Herz's.<sup>17</sup>

It is, on the one hand, impressive that Lang was able to perform Herz's "juggler's tricks" at the age of eleven, after only a short period of serious instruction. On

the other hand, one would wish that Mlle. Berlinghof had exposed her to some Bach, Beethoven, and Mozart as well—and there is no evidence that she did.

Lang's early education was not very well balanced. Her musical training, inadequate as it was, received much more weight than regular schooling. Because of her weak health, her parents decided to hire a tutor instead of sending her to school. The laxity of the tutor resulted in considerable deficiencies in Lang's education. It is noteworthy that her parents' concern for her health did not, however, prevent them from taking the young girl to the opera, where she sometimes fell asleep on her mother's lap. Although her visits to the opera were fatiguing, she considered them to be among her most significant childhood experiences.<sup>18</sup> Italian opera dominated the Munich stage in the early nineteenth century, Rossini's operas being the overwhelming favorites, but German and French operas were performed as well, so that Lang was exposed to a wide spectrum of operatic works.<sup>19</sup>

Equally important for Lang's artistic growth was her interaction with the painter Joseph Stieler (1781–1858).<sup>20</sup> Stieler, highly regarded for his skill at portraiture, was employed in Munich as court painter both by King Maximilian (beginning in 1812) and his successor King Ludwig I (beginning in 1825). Before and during his employment, Stieler traveled widely. During stays in Vienna and Weimar he painted portraits of Beethoven and Goethe, still among the best-known images of those individuals.

It cannot be determined how Lang's family came into contact with Stieler. It is possible that the meeting occurred because both her father and Stieler were court employees. However the families met, they were close enough that Joseph Stieler consented to become the godfather of little Josephine Lang, and that he welcomed her into his home as a playmate for his children.

The connection with Stieler and his family was of immense benefit to Lang. She was able to frequent his studio, watch him paint, and listen to his reminiscences of the great cities in which he had lived, and of the prominent individuals whose portraits he had painted. Thus, she vicariously came into contact with the artistic world beyond Munich. Stieler was also an active advocate for improvements in Lang's musical education. He entreated Lang's parents to entrust her teaching to a prominent musician, such as Johann Nepomuk Hummel.<sup>21</sup> The financial situation of Lang's parents, however, precluded such a costly step.

Lang's health and well-being also benefited from the association with Stieler. He owned a house in the nearby town of Tegernsee, nestled in the hills on the shores of the eponymous lake. Lang's summer vacations there with his family, which often lasted several months, were among her most vivid memories.<sup>22</sup> Her many happy hours in the open air had a positive effect on her weak health. Furthermore,

these vacations in Tegernsee relieved her from numerous exhausting duties at home. In order to supplement the meager income of her father, she gave piano lessons to other young women; even while she was still a child, she became one of the “top piano teachers in Munich.”<sup>23</sup> Although her ability to contribute to the family income must have given her some satisfaction, the work put a strain on her health. A further drain on her was her parents’ deplorable habit of putting her on display during social gatherings. Passages from her memoirs (quoted earlier) demonstrate that this habit began when she was only three years old. It was no doubt entertaining for guests to see and hear the young girl, who was not yet able to sit on a normal bench, play the piano. Her parents continued this practice after she was studying piano more formally; many of her evenings were taken up with performances at the homes of various friends. These performances were definitely detrimental to her health.<sup>24</sup>

The Tegernsee vacations, made possible by Lang’s friendship with the Stielers, allowed her to recover from the stresses of her life in Munich and granted her time to polish and write down her compositions. Inscriptions on her autographs from the early 1830s onward reveal that she used much of her free time in Tegernsee to revise and neatly notate songs that she had hastily sketched in Munich. We shall see in the next chapter that Joseph Stieler had his flaws—but it is undeniable that he exerted a beneficent influence on Lang’s early years.

In 1827, Lang experienced a tragic loss—the death of her mother.<sup>25</sup> This event could well have thrown Lang’s education into complete disarray. She was fortunate, however, in the care that she received after her loss. For approximately a year she lived with her paternal grandmother, in whose home her musical activities continued at least in a cursory fashion.<sup>26</sup> In 1828, her father, with the education of his children at heart, married Therese Seligmann, the widow of one of his colleagues in the court orchestra. She had one son, Karl, from her previous marriage, and together she and Theobald Lang had a daughter, Margarethe. There is every indication that the Lang–Seligmann marriage resulted in a happy blended family.<sup>27</sup> Therese Seligmann turned out to be an admirable second mother for Josephine Lang. She took steps to initiate a more thorough general education for her stepdaughter. It was only after her father’s second marriage that Lang “received organized lessons in the usual subjects. . . . She quickly and almost effortlessly made up for what had been neglected.”<sup>28</sup> The “organized lessons” probably involved improved tutoring, which now included such subjects as drawing, dancing, and French.<sup>29</sup> Eventually, Lang was sent to school. H. A. Köstlin provides no details of her formal schooling, but information about what it likely entailed can be gleaned from contemporary sources. The education of girls and young women

was taken somewhat more seriously in Munich than in other parts of Germany. Simon Spitzweg, a city magistrate who had significant influence on the school system, wrote:

I do not need to fear that our future citizenesses [*sic*] will be too educated and therefore unsuited for their appointed vocations. There is no question that knowledge becomes a woman just as well as a man. It is important to recognize that these women will be the first teachers of their children and also could, because of their education, help the youngsters with homework.<sup>30</sup>

Spitzweg's comments are remarkable for a period in which the education of girls and young women was generally not as thorough as that of boys and young men. Many subjects were withheld from young women: "the main emphasis was always on literature, religion, foreign languages, and history. Science, mathematics, and ancient languages, the core of higher education for boys in the nineteenth century, were never included."<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, subjects that were taught in detail to boys were skimmed over lightly in girls' schools. Even in the relatively enlightened state of Bavaria, one of the articles of the Teaching Directive (1804) stated, "Many topics which should be thoroughly explained to the boys can be dealt with in a more superficial manner with the girls."<sup>32</sup>

The specific content of the curriculum to which Lang was exposed is uncertain because no biographer specifically names the school that she attended. There were three girls' schools in Munich, with very different curricula: the Max Joseph Institut, for upper-class girls of ages 7 to 16; the Nymphenburg School, for upper middle-class girls of ages 6 to 15; and the Höhere Töchter Schule, open to girls from the lower civil service and artisan ranks. Under normal circumstances, Lang would have been sent to one of the latter two schools. Köstlin's reference to an "Institut," however, implies that she attended the Max Joseph Institut.<sup>33</sup> Hiller's statement that Lang took English and Italian corroborates this hypothesis, for these courses were offered to girls only at the Institut. It appears, then, that Lang was admitted to this school for upper-class girls as a special favor.<sup>34</sup> At the Max Joseph Institut, she would have studied religion, German, French, history, geography, natural history, arithmetic, drawing, music, dancing, and needlework. English or Italian were available as electives in upper grades.<sup>35</sup> In short, after 1828 Lang's education seems to have been better than that of most girls of her class.

We can glean something of the results of Lang's education from the title pages of her autograph booklets of the 1830s. They indicate that she had at least a smattering of a number of languages other than German. Fragments of Italian and French appear on several title pages. There are also some quotations in En-

glish (albeit very bad English!) and one in Greek. The title pages demonstrate that Lang was familiar with a wide variety of poetry and literature. On these pages, she copied numerous excerpts from the works of German authors, for example, Schiller, Goethe, Tieck, Jean Paul, Wilhelm Müller, Platen, Heine, and Rückert. But the title pages contain quotations from English and French authors as well: Shakespeare, Byron, Bulwer-Lytton, and George Herbert from England, and Balzac, Hugo, and the female poet Valmore from France.

Lang's musical education does not seem to have undergone extensive changes after her father's second marriage. Her piano lessons continued. There is no evidence of any theoretical training before 1830.<sup>36</sup> A bound autograph volume entitled "Liedersammlung von J. Lang 1828" (Mus. fol. 53a), containing songs that Lang found interesting enough to copy, suggests that her musical diet was still not particularly nutritious. The album includes only a few songs by composers whom we now recognize as significant: two by Schubert—the famous "Der Wanderer," and "Ungeduld" from *Die schöne Müllerin*; one by "Mendelssohn-Bartholdy," namely "Italien";<sup>37</sup> and two songs and an aria by Carl Maria von Weber—"Wunsch und Entsagung" (op. 66 no. 4), "Schwäbisches Bettlerlied" (op. 25 no. 4), and "Und ob die Wolke sich verhülle" (from *Der Freischütz*). Among the other composers represented are "André" (probably Johann Anton André), Franz Danzi, and the Munich composer Leopold Lenz. From this song notebook, we can deduce that the emphasis in Lang's musical education remained on repertoire that was popular in Munich salons.

### Lang's Earliest Songs

Further insight into Lang's musical knowledge in the late 1820s can be gleaned from her own songs. In spite of her extremely busy teaching and performing schedule, Lang was quite productive as a composer in the years 1828–30. Several of her songs from this period, neatly copied, are preserved in the aforementioned "Liedersammlung," interspersed with songs by other composers. Other very early songs are included in two additional volumes in the Stuttgart collection of Lang's manuscripts (Mus. fols. 54a and 54d). Although these songs are undated, the quality of the paper (considerably stiffer and darker in color than that on which later songs are notated), as well as the similarity of the script to that on demonstrably early autographs, suggests their early origin.

Some of the songs in these booklets appear to belong to the set that Lang later called her "op. 1."<sup>38</sup> This set appeared in print with Falter und Sohn in Munich in 1831 (when Lang was only sixteen years old), under the title *Acht deutsche Lieder*



EXAMPLE 1.1 “Das Wunderblümchen,” “op. 1” no. 8, mm. 11–12 (Mus. fol. 54d, 14r, Württembergische Landesbibliothek [WLB])



(Eight German Songs).<sup>39</sup> Four songs in the 1828 “*Liedersammlung*,” two in Mus. fol. 54a, and one in Mus. fol. 54d, are settings of the texts that Lang later listed as belonging to her “op. 1.” We cannot be absolutely certain that these are indeed the settings of these texts that she published in 1831, for we have been unable to locate a published exemplar of “op. 1.”

Whether or not these songs belong to the *Acht deutsche Lieder*, they are good examples of Lang’s youthful style. All of them are strophic and occupy only one or two pages of manuscript paper. The melodies are for the most part square and predictable in phrase structure, and rhythmically straightforward. One exception to this melodic simplicity is found in “Das Wunderblümchen”; as birdsong is mentioned in the text, Lang employs a cadenza-like vocal flourish (ex. 1.1).<sup>40</sup> The piano parts of these very early songs reveal Lang’s interest in exploring various types of accompaniment patterns; some consist of simple solid-chord accompaniments (“An den Frühling,” with a text by Schiller, and “Hexenlied,” text by Ludwig Hölty),<sup>41</sup> whereas others involve arpeggiated patterns (“Am Tag, wo freudiges Entzücken,” and “Liebessehnen”).<sup>42</sup> Some songs mix arpeggiated and solid-chord accompaniments; for example, in “An die Entfernte” (text by Goethe—ex. 1.2), arpeggiation alternates with a pattern based on repeated solid chords.

The “op. 1” songs demonstrate a surprisingly sophisticated knowledge of harmony for a thirteen- to fifteen-year-old with no theoretical training. “An die Entfernte” includes a dramatic German sixth chord, placed at a point where tonic harmony is expected (ex. 1.2, m. 10), and an expressive instance of mode mixture; the song is in the minor mode, but shifts to the parallel major as the lyric *I* remembers past happiness (ex. 1.2, m. 7). “Liebessehnen” also illustrates mode mixture; the introduction (ex. 1.3a) already juxtaposes the lowered and the diatonic scale degree 6, and at the vocal climax, the same two pitches appear in a

EXAMPLE 1.2 "An die Entfernte," "op. 1" no. 1 (Mus. fol. 53a, 3v, WLB)

**Andante**

So hab' ich wirk - lich dich ver -

lo - ren? Bist du, o Schö - ne, mir ent - floh'n? Noch

klingt in den ge - wohn - ten Oh - ren ein je - des Wort, ein je - der

Ton, ein je - des Wort, ein je - der Ton.

EXAMPLE 1.3a “Liebessehnen,” “op. 1” no. 3, mm. 1–4 (Mus. fol. 54a, 6r, WLB)

**Andante**

EXAMPLE 1.3b “Liebessehnen,” mm. 16–20

16

ge - den - ke ich dein, ge - den - ke ich dein.

EXAMPLE 1.4 “An den Frühling,” “op. 1” no. 2, mm. 7–15 (Mus. fol. 53a, 4r, WLB)

7

....tur, mit dei - nem Blu - men -

11

körb - chen, will - kom - men auf der Flur.

EXAMPLE 1.5 "Lied," "op. 2" no. 4, mm. 1–3



higher register (ex. 1.3b). The anticipation in the introduction of a significant aspect of the vocal portion is a characteristic of Lang's mature practice. "An den Frühling" (ex. 1.4) contains an abrupt modulation to the key of flat VI, the home key being reinstated via a German sixth chord. Of course, these very early songs include infelicities as well, for example, parallel fifths and strange cross relations (see m. 10 of ex. 1.2 for an instance of the latter problem). The overall impression one gains from these songs, however, is that of an extremely talented young composer. The collections that Lang later called opp. 2 through 6 consist of very early songs as well. Although the exact dates of composition cannot be determined, some of them undoubtedly date from the period 1828–30.<sup>43</sup> These collections, like "op. 1," contain many surprisingly sophisticated passages. "Leichte Lüfte," a setting of August Graf von Platen from the "op. 2" collection (ex. 1.5), displays Lang's emerging gift for imaginative piano writing. The rising arpeggio figuration punctuated by light staccato chords is obviously inspired by the text, especially by the first stanza's reference to "gentle breezes." Another Platen setting, "Auf der Alpe" from the "op. 3" collection, is for the most part a limpid, serene song. The second vocal phrase, however, begins with striking dissonances (ex. 1.6)—parallel seconds between the vocal and the piano melody. There is no apparent textual motivation for these dissonances; they are either editorial errors,<sup>44</sup> or they represent Lang's deliberate attempt to shock her complacent salon audience. Although bold use of dissonance is one of the hallmarks of Lang's mature style, dissonance of comparable harshness does not appear in her later works.<sup>45</sup>

The first song of "op. 4," a slumber song with a text by Johann Georg Jacobi,<sup>46</sup> again demonstrates Lang's fluency with chromatic harmony; it contains mode mixture and augmented sixth chords. The fourth song from this collection, the Platen setting "Sehnsucht," shows Lang experimenting with a virtuosic accompaniment style. The piano part is in steady triplets, with numerous grace notes and a considerable amount of chromaticism (ex. 1.7). "Op. 5" no. 2, another setting of Jacobi's poetry,<sup>47</sup> contains a beautiful example of deviation from an established four-bar hypermeter. At m. 16, where both text and music would lead one to ex-

## EXAMPLE 1.6 “Auf der Alpe,” “op. 3” no. 2, mm. 9–12

The musical score for Example 1.6 shows measures 9 through 12 of the song "Auf der Alpe" from Op. 3, No. 2. The music is in 2/4 time and B-flat major. The vocal line (soprano) begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and C5, then a half note D5. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and single notes in the left hand. The lyrics "stei - gen mir Ge - däch - nis - bil - - - der" are written below the vocal line.

pect a cadence to the tonic, Lang evades the cadence by moving to I6, and, during a repetition of the final line of text, approaches the actual final cadence in a leisurely fashion. This hypermetric expansion anticipates another conspicuous characteristic of Lang’s mature style.

The piano part of “Geisternähe,” “op. 6” no. 4, has a number of appealing features: its distinctive rhythm, the independence of its upper voice from the vocal line (it frequently rises above the vocal melody), and the brief bass doubling of the vocal melody at mm. 9–10, which results in a subtle darkening of the color (ex. 1.8).<sup>48</sup> The third song from “op. 6” is discussed in some detail below.

It is worth looking briefly at Lang’s poetic sources during this period. A large number of the early songs are settings of prominent German poets. Her first publication, *Acht deutsche Lieder* (“op. 1”), begins with settings of Goethe and Schiller (nos. 1 and 2, respectively), and the sets that she labeled “op. 5” and “op. 6” contain Goethe settings as well (“op. 5” nos. 1 and 3, and “op. 6” no. 3). More frequently, however, she selected poems by less illustrious late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century lyric poets: the aforementioned Johann Georg Jacobi, Ludwig Hölty, Friedrich von Matthisson, Theodor Körner, Wilhelm Müller, and August Graf von Platen. As a patriotic Bavarian, Lang also set texts by poets who were known only in that part of Germany, for example, King Ludwig I (“op. 1” nos. 3 and 7, and several unpublished songs), Leopold Feldmann, and Apollonius von Maltitz. The eclectic quality of Lang’s text choices characterizes her output from 1828 to 1840, and from 1856 until the end of her life. (In 1840–56, she was to focus on the work of a single poet—her husband.)

During her youth, Lang wrote some piano pieces in addition to her songs. Most of these were short waltzes, along the lines of Schubert’s opp. 9 and 33. They probably originated in much the same way as Schubert’s waltzes—as improvisations for friends who wanted to dance—and are musically not nearly as interesting as her songs.

EXAMPLE 1.7a "Sehnsucht," "op. 4" no. 4, mm. 1–4

**Agitato, con anima**

3

*pp* *cresc.*

Duf - - - ten nicht die Lau - ben - gän - ge

*pp*

\* \*

EXAMPLE 1.7b "Sehnsucht," mm. 7–8

7

lei - - - se Mai - - - en - win - de kräu - seln den

EXAMPLE 1.8 "Geisternähe," "op. 6" no. 4, mm. 8–12

9

denk' ich nur dich, o du mein Al - les.

\* \*

## Meetings with Felix Mendelssohn

Mid-June 1830 brought a very significant event in Lang's career as a composer—her first meeting with Felix Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn, at this time twenty-one years old, was already a prominent composer, who had produced such masterpieces as the *Octet* and the *Midsummer Night's Dream Overture*. In June 1830, he was in the midst of an extended journey, essentially a “Grand Tour.” He had just visited Goethe in Weimar and was en route to Vienna and Italy. He became very popular in Munich, where he visited and performed in many of the foremost houses. As Goethe's protégé, he was welcomed with open arms in the Stieler home. It is not surprising that Stieler immediately thought of introducing him to his gifted god-daughter, Josephine Lang. Here is Lang's description of the meeting:

I was playing in the Stieler home with the children at their dolls' kitchen, when Frau Stieler, as sometimes occurred, called me away and led me into the drawing room in order that I should sing to a guest and friend of the household. He stood, leaning against the piano, so close to me that he looked into my mouth, which, since I was shy in any case, made me feel very constrained. I immediately had to follow the first song with a second, third, fourth—he couldn't hear enough. I recall that I sang “Hexenlied” [“op. 1” no. 6], “Elfenreigen” [published as “Fee'n-Reigen,” “op. 3” no. 4], and the Goethe setting “Tage der Wonne” [“op. 6” no. 3].<sup>49</sup>

On this and other occasions during Mendelssohn's stay in Munich, Lang heard him play and improvise. As we have seen from one of his letters, quoted earlier, he did not play the light fare that Munich society favored, but rather the music of Beethoven and Bach as well as his own. The exposure to such music had a shattering impact on Lang; in her own words, “his spirit brought [her] light, his creations set an ideal before [her].” Even more significant for her, however, was Mendelssohn's intervention into her own musical activity. She wrote, “He spoke to me most forcefully. He was very dissatisfied with my activity up to that point. He chastised me for wasting my gifts at social gatherings [and said that] one should hold one's talent sacred.”<sup>50</sup> The words of a musician of his caliber, who obviously took her gifts very seriously, precipitated a revelation within her—a “complete upheaval in [her] being.”<sup>51</sup> She realized that she was destined for something more than teaching piano and entertaining in Munich salons.

When Mendelssohn left Munich, he gave Lang a volume of Goethe's poetry, with an inscription drawn from Goethe's poem “An Lina”: “Do not [merely] read, but always sing, and the whole book is yours!” If Lang was familiar with the context of these lines, she would have realized that Mendelssohn was, by quoting them, recalling his experience of her performances. The poem begins:

Liebchen, kommen diese Lieder  
 Jemals wieder dir zur Hand,  
 Sitze beim Klaviere nieder,  
 Wo der Freund sonst bei dir stand.

Darling, if these poems  
 Ever again fall into your hands,  
 Then sit down at the piano,  
 Where your friend once stood beside you.<sup>52</sup>

The excerpt that Mendelssohn wrote down for Lang reveals that he respected her as a performer and composer of song—as one who had the gift of “singing” poetry.

When Mendelssohn passed through Munich on his way home from Italy in October 1831, he met Lang again, heard her perform more of her songs, and was overwhelmed by her talent. He wrote to his family:

Hers is one of the most delightful images that has ever appeared to me. Imagine a gentle, small, pale maiden, with noble but not beautiful features, so interesting, so distinctive that one can hardly take one's eyes off her, and every movement, every word full of originality. Now she has a gift to compose songs, and to sing them, the like of which I have never heard; it is likely the most perfect musical pleasure that has yet been granted to me. When she sits down at the piano and begins one of these songs, the tones sound different—the entire music is moved back and forth so strangely, and in each note there is the deepest, finest feeling. When she then sings the first note with her delicate voice, everybody becomes quiet and thoughtful, and everybody is in his way touched through and through. If only you could hear this voice! So innocent and unconsciously beautiful, emanating from the innermost soul and yet so very calm! Last year all of the prerequisites were already in place; she had written no song that did not contain a sun-clear stroke of talent, and then M[arx]<sup>53</sup> and I began to drum up a racket among the musicians in the town; but nobody quite wanted to believe us. Since then, however, she has made the most remarkable progress. Whoever is not moved by her current songs must be completely without feeling.<sup>54</sup>

Mendelssohn made a very deep impression on Lang, but it is apparent from the above quotation that the impression she made on him was no less profound. He had traveled widely and had heard some of the finest musicians then alive—and yet he regarded Lang's performances of her songs as “the most perfect musical pleasure that had yet been granted to him.” No other contemporary musician, to our knowledge, elicited such a lengthy and enthusiastic outburst from the young composer.

Mendelssohn's actions toward Lang confirm the respect for her that so vividly shines forth from the above letter. For instance, he found her songs to be worthy vehicles for his improvisation,<sup>55</sup> and he arranged two of them for male chorus and had them performed during his visit, namely: “Trinklied vor der Schlacht” (Drinking Song Before the Battle) and “Frisch auf ihr Jäger” (Onward, Ye Hunters).<sup>56</sup> Since Mendelssohn saw his role in Munich as that of a “preacher in the desert,”



castigating the multitude for its superficial musical tastes,<sup>57</sup> he would not have improvised on or arranged and performed music that he did not value.

Mendelssohn's admiration for Lang's talent is also evident from his efforts to advertise it. The activity of "drumming up" interest in Lang, mentioned in his letter to his family, must have related to her composing rather than her performing, for Lang was already well known in Munich as a performer. Mendelssohn's advertising activity was successful; H. A. Köstlin writes that "henceforth, the artistic circles of Munich looked at [her] with different eyes; she was now regarded as an artist [*Künstlerin*], and whoever was at all important sought to come into contact with her."<sup>58</sup>

Mendelssohn also brought or sent some of his prominent friends from outside of Munich to Lang so that she could sing for them. Hiller's biography lists the names of the theorist Adolf Bernhard Marx and the singer Franz Hauser as individuals whom Mendelssohn introduced to Lang.<sup>59</sup> On Mendelssohn's recommendation, Hiller himself sought Josephine Lang out in 1832.<sup>60</sup>

Nothing so clearly demonstrates Mendelssohn's interest in Lang as his continuation and expansion of the active intervention into her musical career that he had initiated the year before. As is obvious from another passage from his letter to his family, he viewed with concern the use of Lang as an object for display: "It has unfortunately become the fashion to beg the little maiden for a song, and to take the candles away from the piano, in order to enjoy her melancholy. This creates an evil contrast . . ." He spoke earnestly to her parents, pleading with them to desist from putting Lang on display "so as to avoid spoiling something divine." He worried about her lack of musical education and judgment, finding that "she was barely able to differentiate between good and bad music, and actually found everything beautiful, aside from her own works." He in fact contributed to Lang's education by giving her daily lessons in "double counterpoint, four-part writing, and so on."<sup>61</sup> That Mendelssohn took the time to teach Lang was extraordinary, given the extremely busy social life of one who "was sought after by the high and the low."<sup>62</sup>

Mendelssohn wrote that he was "teaching [Lang] what she already knew by nature."<sup>63</sup> Although he was impressed with her innate talent, however, he felt that she needed a proper musical education and, like Stieler before him, attempted to pave the way for a rigorous program of study. It was his wish that Lang should go to Berlin to study composition with Zelter, and piano with his sister Fanny.<sup>64</sup> These plans, like those broached by Stieler, came to naught; Hiller mentions the father's concerns over Lang's health and his unwillingness to be separated from her as the reasons for his refusal to let her go to Berlin. Financial considerations were no doubt involved as well.

Although Felix Mendelssohn was unable to secure for Lang the education that she deserved, his influence on her career was very powerful; he catalyzed her metamorphosis from a child prodigy, put on display for the edification of guests,

into a professional composer. Marcia Citron has written that “professionalism . . . involves having one’s music published, performed, and written about.”<sup>65</sup> On all of these fronts, Mendelssohn’s activities were directly or indirectly helpful to Lang. It is significant that her “op. 1” was published in 1831; there is likely a connection between this publication and Mendelssohn’s “drumming up” of interest in her during the previous year. Mendelssohn was active in performing Lang’s music, both improvising on it and arranging it for performance by male chorus. Finally, although Mendelssohn himself did not write about Lang’s music, he put her in touch with Ferdinand Hiller, who was to become her first biographer.

Felix Mendelssohn remained interested in Lang’s career throughout the remaining years of his life. Although he never returned to Munich after 1831, he asked about Lang in letters to his Munich friends and sent his greetings to her.<sup>66</sup> In later letters to Lang and her husband (some of which will be quoted in subsequent chapters), he constantly urged her to keep composing, and evaluated in very positive terms those of her songs that he had seen. The immense benefits that his support brought her extended well beyond his death in 1847.

## Two Songs That Mendelssohn Heard

Let us examine two of the songs that Josephine Lang sang for Felix Mendelssohn in 1831. “Frühzeitiger Frühling” (“op. 6” no. 3) is the song by Josephine Lang that is best known today; it has been reissued in two modern collections,<sup>67</sup> and has been recorded repeatedly (track 1). This suitably exuberant setting of a wonderful poem fully deserves this amount of attention. Here is Lang’s version of Goethe’s poem (along with our translation):<sup>68</sup>

Tage der Wonne, kommt ihr so bald?  
Schenkt mir die Sonne Hügel und  
Wald?  
Reichlicher fließen Bächlein zumal,  
Sind es die Wiesen? Ist es das Tal?

Unter des Grünen blühender Kraft  
Naschen die Bienlein summend vom Saft.  
Buntes Gefieder rauschet im Hain,  
Himmliche Lieder schallen darein!

Mächtiger rühret bald sich ein Hauch,

Days of ecstasy, come you so early?  
Does the sun present me with hill and  
forest?  
The brooks flow more generously now.  
Is it the meadows? Is it the valley?

Under the blossoming wealth of  
greenery,  
The little bees sip, buzzing, on nectar.  
Colorful plumage rustles in the grove,  
Heavenly songs ring out!

Soon a breath of air stirs more  
powerfully,

Doch er verlieret gleich sich im Strauch.  
Aber zum Busen kehrt er zurück,  
Helfet ihr Musen tragen das Glück!

Yet it is immediately lost in the shrubs.  
But it returns to [my] bosom;  
Muses, help [me] bear the happiness!

Leise Bewegung bebt in der Luft,  
Reizende Regung, schläfernder Duft.  
Saget seit gestern wie mir geschah[,]

A soft stirring trembles in the air,  
Delightful commotion, soporific scent.  
Tell me what happened to me since  
yesterday.

Liebliche Schwestern, Liebchen ist da!

Sweet sisters, my beloved has arrived!

These lines convey the excitement of an unfolding spring, both by the colorful succession of images of that season and by the syntax; the initial disjointed series of questions suggests that the lyric *I* is rendered breathless by the glory that is being revealed in spring. The final line makes clear that the sense of excitement and anticipation relates as much to the arrival of the beloved as to that of spring.

Lang responds to the exhilarated mood of this text in various ways. Her tempo indication, *Allegro agitato*, clearly identifies the mood that the poem conveyed to her and that she wished her music to convey.<sup>69</sup> The accompaniment pattern, featuring quick repeated chords, is of a type that nineteenth-century composers often employed to suggest exuberant energy.<sup>70</sup> The pattern may have been suggested in particular by the first line of the fourth stanza: “A soft stirring *trembles* in the air.” This line offers a clue for pianists, who are not given many explicit dynamic markings, as to how the accompaniment should be performed: lightly, not in a pounding manner. Lang relentlessly continues the pattern, stopping it only at the last possible moment, on the final strong beat of the song.

The harmony contributes to the agitated mood; the harmonic rhythm, fluctuating for the most part between four and two chords per measure, is quicker than in most of Lang’s songs. The details of the harmony also add some agitation: Lang employs a considerable amount of chromaticism, mainly arising from tonicization, thereby suggesting extroverted motion (“centrifugality,” in Schoenberg’s terms<sup>71</sup>) rather than rest and stability.

Lang introduces chromaticism gradually and systematically as the song progresses, by injecting rising chromatic semitones into the basically diatonic progression. The introduction is framed by chromatic embellishment of F♯; the semitone “E♯–F♯” occurs twice in mm. 1–2 and once more in m. 4. In the vocal portion of the song, chromatic semitones embellish successive members of the ascending circle of fifths; “B♯–C♯” appears twice in mm. 5–6, then “F♯–G♯” (twice) in m. 7, and “C♯–D♯” in m. 8. All of these chromatic semitones are gathered together in the sweeping chromatic scale in the bass of mm. 9–10. In the remaining bars of the vocal portion, the chromatic collection is again broken up into isolated semitones (“F♯–G♯” in mm. 11 and 13, “B♯–C♯” in mm. 13–14);

the notes embellished by these semitones move down the circle of fifths, thus reversing the earlier rising progression. Lang's chromatic semitones, which sometimes whir by singly, sometimes in "flocks," may be linked with the second stanza's image of colorful birds in the foliage of spring.

The melodic writing contributes to the overall excitement of the song by its frequent changes of direction. The introduction and the almost identical postlude<sup>72</sup> establish this type of melodic activity; the melody moves by step from the mediant up to the leading tone, then descends by step through an octave. Only in that lower register does the leading tone resolve to the tonic. The beginning of the vocal line encompasses a similar reversal of direction, albeit in inverse; the melody of m. 5 falls by step from the mediant to the submediant, whereupon that of m. 6 turns and rises to the supertonic. The melody of m. 7 is a sequence of that of m. 5 a step higher, but the sequence is broken in m. 8 by the first substantial melodic leap (a downward fifth). This downward leap is balanced, after a static measure, by a large leap in an ascending direction in mm. 9–10 (an octave). The space opened up by the octave leap is filled in by a descending arpeggiation, and another large rising leap (a sixth) follows in mm. 10–11. The melody briefly returns to its initial stepwise character in mm. 12–13, ascending from the dominant to the mediant, then approaches the final tonic with a blend of steps and leaps. The melody of the following interlude, although it contains one dramatic upward leap (a rising seventh that "stands for" a falling second), is dominated by descending linear motion, balancing the ascending motion of the final vocal measures. The melody's active nature, specifically its frequent changes in direction and the increasingly frequent incursions of melodic leaps, joins with the rhythmic and harmonic features mentioned earlier to result in an admirably appropriate and amazingly sophisticated setting of Goethe's text.

"Fee'n-Reigen" (Fairy Dance), published in 1834 as the fourth song in Lang's "op. 3," is based on a poem by Friedrich von Matthisson (ex. 1.9 and track 2).

The text of the first strophe is as follows:

Die silbernen Glöckchen der Blume des Mai's	The silver bells of the flower of May,
Sie läuten zum Reih'n!	They ring, inviting to the dance!
Herbei! In den Kreis, ihr schwärmenden Fey'n!	Come into the circle, you swarming fairies!
Auf! purpurne Flöckchen und weisse zu streu'n!	Come strew flakes [i.e., petals] of purple and white!
Wo Mondschein die duftige Primel umbebt,	Where moonlight trembles about the scented primrose,
Da werde der luftige Reigen gewebt!	There the airy dance shall be woven!

## EXAMPLE 1.9 “Fee’n-Reigen,” “op. 3” no. 4

**Rasch und zierlich**

*pp*

5

10

15

Die sil - ber - nen Glöck - chen der

Among the noteworthy features of Lang’s setting are the relationships between the piano introduction and the text, and between the introduction and the remainder of the music. The rather long introduction—long not in terms of elapsed time, but in terms of proportion—can be linked with the poem in several ways. The sprightly staccato chords in a high register in mm. 1–4 suggest both the dancing of the fairies and the little silver bells mentioned in the first line of the poem. The introduction, however, does not remain in a high register. The

EXAMPLE 1.9 *continued*

The musical score consists of three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is D major (two sharps). The first system starts at measure 21 and ends at measure 25. The second system starts at measure 26 and ends at measure 30. The third system starts at measure 31 and ends at measure 35. The lyrics are in German and are written below the vocal line.

21.  
 Blu - me des Mai's sie läu - ten zum Reih'n, *8va-* sie

26  
 läu - - - ten zum Reih'n!

31  
 Her - bei! In den Kreis, ihr schwär - men-den Fey'n! Auf!

opening idea is immediately restated one octave, then two octaves lower, and the left hand subsequently moves yet another octave downward and stays in that low register until the end of the introduction. The right hand twice returns to the original high register (mm. 8–15), but then sounds a series of repeated tonic triads in a middle register. These repeated chords might at first seem out of place, for unlike the light, high-pitched chords of the opening measures, they do not convincingly evoke a fairy dance. Perhaps Lang was thinking of the second stanza of the poem, in which the anxious, driven, death-overshadowed lives of human

EXAMPLE 1.9 *continued*

The musical score consists of three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is D major (two sharps).

**System 1 (Measures 36-39):** The vocal line begins with measure 36, marked with a '36' above the staff. The lyrics are 'pur - pur - ne Flöck - chen und wei - sse zu streu'n! Wo'. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more complex bass line in the left hand.

**System 2 (Measures 40-43):** The vocal line starts at measure 40, marked with a '40' above the staff. The lyrics are 'Mond-schein die duf - ti - ge Pri - mel um - bebt, da wer - de der'. The tempo marking 'riten.' (ritardando) is placed above the vocal staff at measure 40, and 'a tempo' is placed above the vocal staff at measure 43. The piano accompaniment has a similar eighth-note pattern in the right hand.

**System 3 (Measures 45-48):** The vocal line starts at measure 45, marked with a '45' above the staff. The lyrics are 'luf - ti - ge Rei-gen ge - webt, da wer - de der luf - ti - ge Rei'. The piano accompaniment continues with the eighth-note pattern in the right hand.

beings are contrasted with the carefree existence of the immortal fairies. The introduction, with its juxtapositions of high, light material and low, weightier music, could be interpreted as alluding to this contrast.

The introduction anticipates the music of the vocal portion in a number of ways. Subtle metric irregularities, which lift this dance out of the mundane and human into the supernatural and fairylike domain, are established in the introduction, and continue in the vocal portion. Quirky accents on the third beats of measures, first used in mm. 8–14, reappear in mm. 32–33. Hypermetric irregularity, already prominent in the introduction, recurs in the vocal portion.<sup>73</sup> The

EXAMPLE 1.9 *continued*

51

— gen ge - webt!

56

61

*p*

65

69

This musical score is for a vocal and piano piece, continuing from Example 1.9. It consists of five systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is D major (two sharps). The vocal line begins at measure 51 with the lyrics '— gen ge - webt!'. The piano accompaniment features a variety of textures, including arpeggiated chords, sixteenth-note patterns, and block chords. Dynamic markings include *p* (piano) at measure 61. The score concludes at measure 69 with a final chord in the piano part and a whole note in the vocal part.



introduction does not fall readily into four-bar hypermeter. Parsing it into four-bar segments, with downbeats in mm. 1, 5, 9, 13 and 17, is not convincing; these hypothetical downbeats do not coincide with significant harmonic events. Measure 7 is the first clear hyperdownbeat after m. 1, since a definitive resolution to tonic harmony takes place there. The remainder of the introduction then divides neatly into four-bar segments; mm. 1–6, however, constitute an expanded hypermeasure in this parsing. Near the beginning of the vocal part, similar irregularity appears (mm. 23–27). Lang could easily have compressed the harmonies of mm. 24–25 into one bar to create a four-bar hypermeasure, but she clearly wanted to give the bell-like B-minor triad (m. 25), which corresponds to the text “They [the silver bells of the flowers] call to the dance,” sufficient time to ring out.

The pitch material of the introduction anticipates numerous features of the vocal portion. To begin with the most transparent example, the melodic motive of the first two measures, immediately repeated twice, returns unchanged as the incipit of the vocal line. Beyond this obvious return, the trill component of the opening motive is rigorously developed, both later in the introduction and in the vocal section. In mm. 7–12, it is transferred to the bass and transposed, now embellishing the dominant rather than the tonic. In the inner voice of mm. 1–2 (in the right hand), and in subsequent repetitions, the neighboring motion “A–B–A” is an augmentation of the eighth-note trill idea.

The beginning of the vocal line presents tonic- and dominant-prolonging versions of the eighth-note trill (in mm. 19 and 21, respectively); these allude to two versions of the motive presented within the introduction (mm. 1 and 7). Slow trill motives similar to those in the inner voice of mm. 1–7 also occur frequently in the vocal line. The melody in mm. 32–38 is based on the slow trill “F#–G–F#.” The end of the vocal line (mm. 42–50) grows out of the “A–B–A” motive established at the beginning of the introduction. The motive is presented in hemiolic fashion in mm. 42–43 and is slowed down to dotted half-note values and embellished in mm. 44–47.

The introduction’s registral play continues in the vocal portion. The vocal line is anchored on two F#s that are also significant in the introduction—F#5 and F#4. The first vocal phrase (mm. 18–29) emphasizes the higher F# (mm. 20, 24–25). The second phrase (mm. 31–39) emphasizes the lower register—this phrase, as was mentioned, is based on the slow trill, “F#4–G4–F#4”—but a strong tendency toward the higher F# is established by the rising diminished triads of mm. 34–35 and 38–39. In the final phrase (mm. 39–52), Lang allows the rising tendency of the previous phrase to come to fruition; this phrase begins with a leap to F#5 (m. 40), which connects to the E5 of m. 39. The melody then descends by step, but twice touches upon the high F# again (in mm. 44 and 46),

before coming to rest in the lower register. The bouncing back and forth between two registers can be interpreted in the same manner in the vocal portion as in the introduction: it suggests a comparison between the light, airy existence of the fairies and the troubled condition of humankind.

The introduction anticipates harmonic events of the song as well. The introduction consists of only two harmonies—the tonic, and a neighboring diminished-seventh chord. The latter chord plays a significant role in the body of the song: it introduces the sole modulation by leading into the dominant of the modulatory goal (m. 23), and, enharmonically reinterpreted, leads back into the home key by tonicizing its dominant (m. 29).

The postlude forms a suitably sprightly conclusion to the song and also summarizes many of its musical ideas. The eighth-note trills on A3 and G#3 (mm. 52–53, 56–57) as well as the “G#–A” grace-note figures in the left hand allude to the A–G#–A trill of the introduction (mm. 7–12). The melodic line of the postlude is based to a large extent on an alternation between F# and G—a slow trill, which in this specific form already occurred in mm. 32–39. The offbeat accents in mm. 64–65, although now on second rather than third beats, recall those in the introduction and in mm. 32–33. The very end of the song exhibits hypermetric irregularity as well. One would expect a fourth bar of repeated D-major triads (as at the end of the introduction), and a final statement of the tonic on a hyperdownbeat. Instead, Lang presents only three bars of repeated tonic triads, and a final tonic in the fourth, that is, the weakest bar of a hypermeasure. This surprising final gesture suggests the sudden dissolution of the fairies’ dance at dawn.

Finally, like the introduction and the vocal portion, the postlude is based on the interplay between two registers. It begins with a rising motion—an arpeggiation up to the leading tone (mm. 53–54). We expect the leading tone C#5 to resolve to D5, but that resolution is twice avoided; after stating the leading tone, the melody turns downward and presents the aforementioned slow trill in a relatively low register (F#4–G4). The low “human” register, then, dominates the postlude. It is only the last chord of the song that surprisingly re-establishes the high register that we have associated with the fairies.

Both “Frühzeitiger Frühling” and “Fee’n-Reigen” are remarkable testimonials to the talent of the young Josephine Lang. It is nothing short of amazing that she was able to write songs of such melodic grace, rhythmic interest, and motivic sophistication without substantial theoretical training. Mendelssohn was not exaggerating when he wrote that he was “teaching her what she knew by nature.”

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## Two

### The 1830s: Significant Contacts and Friendships

#### Songs of the 1830s

The liberating, catalytic effect of Lang's contact with Mendelssohn probably contributed to her generally high productivity and publication rate during the 1830s (she published at least five sets of songs between 1834 and 1838)<sup>1</sup> and also to the high quality of the songs that she wrote during this period. Only a small selection from this outpouring of fine music can be mentioned here.

"Schmetterling," composed in 1832 and published in 1838 as op. 8 no. 1, is one of Lang's finest songs (ex. 2.1 and track 4).<sup>2</sup> On the autograph,<sup>3</sup> which Lang illustrated with a sketch of butterflies hovering around a flower, the song is entitled "Fanny an einen Schmetterling" (Fanny [Addressing] a Butterfly). The text, by an unknown poet, compares the fluttering of a butterfly from flower to flower to a faithless lover's dallying with many women. It is tempting to attribute the "Mendelssohnian" lightness of the song to that composer's influence, but it must be remembered that Lang had already created songs in a similar vein before she met Mendelssohn (see ex. 1.9). The technically quite difficult piano part of "Schmetterling" is filled with "fluttering" gestures—high trills, single-note triplet eighths with grace notes, and chords in triplet eighths moving rapidly across the registers. Whimsical changes in direction, register, and texture suggest the unpredictability of the flight of a butterfly. There are some rhythmic surprises as well, for instance, the replacement in the final two measures of the song of the hitherto pervasive triplet rhythm with duple eighth notes (ex. 2.1). The vocal line, soaring above the piano part in gentle curves, is likely intended to represent "Fanny," the sorrowing lyric *I*. It is only the vocal line that expresses the poignant sense of loss to which the final lines of text refer; the fluttering piano part, like the inconstant "butterfly," remains untouched by such emotion.

Some of the songs of 1832–33 show Lang experimenting with adventurous tonal plans and surface harmonies. The unpublished song "An die Leyer," com-

## EXAMPLE 2.1 “Schmetterling,” op. 8 no. 1, postlude

The musical score for the postlude of "Schmetterling" is presented in three systems. The first system (mm. 76-78) shows a piano accompaniment with triplets and a vocal line with a wavy line above it. The second system (mm. 79-81) includes tempo markings "ritard.", "a tempo", and "loco", along with a "p" dynamic. The third system (mm. 82-84) features triplets and a "pp" dynamic. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

posed on 14 November 1832,<sup>4</sup> is in F major, but its substantial middle section is in A $\flat$  (vIII). Modulation to a chromatic mediant was to be one of Lang's favorite tonal plays in her mature songs. Another unpublished song, "Ruhe,"<sup>5</sup> composed late in 1833 (judging by its position in Lang's notebook), makes expressive use of the diminished-seventh chord and the related minor-ninth chord to highlight the bitter opening lines, "What are life's pleasures? A source of secret pain" (ex. 2.2).

Lang composed many extraordinary songs in the years 1834 and 1835. Among them are several fine settings of the Swabian poet Justinus Kerner.<sup>6</sup> "Abschied," op. 11 no. 4, composed on 14 February 1835,<sup>7</sup> is the most impressive of the Kerner settings. The text describes the stormy and gloomy conditions under which the farewell between the lyric *I* and his friend<sup>8</sup> took place, and asserts that the gloom has not lifted with the passing of time. Lang set this poem to music that is appropriately dark in hue. The darkness results from her use of low bass notes, thick chords, and sometimes both (see mm. 8–10). The very high and very soft notes at the repetition of "kein Vogel" in mm. 28–29 sound suitably bleak and lonely against the low accompaniment. The voice's deliberately non-melodic

EXAMPLE 2.2 “Ruhe,” mm. 1–4 (unpublished; Mus. fol. 53i, 24, WLB)

Was sind des Lebens Freuden?

ein Quell geheimer Leiden,

*pp* *fz*

final repetitions of the tonic note aptly reflect the meaning of the last line of the poem: “No bird sings for me in the valley.”

“Die Schwalben,” published as op. 10 no. 3 in 1841, is dated 19 May 1835.<sup>9</sup> As in “Schmetterling,” the music suggests the unpredictability of flight—in this case, the darting of swallows. The fermata at the end of the introduction is the first surprise. One does not expect the motion to be interrupted here; the expected continuation would be the entry of the voice part immediately after the resolution of the D# appoggiatura in m. 2. In m. 6, the vocal rhythm is again rather surprising; instead of repeating the “dotted eighth-sixteenth-eighth” rhythm of the first half-bar, Lang writes “eighth-dotted eighth-sixteenth.” Additional unpredictable events follow. The phrase beginning in m. 7 sets up a parallelism to the first vocal phrase (compare mm. 3–5 and 7–9)—but this parallelism is surprisingly destroyed by a line that soars upward, then dives downward (mm. 9–15). The registral fluctuations in the latter measures are surprising in themselves. Anyone who has observed the flight of a swallow will recognize how charmingly Lang has evoked it in this song.

An even more remarkable song from 1835 is the second song from op. 10, “Mignons Klage”—a setting of the poem “Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt” from

Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.<sup>10</sup> Innumerable nineteenth-century composers set this text to music—but Lang's setting is unique. The mood that she evokes is one of agitation rather than of yearning. The restless mood is established from the outset by the lack of an introduction; the song plunges without preparation into an expression of pain. The pervasive throbbing chords and octaves in triplet eighth notes keep the agitation alive almost throughout. The song contains numerous striking passages, notably the echo effect in mm. 9–10 (suggesting “distance”); the poignant recitative-like melody in mm. 30–32 (which, as the earliest extant autograph reveals, Lang contemplated as an idea for a piano introduction);<sup>11</sup> and the powerful prolongation of the Neapolitan sixth chord that leads into the final vocal cadence (mm. 39–42). Another impressive feature is the irregular hypermeter; Lang emphasizes the most expressive lines of the text (for example, “es brennt mein Eingeweide”) by elongation of hypermeasures.<sup>12</sup>

1836 and 1837 seem to have been less productive years for Lang. One excellent song from 1837 is “In die Ferne,” published as op. 8 no. 2 (track 5).<sup>13</sup> Stephen Heller, whom Lang befriended during the 1830s (see below), provided some information about the genesis of this song in a letter to Robert Schumann:

She wrote [the song] here [in Augsburg] in about 40 to 50 minutes. I begged her to send it to Mannheim [where a competition for settings of Hermann Klätke's poem “In die Ferne” was being held], but she blushed and became embarrassed, and said that with her entry she would earn nothing but laughter.<sup>14</sup>

It is a pity that Lang did not enter the song in the competition, for it is a very sensitive rendering of the text. The theme of the poem is striving toward distant places—the desire to be elsewhere. The introduction of Lang's song (ex. 2.3) vividly expresses such striving. The right hand repeats two members of the tonic harmony, while the left hand, descending chromatically, seems to attempt to escape from the tonic. The chromatic roaming leads in m. 3 to a diminished-seventh chord—a chord that can imply numerous tonal goals. Just when liberation from the tonic seems to be within the music's grasp, the diminished-seventh chord resolves to the dominant of the home key, whereby the striving of the chord progression is reined in and the progression is firmly anchored to the tonic. In short, the progression expresses striving for distance, but distancing from the tonic is not achieved. In retrospect, we can interpret the introduction as having anticipated the meaning of the text, particularly that of the refrain, “Oh, my heart longs for distant places!”

A fine unpublished song from 1837 is “Seit ich liebe muss ich leiden,” composed on 29 September 1837 (ex. 2.4).<sup>15</sup> This miniature, a setting of a text by

EXAMPLE 2.3 “In die Ferne,” op. 8 no. 2, mm. 1–8



Goethe's secretary Eckermann, is in F# minor—a key that Lang used very rarely. The piano part, in steady eighth notes, begins high and moves downward in a melancholy, meandering fashion. The right hand begins by doubling the voice, but becomes independent from m. 3 onward and eventually moves above the voice (mm. 5–8). This independence, together with metrical displacement, contributes to an increase in tension, culminating in a powerful climax in m. 8. The climax is coordinated with the plea of the lyric *I* for the return of the peace that he or she possessed before falling in love. After a pause, during a reiteration of the plea, the climactic tension diffuses, both via the descent from the vocal high point F#5 to a final F#4, and via the reinstatement of the initial agreement between the vocal line and the piano melody. The piano postlude resumes the restless metrical displacement of the climactic bars; this resumption is appropriate, for the text does not promise the actual return of peace.

A number of wonderful songs from the productive year 1838 will be discussed in connection with particular friends of Lang later in this chapter.<sup>16</sup> Although Lang was not prolific in 1839, the songs from that year are all very fine. On 16 February 1839, she sketched a setting of a poem by Platen, “Wehe, so willst du mich wieder” (ex. 2.5).<sup>17</sup> This song was published as op. 40 no. 4 in 1866 or 1867; the reasons for the long delay in publication are unknown. The powerful introduction, with its throbbing repeated chords and dissonant harmonies, establishes the agitated mood that pervades the song. The initial triads, I and vi, are followed by a striking dominant minor-ninth chord (of V), embellished by a 4–3 suspension. The playful *leggiero* material of the interlude and postlude (not shown in the example) relaxes the tension, suggesting the purging of inner foes to which Platen's poem refers.

In the fall of 1839, Lang set German translations of two poems by Byron. One of these, “Erinnerung” (Remembrance—ex. 2.6), composed on 15 September 1839, is in the key of E♭ minor—a key that Lang used in no other song.<sup>18</sup> The introduction establishes a restless, tragic tone with semitonal upper neighbors in the melody (m. 2), and semitonal lower neighbors in the left hand. The



EXAMPLE 2.4 “Erinnerung” (“Seit ich liebe”; unpublished; Mus. fol. 53q, 11–12, WLB)

**Sostenuto e con espressione**

Seit ich lie - be muss ich lei - den, eh' ich lieb - te

4 hatt' ich tau - send Freu - den, hat - te Ruh. O du mein Glück, ach,

7 komm zu - rück! Ach, komm zu -

10 rück!

*pp molto legato* *p* *cresc.* *p dolce* *cresc.* *f* *dim.* *p* *pp* *ppp*

EXAMPLE 2.5 “Wehe, so willst du mich wieder,” op. 40 no. 4, mm. 1–12

**Agitato molto**

**ff**

**p**

*riten.*

*riten.*

We-he! so willst du mich wie - der, hem - men-de Fes-sel, um - fan-gen?

Auf und hin-aus in die Luft! auf und hin-aus in die Luft!

introductory idea is retained as the voice enters; above it, the voice spins out its own beautiful melody, which, however, loses its lyric quality when the text alludes to “des Unglück’s wintrig Flockenspiel” (in the English original, “misfortune’s wintry blast”); at that point (mm. 12–16), the vocal line begins to flail about in octave leaps (Eb4/Eb5). As the poem recalls past happiness, albeit in the awareness that it is gone forever, Lang appropriately shifts to the major mode, and the voice returns to its lyrical style. The disruptive octave leap earlier associated with “misfortune” is in fact integrated into the lyrical Eb-major melody (m. 20), and contributes to the rise toward the vocal climax on G5, which is coordinated with the poet’s outcry, “ich wollt’ Erinnerung wär dabei” (“would I could add Remembrance too”). In mm. 23–26, Lang poignantly restates in the minor mode the lines just heard in major, thus emphasizing the fact that the positive attributes of

EXAMPLE 2.6 “Erinnerung” (“Mein Ende zeigt mir”; published posthumously), mm. 1–6

**Tempo giusto**

Mein En - de zeigt mir je - der Traum!

*p legato*

love, hope, and joy do not lie within the present. She writes a new melody for this passage—but significantly, the octave leap  $Eb5$ – $Eb4$  reappears in m. 26, creating a musical and poetic connection with two earlier passages. After leading to a perfect authentic cadence, Lang re-uses the strategy of suggesting past happiness with the major mode (mm. 30–34) and then restating part of the text heard in that mode in minor (mm. 34–37). The song comes to a somber close with a return of the  $Eb$ -minor introduction.

### Lang's Circle of Friends and Colleagues

As was demonstrated in the preceding section, the 1830s were a time of immense artistic productivity for Josephine Lang. No less important, however, is the significant enlargement of her musical circle during this period. To a large extent through Mendelssohn's offices, Lang became well known within Munich society and in the musical world in general. The respect in which she was held in Munich is demonstrated by her inclusion in a report on musical life in that city in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1835. In a paragraph on song composers, the correspondent (who signed himself “st” [*sic*]) listed three male composers (Lenz, Pentenrieder, and Riefstahl), then wrote, “A Fräulein Lang also composes beautiful songs,

sometimes profoundly imagined and felt [*tief gedacht und empfunden*].”<sup>19</sup> Although this is not an enthusiastic endorsement of Lang’s talent, it is remarkable that her songs were deemed worthy of mention in this report.

Mendelssohn’s “advertising” of Lang’s gifts in Munich resulted in an increased awareness of her skills as a teacher and a performer. About her teaching, H. A. Köstlin wrote, “Daily she had to give up to eight hours of voice or piano lessons, for her teaching was in demand even in the highest circles.”<sup>20</sup> Her performing continued to take place mostly in the salons of high society. There is, however, evidence that she also performed in more public venues in the early 1830s. The clarinetist Heinrich Baermann wrote to Mendelssohn in 1834 that he had recently heard “little Josephine Lang” play piano “quite well” (*recht artig*), and that since the Philharmonic Society had moved its concerts into the large Odeon Theatre, Madame Vespermann was performing Lang’s songs, since Lang herself felt that her relatively small voice could not fill that hall.<sup>21</sup> Evidently, Lang *had* publicly performed her songs in the context of the Philharmonic Society when its concerts took place in a smaller room.

In the early 1830s, Lang also gained considerable prominence within the broader compositional community. According to H. A. Köstlin, the following musicians “sought her acquaintance” in the years after Mendelssohn’s visits: the composer and conductor Ferdinand Hiller; the brothers Franz and Ignaz Lachner, also composers and conductors; the pianist and composer Jean-Baptiste Cramer; the singer Franz Hauser; the pianist and composer, Adolf Henselt; the composer Wilhelm Taubert; the pianist and composer Sigismond Thalberg; Frédéric Chopin; the Belgian composer and violinist Henri Vieuxtemps; the violinist Ole Bull; and the pianist and composer Anton Rubinstein.<sup>22</sup> No documentation exists of Lang’s meeting(s) with Vieuxtemps, Bull, Henselt, and Rubinstein. Cramer and Thalberg wrote cordial notes in her album and/or copied out bits of their music for her.<sup>23</sup> The meeting with Chopin must have taken place in late August 1831, when he was delayed in Munich on his way to Paris and publicly performed his *Fantasia on Polish Airs* and his Piano Concerto in E minor.<sup>24</sup> Although nothing specific is known of Lang’s meeting with Chopin, it is apparent that his music made an impression on her; she composed several Chopinesque mazurkas for piano, labeling one of them “In memory of Chopin.”<sup>25</sup>

Two of the listed musicians—Franz Hauser and Ferdinand Hiller—later became significant supporters of Lang’s compositional activity; we discuss their impact on her career in subsequent chapters. Lang likely met Franz Lachner, the remaining musician on Köstlin’s list, through her position as singer in the Royal Chapel Choir, which she assumed in 1835. The position was initially without pay, but by 1837 she was receiving a modest salary, which doubled in 1839. In 1840,

she was promoted to “true Royal Court singer” (*wirkliche königliche Hofsängerin*). This position, besides being a welcome source of income, enabled her to become familiar with much choral music. The interaction with Franz Lachner, who became the director of the choir in 1836, was an additional benefit. Lachner was also in charge of the Court Opera and the Academy concerts. He was, therefore, a very influential figure and an important contact for Lang. Lang respected his opinion and sought his advice about her compositions. She later described Lachner’s assistance in her compositional endeavors as follows: “Capellmeister Lachner . . . tries to encourage me through his lenient judgment and kindly acknowledgment of my best intentions, and often displays great friendship toward me by being prepared at any time to assist my insignificant talent with sincere, well-meaning counsel.”<sup>26</sup> Lachner remained supportive of Lang after her departure from Munich (see chapter 4).

H. A. Köstlin lists only the male musicians whom Lang knew in the 1830s—but there were also female musicians in her Munich circle. These women were significant to Lang as role models, for through them she became aware of the possibility of women engaging in professional compositional activity. One of her friends who published a number of songs was Maria Vespermann, the stepdaughter of the aforementioned singer Katharina Vespermann.<sup>27</sup> Another publishing woman composer with whom Lang was acquainted was Delphine von Schauroth.<sup>28</sup> As was mentioned, Mendelssohn was romantically interested in this superb pianist during his Munich visits. She was an exception to his remarks (quoted in chapter 1) about Munich women’s ignorance of good piano music; reviews of Schauroth’s performances demonstrate that she played music by Beethoven, J. S. Bach, Chopin, and Mendelssohn. She was internationally known as a pianist, and her published works also aroused attention outside of Munich. In 1835 and 1836, respectively, Robert Schumann reviewed her *Sonata brillante* in C minor and one of her caprices. The reviews were primarily positive. In the earlier review, Schumann went so far as to prophesy that Schauroth would become just as much of a musical “Amazon” as Clara Wieck.<sup>29</sup> Schauroth copied a short piano piece into Lang’s album and inscribed it as follows: “In friendly remembrance of her whom your glorious talent has brought unforgettable delights and who counts herself among your most eager bravo-shouters. Delphine Hill-Handley née von Schauroth.”<sup>30</sup> Lang, in turn, dedicated her “op. 4” songs to Schauroth.

In the remainder of this chapter, we discuss a number of other individuals who were significant in Lang’s life and career during the 1830s—figures whose importance in her life has not been sufficiently acknowledged in earlier biographies. Our discussions will provide the opportunity for larger analyses of songs that grew out of her contact with these individuals.

### Agnes von Calatin

On about thirty of the song autographs from the 1830s, Lang wrote inscriptions that include the name "Agnes," often in connection with informal dedications,<sup>31</sup> and with expressions of warm affection. For example, on the autograph of "Ew'ge Nähe," op. 8 no. 3 (from 1836), we read, "[Composed] on a beautiful wintry evening. Poem by A. v. C., my dear little angel." On the autograph of "Lebet wohl, geliebte Bäume" (1834, later published as op. 9 no. 1), Lang wrote, "Agnes . . . [This song] is already destined for Agnes." On the autograph of "Der Wanderer an die Quellen" (later published as op. 13 no. 2), Lang wrote, "Composed on 23 July 1837, at 9 o'clock in the evening, after a pleasant, highly interesting conversation with my dear Agnes, who read me some excerpts from the *Lay Brevier* by Leopold Schefer.—It was a most enjoyable evening."<sup>32</sup>

Who was Agnes von Calatin? H. A. Köstlin wrote only very briefly about her: "From the circle of friends Agnes von Calatin . . . stands out; her poetic talent often inspired Josephine to creativity. This delicate, noble being passed away in the bloom of her young years."<sup>33</sup> The word "often" appears to be an overstatement. On Lang's autographs, Calatin is cited as the author of the texts of only four songs: "Ew'ge Nähe" (op. 8 no. 3; 1836), "Nichts über Ruh" (1839), "Getäuscht hat mich ein Schimmer" (1864), and "Wie glänzt so hell dein Auge" (1866).<sup>34</sup> It is possible, however, that other poems from Lang's song output, whose authors have not as yet been identified, are also by Calatin.

Agnes von Calatin was born on 14 February 1813 and died on 2 January 1845. Her father was the prominent general and statesman Count Carl von Pappenheim, her mother, a tradesman's daughter, Anna Maria Oeder. Agnes and her two sisters, Thekla and Emma, were born to them out of wedlock. In 1819, the mother and daughters were raised to noble status, and the name "von Calatin" was assigned to them at that time.<sup>35</sup>

Extant correspondence provides insight into Agnes von Calatin's personality and into the reasons why Josephine Lang and she became friends. The relevant documents include four letters from Calatin herself to the poet Justinus Kerner,<sup>36</sup> a voluminous correspondence between her sister Emma von Suckow and the same poet, and various letters written by Calatin's friends. Additional information about her can be gleaned from the published writings of her sister Emma (under the pseudonym Emma Niendorf).

In her publications,<sup>37</sup> Emma Niendorf often referred to her sister as "Magenta"—a fictitious name that is clearly related to the name Agnes and that suggests a very "attractive" person. That she indeed drew others to her is confirmed by numerous documents. A letter by a friend mentions her "highly captivating [*ein-*

nehmende] and good-natured [*gemütliche*] personality.”<sup>38</sup> Josephine Lang’s frequent reference to Agnes as an “angel” also attests to the latter’s engaging character.

The friendship between Josephine Lang and Agnes von Calatin also grew out of their mutual interest in music. Calatin’s sister related that she composed songs.<sup>39</sup> There is also ample evidence that she was a talented singer. Her friends and relatives often referred to her as a “nightingale.”<sup>40</sup> One friend wrote to Justinus Kerner, “Fräulein Agnes has won all of our hearts, and with her soulful singing she will surely immediately and totally enchant you, too.”<sup>41</sup> Thus we can assume that when Josephine Lang inscribed a song autograph with the words “for Agnes,” she had composed the song with Calatin’s voice in mind. This assumption is confirmed by Calatin’s sister’s description of a gathering in Munich in 1841 during which Lang and Calatin performed Lang’s Lenau settings for the poet:

Josephine Lang, who has composed some Lenau songs for Magneta’s voice [our emphasis], instantly rushed to the scene, and sang alternately with the other nightingale. “Scheidblick” [track 12], whose melody the poet heard for the first time that day, moved him deeply. . . . Upon his request, Magneta had to repeat it over and over again, especially the passage “Scheiden muß’ ich ohne Wiederkehr,” which, he found, had been set in a marvelous manner. A tear rolled from his eye as he sat motionless by the piano beside the two.<sup>42</sup>

Agnes von Calatin’s friendship was beneficial to Lang not only because of the former’s gift as a singer but also because Calatin was able to introduce her to significant contemporaries. Calatin had met Lenau in Stuttgart<sup>43</sup> and, as the above quotation indicates, Lang was then able to meet him through her. It was likely also through Calatin that Lang met the poet Justinus Kerner, with whom Calatin had been friendly since 1839. In 1841, Kerner and his wife visited Agnes von Calatin and her sister Emma von Suckow in Munich.<sup>44</sup> It was during this visit that Kerner and Lang first met; the meeting took place in Tegernsee, where Calatin also frequently resided at the house of her aunt.<sup>45</sup> Calatin ensured that Kerner became familiar with Lang’s settings of his texts by arranging to have all of Lang’s settings of Kerner’s poems copied out and sent to him.<sup>46</sup> In short, the friendship with Calatin offered Josephine Lang a source of poetic texts, the opportunity to hear her songs well performed, and the opportunity to make valuable contacts with significant intellectuals and artists of the time.

In 1842, Lang married and moved from Munich to Tübingen (see chapter 3). Since there is no extant correspondence between her and Calatin, the further history of the friendship cannot be traced. In any case, only three years of life remained to Agnes von Calatin. In letters from 1840, her serious illness is first mentioned; during that year, she underwent several painful medical procedures, in spite of which her condition deteriorated.<sup>47</sup> After Calatin died on 2 January

1845, Justinus Kerner wrote to her doctor, "Dear, dear Agnes dead! How grateful we must be to you that you preserved her for us for such a long time!—She was a unique and rare being, whom the earth could not wrest from Heaven, where she belonged."<sup>48</sup> That Lang remembered her deceased friend in her later years is evident from the fact that she set at least two of her poems in the 1860s.

Here, we discuss the two Calatin settings that originated during the poet's lifetime. The unpublished setting of "Nichts über Ruh" is dated 1 May 1839.<sup>49</sup> The most distinctive features of the opening (ex. 2.7) are the dialogue between voice and piano and the resulting alternating silences in the two instruments. The voice begins alone, with a downward arpeggiation of vii<sup>7</sup> of F major; the piano answers with a resolution to the tonic. The same material is then transposed up a third (to the key of iii). After a bar of rest, the two instruments sound together for the first time, and their togetherness is emphasized by the doubling of the vocal line (mm. 9–11). The instruments then go their separate ways again; the voice has a solo passage and the piano answers with an even longer solo. The remainder of the song explores other types of voice/piano interaction, such as the relating of voice and piano melodies by inversion and the imitation of the voice by the piano at various time intervals. No other song by Lang involves such a rich variety of interplay between the two instruments.

The only setting of Calatin's poetry that was published during Lang's lifetime is "Ew'ge Nähe" (Eternal Nearness), op. 8 no. 3 (track 6).<sup>50</sup> The text is as follows:

Heller ward mein inn'res Leben,  
Schöner, seit ich dich erkannt,  
Seit ein gleiches hohes Streben  
Herz mit Herz so eng verband.

My inner life became more radiant,  
More beautiful since I met you,  
Since the same exalted striving  
So closely united our hearts.

Meine Lieder, wie mein Fühlen,  
Alles hab' ich dir geweiht.  
Nichts konnt' meine Liebe kühlen,  
Keine Trennung und kein Leid!

My songs [poems], like my feelings,  
Everything I have dedicated to you.  
Nothing was able to decrease my love,  
No separation and no sorrow.

Und doch soll ich dir entsagen,  
Dir, mein heller Lebensstern,  
Soll die tiefe Nacht ertragen,  
Dass du mir auf ewig fern!

And yet I am to renounce you,  
You, my radiant star of life;  
I am to endure the dark night  
Of eternal separation from you!

Nein, ach nein, so darf's nicht werden,  
Nein, es darf kein Abschied sein.  
Ob getrennt, ob nah auf Erden,

No, oh no, this must not happen!  
No, oh no, there must be no farewell!  
Whether we are separated or close  
together on earth,

Hier im Herzen bleibst du mein!

Here in my heart you shall remain mine!



EXAMPLE 2.7 “Nichts über Ruh,” mm. 1–21 (unpublished; Mus. fol. 53r, 11r–11v, WLB)

**Presto**

Nichts ü - ber Ruh! Nichts ü - ber

5  
Ruh! Nichts ü - ber

11  
Ruh! Er - kennst du noch dies Wort?

17  
*Più lento*

The lyric *I* asserts a profound love, mentions an impending physical separation from the beloved, then vehemently expresses the refusal to accept the separation, and the determination to transcend it and to remain spiritually close to the beloved. The poem thus traces the struggle of the lyric *I* toward a state of spiritual union.

Lang's musical setting evokes a sense of striving and struggling. The off-tonic opening initiates a tonal narrative of striving for the tonic. It is only the vocal D's of m. 3 that clarify the subdominant function of the initial triad; the neighboring D's in the first two measures do not do so, since they might well occur chromatically in the key of Ab. From m. 3 onward, we await the strong establishment of Eb tonic harmony, which, however, is postponed until the final vocal cadence. Before that point the tendency toward Eb is clear enough because the dominant of Eb plays a prominent role, but Lang avoids strong arrivals on the tonic. The Eb harmony always occurs either in inversion or in root position on weak beats (as in mm. 4 and 20). Significantly, Lang coordinates the strong arrival on Eb harmony with the point where the lyric *I* attains the goal of spiritual union ("Here, in my heart, you remain mine"—mm. 33–36).

The melody also suggests a striving toward a goal, namely toward the high point G5. This pitch already functions as a goal in the opening measures; in two waves (mm. 1–4 and 5–8), the melody moves via a rising series of descending steps (Schenker's "reaching-over"<sup>51</sup>) from G4 toward G5. In the first phrase (mm. 1–4), the melody attains Eb5. The higher goal of G5 is reached in m. 7, where the text alludes to the indissoluble spiritual union to which the lyric *I* aspires.

Both harmonically and melodically, the section after m. 8 gives a recessive impression. Twice, the harmony abruptly shifts downward from a cadential dominant to bIII, then returns to the dominant (mm. 9–12 and mm. 13–16). The melody also takes a downward turn in mm. 9–12 and again in mm. 15–16, but does not entirely abandon its upward striving (note the chromatic rise toward Eb5 in mm. 13–15). A return of the opening in m. 17 brings back the reaching-over beginning with G4. The goal of G5 is, however, not attained during this return; the passage that reached this high point in mm. 5–8 is replaced by a variant in the minor mode, which is dragged down into a low register (mm. 23–24) in order to suggest the "deep night" of impending separation.

As the lyric *I* firmly rejects the possibility of separation and gathers up his or her resolution ("No, oh no!"), melodic upward motion resumes. The most dramatic rise occurs in mm. 29–31; the reaching-over, now occurring in part at a quicker pace than in earlier statements (in eighth-notes), arrives at Eb5 in m. 31. A descent in mm. 31–32 is followed by an abrupt ascent to the ultimate melodic goal—the sustained, triumphant G5 in m. 33. The final vocal phrase draws a line from G5 to G4 (thus summarizing the space traversed during the preceding

struggle), then settles on the tonic in the lower of the two registers in a gesture of tonal and registral resolution.

The postlude summarizes the music's striving; its melody climbs via a rising series of brief descents to C5, and the final cadential chords firmly reiterate the melodic arrival on G5 and the harmonic arrival on the tonic of the final vocal phrase. The two final chords, which might appear to be a superfluous afterthought, actually reinforce the poetic message; they suggest the arrival at a goal and the fulfillment that it brings, as well as the firmness and resolve that were necessary in order to reach it.

### Stephen Heller and Robert Schumann

Calatin's poem contains two instances of the word "heller" (brighter, or bright)—at the very opening, and in the second line of the third stanza (mm. 1 and 19 in Lang's setting). There is a strong possibility that this word is intended as a pun on the name of an individual whom Lang, and probably Calatin, too, knew very well—the composer and pianist Stephen Heller. Lang's dynamic accent on the first syllable of "heller" in m. 19 suggests her participation in the pun.<sup>52</sup> Heller himself would also have enjoyed such jokes; his own letters reveal his sense of humor, and specifically his enjoyment of word-play.

Lang met Heller in Augsburg, a city near Munich, in the mid-1830s.<sup>53</sup> In 1830, after a grueling concert tour with his father, the sixteen-year-old Heller had suffered a collapse in that city and, because his health did not permit further travel, had settled there. In 1834, a prominent member of the Augsburg aristocracy, Frau Caroline von Hoeslin, took him under her wing, hiring him as a piano teacher for herself and her son.<sup>54</sup> When Josephine Lang came to Augsburg during summer vacations, she stayed with Frau Hoeslin, with whose family she was acquainted in Munich (see below). In the Hoeslin home she met Heller, and the two musicians quickly became friends.

Recent secondary literature notwithstanding, there is no clear documentary evidence that they were ever more than friends.<sup>55</sup> The nature of their relationship can be gauged from Heller's letters to Lang, to Robert Schumann, and to Ferdinand Hiller. In his correspondence with Schumann, he specifically denied being in love with Lang. In one letter he mentioned a beloved woman (whom, after a character in Jean Paul's novel *Titan*, he called "Liane Froulay"), and then proceeded to allude to Josephine Lang. He added, "Please do not assume (just because I mentioned them in close proximity) that Lang is my Liane Froulay."<sup>56</sup> In a later letter, after many complimentary remarks about Lang, Heller wrote, "You will surely believe that I have fallen in love with that curly-haired brunette—

but I am prepared to supply any proof to the contrary.”<sup>57</sup> Just a few weeks after writing that letter, Heller moved to Paris and never saw Lang again. A serious mutual attachment between them, let alone a betrothal, is therefore unlikely.

The extant documents suggest that Heller, though charmed by Lang as a person, was to a much greater extent impressed with her as a musician. He admitted to Ferdinand Hiller in 1867 that he was “very enchanted by the, at that time [the 1830s], so captivating maiden,” but his letter focused on his admiration for her musical talent rather than her person:

A number of her songs, particularly one called “The Butterfly” [op. 8 no. 1], and one that contained the words, “I’d like to cut it into the bark of every tree” [“op. 6” no. 1], are perfectly fresh in my mind, although I haven’t seen or heard them for thirty years. She sang so charmingly, and accompanied herself in a heavenly manner.<sup>58</sup>

In an earlier letter to Lang he urged her, in terms that reveal his respect, never to stop composing: “Draw constantly from the stream of your melodies; break them up into dewdrops that will refresh and rejuvenate life in its dryness; recompense yourself for life’s unfairness through the sacred rhythms of music, whose treasures you can acquire through the divining-rod of your talent.”<sup>59</sup>

Heller was active in furthering Lang’s education. Being well traveled, well read, and very knowledgeable, he was able during their conversations to draw her attention to important recent literature and music.<sup>60</sup> As a great admirer of Robert Schumann’s music,<sup>61</sup> Heller soon infected Lang with his enthusiasm by introducing her to that composer’s works for piano.<sup>62</sup> When he informed her that he was corresponding with Schumann, she decided to take advantage of this direct line to a well-known critic. She sent Heller some song autographs and asked him to pass them on to Schumann.

During Lang’s visit to Augsburg in August 1836, Heller had already written to Schumann about her songs in positive terms and had offered to send him some of them:

Currently Fr. Lang, a pianist, singer and composer, rich in talent, is here for fourteen days. I can show you charming things of hers, namely songs, which I can send to you. Let me know of your wishes; if you would rather not [have the songs], I nevertheless remain your reverent Stephen Heller . . . NB. Mendelssohn is a friend of Mlle Lang and [was], for twelve hours, her teacher; take an interest in her.<sup>63</sup>

For unknown reasons, Heller delayed his shipment of Lang’s songs until March 1837. Schumann at first ignored the songs, and Heller twice prodded him to communicate his reaction. By September 1837, Schumann had apparently re-

sponded with a negative appraisal, for Heller wrote to him on 4 September, “You find Lang’s songs horrid [*gräulich*]?”<sup>64</sup>

Schumann had already formed a somewhat negative opinion of Lang’s music (based on her early songs) in 1835. In April of that year, he had commented on some of her songs in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. This review, to our knowledge the first published review of Lang’s compositions, begins with another writer’s statement that he finds only sensitivity (*Empfindsamkeit*) and imitation in the songs—enough to please a narrow circle of friends, but too little to enlarge that circle.<sup>65</sup> “Eusebius” then adds a remark in which he tacitly agrees with his colleague’s criticisms but tempers them by arguing kindly, if chauvinistically, that Lang’s songs should not be faulted for the aforementioned characteristics, for “should woman not be sensitive, and should she not imitate the man?”<sup>66</sup>

In 1837, Heller had some difficulty in convincing Schumann to give Lang’s music another chance. He was admirably tenacious in his advocacy. Undaunted by Schumann’s initially harsh response, he sent more of Lang’s songs to him on 1 August 1838, praising them effusively and urging him to publish one of them in a projected supplement to the *Neue Zeitschrift*:

My dear Florestan, with this letter I am finally sending by postchaise what I have so long put off: . . . a few songs by Lang, which will perhaps please you more than the earlier ones. One of them has already appeared, along with two others, with Haslinger (“Schmetterling,” “In der Ferne,” “Ew’ge Nähe”). The “Schmetterling” seems very well done [*gelungen*] to me, but I don’t know if you . . . are willing to republish something that has already appeared? I mean in the supplement. . . . If it were possible . . . it would highly commend the little artist to make a debut in your journal with a pretty song. If it is not [possible], then take one of the enclosed ones, if you find them good. I assure you, if you saw the beautiful, noble profile of the very young composer, and heard her sing her songs with a kind of azure-blue rapture [*bimmelblaue Schwärmererei*], you would be transported enough, at least until the moment when you put your quill and scalpel (I mean your finely honed critic’s knife) to paper.<sup>67</sup>

From a present-day point of view, some of Heller’s remarks sound patronizing and chauvinistic (“the little artist,” “pretty song,” “azure-blue rapture”). Beneath these expressions, however, lies a genuine appreciation of Lang’s talent. Heller took her seriously as a composer and did all that he could to advance her career.

His efforts were rewarded. Schumann took the time to look very carefully at the second shipment of Lang’s songs and was pleased with them. He found the Heine setting “Traumbild,” in particular, to be of greater merit than the songs he had seen earlier. In a letter to Heller, dated 18 August 1838, he wrote:

I must previously have misjudged Lang; I do not understand how her style has suddenly acquired so much charm and tenderness. She must be a genuine *Schwärmerin* [a woman who indulges in raptures]. I should like to use “Traumbild” in the supplement; it is, in my opinion, the most delightful of the songs. Among the printed songs, the second one (“In die Ferne” [see ex. 2.3]) seemed the most remarkable to me; it is the best setting of the text that I have encountered.<sup>68</sup>

Heller responded a few days later (22 August 1838), “I am heartily pleased that you now think well of Lang, for I take an interest in the dear, good maiden and value your praise above everything.”<sup>69</sup>

Schumann published “Traumbild” in the November 1838 supplement to the *Neue Zeitschrift*,<sup>70</sup> and reviewed it briefly but positively as follows:

The song by Josephine Lang is a fine, extremely tender plant [*äußerst zartes Gewächs*], which we recommend to the reader’s attentive inspection; it pleases us thoroughly in its intimacy, especially at the modulation to C major. The whole is declaimed in a very expressive manner. The reader will encounter these merits in even greater quantity in a collection of songs recently published by Haslinger [op. 8].<sup>71</sup>

Let us follow Schumann’s recommendation and attentively inspect Lang’s “Traumbild.” We shall look not at the version that Schumann saw in 1838, but at the final version, published as op. 28 no. 1 in 1861 (track 3). It is in most respects similar to the early version, although at some unknown time Lang added a cello part.<sup>72</sup> Here is Heine’s text, with our translation:

Wenn ich auf dem Lager liege  
In Nacht und Kissen gehüllt,  
So schwebt mir vor ein süßes  
Anmutig liebes Bild.

When I lie on my bed,  
Wrapped in night and pillows,  
There hovers before me a sweet,  
Charming, lovely image.

Wenn mir der stille Schlummer  
Geschlossen die Augen kaum,  
So schleicht das süße Bild  
Hinein in meinen Traum.

When quiet slumber  
Has barely closed my eyes,  
The dear image creeps  
Into my dream.

Und mit dem Traum des Morgens  
Zerrinnt es nimmermehr.

And in the morning,  
It [the image] does not dissolve along  
with the dream;

Dann trag ich es im Herzen  
Den ganzen Tag umher.

I carry it around in my heart  
All day long.

The song begins with an introduction of seven measures, whose melody rises chromatically, then falls through the diatonic scale to a full cadence. The body of the song is in ternary form, each of the three stanzas of the poem occupying one section. The initial A section (mm. 8–15) is a period in F major. Its two phrases begin by alluding to the introduction's chromatic ascent (mm. 8 and 12),<sup>73</sup> and end (as did the introduction) with diatonic descents—the antecedent with a line connecting D5 to G4 (piano, mm. 10–11), and the consequent with the same octave descent that concluded the introduction (cf. the instrumental melodies in mm. 5–7 and 14–15). The final tonic of the period is confirmed by a sequential instrumental interlude of five measures, the material of which is drawn largely from the introductory chromatic ascending idea.

The A section ends loudly, and the interlude continues this dynamic level. The contrasting softness of the B section (mm. 20–32) is apparently motivated by the textual reference to “quiet slumber” and by the image of the beloved “creeping” into the lyric *I*'s dreams. The section prolongs the dominant of the dominant (mm. 20–26), then the dominant itself (mm. 27–31); this is the “modulation to C” that Schumann praised in his review. A climactic one-bar instrumental retransition (m. 32) heralds the return of the A section (mm. 33–47).

The second A section is identical to the first until m. 40, where Lang first evades, then takes another run at a cadence to the tonic. In the instrumental parts, the second approach to the cadence in the tonic involves a powerful augmentation of the initial vocal chromaticism (mm. 40–44). Meanwhile, the voice part fills in the space between F4 to F5—a space that was spanned by a leap just prior to the expected cadence points in both A sections (mm. 12–13 and 37–38). Interestingly, Lang skips over the tonic note within the instrumental chromatic ascent (mm. 42–43), perhaps in order to save this note for the climactic vocal arrival on F5 in m. 44. The prolonged dominant harmony in mm. 44–46 resolves to the tonic in m. 47, whereupon a restatement of the introduction forms a postlude. The postlude is heard, in retrospect, as a summary of the final vocal section's climb toward F5.

Lang lavished a great deal of effort on “Traumbild”; there exist a number of autographs—a sketch in pencil, several drafts in ink, and several fair copies.<sup>74</sup> One of the ink drafts, located at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden in a collection of documents that belonged to the Schumann family, is clearly the autograph of “Traumbild” that Schumann received from Heller. This autograph includes revisions in Schumann's hand; although he admired the song, he felt impelled to make some changes before publishing it. He began making emendations directly on Lang's staves, then rewrote certain passages on empty staves below and labeled them with his favorite insertion marks (a sixteenth-note stem and two adjacent sharps). He subsequently incorporated all of these revisions into his

publication of “Traumbild.” The reasons for Schumann’s revisions are not always clear. Some of them involve the replacement of repeated notes with sustained notes, with the result that the texture is slightly thinned and the sound brightened. Changes in the melody of the piano part near the end of the song may be motivated by the desire to avoid the obscuring of vocal notes by the piano part.

Most of Schumann’s revisions are found on the third page of the Dresden autograph (see fig. 4). A few additional revisions, which on the basis of ink color and handwriting can be attributed to Schumann, occur on the first two pages. The most significant of these changes is found at the return of the A section (ex. 2.8). It was Lang’s intention, even in drafts that preceded this autograph, to build to a climax at the end of the middle section, as is shown by the markings *passionato* and *dringend* at that point (first bar of ex. 2.8a) and by the melodic high point in the piano part, emphasized by a *ritardando* (m. 31). In the Dresden autograph, she expanded the earlier autograph’s three-eighth-note melodic climax to a measure-long interlude (ex. 2.8b). Schumann decided to delete this measure.

EXAMPLE 2.8a “Traumbild,” op. 28 no. 1 (retransition of early version, Mus. fol. 53m, 7r, WLB)

EXAMPLE 2.8b “Traumbild” (expanded retransition in later version; Mus. Schu. 148, 2, Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek)



This and a number of others of Schumann's revisions suggest that he did not agree with Lang's conception of Heine's text. Lang's thick textures and her climactic retransitional interlude indicate that she read the text as an expression of vehement, passionate emotion. Schumann's elimination of numerous textural doublings and of the retransitional climax implies that his view of the text was more restrained, perhaps conditioned by the static and silent images of the poet stretched out on his bed, and of the beloved creeping into his dreams. The latter image occurs just at the end of the B section; Schumann seems to have found Lang's climax inappropriate in relation to that image.

It would be interesting to know how Lang reacted to Schumann's revisions of "Traumbild." Although there is no solid evidence of her awareness of Schumann's publication, let alone of her response to it, it is likely that she did know of and even see the publication. Stephen Heller, having exerted himself to bring the publication about, would surely have drawn her attention to it when it appeared. Furthermore, Schumann normally notified composers whose works he included in his supplements; a letter from Clara Wieck to Robert Schumann from 1839 suggests that it was even customary for contributors to be sent a copy of the supplement.<sup>75</sup>

If we assume that Lang saw Schumann's revisions, we can deduce something of her reaction to them from her later versions of the song, which are virtually uninfluenced by Schumann's revisions. In all later versions, Lang adhered to her thick textures and her own melodic lines and, furthermore, preserved the climactic retransitional interlude. In one later autograph, she even intensified the climax in the interlude by adding a *fortissimo* dynamic marking. The intensification process continued in the final version, where she added accent marks on the three highest eighth notes in the piano part (see m. 32 in the final version).

The latter revision suggests that Schumann's changes might have influenced Lang in an indirect manner; by tampering with "Traumbild," he may have brought her own vision of the song into focus for her. His elimination of her retransitional climax might have clarified for her the need for such a climax. One can imagine her murmuring, "Take that, Herr Schumann!" as she added the *fortissimo* dynamic and placed accents above the high notes.

If Lang was familiar with Schumann's revised edition of her song, her independence of mind is admirable. A weaker personality might simply have gloried in the fact that the song had been published in the *Neue Zeitschrift* and have meekly submitted to Schumann's revisions. Lang, however, adhered firmly to her own vision of the song and refined it further according to her own ideas. The final product of her revisions is a very fine song, satisfying to perform and to hear.

### Wilhelm von Eichthal

During the very years when she became friendly with Heller and attracted the attention of Robert Schumann, Josephine Lang was undergoing a profound emotional upheaval: she entered into an engagement that caused her considerable distress. H. A. Köstlin wrote about this engagement as follows:

Her fiancé was a loyal, worthy person and also a fine musician. But what did it avail? That mysterious power that attracts hearts to one another with magnetic force was simply lacking. Thus Josephine was not at all a “happy bride”; on the contrary, the sense of the obligation into which she had entered weighed heavily on her tender conscience, without it being possible for her to utter a word that would break the bond, or even to unburden herself without reservation to another. This matter lay like a heavy spell on the young spirit.<sup>76</sup>

Köstlin also described the end of the betrothal: “From Augsburg, Josephine had finally broken the bond with her fiancé, whom she warmly honored for his excellent traits, but whom she did not love to the extent that she would have been able to bind her life to his.”<sup>77</sup> In this section, we discuss the probable identity of Lang’s fiancé and some musical outgrowths of this interlude.

The name “Eichthal” and the initials “W. E.” (or variants thereof) occur repeatedly in Lang’s autographs of the 1830s, sometimes with suggestions of a romantic interest. On the autograph, for instance, of a piano piece entitled “Evening Fantasy, Containing a Name” and subtitled “Your Name,” the musical letters of the name “Eichthal” are written above the notes to which they correspond (E–C–H–D–A–E).<sup>78</sup> In the upper margin of the autograph of an unpublished song called “Namenloses” (track 7) Lang wrote, “10 February 1838—composed after a lovely dream, in which the name ‘Wh. v. E.’ gleamed in fiery gold.” Beside the final double bar are the words “Composed in celebration of 10 February.”<sup>79</sup> The next song in the same autograph booklet is entitled “In remembrance of Wh.” (track 8).

During her Munich years, Lang was friendly with several members of the Eichthal family.<sup>80</sup> One of these was the aforementioned Frau Caroline Hoeslin, Stephen Heller’s Augsburg patron. Another was Frau Hoeslin’s sister, a Frau von Forster, to whom Lang intended to dedicate a set of six songs.<sup>81</sup> Wilhelm von Eichthal (1805–47) was the brother of these two women. An incomplete picture of Eichthal’s character and life can be pieced together from a variety of sources. A reference to him as a youth is found in the diaries of the prominent art collector Sulpiz Boisserée; on the occasion of a meeting with the Eichthal family in 1829,

Boisserée wrote, “Wilhelm[—]gentle youth—undeveloped life-energy [*unentwickeltes Lebensfeuer*].”<sup>82</sup>

A document that is much more informative about Eichthal and that sheds light on his relationship to Lang is a letter from him to Felix Mendelssohn, written from Greece in 1833.<sup>83</sup> This letter, apparently the only extant one from a more extensive correspondence, demonstrates that Eichthal and Mendelssohn were close friends. It is an astonishing epistle in which Eichthal reveals his most private affairs.

Mendelssohn probably met Eichthal immediately after his arrival in Munich in 1830, for he stayed with the Kerstorf family, a branch of the Eichthal clan.<sup>84</sup> The letter indicates that Mendelssohn knew Lang before Eichthal did; Eichthal, then, must have met her after 1830. By the time he wrote his letter (1833), Eichthal had been interested in Lang for some time (although at the time of his writing she was only 18 years old); he wrote:

Josephine Lang has spoken to my innermost being through her heavenly talent, and thus an inclination has gradually arisen, which I saw coming without being able or willing to prevent it, although much about J. has not yet become sufficiently clear to me that I could bind my life to this inclination.

It is evident that Eichthal had once before turned to Mendelssohn for advice with respect to Lang and had received an answer, for he wrote, “My silence after your friendly fulfillment of my request to pass on to me a detailed and exhaustive opinion in the matter of Josephine Lang could well have offended you.” He excused his silence by referring to his recent removal from Munich to Greece. The official reason for his departure (not mentioned in the letter) was to accompany the new king of Greece—King Otto, a son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria—to his seat of power.<sup>85</sup> Another reason for Eichthal’s departure from Munich, however, was to give him an opportunity to attain clarity about his feelings toward Lang. He had explained to Lang’s godfather, Joseph Stieler, “[his] definite intention of distancing [him]self for a longer period of time” and had “made him aware of this solution as the only one that [he felt was] appropriate to address the problem in an honorable manner.” In May 1833, after spending a few months in Greece, he had evidently reached an impasse and once again felt the need to approach his friend Mendelssohn for advice.

Eichthal’s letter makes clear that he was thinking very seriously about asking for Lang’s hand in marriage. Toward the end of the letter, he wrote, “And then nothing shall prevent me from giving myself completely to this good, this dear child, to whom my entire soul already belongs.” He referred, however, to a num-

ber of factors that were preventing him from acting quickly. These included “external circumstances” (he probably meant financial obstacles), which would soon be overcome, and also an “inner conflict” that burdened him. Eichthal mentioned that Lang had originally disliked him, but that he “believe[d] that she was now quite fond of him.” He was, however, not absolutely certain about her feelings and complained that he had “never managed to have a completely frank private conversation with her.” His inability to pin her down apparently resulted in part from her timidity but also from “her quite distinctive kind of preoccupation or blindness.” Her preoccupation, he implied, arose from her often having “a new song in her head.”

Aside from his doubts about Lang’s feelings toward him, Eichthal expressed great concern over the “commonness of her environment, which [did] not fail to turn the poor child into an unconscious tool.” He alluded specifically to the unsavory influence of Stieler—to his “somewhat false, deliberate and thus roguish uprightness, blundering and bonhomie.” Such remarks about Stieler are surprising, for in all existing Lang biographies, her godfather is represented as her guardian angel and benefactor. Eichthal’s remarks, however, suggest that this entirely positive view of Stieler must be modified. Particularly illuminating is Eichthal’s detailed summary of Stieler’s remarks about Lang:

[Although she was] after a fashion . . . to be considered a genius, [she] was with respect to external merits to be regarded as interesting rather than beautiful; in addition, [Stieler] would not be able to enter into any guarantee for the future of any currently existing favorable facial features, as especially the nose of the aforementioned J., which even now did not belong to the most beautiful, caused him lively concern with regard to the future.

Stieler made equally objectionable remarks about Lang’s character, referring to her being “unfortunately gifted with the hot imagination and all the impetuosity of spirit of an Italian woman, so that the protracted continuation of the relationship [with Eichthal] must have had unfortunate results.” He threatened that since Eichthal’s

circumstances were not yet secure enough that [he] might definitively and clearly declare [himself] before [his] departure, then [Stieler] was on the other hand unable to abstain from informing [him] that if a suitable match offered itself during [his] absence, it would certainly, under these circumstances, need to be considered.

Stieler’s comments about Lang, as retold by Eichthal, are of a crudeness and insensitivity that one would not expect of a benevolent godfather. One could per-

haps forgive a portrait painter an objective, if unkind, description of a face, but Stieler's insinuations about Lang's "impetuosity of spirit" and the potentially unfortunate results of Eichthal's failure to distance himself are offensive. His subtle exertion of pressure in the form of hints that Lang would seriously consider other eligible suitors in Eichthal's absence is distasteful as well.

Eichthal went even further in his negative assessment of Stieler, expressing his concern that Lang's environment, and particularly her association with Stieler, would damage her:

I was in any case distressed to see J. entrusted to an environment of so little nobility. Not only has so much never been broached and cultivated, but the most tender bloom of youthful naturalness and truthfulness has unfortunately already been smirched; the poor dreamy child goes her ways, as I have observed, without having attained any positive moral footing, any clarity about herself, any higher consciousness. How could a spirit, in itself as pure and true as can be, but easily falling prey to external influences and impressions through the lack of any actual support, and were it the noblest of natures, not be confused and endangered in such a situation!

Eichthal, as the considerably older member of the couple, would gladly have offered Lang the spiritual support that she seemed to him to lack—but he sorrowfully admitted that he had so far been unable to do so. He wrote, "What particularly saddens me is that I have not succeeded in the slightest in gaining a real influence over her, or in enabling her to exert an influence on her environment." Thus—and this is his main reason for writing to Mendelssohn—he begged the latter to take a hand in this situation:

You, dear Mendelssohn, are, I believe, the only one who would have enough influence to prevent much that is harmful, and to establish something that is of true and actual use, if, as I do not doubt, your road should soon lead you [to Munich]. I know you will find the task sufficiently worthwhile.

Mendelssohn shared Eichthal's concern about Lang's environment; he had written to his family in 1831, "It is possible that she could be spoiled by all the talk, because there is nobody near her who could understand or guide her. . . . If she were to become self-satisfied, all would be over with her."<sup>86</sup> Although he was undoubtedly sympathetic to Eichthal's plea for help, it is difficult to imagine how he could have acted upon it. He never returned to Munich after 1831, and the issues that Eichthal raised could not easily have been addressed by letter.

Eichthal remained in Greece and Turkey at least until the fall of 1834; at that time, Mendelssohn's Munich friend Heinrich Baermann wrote to him that Eichthal was secretary at the Greek embassy in Constantinople.<sup>87</sup> A short newspaper

article that appeared early in 1848, immediately after Eichthal's death, reports that he gave up his diplomatic career and went to New York in 1838.<sup>88</sup> He apparently remained there until his death on 15 December 1847; according to the aforementioned article, he enjoyed good health, but "painful internal and external struggles" took his life.<sup>89</sup>

Tracing the progress of the Lang–Eichthal relationship after Eichthal's letter to Mendelssohn is challenging. We have located no further correspondence between Mendelssohn and Eichthal, and none between Lang and Eichthal. It is possible, however, to glean some information from Lang's song autographs. The title page of an autograph booklet from 1834<sup>90</sup> contains oblique allusions to Eichthal, among them the following note: "Yesterday on 10 February a festive day was quietly celebrated." This and other song autographs, including that of "Namenloses," mentioned earlier, make clear that the 10th of February was an important date in the Lang–Eichthal relationship, although its exact significance cannot be determined.

On the title page from 1834, we find a Greek quotation—the only use of this language on Lang's text-riddled title pages. The quotation comes from a poem, for the most part in German, entitled "Abschied von Athen" (Farewell from Athens).<sup>91</sup> The Greek quotation means "My life [addressing a person], I love you." A copy of the third stanza of the poem, up to the Greek portion, also appears on this title page; this stanza refers to a departure from Athens to "Sambul" (Istanbul)—precisely Eichthal's route. It is likely that these Greco-Turkish allusions are connected to Eichthal. Much of the remainder of the 1834 title page is occupied with declarations of love. One of these takes the form of a line from a poem by Wilhelm Müller (familiar to us from Schubert's *Die schöne Müllerin*): "Thine is my heart, and thine it shall forever remain." Another inscription (in English) reads, "We loved each other tenderly and our fondness increased with age." Not all of the notes on this page, however, are so positive in tone. Just above the Greek quotation, for example, Lang wrote, "When do you think of me? Surely never." The notations on this title page suggest that in 1834 Lang remained fond of the absent Eichthal, but had doubts about his continued interest in her.

On the title page of an autograph booklet containing songs from 1835 to 1836,<sup>92</sup> we find the following rather sad notation, with the heading "Motto. Epitaph": "He was quite kind, and loved me, and not easily shall I forget him." Since there is no evidence of another man who loved her in the 1830s, it is likely that this notation refers to Eichthal. Around 1835–36, Lang seems to have felt that the relationship with him was a thing of the past.

There are indications, however, that the relationship was resumed around 1838; definite allusions to Eichthal abound in Lang's autograph notebook from that year.<sup>93</sup> On the title page (fig. 3), Lang decorated the title, "Attempts to Join

Tones to Words,” with elaborate arabesques. Within these curlicues she wrote her own name, as well as the letters “W. E.” (the E is crossed out) and the words “my life.” On page 17 of the booklet, Lang wrote a list of six songs that she intended to dedicate to Eichthal’s sister. The list is transcribed below, with added information about publication:

1. Ich denke Dein, im heil’gen Abendschimmer [unpublished]
2. Der Schmetterling [published in 1847 as op. 13 no. 4]
3. Wenn auch Alles Täuschung wäre [unpublished]
4. Nimm was Götter nicht verschmähen [published as an individual song in the periodical *Europa* between 1838 and 1844, and in 1847 as op. 13 no. 6]<sup>94</sup>
5. Frühes Sterben [published in 1860 as op. 26 no. 4]
6. Abschied [published in 1848 as op. 15 no. 1]

As was mentioned earlier, the autographs of some of these songs, and of others in the same booklet, refer specifically to Wilhelm von Eichthal. The autograph of the third song on the list, dated 10 February 1838 and composed in celebration of that significant date, is the one on which Lang alludes to a dream about Eichthal’s initials. On the autograph of the fifth song, “Frühes Sterben,” Lang refers once again to the date that was so significant to her and Eichthal: “In remembrance of my dear 10 February.” The autograph of the final song on the list is entitled “Remembrance of the Year 1832. Farewell.” Under the title, Lang wrote, “Dedicated to the wild, raging floodwaters.” The farewell in 1832 that elicited such powerful emotions was surely that from Eichthal, who left Munich late in 1832 in order to assume his new position in Greece.

These song autographs from 1838 suggest a flare-up, followed by a final dying down of the relationship with Eichthal. The earliest of the autographs, that of the song “Namenloses,” suggests that Lang felt passionately about him in February 1838; the performance indication (*Appassionato*) and the note “Oh, if you were here!” at the bottom of the autograph, along with the mention of the lovely dream about Wilhelm’s initials, convey that impression. Even this song, however, already broaches the theme of separation; the final words refer to a tearful farewell (“I would still trust undaunted in the tear of farewell”). Similarly pessimistic topics are prominent in the remaining songs on the list; the poems are dominated by the themes of separation, remembrance of one who is gone, and love’s sorrow. In the first song on the list, for example, we find the line “I was able to lose you, but not to forget you.” The fourth song refers to “all the pain of love” and “a completely torn heart,” the fifth to the death pangs of a love that was barely born. The sixth song is entirely concerned with taking farewell from a beloved individual.

Songs in this booklet not included on the list also address the themes of farewell and separation, as well as other themes that may have to do with Eichthal. The Platen setting “You think of me so rarely” (track 9), for example, begins with the lines,

Du denkst an mich so selten.	You think of me so rarely.
Ich denk’ an dich so viel.	I think of you so much.
Getrennt in beiden Welten	Separated in both worlds
Ist unser beider Ziel!	Are our respective goals!

The text of this song goes on to refer to a desire to explore both worlds with the beloved:

Ich möchte beide Welten	I would like to pass through both worlds
Durchzieh’n an deiner Hand,	Hand in hand with you,
Bald schlummern unter Zelten,	Sometimes slumbering under tents,
Bald gehn von Land zu Land!	Sometimes wandering from land to land.

Although the poet probably did not intend it, Lang may have interpreted the expression “both worlds” as referring to the old world (in which she remained) and the new (where Eichthal went in 1838).

Josephine Lang’s song autographs, in short, suggest that she was in love with Eichthal during the 1830s, and his letter to Mendelssohn makes equally clear that he was romantically interested in her. It is therefore possible that Eichthal was the mysterious fiancé to whom H. A. Köstlin referred in his biography. Köstlin’s remarks about the fiancé, quoted at the beginning of this section, correspond quite well to the documentary evidence about Eichthal. The description of the fiancé as a “loyal, good person” with “excellent traits” could certainly apply to Eichthal; his letter to Mendelssohn reveals him as a decent individual, who had Lang’s best interests at heart and was genuinely concerned for her welfare. Eichthal’s doubts about Lang’s affection for him resonate with Köstlin’s remarks about the ambivalence of her feelings toward her fiancé.

Köstlin also mentioned that Lang’s fiancé was a “fine musician.” Although there is no clear evidence that Wilhelm von Eichthal was a “fine musician,” he was certainly interested in music. As his letter to Mendelssohn demonstrates, it was Lang’s “heavenly talent” that first drew him to her. His own writings, furthermore, reveal that he knew something about music. In an article for the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, he wrote as follows about a religious group in Pennsylvania:

The achievements of the present generation, especially in the field of instrumental music, are such that they could satisfy higher expectations than those one com-



monly has [for the work] of dilettantes. German musicians, who usually find their hearts rather constricted in the musical atmosphere of America, are said to feel quite at home here.<sup>95</sup>

These are not the words of one who is ignorant about music.

The timeline of the Lang–Eichthal relationship does not conflict with Köstlin's remarks about the betrothal. Köstlin mentions only that it took place in the mid-1830s and gives no precise date for its dissolution. Eichthal's letter to Mendelssohn reveals that he was *not* engaged to Lang in May 1833. Nothing, however, precludes the possibility of their having become betrothed two or three years after that, and remaining betrothed until around 1838. As is shown above, the Eichthal songs from that year allude in various ways to a painful separation. These allusions may well be linked with Eichthal's departure for America and to a contemporaneous breaking of the engagement.

Whether or not Lang and Eichthal were engaged, their relationship resulted in some remarkable songs; the Eichthal songs in Mus. fol. 53r, many of which are unpublished, are among Lang's most interesting works. The six songs included in the aforementioned list are of particular interest because they constitute a cycle. The texts hint at cyclic structure by their thematic similarities (farewell, yearning, love's pain), and the music also contributes significantly to a sense of interrelation. The keys of the six songs are obviously related: their key succession, F#–B–Bb–Db–D–D♭, forms an arpeggiation of the F#- or Gb-major triad, ornamented by the neighbor-note B. The key of the first song (F# major) anticipates this large-scale arpeggiation. Furthermore, its opening melody sketches the arpeggiation of the F#-major triad, which here, too, is ornamented by a neighboring B (ex. 2.9a). Various other relationships, many of them involving the endings and beginnings of songs that are adjacent on the list, confirm the cyclic structure of the set. The final chord of the first song leads harmonically (as a dominant) into the first chord of the second and is registrally connected to that first chord (cf. exx. 2.9b and 2.10a). There also exist melodic connections between the first two songs. The initial vocal phrases of both move up a fourth, then down a fourth from a central F#4 (cf. exx. 2.9a and 2.10a). The melody of the last three bars of the first song, ascending from G# to B, then descending from B to F#, generates the opening idea of the second song (cf. the bracketed portions of exx. 2.9b and 2.10a). The connection between the second and third songs is more subtle: the last melodic pitch of the postlude of "Schmetterling" (D#—ex. 2.10b) becomes the starting note of "Namenloses" (respelled as Eb—see ex. 2.11). The introduction of the fourth song (ex. 2.12) begins with a melodic stepwise

EXAMPLE 2.9a “Ich denke dein,” mm. 1–6 (unpublished; Mus. fol. 53r, 20, WLB)

**Mäßig, mit Ausdruck**

Ich den - ke Dein im heil' - gen A - bend - schim - mer

*dolce pp*

EXAMPLE 2.9b “Ich denke dein,” postlude (Mus. fol. 53r, 21, WLB)

descent from F; such a descent, albeit in a lower register, is the final melodic gesture of the vocal line of the third song (see mm. 15–16 of ex. 2.11). In addition, the ending of the third song (V-I in B♭ major) is echoed in the minor mode at the beginning of the fourth song (cf. mm. 19–20 of ex. 2.11 and m. 1 of ex. 2.12). The introduction and identical postlude of the fourth song are related to the final three vocal measures of the fifth, “Frühes Sterben”; these passages are all based on the descent of a tenth from F5 to D♭4 (cf. the beginning of ex. 2.12 and the final three vocal measures of “Frühes Sterben”).<sup>96</sup>

The final two songs of the cycle, “Frühes Sterben” and “Den Abschied schnell genommen” (tracks 10 and 11),<sup>97</sup> are especially closely related. Only a few of the links between these songs can be mentioned here.<sup>98</sup> The piano introduction of “Frühes Sterben” generates much of the material not only of that song but also of “Den Abschied schnell genommen.” Within “Frühes Sterben” itself, mm. 1–2 return in mm. 15–16, and mm. 3–4 in mm. 19–20.<sup>99</sup> The postlude reiterates the entire introduction. The melodic rhythm of the introduction, furthermore, appears frequently in the vocal line.<sup>100</sup> “Den Abschied schnell genommen” is based to a large extent on the same rhythm (see, for example, mm. 1–4, 5–8, 16–19, and 20–23).

EXAMPLE 2.10a “Schmetterling,” mm. 1–5 (early version of op. 13 no. 4; Mus. fol. 53r, 23, WLB)

**Moderato**

*sempre legato*

*p*

Der Schmet - ter - ling ist in die

3

Ro - se ver - liebt, um - flat - tert sie tau - send - mal

EXAMPLE 2.10b “Schmetterling,” postlude (Mus. fol. 53r, 25–26)

47

49

*Grav.*

*f*

*loco*

EXAMPLE 2.11 "Namenloses" (unpublished; Mus. fol. 53r, 9, WLB)

**Appassionato**

3  
Wenn auch Al - les

6  
Täu - schung wä - re, je - der Glaub' uns un - ter - sagt,

9  
würd' ich den - noch un - ver-zagt glau - ben noch der Ab-schieds-

EXAMPLE 2.11 *continued*

The musical score consists of three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The first system starts at measure 12 and ends at measure 14. The lyrics are "zäh - - - re, glau - - - ben noch der Ab-schieds-". The second system starts at measure 15 and ends at measure 17. It includes a *ritard.* marking above the vocal line in measure 15. The lyrics are "zäh - - - re.". The third system starts at measure 18 and ends at measure 20. The piano accompaniment features a prominent eighth-note pattern in the right hand.

The two final songs of Lang's "Eichthal cycle" are linked by hypermetric structure as well. All hypermeasures in "Frühes Sterben" except the final one are four bars in length. In the last hypermeasure (beginning in m. 17), a cadence to vi (B♭ minor) postpones the expected cadence to the tonic and the expected end of the hypermeasure. Lang provides the cadence to I within an "extra" pair of bars (mm. 21–22). This hypermetric irregularity foreshadows much more pervasive disturbances of this kind in "Den Abschied schnell genommen." The first irregularity in the latter song specifically recalls that at the end of "Frühes Sterben": the evasion of a cadence to the tonic in m. 8 necessitates a continuation of the hypermeasure that begins in m. 5 beyond the expected point of closure.<sup>101</sup>

EXAMPLE 2.12 “Namenlos[es],” introduction (early version of op. 13 no. 6; Mus. fol. 53r, 7, WLB)

**Langsam**

We conclude our discussion of Lang’s “Eichthal cycle” with a more detailed analysis of “Namenloses,” the third song in the cycle (ex. 2.11 and track 7). The song is based on the following text by Apollonius von Maltitz:

Wenn auch alles Täuschung ware,  
Jeder Glaub’ uns untersagt,  
Würd’ ich dennoch unverzagt  
Glauben noch der Abschieds-Zähre.

Even if everything were a deception,  
Even if every faith were denied us,  
I would still trust, undaunted,  
In the tear of farewell.

The piano introduction begins with one of Lang’s most chromatic progressions. The chromaticism is surely intended to suggest passion and longing, as it does in so much nineteenth-century music. In this song, however, chromaticism might have more negative connotations as well: it may be linked to the textual theme of deception. The first chord is already deceptive. We tend to interpret initial triads as having a tonic, or perhaps some other diatonic function. Lang’s first chord, surprisingly, functions as  $\flat\text{II}$ —not common as an opening harmony in her (or anyone’s) music in 1838. It is, furthermore, not  $\flat\text{II}$  within the actual tonic of the song; that tonic is approached only gradually, and the path toward it is strewn with additional deceptions. The initial triad is  $\flat\text{II}6$  within D major—but D major never materializes as a tonic. By the addition of a seventh at the end of m. 1, D is converted into a dominant of G. The G-major harmony in m. 2 also contains a seventh and thus acts as a dominant, leading to a C-minor triad. Only with

the latter triad do we clearly enter the domain of the actual tonic of B♭ major; C minor acts as ii of B♭ major and leads into a cadence in that key in mm. 3–4. Thus, the introduction begins chromatically and in a tonally ambiguous manner, but ends diatonically and with tonal clarification. Already Lang has established a dualism between chromaticism and tonal ambiguity, on the one hand, and diatonic harmony and tonal clarity, on the other.

The two vocal phrases (mm. 5–8 and 9–16) involve the same dualism and the same basic progression from chromaticism/ambiguity toward diatonicism/clarity. Like the melody of the introduction, the first vocal phrase begins with a series of one-bar chromatic segments and ends diatonically with a clear cadence in B♭ major. The details are quite different from those of the introduction; whereas the chromatic segments in the introductory melody descend, with changes of melodic direction between segments, those of the initial vocal phrase ascend in a purposeful manner from D4 to D5, with just one downward leap just before D5 is reached.<sup>102</sup>

The second vocal phrase begins like the first with a stepwise chromatic ascent connecting D4 and D5. Just before D5 is reached, Lang eliminates some of the melodic chromaticism that was present at the corresponding point of the first phrase; in m. 11, she replaces the succession B♭–B–C (cf. m. 7) with a diatonic falling gesture. She then avoids closing the second phrase at the expected point by harmonizing D5 with a surprising chromatic chord (V of vi) rather than with the tonic (cf. mm. 8 and 12). After resolving V of vi as expected, she twice uses tonic harmony (mm. 14 and 16) and thus ends the second phrase by asserting the victory of diatonicism and clarity over chromaticism and ambiguity. The postlude, identical to the introduction, re-establishes the striking chromaticism of the opening but ends diatonically.

The dualism “ambiguity/clarity” and the progression from ambiguity toward clarity that characterize the pitch material of the song are also operative in the domain of rhythmic and metric structure. The introduction begins with a clear coincidence of phenomenal and metric accents; in mm. 1–2 the shortest note values are used as upbeats, and the downbeats carry durational accents. In m. 3, however, short note values appear on the downbeat; this incongruity between metric and durational accents results in a slight decrease in metric clarity. The fourth measure begins with an implied durational accent and thus resolves the metric ambiguity; the B♭3 on the downbeat gives the impression of being the sole melodic pitch, sustained throughout the bar.

The vocal line continues the subtle metric obfuscation initiated in m. 3. The quick dotted rhythm, used as an upbeat during the introduction, occurs on the downbeats of mm. 5–7, and the strongest durational accents fall on the second

beats. By the end of the first vocal phrase, this metric ambiguity is again resolved. Lang uses eighth notes rather than quarters on the second and third beats of m. 7, thus weakening the durational accent on the second beat (in comparison to mm. 5 and 6) and enhancing the effect of the strong durational accent on the downbeat of m. 8. The same process of metric clarification takes place during the second vocal phrase. In both phrases, this process is coordinated with tonal clarification (replacement of initial chromatic harmony by diatonic cadential harmony).

These processes of clarification within the introduction and the two vocal phrases are nested within a larger process that occupies the entire song. In terms of pitch, the introduction is the most chromatic and the most tonally ambiguous passage. Whereas the first vocal phrase remains highly chromatic, the second phrase (mm. 9–16) becomes progressively less so, with the result that tonal clarity gradually increases during mm. 1–16. In terms of meter, the first vocal phrase is dominated by ambiguity. After the brief resolution at m. 8, the second phrase resumes the ambiguity. The latter phrase, however, ends with four unambiguous bars; strong accents in the form of particularly long durations are consistently placed on downbeats in mm. 12–16.

The dualism “ambiguity/clarity” within the music is clearly linked to the text, which is characterized by a conflict between ideas of illusion and certainty, distrust and faith. We can map the musical ambiguities onto the poetic ideas of illusion and deception, and the resolutions of those ambiguities onto the ideas of faith, trust, and security. The large-scale process of clarification, too, is aptly matched to the text. The poem begins by mentioning deception and lack of faith, and ends with an expression of faith in the beloved’s tears of farewell. It is therefore appropriate that the musical images suggestive of deception should yield to those that symbolize faith and trust.

“Namenloses” appears to reflect the conflicts that arose for Lang from the relationship with Eichthal. The pervasive confrontation in the song between opposing musical elements may have grown out of her doubts about her feelings toward Eichthal and about his feelings for her. Lang’s statement that her songs were her diary lends credence to this hypothesis; when a song autograph is inscribed with a reference to a particular episode in her life, one cannot help speculating that the poetry and the music of the song are connected to that episode.

It is remarkable that Wilhelm von Eichthal is mentioned in no earlier biography of Josephine Lang. Since the nineteenth-century biographies by Lang’s son and by Hiller are based on the composer’s own notes, we must conclude that she deliberately avoided any reference to him.<sup>103</sup> Her treatment of the “Eichthal cycle” is of a piece with this reticence; she never published the songs that were most clearly inspired by the Eichthal episode (those whose autographs allude to Eichthal



by name), and scattered other songs from the cycle, as well as other Eichthal-related songs from the 1838 notebook, through various published sets. The two most closely related songs of the cycle, for example—"Frühes Sterben" and "Den Abschied schnell genommen"—appeared in print twelve years apart, namely in 1860 (in op. 26) and 1848 (in op. 15), respectively. Lang's dismantling of the "Eichthal cycle" may be a symbolic gesture; just as her bond with Eichthal was broken, so did the cycle written with him in mind need to be broken into its constituent parts.

### The End of the 1830s

Aside from vacations in nearby Tegernsee and Augsburg, Lang remained in Munich during the 1830s. One slightly more ambitious journey in 1838 took her to Salzburg in the company of her fellow Chapel employee, Fanny Schinn. The highlight of this trip was a meeting with Constanze Nissen (formerly Constanze Mozart). Mme Nissen wrote an inscription in Lang's album on 9 September 1838, signing herself as "your warmly loving friend."<sup>104</sup>

The year 1839 began auspiciously; after many disappointments with respect to plans for her musical education, Lang was finally to go to Vienna to study (it is not known with whom). Her aunt, Margarethe Carl (née Lang), had offered to take her into her home. Lang had been able to secure a leave from her position as a Chapel singer, her place in the coach to Vienna was paid for, her bags were packed. At the last moment, however, the scheme fell apart. Her father was so overcome with sorrow at the prospect of parting from her that he "pleadingly stretched out his arms to the beloved child, who was just turning away prior to departure—he simply could not let her leave."<sup>105</sup> And so Josephine Lang remained in Munich. H. A. Köstlin later wrote that this was for the best; Lang's father died later in 1839, and by staying in Munich, she was able to be with him during his final months.<sup>106</sup> Nonetheless, a golden opportunity was lost, and no further possibilities of thorough musical training were to come her way. What with the departure of Wilhelm von Eichthal, the crumbling of the Vienna plan, and the death of her father, the 1830s—the most stimulating and productive decade of her life—ended rather sadly for Josephine Lang.



PLATE 1 Pencil portrait of Josephine Lang (probably by Carl Müller), frontispiece of H. A. Köstlin, “Lebensabriß.”



PLATE 2 Pencil portrait of Reinhold Köstlin by Carl Müller (Bild-Abteilung, DLA, Marbach).  
Reproduced with permission.

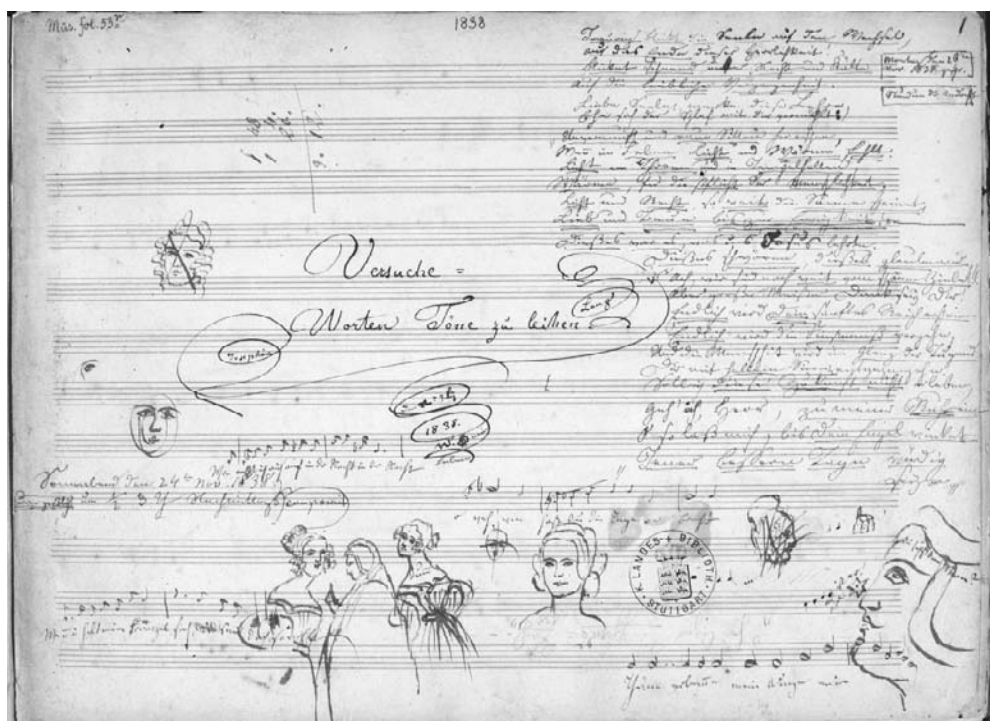


PLATE 3 Title page of Lang's autograph booklet from 1838 (Mus. fol. 53r, WLB).  
Reproduced with permission.



PLATE 4 Last page of Josephine Lang's autograph of "Traumbild" (1832), with Robert Schumann's revisions of 1838 (Sächsische Landesbibliothek- Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Deutsche Fotothek/Regine Richter, Mus. Schu. 148). Reproduced with permission.



PLATE 5 Photograph of Josephine Lang and her children, probably c. 1859. Fellingner papers, GdMf. Reproduced with permission.



## THREE

### Josephine Lang and Christian Reinhold Köstlin

#### “Erstes Begegnen” (First Meeting)

In the spring of 1840, Josephine Lang fell ill with pleurisy. The Bavarian Queen Mother, Caroline, who had for a number of years taken a warm interest in Lang, sent the young composer to the health resort of Kreuth, known today as Wildbad Kreuth, for a whey cure.<sup>1</sup> Lang arrived there on 13 June 1840.

On the evening of 30 June, another invalid arrived in Kreuth: the law scholar and writer Christian Reinhold Köstlin. Born in 1813 in Stuttgart, he was the second son of the Protestant prelate Nathanael Köstlin. He had a strong predilection for the arts. He was apparently a good pianist; his son wrote that he played *all* of Beethoven's piano sonatas from memory.<sup>2</sup> He was passionately interested in theater and was a prolific writer of poems and novellas. At the wish of his father he had studied law, at the universities of Tübingen, Heidelberg, and Berlin. After earning his doctorate, he had practiced law in Stuttgart and, in 1839, acceded to a position in the law faculty at the University of Tübingen. While being extremely productive in his “official” career, he was also attempting to make a name for himself as a novelist, dramatist, and poet.<sup>3</sup>

Owing in part to the demands of maintaining two careers, Köstlin had fallen critically ill in the spring of 1840.<sup>4</sup> Kreuth gossip had it that “shattering events”<sup>5</sup> had also contributed to his illness; these supposedly involved an unhappy love affair with the prominent singer Agnese Schebest, who either had not returned or had betrayed his love.<sup>6</sup> Köstlin had indeed been in love with Schebest for more than three years. His diary-like poetry manuscripts document many upheavals in this relationship, but they do not refer to any crisis in the first half of 1840.

On the evening of his arrival in Kreuth, Köstlin heard a woman singing in an adjacent room. It was Josephine Lang, performing her setting of Lenau's “Scheideblick” (track 12).<sup>7</sup> Köstlin was enthralled; he seems to have been particularly susceptible to singers! It is, however, evident from the documented responses of

others (including Mendelssohn and Heller) that Lang's performances were extraordinarily compelling.<sup>8</sup> Köstlin begged to be introduced to the woman whose voice had so captivated him.

Their meeting, a major turning point in their lives, took place on the following day (1 July 1840). One of Köstlin's later poems, based on Lang's diary entries from 1840, reveals her feelings after the meeting:

Was für Unruh,—Herz, o sage!—	Speak, o heart, what unrest
Plötzlich ist in dich geschossen?	Has entered into you so suddenly?
War's der Fremde gestern Abend[?]	Was it the stranger yesterday evening[?] <sup>9</sup>

It is apparent that she was immediately drawn to Köstlin. Another passage in the same poem indicates that a large part of the attraction came from her perception of his artistic sympathy with her; when singing for him, she felt that for the first time she had found a "heavenly pure echo" for what filled her soul. One of Lang's autographs, dated 10 July 1840 and entitled "Erstes Begegnen," further attests to the immediate mutual attraction between these two artists. This song fragment contains only two lines of text: "It is as if I had known you for years, I feel so at ease with you."<sup>10</sup> Köstlin expressed similar sentiments when he later described the first meeting to Mendelssohn (with whom he had become acquainted in Berlin):

You will perhaps recall that I told you how, as one recovering from [an illness that brought me to] the brink of death, I made the acquaintance of Josephine Lang in the delightful alpine nook of Kreuth. Love is a curious thing. After only three days, such a good understanding flourished between the singer and the poet that it was as if they had known each other for all eternity.<sup>11</sup>

During the first week of July, the subject matter of Köstlin's poems was restricted to the mountainous landscape. On 8 July, however, he wrote an unmistakable love poem for Lang, its diffident message being "dare I ask if you are feeling what I am feeling?"<sup>12</sup> The poem from the following day reveals the swift progress of the relationship:

So brenn' auf meinem Munde,	O burn upon my lips,
Süßbitterster Genuß,	You most bittersweet delight,
Wie eine ew'ge Wunde,	Like an eternal wound,
Du letzter [sic] tiefer Kuß!	You last, deep kiss! <sup>13</sup>

Two weeks after Köstlin's arrival and four weeks after her own, Lang left for nearby Tegernsee to continue her convalescence at the Stieler house. She must

have been aware of her impending departure date of 13 July, for on 9 July Köstlin was already writing poetry about the quick approach of the time of parting and the “long-lasting sorrow” that it would bring.<sup>14</sup> On the same day he wrote another poem, which Lang began to set to music on 10 July—the song fragment “Abschied” (Farewell).<sup>15</sup> In this passionate and tormented poem, Köstlin asked why the two of them had to part when they had only just met. It is unfortunate that Lang’s setting remained a fragment (she set only one of five stanzas to music). Lang’s copy of the text contains many underlined words—words that were obviously of significance to her and that she would likely have emphasized in her setting. The conclusion of the poem is underlined as follows in Lang’s copy:

... Ein Theil von meinem Leben  
Geht mit dir und ist ewig dein.  
Und, willst du den mir wiedergeben,  
So mußt auch du mein eigen seyn.

... A part of my life  
Goes with you and is forever yours.  
And if you wish to return it to me  
Then you must become mine.<sup>16</sup>

It would have been illuminating to see how Lang set the double-underlined word “you.”

As he took farewell from Lang on 13 July, Köstlin presented her with a poem that urged her to remember him (“Gedenke mein!”)<sup>17</sup>; that she followed his injunction is demonstrated by her almost immediate musical reaction to this poem.<sup>18</sup> Köstlin, in turn, continued to think of her; the predominant theme of his poems during the days after Lang’s departure was the pain of separation. One of these poems became the text of Lang’s undated song “Zusammen,” op. 26 no. 5 (track 17).<sup>19</sup> According to this poem, Lang and Köstlin, albeit physically separated, imagined that their glances would meet when they both gazed at the blue mountains.

Such meetings in spirit, however, did not satisfy Köstlin for long. Judging by his poetry, he lasted five days in Kreuth before he began commuting to Tegernsee to visit Lang. The distance between the two towns is easily managed today, but in 1840 it involved a carriage ride and a boat trip across the Tegernsee. Nevertheless, Köstlin made the journey quite often. He continued to ply Lang with poems; he wrote 54 poems between 2 July and 12 August, 38 of which he gave to Lang. She bound her copies into a booklet with a pink silk ribbon; this booklet, its ribbon now faded, is preserved in Stuttgart.<sup>20</sup>

Because of her illness, Lang had composed very little during the first half of 1840. Her returning health, combined with her love for Köstlin and her interest in his poetry, resulted in a reawakening of her creative impulses. Her concentration during this period on the work of one poet is unprecedented.<sup>21</sup> Her *dated* mu-



sical autographs show that during the period 1840–42 Josephine Lang set only four texts by someone other than Köstlin.<sup>22</sup>

### The *Mathildenhöhle* Songs

Among Lang's first Köstlin settings are songs based on three of thirteen poetic texts from his novella *Die Mathildenhöhle*, which he had published in 1839.<sup>23</sup> This novella, an astonishing 268 pages in length, is the story of a love triangle. The hero, Eduard, falls in love with a woman named Mathilde. Mathilde suddenly and for no tangible reason becomes suspicious of Eduard's constancy and disappears without an explanation. He is distraught but then meets Emilie, with whom he initiates a flirtation that takes a serious turn. Mathilde hears about this new relationship and returns disguised as a man. Eduard becomes jealous of this "man" who seems to be stealing the affections of Emilie. The tangle is sorted out after an accident befalls Eduard in the *Mathildenhöhle* (a cave that is named after Mathilde) just as he is about to declare himself to Emilie with Mathilde eavesdropping. Mathilde reestablishes her claim on Eduard, and Emilie is united with the brother of one of her friends.

Köstlin's novella is in many respects autobiographical. The hero Eduard, like Köstlin himself, has studied law, writes poetry continually, and is a fine pianist. Eduard's first love, the singer/actress Mathilde, is in many ways similar to Agnese Schebest. For example, Schebest was particularly famous for her portrayal of Romeo in Bellini's *I Capuletti e i Montecchi*, and in the novella, Köstlin has his fictional character Mathilde distinguish herself in the role of Juliet in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. With the character Emilie the novella moves beyond the autobiographical to the prophetic. The constellation "Eduard/Mathilde/Emilie" corresponds closely to that of Köstlin, Schebest, and Lang—a constellation that came into being a year *after* the novella was published. Hermann Fischer's description of Josephine Lang as "also a singer, but a more gently shining star than the sparkling one of Agnese"<sup>24</sup> is equally applicable to Köstlin's fictional characters, Emilie and Mathilde.

There are a number of problems with *Die Mathildenhöhle*: too many characters too elaborately described, too many subplots, inconsistencies in some of the main characters, and a general lack of economy in writing. Despite these problems, Köstlin had managed to find a publisher, although it is likely (as was the case with other Köstlin novellas) that the publication was a money-making proposition for neither party.<sup>25</sup>

Köstlin gave or showed Lang a copy of the novella sometime in July 1840, for she began to set the poems on 25 July.<sup>26</sup> Although Köstlin enjoyed the artistic col-

laboration with Lang in itself, he may have had another reason for introducing her to the *Mathildenhöhle* poems. Given his “incessantly calculating” (*unaufhörlich planend*) personality,<sup>27</sup> he likely hoped that Lang’s musical settings would generate publicity for his novella. It would not have been the first time that Lang aided an author in this manner. In 1840, Leopold Lechner published a “poetical description of the Würmsee and its surroundings,” entitled *Die Landparthie* (The Country Excursion).<sup>28</sup> Like *Die Mathildenhöhle*, this work contained a number of poems, of which Lang set two to music. The songs appeared anonymously at the end of Lechner’s book. The author explained in the Foreword why he avoided naming the composer:

Finally, I am moved to offer my gratitude to the artist who, through her compositions of several poems, was kind enough to generate a greater interest in my efforts [among the public]; as I am, however, uncertain of the nature of the reception that my little work shall receive, and given the outstanding reputation [of the composer], I do not dare to reveal her honored name.<sup>29</sup>

It is, then, not surprising that the possibility of a publication of a set of “Lieder aus der *Mathildenhöhle*” by Lang struck Köstlin as desirable publicity; a set of songs by a composer with an “outstanding reputation” might serve to generate “a greater interest” in his own “little work” as well.

That a publication of *Mathildenhöhle* songs was planned is evident from a letter of the singer Cathinka Evers to Köstlin, in which she wrote, “If I could only obtain the composed songs from the *Mathildenhöhle*! I have already asked about them, but it seems that they have not yet been engraved.”<sup>30</sup> The proposed collection of “Lieder aus der *Mathildenhöhle*” never materialized. Only one of Lang’s three settings appeared in print, namely “O sehntest du dich so nach mir” (track 13), published as op. 14 no. 1 in 1848.<sup>31</sup> In the first edition, the title was simply “Aus der Novelle: ‘Die Mathildenhöhle,’” suggesting that even as late as 1848 the song was intended to advertise the novella.

The text of op. 14 no. 1 is as follows:

O sehntest du dich so nach mir,  
Wie ich nach dir,  
Du kämst zu mir!

Oh, if you yearned for me  
As I for you,  
You would come to me.

Mein Aug’ ist nur nach dir ein Strahl  
Voll süßer Qual.  
O komm’ einmal!

My eye is nothing but  
a ray [of light] aimed at you,  
Full of sweet torture.  
Oh come!

In meinem Ohr an jedem Ort  
Tönt immer fort  
Dein liebes Wort!

In my ear, everywhere,  
Constantly echoes  
Your dear word!

O sehntest du dich so nach mir,  
Wie ich nach dir,  
Du wärest schon hier!

If you yearned for me  
As I for you,  
You would already be here!

This poem is drawn from one of the prophetic passages in Köstlin's novella. Eduard, wandering about disconsolately one evening during Mathilde's absence, is mesmerized by a "lovely voice"<sup>32</sup> singing in a drawing room. The singer is Emilie, who is performing a setting of "O sehntest du dich so nach mir." The reader gains the impression that Eduard will forsake his old love, Mathilde, and turn his attentions to Emilie. These events constitute an amazing anticipation of Reinhold Köstlin's experiences in Kreuth a year after the novella was published.

Josephine Lang could not have been aware of all of these parallels between fiction and life, but she might well have been struck by the remarkable similarity between the circumstances of the first meeting of Emilie and Eduard and those of her own first meeting with Köstlin. Her perception of this similarity may explain in part why she was drawn to the poem "O sehntest du dich so nach mir."

Her setting begins with a dissonance (which is unusual for Lang)—V7 of IV (ex. 3.1a). This chord remains prominent during the song, returning in mm. 4 and 12 and in the postlude. The chord is resolved as expected (to IV) only in the introduction and postlude. In mm. 4–5, it leads smoothly to another dominant seventh—V6/5 of ii. In mm. 12–13 (ex. 3.1b), the same progression occurs in inverted form. The dissonant quality of the initial chord and its frequent non-resolution are surely intended to represent the main theme of the poem: unresolved yearning.

Yearning is also expressed by lack of resolution on a deeper level. The introduction prolongs D-major harmony, first in the sense of dominant (of G) and then, after the appearance of C# in m. 2, in the sense of tonic harmony. The tonic function of D is, however, easily missed; one could interpret the entire introduction as expanding the dominant of G. The validity of this hearing can easily be verified by placing a G-major harmony after the introduction; G would sound like a perfectly acceptable tonic in m. 3.

The sense of G as tonic is weakened by the events of mm. 6–7, where the F#-major and B-minor harmonies, uncommon within G major, undermine that harmony's role of potential controlling tonic. The progression in mm. 7–8 therefore sounds like IV to I in D rather than I to V in G. A tendency toward G as tonic

EXAMPLE 3.1a “Aus der Novelle ‘Die Mathildenhöhle,’” op. 14 no. 1, mm. 1–8

**Langsam und ausdrucksvoll**

legato *p* *f* *dimin.*

O sehn - test du dich  
so nach mir, wie ich nach  
dir, du kämst zu mir,

is again perceptible a few measures later. In m. 11 (ex. 3.1b), Lang cancels the leading tone of the dominant of D and leads the resulting A-minor triad to the dominant of G. The ii–V progression in G, however, does not continue to the expected tonic; as was mentioned, the dominant seventh of G remains unresolved. The vocal portion ends with a satisfying cadence to D major—but the postlude, identical to the introduction, again raises the possibility of the key of G. Aside from the lack of resolution of the initial dissonance on the surface, then, there is in this song an ultimately unresolved deep-level tendency toward G major.

Yearning is represented by elements other than the harmony. The vocal line rises almost consistently during the lines that mention yearning (see ex. 3.1a, mm. 3–6). As the poet mentions the possibility of the beloved’s coming to him to as-

## EXAMPLE 3.1b “Aus der Novelle ‘Die Mathildenhöhle,’” mm. 10–16

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is 3/4.

- System 1 (Measures 10-12):** The vocal line begins with a half rest in measure 10, followed by a half note G4 in measure 11, and then a descending eighth-note melody in measure 12. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note arpeggiated pattern in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand.
- System 2 (Measures 13-14):** The vocal line continues with a half note B4 in measure 13 and a half note G4 in measure 14. The piano accompaniment continues with the arpeggiated pattern.
- System 3 (Measures 15-16):** The vocal line has a half rest in measure 15, followed by a half note G4 in measure 16. The piano accompaniment continues with the arpeggiated pattern, ending with a final chord in measure 16 marked with a double asterisk (\*).

Lyrics: Mein Aug' ist nur nach dir ein Strahl  
voll süs - - ser Qual,  
o komm' ein - mal!

suage his yearning, the melodic line arpeggiates downward in a relaxing gesture (m. 7). Even more distinctive is the use of voice leading to represent yearning and its fulfillment. When in m. 5 the voice leaps from F# to B as the bass rises from D# to E, a direct fifth results between the outer voices. Lang moves both outer voices upward by step into the next bar, creating a set of *parallel* fifths. This “crescendo” of unorthodox voice leading is followed in m. 7 by parallel tenth motion. The “resolution” of the unorthodox voice leading is coordinated with the shift from the poet’s contemplation of yearning to contemplation of its fulfillment.

“O sehntest du dich so nach mir” is the shortest of Lang’s three *Mathildenhöhle* settings. The other two are much more ambitious songs.<sup>33</sup> One wonders why she

did not publish them; performed in manuscript order, as on our CD, they make a very effective cycle in conjunction with “O sehntest du dich so nach mir” (tracks 13 to 15). The key succession D major–b minor–A major works well, as does the positioning of a stormy, agitated song between two calmer ones.

The poems for the second and third songs appear in Köstlin’s novella as Eduard’s creations during a night in which he is plagued by anxiety because the absent Mathilde is not answering his letters. The text of Lang’s second *Mathildenhöble* song is as follows:

Und wieder ist ein Tag dahin,  
Und noch von dir kein Wort—  
Weiss nicht, wie ich geschlichen bin,  
Nur bis zum Abend fort!

And again a day has passed,  
And still no word from you—  
I know not how I crept about  
All day until evening!

Weiss nicht mehr, wo ich stand und  
ging,  
Was Auge trieb und Ohr,  
Denn ach, vor meiner Seele hing  
Ein schwarzer Trauerflor.

I know not where I stood and walked,  
  
What my eye did and my ear,  
For oh, before my soul there hung  
A black shroud.

Weiss nicht, was ich gedacht im  
Schmerz,  
Denn was ich denken wollt’,  
Schlug’s wie ein Hammer mir auf’s  
Herz,  
Als ob’s zerspringen sollt!

I know not what I thought in [my] pain,  
  
For whatever I wanted to think,  
It was as if a hammer struck my heart,  
  
As if it were about to burst!

Weiss nicht, mit wem ich ging und  
sprach,  
Denn Alles ausser dir  
Dahin ja schwebt es vor und nach,  
Wie Truggestalten mir!

I know not with whom I walked and  
spoke,  
For everything other than you  
Floated away before and behind me  
Like phantoms!

So steh’ ich hier denn einsam nur,  
Vom Einz’gen in der Welt

Thus I stand here in solitude,  
Abandoned by the one thing in the  
world

Verlassen, d’rauf mein ganzes Tun  
Und Sinnen war gestellt!

Upon which all my deeds  
And thoughts were focused!

Umsonst reich’ ich nach dir die Hand,  
Du tust mich nicht in Acht—  
Zerrissen unsrer Liebe Band  
Hinflattert in die Nacht.

In vain I reach out to you;  
You ignore me.  
Our love’s bond, torn,  
Flutters away into the night.

Lang's setting has a format that is quite common in her songs: a very long stretch of music is repeated with different text. Although the song is therefore "officially" strophic, the strophes are so long that the repetitious effect of this form is less perceptible than usual.

The opening measures (ex. 3.2a) reflect the text in a number of ways. The abruptness of the beginning (there is no piano introduction) matches that of the opening of the poem, which starts with a conjunction and thus in the middle of a hypothetical sentence, or in the midst of an unending complaint. The frequent changes of direction within the melody of mm. 1–8 reflect the restlessness and anxiety of the lyric *I*. The pitch structure of the initial rising scale also has implications of restlessness. The melody in mm. 1–2 traverses a rising B-minor scale—but a minor scale without a leading tone. The natural minor scale is usually encountered in descending form, in which it sounds much more "natural"; since it lacks a leading tone, it exhibits no tendency toward the upper tonic. Thus, the opening gesture of the song feels, in spite of its purposeful rising motion, as though it is being pulled downward; a conflicted and therefore restless sensation results.

The piano part contributes to the expression of restlessness by the almost constant triplet motion. Brief cessations of this motion, for instance in m. 4, result in effects of melancholy meditation on the beloved's failure to communicate. In m. 4, the poignancy of the moment is enhanced by the descending semitone in the voice and by the mournful augmented triad that is encased within the first chord.

Features that express both the agitated and plaintive emotions of the poem characterize the following music as well; note the continuing piano triplets, the rapid zigzags of the arpeggiations in the second section (mm. 8–9), the changes of direction in the scalar passages in mm. 15–18, and the falling semitone gestures in the interlude at mm. 21–22. The same emotions are even more prominently evoked at the return of the opening music (ex. 3.2b). Compare, for example, the corresponding mm. 4 and 28. In m. 4, the piano, which so far has doubled the vocal melody, overshoots it, leaping up to F#5. In m. 28, the *voice* leaps up to F#5, participating in the intense rising gesture that was reserved for the piano in m. 4.

In m. 29, the new diminished-seventh leaps in the voice encapsulate both plaintive and restless qualities. The vertical minor ninth B3/C5 on the strong beats of m. 29 also signifies both emotions—agitation by its sharp dissonance, sadness by its relation to the plaintive semitone. The new material at mm. 31–32 is also particularly mournful and agitated in tone—mournful because of the Neapolitan harmony (with the semitone motions attendant on its resolution), and agitated because of the large and quickly executed leap of a tenth.

EXAMPLE 3.2a “Und wieder ist ein Tag dahin,” mm. 1–10 (unpublished; Mus. fol. 53v, 11v, WLB)

**Agitato**

Und wie - der ist ein Tag da - hin, und

3 noch von dir kein Wort *a tempo* weiss nicht, wie ich ge -

6 schli - chen bin, nur bis zum A - bend

8 fort! Weiss nicht mehr, wo ich stand und ging, was

*rit.* *pp*



EXAMPLE 3.2b “Und wieder ist ein Tag dahin,” mm. 25–34 (Mus. fol. 53v, 12v, WLB)

25

Weiss nicht, was ich ge - dacht im Schmerz, denn was ich den - ken

28

*f a tempo*

wollt, schlug's wie ein Ham - mer mir auf's Herz,

*rit.*

31

*più lento*

als ob's zer-sprin - - gen sollt,

*rit.*

33

*a tempo*

schlug's wie ein Ham - mer mir auf's Herz,

*f*

*p*

*p*

The musical score is for a piano and voice. It consists of four systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#). The first system (measures 25-27) has a vocal line starting with a half note G4 and a piano accompaniment of eighth notes. The second system (measures 28-30) features a vocal line with a half note G4 and a piano accompaniment of eighth notes. The third system (measures 31-32) has a vocal line with a half note G4 and a piano accompaniment of eighth notes. The fourth system (measures 33-34) has a vocal line with a half note G4 and a piano accompaniment of eighth notes. The score includes dynamic markings such as *f* (forte), *p* (piano), and *rit.* (ritardando). The tempo markings are *a tempo* and *più lento*.

The new melodic ideas of the second A section also exhibit more specific relations to the text. The reiterated diminished-seventh leaps of m. 29 evoke the image of repeated hammer blows upon the protagonist's heart. They are no less appropriate to the text the second time round (the second line of text that goes with this passage, "torn is the bond of our love," is not shown in the example); the large leaps "tear" the smoothness of the preceding line. The even larger leap of a tenth in m. 31 clearly responds to the word "zerspringen" (burst). The leap of a tenth "bursts" the norms established for the melody of this song—indeed, the norms of melodic writing in the early nineteenth-century Lied. The final measures of the vocal portion, setting a repetition of the immediately preceding text, again graphically express the image of hammer strokes on the heart; in mm. 33–34, Lang deviates from the mobility of the vocal melody up until this point and writes a line that is rife with accented repeated notes.

The postlude (ex. 3.2c) begins with a continuation of the pervasive triplet rhythm, but that rhythm is soon disrupted by tied fourth-beat quarter notes followed by accented half-note chords on downbeats (mm. 40–44); the latter chords

EXAMPLE 3.2c "Und wieder ist ein Tag dahin," postlude (Mus. fol. 53v, 13r, WLB)

The musical score for Example 3.2c is presented in three systems. The first system (measures 36-38) shows a piano accompaniment with a mix of triplet rhythms and accented half-note chords on downbeats. The second system (measures 39-41) continues this pattern. The third system (measures 42-44) features a more complex arrangement of notes and rests, with a final measure (44) containing a strong accented half-note chord. The score is written for piano, with a treble and bass clef, and a key signature of one sharp (F#).

recall the idea of “hammer strokes.” The final octaves in a “short–long” rhythm constitute an unusually dramatic final gesture for Lang.

The text of the third *Mathildenhöhle* song is as follows:

Ach, ich denke,  
Ach, ich senke  
In ihr Bild mich Tag und Nacht!  
Und kein Grüßen  
Von der Süßen—  
O ich hätt’ es nie gedacht!

Oh, I think,  
Oh I sink  
Myself into her image day and night!  
And no greeting  
From the sweet one—  
Oh, I would never have thought [that  
this could happen]!

Ach, ich schaue  
Tief in’s Blaue  
Bis mein Aug’ in Tränen steht,  
Ach, ich lausche  
Ob es rausche,  
Ob sie gleich mir ferne steht!

Oh, I look  
Deep into the blue [heavens]  
Until my eye is filled with tears.  
Oh, I listen [to discover]  
If there is a swishing [of her garments]  
Even though she is far from me!

Vögeln, Lüften,  
Wolken, Düften,  
Geb’ ich mit den tiefsten Sinn,

To the birds, the breezes,  
Clouds, scents  
I impart the most profoundly  
meaningful messages,  
But [heedlessly] you  
Permit them  
To roam and ramble past you.

Aber schweifen,  
Aber streifen  
Lässt du sie an dir dahin.  
  
So versäumst du,  
So verträumst du  
Was mir einzig Frieden gibt?  
Fühlst im Herzen  
Keine Schmerzen,  
Hast so früh schon ausgeliebt?

Thus you miss,  
Thus you dream away  
The only thing that gives me peace?  
You feel no pain  
In your heart?  
[You] have ceased to love so soon?

Each half-stanza of Köstlin’s poem begins with a pair of short rhyming lines, followed by a longer line. The longer lines rhyme in pairs as well; these larger-scale rhymes demarcate the stanzas. The multiplicity of short rhyming lines could easily have resulted in a square and predictable quality in the setting. Lang, however, succeeds in avoiding this problem.

In most respects, Lang adheres very closely to the form of the poem. The only significant deviation is her reiteration of the first stanza at the end of the song to create a poetic as well as musical ternary form (A—mm. 1–30; B—mm. 31–128;

A—mm. 129–58). She clearly articulates the stanzas of the poem with cadences and piano interludes. The structure of the half-stanzas is also clearly reflected in the music, namely by the use of sentential structure. The classical sentence form consists of a presentation phrase, comprising the twofold statement of a two-bar basic idea, followed by a continuation phrase that is twice as long as the basic idea, and that usually involves fragmentation and a sense of acceleration.<sup>34</sup> This form perfectly matches that of Köstlin's half-stanzas, with their two short rhyming lines followed by a line that is twice as long. The opening of the song (ex. 3.3a) demonstrates the congruence between musical and poetic form. Lang sets "Ach, ich denke" to a two-bar basic idea, in which the tonic moves to the dominant harmony (over a pedal tone—mm. 1–2). The rhyming line "ach, ich senke" is set to a slightly altered repetition of the idea (mm. 3–4). The harmonic progression is again I to V (now freed from the pedal tone) and the melody is almost identical; only the second A4 is replaced, with intensifying effect, by D5. The continuation phrase (mm. 5–8), setting Köstlin's longer line "in ihr Bild mich Tag und Nacht," is typical of such phrases in its length (twice that of the basic idea) as well as in its sense of acceleration (notice the quicker harmonic rhythm). In the next half-stanza (mm. 9–16, not shown here), the short rhyming lines "und kein Grüßen" and "von der Süßen" are again set to similar musical ideas (mm. 9–10 and 11–12); both are based on the progression i to V within the key of ii (B minor), and in both a large leap is followed by a descending step. The continuation phrase (mm. 13–16), twice as long as the basic idea, involves some sense of acceleration; rather than prolonging a single harmony (B minor) as did the basic idea, the continuation begins to move chromatically, with a harmonic change in each bar.<sup>35</sup>

Clearly, an unbroken series of sentences, each corresponding to Köstlin's consistent poetic form, would have resulted in a very monotonous song. Lang avoids monotony in part by her skillful manipulation of sentential structure. The first few presentation phrases already involve varied rather than exact repetition, so that the risk of excessive predictability is minimized. Even such veiled sentences, however, if maintained throughout the song, would have resulted in squareness and predictability. Hence, after the initial two sentences (which occupy the first A section), Lang deviates more and more from the sentence schema. In mm. 31–38 (ex. 3.3b), the two rhyming fragments "Ach, ich schaue" and "tief in's Blaue" are set to the same rhythm; in terms of pitch, however, the settings of these fragments do not represent the same basic idea (although the rhyming words themselves are set to similar descending steps—C5–B4 and C#5–B4, respectively). In mm. 39–46, the two-bar segments that correspond to the rhyming words are different in rhythm and the rhyming words are set with different, though still related intervals (a falling semitone at "lausche," and a rising semitone at "rausche"). In mm.

EXAMPLE 3.3a “Ach, ich denke,” mm. 1–8 (unpublished; Mus. fol. 53v, 14r, WLB)

The musical score for Example 3.3a consists of two systems of music. The first system contains measures 1 through 4, and the second system contains measures 5 through 8. The music is written for voice and piano in 3/4 time with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The lyrics are: "Ach, ich den - ke, ach, ich sen - ke in ihr Bild mich Tag und Nacht!". The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand.

51–58 and 59–66, the two-bar segments diverge even more. The sentence model, so clearly suggested by the text, is thus increasingly obscured during the first 66 bars of the song.

In mm. 79–102, Lang felt that it was safe to return to more obvious sentential structures. In mm. 79–86, the two-bar segments 79–80 and 81–82 constitute sequential statements of the same basic idea (E5–D#5–D#5–C#5; C#5–B4–B4–A4); the rhythm is the same in the two segments. The melodies of the two-bar segments that set “fühlst im Herzen” and “keine Schmerzen” (mm. 87–88 and 89–90) are absolutely identical, resulting in the clearest sentence in the song. The following sentence is again somewhat less obvious. In both mm. 95–96 and 97–98 (ex. 3.3c), the melody is based on a rising semitone (B#4–C#5 and D#5–E5, respectively) and the harmony consists of V–i progressions in C# minor. Furthermore, the melodic rhythm of the two segments is identical. The melodic details of the segments, however, differ substantially, the second rising semitone being embellished by an appoggiatura.

Nowhere is sentential structure more obscured (looser, to use William Caplin’s term)<sup>36</sup> than in mm. 107ff. Measures 95–96 and 97–98 form a presentation phrase, for which mm. 99–102 would be the expected continuation phrase. Measure 102, however, is harmonically open; the continuation cannot end here. Measure 106, for the same reason, is still not a logical endpoint. In mm. 109–21,

EXAMPLE 3.3b “Ach, ich denke,” mm. 31–38 (Mus. fol. 53v, 15r, WLB)

31

Ach, ich schau - e tief in's Blau - e

35

bis mein Aug' in Trä - nen steht.

Lang launches into an expanded cadential progression in E major (the key of the B section),<sup>37</sup> and it is only at the point of cadential arrival (m. 121) that one can perceive the end of the sentential form that began in m. 95. The final vocal section brings back the opening, so that the vocal portion of the song ends with the restoration of clear sentential structures.

It is not only by inventive manipulation of the sentence form that Lang avoids monotony in her song but also by her use of harmony and of hypermetric irregularity. Harmony is active in preventing stodgy predictability especially in mm. 79–122. In this section, Lang avoids (with one exception) triads at the ends of the segments that correspond to Köstlin's three-line half-stanzas. In m. 86, for the word “gibt,” she uses an inverted dominant seventh. For the rhyming word “liebt” at m. 94 she resolves the same dominant seventh to the expected triad (this is the one exception mentioned above). This resolution is, however, retracted, as it were, during the following reiterations of the word “ausgeliebt”; in mm. 102 and 106 (ex. 3.3c), Lang uses diminished-seventh chords, and in m. 121, the end of the B section, she weakens the expected resolution to E major by adding a seventh and a ninth to that harmony. All of these dissonant harmonies keep the music moving forward and distract from the many caesuras within Köstlin's poem.

Hypermetric irregularity plays an even larger role in the avoidance of monotony. The song would have been square and predictable had it consisted of an un-

EXAMPLE 3.3c “Ach, ich denke,” mm. 95–122 (Mus. fol. 53v, 16r–16v, WLB)

95

fühlst im Her - zen kei - ne Schmer-zen, hast so früh schon

101

aus - ge - liebt? so früh schon aus - ge - liebt?

108

so früh so früh

115

so früh schon aus - - - ge - liebt?

broken series of four-bar hypermeasures; Lang wisely deviates at times from this unit length. For example, after a long passage that adheres to four-bar hypermeter (mm. 31–106), Lang injects a brief deviation from that hypermeter (see ex. 3.3c). Measures 107–8 are perceived as “extra” measures belonging to the hypermeasure that began in m. 103, for it is only with the resolution to E major in m. 109 that a new hypermeasure is felt to begin. From m. 109 on, four-bar hypermeter is again perceptible; mm. 109–12, 113–16, 117–20, 121–24, and 125–28 can be heard without difficulty as four-bar hypermeasures.

The apparently regular hypermeter of mm. 109–28, however, exhibits some irregularity at a deeper level. The long note values and slow harmonic rhythm create a sense of liberation from strictures established in the earlier part of the song. The melody, which up until this point has moved mainly in quarter notes, now moves in half notes. The harmony in most of the earlier portion of the song has changed every bar; here it usually changes at two-bar intervals. In hypermetric terms, mm. 109–16 and 117–24 therefore give the impression of basic four-bar hypermeasures that have been doubled in length. The sense of elongation in these measures lends them a particularly expressive quality, which is enhanced by the vocal climax in mm. 110–11 as well as by the aforementioned expanded cadential progression—that slow, inexorable motion toward the tonic of the section (the dominant of the home key).

This distinctive passage is associated with the most extensive text repetition in the song. Even during the preceding hypermetrically regular portion of the song, Lang repeats the text “*fühlst im Herzen keine Schmerzen, hast so früh schon aus- geliebt?*” (Do you feel no pain in your heart? Have you stopped loving [me] so soon?). The irregular section (mm. 109–28) sets additional reiterations of the second of these questions. Clearly, Lang felt that this line was the expressive center of the poem and therefore emphasized it by repetition and elongation. It is intriguing that she herself would soon be asking this very question.

## Separation

While Köstlin was completing his whey cure, he continued to commute to Tegerensee to visit Lang. Exactly how often Köstlin made the journey from Kreuth to Tegerensee between 18 July and 5 August cannot be determined with certainty. The poem that he wrote on 5 August, significantly, is inscribed with the location “Tegerensee.”<sup>38</sup> Since Köstlin was generally very conscientious in labeling his poems with his current place of residence, it is safe to assume that by 5 August he had moved to Tegerensee to join Lang.



There for a time, their relationship continued in an idyllic manner. The lake played a significant part in their romance; going out in a boat was one of the few ways in which they could find some measure of privacy. Köstlin described their boat as a “floating Eden,” and later referred to the lake as the “cradle of [his] love.”<sup>39</sup> The lake also became the “cradle” of numerous songs. Köstlin wrote many “lake poems” during the weeks he spent with Lang in upper Bavaria, and Lang’s settings of these poems, most of which originated during 1841, are among her finest songs (see below).

It was only for eight days that the two were together in Tegernsee. Unbeknownst to Lang, conflicts were raging within Köstlin. His poems from late July and early August 1840, though dominated by expressions of love, also contain ominous references to irksome captivity and a desire for freedom. For example, on 30 July, he wrote:

Hervor ihr alten, halbverschlafnen Lieder!	Come forth, you old songs, half lulled to sleep!
Die Freiheit feiert, meine Braut!	Sing praises to my bride, Freedom!
.....	.....
Und doch, mein Aug, was sinkst du nieder?	And yet, my eye, to what do you sink?
Was haftet dich an jenen See?	What binds you to that lake?
Fängt dich, o Herz, die alte Sehnsucht wieder?	O heart, are you again being caught by the old yearning?
Rufst du zurück das kaum besiegte Weh?	Are you calling back the barely vanquished pain?
Und gaukelst um das Häuschen dorten Wie ein gefangner Vogel hin!	And fluttering about that little house Like a captive bird! <sup>40</sup>

The “little house” mentioned here is the Stieler home, where Lang was living.

Köstlin did not share poems of this nature with Lang. His conflicting desires and his yearning for freedom had already begun while he was alone in Kreuth. Once he was in residence in Tegernsee, his feelings of being enchained could only have been exacerbated. Despite their private “floating Eden,” the attachment between Lang and Köstlin must have been common knowledge in Tegernsee’s social circles. One can imagine the sly digs, veiled hints, and perhaps even open speculations about when a certain happy announcement would be made. As shown by his interaction with Wilhelm von Eichthal, Lang’s godfather Joseph Stieler was exactly the sort of bluff, hearty chap who would prod Köstlin in the ribs and ask impudent questions.

Köstlin's sense of being trapped and the accompanying yearning for freedom were unquestionably the primary motivations for what was to follow. Two of his poems, however, suggest additional problems in his relationship with Lang. On 8 August he wrote a poem in which he addressed her as a "lovely rose," and in which, after two innocuous stanzas, he asked:

Holde Rose, sag' mir doch,  
Wie du jetzo vor mir glühst,  
Ob im ersten Schmucke noch,  
Himmelskind, du vor mir blühst?

Lovely rose, oh tell me  
As you presently glow before me,  
Child of Heaven, if you bloom  
Before me in your original finery?

Oder ob dich einmal hat  
Schon ein Schmetterling umgaukelt,  
Liebeschmelzend, wonnematt  
Sich im zarten Kelch geschaukelt?

Or if once already a butterfly  
Has fluttered about you,  
Has rocked himself in the delicate calyx,  
Melting in love, exhausted by rapture?<sup>41</sup>

Lang definitely knew this poem, for Köstlin gave her a copy, with the title "Question." It is unfortunate that there is no documentation of Lang's reaction to these audacious stanzas.

Another serious issue facing Lang and Köstlin was their different faith: Lang was a devout Catholic from Bavaria, Köstlin a member of a Protestant Württembergian clan. Poor Köstlin seems to have been susceptible not only to singers, but to *Catholic* singers. His family knew about his three-year passion for Agnese Schebest, also a Catholic, and he was no doubt aware of the reception he would be afforded when he arrived with yet another Catholic on his arm. Köstlin's father was seriously concerned about the implications of a marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic; a document in his hand, entitled "Gemischte Ehen" (Mixed Marriages), meticulously summarizes his extensive research into this matter.<sup>42</sup> Köstlin touched on the issue of religious difference in only one poem, written during the eight days of his residence in Tegernsee. In this poem he described how he secretly followed Lang on her way to church, watched her praying from outside, and was gripped by melancholy because he "could not" follow her inside. Lang's copy of this poem bears the title "In Front of the Church."<sup>43</sup>

The two poems "In Front of the Church" and "Question" are located near the end of Lang's ribbon-bound booklet of 38 poems; they stand opposite each other as the thirtieth and thirty-first. These poems confronted Lang for the first time with Köstlin's negative perceptions of their relationship. She appears to have overlooked or pushed aside the significance of these poems; yet they were straws in the wind that might have prepared her for the ensuing events.

As was his wont when in the grip of stormy emotions, Köstlin turned to the poetic form of the sonnet. On 9 August he wrote the following example of this form:

Spielst du mit dem Geschick, verwegner Knabe?	Are you playing with destiny, audacious boy?
Meinst du, du könntst den Arm von Eisen halten,	Do you think you could restrain the arm of iron,
Du könntst die dämonischen Gewalten	[Do you think] you could command the demonic powers
Regieren mit dem leichten Blumenstabe?	With the fragile flower-staff?
So setz auf's Spiel nur deine ganze Habe!	So wager then all your possessions!
Wag's, mit dem ernsten Wort im Scherz zu schalten!	Dare to deal in jest with serious words!
Sie stehn dir immer nah, die Finstern, Alten,	They are always near you, the dark, ancient ones,
Und über deinem Haupte kreist ihr Rabe.	And above your head their raven is circling.
Was stockst du nun? Was macht dich plötzlich scheue?	Why do you falter now? What suddenly makes you timid?
Hörst in den Lüften du das dumpfe Singen?	Do you hear the muffled singing in the air?
Kennst du das Lied von der gebrochenen Treue?	Do you know the song of broken faith?
Zu lösen glaubtest du nur Blumenschlingen;—	You thought to loosen only flowery fettters;—
Hab' nur Geduld! Sie fassen dich auf's Neue,	Only be patient! They shall seize you anew,
Und fest geschmiedet bist in Eisenringen.	And you shall be securely forged in iron rings. <sup>44</sup>

When he wrote this sonnet, Köstlin was perhaps beginning to realize that he had aroused greater expectations than he had bargained for, and that what he had viewed as a mere dalliance might entrap him in the “iron rings” of a serious commitment. The remaining six poems that he wrote in Tegernsee, however, are love poems, filled with utter happiness and contentment and giving no indication of the impending catastrophe.

In H. A. Köstlin's biography, we read that on 13 August Lang and Köstlin, "each of whom long since knew how things stood in the other's heart,"<sup>45</sup> finally openly declared their love to one another. That evening Lang sang her setting of Goethe's "Sie liebt mich"<sup>46</sup> in a more "fiery and expressive manner than ever."<sup>47</sup> It was this performance that led to the "open declaration." Given the "burning kisses" and the numerous statements of "belonging to each other" in the poetry of the preceding weeks, it is difficult to imagine what was left to "declare" on 13 August.

The next morning Lang discovered that Köstlin had vanished; "without farewell, without saying a word, he had quietly taken his departure early in the morning."<sup>48</sup> A peculiar cross-like mark under Köstlin's last Tegernsee poem seems to symbolize his perception that an epoch of his life had ended.<sup>49</sup> There follows a five-day gap in his poetry book. Not until 18 August did he again write a poem, and by that time he was in Innsbruck.<sup>50</sup> The place names above his poems from the next few weeks indicate that he continued southward to Italy and remained there at least until the end of September, when his academic duties recalled him to Tübingen.

Lang was left behind in Tegernsee, with no notion why Köstlin had left her. Her son wrote, "Only with the deepest emotion can one read the yellowed pages of the diary in which she, who had nobody to talk to, expressed herself, giving free rein to the deathly fear, the doubts, the pain. For she felt this: if she had been deceived, she would never surmount it."<sup>51</sup> Additional insights into Lang's feelings come from the poems that Köstlin wrote in 1854, using this very diary as a source:

Mein Haar—wie sorgsam flocht und  
band ich's da,  
Wie ungeduldig sah ich auf die Uhr,  
Wie späht' ich nach den wohlbekannten  
Wegen  
Und sang dir meinen Seelengruß  
entgegen!

My hair—how carefully I braided it and  
pinned it up,  
How impatiently I watched the clock,  
How I gazed along the well-known  
pathways  
And sang my soul's greetings forth to  
meet you!

Du aber kamst nicht,—o Gott!  
nicht du!  
Der Bote kam, der finstre Todesbote,  
  
Der mir verkündet' in grauenvoller Ruh',  
Du seist früh—noch vor dem  
Morgenrothe  
Mit raschen Pferden seist davon  
geflogen;—

But you did not come—oh God!  
not you!  
The messenger came, the dark harbinger  
of death,  
Who informed me with gruesome calm  
That early—yet before dawn, you had  
Flown away with rapid horses;—

Da hat am hellen Tag mich Nacht  
umzogen.

Then, in the midst of bright day, night  
enveloped me.<sup>52</sup>

Later in this poem, the lyric *I* (Lang) expresses the wish that the departed one had at least had the courage to tell her “face to face” of his decision to leave.<sup>53</sup>

The forsaken Josephine Lang is generally depicted as having accepted everything with “selflessness and nobility coupled with a profound goodness, strength and courage.”<sup>54</sup> As shown by the following “diary poem,” there is some justification for this view:

Dann bist du plötzlich fortgegangen,  
Hast nicht Ade gesagt;  
Da schlugen über mich die Wogen,  
Ich habe nicht geklagt.

Then you suddenly went away,  
You did not say farewell,  
The waves then crashed over me,  
I did not complain.

Es war zu viel, zu viel zum Klagen!  
Ich hab' mein Glück verscharrt,  
Geduldig still mein Weh getragen  
Und auf den Tod geharrt.

It was too much, too much for  
lamenting!  
I buried my happiness,  
I bore my pain patiently and quietly,  
And waited for death.<sup>55</sup>

There are, however, indications in Lang's autograph booklets that she did not always bear her pain “patiently and quietly.” For example, she modified the inscriptions on the autographs of two songs that were especially significant in her relationship with Köstlin. On the autograph of “*Sie liebt mich*,” the song that had precipitated Köstlin's declaration, the composition date is followed by a number of heavily crossed-out and illegible words.<sup>56</sup> On the manuscript of “*Scheideblick*,” the first song Köstlin had heard her perform, she scratched out two words after the composition date.<sup>57</sup> On the next autograph in the booklet, the composition data and any related material are cut away; the entire top right-hand corner of the autograph is missing. The few remaining stray marks suggest that she deleted the writing by cross-hatching before snipping off the corner.

Of greater significance, however, is the autograph of the song fragment “*Erstes Begegnen*” (First Meeting). Lang had read a special meaning into Köstlin's first name, Reinhold. On “*Erstes Begegnen*” and on another song autograph, she wrote, “Your love must be as pure [*rein*] and lovely [*hold*] as your soul.”<sup>58</sup> These words, so confidently notated in July, are crossed out on “*Erstes Begegnen*.” On the other autograph, Lang crossed them out *and* tore off the top left-hand corner of the manuscript.<sup>59</sup> Her effacing of such inscriptions points to the violence of her emotional turmoil following Köstlin's departure.

## EXAMPLE 3.4a “Nach dem Abschied,” op. 9 no. 3, mm. 1–14

**Andantino**

Die Son - ne senkt sich in des Mee - res Schoss.

Al - lein das Licht, der Him - mel lässt's nicht los.

## “Nach dem Abschied” (After the Farewell)

Although it is evident that Lang struggled with turbulent emotions after Köstlin’s departure, some of her compositions after that event do confirm that she attempted to bear her pain patiently and calmly. A striking example is her setting of Köstlin’s poem “Nach dem Abschied,” composed on 14 September 1840, exactly one month after he had left her (ex. 3.4 and track 16).<sup>60</sup>

Köstlin wrote this poem on 20 June 1840 with Agnese Schebest in mind—that is, before he met Lang.<sup>61</sup> He appears to have had no qualms about giving Lang a “recycled” poem; he even allowed her to believe that he had actually written it for her.<sup>62</sup> Here is the poem, with our translation:

## EXAMPLE 3.4b “Nach dem Abschied,” mm. 22–30

22 *f* zum Ju - bel - lied, zum Ju - bel -

26 *ritard.* *p* lied der Nach - ti - gal - len Kla - ge.

*cresc.* *f*

*dim.* *p*

*Tea*

Die Sonne senkt sich in des Meeres  
Schoss,  
Allein das Licht[,] der Himmel lässt's  
nicht los.  
Es blüht und glüht und macht die  
Nacht zum Tage,  
Zum Jubellied der Nachtigallen Klage.

The sun sinks into the lap of the sea,  
But the light[—]the sky does not  
release it.  
It blossoms and glows and turns night  
into day,  
The lament of the nightingale into a  
paean of joy.

So gingst du zwar, doch deines Wesens  
Licht  
Verlässt den Himmel meiner Seele nicht.

Thus you departed, but the light of your  
being  
Does not depart from the sky of my  
soul.

Wo ich denn wandern mag und ruh'n  
auf Erden,  
Kann nimmer Nacht und Trauer in mir  
werden.

Wherever I may wander and rest on  
earth,  
Night and sadness can never arise  
within me.

It appears that this poem gave Lang some comfort in her bewilderment at Köstlin's departure. Her calm, peaceful setting suggests that she actually did, or was trying to identify with the sentiments of the poem; Köstlin had left her but,

surprisingly, the light and joy that his companionship had brought her lingered on. It is in part the harmony, very simple and often static, that gives this song an air of peace and calm. Twenty out of the song's thirty-seven bars are based on a dominant pedal.<sup>63</sup> Out of the remaining seventeen bars, five are based on a tonic pedal.

The melodic line of the song, less static than the harmony, involves frequent changes of direction. The melody of the piano introduction (ex. 3.4a) is a descending gesture, and the vocal line begins with descending motion as well (mm. 6–8). In mm. 8–9, the voice turns upward, and the upward motion is continued by the piano in mm. 9–10. The overall direction of the second vocal phrase, culminating on the highest note so far (D#5), is also upward; again the piano participates in the ascent by moving above the voice's D#5 to A#5 and G#5 (the very highest notes in the song). Descending motion dominates the next vocal phrase, although the piano's pseudo-imitation of the voice's low final notes (C#4–F#4) lifts the register in preparation for the high beginning of the following phrase. The phrase occupying mm. 18–22 begins with descending motion but returns to its initial high register near its end. In mm. 22–24 (ex. 3.4b), the voice leaps an octave to its high point (F#5); appropriately, the high point coincides with the word "Jubellied" (paean of joy). The final vocal phrase definitively descends toward a final leading tone to tonic motion (E#4–F#4). Interestingly, the piano part does not participate in the voice's descent; its upper voice remains in a higher register than the vocal line from m. 25 until the end of the vocal section.

The descending impetus inherent in numerous gestures within the song is contradicted in a variety of ways. Gestures that begin with descents turn upward as they close (see mm. 6–9 and the postlude). Gestures that descend in the voice are associated with higher gestures in the piano (mm. 27–30). Gestures that contain a considerable amount of descending motion on the surface are based on deeper-level ascending motion (mm. 10–14).<sup>64</sup> This dualism between descending and rising motion is motivated by the text. The falling lines obviously connect to the textual image of the setting sun. The various elements of ascent associated with the descending features, on the other hand, are an appropriate way to suggest the idea of the persistence in the heavens of the light of the departed sun, and the related idea of the radiance emanating from the departed lover.

### Reconciliation and Betrothal

The departed lover was miserable as he wandered southward. It might be thought that his flight had resulted from a decisive victory of his desire for freedom over his love for Lang, but this was not the case. Köstlin's post-departure poems reveal



that he was still very much in the grip of inner conflicts. In his first poem after leaving Tegernsee, he expressed the wish that he were dead so that he could “sleep dreamlessly in peace” and concluded by asking the crags to turn him to stone and give him rest.<sup>65</sup> In the next poem, he was again singing praises to freedom, but his reference to “the golden gift of unwelcome freedom” near the end of the poem lends a rather forced air to these eulogies.<sup>66</sup>

A number of other poems from this time make clear that he considered his relationship with Lang a closed chapter, but that he was unhappy about the situation.<sup>67</sup> On 24 August in Malles he wrote the following:

Aus meinem Himmel fortgegangen Bin ich, ein trotzig wilder Thor; Ich weiß nicht, welche Stimmen sangen Von Leben mir und Freiheit vor.	I voluntarily left my heaven, A headstrong, wild fool; I know not what voices sang To me of life and freedom.
Da steh' ich nun auf kahlem Steine, Seh' zu den goldnen Pforten auf, Und stampe mit den Füßen, weine, Und trau' mich doch nicht mehr hinauf. .....	Now here I stand upon a bare rock, Look up toward those golden gates, And stamp my feet, weep, And dare not ascend again. .....
Dem Wildbach nach zu Tod und Grau'n! Du hast's gewollt, so lern's ertragen! Und nur nicht rückwärts mußt du schau'n.	Follow the wild stream to death and horror, You wanted it so, now learn to bear it, And all you can do is not look back. <sup>68</sup>

Köstlin knew how badly he had behaved and felt that it was impossible for him to return, no matter how much he may have wished to do so. His inner crisis must have attained truly prodigious proportions, for in September, while staying in Italy, he wrote *seven sonnets*.<sup>69</sup>

Surprisingly, the relationship survived this crisis. It is difficult to determine exactly how it was patched up. H. A. Köstlin says that Reinhold Köstlin, “soon” after his departure, wrote to Lang and “Father Stieler” to explain his “puzzling behavior.”<sup>70</sup> A letter that Lang received from her brother, dated 24 August 1840, at first glance seems to support this statement.<sup>71</sup> From this hilarious epistle, addressed to his “dearest sister and pianist! ethereal creature, in whose heart love is said to have recently taken root,” it is evident that Ferdinand Lang was quite well informed about the events in Tegernsee that summer. After disentangling his deliberately convoluted prose, one realizes that he was aware that Lang and Köstlin

were in love, and that Köstlin was a poet, was musically trained, and was a doctor of law. He also seems to have known that Köstlin was in Italy; his letter mentions Köstlin's being in Florence, and thus suggests that some communication from Köstlin had reached Lang. But the reference to Florence is a red herring. The place names on Köstlin's poetry manuscripts reveal that he never ventured farther south than the Verona–Brescia area; moreover, around the end of August he was still in northern Italy (in Malles and Merano). Ferdinand Lang's letter likely represents nothing more than an attempt to cheer up his sister with a fanciful, humorous depiction of her beloved sitting upon a hill in an arbitrarily selected Italian city, sighing "Bebi" (Lang's nickname) into the eternally blue skies.

Lang, ill during most of the autumn, remained in love with Köstlin. An entry from the diary of the art collector Sulpiz Boisserée reads as follows: "[Munich] Sunday 22 [November 1840] . . . In the evening at Stielers[.] Love affair of Reinhold Köstlin and Bäbi Lang—the poor child means it seriously—and he only poetically, idealistically—that is most surely an insincere way of carrying on and toying with passion."<sup>72</sup> Boisserée's diary entry suggests that discussion of the Lang–Köstlin relationship occupied a significant part of the evening. Possibly as a result of this Sunday evening conversation, Stieler was moved to take a hand in his goddaughter's affairs. The following excerpt from a letter from Emma von Suckow to Justinus Kerner is illuminating:

Once there was talk of Reinhold Köstlin marrying [Agnese] Schebest. After he met Lang in Kreuth, he told her friends, who inquired of him and demanded [to know his intentions], that he was already bound [to another]. Only months later did he write with the addendum that these ties had been loosed and he was now free.<sup>73</sup>

As the sister of Agnes von Calatin, Suckow would have been able to speak with some authority. The "friends" mentioned in Suckow's letter must have been the Stielers.<sup>74</sup>

Without their intercession, Köstlin might never again have approached Lang. Köstlin likely received Stieler's inquiry (in the form of a letter) in early December. How he felt about it is not known. On the one hand, it granted him a second chance with Lang. On the other hand, he was put on the spot and had to scramble to find an explanation for his actions that he could reconcile with his self-esteem. According to his son, he came up with the following:

[Köstlin] had come to see, after a long internal struggle, what path lay before him if he wished to do justice to the voice of his conscience, of his heart. . . . But a shadow still lay between him and his happiness: the close relationship in which he

had stood to [Agnese Schebest], to whom he had once wished to bind his life-  
fortunes. To be sure, there existed no formal bond; he was not bound before man-  
kind, only before his tender conscience and heart. To break off abruptly, without  
preparation, without explanation, where he knew that he was considered to be a  
passionate lover—that appeared heartless and ignoble to him; to arrange such a  
delicate matter by letter, to evade the storms that a personal, open, and honest dis-  
cussion might call forth, struck him as unmanly. She, the other, was a great soul, a  
high-minded person—she must not think of him as small; this he owed himself  
and her; such a matter must be resolved and decided face to face.<sup>75</sup>

If this passage is an attempt by H. A. Köstlin to justify his father's actions, it fails.  
If it is an accurate representation of the contents of Köstlin's response to Stieler's  
letter, that response was a masterpiece of hypocrisy. There is a glaring discrepancy  
between Köstlin's treatment of Lang and his avowed concern for Schebest's feel-  
ings. Lang was abandoned without a word, "abruptly, without preparation, with-  
out explanation." In Lang's case, it was apparently not "heartless and ignoble" to  
deal with "such a delicate matter" via a letter; she seems not to have warranted  
the "personal, open, and honest" explanation that Schebest was to receive.

Unless Köstlin's two letters (one to Lang and one to Stieler) surface, we will  
never know exactly how much of the above quotation is unedited Köstlin and how  
much is his son's whitewashing.<sup>76</sup> What one can say with certainty is that Köstlin  
did use his liaison with Agnese Schebest as an excuse for his behavior. This fact  
emerges both from Suckow's letter (quoted above) and from one of Köstlin's let-  
ters to Mendelssohn, in which he wrote:

The poor friend [Köstlin] had the misfortune of being half bound [to another],  
so that he was not able to declare himself unequivocally, but rather had to take the  
fate of three [Josephine Lang's, Agnese Schebest's, and his own] upon himself and  
go forth into an extended battle with the demonic powers; only after half a year  
was everything resolved for the best.<sup>77</sup>

Köstlin took an interesting approach to his reconciliation with Lang. Enclosed  
with his letter to her was a poem that he had written on 12/13 December 1840.  
Each of its six stanzas begins with the words: "Gedenkst du mein?" (Do you  
think of/remember me?). Three stanzas of this poem became the text of a song  
that Lang published in 1841 as op. 10 no. 1.<sup>78</sup> The poem's contents parallel those  
of the one that Köstlin had handed Lang on 13 July as she left Kreuth. The two  
poems differ in that each stanza of the earlier poem is an imperative ("Think  
of/remember me!"), whereas each stanza of the later text is a question ("Do you  
think of/remember me?"). Both poems end with certainty: "I know you will keep

faith” and “I know you kept faith,” respectively. Until one notices the relationship to the earlier poem, a poem ending with such confidence strikes one as a rather inappropriate gift for a woman after a furtive abandonment and four months of silence. Lang, however, was apparently not offended by this extraordinary confidence. It is clear that she was aware of the parallels between the two texts, for op. 10 no. 1 quotes excerpts from her earlier song (op. 14 no. 3).<sup>79</sup>

But op. 10 no. 1 was not the first song that Lang wrote after receiving Köstlin’s letter. Rather, she turned to one of the “lake poems” from her ribbon-bound booklet; after a three-month gap in composition, she composed “An den See,” published as op. 14 no. 4 in 1848.<sup>80</sup> On the autograph she wrote, “Composed on the 18th of December 1840. Enraptured by the ‘two letters.’ Written down on the 19th of December 1840, after Hanno heard it and deemed it not bad.”<sup>81</sup> The song is “happy end” music, suffused with calm joy.

After her first rapture wore off, however, Lang realized that she still had no firm commitment from Köstlin; after leaving her in the dark for four months, he had told her little more than that he was working on the problem. Her subsequent autographs show some signs of impatience. On 6 January 1841 she composed a song without words entitled “Ungedult [*sic*]” (Impatience). At the end of this piano piece she wrote, “Impatient, always filled with doubts, anxious, searching, finding no way out—reaching no goal!”<sup>82</sup>

From mid-January to mid-March 1841, Lang apparently composed nothing; there are no dated manuscripts from this time. During those months, however, she was not completely idle. She was almost 26 years of age, unmarried, and perhaps beset by doubts about Köstlin’s ability to sort out their relationship. If marriage with Köstlin were not to materialize, she might well have to depend upon her own talents to support herself in future. For whatever reason, Lang began early in 1841 to renew her contacts with the musical world; she wrote to at least two prominent friends, Stephen Heller and Felix Mendelssohn.

Heller’s letter was conveyed to him through a female “colleague” of Lang’s. His answer indicates that he was at first under the impression that Lang herself was visiting Paris, as had “long been [her] wish.”<sup>83</sup> Lang’s letter to Heller is not extant. If she did ask him for assistance in furthering her musical reputation or acquiring new publishers, he did not respond to such a request in his answer to her.

Both sides of Lang’s correspondence with Mendelssohn have been preserved. From her letter it is clear that although they had not corresponded since 1831, Mendelssohn had in the meantime interceded on her behalf with publishers outside of Bavaria.<sup>84</sup> Lang, emboldened by the realization that she still had “loving, well-meaning friends in faraway places,” sent him copies of her most recent publications. These consisted of nine of the twelve booklets of an anthology en-

titled *Lieder-Kranz*, published in 1840 or 1841; each of the nine booklets contained one of her songs.<sup>85</sup> She also asked Mendelssohn for a contribution to her autograph album. He complied with her request by sending her his “Altdeutsches Lied,”<sup>86</sup> and concluded his letter to her with the wish that “to the joy of all, heaven might preserve for [her] the marvelous gifts that it [had] granted [her] so much more generously than to most others.”<sup>87</sup>

In April 1841, Lang again became more productive and created some of her finest songs. On 5 April, she set one of Köstlin’s “lake poems,” “Abermals am See.” On the autograph, part of the composition information is crossed out; the legible words, “Composed with a [illegible] premonition and written down immediately,” indicate that the song arose out of some personal experience—judging by the music, a happy one (track 18).<sup>88</sup> The poem describes one of Köstlin’s boat trips from Kreuth to Tegernsee to visit Lang, and Lang’s setting beautifully captures its sense of joyful anticipation. The virtuosic introduction sets up the impatient mood by its incessant eighth-note motion, and also by bypassing an initial tonic, as if there were no time for it; the song begins with a minor subdominant, which leads into an authentic cadence. Among the beautiful harmonic effects in the song are an abrupt motion from V7 of B major to a prolonged Eb-major triad (III# enh.—see m. 55 in ex. 3.5a), and the long prolongation of V7 of B major at the end of the vocal portion (ex. 3.5b). When she repeats the music to set the second half of the text, Lang adds repetitions of the word “eile!” (hurry!) to Köstlin’s poem (see ex. 3.5b). These insistent repetitions combine with the prolongation of dominant harmony (which arouses the expectation of imminent resolution) to render the sense of impatience particularly powerful as the vocal portion comes to a close. The lengthy postlude, which is identical to the introduction, reinforces the sense of restlessness with its insistent embellishment of the tonic harmony with the neighbor b6.<sup>89</sup>

A day after she wrote “Abermals am See,” Lang composed a song of a completely different nature (ex. 3.6 and track 19): “Ob ich manchmal dein gedenke?” is a setting of a poem that Köstlin had written on 9 March 1841.<sup>90</sup> On the autograph, Lang wrote, “Composed on the 6th of April 1841 in the afternoon at 3 o’clock in eternal anticipation, and written down as well.”<sup>91</sup> The “anticipation” must refer to her reactions to Köstlin’s delay in formalizing their relationship. At this point it had been almost eight months since his departure; small wonder that her feeling of anticipation struck her as “eternal.” The text, which answers the beloved’s implicit question “Do you ever think of me?” was relevant to Lang’s situation. She did think of Köstlin often, in “eternal anticipation” of his writing to her with a formal proposal. The song, a genuine, personal declaration of love,

EXAMPLE 3.5a “Abermals am See,” op. 12 no. 3, mm. 53–62

53 rührt! Mu - tig! es

56 braucht nicht zu za - - - - gen,

59 wer ei - nen Glück - li-chen führt,

is very moving in its harmonic simplicity coupled with an ardent upward-striving melody. This melody reaches its peak on G5 during the avowal, “Thinking of you is my [very] life!” Like “Nach dem Abschied” (ex. 3.4), this song radiates a serenity that is surprising, given the vicissitudes of Lang’s situation.

Köstlin, in the meantime, began to disentangle himself from Schebest by initiating a flirtation with another actress/singer, the aforementioned Cathinka Evers. The first of several poems addressed to Evers dates from the end of December 1840<sup>92</sup>—that is, *after* Köstlin sent the two letters to Lang and her godfather. Several poems<sup>93</sup> and letters<sup>94</sup> indicate that this flirtation was still continuing in Feb-

## EXAMPLE 3.5b “Abermals am See,” mm. 115–27

115 *a tempo*

Ei - - - le! schon schenkt sie ihn ein!

120

Ei - le! Ei - - - le! schon schenkt

*cresc.*

124

*ff*

sie ihn ein!

ruary 1841. During that same month, Köstlin celebrated Agnese Schebest’s birthday by writing a poem beginning:

Du werther Tag, der Sie geboren,  
Wie traurig steigst du heut herauf!

You esteemed day, that gave birth to  
Her,  
How sadly do you dawn today!<sup>95</sup>

At the same time, he was storming Lang with countless letters and entreaties to write to him. She apparently refused to do so until he was free.<sup>96</sup>

Several caustic notations in Lang’s hand may have emerged from the above situation. At the conclusion of the last poem in Köstlin’s hand in her 1840 collection

EXAMPLE 3.6 “Ob ich manchmal dein gedenke,” op. 27 no. 3, mm. 1–8

**Langsam und ausdrucksvoll**

Ob ich manch - mal dein ge - den - ke? Wüss-test

du wie sehr ich's tu! Dir auch noch die Schat - ten

len - ke träu - men - der Ge - dan - ken zu.

of his poems, Lang wrote, “Promenade of Casanova / morning 12 o’clock, the 13th of August 1840.”<sup>97</sup> It is not clear exactly what she meant by this notation. She could not have been referring to Köstlin’s abrupt departure, which took place a day later and early in the morning, not at noon. But she was thinking of Köstlin as a “Casanova,” as one of her autograph booklets from this time confirms.<sup>98</sup> At the end of this booklet, Lang twice sketched the same masculine face. Although the sketches are very similar, one of them appears not to have satisfied her, for she crossed it out. She labeled the remaining sketch “Monsieur Casanova!” Comparison of these sketches to later portraits makes clear that they represent Köstlin. Lang’s application to Köstlin of the label “Casanova” is certainly appropriate



when one considers his methods for sorting out his complicated relationships with women.

But sort them out he eventually did. The presence of ties to “another woman,” however, appears to have been only one of the barriers to a union with Lang. In H. A. Köstlin’s biography, the reason for the separation and delay in the formal engagement changes almost imperceptibly from the “shadow between his and her happiness”<sup>99</sup> (namely Agnese Schebest), to the suggestion that there were objections to Lang from his family:

But [Lang] was not to set foot in his house before he had completely smoothed the path for her. She was to encounter not the slightest trace of serious arguments or struggles of any kind. He wished to come before her to lead her home only once he was able to proclaim to her rejoicingly, “You are welcome as my bride—welcome to the venerable father as daughter, welcome to the circle of siblings and the entire highly eminent family.”<sup>100</sup>

The problem that the family had with Lang may have been her Catholicism. With the exception of the two documents mentioned earlier (Köstlin’s poem “In Front of the Church,” and his father’s research into mixed marriages), however, there is no reference to the religious question in any documents from the courtship period.

In April 1841, Köstlin was finally ready to ask Lang to marry him. She received a letter with his formal offer of marriage on 16 April.<sup>101</sup> Despite having labeled him as a Casanova, Lang did accept his proposal. The first dated autograph after the arrival of the betrothal letter is that of the song “Frühling ist gekommen” (Spring Has Come), based on a poem that Köstlin had written on her birthday (14 March 1841).<sup>102</sup> The inscription on this autograph reads, “Composed on 19 April 1841 in the most blissful frame of mind, also written down immediately.”<sup>103</sup> Strangely enough, the song does not give the impression of bliss. The ending is particularly enigmatic. We have seen Lang ending many of her vocal lines by reaching upward to a passionate high point. Here, she concludes the vocal line in a subdued low register (ex. 3.7). This conclusion is especially surprising when one considers that in the final lines of the poem, Köstlin specifically refers to the betrothal—to the “thread of dreams” becoming a “strong bond.” One would expect a woman who called herself “the happiest of all fiancées”<sup>104</sup> to set such a text in a more joyful manner. The postlude attempts to make amends for the restrained vocal ending by restating the sprightly introductory figure at a *fortissimo* level—but the *fortissimos* are quickly negated by soft dynamics. The final cadence, though loud, is not as assertive as it might be, since its melody ends with scale degree 3. All in all, this song sounds as if the composer, though trying to

EXAMPLE 3.7 “Frühling ist gekommen,” op. 27 no. 4, mm. 71–88

71 und des Trau - mes Fäd - - - chen wird zum star - ken

77 Band! *ff* *pp dim.* *ff*

83 *pp dim.* *p* *riten.* *f*

convince herself that she is happy, has lingering doubts about the trustworthiness of the “strong bond” of the engagement.<sup>105</sup>

Nevertheless, Lang forgave Köstlin completely. In early June she composed a piano piece (another song without words) for him, and wrote at the bottom of the autograph, “Do you like it? Is it good? My angel! Farewell! Let me hear from you soon! ‘Your’ Josephine longs for you!—the 3rd of June 1841.”<sup>106</sup> Considering what she had suffered at his hands, her reference to him as “my angel” shows considerable forbearance.

When Felix Mendelssohn heard about the engagement, he wrote to Köstlin and congratulated him on his forthcoming marriage. Mendelssohn, however, clearly perceived the danger that marriage and its attendant duties posed for Lang’s compositional activity. Some ominous imagery that Köstlin had used in a letter an-

nouncing the engagement may have aroused Mendelssohn's concern: Köstlin had referred to his success in winning Josephine Lang as a piratical takeover (*ein Kapernzug*) and a miraculous catch (*ein Fischfang Petri*) through which he had "snatched" something away from the realm of music.<sup>107</sup> Perhaps in response to these statements, Mendelssohn exhorted Köstlin at the end of his letter, "For God's sake urge her to be ever diligent in composition. It is truly your duty toward all of us, who continually yearn and keep an eye out for good new [music]. . . . Thus, as I said, impel her most forcefully to produce many new compositions!"<sup>108</sup>

There was, however, little "diligent composing" even during the period of betrothal. In the days after the engagement and in the following summer, Lang still wrote several songs.<sup>109</sup> She also published two sets of songs in July 1841, both with Kistner in Leipzig, namely opp. 9 and 10.<sup>110</sup> After the summer, however, Lang's productivity declined. A statement of H. A. Köstlin's suggests one possible reason for this decline:

It is touching to note with what moral strength Josephine now examined herself, to determine whether and to what extent she was capable of establishing the happiness of her husband-to-be—with what energy the idealistic artist began to train herself to be a housewife and mother and to gain experience in the things of this world.<sup>111</sup>

This domestic training program no doubt curtailed Lang's time for musical activities. During September and October of 1841, there was another distraction: Lang visited her future homeland, the Duchy of Württemberg. According to the inscriptions on Köstlin's poetry manuscripts, he traveled to Munich to visit her in mid-September and took her back to Stuttgart, where she stayed with his family from 26 or 27 September to mid-October.<sup>112</sup> After this trip she composed at most two more songs (in November 1841),<sup>113</sup> then nothing during the remaining time before the wedding. Mendelssohn's concerns were already proving to be only too well founded.

The songs that she did write during the engagement, though not numerous, are all very fine. One of her most beautiful compositions originated on 2 May 1841—"Auf dem See in tausend Sterne."<sup>114</sup> Köstlin's poem, written on 10 August 1840, describes how sunlight is fragmented into a thousand stars on the surface of the lake and compares this image to the effect of his beloved on his creative life: "Thus, your dear image sank into the waves of my life, and out of a thousand wellsprings of joy ever new poems burst forth." Lang evokes the sparkling of sunlight on the surface of a lake with persistent oscillating triplet figures in both hands, grouped into twos by pitch repetition.<sup>115</sup> The quick oscillations initially

span just an octave, but from m. 53 onward, they stretch to ninths, tenths, and even elevenths (from which we can deduce that Lang had large hands—recall that she played her own piano parts). The song ends with extensive repetition of the final lines of the poem (mm. 50–98). These lines contain Köstlin's invitation to Lang to join him in the shimmering lake and to let its glowing waves envelop her—metaphorically, an invitation to join him in creative activity. Her ecstatic setting of these lines, with its rising arpeggiations and its final ascent to F#5, suggests her acceptance of this invitation.<sup>116</sup>

On 8 May, Lang set Köstlin's undated poem "Nachts."<sup>117</sup> The poem begins by evoking the peace and silence of the night, but ends by referring to two things that disturb this peace: the rushing of a stream and thoughts of love. In the opening portion of her setting, Lang appropriately uses soft dynamics and a low register in both voice and piano (ex. 3.8). The relationship between the vocal line and the introductory melody is worth noting: the vocal line begins by embellishing the earlier melody (with double neighboring motion around the G# and a passing tone between G# and E). When the poem mentions the rushing stream, the dynamic level abruptly, indeed shockingly, increases from *pianissimo* to *fortissimo*. During reiterated references to thoughts of love, the dynamic level fluctuates violently from *ff* to *pp*, then back to *ff*. The final *fortissimo* statement of the line "my thoughts of love," associated with another embellishment of the introductory melody in a climactic high register, gives the impression of an outpouring of unbridled passion.

A delightful song originated on 14 August 1841: "Am Flusse," a setting of a poem Köstlin had written three days before.<sup>118</sup> The piano part is one of Lang's most virtuosic. Its descending sixteenth-note figures, at first alternating with staccato eighth notes (see ex. 3.9), then becoming more constant, beautifully evoke the never-ceasing ripples of the river to which the text refers.

It is not possible to determine exactly when Lang composed "Der Herbst" (ex. 3.10 and track 20).<sup>119</sup> Köstlin wrote the poem on 13 August 1841, basing it on one of Lang's letters to him. It is likely that she set the poem very soon thereafter, driven by the same emotions that had inspired her letter. From the poem we can deduce the contents of her letter. In the past she had always been saddened by the approach of fall, but this year her feelings were just the opposite: she was overjoyed that autumn was near, as it would bring with it a visit from her beloved. It is interesting to compare this song to "Frühling ist gekommen" (ex. 3.7). The two songs are in the same key (E major—one of Lang's favorite keys at this time; see also exx. 3.8 and 3.9), and their initial vocal rhythms are identical. But whereas the spring song is restrained in emotion, "Der Herbst" overflows with unbounded joyful excitement. The *Presto* tempo marking alone ensures an exuberant forward

EXAMPLE 3.8 “Nachts,” op. 12 no. 2, mm. 1–16

**Allegro**  
*molto legato*

*pp*

5

*legato*

Im

9

Wal - de weit, auf der Hei - de breit,

13

kein Hauch, kein Hauch!

EXAMPLE 3.9 “Am Flusse,” op. 14 no. 2, mm. 1–8

**Allegretto**  
*legato e leggiero*

*pp*

5  
Ei - len - de Wel - len, spie - lend im Licht,

EXAMPLE 3.10 “Der Herbst,” op. 12 no. 5, mm. 1–8

**Presto**

Ra - schelt's schon im Lau - be, rö - tet sich die Trau - be,

5  
kommt der Herbst schon an, kommt der Herbst schon an?

*legato*

drive, and the incessant eighth-note pulse contributes to it as well. The vocal line concludes with an upward surge and a triumphant close on the tonic note (as opposed to the low register and the scale degree 3 at the close of the spring song). Although the ending of “Der Herbst” is soft, as is that of “Frühling ist gekommen,” the obsessive repetition of the opening dotted rhythm throughout the postlude keeps the excitement alive to the final bar. “Der Herbst,” then, gives the impression of a positive recasting of “Frühling ist gekommen.” In the earlier song, Lang seemed to be trying to convince herself that all was well—but in “Der Herbst,” she *is* convinced.

On 16 November 1841, Lang set simple, almost hymn-like music to a poem that Köstlin had written two days earlier, based on one of her letters—“O wärest Du da!” (Oh, if you were here!).<sup>120</sup> Another song that likely originated in November is “Zu Tod möcht ich mich lieben.”<sup>121</sup> Köstlin drew its text, too, from one of Lang’s letters; the manuscript of the poem, dated 16 November, is entitled “The Little Woman Sings” (*Weiberle singt*), and a note in the top left corner says, “Here I have just quickly snatched up an idea from your letter.”<sup>122</sup> Judging by Köstlin’s text, Lang’s letter must have crackled with passion; the poem deals with “sweet sickness, heavenly pain,” and “flames that do not kill,” and concludes with the statement, “I wish to love to the point of death” (“Zu Tod möcht’ ich mich lieben”). Lang’s setting of Köstlin’s (and her own) text is suitably passionate. Some of the musical ardor comes from the extensive use of throbbing repeated chords, some of it from surging ascents to vocal climaxes. During the final reiterations of the line “Zu Tod möcht’ ich mich lieben,” for example, the melody moves in a wavelike fashion up to G5, then A♭5, then, during the final vocal cadence, to B♭5. The thundering postlude, marked *con fuoco*, repeats the climactic ascending melody.

Hermann Rosenwald referred to Lang’s remarkable series of Köstlin settings of 1840–41 as a *Liederfrühling*—a spring-like burgeoning of song—akin to that inspired at the same time by Robert Schumann’s love for Clara Wieck.<sup>123</sup> Both composers poured out in exquisite songs the positive and the negative emotions that arose from their difficult courtships. What is distinctive about Lang’s *Liederfrühling*, however, is that her songs of this period constitute a collaboration with her beloved. When she first sang for Köstlin, Lang felt that in him she had found a “heavenly pure echo.” For those poems based on her letters to him, this metaphor is particularly apt: Köstlin echoed Lang’s letters back to her in poetry and she then echoed his poems back to him in song. Such collaborative creativity is unique in the history of the Lied.

## FOUR

### 1842 to 1856: The Early Years in Tübingen

#### Marriage and Wedding Journey

Josephine Lang and Christian Reinhold Köstlin were married—twice—in Stuttgart on 29 March 1842. The first ceremony, performed by Köstlin's father in the Protestant *Spitalkirche*, took place at 10:00 a.m. The bridal party and guests then drove to the Catholic church where, in deference to the bride's faith, a second ceremony was held by a priest. Lang had three bridesmaids: Köstlin's half-sister Adelheid, her own half-sister Meta, and one of Köstlin's cousins (Mimi Köstlin, a singer who later frequently performed Lang's songs and to whom she dedicated op. 23). Since Köstlin's mother and stepmother were both deceased, the responsibility for most of the festivities fell to his Aunt Wilhelmine. It is from her diary that we learn the above details about the wedding.<sup>1</sup>

The day after the wedding, the newly married couple undertook a journey up the Rhine to visit Köstlin's stepsister Marie Jäger and her family in Frankfurt. Jäger was delighted to welcome the newlyweds to her home:

The wonderful promise of your visit has spread great joy amongst us. . . . Our little ones are also very excited to see you, one of whom can still vividly recall the uncle with the beard; and how happy they will be, when the new aunt, about whom they have already heard so much, is introduced to them. . . . May Heaven smile upon your journey, so that we may in every way celebrate a joyful and happy time together!<sup>2</sup>

Lang and Jäger were immediately drawn to each other. They subsequently corresponded for many years, and Jäger proved to be a sympathetic and supportive "sister." Lang later dedicated her last set of Köstlin songs (op. 27) to Jäger.

Lang's and Köstlin's honeymoon lasted from 30 March to 21 April. Aside from Frankfurt the couple also visited Bonn and Cologne.<sup>3</sup> Lang composed nothing during the honeymoon, but Köstlin wrote a number of poems, including one only



eight days after they were married about how lovely it is to ponder the “little blossom” swelling in the mother’s womb.<sup>4</sup> One wonders how he knew—but he was right. Lang indeed became pregnant immediately; their first child was born exactly nine months after their wedding.

After their journey, Lang and Köstlin lingered in Stuttgart for an indeterminate period. Sometime during the first two weeks of May they attended an opera performance there in which Agnese Schebest was singing. Emma von Suckow described the evening as follows: “[Köstlin] was recently here [in Stuttgart] when Schebest sang Romeo, sat beside his wife in the *parterre* and, putting on a show for all the world of being mad with ecstasy, constantly crushed his poor little wife’s hand.”<sup>5</sup> Perhaps this visit to the theatre was Lang’s idea; she may have wished to see and hear the “other woman” who had played such a significant part in her husband’s life. Köstlin’s “putting on a show for all the world” suggests that he was not completely at ease in this situation.

### Musical Life in Tübingen

When Lang and Köstlin eventually left for Tübingen in spring or early summer, they moved into rented quarters while their house was being built. Tübingen, a picturesque town near Stuttgart, was in many ways a lovely place to live. The university—during the 1840s, the fourth largest in Germany—was the cultural and economic center of the town.<sup>6</sup> From a composer’s standpoint, however, Tübingen had a significant drawback: its musical life was very limited in scope. The absence of a professional orchestra, an opera house, an active concert schedule, and even of a music store must have been a shock for Lang, who had spent her youth in a much livelier musical center.

This is not to say that Tübingen was an absolute musical backwater.<sup>7</sup> The university authorities valued music and ensured that it played an important part in the institution’s educational and ceremonial activities. Friedrich Silcher, a talented composer and pedagogue, was hired as University Music Director in 1823 and remained in this position until shortly before his death in 1860. He was responsible for the rehearsing and direction of all musical events associated with the university. It was part of his mandate to promote sacred music, both by directing the musical activities in various churches and by giving the theology students lessons in singing and vocal pedagogy. In addition to these onerous duties, he sought to advance the musical life within the community. He established the *Akademische Liedertafel*, an amateur male chorus (women were not admitted until 1866). This group performed mostly German folk songs (in Silcher’s appealing arrangements) and thereby became heavily involved in the nationalistic currents of the time.

Silcher also founded the *Oratorienverein* (Oratorio Society). The latter society, open to students, faculty members, and educated citizens of Tübingen, gave private performances (for members only) as well as subscription concerts, supposedly for the general public. In practice the subscription concerts were restricted to the well-to-do, for admission prices were high. All concerts were held in the Museum, which had been constructed as a public cultural venue. During private concerts, the Society performed a variety of large choral works, selected with an eye to the amateur status of the musicians. Silcher's preferences were the oratorios of Mendelssohn, Haydn, and Handel, although he occasionally included works by Sigismund Neukomm, Ludwig Spohr, Ferdinand Hiller, and the local composer Immanuel Faißt.<sup>8</sup> The subscription concerts were quite different in character; the programs, designed to entertain a bourgeois audience, consisted of a melange of overtures, operatic excerpts, and symphonic movements (never entire symphonies).

Aside from the concerts of the *Liedertafel* and the *Oratorienverein*, concerts by traveling virtuosos occasionally took place in Tübingen. One example is a concert by "Dr. Franz Liszt," which occurred on 9 November 1843. The program included Liszt's arrangements of the *William Tell* Overture and of an *Andante* from *Lucia di Lammermoor*, his *Fantasy on Themes from "Don Juan,"* his arrangements of Schubert's "Das Ständchen" and "Der Erlkönig," and his *Chromatic Galopp*.

These, then, are the kinds of concerts that Josephine Lang attended in Tübingen.<sup>9</sup> Of course, the option of going to Stuttgart for concerts existed as well; Stuttgart had a professional orchestra, directed by Peter Joseph Lindpaintner, which was capable of performing entire Beethoven symphonies. There is no evidence, however, that Lang and Köstlin attended concerts together in Stuttgart after their honeymoon.

### Musical Life in Lang's Home

In November 1841, Köstlin had purchased a "completely isolated and quiet" piece of land "near the town and the university building."<sup>10</sup> Shortly thereafter he wrote to Mendelssohn, "I have become a landowner here [in Tübingen]; next spring, I am planning to build myself a house, exactly as would be fitting for the residence of a Josephine Lang, in a delightful location, surrounded by lawns and acacias, . . . of noble proportions both inside and outside."<sup>11</sup> In 1842–43, Köstlin proceeded to construct an imposing "two-story house with two vaulted cellars."<sup>12</sup> Lang was delighted with the house, to which she referred as a "villa" in numerous letters. No matter how much this dwelling pleased his bride, however, Köstlin's house-building endeavor was ill-advised from a financial perspective. His position at the university was by no means secure; in fact, the University Senate took a

dim view of his literary activities, informing him that if he wished to be promoted, he would have to give up writing “verses.”<sup>13</sup> Köstlin’s entire fortune seems to have been tied up in this “villa,” which a friend of the family later described as “an unnecessary house that no one would buy and into which no one would move.”<sup>14</sup> Perhaps here, too, Köstlin was “putting on a show for all the world.” His extravagance seems to have extended to the furnishings as well. As with the house, however, he did consider the needs of his wife as he purchased furniture; within a year and a half, the new house was equipped both with a “new, pretty grand piano” and a forte-piano.<sup>15</sup>

Both Lang and Köstlin used these instruments. They “conversed à 4 mains with their old friends Beethoven and Mendelssohn” and played chamber music with acquaintances.<sup>16</sup> Lang also played solo. The little poems that Köstlin wrote to accompany her birthday gifts reveal that he often gave her scores (for example, Mendelssohn’s *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, probably in a piano arrangement, and J. S. Bach’s *Welltempered Clavier*), from which he encouraged her to play for him and (later) the children.<sup>17</sup>

Lang, then, was not musically inactive during the first months of her marriage. But what of her compositional activity? As mentioned earlier, in 1842 she composed nothing before the wedding. Considering that she was pregnant when she returned from her honeymoon and was immediately plunged into myriad housewifely concerns, it is not surprising that she was no more productive after the wedding. Another obstacle to compositional work that summer was an onslaught of guests. In June 1842, Marie Jäger spent a Sunday with the newlyweds,<sup>18</sup> and in August Lang’s father-in-law and sister-in-law stayed with them.<sup>19</sup> Given Köstlin’s extensive family, it is likely that there were many more such visits during that summer.

### “Vögelein” (Little Bird)

Only one song originated in 1842, namely “Vögelein” (ex. 4.1 and track 21). The text is one of Köstlin’s honeymoon poems,<sup>20</sup> but according to the autograph, Lang composed the music only later in Tübingen and wrote it down during December 1842.<sup>21</sup>

Here is Köstlin’s poem:

Ein Vögelein  
Fliegt über den Rhein  
Und wiegt die Flügel  
Im Sonnenschein.

A little bird  
Flies above the Rhine  
And waves its wings  
In the sunshine.

## EXAMPLE 4.1 "Vögelein," op. 14 no. 5

**Allegretto**

Ein Vö - ge - lein fliegt ü - ber'n Rhein und

5 wiegt die Flü - gel im Son - nen - schein, und wie - get die Flü - gel im

9 Son - nen - schein, sieht Re - ben - hü - gel und grü - ne Flut, sieht Re - ben - hü - gel,

14 grü - ne Flut, wie wohl, wie wohl \_\_\_\_\_ das tut!

*p* *ff* *dim.* *fz* *pp*

EXAMPLE 4.1 *continued*

18

So hoch er-ho-ben im

23

Mor-gen-hauch, beim Vö-ge-lein dro-ben, o wär' ich auch! o wär' ich

27

*f* auch! So hoch er-ho-ben im Mor-gen-hauch, beim *p*

32

Vö-ge-lein dro-ben, o wär' ich auch! so hoch er-

EXAMPLE 4.1 *continued*

37 *p*  
 ho - ben im Mor - gen - hauch, beim Vö - ge - lein

41  
 dro - ben, o wär ich, o wär ich, o

46 *dim.*  
 wär ich auch!

*dim.* *a tempo*

50 *p* *pp* *f*

Sieht Rebenhügel  
Und grüne Fluth  
In gold'ner Gluth,—  
Wie wohl das tut;

[It] sees vineyards  
And green water  
In a golden glow,—<sup>22</sup>  
How enjoyable it is;

So hoch erhoben  
Im Morgenhauch!  
Beim Vögelein droben,  
O wär' ich auch!

[To be] up so high  
In the morning breeze!  
If only I, too, could be  
Up there with the little bird!

The poem is dominated by the image of a bird rejoicing in the sunshine and in the beautiful vistas along the banks of the Rhine. The key of F major and the lilting six-eight meter establish a pastoral topic appropriate to the bucolic imagery. Two aspects of the music more specifically suggest the avian subject matter of the poem—the contour of the melody and the hypermetric structure. The melody soars upward and dives downward in a bird-like manner. The opening of the vocal line (mm. 2–4) establishes the high and the low points between which most of the soaring occurs, namely F5 and C4. The line rises immediately after the initial drop, only to descend again at the end of the first phrase (mm. 7–10). Another elegant upward motion follows, beginning at the low point C4. In mm. 11 and 12, the ascent is interrupted by downward-resolving appoggiaturas, but then an unbroken scalar motion rises to E5 (mm. 13–14), that is, almost up to the initially established high point. There is another descent to the low point C4 as the harmony cadences on V (mm. 14–17). The melody of the dominant-prolonging piano interlude leaps to C6—the very highest pitch in the song—then descends two octaves to C4. The voice picks up from that low point and climbs in a wave-like fashion (reminiscent of mm. 11–12) toward F5, reaching that goal in m. 26. In mm. 27–31, the vocal line becomes a compound structure, the upper strand centering on F5, the lower on A4. The lower strand is abandoned in m. 32, where the melody begins to hover around E♭5 and D5 (as the harmony tonicizes IV), then returns to F5 (m. 36). A descending motion follows, associated with a tendency toward an authentic cadence (note the cadential six-four in m. 37). As the cadential tendency solidifies (with a prolonged dominant beginning in m. 42), the vocal line unexpectedly swoops upward, now breaking through the barrier of F5 and attaining its highest note, A5. After this surprising high point, the melody proceeds to descend gracefully toward the final tonic, approaching it from above and, in a melodic figure that Lang favored, also from below, so that the final vocal cadence almost touches on the low point C4. The postlude quotes the initial vocal melody in the original register, thus reminding the listener of the original registral “barriers” of C4 and F5.

Lang uses hypermetric as well as melodic structure to mimic the flight of a bird. Her mixture of four-bar and expanded hypermeasures gives the sensation of regular fluttering motion interspersed with episodes of gliding. The song begins with the establishment of four-bar hypermeter as a norm; the entry of the voice is a hypermetric downbeat, and further downbeats follow at four-bar intervals (m. 7, m. 11). The hypermeasure beginning at m. 11, however, is expanded. We expect a hypermetric downbeat at m. 15—but that measure lies in the middle of a prolongation of V/V, initiated in the preceding measure. Measures 15 and 16, which continue the prolongation, thus sound like part of the hypermeasure that began in m. 11. It is only at the resolution of V/V at m. 17 that one perceives a new downbeat.

Measure 18, although it continues the harmony of m. 17, sounds like another downbeat rather than a second hyperbeat, because of the change in dynamic and the entry of a new melody in a higher register. The entry of the voice in m. 22 establishes another downbeat and thus demarcates a four-bar hypermeasure (mm. 18–22). The hypermeasure initiated at m. 22 is again expanded (mm. 22–27); m. 26, continuing the harmony of m. 25, is not a likely downbeat bar and m. 28, associated with resolution to the tonic, plays that role much more convincingly. Three four-bar hypermeasures follow (mm. 28–31, 32–35, and 36–39). The final hypermeasure of the vocal portion is the longest; it is expanded via the aforementioned prolongation of the cadential dominant. A hypothetical four-bar hypermeasure can be constructed by associating mm. 40–42 with m. 47.

Lang's original plan was to restore the "normal" hypermeter in the postlude after the expansion of mm. 42–47; in the autograph—a very rough ink draft—the postlude consists of a four-bar hypermeasure, the bars corresponding to mm. 50 and 52 being absent. In her published postlude, however, she expanded the second and fourth beats of this final hypermeasure (mm. 49–50 and 52–53, respectively). The avian effects of hypermetric "gliding" and melodic "swooping" between F5 and C4 are thus continued to the very end of the song.

After writing "Vögelein," Lang composed nothing for about nine months. Shortly after the completion of this song, her first son was born (on 29 December 1842) and composition receded into the background.

### Musical Activity with a Growing Family

Lang and Köstlin named their son Felix and asked Mendelssohn to be his godfather. Mendelssohn accepted this office with pleasure and concluded the letter in which he did so as follows: "Please convey a thousand greetings and congratu-



lations to your wife. Tell me if she has composed new songs or anything else. It would be best if you could include one of them in your [next] letter. They always delight me greatly when I hear and play them!"<sup>23</sup> Köstlin was unable to comply with this request. He reported to Mendelssohn, "You will . . . be dissatisfied when I confess to you that my wife has composed very little in the last ten months. It is to be hoped that everything that she would have produced has passed over into little Felix."<sup>24</sup>

Köstlin's own productivity had also suffered since the marriage. With the exception of the poetry written during the honeymoon and in the week immediately after it, his literary output had all but ceased. In letters to Mendelssohn, he referred to his and Lang's productivity as having been "lulled to sleep"<sup>25</sup> and attributed this state of affairs to their being too happy: "You will almost wish that we were less happy when I confess to you that we do not have many songs to show for the last half year. And yet we cannot excuse ourselves for this [artistic] idleness with being busy attending to other tasks—only with our happiness."<sup>26</sup> Although Köstlin produced nothing new, he was continuously occupied with attempting to arrange the publication or performance of his earlier works.<sup>27</sup> Throughout his marriage, Köstlin, with rather pathetic persistence, never stopped contacting publishers and individuals connected with the theater.<sup>28</sup>

In October 1842, a scant seven months after the wedding, Köstlin went on a solitary journey through the Black Forest to Basel, leaving Lang at home.<sup>29</sup> In the autumn of 1843, Köstlin took another trip of about three weeks' duration to the Tirol and northern Italy. Köstlin's solitary journeys were to become a regular occurrence during his and Lang's marriage. It is tempting to ascribe them to his insatiable *Wanderlust* and to condemn him for callously leaving Lang to deal with the household and children while he went off to enjoy himself. To some extent this criticism of Köstlin is valid. On the other hand, his constitution was chronically weak and these journeys, generally occurring just before the start of the fall semester, were intended to strengthen it for the upcoming academic year. And strangely enough, these journeys had a positive effect on the couple's creativity. The journey of 1843, for instance, stimulated renewed artistic production on the part of both Lang and Köstlin. The latter wrote to Mendelssohn:

Music suffers somewhat as well, since we are often lacking not in enthusiasm, but in time for it, and—with regard to composition, we have experienced anew that it only happens when we are separated. Do not berate us for that! During the last fall vacation, I made my sacrifice to the muse by leaving my dear wife sitting [at home] while I wandered about Tirol for three weeks. This separation then brought forth a number of [artistic] fruits.<sup>30</sup>

Among these “fruits” are two songs based on Köstlin’s latest poems. After setting forth on his journey on 10 September, he immediately began to write poetry.<sup>31</sup> He must have sent copies of his poems home, for Lang set two of them (both dated 11 September) while he was away—the first songs that she had written since December 1842. “Die wandernde Wolke” originated on 12 September 1843,<sup>32</sup> and the unpublished song “Blumengruß” on 20 September. In spite of some interesting features (for example, modulation to  $\flat$ III within D major), “Die wandernde Wolke” is undistinguished. The unbroken four-bar hypermeter and the frequent subdivision of the hypermeasures into two-bar segments (two bars of voice answered by two bars of piano) result in a pedestrian effect. The poem is partly at fault; it is one of Köstlin’s oddest, truly opaque in meaning. The unpublished song “Blumengruß” is much more ambitious. It contains modulations to both diatonic third relations of the tonic of E major (C# minor, within which a powerful *fortissimo* climax takes place, and G# minor). The subdominant also plays a significant role; it is emphasized within the introduction and tonicized within the postlude. The song ends with a plagal cadence, which is quite rare in Lang’s works. Neither of these songs reaches the level of the pre-marriage songs or even of “Vögelein.” It appears that motherhood was preventing Lang from finding the time to polish and perfect her work.

If Lang’s and Köstlin’s separation brought forth artistic “fruits,” their reunion was also “fruitful,” albeit in a different way: Lang became pregnant with their second child. During the winter 1843–44 Lang was “frequently ill” and spent “almost the entire winter indoors.”<sup>33</sup> In June 1844, Lang wrote, “Praise God, now I am once more healthy enough that I have resolved to engage seriously in musical pursuits again!”<sup>34</sup> These “musical pursuits” included some composition. In July 1844, Lang and Köstlin completed another collaborative song, “1. July” (track 22). Köstlin wrote to Mendelssohn, “Only just within the last few days we again created a song together, the composition of which seems to me to be extraordinarily felicitous. Nothing is more charming than when words and music, both newly born, intertwine!”<sup>35</sup> Köstlin wrote the poem on 1 July 1844, in commemoration of his and Lang’s meeting in Kreuth four years earlier.<sup>36</sup> Lang set the text to music five days later.<sup>37</sup>

Although the song remained unpublished (it is not quite finished—some notational and metrical issues remain unresolved), it is of high quality.<sup>38</sup> A steady sixteenth-note accompaniment conjures up the rustling of the lilac bushes. Like “Die wandernde Wolke” from the year before, “1. July” modulates to  $\flat$ III (A $\flat$  major within an F major home key) and is dominated by four-bar hypermeter. But Lang injects enough hypermetric expansion that monotony is avoided; the expansion near the end of the vocal part, featuring a climactic high F, is particularly

beautiful. A substantial piano interlude after the second stanza, involving a “short-long” rhythm found nowhere else in the song, adds another pleasantly unpredictable touch.

Another “musical pursuit” in which Lang engaged was the assembling of two sets of songs for publication—those that were to become her opp. 11 and 12. The six songs in op. 11 all originated in the 1830s. Three of them are settings of texts by Ludwig Uhland, the other three, settings of texts by Justinus Kerner. She dedicated the set to the two poets, both of whom lived in her new Swabian homeland, and both of whom she knew personally (Uhland was a prominent citizen of Tübingen). Op. 12 was the first of Lang’s collections to consist entirely of settings of her husband’s texts. Most of the songs in this opus had been composed in 1841; only the last (“Die wandernde Wolke”) originated during the marriage.

Lang sent the two sets to the Leipzig publisher Kistner, who corresponded with Felix Mendelssohn about them. Mendelssohn must have put in a good word for Lang, for the songs did appear with Kistner in 1845.<sup>39</sup> In gratitude for Mendelssohn’s help, Lang dedicated op. 12 to him. From her letter requesting him to accept the dedication, it is apparent that the choice of dedicatee for op. 12 was not arbitrary: a collection featuring Lang’s music coupled with Köstlin’s texts was to be dedicated to the godfather of their first child. Lang wrote:

You must of course not look too strictly [at the songs], but recognize the best intentions in the works. Kistner in Leipzig would again like to publish them. . . . Would you be embarrassed to accept this lowly dedication? You would not believe how unutterably happy your kind acceptance would make me, and it would be further proof of your friendship, which gives both of us [Lang and Köstlin] so much joy. . . . You would place me particularly in your debt if you would look through the songs before [they are published] to check if they contain any errors. It could so easily have happened that the “housewife” forgot a few natural signs or sharps or flats, or in the end became too audacious with “fifths” or octaves!<sup>40</sup>

This letter is typical of Lang, who was always disparaging her own works and begging others to be lenient with them. It is odd that Lang would attribute errors in her songs to the fact that she was now a “housewife,” when in fact she had written only one of them since becoming one.

Lang was occasionally overcome by a feeling of unreality at finding herself in the role of a housewife. In the same letter to Mendelssohn, she wrote:

But don’t you, when all is said and done, find it laughable that I have become a “housewife”? Often it seems very strange to me, and yet I would not for anything in the world wish to dream myself back out of this pleasant reality [*mich aus dieser*

*angenehmen Wirklichkeit wieder hinwegträumen*], and you would understand if you could cast a glance into our happy, quiet domestic bliss and see our little angel (your godson), whom we call Felix—how he is blossoming to our constant joy, and how his lively little spirit is developing more and more every day, to the admiration of everyone around him!<sup>41</sup>

The feeling of strangeness persisted for at least three more years. As the following letter from her aunt in Vienna shows, Lang must have articulated it again in 1847:

But now to you, you adorable little housewife. How much enjoyment I would derive from watching you work in your household, surrounded by your dear children and your marvelous husband!<sup>42</sup> You believe that I could not imagine you in these circumstances? And why not? The seeds of all that is good and beautiful were within you, and finally: love can accomplish everything!<sup>43</sup>

It is apparent that Lang did not grow up expecting to get married and “keep house.” Either she was raised in the expectation of making a wealthy marriage (which would preclude any necessity for housework), or in the expectation of becoming a professional musician. The latter seems more probable, for as mentioned in the preceding chapter, her son wrote that it was only after her engagement that the “idealistic artist began to train herself to be a housewife.”<sup>44</sup> It is interesting that Köstlin explored the notion of an ethereal, artistic woman transforming herself into a housewife in a novella that he published in 1847. Given that his contemporary readers recognized similarities between the two heroines in this novella and his wife,<sup>45</sup> it is likely that the following passage refers to what Köstlin witnessed in Josephine Lang: “Even though her past lifestyle has offered no instruction in this area, nothing can be more certain than that [she] would, without reluctance and with utter joy in her heart, step into the realm of domestic duties and therein be more likely to do too much than too little.”<sup>46</sup>

Lang’s resolution to “engage seriously in musical pursuits” became increasingly difficult to keep. Considering that she articulated it only six weeks before the arrival of her second child, one wonders how she expected to keep it at all. The birth of Theobald (named after Lang’s father) went much more smoothly than Lang’s first delivery. She was in labor for only two hours; Köstlin described this birth as “lyric” as opposed to Felix’s more “epic” arrival.<sup>47</sup> With two little children to look after, Lang’s time for compositional activity was further curtailed.

After Theobald’s birth, Lang made the “best possible recovery” for eight days. Then, however, she became so ill that her family began to fear “the worst.”<sup>48</sup> So grave was her condition that she was given Extreme Unction.<sup>49</sup> She did recover, however, and by the fall was well enough that Köstlin could again set forth on a

solitary journey. He departed on 29 September and most likely returned on 21 October;<sup>50</sup> this time his destination was Switzerland. The first poem that he wrote after leaving became the text of Lang's op. 13 no. 1, "Abschied"—a short and simple song, based primarily on four-bar hypermeter but with an expressive expansion at the end of the vocal part. Unfortunately, neither of Lang's autographs is dated, so one cannot determine exactly when she composed the song. It is possible, however, that op. 13 no. 1 represents another artistic "fruit" of separation. And just as in the preceding year, Köstlin's return to Tübingen resulted in a pregnancy—Lang's third.

Lang's and Köstlin's letters to Mendelssohn reveal that they hoped that their children—particularly their first two sons, Felix and Theobald—would embark on artistic careers. According to Köstlin, all the omens at Theobald's birth pointed to an artistic path for the little lad:

The newly-born human being is obviously destined to be an artist. You, so to speak, received him on the threshold of life [a letter from Mendelssohn arrived a few hours before Theobald's birth]. The first friend who congratulated us in person was a highly talented young man from here, who is studying to be a musician (I[mmanuel] Faißt); the first who [congratulated us] in writing was my brother, Carl Müller, who is a painter. And so I am already casting the boy's horoscope.<sup>51</sup>

For Theobald, any career in the arts was an option. Felix, however, was to be a musician. Lang eagerly greeted every indication of dawning musical talent in the boy and dreamed of the day when he would study conducting with his godfather at the Leipzig Conservatory.<sup>52</sup> In 1845, Lang began work on a setting of one of her husband's texts from 1843,<sup>53</sup> and wrote on the autograph, "Composed on the 14th of July 45 with Felix."<sup>54</sup> The song remained a fragment, consisting of only one word of text, four bars of vocal line, and one blank piano staff. Perhaps it was too difficult to commit a song to paper while holding a lively two-and-a-half-year-old. The fragment, dating from exactly one week before Lang gave birth to her third child, is the only extant dated autograph from the year 1845.<sup>55</sup>

This third child, which Marie Jäger had hoped would be a "little Josephine,"<sup>56</sup> turned out to be another boy, Eugen. With three boys under the age of three, Lang was extremely busy, and the "villa" must have been a lively place. In the autumn of 1845, Köstlin, who had already taken a short Rhine excursion in May, undertook his annual solitary journey, his destinations encompassing Munich, Füssen, Eibsee, Tegernsee, and Ahlbad. He again wrote poetry, including an apology to the Tegernsee for stealing its most precious flower, odes to the rooms in Munich where Lang had grown up, and a poem at her mother's grave in the Munich ceme-

tery.<sup>57</sup> If Köstlin sent home any of these poems, Lang did not set them during his absence, or her settings have not survived.

When Köstlin came home after this journey, no pregnancy resulted; Lang finally seems to have realized where these passionate reunions led. By December 1845, Köstlin was moved to write two bitter poems about how unhappy Lang was making him. The first is as follows:

Kränke mich nur lange Tage,  
Mach' die Nächte finster mir!  
Hören sollst du keine Klage,  
Und die Freude lass' ich dir.

Only vex me day in and day out,  
Blacken my nights for me!  
You shall not hear any reproaches,  
And I leave you the pleasure [of vexing  
me].

Einmal schien dir's süß, zu lieben,—  
Seligste der Seligkeiten.

Once you found it sweet to love—  
[Found it to be] the most blissful  
happiness.

Ach, wo ist die Zeit geblieben?  
Kann sie so vorübergleiten?

Ah, where have those times gone?  
Can they thus slip away?

Jetzo scheint dir's süß, zu kränken  
Dieses lieberfüllte Herz.  
Zwar die Lust kann ich nicht denken,

Now you find it sweet to vex  
This love-filled heart.  
I cannot imagine what pleasure you find  
in it,

Doch ich gönne dir den Scherz.

But I don't begrudge you the jest.

Hören sollst du keine Klage.  
Alter Zeiten Angedenken  
Soll erheitern meine Tage,  
Und bei Nacht mir Frieden schenken.

You shall not hear any reproaches.  
The memory of old times  
Shall brighten my days,  
And give me peace by night.<sup>58</sup>

The second poem, which is undated but immediately follows the above in the manuscripts, gives a clearer picture of the problem:

Schlägst zu Boden du die Augen?  
Wollen sie mich ganz verschmäh'n?  
Besser würd' es ihnen taugen,  
In die meinen hinzusehn.  
Hinzusehn, wie sie mit Beben

Do you cast your eyes down?  
Do they wish to shun me completely?  
It would better serve them  
To look into mine.  
To look into my eyes and perceive how,  
with trembling,

Auf der deinen Zittern lauschen,  
Heißer Wünsche lüstern Leben  
Still mit ihnen auszutauschen.

They await the shivering of yours,  
In order to exchange quietly with them  
The lustful life of burning wishes.<sup>59</sup>

These two poems give no indication how long this state of affairs in the Lang–Köstlin marriage had lasted. By early January, however, the two must have resumed conjugal relations, for Lang became pregnant with her fourth child.

Musically, the year 1846 was barren, both in terms of composition (there are no dated autographs from this year) and in terms of publication. The only publication that possibly appeared in 1846 is a reissue of op. 10 no. 6, which cannot be more precisely dated than somewhere between 1844 and 1851. With three little children and a fourth on the way, Lang found her ability to devote herself seriously to music drastically impaired.

Even during these years of little productivity, however, Lang was not entirely forgotten in the musical world. When her op. 12 appeared in print early in 1845, it was reviewed along with op. 11 in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.<sup>60</sup> The anonymous reviewer began by alluding to earlier discussions of Lang's songs in the journal (in 1835, 1838, and 1839), and found in opp. 11 and 12 an increased maturity and skill.<sup>61</sup> The review is primarily positive, mentioning the "genuineness and intimacy of the feeling, which has so refreshing an effect in contrast to mercenary factory products and the blasé world of fashion." There are, however, some criticisms as well; the reviewer took Lang's music seriously enough to critique it in detail. Among the flaws that he mentioned were a lack of spontaneity in op. 11 nos. 3 and 4, rhythmic weaknesses and a lack of organic connection between the sections in op. 12 no. 2, and parallel octaves and fifths. Despite these criticisms, however, the reviewer emphasized that the thoroughly good and successful aspects of the songs by far outweighed the flaws.

Another mainly positive review of the same two sets of songs appeared in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in January 1846. Even more than the 1845 review, this one acknowledged Lang as an artist with an individual voice:

The artist whom we encounter here has with her earlier compositions already formed for herself a certain circle that takes pleasure in her publications, and we admit that there is reason for it, even from a broader point of view. We are faced here with a truly artistic, a poetic spirit. The more rarely, in general, that this nowadays occurs in this field, the more joyfully may critics greet such personalities. To be sure, the gentlewoman [*Dame*] does not stand before us in originality and total independence. One easily recognizes Mendelssohn Bartholdy as the model for her works (to him the second of the sets cited here is dedicated); but this model is so amply modified and differently reflected through the individuality of the artist that there can be no question of emulation in the usual sense of the word. There is much music in these songs. A deep, warm feeling that is capable of escalating to rapture often addresses us in a pleasant manner, and sentimentality, unfortunately so common [elsewhere], is here transfigured to elegiac heights. Conjoined therewith is a fine,

we might say intelligent conception, and everywhere one notices an interpenetration of voice and accompaniment, which allows one to recognize both parts as integral rather than as coexisting coincidentally or because of external necessity. [One also finds] a striving for character that only requires a more individual and freer unfolding in order to satisfy all demands, and which otherwise is not often to be praised in products of female quills in particular.<sup>62</sup>

Although it is not clear what the reviewer meant by “character” (*Character*), he clearly regarded Lang’s songs as superior to those of other women composers. These positive comments were, again, tempered with some criticism. The reviewer found Lang’s songs occasionally lacking in melody in the usual sense, was disturbed by her harsh dissonances and strange harmonic progressions, and by a general lack of composure and clarity. One has the impression that the reviewer was rather conservative and somewhat uncomfortable with the new aesthetic of Romanticism. His concluding remarks, however, reinforce his generally very positive impression of the composer: “The artist has received the consecration; it is up to her to show herself ever more worthy of it, [and] always to strive for the transfiguration of her subjectivity into artistic objectivity in a higher sense. . . .”

Lang’s fourth and last son, Heinrich, was born on 4 September 1846. He would grow up to be her biographer and the person primarily responsible for the preservation of her musical manuscripts. Lang’s eldest son was not yet four when Heinrich was born.

In January 1847, Lang became pregnant for the fifth time. During this year, Lang seems to have made a determined effort to reassert herself as an artist. This resurgence of Lang the artist is reflected in the poem that Köstlin wrote for her birthday that year. Earlier birthday poems had dealt almost exclusively with marital bliss and motherhood. The 1847 poem, however, focused on Lang the composer:

14. März 1847

Kam der werthe Tag denn wieder,  
Der dich einst der Welt geschenkt,—  
Silberstimmchen, zarte Glieder,

Und viel zaubervoller Lieder  
Reichen Keim ins Herz gesenkt!

.....  
Wie aus Blumen Bienen stehlen,  
Stahl ich aus den Augen dein  
Lieder,— und was sollt’ ich’s hehlen?

14 March 1847

Has that valued day returned again,  
That once gave you to the world—  
[Endowed you with] a little silver voice,  
delicate limbs,

And sank the rich seeds of many  
Magic-filled songs into your heart[?]

.....  
As bees steal from flowers,  
I stole songs [poems] from your eyes,  
And—why should I conceal it?—



Hauchtest du doch ihren Seelen  
Gleich drauf Melodien ein!

You immediately breathed  
Melodies into their souls.<sup>63</sup>

There are a number of possible explanations for Lang's effort to revitalize her career in 1847. It may represent a reaction to the inactivity of the preceding year, or perhaps to being pregnant yet again. It may even have had something to do with Köstlin's success as a writer at this time. As far as can be determined, Köstlin, despite his intensive efforts, had published no substantial literary texts between 1839 and 1846.<sup>64</sup> Two legal publications had appeared, one in 1841 and another, a major tome on criminal law, in 1845. In 1847, however, Köstlin was fortunate enough to find a publisher willing to bring out his "Collected Novellas and Tales," as well as a publisher for another prose work.<sup>65</sup> Her husband's literary achievements may have served as a catalyst for Lang.

Although finding the time to compose was difficult for her, she had a substantial number of unpublished song manuscripts on hand, some of which she assembled into three collections. Since she lived in the isolated town of Tübingen, she required help in her quest for publishers for these sets. She approached two friends from her youth: Franz Lachner and Franz Hauser. It was logical for Lang to turn to the respected composer Franz Lachner, for he had acted as her compositional mentor during her youth (see chapter 2). Although no relevant correspondence between Lang and Lachner exists, we can deduce that she asked him for assistance with the publication of op. 13; the opus appeared in the fall of 1847 with one of his own publishers (B. Schott's Söhne) and is dedicated to him.

Lang enlisted Franz Hauser's help with the publication of opp. 14 and 15. Her selection of this emissary is somewhat puzzling, for Hauser was a performer rather than a composer and therefore not experienced in dealing with publishers. Since Lang had met him in Munich in 1831, he had enjoyed considerable success on operatic stages across Europe and, in 1846, had been appointed director of a new music school in Munich.<sup>66</sup> A mutual regard must have sprung up between Lang and Hauser in 1831—a regard strong enough to survive sixteen years without communication, to render Lang comfortable with asking Hauser for help, and to impel him to accede to her request. His first letter to her (in response to her plea for assistance) began with the rather surprising salutation "My dear Josephine." This familiarity is less startling when one recalls that he had met Lang when she was a sixteen-year-old; in his first letter he was probably still thinking of her as a young girl. In later correspondence he addressed her more formally as "Dear esteemed friend."<sup>67</sup>

Although Hauser accepted the task of corresponding with publishers on Lang's behalf, he seems to have found it challenging. In July 1847, he wrote to her

that publishers were “an unpleasant lot.” He listed those whom he had approached (“Haslinger, Falter, Hartel [*sic*], Müller, Mechetti [*sic*]”) and informed her of the disappointing results.<sup>68</sup> Haslinger, after a long delay, had declined to publish the songs. Falter would have published them but only without remuneration (which Hauser refused to consider, advising Lang that “a talent like yours should not give anything away to such people”).<sup>69</sup> The other three publishers had not yet responded.

In October of the same year, Hauser wrote again with the news that Müller, Simrock, and Diabelli had also rejected the songs, but that Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig had agreed to publish them. Hauser had even attempted to negotiate a slightly higher payment than what the publisher had originally proposed.<sup>70</sup> Opp. 14 and 15 finally came out in May 1848. Considering how much trouble Hauser took to bring these publications about, it is surprising that neither opus is dedicated to him.

Hauser’s correspondence with Lang contains the following critique of her songs:

I would dearly love to chat with you about all manner of things—about your compositions, too, and in fact most of all about them. You know well what an interest I have taken in them, and how highly I value everything that you write, and therefore you must permit me to tell you as well when I do not agree with you, but it is such an awkward business [to do so] in a letter[:] at the piano, in conversation, at a favorable moment, useful comments occur to one. . . . Do you know with what I am not in agreement? With your piano playing. You play too well and you expect other people to do the same, and it is too much. With your singing it is the same thing. There are very few singers who can handle their voice the way you can—at least, I know of no one else besides [Jenny] Lind—for her, too, nothing is too high or too low.<sup>71</sup>

Although Hauser found Lang’s songs too difficult, both for the singer and the pianist,<sup>72</sup> these remarks reveal his immense respect for Lang as a singer, pianist, and composer.<sup>73</sup>

On 23 September 1847, Lang’s fifth child was born. Everyone was predicting another boy,<sup>74</sup> but this time a girl arrived. Lang and Köstlin called her Therese Henriette, after their respective stepmothers. This little girl’s names were thus a testimony to the affection that Lang and Köstlin felt for these women.

Just a few days before giving birth, Lang composed “Bei Nacht und Nebel”—again, a setting of one of Köstlin’s poems.<sup>75</sup> The song was again a “fruit of separation,” for in September 1847, Köstlin was off on another of his pre-semester journeys.<sup>76</sup> “Bei Nacht und Nebel” has the striding quality of some of Schubert’s *Winterreise* songs; a repeated eighth-note chord pattern is interrupted only during

the cadential dominant at the close of the vocal portion. In the postlude, which is unusually long for Lang, the opening of the vocal melody is restated. The final bars fade from *f* to *p*, as if to suggest the disappearance into the distance of the departing one. The syncopated passing chords in the postlude suffuse the final bars with tension, reflecting the sensation of being pulled in two directions that dominates the poem.

Lang often seems to have been visited by bouts of creative activity just before giving birth. The dated autographs from the marriage demonstrate that she composed something in the weeks—sometimes even days—just before the births of four of her six children.<sup>77</sup> In the case of her second child, she also made resolutions about renewed artistic activity just prior to the birth. Perhaps the looming event of giving birth spurred Lang into creative action, causing her to make a last-ditch effort for her art before all her time was taken up with a newborn.

After the happy events of 1847—the birth of a child and the acceptance of three song collections for publication—tragedy struck: in November, Felix Mendelssohn died. Although the correspondence between the two families had dwindled (there are no extant letters either from or to Mendelssohn after September 1844), the news of Mendelssohn's untimely death must have been devastating for Lang. There is no direct documentation of her reaction. In his biography, her son referred to her “deep pain” at the thought that “her artistic ideal had passed away.” The household's artistic response to Mendelssohn's death came from Köstlin; he wrote a poem of sixteen stanzas entitled “*Todtenopfer für Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy*,” which was read at a memorial service in the Tübingen Museum.<sup>78</sup>

### The Year of Revolution, 1848

The year 1848 was a turbulent one in Germany. The fall of the French monarchy at the end of February sparked concern and a desire to appease the liberal contingent of the population in the various German monarchies. In this atmosphere of conciliation, gatherings that aimed at political change flourished everywhere, including in Tübingen. Reinhold Köstlin, like many of his fellow professors, was very much involved in the turbulence of 1848. He gave political speeches and even became a candidate for the new Württemberg parliament (he was not elected). Josephine Lang was drawn into the political events of 1848 as well. At a gathering of a 200-strong student corps that had been organized at the university, a German flag, sewn and inscribed by the women of Tübingen, was presented to the corps. “Josephine Köstlin” is one of the many names on a document that accompanied the flag.<sup>79</sup>

The couple's involvement in the events of 1848 also took the form of artistic activity. In the year 1848, Köstlin wrote two lengthy nationalistic poems. One of them, "Flieg' auf, o deutscher Adler," urged the German people to strive upward, to look to the future, and to unite. The final lines are:

Laß' flattern die Fledermäuse  
Nach Rußland und weiter fort!  
Die Sonne geht auf in Frankfurt.  
Sprich Volk dich mündig dort!

Let the bats flutter  
To Russia and even more distant lands.  
The sun is rising in Frankfurt.  
Ye people, assert your coming of age  
there!

The second poem, published under the title "Deutsches Lied vom März 1848,"<sup>80</sup> refers to an old German legend, according to which the medieval emperor Friedrich Barbarossa was to rise from his tomb and lead the German people to victory. The poem addresses the various German peoples and spurs them on to participate in the campaign for a united nation under Barbarossa's banner.

Lang sketched but never completed a setting of "Deutsches Lied vom März" in F major.<sup>81</sup> Probably later in 1848, she used the same music (albeit in A major) to set Köstlin's other political poem, "Flieg' auf, o deutscher Adler"; there exist completed versions for bass and piano, and for men's chorus.<sup>82</sup> This is one of only two occasions on which Lang used the same musical idea for different texts (see chapter 6 for the other example). That she did so may imply that she did not take these political texts as seriously as the lyric poems that she usually set, and that she did not find it worth the trouble to write different music for them. She may also have recognized that the two poems were very similar in spirit and content and felt that the same music did justice to both. These political songs, although they are not among Lang's best works, are interesting products of their time. The music for the completed song "Flieg' auf, o deutscher Adler," marked "lebhaft und feurig" (lively and fiery), has the rousing fanfare- and march-like character that would have appealed to amateur men's groups at that time. The restriction of the harmonies almost exclusively to tonic and dominant, and of the hypermeter entirely to four-bar groups, is likely a concession to the limited capabilities of such groups.

Lang's "Flieg' auf, o deutscher Adler" never appeared in print. The male chorus version was, however, performed on 4 August 1848 at the nineteenth annual festival concert of Friedrich Silcher's *Liedertafel*. Lang was the only woman composer on the program; the other nine pieces were by men (Reichardt, Mendelssohn, Esser, Weber, Silcher, Mozart).<sup>83</sup> It is noteworthy that Silcher included her song in his program and that the male choir did not object to performing a political song by a woman.

It is surprising that Josephine Lang, at this time a busy mother of five children, responded musically to the events of 1848. She seems, however, to have been drawn toward political, even warlike, topics throughout her life (recall the “battle songs” mentioned in chapter 1). Her interest in the revolution of 1848 was by no means typical of German women in general. It is enlightening to compare her reactions to those of Marie Jäger. Although Jäger was living in Frankfurt, the site of a significant part of the action (a parliament composed of representatives from all of Germany met there), her letters from this time make no mention whatsoever of the stirring events of the revolution.

Whereas Lang’s unpublished political songs were noticed only in Tübingen, her published songs excited some remark in the broader musical world in 1848. Her opp. 14 and 15, published in May of that year, were reviewed at least twice. A reviewer in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* found many attractive features in the songs but criticized them for occasional harshness (*Härte*) and voice leading errors.<sup>84</sup> In op. 14 no. 1, for instance, he found the unresolved seventh D/C in the dominant seventh of G major problematic, and the outer-voice parallel fifths in mm. 5–6 “repellent” (see ex. 3.1a). Additional criticisms were leveled at the excessive vocal range (B3 to G5), the difficult vocal leaps, certain brazen and unpleasant harmonic progressions, and instances of incorrect declamation. The reviewer concluded, however, that the songs “are able to attract and captivate us in many ways.” Emil Klitzsch, the reviewer for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*,<sup>85</sup> saw in opp. 14 and 15 some advance in Lang’s compositions in terms of clarity of structure (*deutlichere Gestaltung*) but also harshly criticized their melodies for an essential emptiness (*Leere*) and superficiality, which the composer was able to render tolerable by a warm breath of emotion. He admired the care with which the accompaniments of op. 14 were colored, but on the other hand found them overburdened with detail (*überladen*). Even from this primarily negative review, Lang might have gathered some crumbs of comfort: she was being taken seriously as a composer. Klitzsch, by comparing her recent publications with earlier ones and by criticizing her works in detail, was at least not trivializing her as a mere woman.<sup>86</sup>

### After 1848

In 1849, Lang’s last child (Maria) was born. From the time of her marriage up until Maria’s birth—a period of 84 months—she had been pregnant for 54 months. Her son wrote about the births of her children, “Three more sons quickly followed . . . and two daughters.”<sup>87</sup> The words “quickly followed” are especially applicable to the middle four children. Between the birth of her second

child and the beginning of her third pregnancy there is a gap of only three months, between the third and fourth a gap of five months, and between the fourth and fifth again only three months. Under such circumstances, it is remarkable that Lang composed and published as much as she did during her marriage.

With the arrival of Maria, who was born on Lang's thirty-fourth birthday, she had six children to look after. After hearing about this birth, Lang's stepmother wrote to Köstlin as follows:

Dear Father of 6 children!

So you have successfully achieved a half dozen, God be praised! He will also give His blessing so that everything remains well. I was very happy to hear that it was a girl, always better than boys, especially for the mother, the poor little mother! Kiss her for me, but not too much! . . . And now I must close, another kiss to the fertile mother and the dear little children.<sup>88</sup>

Despite her reference to the "fertile little mother," Therese Lang obviously felt that six children was plenty. In 1850, she wrote, "May God give you health and no more children, [the number] at present is exactly right."<sup>89</sup> Köstlin seems to have taken this to heart; in his birthday poem for Lang from 1852 (written as if coming from the three-year-old Maria), he wrote:

Blick mir in's Aug, das hoffnungstreue!

Und,—fällt Dir auch kein Lied mehr  
ein,

Laß mich nur immer und auf's Neue  
Dein letztes Lied der Liebe sein!—

Gaze into my eye [filled with] hope and  
sincerity!

And,—even if no more songs occur to  
you,

Just let me, always and ever anew,  
Be your final song of love!—<sup>90</sup>

Köstlin's reference to their sixth child as a "final song of love" suggests that he expected no more children.

The poem also suggests, however, that Lang was worried that no more songs would "occur" to her. She had indeed composed little in the years since Maria's birth. The years 1849 to 1851 yielded only three songs—one per year. According to the autograph booklet Mus. fol. 53x, Lang's next composition after her political songs was "In Welschland" (In Italy), dated 4 October 1849.<sup>91</sup> This song is a setting of a poem that Köstlin had written during a September trip; his manuscript does not specify the year, but given Lang's tendency to set his poems soon after he wrote them, it is likely that the poem originated during his vacation in 1849.<sup>92</sup> The poem glorifies Italy in a manner that is common in German poetry of the nineteenth century. Although Lang, unlike her spouse, was never able to

visit Italy, her music beautifully captures the idyllic, peaceful mood of Köstlin's poem, born out of his own experience of that sunny country. The introduction is harmonically static, consisting to a large extent of dominant prolongation (ex. 4.2). There is, however, plenty of melodic motion within the bounds of this stable harmony. An upward-striving melody begins in a high register, but its second phrase is stated in the tenor register (mm. 4–8), resulting in a pleasing effect of dialogue.<sup>93</sup>

The vocal portion of the song is only slightly more active in terms of harmony than the introduction; it is based almost entirely on an alternation of tonic and dominant harmony. Since the song is strophic and the interludes between strophes are identical to the introduction, there is little respite from the harmonic stasis. As a result, the song has an almost soporific effect, which perfectly suits the text, with its images of reclining under orange trees in sunny Italy. In the final vocal phrase, the vocal line is drawn into the prevalent stasis; as the piano restates the introductory melody, the voice sustains and repeats D5 for two bars (on the words “wie süß”—how sweet), before leaping up to G5, then arpeggiating downward and coming to rest on D4.

Lang's autograph booklets contain numerous versions of this song.<sup>94</sup> Such voluminous revision is rare in the marriage years—but Lang's willingness to put so much effort into this song reveals that she continued to take her compositional work seriously during this period. Most of the revisions are minor, but the version with a cello part contains a significant harmonic revision: during a reference to the tumult, hate, and envy of the world (which in all other versions is associated with tonic and dominant harmonies in G major), Lang modulates to D minor. In later versions, she abandoned this modulation, which, although it would have lent variety to the harmony, would have disrupted the somnolent effect of the song. The point of the line in question, after all, is that one is escaping, not experiencing these unpleasant aspects of the world.<sup>95</sup>

The lovely song “Am Bache” (ex. 4.3), dated 5 April 1850,<sup>96</sup> is a setting of an undated poem by Köstlin. In the introduction Lang initiates a rippling sixteenth-note pulse. The unaccented sixteenth notes are lower chromatic neighbors embellishing scale degree 5, which cause intriguing pinpricks of dissonance against some of the sustained right-hand notes. During the vocal portion, the sixteenth-note pulse continues, taken over at times by the right hand.

The introduction establishes more than the basic pulse of the song; it also anticipates in a subtle manner some of the melodic ideas. The first part of the introduction's melody is based on a stepwise descent from B♭4 to E♭4; the B♭, after being embellished by the upper neighbor C5 (mm. 2–3), is connected by step to

EXAMPLE 4.2 "In Welschland," op. 23 no. 1, mm. 1–12

**Allegretto**

*p* *legato* *p* *ff*

*p* *cant.* *dim.* *fp* *p*

Hier un - ter wel - - schen

Bäu - men, O - ran - gen und Zi - tro - nen,



## EXAMPLE 4.3 “Am Bache,” op. 20, mm. 1–17

**Andante grazioso e semplice**

The musical score is written for piano and voice. The tempo is 'Andante grazioso e semplice'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The time signature is 4/4 for the first system and 3/4 for the second system. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the left hand and chords in the right hand. The vocal melody is in the right hand of the piano part. The lyrics are in German.

Am Ba-che sitz' ich lan - ge Zeit und lau - - - sche, ob

er vor lau - ter Se - lig-keit so rau - - - sche!

E♭4 in mm. 4–5. The same descent underlies the first eight bars of the vocal melody. The vocal B♭4 is, like that of the introductory melody, embellished by the upper neighbor C5 (mm. 9–11). A descent through A♭4 to G4 occurs in mm. 12–13. After a restatement of the embellished B♭4, and even a rise into higher regions (mm. 13–15), the initiated descent continues, reaching F4 in m. 17. The unexpected E♭5 in m. 14 is a stepping-stone from the initially embellished B♭4

(mm. 9–11) to the climactic vocal pitch, G5 (m. 27—not shown in the example). Both the anticipation in the introduction of significant aspects of the body and the careful preparation of the vocal climax are ingredients of many of Lang's finest songs. These elegant attributes obviously escaped the notice of a reviewer who, when evaluating a collection of songs containing "Am Bache," said that none of them (including Lang's song, by implication) rose above the level of the ordinary.<sup>97</sup>

In 1851, Lang drafted the Heine setting "Seit die Liebste mir entfernt" (Since My Beloved Left Me).<sup>98</sup> As Roberta Werner points out, one of the fine features of the song is the development within the vocal line of the introduction's "descending fourth—rising second" motive.<sup>99</sup> Equally interesting is the distinctive concluding rhythm of the vocal line. Lang first states Heine's punch lines ("But I was unable to laugh" and "But I am unable to weep") in quarter notes, using the introductory motive. She then repeats these lines, beginning with very long note values, but associating the last three words ("konnt' ich nicht" and "kann ich nicht") with an eighth-note pair and a quarter note. This hasty conclusion captures the essence of Heine, in whose poems surprising twists so often occur at the very end.

The year 1852, in which Köstlin's birthday poem alluded to the lack of new songs (see above), truly seems to have been an unproductive year. The increasing demands of Lang's large family definitely played a role in this lapse in her productivity.

### Reinhold Köstlin's Final Years

As their children grew, Lang and Köstlin received welcome assistance from Köstlin's father. As was mentioned, there are indications that Nathanael Friedrich Köstlin at first objected to his son's choice of a wife (because of her Catholicism)—but she soon won him over. In a birthday letter from 1849, Nathanael Köstlin wrote to Lang, "I praise it as a valuable gain for my last days that in you I have been granted such an affectionate daughter-in-law, and through you, many a comfort in my old age."<sup>100</sup> Köstlin senior did not stop at kind words but assisted the family in two significant ways: financially (in 1849, he made over a bundle of stocks to his son and his wife),<sup>101</sup> and by taking care of Felix and sometimes also Theobald when Lang was seriously ill or overburdened. He invited both boys to Stuttgart in 1848,<sup>102</sup> and Felix made a number of extended stays in his grandfather's house during spring and fall of 1849 and 1850.<sup>103</sup>

While he was in Stuttgart Felix went to school, and his grandfather supervised his studies. He was quite strict with him and sometimes expressed disapproval of

his lackadaisical attitude toward his schoolwork.<sup>104</sup> On the other hand, he frequently praised his progress and commented on his artistic talent. Lang was sometimes concerned that her son was being placed under too much pressure. Judging by Nathanael Köstlin's letter of 19 December 1850, for instance, Lang had worried that the writing of a diary, which the grandfather had assigned to help Felix improve his penmanship, would be too onerous.<sup>105</sup> On the whole, however, the arrangement seems to have worked well and was a great help to Lang.

Nathanael Köstlin's letters to his son show that there was reason for concern with regard to the latter's position. Reinhold Köstlin had already expected to be an *Ordinarius* (essentially, a tenured professor) in 1845; he had written to Mendelssohn in September 1844 that he anticipated promotion within six months.<sup>106</sup> This desirable event did not materialize. By 1850, Köstlin, still not promoted, was looking about for a better job. He was even offered a position at the university in Greifswald (on the Baltic Sea, due north of Berlin), but decided to remain in Tübingen.<sup>107</sup> Marie Jäger wrote to Lang in 1851, "I wish with all my heart that Reinhold may soon be named an *Ordinarius*—a promotion that, by rights, should long have been his and which therefore certainly cannot be postponed much longer!"<sup>108</sup> On 5 September 1851, Köstlin was finally granted the long-awaited promotion.<sup>109</sup>

Whatever joy Köstlin's promotion may have brought was clouded by the fact that his second son, Theobald, became seriously ill in 1852. From his ninth year, Theobald suffered from tuberculosis of the bone. A medical certificate issued by the family's doctor when the boy was twelve years old reveals that he suffered from "decay" of the sternum, "a high grade of destruction" of the spinal column, and a lesion in his hip joint, which necessitated his walking with crutches when he was able to walk at all.<sup>110</sup> No treatment proved effective and Theobald remained an invalid for his entire life.

An even more serious illness was to strike Reinhold Köstlin. Early in 1853 Lang must have written to Marie Jäger expressing concern about her husband's health, for in March Jäger responded, "May these lines find all you loved ones well and merry. In particular, I hope that the returning warmth of springtime may completely eliminate the worries that you shared with me about dear Reinhold's health!"<sup>111</sup>

Köstlin was able to teach through the summer semester of 1853; his father wrote to a relative<sup>112</sup> in July 1853, "Reinhold is still suffering from a cough, albeit to a bearable degree, so that he need not allow himself to be prevented from continuing his lectures." By the fall, however, his health had deteriorated. His physician later wrote, "Around this time [August 1853] not only did his chest complaints worsen, but his voice was afflicted with hoarseness to such an extent that he was forced to discontinue his lectures in the following semester."<sup>113</sup>

In the fall of 1853—specifically, from 7 September to 17 October—Lang composed four new songs. The most interesting of these are two settings of a Köstlin poem beginning with the words, “Wenn das Herz dir ist beklommen” (When Your Heart is Heavy). Köstlin’s poem, from 5 July 1840,<sup>114</sup> is one of the very first that he wrote after meeting Lang. The poem advises its recipient (Lang?) to seek solace in nature from her sorrows and fears. Lang began to work with this poem just four days after its origin. The music of her incomplete setting from 1840 is rather square and predictable; it is based entirely on four-bar hypermeter, the four-bar segments subdividing consistently into two-bar segments.<sup>115</sup>

Lang’s return to this poem in 1853 was likely motivated by Köstlin’s serious illness; the poem was certainly relevant to her situation, for her heart had every reason to be heavy. On 16 October she completed her second setting. It is in some respects closely related to the fragment of 1840 (rhythm and hypermetric structure are similar), but the melody and harmony are newly conceived. Just a day later, Lang wrote a completely different third setting, having apparently rethought her entire approach to the text overnight.<sup>116</sup> She had marked the second setting “Slowly and with expression” (and the fragment from 1840, given its rhythmic similarity to the second setting, was likely intended to be slow and expressive as well). The third setting, however (ex. 4.4), is marked “Etwas bewegt” (somewhat quickly) and has a new accompaniment pattern in steady triplet eighths. This new pattern suggests that Lang’s imagination had been captured by the water imagery, which appears at the end of Köstlin’s poem in connection with the theme of consolation in nature. In her third setting, Lang also lent the hypermetric structure much greater flexibility. At the opening of the song, the bars are consistently grouped into eight-bars units, but Lang deviates from this norm by stretching a hypermeasure at particularly significant lines (for example, at “when your eye becomes too full [of tears]”). The rhythm of the vocal line—a mixture of dotted and undotted quarter notes—is the only aspect of the song that is somewhat reminiscent of the earlier settings. Lang published the third setting as op. 27 no. 2 in 1872.

There is evidence that Lang attempted to publish some songs in 1853. It was Marie Jäger to whom she looked for assistance at this time. Jäger wrote on 28 October 1853 that she wished that she had some contact with publishers in Frankfurt or nearby Mainz, as she would then have been delighted to negotiate with them on Lang’s behalf.<sup>117</sup> Lang apparently asked her to take up such negotiations, for Jäger wrote in her next letter that she had made every effort but without success.<sup>118</sup>

Although Lang was able to publish relatively little during the 1850s, the songs that she already had published were becoming internationally known. In one of her letters to Lang from 1853, Marie Jäger mentioned two “musical sisters” from

## EXAMPLE 4.4 “An einer Quelle,” op. 27 no. 2, mm. 1–16

**Etwas bewegt**

*pp* *leggiero* *legato*

Wenn das Herz dir ist be -

klo - men und in's Au - ge Trä - nen kom - men,

Vienna, one of whom was herself a composer and was attempting to mount a concert of her own works in Frankfurt. These sisters asked eagerly about Lang and expressed great esteem for her.<sup>119</sup> A concert on 18 February 1853 in another foreign city, namely Amsterdam, included a song by Lang entitled “Abschied.” A reviewer of the concert found that “the beautiful song by Josephine Lang” gave the singer the opportunity to express warm and heartfelt emotion and to move her listeners to tears.<sup>120</sup>

Lang’s attempts to publish songs in 1853 may have been motivated by financial concerns resulting from the loss of Köstlin’s income. Letters written by two of the boys during the winter of 1853–54 poignantly reflect the financial difficulties of that time. Eugen, who was eight years of age, wrote a letter to his “dear

Papa” on Christmas Eve. At a time when a child’s thoughts are usually completely occupied with Christmas presents, Eugen obviously had his father’s health on his mind, for he began his letter with the words, “If only you were well and robust!” After a whole string of Latin conjugations to demonstrate how well he had absorbed his father’s tutelage in this language, and some references to his excitement about Christmas, he concluded, “Finally I wish for my dear [Papa] that the hoarseness and the fierce cough would go away, and that you could go to class again, and finally I wish for everybody that they may remain healthy.”<sup>121</sup> Felix, who was eleven years old, had a clearer conception of what “going to class” meant. He wrote to his father at the close of the year:

I wish you a Happy New Year, especially a new throat, just like mine. If only during this year things could go better for us than they did last year! We must hope that not so many of us get sick this year as last year, and that you and dear Theobald both get well. I wish then, when you have a throat like mine, that you may live really, really long and that you may always be well and that you may someday be really proud of me. I will always be diligent in school, so that I can be the top student again and I will also work hard around the house. Finally, your devoted son wishes that you could go to class again and earn money.<sup>122</sup>

But Köstlin was never able to “go to class again and earn money,” and the financial worries of the family became ever more severe. Köstlin’s birthday poem for Lang from 1854 reflects the darkness of these times:

Hat uns Lieb’ in Rosentagen  
Alles doppelt schön gemacht,  
O so laß uns nicht verzagen  
Jezt [sic] in dieser tiefen Nacht!

Since, in the days of roses, Love  
Made everything doubly beautiful for us,  
Oh, let us not despair  
Now in this deep night!

Hat uns Alles sonst gelogen,  
Bleibt ihr schöner Stern doch steh’n  
Unverrückt am dunkeln Bogen,-  
Und der kann nicht untergehn!

Even if everything else deceived us,  
[Love’s] beautiful star remains  
Immovable on the dark vault [of heaven]  
And that [star] cannot set!<sup>123</sup>

In June, Köstlin undertook a long journey in an attempt to recover his health; he returned to Kreuth to again try the whey cure that had been successful in 1840. According to his poetry manuscripts, his journey began on 6 June and he was away until at least 23 August.<sup>124</sup> Unable to speak aloud, he rather poignantly referred to himself in his poems from this time as a “silent fish” (*stummer Fisch*).

There must have been some discussion of the financial burden that his long cure would place upon the family, for Marie Jäger wrote to Lang:

I was delighted to hear that you had received good tidings from dear Reinhold . . . tell him how much we wish and beseech Heaven that he may soon be granted a complete recovery! Only exhort him under no circumstances to curtail his stay in Kreuth. He should not consider the expense of being there, since the recovery of his health must be of paramount value to him.<sup>125</sup>

After Köstlin's long and costly absence, it was difficult for the family to celebrate Christmas 1854, to which festival they referred as "*Bettel Christtag*" (Beggar Christmas). As usual, Reinhold Köstlin wrote little poems to accompany the various gifts, but this year there were only a few presents, and some of the poems began quite somberly (for instance, "Oppressed by worries, sorrow, and vexation" and "It is not much—you will forgive").<sup>126</sup>

An undated letter from Lang to Köstlin, likely from this time, highlights the family's financial distress. In this letter, which she must have slipped under Köstlin's sickroom door, Lang informed him that throughout the previous day she had tried in vain to bring herself to ask him for household money. In the end she had paid the baker and the milkman by raiding Felix's piggybank. She reassured Köstlin that he had never made it difficult for her to ask him for money, but that "under the present circumstances" she had simply been unable—in fact, found it "horrible"—to do so face to face. Her letter is touchingly similar to the aforementioned letter of her little son, Eugen. Just as he listed his Latin conjugations, she enumerated the household expenses in great detail: the maid's wages, the wood chopping, the dung-heap that had to be transported to the garden, the shoemaker's bill, medicine for the children, and so on.<sup>127</sup>

During this difficult time, Lang received one of the worst reviews of her career. Her song "Auf der Reise," which had already appeared in the *Lieder-Kranz* publication of 1840 or 1841 and which she republished as op. 22 in 1855, was designated as "the product of a woman." The reviewer continued:

[The song] bears everywhere, probably in every bar, the stamp of dilettantism. It often seems weak in invention; the composition without doubt stands in glaring contradiction to the high opus number. Are the earlier 21 opera *en vente* as well, or do they await liberation from the composer's desk?<sup>128</sup>

It is unfortunate that this reviewer was not familiar with Lang's earlier publications, most of which are of higher quality than "Auf der Reise." Lang's op. 22 is not a perfect song; the opening of the vocal portion, a passage that is frequently

repeated, contains unpleasant parallel fifths between the vocal line and the bass. Even so, the reviewer's charge of pervasive dilettantism and weakness of invention is overly harsh; the song contains fine features, for example, effective hypermetric expansions at cadences and a telling use of mode mixture at the beginning of the middle section.

The negative review of op. 22 was a minor irritant in comparison to the emotional burdens associated with Köstlin's final illness. The last two years of his life comprised periods offering hope of recovery followed by disappointing relapses. The progress of his illness can be traced in Jäger's letters to Lang:

May God soon allow you to experience the joy of seeing dear Reinhold cured! Since he enjoys such a good appearance, we may surely hope that his voice will someday exist again (30 December 1854).

I wish with all my heart that the outcome of his cures may soon be a fortuitous one, and that this time it may have a more lasting effect! (10 September 1855).

May Heaven grant this improvement a good and permanent progression to full convalescence (12 January 1856).

To my deepest regret, [I heard] that these wet, cold, rainy months have again had an evil effect on the health of dear Reinhold (1 July 1856).

There is still no improvement in our precious Reinhold's condition (6 August 1856).<sup>129</sup>

Lang received her last birthday poem from Köstlin five months before his death. It is a heartbreaking text:

Traurig muß der Lump erscheinen.  
Ach, es ist nicht seine Schuld.  
Kennst Du doch sein bess'res Meinen,—  
Übe Nachsicht und Geduld!

Wretched must the scoundrel appear.  
Ah, it is not his fault.  
Since you know his better intentions,—  
Practice forbearance and patience!

An des Schicksals tück'scher Schleife  
Baumelt er in dumpfer Qual;  
Nach des Ungeheuers Pfeife  
Muß er tanzen ohne Wahl.

In stupefied agony he dangles  
From fate's malicious noose;  
He has no choice but to dance  
To the monster's pipe.

Andern blüht des Lebens Garten  
Immer duftig ohne Müh';  
Unser Loos [*sic*] ist stets das Warten,  
Nur das Warten spät und früh.

For others, the garden of life blooms  
Without effort, ever beautifully scented;  
Our lot is always to wait,  
Only to wait, from morning to night.



Warten wir denn noch ein Weilchen  
 Mit geduldigem Gemüth,  
 Ob vielleicht ein Märzenveilchen  
 Auch für uns noch einmal blüht!

So, with patient spirits,  
 Let us wait a little longer,  
 [To see] if perhaps a March violet  
 Might bloom for us once more!<sup>130</sup>

Their waiting was not rewarded with “March violets”; Reinhold Köstlin never did recover. According to a family friend, he suffered dreadfully toward the end.<sup>131</sup> On his deathbed, he dictated his last poem to Lang—a poem about his agony and his religious consolation.<sup>132</sup>

Köstlin died on 14 September 1856 at forty-three years of age, leaving Lang a widow with six children, ranging in age from seven to almost fourteen years. Despite the worries and the manifold illnesses—the children’s, Köstlin’s, and her own—Lang later wrote about the years of her marriage, “I shall never reproach God, even if He were to ask me to bear much more pain than I have already suffered, for I was happy—so happy that I sometimes felt it was an injustice.”<sup>133</sup>

One cannot begrudge Lang her happiness during the fourteen years of her marriage, but, as Köstlin wrote to Mendelssohn in 1842, this happiness contributed to a sharp reduction in her artistic productivity. Fewer than twenty songs can be ascribed with certainty to these fourteen years—a meager harvest compared to the approximately sixty-five songs that originated in the four-year period 1838–41. Given that Lang raised six children during her marriage, however, she deserves our admiration for not entirely abandoning her compositional career. Besides producing new songs, including very fine ones such as “Vögelein” (op. 14 no. 5), “1. Julÿ,” and “An einer Quelle” (op. 27 no. 2), she managed to continue to publish. Five song collections and two individual songs appeared in print during her marriage, and the majority of them received positive reviews. Lang also maintained her contact with musicians whom she had met before her marriage, notably Mendelssohn, Lachner, and Hauser. It is evident that she had no intention of entirely dropping out of the musical arena just because she was married. It was only during the last three years of her marriage, when she was overwhelmed by worries about her husband and her son Theobald, that her compositional career truly came to a halt.

## FIVE

### 1856 to 1867: The Difficult Years

#### Lang on Her Own

When, after Reinhold Köstlin's death, Josephine Lang found herself in the frightening position of a single parent with six dependent children, she was fortunate to have relatives who stood by her. Her half-sister, Meta Lang, who had come from Munich just before Köstlin's death to help in the household, stayed with her for a while after his death.<sup>1</sup> Marie Jäger offered her religious consolation and moral support through her letters, expressing her belief that Lang would in time regain her courage and her strength and that much joy through her children was still in store for her. Jäger also assisted Lang in more tangible ways by frequently sending money or clothing for the children.

In spite of this familial support, Lang's situation was difficult. Reinhold Köstlin died intestate, which is surprising when one considers that he had been ill for over three years. As was customary under these circumstances, the town of Tübingen launched a formidable legal apparatus immediately after his death. Josephine Lang was disturbed in her mourning by a crew of civil servants who took a detailed inventory of all of Köstlin's possessions, including every article of clothing, every painting on the wall, and every fork, spoon, and pot in the kitchen. Armed with this voluminous list, the authorities calculated Köstlin's net worth. To the assessed value of every household item was added the value of the house, the outbuildings, and the garden. The minimal debts that had been left unpaid were subtracted from that sum.<sup>2</sup> At a hearing on 16 October 1856, the total assets were assigned in equal parts to the widow and the six children.

The authorities, perhaps under the impression that a woman should not be trusted with financial matters, did not turn over any money to Lang. Instead, they appointed a guardian (*Pfleger*) who was in charge of administering the available funds. This guardian was the spouse of one of Reinhold Köstlin's cousins, and one of Köstlin's colleagues at the University—Dr. Karl Heinrich Ludwig Hoff-

mann, professor of political science. He is not mentioned by name in any biography of Lang,<sup>3</sup> and Lang never expressed her gratitude toward him by dedicating a composition to him. Since she usually did so for those who did her a kindness, it would appear that some tension existed between her and Hoffmann. Further evidence of this tension is the fact that Hoffmann later attempted to escape the obligation that had been imposed on him and consented to continue only after a number of family members pleaded with him.<sup>4</sup>

The writer Ottilie Wildermuth, one of Lang's acquaintances in Tübingen, described her situation at this time as follows:

The death of Reinhold Köstlin. . . . is a heavy misfortune for the family: six under-aged children, all talented and lovable, to be sure, but all sickly[;] a woman of sensitive spirit and noble character, but who with the best will in world is impractical through and through and defenseless against fate[;] no assets save for an unnecessary house. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Although the house and property were worth a considerable amount, Lang did not sell the house. Apart from her strong emotional ties to the "villa" that her husband had built for her, it would have been challenging to find alternate accommodation for her large family. Finding a buyer for the house might also have been difficult. In the 1850s, the "Villa Köstlin" was still outside the city limits and the road leading from it to Tübingen was in extremely poor condition—so poor that "one reproached oneself for asking the children to use it to go to school."<sup>6</sup>

Given that Lang's brother, half-sister, and stepmother all lived in Munich, it would have been reasonable for Lang to have seriously considered moving back to Bavaria. There were, however, a number of obstacles to such an undertaking, including the fact that Lang's children were Protestant whereas she (and most of Bavaria) was Catholic. As well, she would have had to forfeit her pension had she left Württemberg.<sup>7</sup>

The university had assigned to Lang a "legally designated pension of 200 *Gulden* for herself and 40 *Gulden* for each of her children."<sup>8</sup> To put this amount into perspective, one has only to consider that Köstlin's salary had been at least 1,200 *Gulden* during the final years of his employment.<sup>9</sup> It is unclear whether Hoffmann (the *Pfleger*) administered only the pension or whether he had access to other funds. It appears that he was sometimes obliged to use his own money on Lang's behalf.<sup>10</sup> In any case, it was necessary for Lang to seek additional sources of income to support her family.

Köstlin had left a number of unfinished legal writings, which Lang now endeavored to have published. Following advice that her husband had given her on

his deathbed,<sup>11</sup> Lang turned to the Munich lawyer Friedrich Walther for assistance in this matter. Walther was a logical choice; his correspondence with Köstlin reveals his knowledge and appreciation of Köstlin's legal writings and his literary output.<sup>12</sup> Lang sent every document that looked "legal" to Walther, who very carefully worked through the stack of manuscripts. His answer was discouraging. Many papers were little more than lecture notes, some were "worthless" because they were outdated or contained material that Köstlin had already published, and others required a great deal of additional work by someone familiar with Württemberg law (which Walther was not). The negotiations continued from 17 September 1856 (only four days after Köstlin's death) up until 14 April 1857, when Walther unequivocally refused the assignment.<sup>13</sup> The tenacity with which Lang pursued this potential source of revenue attests to her desperation. She eventually succeeded in finding someone else to edit her husband's legal treatises, and two of them were finally printed in 1858 and 1859.<sup>14</sup> At some point Lang also seems to have rented out rooms in her house. In a letter to Hiller in 1860, she referred to "different [i.e., new] tenants," which implies that there had been tenants earlier as well.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to these two after all quite "practical" measures, Lang turned to another potential source of income—her art. She began to work as a pedagogue, giving mainly voice, possibly also piano lessons. This activity, squeezed in among the many duties connected with her household and her children, put a severe strain on her health. Marie Jäger expressed concern about Lang's teaching and begged her to limit this occupation as much as possible.<sup>16</sup> Actually Lang's health left her no choice but to curtail her teaching. Although a "large pool" of students was available in Tübingen (she was the only voice teacher in town), her weak health and especially her "vulnerable speech- and singing-organs" did not permit her to teach for more than two or three hours per day. Often she had to cancel her lessons because of illness, thereby losing a considerable amount of income.<sup>17</sup>

Lang also attempted to become more active in composing and publishing than she had been during her marriage. She revised unpublished songs from the 1830s, composed some new songs, and began to look about for publishers. She wrote about her decision to increase her publication activity as follows:

My songs had their day as long as I was still singing them everywhere myself. . . . The long hiatus of fifteen years caused by my marriage and the ever-growing size of my family derailed the work that had begun so well. Ever more infrequently, I managed to publish my work, and finally renounced such successes entirely! . . . Only after the hardest fate that struck me—the bitter loss of my unforgettable husband—did this star of hope rise anew within me! And suddenly, it seemed to

me that I must consider it my duty to struggle once again for that which had been denied me—for now the support of my dear children was at stake and I felt that I owed it to them.<sup>18</sup>

As we have demonstrated in chapter 4, Lang's marriage did not actually cause a fifteen-year hiatus in her compositional activity. Nevertheless, her "derailment" metaphor aptly describes what had happened to her professional career toward the end of her marriage. Aside from the decline in her output in the 1850s (especially during her husband's final illness), Lang lost track of her opus numbers and her publications dwindled to single songs. Opp. 14 and 15 were still collections of six songs each. The next publication, which cannot be dated more precisely than "between 1852 and 1859," was op. 20. In 1855, op. 22 appeared. Both opp. 20 and 22 consisted of only a single song. She did not publish works under the opus numbers 16, 17, 18, 19 and 21.

Given this "derailment," some difficulties in the resumption of her career as a publishing composer were inevitable. In 1859, however, Lang did publish the *Drei Lieder* op. 23 and a piano piece entitled *Apollo-Marsch*. The latter appeared in a special issue of a Stuttgart newspaper on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of Schiller's birth.<sup>19</sup> Although it is musically uninteresting, this march testifies to the fact that Lang commanded some respect as a composer even after years of near-silence; she, and she alone, was selected to contribute a piece of music to a publication celebrating one of the greatest German poets. Additional success in publication, however, proved elusive. Having had no luck with her search for publishers for her songs, Lang was fortunately able to turn to two influential colleagues for assistance: Clara Schumann (who, coincidentally, had lost her husband in the same year as Lang) and Ferdinand Hiller.

### Josephine Lang and Clara Schumann

Only one letter from the correspondence of Lang and Clara Schumann has (as far as we know) been preserved.<sup>20</sup> H. A. Köstlin wrote that the two composers had been close friends since 1852,<sup>21</sup> and although there is no real evidence of this "close" friendship, this statement seems to have been accepted as fact by Lang's descendants. Lang's letter to Clara Schumann, however, gives the impression of being addressed to a valued colleague rather than to a close friend. It is apparent from the letter that at the time of writing (in 1859) the two women had never met in person, did not know each other well, and were not regular correspondents.

From this letter it is not possible to determine whether Lang first wrote to Clara Schumann, or whether the latter had heard of Lang's circumstances and ap-

proached her with an offer of assistance in finding publishers. Such an offer is in any case mentioned in the extant letter. Much of the letter is occupied by Lang's heartfelt expressions of gratitude. A small sample follows:

But how can I sufficiently express to you my joy, my emotion, my gratitude for the love and kindness that is demonstrated by your charitable offer? You, dear cherished woman, wish to exert yourself with such selfless love for my small talent—you, who have enough to worry about and to do in relation to your children? You wish to stand by me so lovingly, in order to resurrect the dead, to draw what is forgotten out of the dry rot [*Moder*], and to assist me in knocking at the door of a coldhearted publisher's soul?

The letter makes clear that Josephine Lang and Clara Schumann were familiar with and respected each other's musical activities. Lang's admiration for Clara Schumann is evident from the following remark: "My spirit has followed you for many years with the greatest interest and deep respect." Lang alludes in reverent terms to Clara Schumann's international stature and expresses her belief that the assistance of one so renowned would be able to achieve much on her behalf: "I trust and hope that a kind word from you, one single word from the lips of an artist so exalted throughout the world, will be able to effect everything with a publisher! Your judgment will certainly influence him where he otherwise would have hesitated!"

Her admiration for Clara Schumann the composer is implied by the postscript to her letter. The postscript begins with praise for Robert Schumann's *Myrthen*, op. 25:

How divine are the beautiful songs that your late husband wrote for his bride! How dear the "Nußbaum"!!! and especially the first song ["Widmung"]! Oh how beautiful! How great and noble is each bar! What an enchanting power lies in its expression! I trembled as with a fever when I first read through this song!

Lang concluded, "Who nowadays still writes such songs? I know of nobody! If you do not do it?" The final question suggests that Lang knew at least some of Clara Schumann's songs and that she considered her a worthy successor to her husband as a song composer. Given her enthusiastic praise of Robert Schumann's songs, her opinion of Clara Schumann's works must have been very favorable.

Clara Schumann's respect for Josephine Lang, in turn, is demonstrated by her willingness to contact publishers on Lang's behalf. Her admiration and concern for Lang is corroborated by other documents. In a letter to Johannes Brahms from 1859, Clara Schumann wrote, "From [or about] Josephine Lang, I have

heard something that greatly distresses me: she is writing lovely new songs, but cannot find a publisher for them; that is dreadful! I shall write to her and shall see if I can move Rieter to take them.”<sup>22</sup> In 1867, Clara Schumann approached Ferdinand Hiller with the suggestion that a benefit concert be arranged for her colleague (*Kollegin*). In her letter, she alluded to Lang’s financial hardship and to the joy that it would give her to assist Lang.<sup>23</sup>

There is no documentation of the success of Clara Schumann’s negotiations with publishers on Lang’s behalf, but it is likely that the two publications appearing in 1860 (the song collections opp. 25 and 26, published in Leipzig with Friedrich Kistner) were their result. Significantly, Lang dedicated the latter opus to Clara Schumann.

### Lang’s Correspondence with Hiller

There is much more documentation of the assistance that Ferdinand Hiller offered Lang. Twenty-two letters from Lang to Hiller, from the period 1859 to 1874, are preserved in the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln. Hiller’s part of the correspondence has apparently not survived (or it is in private hands).<sup>24</sup>

When Lang wrote to Hiller in 1859, she had not seen him since 1832 and had received only one letter from him (in 1843). One might say that they barely knew each other—but the tone of Lang’s letter of 1859 (and of subsequent letters) demonstrates that she had immense respect and affection for Hiller. She began her first letter with the salutation, “Most highly honored friend!” and enclosed a bundle of six Köstlin settings,<sup>25</sup> expressing the hope that Hiller would be able to help her “soften the hard heart of a publisher.” She was particularly interested in finding a publisher outside of Württemberg, so that her songs would find wider exposure. She mentioned that Clara Schumann was also assisting her in finding a publisher, but expressed her “firm conviction” that “only an authority like [Hiller] . . . would be capable of influencing a publisher’s soul with some favorable word!”<sup>26</sup> We have seen that Lang was aware of Clara Schumann’s stature and thought highly of her. She seems nevertheless to have felt that a prominent male “authority” could achieve more than even the most illustrious of female musicians; whereas she only “trust[ed] and hope[d]” that the reputation of Clara Schumann would carry weight with publishers, she had the “firm conviction” that Hiller’s would do so.

Hiller immediately answered Lang’s letter. Her next letter to him indicates that he had remembered her and her music well and that he was most happy to assist her in any way that he could.<sup>27</sup> It is unfortunate that Hiller’s letters to Lang are

not available—but her side of the correspondence reveals a great deal about her daily life during the late 1850s and the 1860s, her various musical activities, and her evaluation of herself and other musicians. It will be worthwhile to linger over this correspondence.

It is apparent that Lang's opinion of her own talent and her music was not high; she often referred to herself in disparaging terms, described her talent as "small" (as opposed to the "greatness" of Hiller's) and her songs as "rampant weeds." Even if she occasionally took pleasure in her own work, she always felt humbled when she compared it to the "great" works of earlier composers:

I cannot resist the infinite urge to keep on striving in this life! For songs grow out of me, I cannot say how! And when they have arrived, they annoy me—or I become fond of them as of my children! And the latter carry them around in head and heart and take care of the dangerous brood as if it were a vast treasure! But life and reality soon draw the veil aside and reveal to me my miserable nothingness! Then I reject it all [i.e., her works] again, and take joy in, and thank God for the exalted gift of recognizing and enjoying the best that art has to offer in the great and noble works of others. That alone is more valuable than anything in my world! Don't you agree, even if we are less [than happy] in our external existence, we are in our innermost beings the happiest people on earth—all of us toward whom a particle of this divine spark has flown!!<sup>28</sup>

Lang worried that her works were outmoded but nevertheless had no desire to emulate the contemporary music of which she was aware. Mere newness was not one of her compositional priorities.<sup>29</sup> She valued the music of the "good old days" (by which she meant that of the Baroque through the early Romantic periods). About this music, she wrote, "There is too much valuable [music] from the old, good, best time, and only in these sanctified primeval wellsprings can the genuinely artistic soul find strength and sustenance and can never forget them."<sup>30</sup> About contemporary music, on the other hand, she wrote (in the same letter), "If one could only 'graft' the disciples of art as one does with noble fruit trees, then the situation in our musical world would surely be better! But everywhere there is degeneration, a proliferation of weeds, and finally everything begins to sicken or turn into a caricature!" Although she used the "weed" metaphor both for her own works and those of her contemporaries, she definitely did not mean to equate the two; the intent of the passage quoted above is to separate her own work from the recent music of her time.

An anecdote about her son Theobald that she related to Hiller provides further insight into her attitudes toward a variety of music.<sup>31</sup> As he lay on his sickbed, Theobald was able to look out onto the Botanical Gardens, which were very close



to the Köstlin home. He amused himself by naming the many trees in the Gardens after composers, including Tartini, Corelli, Bach, Handel, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Hiller. Theobald attempted to match his feelings about the composers (which were undoubtedly influenced by his mother's) to the various trees. Thus, Mendelssohn was "the most graceful tree—an aspen—high, slender, transparent! fairylike!" Wagner, however, was "a crippled little old [fir] tree that could not flourish because of the surrounding ones!"<sup>32</sup> Significantly, Josephine Lang did not allow Theobald to name a tree after her; she felt that she did not belong among the trees, but among the flowers or thickets, daisies or nettles.

In her letters to Hiller, Lang complained frequently of the difficulty of fulfilling her strong urge to become acquainted with more music. She wrote, for instance, "For the sake of [music] alone, I should like to live 50 years longer, and not depart from this world until I have become thoroughly acquainted with the music of all the masters."<sup>33</sup> Since there was no music store in town, however, it was difficult for her to acquire scores. Hiller kindly sent her some scores of his own works, which she studied carefully. She asked him for a list of his published vocal and keyboard works so that she could order them.<sup>34</sup> Becoming acquainted with music through concerts was equally difficult in Tübingen. Lang's letters occasionally mention the Tübingen Oratorio Society. For example, she expressed the hope that Hiller's latest choral work, a *Passion*, would be performed in Tübingen "as soon as it appeared in print"<sup>35</sup> and wrote about an upcoming performance of his oratorio *Christnacht*. Lang was well aware, however, that these performances would not be of the highest caliber, for the Oratorio Society consisted "entirely of dilettantes."<sup>36</sup>

Chamber music and solo performances of high quality were rare as well; not many artists passed through Tübingen. In one letter, Lang mentioned a concert with the pianist Dionys Pruckner (a pupil and friend of Liszt, who in 1867–71 was the conductor of the Orchesterverein in nearby Stuttgart)<sup>37</sup> and a cellist whom she called "Goltmann." She probably meant Julius Goltermann, who was first cellist in the Stuttgart Orchestra from 1862 to 1870.<sup>38</sup> Her detailed remarks about this concert are illuminating in a variety of ways:

They played the great B♭-major Sonata [op. 45] by Mendelssohn. Well! That was a nourishing, delicious morsel for me! I luxuriated—I was transported by the magical music of this composition, as well as by the performance of the virtuosos, who played it with truly consummate perfection. It was especially the spiritual conception that they captured, and when this happens, one is simply blissful! . . . I felt as if in this hour [Mendelssohn's] spirit had reawakened and come to life in our

midst! . . . I heard him speak . . . I believe there was nobody in the entire hall who listened with such warmth and genuine interest to this composition [as I]! I also believe that nobody comprehended it, understood it, entered into it and absorbed it as I did! I could have sobbed aloud for joy and melancholy, and had much trouble concealing my tears of deepest emotion from the people who could not understand them!—I stayed behind in the hall for a long time with the artists. Before the concert, too, both men visited me (as late as 6 o'clock), and claimed that they would play better if they knew that I would be there, etc. There is something special about associating with artists! I was a completely different person during those days! I must truly agree with Carl Müller when he says that only artists are genuine human beings! I am never more comfortable than in their company! And to me, of all people, has been decreed the fate of being deprived of this necessary requirement [*sic*] for 26 years!—that is, for eleven years! For as long as my late husband was alive, I did not lack it! With him I was always able to talk about art; he had such a deep understanding of everything, and always the most correct judgment! God! What would I give, most honored friend, to hear you once more in this life! Playing like yours, to be sure, I have not heard since that time [when I last heard you]. Pianists rain from the skies everywhere—but not everyone has the gift, as you do, of a special spirit streaming from every finger and breathing into the composition a new, warm life that leads us to the correct mode of perception [*Anschauung*]! But I am a bad critic, and am not capable of putting into words what I feel! But so much is certain: that although I have encountered colossal virtuosos in my life, nobody's playing has pleased me as much as yours, Mendelssohn's, Ljvzt's [*sic*]—and—between you and me: free fantasies by Stephen Heller, which wondrously moved me during the time when he was still in Augsburg. Even our Cramer (“father” of the most technically solid [*gediegensten*] playing) was only able to elicit admiration from me—but did not transport me into a state of the highest rapture! Probably only you can understand this remark.<sup>39</sup>

Although Lang referred to herself as a “bad critic” and disparaged her ability to put her thoughts into words, this passage is an eloquent expression of very definite opinions about what constitutes fine piano playing. Technical accomplishment was not enough for her; she sought playing that was inspired by true emotion and by a genuine understanding of the work, and that led the listener to a similar understanding. She had heard performing of the kind that she preferred in her youth, but very little of it since her marriage. The impact that a fine performance had upon her is evident from the extensive underlining and from the length of her account. This particular performance affected her particularly strongly because it involved a work by Mendelssohn; the quoted passage attests to his overpowering and lasting effect on her.

Both of the performers whom Lang mentioned here came from Stuttgart. The question arises why Lang could not have traveled to Stuttgart to hear them and

other musicians from that city, as well as the prominent artists who came from all over Germany to play recitals there. The following passage from a letter to Hiller offers some explanations:

Hans v. Bulow [*sic*] was recently in Stuttgart! I would have been very interested to hear him if I had not been prevented by my health to undertake the journey! Since my husband's death, since being in Stuttgart with him, I have not been able to summon the resolution to visit this city, where so many dear relatives and friends live! Despite the fact that in only a few hours one can get there so easily!

But so that you, greatly honored friend, realize what a monster and "female Falstaff" the formerly so frail- and fragile-looking "Josephine Lang" has become, in spite of all the blows of fate and the events that have struck her, I take the liberty of sending you . . . her portrait from the present, in the hope that you will not let it startle you too much!<sup>40</sup>

Lang's avoidance of travel to a city where she could have heard many concerts is explained in part by her poor health. Traveling even a short distance was not as easy then as it is now and Lang, never in good health, did not feel up to it. The only trips that can be documented after 1856 are a few very short ones to various resorts near Tübingen where she "took the cure." A further obstacle to travel to Stuttgart specifically was the strong association that this city had with her husband; she found it too painful to go there. Finally, Lang mentions her largeness (here and in many other passages in her later letters), which also made travel uncomfortable for her.

Lang's letters to Hiller provide some information about her own music-making and teaching. She took great pleasure in playing piano. In 1866, she wrote to Hiller, "Just now I revel in and find joy in Handel's Fourth Clavier-Concerto!!! . . . When I sit at my piano, with my nearly gray head, I feel as young as a fifteen-year-old!"<sup>41</sup> She also enjoyed making music with her children: "I am fortunate already to be able to play the cherished Trio for violin, viola and piano by Mozart with my little sons."<sup>42</sup>

Most of Lang's students were young women of Tübingen's bourgeoisie. She also, however, had the honor of being selected as the voice teacher of the young princes of Württemberg. In 1866, she wrote:

During the winter of last year I was able to work as a musician and conductor at the gatherings of high society!<sup>43</sup> That is, only in private circles! I had the good fortune to be able to give the two Württembergian princes Wilhelm and Herzog Eugen (who were attending the university here[]) voice lessons, and was therefore called to new musical responsibilities on grand occasions and celebrations of all

kinds. After many years [of not doing so], I, with my “bourgeois” heart, felt very strange to be suddenly moving in the most exalted circles and to be associating constantly with royal majesty, both in public rehearsals and in my home!<sup>44</sup>

The letters to Hiller contain many references to Lang’s health problems. Almost every letter mentions illness, some of it very serious. In one letter she wrote that she had a lengthy cold during which she was deaf for ten days—a devastating situation for a musician.<sup>45</sup> In another, she referred to a dreadful cough that kept her in bed for four weeks and to an eight-week nervous ailment that led to temporary blindness and esophageal cramps.<sup>46</sup> Because Lang’s bouts of illness prevented her from teaching, they brought with them financial losses and worries about the survival of her family.

### Compositional Activity in the Late 1850s

The preceding discussion of the Lang–Hiller correspondence occasionally reached forward into the 1860s. We now return to the period in which Lang initiated her correspondence with Hiller—the late 1850s—in order to investigate some of her compositions from this period. As was mentioned, these fall into two categories: revisions of songs composed prior to her marriage and new works. An example of a new song written in 1859 is “Wiegenlied” (Lullaby), op. 26 no. 1.<sup>47</sup> The harmony is for the most part of a childlike simplicity, consisting mainly of tonic and dominant. The vocal line is pitched quite low, as would be appropriate for a mother soothing her child. Much of the piano part lies in a low register as well. The high register, however, is used effectively during the refrain “summ, summ” (e.g., in mm. 28–29), and hypnotic repeated B♭5’s and harped chords in the same high register frequently counterpoint the low vocal melody (e.g., in mm. 20–24). All in all, this song is exactly what a lullaby should be. The first edition, however, contains one oddly disruptive moment; while the voice sustains the word “Ruh” (quiet or peace) on E♭5 within its last phrase, the piano has a *crescendo* to *fortissimo*—an unusual gesture for the end of a lullaby. The autograph does not include these strange dynamics,<sup>48</sup> but it is possible that Lang added them at a late stage of the compositional process; it seems unlikely that an editor would add such striking markings without the composer’s authority. The gesture gives the impression of an upwelling of rebellion against maternal duties.

Two revisions of songs from the 1830s are of particular interest. In the late 1850s, Lang returned to a song on which she had worked at the age of eighteen—a setting of Ludwig Uhland’s famous text “Frühlingsglaube” (also set by Schu-

bert, among others). She revised it extensively, then published it in 1860 as op. 25 no. 1.<sup>49</sup> There exist two quite similar autographs from the early 1830s. The undated autograph that is likely the first version is incomplete.<sup>50</sup> Revisions made in this autograph are absorbed into another version that is dated 22 August 1833;<sup>51</sup> we can therefore assume that the undated autograph is just slightly earlier. The first two phrases of the vocal melody of these early versions correspond to those of the published version—but thereafter, the early versions differ from it both melodically and harmonically. The harmonies in the early versions give an impression of indecisive meandering. The modulatory plan seems to have caused Lang some trouble, for in the first version she notated alternate modulatory goals above the staves.

When Lang returned to this song on 10 November 1858,<sup>52</sup> she simplified the harmonic progression, giving it a tighter organization around the tonic–dominant axis and a clearer sense of direction. The progression moves toward an extended prolongation of V7 (mm. 39–54), which resolves to the tonic at the line “Now everything must change.” The revised harmonic progression, besides being tighter and more economical, has a clearer relation to the text; the prolonged dominant seventh suggests the long wait for change, and its resolution aptly symbolizes the anticipated turn for the better.

The piano introduction was another focus of Lang’s compositional work. The introduction of the first version from the 1830s is harmonically quite adventurous; it begins on V of vi, which remains unresolved but is twice led toward V of the home key (ex. 5.1a). In the second version, Lang dispensed with an introduction. When she revised the song in the 1850s, she decided that the song did require an introduction. She did not, however, return to the introductory idea from the 1830s. In the autograph dated 10 November 1858, she wrote a new introduction that prolongs dominant harmony, then resolves it to the tonic (ex. 5.1b). This new introduction foreshadows the vocal portion, in which a prolonged V7 chord also plays an important role. In the latest extant autograph version of the song,<sup>53</sup> Lang retained this introductory idea but left the dominant seventh unresolved at the end of the introduction; resolution occurs as the voice enters. An even more significant change in this autograph is the elongation of the introduction’s final dominant seventh from two beats (ex. 5.1b, m. 4) to an astonishing 44 beats (22 two-four bars—Lang changed the meter from four-four to two-four in this version). By drastically expanding the “expectant” dominant seventh in the introduction, Lang created a link to the prolonged V7 within the vocal portion and also clearly anticipated the central idea of the poem—the expectation of change.

EXAMPLE 5.1a “Frühlingsglaube,” op. 25 no. 1 (introduction of early unpublished version; Mus. fol. 54a, 56r, WLB)



EXAMPLE 5.1b “Frühlingsglaube,” op. 25 no. 1 (introduction of later unpublished version; Mus. fol. 53y, 7r, WLB)



The tempo and expression markings of the various versions reveal a basic shift in Lang's response to the poem. The earliest version has no marking, but the very similar version from August 1833 is marked “Allegretto [*sic*].” In the versions from the 1850s, Lang increased the tempo and changed the mood; the two later autographs are marked “Etwas bewegt” (rather quick) and “Frisch und feuerich [*sic*]” (quick and fiery), respectively. The first edition retains the adjective “fiery,” the full marking being “Lebhaft und feurig” (lively and fiery). Lang's first conception of the poem was apparently quite similar to that of Schubert's famous setting; it focused on the gentle aspects of spring—the rustlings and ripples of verdure and stream. But in the 1850s other ideas in the poem, namely the promise of rebirth and renewal, captured her imagination. This change of focus accounts for the overall increase in energy and for the highlighting of prolonged

dominant harmonies and their resolutions. The resolution to the tonic in m. 55 is a triumphant fulfillment of expectation—a passionate affirmation of hope and confidence in the future. Surely this song gives us some insight into Lang’s state of mind at this time. Having spent a few years mourning her husband’s death, she was ready to tackle life and creative activity with renewed vigor, in the conviction that “now everything had to change for the better.”<sup>54</sup>

Another fine example of revision of an earlier song is “Du denkst an mich so selten,” published in 1860 as op. 26 no. 3 (ex. 5.2 and track 9).<sup>55</sup> Josephine Lang began to work on a setting of Platen’s text in 1838. Her first attempt appears in the autograph booklet that contains the “Eichthal cycle”; as was mentioned in chapter 2, this version of the song likely grew out of the events surrounding the end of her relationship with Wilhelm von Eichthal. The later revisions took place in two undated manuscripts. The first of these is a neat copy of the 1838 version (not in Lang’s hand), with a large number of superimposed autograph revisions in ink.<sup>56</sup> A later version,<sup>57</sup> entirely in Lang’s hand, incorporates the revisions in the earlier autograph and includes additional revisions in pencil. Although these two manuscripts are undated, it is likely that they originated shortly before the publication of the song in 1860.

The text is as follows:

Du denkst an mich so selten,  
Ich denk’ an dich so viel.  
Getrennt in beiden Welten  
Ist unser beider Ziel!

You think of me so rarely.  
I think of you so much.  
Separated in both worlds  
Are our respective goals!

Ich möchte beide Welten  
Durchzieh’n an deiner Hand,  
Bald schlummern unter Zelten,  
Bald gehn von Land zu Land!

I would like to pass through both worlds  
Hand in hand with you,  
Sometimes slumbering under tents,  
Sometimes wandering from land to land!

Und willst du mir vergelten  
Durch Liebe dies Gedicht,  
So fließt um beide Welten  
Ein rosenfarb’nes Licht.

And if you wish to reward me  
For this poem with love,  
Then around both worlds  
Shall flow a rose-colored light.

The poem is based in large part on the opposition “separated/together.” The lyric *I* and the person she or he addresses are separated in spirit (as the third and fourth lines of the first stanza indicate) and are probably also physically distant from each other. The *desire* for proximity expressed in the second stanza suggests that the actual situation is one of separation. The desire for togetherness is ex-

pressed in the third stanza as well; the lyric *I* states that if his or her love were returned, the aforementioned separate worlds would be joined together as if by an enveloping rose-colored light.<sup>58</sup>

Lang addresses these poetic ideas by means of tonal structure. The home tonic of F major is clearly established in the introduction, which is based almost entirely on a tonic pedal. At an unusually early point, however, the song modulates to A minor (at mm. 11–13) and remains in that key until m. 21. A surprising modulation to E minor follows at m. 22; that key remains in effect until m. 33. During the subsequent prolongation of C major (mm. 35–50), the material of the opening returns; mm. 41–45 allude to the piano introduction and a restatement of the vocal opening begins at m. 45. At m. 52, a potential return of A minor (corresponding to the modulation at mm. 11–13) is evaded; the music remains solidly in F major until the end.

The first 33 bars of the song lay out two unresolved tonic–dominant progressions—one in F major (mm. 1–10), the other in A minor (mm. 13–33). These progressions are not clearly integrated into a tonally unified whole. One could, to be sure, regard the song as being based on a traditional I–iii–V–I plan (a plan that would suggest “oneness”). In this interpretation of the harmonic progression, one would subsume E minor under A minor, and A minor under the overall tonic of F major. But E minor does not sound as if it is merely an offshoot of A minor; it gives the impression of being a significant harmonic goal. Nor does F major sound as much like a controlling tonic at the beginning of the piece as is usual for Lang’s opening tonics; the departure from F occurs too soon. A dualistic tonal plan that resists subsumption under one tonic while not absolutely excluding it is an interesting way to suggest the poetic dualism “separation/togetherness.”

It is noteworthy that the unified F-major-controlled interpretation is more easily defensible in the revised version; in the early version, Lang places considerably less weight on the F major component of the tonal dualism. One factor that influences the relative importance of the two components is the interlude that precedes the return of the opening section. In both versions, this interlude prolongs the dominant of F. In the early version, however, the interlude is only two bars long (it is identical to the first two bars of the vocal portion). In the final version, the prolongation of V is expanded to five measures (mm. 41–45), so that this harmony becomes more perceptible as a significant goal.

The piano introduction also affects the weight of the two tonal components. In the 1838 version of the song, there is no introduction and hence no initial prolongation of tonic harmony. The departure from the F-major tonic therefore occurs even sooner; modulation to A minor takes place after only seven bars. The



EXAMPLE 5.2a “Du denkst an mich so selten,” op. 26 no. 3 (conclusion of early version; Mus. fol. 53r, 15, WLB)

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment for the first two measures of the phrase. The second system continues the phrase, with the piano part marked *pp* and *p*. The third system shows the final measure of the phrase, marked *f*. The lyrics are: "dann fließt um bei - de Wel - ten ein ro - sen - farb - nes Licht, dann fließt um bei - de Wel - ten ein ro - sen - farb - nes Licht!".

home key is thus significantly weaker than in the final version and the other member of the tonal pairing, A minor, correspondingly stronger. It is hard to hear F major as a controlling, unifying tonic under these circumstances; the tonal plan tends to splinter rather than cohere.<sup>59</sup>

It appears that Lang wished to underscore ideas of togetherness and unity in the later version. She did so not only by increasing the emphasis on F major but also by increasing the emphasis on poetic lines that allude to union. Such emphasis is already apparent in the early version. Lang rushes through the initial allusion to separation (“separated in both worlds”), but indulges in a large amount

EXAMPLE 5.2b “Du denkst an mich so selten,” op. 26 no. 3 (conclusion of the published song)

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor), and the time signature is 2/4.

**System 1 (Measures 54-57):** The vocal line begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The lyrics are "und willst du mir ver - gel - ten durch Liebe dies Ge - dicht, dann". The piano accompaniment features a strong, rhythmic pattern with a crescendo (*cresc.*) leading to a forte (*f*) dynamic.

**System 2 (Measures 58-61):** The vocal line continues with the lyrics "fließt um bei - de Wel - ten ein ro - sen - farb - nes Licht,". The tempo marking *riten.* (ritardando) is present. The piano accompaniment includes a *f* dynamic, a *p* (piano) dynamic, and a *legato e* (legato e staccato) marking.

**System 3 (Measures 62-65):** The vocal line continues with the lyrics "ein ro - sen - farb - nes". The tempo marking *riten.* is present. The piano accompaniment includes a *p* (piano) dynamic and a *cresc.* (crescendo) marking.

**System 4 (Measures 66-69):** The vocal line concludes with the word "Licht.". The piano accompaniment features a *f* (forte) dynamic, a *decresc.* (decrescendo) marking, and a *pp* (pianissimo) dynamic.

of text repetition within the second stanza and within the final couplet of the poem (ex. 5.2a), both of which are about togetherness. Lang's highlighting of the final lines becomes even more pronounced in the later versions. The aforementioned pencil revisions in the late ink autograph greatly enhance this highlighting. The final cadence of the vocal portion originally took place in what is now m. 61—but Lang then added (in pencil) the expansion of this cadence that occupies mm. 61–67 in the published version (ex. 5.2b). The text for this added music is a repetition of the final line, which refers to the rose-colored light that flows around the formerly separated worlds. Particularly striking is the emphasis on the word “Licht” by a four-bar sustention.

The poem contains an opposition other than “separation/togetherness,” namely “mobility/immobility.” It is most clearly apparent in the second stanza, in which ideas of rest (“slumbering under tents”) and motion (“wandering from land to land”) are juxtaposed. If Lang was thinking of Eichthal (by this time in America) as she wrote her first version in 1838, this opposition would have been meaningful to her; Eichthal was roaming through the New World while she remained in Europe, without any possibility of traveling. Her music continues to make much of this opposition in the later versions. The introduction exploits it in various ways. Whereas the tonic pedal suggests immobility, the reiterated upper neighboring tone that embellishes the pedal implies a sustained effort to escape from that state of immobility. The melodic line of the introduction is quite mobile, traversing by leaps and bounds the space from F5 to A3; the association of this melody with the essentially stationary bass again suggests the opposition “mobility/immobility.” The active opening of the vocal line, placed against a dominant pedal in the bass, has the same effect. The ending of the vocal line conveys the opposition between motion and the lack thereof by juxtaposing active passages with a long sustained note (ex. 5.2b).

Lang's compositions from the late 1850s—both her fine new songs and her adroit revisions of earlier works—offer ample testimony of the renewal of her creative faculties after her inactivity during the harrowing years of Köstlin's final illness.

### Events of the Early 1860s

During the summer of 1860, Lang, already overwhelmed with familial and musical work, was confronted with another task. Ferdinand Hiller, willing to assist Lang in any way that he could, offered to write a biographical essay about her, to be published within his column entitled “Musical Letters” in the *Kölner Zeitung*.

Since he did not have firsthand knowledge of Lang's life, he asked her to send him detailed biographical notes. She was, of course, happy to undertake this daunting assignment, for she was well aware that Hiller's essay would advance her career. Seven years were to elapse, however, before she was able to send Hiller the required information.

The summer of 1860 was one of the most difficult of her life. During 1859, her eldest son, Felix, had developed a health problem, euphemistically designated in family letters as a *Kopfleiden*. This word can refer to anything from headaches to mental illness, but in Felix's case the latter is closer to the truth. It appears from his patient file<sup>60</sup> that the combination of stresses associated with the onset of puberty, with his father's death, and with his schooling brought on severe and lasting headaches combined with severe depression. As a result of his illness Felix had to discontinue his studies in theology at the Evangelical Seminary. In July 1860, he was, on the recommendation of several doctors (including his uncle, Wilhelm Köstlin), admitted to the asylum Winnenthal, in a small town in the Stuttgart area. The decision to consign her eldest son to the asylum—the son who was named after Felix Mendelssohn and whom she had expected to follow in his godfather's footsteps—was one of the most difficult that Lang ever had to reach. She wrote to Hiller during the year after this event:

You will understand what kind of a state I was in by the side of this poor child last summer, and what I had to go through before I came to the conviction—admitted to myself that the necessity [of committing Felix to an institution] was at hand[.] Until the deed was done—I remained upright—but then I broke down, became very ill and miserable in the fall, and have since then been affected by a painful nervous ailment.<sup>61</sup>

Lang was faced with a financial as well as an emotional burden through Felix's hospitalization. The *Pfleger* was responsible for meeting these medical expenses from the funds that were in his trust. Felix's care was, however, very costly and it was worrisome for Lang to watch the money that should have lasted for years dwindle so rapidly. Continued assistance came to her from Marie Jäger, who sent monetary and other gifts at regular intervals. Jäger also encouraged Lang to take a much-needed rest cure at Niedernau, a small town in the Black Forest, and promised to write to Mathilde Hoffmann (the *Pfleger's* wife) about funding this vacation.<sup>62</sup> Lang did go to Niedernau for just over two weeks in September 1861. In a letter to Hiller from that town, Lang wrote that the rest cure was doing her no good; she was unable to relax, and suffered from headaches.<sup>63</sup>

Felix, meanwhile, had a difficult time as well. For a nineteenth-century asylum, Winnenthal was comfortable and progressive. It was situated in surroundings so

beautiful that it was said that some patients were healed merely by looking out of the window.<sup>64</sup> The director, Albert Zeller, had a reputation for kindness and wisdom in dealing with difficult cases. In her account of the poet Lenau's sojourn at the same asylum, Emma Niendorf referred to Zeller's "simple clarity," to his manner "expressive of calm," and to "[his] powers of observation and [his] gentle, yet firm authority."<sup>65</sup> He treated his patients with respect and sympathy, was completely honest with them about their condition, and gave them every possible freedom to pursue their interests.<sup>66</sup> Felix, at least initially, put himself trustingly into Zeller's hands.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, the move to Winnenthal was traumatic for him. He was eighteen years old and had hoped soon to be able to take his father's place in supporting the family. Instead he found himself unable to do the slightest bit of work. He was completely exhausted and had to refrain from any sort of mental exercise.

When Hiller learned in 1861 of Lang's and her son's situation, he became all the more eager to assist her. Since he did not have sufficient material to write the planned biographical essay, he found a different—and ingenious—way of drawing attention to Lang. In September 1861, he wrote a "Musical Letter" about a recently published edition of Felix Mendelssohn's letters.<sup>68</sup> In this essay he cited the long and enthusiastic commentary on Lang that Mendelssohn had written in 1831 (see chapter 1)—a quotation more than three times as long as any other quoted excerpt in the essay. After this citation, he wrote:

I honor the discretion . . . of omitting names—but I cannot resist being indiscreet, and informing those who do not know it that the person of whom Mendelssohn speaks with such sympathy (who, considering what an interesting person she is, is much too little-known) was called Josephine Lang. Quite a number but still not enough of her heartfelt [*innig*] songs have been published since [Mendelssohn wrote these words about her]. It is well established that fate plays capricious games with the products of the intellect, as it does with people. Glorious flowers bloom in hidden places and are no less beautiful and have no less lovely a scent for all that they wilt unseen. But the flowers of the intellect do not wilt so quickly—and thus one may hope that the songs of Josephine Lang, too, will find the dissemination and approbation that they so richly deserve.

Thus, Hiller devoted a substantial portion of his "Musical Letter" about Mendelssohn to Josephine Lang. Her talent was thereby acknowledged and her songs publicly praised by two of the most prominent musicians of the century.<sup>69</sup>

When Hiller sent Lang a copy of this essay, she was "wondrously moved" by Mendelssohn's words. She deeply appreciated Hiller's generous action as well; she wrote, "Whom have I now to thank that what has hitherto lain buried in dark-

ness has so abruptly been moved into the light of the world? It is only you, dear, honored friend! . . . because you have so lovingly drawn attention to the actual identity of that little person." Lang hoped, as Hiller likely did as well, that the "*Kölner Zeitung* [would] make some impression on the hard publisher's heart!"<sup>70</sup> This hope actually came to fruition; in the years following the publication of the Mendelssohn essay, a number of Lang's songs and piano pieces appeared with a variety of publishers.<sup>71</sup>

Lang's publishing activity did not always proceed smoothly. A contretemps from 1866 deserves mention. Through what she termed a "little mistake," a song that had already appeared with Niemeyer of Hamburg within her op. 33[34] "landed," without her "having the faintest notion of it," in her op. 40, published by Stürmer in Stuttgart. She only realized what had happened after both sets were "already in print!" This "little mistake" could have had serious financial and legal ramifications; Lang was threatened with court proceedings and was in danger of having to pay 200 *Gulden* in damages. By delivering another song to replace the duplicate and by paying 75 *Gulden* to cover the costs of reprinting the title page of op. 40, she was fortunately able to avert more serious consequences.<sup>72</sup> The "little mistake," however, probably swallowed up whatever profits she might have made on these publications. Her reaction to this event is interesting:

Franz Lachner informed me that the same thing had happened to him, not just once, but very often. [Whenever it happened,] he simply delivered another composition, etc. But the publishers always handle a General Music Director [*General-Musikdirector*] like him with kid gloves! The poor widow, whose financial circumstances are such that 75 Fl. means as much to her as 1,000 Fl. to another, is mercilessly made to pay up!<sup>73</sup>

This statement is one of the rare occasions on which Lang referred to her gender. It is likely, however, that her point is not so much that publishers treated women differently from men, but that they treated musicians of prominent stature differently from those who were less well known. To be sure, the disparity in Lang's and Lachner's stature was largely determined by their gender; in nineteenth-century Germany, there was no prospect of Lang becoming a "General Music Director."

Lang's publications of the early 1860s elicited some negative responses from critics. In 1861, the *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* published two devastating reviews of recently published works. Her three songs op. 23 were described as evincing "a superficial rapture, facile craftsmanship, singable melodies, and occasionally a striving for more definite expression." Lang was also accused of not being truly aware of

what it meant to set a poem to music—of assuming that it entailed “nothing more than encasing its words in quite pleasant musical phrases.”<sup>74</sup> Lang’s two songs op. 28, the first of which (“Traumbild”) Schumann had praised in 1838, were evaluated even more negatively than op. 23. The reviewer wrote that the songs were “among the most wretched [he] knew,” and advised the composer “in her own interest . . . to take seriously the words: ‘Heart, my heart, be silent!’ [the refrain of op. 28 no. 2].” He further used Lang’s op. 28 as a springboard into a castigation of German publishers for continually printing feeble new songs, while those of great composers like Schumann and Franz remained unknown.<sup>75</sup>

Although such reviews, if she saw them, must have been disheartening for Lang, she had much graver difficulties to deal with in the early 1860s—in particular, the deterioration of Felix’s condition. When he visited his family (which he was frequently permitted to do during the first months of his residence in Winnenthal), he caused his mother great anxiety with remarks to the effect that his illness “was of such a nature that it demanded of him to hate his siblings,” or that the maid, whose appearance reminded him of a caretaker at the asylum with whom he had had unpleasant dealings, was incessantly pursuing him.<sup>76</sup> When Felix wrote from the asylum, he complained of a constant toothache and insomnia, as well as of various injustices in his treatment.<sup>77</sup> Neither his visits nor his letters brought Lang much comfort, although she continued to hope for and to imagine improvement in his health.

There were problems with Lang’s other sons as well. None of them was able to contribute to the support of the household. In 1860, Otilie Wildermuth wrote:

There are six children of [Reinhold Köstlin], all charming and talented, and yet none fit for the world. The eldest son, who is very well behaved and gifted, had to leave the seminary because of a constant headache, which renders work almost impossible for him. The second [son], Theobald, fifteen years old, is totally paralyzed, always ill, and incapable of embarking on a career, although he is very skilled. The third son is learning to play violin and to draw beautifully, but nothing much beyond that. Now they want to put the poor chap into the postal service. And thus each child causes the poor, sickly, indigent mother a separate sorrow.<sup>78</sup>

Meanwhile, Hiller was still waiting for Lang’s biographical notes. He urged her through the artist Carl Müller (her stepbrother-in-law) not to delay too long, but without result. On 5 December 1866, after a silence of more than five years, Lang began a letter to Hiller as follows: “Do not be shocked—for a fearful specter stands before you! One who was forgotten, an old breaker of promises [*Wortbrüchige*], a poor, decrepit sinner—a penitent stands at your door.”<sup>79</sup> This

apologetic missive, however, still did not include her notes. Lang described her life since her last writing as follows:

If you knew, dearest friend, everything that has happened to me during this long period—in what colorful variety and manifold shading life has passed over me from all sides—with how many struggles with illness and all imaginable events my life is afflicted—how it has for many years really been not a life but a state of being relentlessly driven [*Hetzjagd*]<sup>80</sup>—if you, dearest friend, could look into my life and observe my activities and my family life—only then would it become clear to you and would you be able to understand how impossible it is under such circumstances to find a quiet moment in which to write [biographical] notes! Although my life in Tübingen may appear quiet and withdrawn, it is restless and turbulent after its own fashion. My dear son [is] still in the asylum (but on the road to convalescence, God be thanked a thousand times); my other son, 21 years old, paralyzed and visibly suffering; my third son was twice struck by typhus in Munich; and so it has gone, on and on.<sup>80</sup>

Lang gave two additional reasons in the same letter for the long delay in her completion of the notes: first, prose writing was very difficult for her<sup>81</sup> and second, she was unable to remember some details and had to send to Munich for information. She took her task seriously and wanted to make sure that she made no mistakes.<sup>82</sup>

It was not until 23 March 1867 that she finally sent Hiller her notes with myriad apologies. Hiller's diary shows that he read the notes on 16 April 1867 and began to write his essay two days later. He worked diligently throughout the following week and finished the essay on 26 April.<sup>83</sup> On 29 May the "Musical Letter" about the "song composer Josephine Lang" appeared in the *Kölner Zeitung*.<sup>84</sup>

Although the essay was not long, it provided a vivid, well-written account of Lang's life up until 1867. Near the end of the essay, Hiller briefly commented on Lang's songs (she had sent him those that were in print). He traced the evolution of her style from the "charming naiveté" of her earliest songs to the "more ambitious melodic scope, distinctiveness of harmonies, depth of conception, and wealth of accompaniment patterns" of the mature songs. He praised the spontaneity and genuineness of the music—the entire absence of the artificiality that he regarded as the "primary malady" of the time. As was mentioned in chapter 4, he also pointed out that her expert handling of both vocal and piano parts demonstrated that she was equally at home on both instruments. He desisted from detailed discussion of individual pieces but listed some songs that he felt would awaken the interest of the public, namely, the collections opp. 12, 14, 29,



34[either 35 or 36], 36[38], 38[39], as well as particular songs from opp. 9 (nos. 2–4), 10 (no. 5), 11 (nos. 3 and 5), and 13 (no. 5).

Hiller closed his essay with a brief reminiscence of his first meetings with Lang in 1832, then wrote:

Those evenings in Munich have remained unforgettable for me, and the remembrance of them hovered about me constantly during the writing of these lines. I wish very much that their golden glow could provide the foundation for this serious biography, for which I hope I have not entirely in vain attempted to win the reader's heartfelt interest.

Hiller did succeed in winning the interest of numerous readers. His essay was to change Lang's life.

### Songs of the 1860s

Although Lang found no "quiet moment" during these years for the preparation of biographical notes, she continued to produce musical ones. She wrote to Hiller, "Amidst all of these major and minor events, the weeds have not stopped flourishing and new songs have constantly sprouted from me."<sup>85</sup> Between September 1861 and December 1866, she composed at least 23 songs and at least one piano piece.

In 1860–61, she wrote several songs that were linked to Felix's tragic illness. "Die Wolken" (The Clouds) is undated, but appeared in 1860 as op. 25 no. 5 and was likely composed in that year (track 23).<sup>86</sup> The first edition of the song gives the poet as "Reinhold" (that is, Reinhold Köstlin). H. A. Köstlin, however, indicated on his list of Lang's songs that his brother Felix had written the poem while in the asylum.<sup>87</sup> Lang's autographs are no help in determining the actual poet; no manuscript of this song has been located to date. Given the content of the poem, H. A. Köstlin's attribution is convincing. The poem expresses the desire to fly off with the clouds and the birds—a desire that one could easily ascribe to Felix at this point in his life.<sup>88</sup> Lang's setting is surprisingly exuberant and joyful. The piano part is one of her most virtuosic. Steady triplets at a rapid tempo in the right hand connote the swift flight of the clouds. The chirping of birds is evoked by high-pitched trills at the end of the introduction and postlude, and by grace notes that embellish the triplets precisely at the point where birds are mentioned (mm. 26–33). The abrupt shift from the home key of E♭ major to the relatively remote G major (III) in mm. 20–25 is appropriately coordinated with the textual reference to "flying away" to someplace else (*von binnen*).<sup>89</sup>

In August 1861, Lang began to work on settings of three texts from *Lieder des Leids* (Songs of Sorrow), a collection of poems by Albert Zeller, the director of the Winnenthal asylum. Lang dedicated the songs to the poet and sent him manuscript copies sometime before November 1861.<sup>90</sup> Although H. A. Köstlin wrote that these three songs, published as op. 29 in 1862, arose directly out of the tragic circumstances surrounding Felix's illness,<sup>91</sup> the songs are not melancholy and sorrowful in mood. The first of the three, written down on 18 August 1861 (ex. 5.3 and track 24), comes closest to being a "song of sorrow."<sup>92</sup> The lyric *I* expresses exhaustion and takes farewell from the world, but also remembers past happiness and takes comfort in religious thoughts. Lang's music captures this balance between positive and negative emotions by blending wistfulness with calm resignation. The predominance of the minor mode contributes to the former emotion, but the steadily marching quarter notes in the piano and the major mode of the central section suggest a contented rather than a mournful departure from this life.

In June 1862, Lang wrote one of her most dramatic songs, a setting of a poem by Niclas Müller—"Der Liebe Bann," published in 1866 or 1867 as the second song of her op. 38[39] (ex. 5.4). The piano part articulates a sixteenth-note pulse throughout. In a large part of the song, this pulse is produced by alternating attacks in the two hands; the resulting low-level displacement dissonance contributes significantly to the nervous character of the music.<sup>93</sup> An additional factor contributing to the agitated mood is the occasional grouping of eighth notes in groups of four within three-four meter (see mm. 9–10, in which the hemiola is generated by the sequencing of a four-eighth-note pattern). Both the displacement and the hemiola are reminiscent of Schubert's setting of Wilhelm Müller's "Rückblick" (the eighth song of *Winterreise*).<sup>94</sup> There are some similarities between the two Müllers' poems; both are based on the idea of love as thralldom. Wilhelm Müller's wanderer yearns, on the one hand, to escape the scene of his unhappy love and is nevertheless driven to stagger back to the beloved's home and to stand in front of it. Niclas Müller's poem begins with a reference to the flexible bonds of love, which permit the lyric *I* to flee a certain distance and then draw him back all the more powerfully. The similarities in the poems and the music suggest that Lang was familiar with Schubert's *Winterreise*.<sup>95</sup>

In January 1864, Lang composed the Heine setting, "Wenn zwei von einander scheiden."<sup>96</sup> This is a short and simple but very effective song (track 25). The poem refers to two lovers who did not weep and sigh when they said farewell; the tears and sighs came later, once they were apart. The music, which has something of the character of a march, appropriately evokes the noble, stoic attitude that the lovers assume as they part. The deep emotion that underlies this pose, however, shines through in the music, particularly in the vocal melody. The melody begins

## EXAMPLE 5.3 “Leb’ wohl, leb’ wohl du schöne Welt,” op. 29 no. 1, mm. 1–10

The musical score is for a piano piece in 3/4 time, marked *Allegretto*. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system (measures 1-3) shows the piano introduction with a *p* (piano) dynamic. The second system (measures 4-6) includes the vocal entry with the lyrics "Leb' wohl, leb' wohl, du" and a *p a tempo* marking. The piano accompaniment in this system is marked *dimin.* and *pp* (pianissimo). The third system (measures 7-10) continues the vocal line with the lyrics "schöne Welt! Mein Herz ist müd' und schwer" and the piano accompaniment, which ends with a *p* marking.

in a primarily conjunct manner, with just a few small leaps. The first large leap occurs at the word “weinen” (weep) and later references to weeping and sighing are, for the most part, also associated with large leaps. The bursting forth of deep emotion that was held back for a time is beautifully represented by the emergence of large leaps after a conjunct beginning.

In June 1864, Lang wrote one of her finest songs—“Vorsatz” (Resolve), a setting of a poem by Robert Prutz (ex. 5.5 and track 26).<sup>97</sup> Prutz was a poet and novelist as well as a literary historian. Much of his writing is political in content and intent; it was his aim to promote liberty and democracy. In his late years, he turned to the lighter genre of the love lyric, and his poems of this genre became quite popular.<sup>98</sup>

## EXAMPLE 5.4 "Der Liebe Bann," op. 38[39] no. 2, mm. 1–10

**Allegro con fuoco più tosto agitato**

*pp*

*legato il basso*

*cresc.*

4  
Ich bin ge-fan-gen wo ich geh' und ste-he, ich

7  
lieg' im Ker-ker in der Frei-heit Haus, ich

*cresc.*

9  
schmacht' in Ban-den, die ich doch nicht se-he, sie

“Vorsatz” is one of his late love poems. The notation “Aus Elise Polko” on some of Lang’s autographs of this song reveals her source of the poem. Elise Polko published one of the most popular nineteenth-century anthologies of poetry, entitled *Dichtergrüße* (Poets’ Greetings). It was in this anthology, which was frequently used as a gift for young women, that Lang found Prutz’s “Vorsatz”:

Ich will dir’s nimmer sagen,  
Wie ich so lieb dich hab’.  
Im Herzen will ich’s tragen,  
Will still sein wie das Grab.

I shall never tell you  
How much I love you.  
I shall carry it in my heart,  
And shall be quiet as the grave.

Kein Lied soll dir’s gestehen,  
Soll flehen um mein Glück.  
Du selber sollst es sehen,  
Du selbst in meinem Blick!

No song [poem] shall confess it to you,  
Shall plead for my happiness.  
You yourself must see it,  
You yourself [must see it] in my gaze!

Und kannst du es nicht lesen,  
Was dort so zärtlich spricht,  
So ist’s ein Traum gewesen,  
Dem Träumer zürne nicht!

And if you cannot read  
What speaks so tenderly there,  
Then it was but a dream.  
Do not be angry with the dreamer!

This is an odd little poem. The speaker’s resolve is not to speak and not to advertise his<sup>99</sup> love in a poem; the beloved is not to discover the speaker’s love through his words but only through his gaze. Should the beloved fail to interpret the message of the gaze, the lyric *I* will not press his love but will simply retire modestly, hoping not to be punished by an angry reaction. And yet the speaker does speak and does express his love in a poem, even while vowing not to do so. The final stanza implies the same contradiction: how could the beloved be angry at the lyric *I* for daring to love if she were unable to read the message of love and thus remained unaware of it?

The poem cannot be understood as an actual resolve of the lyric *I* not to tell his love. A genuine resolve of that sort would not be addressed directly to the beloved but would refer to her in the third person (“I shall never tell her how much I love her” and so on). Prutz could easily have written the poem in that manner had he so desired. The contradictory nature of the poem must surely be understood as deliberate humor.

Josephine Lang certainly seems to have read the poem in a semi-humorous way. The opening measures of the piano introduction (ex. 5.5a), with their alternation between inverted dominants and tonics, suggest a playful, flirtatious vacillation rather than a firm resolve. The unexpected low D octaves that follow these

EXAMPLE 5.5a "Vorsatz," op. 38[39] no. 1, mm. 1–12

**Allegretto grazioso**

*p* *Ich*

5 will dir's nim - mer sa - gen, wie ich so lieb dich hab'. Im

9 *cresc.* *pp* Her - zen will ich's tra - gen, will still sein wie das Grab. *pp* *legato*

oscillations add a quirky touch. The first vocal section, which sets the first stanza, appears to take the resolve expressed by the poem more seriously; it is based on the purposeful expanded cadential progression I6–IV–V–I (embellished by the overshooting of V in mm. 9–10).<sup>100</sup> The sense of purpose or of resolve created by this progression is, however, undermined by the succeeding restatement of the vacillating idea of the introduction.

A common-tone modulation leads into the key of E♭ (♭VI) and into the second, contrasting section of the song, which sets the second stanza of the poem (ex. 5.5b). The modulation to ♭VI might suggest a withdrawing into a more private place, but other aspects of the section contradict this implication. The dy-

namics in the first measures are loud—a strange choice for a line of text that reiterates the vow of silence. Similarly, the line in which the lyric *I* asserts that no utterance but only a gaze shall advertise his love is set to a dynamic and registral climax (mm. 29–30—not shown). Even the increased rhythmic activity in the middle section (the initial quarter-note pulse yields to triplet eighths) is somewhat surprising in connection with a text that essentially deals with inactivity. Here, as at the opening of the song, it becomes evident that Lang does not take the lyric *I*'s resolve at face value, but cuts through the poet's words to the actual message ("I *do* want you to know about my love—I *will* tell you all about it").

EXAMPLE 5.5b "Vorsatz," mm. 16–20

**Più mosso**

The musical score for Example 5.5b, "Vorsatz," measures 16–20, is presented in two systems. The first system covers measures 17 and 18, and the second system covers measures 19 and 20. The tempo is marked "Più mosso". The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The vocal line is in the treble clef, and the piano accompaniment is in the bass clef. The lyrics are: "Kein Lied soll dir's ge - ste - hen, soll fle - - - hen um mein Glück."

In the third section, which begins as a return of the first (ex. 5.5c), there is again a contradiction between the dynamic level of the music and the meaning of the text. As the text reduces the unrecognized love to a mere dream, the music blossoms to a *fortissimo* dynamic (m. 40). The reiteration of this line is also associated with loud music (mm. 43–44). It is as if the music is negating the text and indicating that this love is *not* an insubstantial dream (which would be better represented with a low dynamic level), but incontrovertible reality.

## EXAMPLE 5.5c "Vorsatz," mm. 34–46

35 *a tempo*

Und kannst du es nicht le - sen, was dort so zärt - lich

38 *cresc.* *f*

spricht, so ist's ein Traum ge -

41 *dim.* *cresc.*

we - - - sen, so ist's

44

ein Traum ge - we - - - sen.



During the first statement of the final line (mm. 49–50—not shown), Lang at first matches the demure withdrawal expressed here by using a soft dynamic, but then undermines that demureness with another *fortissimo* outburst. The same procedure recurs during the second statement of the final line. Lang uses soft music at mm. 51–52 with the words “dem Träumer”; beginning in m. 53, however, she uses an aggressively loud dynamic combined with a thick texture. This is not music reflecting submission and withdrawal. Again, Lang is probing beneath the surface of the poem and unveiling the declaration of love that lies beneath the superficial pledge of reticence.

Certain details of melodic structure are connected with the above analytical remarks. The opening of the introduction reiterates the melodic span D5–G5 (ex. 5.5a, mm. 1–2). The vocal melody of the first section initiates the filling-in of this span—a process that continues throughout the song. The melody climbs from D5 (mm. 4–5) to E5 in m. 7. Then, however, it falls to G4 instead of continuing the ascent. For once, Lang’s musical imagery does correspond to the text; the arrival on a low-pitched goal more accurately expresses the text “to be silent as the grave” than would the attainment of a high-pitched goal.

The interlude reminds of the span that was only partially filled in during the first strophe. Whereas the B section of the song makes no progress in the filling-in of the initial span, it does prominently state the framing pitches D5 and G5. From the initial G4 of the section (ex. 5.5b), the vocal line moves quickly into a higher register; E♭5 appears in mm. 21–22 and resolves to D5 in m. 23. Once this initial note of the introductory span has been re-established, the melody hovers around it (mm. 23–27), then leaps upward to G5.<sup>101</sup> After a descent to D4 during a piano interlude, the opening melody returns, with its ascent from D5 to E5 (ex. 5.5c). But this time, the ascent is not followed by a recessive descending gesture; instead, the melody presses onward up the scale, through F♯5 (m. 39) to G5 (m. 40). The remainder of the vocal line is concerned with the descent from this melodic peak.

It is significant that the completion of the filling-in of the opening span D5–G5 occurs during the line “then it was but a dream.” The arrival at a long-range goal is not the expected musical response to a line that expresses a resolve to let one’s unrequited love be treated as a mere dream; one would expect a recessive, not an assertive gesture here. The association of this line with the completion of a long-range process is thus another example of Lang’s strategy of setting the subliminal rather than the overt message of the text.

On 12 August 1864, Lang wrote “Im reinsten Gold,” a setting of a sentimental poem by Felix Kunde (track 27).<sup>102</sup> The song begins with one of Lang’s

EXAMPLE 5.6 “Im reinsten Gold ich treu bewahr’,” op. 34[35] no. 1, mm. 1–12

**Larghetto tranquillo**

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system (measures 1-4) is marked **Larghetto tranquillo** and begins with a piano (*p*) introduction. The melody rises from E $\flat$ 4 to A $\flat$ 5 in the first four measures. The second system (measures 5-8) continues the piano introduction, marked *p legato* and *f*, with a *dimin.* marking. The third system (measures 9-12) shows the vocal entry with the lyrics "Im rein - sten Gold ich treu be - wahr'". The piano accompaniment is marked *p* and *legato*. The tempo/style markings *triquillo* and *riten.* are also present.

most beautiful piano introductions (ex. 5.6). During a prolongation of the dominant harmony (resolved as the voice enters), the melody describes a graceful arch, rising gradually from E $\flat$ 4 to A $\flat$ 5 in the first four measures, then falling via scalar and arpeggiatory motion to B $\flat$ 3 in m. 7. The melodic arch is paralleled by a similar curve of rhythmic activity. The hesitant syncopated rhythm of the first two bars is followed by steady eighth-note motion (mm. 3–6). The final two bars of the introduction again involve hesitations, now in the form of dotted eighth notes. Yet another feature is organized in a similar “curve,” namely metrical dissonance. The first two bars involve just one antimetrical accent each (the displaced durational accent on the second eighth note). Measures 3–4 are not only rhythmically more active but also metrically more dissonant. An antimetrical dynamic accent in m. 3 initiates a hemiola, created by a repeated pattern of four eighth notes’ duration. It is possible to continue hearing the hemiola through the beginning of m. 6; the dynamic accent at the end of m. 5 is the beginning of the last group of

four eighth notes. Measures 6 and 7 resolve the hemiola, but the durational accent on the second beat of m. 8, which initiates a group of four eighth note pulses, is a final reminder of it.

The introductory material unexpectedly returns later in the song. During a repetition of the second half of the first stanza of the poem, after an expressive interlude featuring mode mixture and ending with a pregnant pause, Lang brings back all of the music of the introduction. The voice joins in the introductory piano melody and the introductory material leads into a vocal climax. The absorption of the entire introduction into the vocal portion is a rarity in the German Lied.<sup>103</sup>

Between her husband's death and the end of 1866, Lang wrote 36 songs—a substantial increase in comparison to the marriage years—and many of these songs, as we have seen, are of very high quality. Considering her poor health and the numerous emotional and financial upheavals during the late 1850s and early 1860s, it is surprising how much she achieved. Composing clearly functioned as a refuge for her in the face of the exigencies of her life. She was not exaggerating when she wrote to Hiller, "Divine music . . . alone sustains me in the pressures of such a multitude of worries and labors, and stands by me like a protecting angel when a hard life leads me to the edge of the abyss."<sup>104</sup>

## SIX

### Lang's Final Years

#### The Effects of Hiller's Essay

Ferdinand Hiller invested a great deal of effort in ensuring that his biography would have a positive impact on Lang's situation. During the period between his completion of the essay (26 April 1867) and its appearance in the *Kölner Zeitung* on 29 May 1867, he explored other options for publication that would result in greater exposure for Lang. On 4 May 1867, the wife of a Berlin banker wrote to him that she was "very eagerly looking forward to the 'Biography of a Woman.'" She went on to inform Hiller, who had apparently asked her advice, that a magazine entitled *Gartenlaube* would doubtless have the widest circulation, although Hiller might prefer a weekly or daily periodical.<sup>1</sup> After the appearance of the essay, Frau [Sophie] Klingemann (a close friend of the Mendelssohns) wrote to ask permission to translate the article into English for publication. She and Marie Benecke (Felix Mendelssohn's eldest daughter) had decided that there were more "men of wealth and power"<sup>2</sup> in England than in Germany and that such men might be motivated by the publication to come to Lang's aid.<sup>3</sup> To our knowledge, the English translation did not materialize. Hiller's article was, however, reprinted in German along with his other *Musikalische Briefe* in a two-volume set entitled *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit* (1868); this reprint no doubt resulted in further publicity for Josephine Lang.

The impact of the first publication of Hiller's essay was immediate. From various parts of Germany and even from Paris, Hiller received enthusiastic praise for his essay. His daughter wrote that "[Eduard] Devrient is completely enraptured by your talent as a writer; your article about Lang pleased him particularly."<sup>4</sup> From a small town on the Rhine came an intriguing letter:

I was very interested by your biographical letter about Josephine Lange [*sic*], both by its content and its beautiful, brilliant, poetic language. Many fond memories

link me to this feminine artistic personality, with whom and with whose life and work my transfigured friend from Bonn had earlier made me familiar; he cherished a deep veneration for her as a woman and as an artist.<sup>5</sup>

We have not been able to determine the identity of this “transfigured” (i.e., deceased) friend, but it is interesting that Josephine Lang was known and respected in a town as far from her home as Bonn.

Hiller's essay affected Lang in a variety of ways. First, it brought her a prominence in the musical world that she had not experienced since her youth in Munich. On 18 June 1867, she wrote to Hiller, “I am living as if in a joyful intoxication since your essay appeared, which aroused the most genuine interest here and in all acquaintances near and far—an interest that I do not in the least deserve!”<sup>6</sup> A month later she wrote:

A veritable enchantment must rest on my destiny—since my life has been touched by your dear hand and has penetrated into the world! I am truly beginning to believe in the “fairy tales” and miracles that occur only in sweet dreams! . . . You little know what you have wrought with your quill! Even here I am inundated with visits and congratulations!! Total strangers make pilgrimages from near and far to the “Villa Köstlin”—and all now wish to see and become acquainted with the “widowed Josephine Lang.”<sup>7</sup>

As Lang formulated it in various letters, the “dead one,” the “forgotten one,” had been awakened to new life.

Hiller's essay also had a profound effect on Lang's financial circumstances. Most importantly, the essay awakened the interest of the Mendelssohn family. Felix Mendelssohn's brother, Paul, wrote to Hiller just a few days after the article appeared:

I read your essay about Josephine Lang in the *Kölner Zeitung*, but am not quite certain whether its purpose is simply to draw attention to Lang's compositions and to promote their dissemination, or if its intention is also to support the family financially. Since I have and have had absolutely no contact with the excellent and rare woman, and am acquainted with her only through Felix's letters, I do not know how she would react if I, particularly I, approached her in the latter manner.<sup>8</sup>

The Mendelssohn family had decided not to keep any part of the royalties from the publication of Felix's letters, but to use them for the promotion of his memory.<sup>9</sup> Paul Mendelssohn asked Hiller's advice about sending the sum of approximately 1,000 *Thaler* from this fund to Lang as “a retroactive godchild gift [*Pathegeschenke*] for the poor young man [Felix Köstlin].”<sup>10</sup> Hiller encouraged Paul

Mendelssohn to send the money, and soon the latter was able to report that Lang had been “grateful, indeed overjoyed” to receive the gift (which he had been able to increase to a sum of 1,500 *Thaler*).<sup>11</sup>

From other readers, Hiller received smaller amounts of money intended for Lang. On 10 June, for instance, a Madame Diruf sent the sum of 25 *Thaler*<sup>12</sup>—a “little tribute for Mme Lange [*sic*],”<sup>13</sup> and asked how she could go about ordering Lang’s music as a birthday gift for her husband. A few days later, Hiller’s wife informed him that Madame Diruf had “positively stated” that she hoped to do something for Josephine Lang “every year.”<sup>14</sup>

On 28 June, Hiller recorded in his diary the receipt of 50 *Thaler* from the Cologne merchant E[duard] Joest,<sup>15</sup> to be forwarded to Lang anonymously. Joest wrote, “Please allow me to take this opportunity to express to you my admiration for the moving manner in which you succeeded in depicting the sorrows and joys of this artistic life. May the coming days turn out to be happier and less worrisome for the poor woman!”<sup>16</sup>

A monetary gift that Lang received in the following year was likely also a result of Hiller’s essay. On 2 March 1868, Lang wrote a letter of thanks to Professor Eduard Zeller for a monetary gift that a group of professors had sent to her in memory of her husband.<sup>17</sup> Köstlin had been dead for twelve years, and it was surely through Hiller’s essay that these professors became aware of his widow’s difficult situation. Lang herself believed that this was the case, for she wrote to Hiller, “I probably have your esteemed essay about J. Lang to thank for the fact that this winter the amount of 143 Fl. (proceeds from lectures) was sent to me as a gift by professors from Heidelberg!”<sup>18</sup>

As late as February 1870, Lang again received through Hiller “an anonymous, infinitely noble, cherished gift.”<sup>19</sup> She managed to extract from Hiller the information that this donor was a woman with an alto voice. Lang copied out one of her songs from 1868 (her setting of Carl Stieler’s “Seebild”) and sent it to Hiller to forward to the “dear patroness,” promising to compose more songs for her once she knew the exact range of her voice.<sup>20</sup>

Overwhelmed by these monetary gifts, Lang wrote to Hiller, “It is marvelous: we wished to soften the hearts of the publishers, and now the result has been an entirely different one!”<sup>21</sup> As this remark implies, the essay did not appreciably affect Lang’s success in publication. According to Hofmeister, the following works were published in 1867: op. 36[38] (*Drei Lieder*), op. 38[39] (*Sechs Lieder*), op. 40 (*Sechs deutsche Lieder*), and op. 41 (*Ich möchte heim!*).<sup>22</sup> Although it is tempting to ascribe these publications to the influence of Hiller’s essay, one of Lang’s letters to Hiller indicates that all of them had already appeared or been accepted in 1866, that is, *before* the publication of the essay.<sup>23</sup> After 1867, there was actually

a considerable hiatus in Lang's publications. A second volume of op. 33[34] (*Disteln und Dornen*) finally appeared in 1869 (the first was published in 1865). The year 1872 saw the publication of op. 27 (*Sechs deutsche Lieder*)<sup>24</sup> and of op. 34[36] (*Drei Lieder*). Lang published nothing between 1872 and 1878.

She was, however, completely content with the "entirely different" effect of the essay. She wrote to Hiller, "My life seems to have arrived at a turning point[;] there are so many joyful sunny glimpses [*Sonnenblicke*]! So many unexpected joys of all kinds!"<sup>25</sup> Lang expressed her gratitude to Hiller by dedicating to him the songs op. 38[39], published in 1866 or 1867.

### Hard Times and "Hard Work"

The "sunny glimpses" to which Lang referred in the summer of 1867 were to be her last for a considerable time. In September of that year, Felix Köstlin died in the asylum. Lang and her family, including H. A. Köstlin, were under the impression that a fire had broken out "in a mysterious fashion" in the asylum, and that Felix had died in his sleep as its sole victim.<sup>26</sup> Lang referred to the "great fire-disaster in Winnenthal"<sup>27</sup> and expressed her relief that "Heaven released him so quickly and painlessly—as if in a dream, all the doctors assure me—from his great, incurable complaint."<sup>28</sup> H. A. Köstlin cited a poem that a "fellow sufferer in the asylum" wrote in Felix's memory; it begins with the words, "God extinguished his vital spark as he slept."<sup>29</sup> But the City Archive of Winnenden, the town where the asylum is still located, has no record of a conflagration during September 1867. Felix's patient file suggests that he set himself on fire;<sup>30</sup> it was for that reason that he was the only resident who died. It is therefore unlikely that his death occurred painlessly and "as if in a dream."

It seems that the doctors at Winnenthal did their best to shield Lang and to make it easier for her to come to terms with the death of her firstborn. In addition to concealing what was most likely a suicide, they also told her that the results of the autopsy revealed that he would in any case never have recovered from his mental illness. There is, however, no support for that statement in the autopsy report.<sup>31</sup>

In this tragic situation, Lang again turned to her art. She had written to Hiller shortly after Felix's death that she had begged God to give her the strength "to work hard," for only thus could she "escape" from herself.<sup>32</sup> Her work, in addition to her pedagogical activities, included the composition of at least four songs in 1867, at least seven during 1868, and at least eight songs and a piano piece in 1869.

EXAMPLE 6.1 "Einziger Trost," mm. 1–12 (unpublished; Mus. fol. 53dd, 1v, WLB)

**Andantino espressivo**

*p*  
Am

5  
Ta - ge denk' ich still an dich, und träu - me Nachts von dir, und

9  
kei - ne See - le raubt den Traum und die Ge - dan - ken mir.

Two of the songs from 1868 are settings of the poetry of one of Joseph Stieler's daughters, Otilie Stieler.<sup>33</sup> Among the effective touches in the unpublished song "Einziger Trost" (ex. 6.1), composed in September 1868,<sup>34</sup> is the highlighting of the "you" that dominates the lyric *I*'s thoughts and dreams. The durational accent on the second beat of m. 6, coordinated with a registral accent (the first large vocal leap), appropriately emphasizes the word "dich" (you). A similar highlighting occurs in m. 8, where "dir" is placed on the highest note thus far (C5)—a note approached, moreover, by a dramatic leap of a seventh. Lang wrote the fragment "Seliger Glaube" (ex. 6.2) just a few days after "Einziger Trost."<sup>35</sup> The introduction consists of a melody in the tenor range, placed between a low bass line and



arching eighth-note arpeggiations in the right hand. It is apparent from the autograph that Lang considered a cello part for this song; the “tenor” melody would obviously have been assigned to that instrument. The melody is beautifully shaped. From a reiterated “baseline” G3, it reaches upward to ever higher notes of the tonic triad—to B♭3 (m. 1), E♭4, and G4 (mm. 2 and 3, respectively)—then descends gracefully to a close on E♭3 (m. 4). The vocal melody has a similar shape; from its “baseline” pitch G4, it moves up to B♭4, then to E♭5 (m. 10), whereupon it descends to E♭4 through exactly the same cadential melody as did the “cello” lines (cf. the second half of m. 3 and of m. 11). After the opening shown in example 6.2, Lang sketched an interlude reiterating the introductory melody in a higher register, then a common-tone modulation from the home key of E♭ major to B major. The fragment breaks off after a few vocal measures in B major. It is unfortunate that Lang did not continue this beautiful opening.

Lang’s letters to Hiller frequently report on her pedagogical activities, specifically on her voice students and the songs on which they were working. When Hiller’s essays appeared in book form in 1868, Lang wrote to him, “Do you know that your esteemed book, *Aus dem Tonleben*, is already in the collection of the local museum? The fathers of my students are reading it with warm interest, and are sharing much of it with them.”<sup>36</sup> Prince Wilhelm (who later became king of Württemberg) continued to study with her during the winter of 1869–70. A letter to Hiller alludes to a “very lively winter, which our Württembergian Prince Wilhelm, a cherished student, again spent here, and in whose honor many fêtes, concerts, comedies, small operas, etc. were performed (for which my aged powers were much in demand and were in fact immensely overburdened with his lessons and those of others[.]).”<sup>37</sup>

Lang’s health did not improve over the years, although she wrote that she was of a paradoxical “largeness, as one can only imagine it of a Munich beer-brewer’s wife” (see fig. 5).<sup>38</sup> She repeatedly mentioned in her letters to Hiller that she had to cancel lessons because of illness, which, as always, had a deleterious effect on her “pecuniary circumstances.”<sup>39</sup>

Despite the appointing of a *Pfleger* and despite the gifts that she received through Hiller, she was constantly plagued by money worries after her husband’s death. Lang’s grandson wrote that the youngest daughter, Maria, “often saw her mother crying when she did not know which way to turn, [and] often in the twilight the little girl had to carry a silver spoon to the jeweler’s because there was no money in the house for the following day.”<sup>40</sup> In 1874, Lang’s financial affairs seem to have reached a crisis. In a letter to an unknown woman, Lang expressed her profound thanks for a “kind advance,” which she accepted “like a poor old church mouse,” and which she promised to repay as soon as she was “secured through

EXAMPLE 6.2 "Seliger Glaube," mm. 1–12 (unpublished; Mus. fol. 53dd, 3r–3v, WLB)

**Allegretto grazioso**

The musical score is in 3/8 time and consists of 12 measures. It features a piano accompaniment and a vocal line. The tempo is marked 'Allegretto grazioso'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The piano part includes markings 'm.g.' (mano destra) and 'm.d.' (mano sinistra). The vocal line includes the following lyrics:

Wenn ich ein Lied in Tö - nen leis hin -  
 sin - ge in die Nacht, mein Lied, das ist für dich al -  
 lein ge - sun - - - gen und ge - dacht.

some sort of income." She signed herself as the "deeply moved, old, 'rescued-from-shipwreck,' fat *Köstlinerin*." <sup>41</sup>

### The "Trompeter" Songs, op. 45

Whereas illness hindered Lang's teaching, it was sometimes actually conducive to compositional activity; as an invalid, unable to teach and engage in housework, she had leisure to compose. Among the songs that originated during a period of illness is a group of settings of the poetry of Viktor von Scheffel. Lang wrote to Hiller:

Songs still sprout for me on my sickbed; only there do I find time and leisure!—During my frequent illness this winter, I read [Scheffel's] *Trompeter of Säckingen*—then [music] naturally flowed [out of me] again—and the "weeds" again began to run wild! Several songs of young Werner and the cat Hiddigeigei came into the world. But I desist from sending them out into the world. It will be better to let them rot! Since I received rejections from Bretkopf and Biedermann four years ago, I no longer have the desire to knock on any doors. My wares are no longer appropriate for the marketplace, where better things are available. <sup>42</sup>

From this letter, and from the dates on some of the autographs, <sup>43</sup> we learn that Lang started sketching the songs during the winter of 1869–70. She waited ten years before "sending them out into the world."

Scheffel's works were extremely popular in Germany in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. With his drinking songs he won the hearts of German students, who then became faithful readers of his more serious works. Members of the bourgeoisie, both men and women, found his works comprehensible and approachable and appreciated the sensation of reading literature that included them rather than shutting them out. <sup>44</sup> Scheffel's epic poem *Der Trompeter von Säckingen* was particularly popular; it was first published in 1854, reissued in 1859, then reprinted literally hundreds of times. Scheffel himself wrote about this work that it "does not desire to be more than it is and than it can be, namely straightforward [*schlicht*] and healthy." <sup>45</sup> The poetry is indeed not profound, but it is pleasant and entertaining to read. The colorful characters belong to a variety of stations—the middle class (Werner, the hero), the aristocracy (Margaretha and her father, the *Freiherr*; Hiddigeigei, a noble old cat, falls into this category as well), and the lower classes (servants, innkeepers, and so on). Various supernatural beings also make an appearance—a forest spirit, a gnome, the "Stille Mann" (Quiet Man), who has

taken refuge in subterranean regions and been turned into stone, and the "Wasser-frau" (see below).

The epic deals with the love between the trumpeter Werner and Margaretha, the daughter of the noble house in which he is employed. He departs from the castle when her father refuses his plea for Margaretha's hand. Werner ends up as master of the papal choir in Italy, where Margaretha encounters him during a trip that is to restore her to the health that she lost after his departure. The pope, noticing their obvious love for each other, acts as *deus ex machina*; he knights young Werner, thus removing the only obstacle to their marriage.

What was it about this epic that appealed to Lang? Scheffel's detailed and loving descriptions of the southwestern German countryside may be among the features that drew her to the work—particularly the passages in which nature is represented as a healing influence (which it had been for Lang since her young years). Equally appealing may have been the many passages about music. One "musical" event in the epic is intriguingly relevant to Lang's own situation. When Werner leaves his trumpet unattended one day, Margaretha finds it and attempts to play it, with hideous results. Werner hears the unpleasant sounds and, annoyed, comes running to punish the person who has dared to meddle with his trumpet. When he discovers that the guilty party is his beloved Margaretha, he begins to teach her how to play a fanfare for battle. Later, when Werner is wounded during an attack on the castle, Margaretha actually has occasion to use her new skills. The description of Margaretha's indulging in the intrinsically masculine pursuits of trumpet-playing and of sounding a fanfare during battle may have struck a chord with Lang, for as a composer she, too, was engaging in an activity that in her time was primarily reserved for men. Furthermore, like Margaretha, she had been encouraged in her first musical endeavors by a man (Felix Mendelssohn).

Scheffel wrote most of his epic in blank verse. After one of the climaxes, however (Werner's departure from the castle), he interjected a "Buch der Lieder"—a series of lyric poems that relate to various portions of the story and that are written from the points of view of several different characters. Lang chose five texts from these poems—four "Songs of Young Werner" and one "Song of the Cat Hiddigeigei."<sup>46</sup>

Despite Lang's fears that her Scheffel songs were outmoded, they are among the best of her late songs. The harmonic language is for the most part diatonic, the texture simple (except in the second song, which has a virtuosic piano part), and the melodies almost folk-like. This musical language is suited to the engaging simplicity of the poetry. Simplicity is not, however, synonymous with dullness; Lang achieved interesting effects with simple means. We shall make some brief

comments about the first, third, and fourth of the songs and shall provide longer analyses of the second and fifth.

The poems of the first and third songs express Werner's emotions after his departure from the castle. The poem that underlies op. 45 no. 1 deals with his disappointment at the evil end of a romance that began auspiciously and at the evanescence of the happiness that was within his grasp. The refrain, "Es hat nicht sollen sein" (It was not to be), encapsulates this disappointment, and it is this refrain that Lang's piano introduction, in turn, appears to encapsulate (ex. 6.3). The upper voice, rising purposefully toward F5, creates the impression of a striving toward a goal. This F, however, is destabilized by harmonization with a six-four chord. Because of this instability, the melody cannot sustain the achieved high point and falls into the depths, to a point beneath its point of origin. In the vocal portion of the song, F5 is again touched upon several times, but there, too, the melody always slides away from this pitch and then descends, thus reinforcing the idea of the inability to sustain an achieved goal.

EXAMPLE 6.3 "Es hat nicht sollen sein," op. 45 no. 1, mm. 1–6



The poem that underlies the third song also deals with Werner's reaction to the apparent end of his romance. The first two stanzas establish an opposition between his erstwhile possession of a permanent abode and his return to an existence of roving and wandering:

Ein' festen Sitz hab' ich veracht't,  
Fuhr unstät durch's Revier.  
Da fand ich sonder Vorbedacht  
Ein lobesam Quartier.

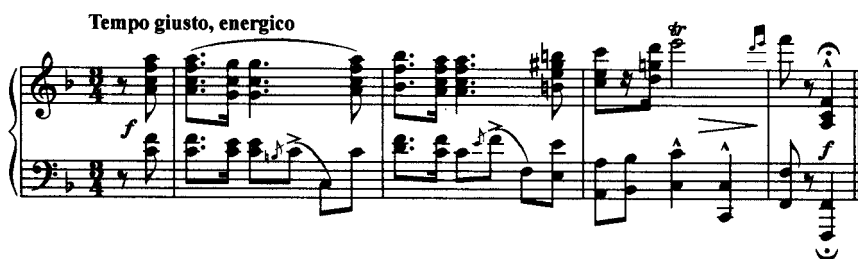
I rejected a firm abode,  
Swept restlessly through the district.  
Then, without design,  
I found a fine lodging.

Doch wie ich in der Ruhe Schoss  
Sänftlich zu sitzen wahn',  
Da bricht ein Donnerwetter los,  
Muß wieder wandern geh'n!

But as I imagined I was placidly sitting  
In the lap of peace,  
A thunderstorm broke loose!  
I must go wandering again!

Again, Lang succeeds in capturing some of the meaning of this poem in the piano introduction (ex. 6.4); she expresses the aforementioned opposition between resting and roving by melodic and harmonic means. The introduction begins with a melody that is anchored on A5 (mm. 1–2)—but the melody soon breaks away from this position and moves upward. Simultaneously, the harmony, which at the outset is firmly grounded in the key of F major, begins to wander toward A minor.<sup>47</sup>

EXAMPLE 6.4 “Einen festen Sitz hab’ ich veracht’t,” op. 45 no. 3, mm. 1–4



In the poem for Lang's fourth song, Werner reminisces about his first encounter with Margaretha: when he saw her, it was as if a bolt of lightning had entirely consumed his being and left behind only her name, growing like ivy out of the rubble. Once again the piano introduction has some connection with the meaning of the poem. The introduction begins with a loud horncall motif—a symbol for the trumpeter Werner. This horncall is repeated in lower, then again in higher registers and at a *pianissimo* dynamic, the last few statements being marked *perdendosi*. The fading of the horncall evokes the passing away of Werner's identity as he is consumed by love for Margaretha. The postlude is identical to the introduction and thus reiterates the same message (which is clearer there because listeners have heard the text in the meantime).<sup>48</sup>

The second song of op. 45 is in many ways the most impressive of the five (track 28).<sup>49</sup> Here Lang departs from the rather restrained style of the other songs and writes powerful music that is technically challenging for both singer and pianist. Scheffel's poem follows:

Am Ufer blies ich ein lustig Stück[.]

Wie klang die alte Trompete  
Hell in den Sturm, der das Getön

Zum Herrenschiess verwehte!

On the riverbank I [Werner] played a  
merry piece.

How the old trumpet rang out  
Brightly into the storm, which blew the  
sound

To the lord's castle!

Die Wasserfrau im tiefen Grund

Hört Sturm und Töne rauschen,

Sie steigt herauf, neugierig will  
Die Klänge sie erlauschen.

Und als sie wieder hinabgetaucht,  
Erzählt sie den Fischen mit Lachen:  
"O Rheineskinder, man erlebt

Doch sonderbarliche Sachen!

Sitzt oben Einer im Regensturm;

Was glaubt ihr, dass er triebe?  
Bläst immerzu dasselbe Lied,  
Das Lied von seiner Liebe!"

The *Wasserfrau* [literally, "waterwoman"]  
in the depths

Hears the rushing sound of storm and  
music.

She ascends; curious,  
She wants to listen to the sounds.

And when she has dived down again,  
She laughingly tells the fishes:  
"Oh children of the Rhine, one  
experiences

Strange things!

There's someone sitting up there in the  
downpour;

What do you think he is doing?  
He plays the same song constantly,  
The song of his love."

The frequent use of repetition in Lang's setting grows directly out of the final statement that Werner "plays the same song constantly." Lang repeats the first and last stanzas of the text, and the final two lines of the last stanza twice more. Repetition is also prevalent within the music for each stanza. The initial fanfare motif is immediately repeated (m. 1, m. 2; see also mm. 11 and 12). The opening of the vocal line (mm. 6–8) consists of a leap of a fourth, followed by the ornamentation (filling-in) of the same fourth. The new fanfare idea of m. 15 is immediately repeated in m. 16 (see also mm. 19–20 and 23–24). Measures 26–34 constitute a larger immediately repeated segment; it is restated with some variation in mm. 35–42. Measures 51–54 are repeated in part in mm. 55–58 (although the cadence is altered to create a period), and mm. 59–66 and 67–75 stand in a similar relationship. Such frequent repetition is appropriate in a setting of a poem about a tune that is played again and again.

The presence in the poem of a *Wasserfrau* also elicited appropriate and effective compositional responses from Lang.<sup>50</sup> The *Wasserfrau* appears somewhat surprisingly in the second stanza of Scheffel's poem. In the first stanza, Werner describes how he played a jolly tune on his trumpet on the banks of the Rhine during a storm, and how the wind blew the tune toward the castle. One might expect the remainder of the poem to be concerned with the reception of the tune by his beloved up in the castle. Instead, it deals with the tune's reception in the river! Werner imagines a *Wasserfrau* in the depths of the river hearing the tune, becoming curious, rising to hear it more clearly, then diving back down to tell the fishes

mockingly about the strange man sitting there in the storm, playing the same song over and over.

The shift to the sub-aquatic region lends the poem a deeper level in more than the literal sense. Through this shift, Werner's direct statements about himself and his song are complemented by additional—and contradictory—statements through the voice of the *Wasserfrau*. In his initial direct utterances, Werner describes his song in an entirely positive manner; it is a "merry" song that rings out "brightly." His later statements through the *Wasserfrau* reveal a less positive aspect of the song: it consists of the same music repeated over and over, which implies that it does not elicit the desired response (why else must it be repeated?). The constant repetition suggests Werner's recognition of the futility of his performance, and his desperation in the face of that recognition. There is a pathetic, if not tragic dimension to the image of his playing his love song over and over in the storm. The direct statements at the beginning of the poem, then, are a mask—a masculine pose. The "macho" Werner, reluctant to reveal his true feelings, stresses the jollity and brightness of his song. Through the *Wasserfrau's* voice, however, we learn the sad truth. We can interpret this voice as representing Werner's feminine side—the side that is willing to acknowledge emotion.

Lang's setting reflects the two voices, yet allows us to perceive them as utterances of a single person (Werner). She evokes the "masculine"/merry/bright and "feminine"/pathetic aspects of the poem with appropriate music. The former aspect emerges by way of various martial, fanfare-like ideas. The arpeggiating fanfare of the introduction, repeated in the vocal line in mm. 11–12 and again in the postlude, is an obvious example. The somewhat more conjunct idea of mm. 15–16, 19–20, and 23–24 is also a typical brass flourish. A third instance of a "brassy" idea is the anapestic repeated-chord figure in the piano, used to punctuate the ends of phrases (mm. 10 and 18). Such fanfare-like figures, not at all common in Lang's music, are appropriate here because of Werner's instrument, because of his gender (fanfares denote masculine activities such as fighting and hunting), and because they match his initial statements about the gaiety of his song.<sup>51</sup> The cheery nature of the music is reinforced by Lang's indication *Mit Humor* at the beginning of the vocal line.

When the *Wasserfrau* begins to speak (m. 26), Lang abandons the fanfare-like ideas of the opening section and abruptly turns to music that many listeners would identify as more "feminine." This music is more lyrical, smoother (*sempre legato il basso*), and softer than that of the opening section, and it employs the treble register even in the left hand of the piano part. Another significant new feature of the music after m. 26 is that the voice is enclosed within or lies below the piano part instead of floating above it. The surrounding or covering of the voice by a



gently rippling accompaniment aptly suggests not merely a woman, but specifically a *Wasserfrau*.

Lang could easily have maintained a strict separation of the cheerful and assertive “masculine,” and the pensive and contemplative “feminine” components throughout her setting. Werner’s direct statements could consistently have been associated with detached, low-pitched, and loud music in the “heroic” key of E♭ major. The *Wasserfrau*’s utterances, on the other hand, could have been set consistently to smooth, high, and relatively soft music in a minor key (here, G minor). Lang’s setting, however, while hinting at such a separation, frequently deploys these elements in less obvious ways. The two main key areas of the song, for instance, are not allotted in the expected manner to the two characters. Although some of Werner’s initial statements are in E♭ major (mm. 15–20), G minor dominates the opening section. In the *Wasserfrau* section, on the other hand, the key of E♭ is highlighted (by its use as the opening key of the section).

Both Lang’s setting of Werner’s initial direct statements and of his statements through the “*Wasserfrau*” actually consist of a blend of the two keys. The opening section is primarily in the former key, but E♭ is established at m. 15 as the opening text is repeated. The E♭ harmony resolves into G minor in mm. 21–22, where a cadence to the latter key takes place. In the following piano interlude, resolution of E♭ into G minor occurs once again: E♭ resolves to the dominant of G in mm. 25–26. In the succeeding “*Wasserfrau*” section, the key of E♭ eventually functions as a harmony within G minor; E♭ is twice propelled toward the latter key by the addition of an augmented sixth (see mm. 33 and 41).

Loud and soft dynamics are similarly blended in both “Werner” and “*Wasserfrau*” sections. The introduction begins *fortissimo*, but this initial trumpet blast is immediately echoed at a *pianissimo* level (mm. 1–2). In mm. 3–6, low and high dynamic levels are linked by a sweeping *crescendo*. Such dynamic fluctuation characterizes the entire opening section. The “*Wasserfrau*” section is dominated by soft dynamics, but contains several dramatic *forte* and *fortissimo* outbursts (mm. 51–54 and 58). The section ends with a *fortissimo* outcry on the word “Liebe” (to suggest the desperation with which Werner hurls his love song at the castle).

The “Werner” and “*Wasserfrau*” sections also share particular harmonic progressions. Both sections consist of an alternation between tonic and dominant harmonies, the changes occurring on every beat. In the opening section, this alternation is presented in an overt manner. The fanfare of mm. 1–2 initiates the alternation (the progression “i–V” occupies both measures), and the vocal portion continues it (see especially mm. 7–8 and 11–12). In the E♭-major portion of the opening section, the tonic–dominant alternation is transposed to that key (mm. 15–18, 19–20, and 23–25). During mm. 15–20, one could hear the harmony exclusively as tonic, but during the piano interlude in mm. 23–25 the melody of the earlier

measures is explicitly associated with tonic and dominant harmonies (over a pedal tone). The progression of the “*Wasserfrau*” section that begins with the upbeat to m. 27 hardly departs from that of the opening section. It is especially similar to that of mm. 15–25; in both passages, tonic and dominant functions in E♭ major alternate at one-beat intervals (vii7 taking the place of V7 in the “*Wasserfrau*” section).

The section beginning with the upbeat to m. 43 is another good example of the blending of characteristics that might have been associated either with Werner or the *Wasserfrau*. This section is a varied return of the opening “Werner” section, but it contains several accretions of the *Wasserfrau* material. One of the distinctive characteristics of the *Wasserfrau* section—the submerging of the voice part within the piano part—continues at the return of the “Werner” material. It is only after m. 50 that the voice line returns to its original location above the piano part. Some portions of the return also absorb the *legato* articulation of the middle section (mm. 48–50 and 55–58). These *legato* sections are sharply juxtaposed with others that present a confident “masculine” character; compare mm. 51–54 and mm. 55–58, where the same music is presented first in the manner of Werner, then in the manner of the *Wasserfrau*.

The coda (mm. 58–end) also brings together both of the two voices. It begins with a period in G major; the antecedent occupies mm. 58–66, the consequent mm. 66–75. The music is somewhat related to m. 27ff, sharing with it the alternation of tonic and dominant harmony, the use of mode mixture, and *legato* articulation. As the period reaches its climactic conclusion (mm. 74–75 constitute the climax of the entire song), the introductory fanfare returns—but it is now presented in *legato* fashion (see especially m. 76). An intrinsically masculine musical idea is rendered more “feminine.”

The fact that Lang did not strictly separate the musical ideas and textures evocative of Werner and of the *Wasserfrau* suggests that she wished to maintain the impression of a single persona with a masculine and a feminine side, rather than of two individuals of different genders. The result is a setting that responds to the text in a profound and satisfyingly complex manner.

The fifth song of op. 45, a setting of one of Scheffel's “Songs of the Cat Hiddigeigei,” forms a somewhat lighthearted conclusion to the opus (track 29).<sup>52</sup> Although it is probably the most humorous of Lang's published songs, it is not *purely* humorous; a blend of humor and gravity lends the song a unique character. Here is the text:

An dem Ende seiner Tage  
Steht der Kater Hiddigeigei.

Und er denkt mit leiser Klage,  
Wie sein Dasein bald vorbei sei.

At the end of his days  
Stands the cat [literally tom-cat]  
Hiddigeigei.

And he thinks, with faint lamenting,  
How soon his existence shall be over.

Möchte gerne aus dem Schatze  
Reicher Weisheit Lehren geben,  
Dran die Zukunft mancher Katze

Haltpunkt fänd im schwanken Leben.  
[Miau! Miau! Miau!]

Ach der Lebenspfad ist holpernd,  
Liegen dort so manche Steine,  
Dran wir Alten schmäählich stolpernd

Oftmals uns verrenkt die Beine.

Ach, das Leben birgt viel Hader  
Und schlägt viel unnütze Wunden[.]  
Mancher tapfre schwarze Kater  
Hat umsonst den Tod gefunden.  
[Miau! Miau! Miau!]

Doch wozu der alte Kummer?  
Und ich hör' die Jungen lachen.  
Und sie treiben's noch viel dummer,  
Schaden erst wird klug sie machen.

Fruchtlos stets ist die Geschichte[.]  
Mögen seh'n sie, wie sie's treiben!  
Hiddigegeis Lehrgedichte  
Werden ungesungen bleiben.  
[Miau! Miau! Miau!]

He would gladly, out of his treasure  
Of rich wisdom, supply teachings  
That would lend the future of many  
a cat

An anchor in this unstable life.  
[Meow! Meow! Meow!]

Oh, the path of life is rough.  
Many stones lie there,  
On which we old ones, wretchedly  
tripping,  
Have frequently sprained our legs.

Oh, life contains much strife  
And often wounds [us] unnecessarily.  
Many a courageous black cat  
Has needlessly found his death.  
[Meow! Meow! Meow!]

But of what use is the age-old sorrow?  
And I hear the young ones laughing.  
And they act even more stupidly.  
Only misfortune shall make them wise.

History is always without effect.  
Let them manage as best they can!  
Hiddigegei's instructive songs  
Shall remain unsung.  
[Meow! Meow! Meow!]

The "meows" are Lang's additions; their inclusion injects considerable extra humor into Scheffel's text.<sup>53</sup> Her music, too, abounds in humorous effects. Even aspects of the music that are not intrinsically humorous become so in association with this text. Let us look first at the intrinsically comical elements of the music. Contrasts and sudden changes in various musical domains are significant contributors to the humor. The introduction, with its numerous sudden shifts in register, sets up this aspect of the musical humor. The introductory material returns at mm. 20–24, so that each stanza ends with the same registral surprises with which it began. The low C octave in the first and second endings (m. 24), following the relatively high cadential chords, is yet another example of registral surprise.

In mm. 20–24, the voice adds its own registral surprises to the introductory material. In the first "meow," which leaps from F4 to F5, the surprise stems from

the relative lowness of the preceding vocal phrase, and indeed of the entire vocal line up until this point (in mm. 4–20, the voice remains within the span C4–C5). The leap to F5 in mm. 20–21 is surprising for another reason as well. The phrase segment that precedes the “meows” (mm. 18–20) is identical to the vocal incipit (mm. 4–6), after which we originally heard a descent to C4 (mm. 6–8). A leap up to F5 after a restatement of this segment is thus a considerable shock. The remaining “meows” bring more surprises; the second one remains in a low register—an intriguing contrast to the preceding octave leap—and the third meow again leaps unexpectedly into a higher register.<sup>54</sup>

Texture is another domain in which Lang creates surprises. The texture of the introduction, with its “oom-pah” accompaniment pattern, is lighthearted in itself and also enables a humorous effect in its later juxtaposition with a more serious texture. The beginning of the vocal section departs from the “oom-pah” pattern of the introduction; mm. 4–12 consist of the twofold statement of a sustained, almost chorale-like section. But in m. 12, the texture reverts to that of the introduction. This change alone is humorous (particularly if the pianist plays the right-hand chords lightly, almost *staccato*). The section beginning in m. 12 multiplies this surprising change in texture; in mm. 12–20, the chorale-like and the “oom-pah” texture alternate at two-bar intervals.

A final aspect of the music in which humorous surprises occur is dynamics. Measure 11 contains the first such surprise—a sudden increase to *forte*. Even more striking examples occur at the end of the song. The return of the opening vocal material in m. 19 is highlighted by an abrupt *crescendo* to *forte*; this is a surprise in its context, as well as in relation to the first rendition of this material in mm. 4–6, which is consistently soft. The returning introductory material and the “meows” are ushered in by an *fp* marking. Even more surprising (and humorous) are the *ff* marking in the piano part during the final vocal pitch and the *f* marking on the final tonic of the song.

There are fewer rhythmic and metric surprises in this song than in others. The hypermeter is entirely regular (four-bar hypermeter throughout), and there is very little metrical dissonance. Only the introduction and postlude involve a modicum of the latter device. In m. 1, a dynamic accent on the third quarter initiates a displaced layer. In mm. 2–3, the displacement is continued by registral accentuation (the leap to Eb5 on the third beat of m. 2) and by the retention of a diminished-seventh chord across the bar line. The same displacement dissonance occurs in the postlude. The dynamic accent on the third beat of m. 23 and the durational accent on the same beat of m. 24 are the final pulses in the displaced layer.<sup>55</sup>

We have concentrated so far on the humorous aspects of the music, which are based on various types of surprises. Two of the serious aspects have already been

mentioned: the frequent use of chorale-like texture and the generally low register of the vocal line. Particular harmonic features also lend a serious tone to portions of the song: the minor coloring at the opening of the introduction and postlude, and the occasional expressive use of chromaticism and dissonance. Chromaticism appears frequently in the form of rising passing motion (mm. 4, 7, 8, 11, 18). Some of the passing motion results in the expressive dissonance of the augmented triad. A more dramatic clash occurs on the first beat of m. 19, where a diminished-seventh chord is superimposed on a member of its expected chord of resolution. This dissonance highlights serious thoughts in all three stanzas of the poem—Hiddigeigei's musings on the uncertainty of life, on the needless death of many fellow cats, and on the fact that his songs will remain unsung.<sup>56</sup>

These elements could certainly be regarded as “mock serious”; their *raison d'être* seems to be to enable the surprising juxtapositions and hence the musical humor in the song. We have seen that this statement applies to the chorale-like texture (which is consistently juxtaposed with the more comical “oom-pah” texture) and to the low vocal register (which makes possible the humorous surprise of the first “meow”). Sometimes, serious and comical elements are actually blended rather than merely juxtaposed. This is true of the opening of the song, where the potential poignancy of the minor subdominant is undermined by the jocular accompaniment pattern and by the grace note in m. 1.

Nevertheless, the presence of numerous serious elements results in a song that is not purely comical. Why did Lang choose to temper the humor of the song with seriousness? One answer to this question is that Hiddigeigei is not a funny cat; Scheffel describes him as “always dignified and solemnly sedate” and, when hunting mice at night, “truly imposing.”<sup>57</sup> Another possible reason for the song's undercurrent of seriousness, however, may be Lang's identification with Hiddigeigei's realization near the end of his life that his “songs shall remain unsung.” The quotation from a letter to Hiller cited at the beginning of this section reveals that the aging Josephine Lang felt that her songs would not fare well in the marketplace and would, like Hiddigeigei's, remain unsung.

### The Last Years—Changes in the Family

As Lang aged and her children grew up, inevitable changes took place in the family. In 1863, an opera singer from Berlin, Johannes Schleich, came to Tübingen and became Lang's good friend and staunch supporter.<sup>58</sup> Her affection for him is demonstrated by her dedication to him of *Disteln und Dornen*, op. 33[34], in 1865.<sup>59</sup> Schleich's friendship and support, in turn, are evident from an event in

1867 that Lang described in a letter to Hiller.<sup>60</sup> She had submitted one of her songs ("Ich liebe dich"<sup>61</sup>) to a Berlin publisher, who had sent it back and had inadvertently included his unkind instructions to an employee with respect to the contents of the rejection letter. She was, of course, downcast about this experience. Schleich cheered her up by asking for a copy of the song and promising to sing it everywhere.

Schleich performed Lang's songs in private circles and in public concerts.<sup>62</sup> She was favorably impressed both with his voice and with his manner of performing her songs. She wrote to Hiller, "He alone is capable of making something out of 'nothing,' for he sings with tender expression! To my delight, he sings especially the songs dedicated to you [op. 38(39)] and to him [op. 33(34)] with the warmest enthusiasm, and performs them wondrously beautifully."<sup>63</sup>

Lang's admiration of Schleich's voice is reflected in her autographs as well as her letters. The title of one of her songs from this period is "'Greeting of the Angels' Addressed to a 'Finely Etched, Enchanting' 'Vocal Cord.'"<sup>64</sup> Although none of the autographs of the "Vocal Cord" song is specifically addressed to him, an unattached title page dated 1864 makes clear that the "vocal cord" that she so admired was Schleich's; it reads, "Dedicated to an unforgettably dear vocal cord (called 'Schleich'), in friendly remembrance of [his] old, fat, homesick Tübinger musical friend, Josephine Köstlin geb. Lang."<sup>65</sup> On another autograph, Lang marked two passages with a cross and wrote in the margin that at these points "the beautiful Schleichian 'r' must not be forgotten!"<sup>66</sup>

Schleich was important for Lang in another way besides as a performer of her songs. In 1868, she complained to Hiller that since the death of her husband she had found nobody in Tübingen with whom she could talk about music: "Here we lack infinitely much—everything!! One grows utterly sour! Aside from Professor Scherzer, whose bent is actually quite different [from mine], I have nobody with whom I can even talk about music and art!"<sup>67</sup> Schleich, on the other hand, was "a high-minded [*edel denkender*] singer who [was] solely and genuinely interested only in 'art,'"<sup>68</sup> with whom she was able to have the kind of discussions that she had missed.

Schleich was, however, not interested *only* in art; Lang's eldest daughter, Therese, also captured his attention. By December 1867, they were engaged,<sup>69</sup> and they were married on 28 August 1869. Lang looked upon this event as a recompense for the loss of her own eldest son. Actually, the marriage resulted in the loss of her daughter, for the couple moved to distant Dessau, north of Leipzig.<sup>70</sup>

Only two months after Therese was married, Maria became engaged to an engineer named Richard Fellingner. Unlike the Schleichs, Maria and Richard were averse to a long engagement and wished to marry very soon. It appears that Maria

was eager to escape from a situation that involved a lot of hard work and little pleasure. After Therese's departure, it was to her that most of the household tasks devolved—tasks that, given a mother who was often ill and a paralyzed, bed-ridden brother who required constant care, were quite onerous.<sup>71</sup> Lang was at first crushed by the news of Maria's engagement; she wrote to Hiller:

Can you imagine, best of friends, with what emotions I initially greeted [the engagement]? Although the event is an extraordinarily joyful one for [Maria] and for all of us, I felt in the first moment as if a "death sentence" had been pronounced both over me and over my poor ailing son, Theobald. For Maria is now my only daughter, my only support—and her loss, when she is torn from us, will be of the most painful gravity for me!<sup>72</sup>

Maria had played a significant role in Lang's life: she had sung Lang's songs after Lang herself was no longer able to do so. Lang referred to this role in the same letter:

Maria has a very small but pure little voice [*Stimmchen*] and she sings with innate talent! It is too bad that she never had proper training, for neither she nor I found time to engage in regular lessons! So we contented ourselves and were happy if she occasionally sang a few of my songs for me, which I was eager to hear after composing them, since I was no longer able to sing them! Thus she gradually learned all of them, and often sings them quite beautifully like a bird in the sky, especially when she is not anxious and when she has a good accompanist.

The loss of her "in-house singer" was a serious matter for Lang.

After a period of adjustment, however, Lang was able to share Maria's happiness. She was just as fond of her second son-in-law as of her first. She found Richard Fellingner to be a person of "great charm and manifold talents and knowledge! Full of tenderness, too, for his old mother-in-law, and full of the most loving devotion." Fellingner's affection for her was revealed, for example, in his efforts to become acquainted with her compositions. He became a "fanatic admirer" of Lang's songs and was even able to accompany Maria's performances when the piano part was not overly challenging.<sup>73</sup>

Despite their wishes, Maria's and Richard's marriage was delayed. Upon the outbreak of war between Germany and France (the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71), Lang's youngest son, Heinrich Adolf, and Richard Fellingner both went to the front—the former as chaplain, the latter as infantryman. In 1871, they returned unharmed. This war elicited some compositional response from Lang. During the war she began to work on a "Deutscher Krönungsmarsch,"

which she later renamed *Deutscher Siegesmarsch* in memory of Germany's victory; the piece was published posthumously under the latter title as op. 48. A clean copy of her march, bound into a booklet with red cover and gold lettering, is inscribed as follows:

This weak expression of patriotic enthusiasm is dedicated to her dear son-in-law Richard Fellingner on his birthday by his mother Josephine Köstlin, who genuinely loves him, in memory of the year of joy 1871, so fateful, blessed with pain, worry and tears—but also great, crowned with glory, and victorious. Tübingen, 11 March 1871.<sup>74</sup>

Soon after the end of the war, Maria and Richard were married. They initially moved to Elberfeld (located in the Ruhr area of Germany) and later to Berlin, where Therese and Hans Schleich also moved at some unknown time. The Schleichs had no children, but the Fellingners had two sons, one born in 1872, the other in 1873. H. A. Köstlin wrote about “frequent visits [to Tübingen]” by Lang’s two daughters,<sup>75</sup> but as no correspondence between mother and daughters has been preserved, the actual frequency of these visits cannot be determined.<sup>76</sup> In the 1870s, journeys from the daughters’ distant homes to Tübingen would have been a major undertaking, particularly if, as in Maria’s case, one had to keep two little boys occupied during the trip.

As soon as Maria was married, Lang’s youngest son became engaged to Sophie Gerok, the daughter of the poet Carl Gerok.<sup>77</sup> The couple married in 1873 and settled in Sulz. In 1876, they moved to Maulbronn, where Josephine Lang’s only granddaughter was born in 1877.<sup>78</sup> By 1880 Heinrich Adolf and his family were living in Friedrichshafen, on the shores of Lake Constance. All of these towns were too distant for Lang to visit them easily, but near enough that the young family could come to Tübingen.

Lang’s third son, Eugen, did not marry. Like his two elder brothers, he caused his mother considerable anxiety. His health problems, already mentioned in chapter 5, eventually prevented him from working. He returned home and lived with his mother for five years. Exactly which five years Eugen spent in Tübingen cannot be determined, but in February 1870 he was at home suffering from a *Kopfleiden*—that ambiguous term again—and was hoping that the spring weather would improve his health.<sup>79</sup> He was eventually able to take a job—a “little post suited to his capabilities,” as his brother put it—in nearby Reutlingen.<sup>80</sup>

The only one of Lang’s children who never left home—either for purposes of study, employment, or marriage—was the invalid Theobald. The relationship between Lang and this second son was consequently very close: “He was the confi-



dant of her thoughts, anxieties and sorrows, her son, friend and comforter.”<sup>81</sup> His death on 26 March 1873 was a devastating blow for her. She wrote to Hiller, “My sole and final purpose in life has departed and been extinguished with the loss of this dear child—(who for 28 years did not leave my side—and became by far my most loyal friend!)”<sup>82</sup> The extensive underlining reveals the depth of her feelings about this loss. She wrote that in this situation she was not even able to seek solace in music; rather, she fled from it as from a “poison.”<sup>83</sup> Her deep depression continued for some time. On 20 July 1874, she wrote to Hiller, “I was since [Theobald’s death] so very downcast, spiritually and physically, that for over a year I was able to tackle nothing!”<sup>84</sup>

Lang’s remarks about her productivity are, however, not supported by her autographs. Although there are large gaps in her compositional activity in the year following Theobald’s death, it is not true that she “tackle[d] nothing.” In June 1873, for example, she wrote a little song for the occasion of her second grandson’s christening.<sup>85</sup> If she was inclined to flee music as if it were a “poison,” she may have composed the christening song primarily out of a feeling of obligation. But that “obligation” seems to have helped her to overcome her aversion to music, for in the next few days she set several religious texts and dedicated two of these songs to the memory of her “beloved child Theobald.”<sup>86</sup> In fact, 1873 was one of the most productive years of her final decade.

Lang’s musical autographs attest to the close and warm relationship that she maintained with all of her surviving children and their spouses. She composed little songs (on her own texts) for her grandchildren. The following text reveals her affection for Richard Fellingner (senior *and* junior):

Werd’ wie dein Vater  
Ein Engel schon hier.  
Hab’ sein gut Herze!  
Das rath ich Dir!  
Hab’ seinen edlen  
Liebenden Geist!  
Bist du recht brav  
Denn auch Dicky du heißt!

Become, like your father,  
An angel already here [on earth].  
Have his good heart!  
That is my advice to you!  
Have his noble  
Loving spirit!  
Be very good,  
For your name is Dicky, too!<sup>87</sup>

Her fondness for Richard Fellingner, senior, is further demonstrated by gifts of her music. She sent a score of the piano piece *Gruss in die Ferne* (a Mendelssohnian song without words, published in 1879 as op. 44) to Fellingner, referring to him as her “cable-son” (*Kabelsohn*)—an allusion to his profession as an electrical engineer—and writing that for him, the piece should be renamed *Kuss in die Ferne*.<sup>88</sup>

It was also Richard Fellingner to whom she left her autograph album. She wrote to him in 1874:

For years now I am in such infinitely great debt to you, and I do not at all know if and in what way it will be possible for me in this life to repay you at least a small part of the love and friendship that your faithful filial love continually demonstrates to me in the most self-sacrificing manner. Therefore please accept with these lines my definite promise that after my death [you shall receive] "this book" as only a small token of my motherly love and gratitude—only because I know how highly you value it, and what genuine, warm interest and honest joy you take in it.<sup>89</sup>

This inscription suggests that the Fellingners were generous in financially supporting Lang when she was in need (and we have seen earlier that she was in great financial need in 1874).

### The Last Years—New Acquaintances

Lang traveled little after her marriage, and even less after her husband's death. Financial constraints and ill health account only in part for her sedentary lifestyle. Lang seems to have dug herself into her Tübingen life and been loath to tear herself away. Even when her doctor insisted that she take a much-needed cure at Bad Wildbad (approximately 60 kilometers from Tübingen), she wrote:

[Dr.] Niemeyer knows exactly what my circumstances are, and . . . he would never have prescribed this cure, if he did not find it unequivocally necessary. I cannot begin to describe with how heavy a heart I shall part from my poor sick son, leaving him for four weeks in the hands of strangers (since Maria is away), and how difficult even just making the journey will be for me, since for 16 years I have not traveled more than a quarter hour by train, and, in terms of travel, have become completely immobile. And what homesickness plagues me already [i.e., before her departure]: for my dear ones, my household, my students, etc. and my comfortable old routine. On the other hand, I see the great necessity [of taking this cure], and I consider it my sacred duty to give way to the urging and pleas of my dear, concerned children. But under these various circumstances that always lead to new expenditures, it is simply very hard for me to undertake something like this and to peel myself away from a place where a mother's heart is so much needed! Already after Whitsunday, as soon as I have recovered somewhat from the influenza that has prostrated me, they want to drive me away. You can imagine how my head is so full of worries about the trip . . . and all the attendant preparations. My students are also pulling long faces about it! And my wallet an even longer face—since the loss

of four weeks' [income] and the long vacation that starts soon after [my return] (when everyone leaves [town]) will make itself doubly felt!<sup>90</sup>

This lengthy quotation not only demonstrates Lang's "immobility" but gives a clear picture of the cares and responsibilities that contributed to it.

If Lang was to make any new acquaintances in the last decade of her life, they could only be people who came to live in or to visit Tübingen. Fortunately there were individuals who sought her out and became her friends. One of them was Felix Mendelssohn's second daughter, Lily. In February 1871, Lang wrote to Hiller:

Did you know that at Easter a cherished daughter of Mendelssohn (Lily Wach) will move here from Rostock? Her husband has accepted a position here and he has already visited me [while] looking for a place to live. And his darling little wife has already delighted me with dear, heartfelt letters! Who would have thought that such happiness would yet be mine in life, to live here with a little daughter of Mendelssohn and to enter into closer companionship with her[!] I am unspeakably happy—I am only sorry that I am not 20 years younger, so that I could play a significant role in this woman's life and be of real assistance to her.<sup>91</sup>

Given Lang's immense regard for Mendelssohn, the opportunity to become intimately acquainted with one of his children meant much to her.

In 1871, she wrote a song for Lily's son Felix, who was born on 19 April 1871, just before the Wachs moved to Tübingen. The song was a Christmas gift to the little boy—an unpublished "Schlummerliedchen," for which she wrote her own words.<sup>92</sup> Lang seems to have been convinced that children named Felix were destined for great careers in music. As mentioned earlier, she had cherished this dream for her own firstborn. When she found out that Hiller's son was named Felix, she asked, "Surely he is also extremely talented; will he not become a musician too?"<sup>93</sup> In the case of Mendelssohn's grandchild, it was therefore inevitable that Lang's slumber song for little Felix Wach urged the child to become like his grandfather and to "sing a beautiful song someday, just as he once did!"<sup>94</sup> It seems that Lily Wach had children in the same rapid succession as Lang herself, for in May 1872, when Wach's firstborn was just over a year old, Lang composed "A Musical Christening Greeting and 'Toast'"<sup>95</sup> for the second son, Hugo.

The Wachs did not stay long in Tübingen; by 1873, they had relocated to Bonn. Lang remained in contact with Lily Wach by letter and sent greetings to the family through Hiller, especially to her "little Felix and Hugo."<sup>96</sup> Lily Wach, in turn, sent Lang Hiller's Mendelssohn book when it appeared in print.<sup>97</sup> When Lang died, Mendelssohn's daughter sent a palm frond for her coffin.<sup>98</sup>

In 1874, Lang received a visit from the son of Köstlin's stepbrother Carl Müller, the artist who created the most frequently reproduced portrait of Lang (see fig. 1) and the dedicatee of her op. 25. In August 1874, Carl Müller wrote to Hiller:

[My son] recently used part of his vacation for a pilgrimage from Zürich . . . to Tübingen. . . . where . . . he visited his aunt Josephine Lang Koestlin [*sic*], meeting her for the first time. He returned in such raptures about her and her songs that in the first few days he sang and played nothing else. Josephine herself took great pleasure in a number of compositions that he showed her, and warmly encouraged him to continue [composing].<sup>99</sup>

Lang must have made an extraordinary impression on the young man. Her response to his compositional endeavors was apparently typical; she was known for her encouragement of young people in the field of music. Her son wrote that at her grave a student from Tübingen "spoke emotional words of reverence and gratitude for the friendly understanding and amiable kindness that the artist had always demonstrated toward aspiring youth."<sup>100</sup>

In terms of artistic kinship and stimulation, Lang's most significant new friends of the 1870s were the Samson-Himmelstiernas. Ferdinand Hiller was responsible for this acquaintance, through which "a marvelously powerful creative impulse . . . once more took possession" of Lang.<sup>101</sup> In 1876, Baron Oscar von Samson-Himmelstierna and his wife, Emma, met Hiller while taking the cure in Herrenalb and, upon the latter's "solemn recommendation," visited the sixty-one-year-old Josephine Lang in Tübingen. They were enchanted with her; the baron's enthusiasm for Lang and her music is evident in the following letter to Hiller:

I esteem her songs very highly. I perfectly understand the recognition that has been bestowed on the muse of Josephine Lang by Mendelssohn, as well as by you in your fine biography of this highly talented composer. Since a personal relationship now connects me with her, I cannot refrain from acknowledging how heartily grateful I am to you for creating such a fine monument to the noble woman and composer. But it troubles me, as it does you, that the songs are not as well known as they deserve . . . —that her name has almost been forgotten. This fact constitutes an injustice, a grave injustice! . . . I have an idea. . . . Would it not be possible, by way of a relatively inexpensive collected edition, to refresh her remembrance in the musical world and [to bring her music] back into circulation . . . ? With a collected edition after the fashion of the Peters edition of the songs of Beethoven, Schubert, etc., the wrong would be righted and the composer's name would immediately become publicly known again! . . . I am impelled [toward this plan] by my high opinion of this noble woman's songs, which I desire to see sung as much as possible and to be preserved as long as possible for posterity.<sup>102</sup>

It is striking that this male aristocrat was concerned enough about the neglect of Lang's compositions to refer to it as a "grave injustice." His implicit equating of her songs with those of Beethoven and Schubert is no less remarkable.

Soon after their first visit, the Himmelstiernas moved to Tübingen and remained there for three years while the baron audited lectures on economics at the university. The Himmelstiernas became Lang's closest friends. The baron was more than just an admirer of music; he was himself a composer, and Lang thus found in him one of those kindred artistic souls that were so necessary to her. Energized and inspired by the interaction with him, she again began to "compose, criticize, study."<sup>103</sup>

When Frau Emma von Samson left Tübingen for an extended period during the summer of 1877, Lang composed a song for her, entitled "Scheide-Gruß der theuren Freundin zur Abreise" (Farewell Greeting for the Dear Friend upon Her Departure).<sup>104</sup> In April 1878, the couple permanently left Tübingen. Just before their departure the baron wrote the following farewell message in Lang's album:

Everything, everything, dear friend, that I have felt during our companionship, that now fills my heart as we say farewell—the entire image of your exalted artistic and human personality as it has been indelibly impressed upon my soul—the echo of the happiness and the sorrow that we have borne together in the most faithful love—the sensation that space and time cannot part us, that we shall stay linked with each other forever—all of these most exalted sensations, for [the expression of] which I have no sufficient word, no appropriate sound—are [herewith] submitted to your loving understanding.<sup>105</sup>

Oscar von Samson-Himmelstierna did not succeed in setting in motion the publication of Lang's collected works. It is possible, however, that Lang's publications toward the end of her life came about through his efforts or at least his encouragement, for after a hiatus of six years Lang began to publish again. Her op. 42, a *Hochzeitsmarsch* (Wedding March) for piano, appeared with Eduard Ebner in Stuttgart in 1878; it is dedicated to her former student Prince Wilhelm on the occasion of his marriage. In 1879, a year before her death, several more works were published.<sup>106</sup> Ebner of Stuttgart brought out op. 43 (*Fünf Gesänge*) and op. 44 (the song without words, *Gruss in die Ferne*); the latter is dedicated to Lang's "beloved friend, the Baroness Emilie von Samson." Also in 1879, op. 45 (*Fünf Lieder aus dem Trompeter von Säckingen*) and op. 46 (*Danse infernale* for piano) appeared with T. F. A. Kühn in Weimar. Lang dedicated the latter work to her "highly honored friend, Baron Oscar von Samson Himmelstierna."

## The Late Songs

Many of the songs from Lang's final years (1871–80) are characterized by an austerity that arises from the simplicity of their piano parts and of their harmonies. Although these late songs are superficially less appealing than her earlier ones, there are numerous fine works among them. Some of them are short, chorale-like songs with religious texts. None of these sacred songs was published during Lang's lifetime, but H. A. Köstlin included four of them in a posthumous collection.<sup>107</sup> "Es ist noch eine Ruhe vorhanden dem Volke Gottes"<sup>108</sup> illustrates the style of these songs. The piano part consists almost entirely of quarter-note chords, with occasional eighth notes. Both melody and harmony are simple; diminished-seventh chords over pedal tones and mode mixture (major color within the overall minor mode) are the most adventurous harmonic devices. The numerous repeated dominants in the vocal line at "in der ew'gen Ruh'" suitably suggest eternal rest.

Example 6.5 shows the beginning of an unpublished song of slightly more ambitious scope and style that nevertheless exhibits the overall simplicity and *re-ligioso* mood of the aforementioned chorale-like songs. Lang presented one autograph of this song to "her dear, honored friend Baroness Emma von Samson" on 20 December 1879.<sup>109</sup> The text, Julius von der Traun's "Du bist mir lieb," is a love poem with a strong religious undercurrent, its basic theme being a love that endures beyond the grave. Lang was surely thinking of her departed spouse as she set the first stanza:

Du bist mir lieb! wie jene stille Stunde!	You are as dear to me as that quiet hour[—]
Der Frühling streifte kaum den Gartenrand—	Spring barely brushed the garden's edge—
In der ein Wort, gehaucht von deinem Munde,	In which a word, breathed by your mouth,
Bis übers Grab mein Herz an deines band!	Bound my heart to yours [even] beyond the grave.

Lang specified that the song is to be performed "with a soulful, serious expression." She contributed to the "soulful" tone by writing an accompaniment consisting mostly of solid triads, with a few harped chords interspersed. The simple harmonies are rendered expressive by the use of suspensions (for example, on the first beats of mm. 3 and 4). The dynamic range is wider than one might expect in a setting of a tender, devout text (see the *fortissimo* marking at the climax in mm. 8–9).

EXAMPLE 6.5 “Du bist mir lieb,” mm. 1–11 (unpublished; Mus. fol. 54b, 60, WLB,)

**Mit seelenvollem ernstem Ausdruck**  
**Larghetto**

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of four systems of staves. The key signature has three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The tempo is marked 'Larghetto'.

**System 1 (Measures 1-3):** The voice part begins with a whole note rest, followed by a half note 'Du', a quarter note 'bist', a quarter note 'mir', a half note 'lieb!', a quarter note 'wie', a quarter note 'je', a quarter note 'ne', a quarter note 'stil', a quarter note 'le', a half note 'Stun', a quarter note 'de!', and a half note 'der Früh-ling'. The piano accompaniment starts with a half note chord, followed by a half note chord, and then a half note chord. Dynamics include *pp* and *p*. A *dolce* marking is above the piano part in measure 3.

**System 2 (Measures 4-6):** The voice part continues with a half note 'streif', a quarter note 'te', a half note 'kaum', a quarter note 'den', a quarter note 'Gar', a quarter note 'ten', a half note 'rand', and a half note 'in der ein'. The piano accompaniment features a half note chord, a half note chord, and a half note chord. Dynamics include *cresc.* and *dim.*.

**System 3 (Measures 7-9):** The voice part continues with a half note 'Wort', a quarter note 'ge-haucht', a quarter note 'von dei-nem', a half note 'Mun - de,', a quarter note 'bis', a quarter note 'ü - bers', a half note 'Grab', a quarter note 'mein Herz', a quarter note 'an dei - nes'. The piano accompaniment features a half note chord, a half note chord, and a half note chord. Dynamics include *p*, *pp*, *dolce*, *f*, and *cresc.*. There are also markings for *gru-* and *loco*.

**System 4 (Measures 10-11):** The voice part continues with a half note 'band!', a quarter note 'bis', a quarter note 'ü - bers', a half note 'Grab', a quarter note 'mein Herz', a quarter note 'an dei - nes', and a half note 'band!'. The piano accompaniment features a half note chord, a half note chord, and a half note chord. Dynamics include *loco*, *f*, and *cresc.*.

Only a few of Lang's late songs exhibit the more elaborate accompaniment patterns of her earlier works. One of these is another unpublished song, dated 21 April 1879—the lullaby “Mutterlieb’ sorget, Mutterlieb’ wacht” (ex. 6.6), on a text by Therese von Niemeyer.<sup>110</sup> Its rippling sixteenth-note accompaniment evokes the “undulating waves” mentioned in the first line of the poem. The harmonies are slightly more adventurous than in most of the late songs. The opening progression, based on a rising circle of fifths, is embellished by occasional chromaticism (see especially m. 10, which contains an expressive chromatic passing tone).

EXAMPLE 6.6 “Mutterlieb’ sorget,” mm. 1–10 (unpublished; Mus. fol. 54b, 65, WLB)

**Bewegt, doch nicht zu rasch** *p*

Wal - len-de Wo - gen, auf

*pp* *p*

5 Häup - tern von Schaum tragt ihr ein *cresc.*

8 *p* *legato* Schiff, wie auf flok - ki - gem Flaum! *f*



We conclude our discussion of Lang's late compositions with an analysis of one of the songs published within her op. 43 in 1878. "Scheiden" (ex. 6.7 and track 30) is her last setting of a text by Reinhold Köstlin, and one of only two Köstlin settings that can be documented as having been composed after his death. Köstlin's published text follows (a stanza that Lang did not set is parenthesized):

Warum, ach, muß das Scheiden sein, Das Scheiden? Darum man muß so bittre Pein Erleiden?	Oh why must there be parting, Parting? Through which one must such bitter pain Endure?
Halt', was du liebst, fest an der Brust!  O scheu' dich! Zusammen trägt sich Leid und Lust So freudig!	Clasp what you love tightly to your breast! Take care! Together, sorrow and joy can be borne So happily!
(Wenn dich der Wahn fortriß einmal, Der schlimme, Irrst du, wie ich, durch Berg und Tal Im Grimme.)	(If delusion once swept you away, Evil [delusion], Then, as I [did], you shall wander through mountain and vale In anger.)
Warum muß, ach, das Scheiden sein, Das Scheiden? Darum man muß so bittre Pein Erleiden?	Oh why must there be parting, Parting, Through which one must such bitter pain Endure?
Kein böses Wort in aller Welt! Tod spricht es! Und wem es recht auf's Herze fällt[.] Dem bricht es.	No word more evil in all the world! Death utters it! And the person onto whose heart it falls[.] That person's heart breaks.

The poem, written on 29 and 30 September 1845,<sup>111</sup> is in part a remembrance of the events that had taken place five years earlier, when Köstlin had left Lang and was wandering through the Alps, filled with dark and despairing thoughts. The poem may be more than a remembrance; it may be an effort to come to terms with the events that it recalls—a wrestling with the reasons for that parting in 1840, which had caused so much bitter pain to Josephine Lang as well as to the poet himself.

## EXAMPLE 6.7 "Scheiden," op. 43 no. 4

**Ausdrucksvoll, nicht schleppen.**

Wa - rum muss, ach, das Schei - den sein, das Schei - - e  
Halt, was du liebst, das fest an der Brust! O scheu - - e

den? da - rum man muss so bitt - re Pein er - lei - - -  
dich! Zu - sam - men trägt sich Leid und Lust so freu - - -

den? Kein bö - res Wort in al - ler Welt! Tod  
dig! Wa - rum muss, ach, das Schei - den sein! Tod

By 1878, the poem held new meanings for Josephine Lang. If she read it at all as a reference to the parting from Köstlin in 1840, she did so without pain and surely with forgiveness (as her omission of the strophe that specifically refers to that separation suggests). An inscription on an autograph of this song<sup>112</sup> reveals one aspect of what the poem meant to her in 1878: the occasion for the song was the departure from Tübingen of the Samson-Himmelstiernas. Given the close

EXAMPLE 6.7 *continued*

The musical score is divided into three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4.

**System 1 (Measures 12-15):** The vocal line begins with a *pp* dynamic, followed by a *p* dynamic. The piano accompaniment starts with a *dim.* dynamic, followed by a *p* dynamic. Both parts feature a *cresc.* (crescendo) marking towards the end of the system. The lyrics are: "spricht es! Und wem es recht aufs Her - ze fällt, und wem es recht aufs spricht es! Und wem es recht aufs Her - ze fällt, und wem es recht aufs".

**System 2 (Measures 16-19):** The vocal line starts with a *ritard.* (ritardando) marking, followed by a *pp* dynamic, and ends with a *ff* (fortissimo) dynamic. The piano accompaniment begins with a *ff* dynamic and a *ritard.* marking, then transitions to a *legato* section with a *pp* dynamic, and ends with a *ff* dynamic. The lyrics are: "Her - ze fällt, aufs Her - ze fällt, dem Her - ze fällt, aufs Her - ze fällt, dem".

**System 3 (Measures 20-23):** The vocal line starts with a *dim.* marking and a *pp* dynamic, followed by a *p* dynamic, and ends with a *pp* dynamic. The piano accompaniment begins with a *dim.* marking and a *pp* dynamic, followed by a *p* dynamic, and ends with a *pp* dynamic. The lyrics are: "bricht es. bricht es. bricht es. bricht es."

+) Dieser Schlusstakt ist von weiblicher Stimme im feinsten Piano zu singen, von männlicher Stimme mit voller Kraft und Erbitterung vorzutragen.

friendship that had developed between them, this was a bitter parting indeed, worthy of being commemorated by a sad song in D minor.

The poem must also have struck Lang as relevant to an even more tragic parting that had befallen the Himmelstiernas: their eight-year-old daughter Ida had died in April 1878.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, the text must have triggered memories of the many partings through death that Lang herself had endured from 1856 onward.

That death was on Lang's mind is evident from her significant manipulations of Köstlin's poem. The poem has five stanzas, the fourth being a repetition of the first. Besides omitting the third stanza, Lang moved Köstlin's fifth stanza to a position just after the first and concluded with a hybrid of his fourth and fifth stanzas. As a result, the word "Tod" occurs much earlier in her version of the text than in Köstlin's published poem, and is further highlighted by being restated in her hybrid stanza. Lang's dynamic markings in an early autograph also suggest her fixation on the theme of death.<sup>114</sup> This autograph contains no dynamics until m. 11; there, at the word "Tod," a *forte* marking appears. Clearly, emphasis on the word "death" was one of Lang's earliest compositional ideas.

The death topic seems to have determined the rather stark nature of Lang's setting. The form is as simple as it can be, namely strophic. The texture is chorale-like; the very first version of the song is in fact a chorale pure and simple, with no independence of the voice and piano parts, and with fermatas at all phrase ends.<sup>115</sup> Both features of chorale style are still present in the published song, although there is slightly more independence between the two instruments than in the early version (for example, at mm. 17–18). Fermatas still appear frequently, though not at all phrase ends.

The song is simple in ways other than in its texture. The hypermeter is in four-bar segments throughout. The harmony, too, is limited in scope. The first eight bars barely deviate from the dominant; only at or near the two phrase ends does Lang provide relief from this harmony—a cadence to III in mm. 3–4, and an expressive Phrygian cadence in mm. 7–8. The central portion of the song brings a retreat from the dominant into the subdominant domain; the prolonged dominant of the opening measures does not resolve to tonic, but moves to V7 of iv (mm. 9–12), which in turn resolves to iv in m. 13. In mm. 15–16, the harmony is directed back toward the dominant as the bass moves from G up to G#. The returning dominant is prolonged in mm. 17–20, then abruptly resolved (for the first time) to tonic harmony in m. 20. The latter harmony is prolonged in the postlude. The postlude summarizes the restricted harmonic palette of the song; it consists of embellishments of tonic harmony by the two harmonies that occupy most of the song—embellishment by iv in mm. 20–22, and by V in mm. 22–23.

Despite its simplicity, the song contains some striking features. The opening melody, for example, anticipates the large-scale harmonic structure of the song. The melody of mm. 1–4 reduces to the neighboring motion A4–G4–A4. The harmonies of mm. 1–18 compose out this neighboring motion; the prolonged A-major harmonies of mm. 1–8 and 17–20 are embellished by the G-minor harmony of mm. 9–14. The text-expressive details of the song are no less interesting. The powerful word "bittre" in m. 6, for example, is highlighted both harmoni-

cally and melodically. Harmonic highlighting occurs via the strongest dissonance in the song—a minor-ninth chord, marked *forte*. The word also stands out because it coincides with the first point at which the melody breaks out of the narrow span “A4–E4.” This span, established by the initial melodic leap, is filled in during the remainder of the first phrase. The parallel second phrase (mm. 4–8) reiterates the opening span, but then moves beyond it precisely at the word “bittre.”

Lang also highlights the word “erleiden” (suffer), by associating it in m. 7 with D5, the highest note thus far and also the highest note in the song. Furthermore, she approaches this note by the largest leap that has yet occurred and sustains it at greater length than any preceding vocal note. The *crescendo* during its first portion, and the rising chromaticism beneath it, add to the vivid expression of suffering.

The second half of the song (mm. 11ff.) contains additional remarkable details of text expression. The “suffering” of m. 7 is in m. 11 explicitly linked with death by the recurrence of a sustained D5, now associated with the word “Tod.” Even more remarkable is the treatment in both strophes of the line “Und wem es recht auf’s Herze fällt” (and the person onto whose heart it [this word] truly falls—that is, into whose heart it truly penetrates). This is the only line of text that Lang repeats within each of her two strophes. She links the repetition with musical intensification; the aforementioned chromatic bass ascent G–G#, with concomitant adjustment in the other voices, occurs during the second statement. The latter part of this line is repeated once again in mm. 16–18 and is here emphasized by the longest note value in the song (a whole note tied to a dotted quarter). The emphasis on this line of the text points to a particularly deep personal involvement with its content.

The most striking text-expressive detail, however, occurs at the very end of the vocal portion. Lang sets the words “bricht es” (it [the heart] breaks) with the descending leap A4 to D4 in quarter notes. This curt gesture, following the long note at “Herze” (heart) in mm. 17–18, aptly suggests a breaking heart (a long duration breaks down into smaller ones). Lang’s footnote to this final gesture, already present in one of the autographs (see fig. 6),<sup>116</sup> provides a fascinating instruction to performers: women are to sing the descending fifth “in the most refined *piano*,” whereas men are to sing it with “full power and bitterness.” Lang notated the final bar as she herself would have performed it (*pp*); male singers would have to disregard this marking.<sup>117</sup> Such a differentiation between the execution of a passage on the basis of gender is, to our knowledge, unique in the song literature. Through this performance instruction, Lang comments on her socio-cultural environment and its expectations of men and women: women in nineteenth-century society were to bear their pain quietly (“in the most refined *piano*”), whereas loud and bitter ranting against fate was the privilege of men.<sup>118</sup>

### Lang's Final Year

In the winter of 1879–80, Lang's third son Eugen again became seriously ill. He returned to his mother's home in Tübingen, where she cared for him until his death. Having now lost three of her six children, Lang was physically and mentally exhausted. After Eugen's death, she placed the following notice in the *Tübinger Chronik*:

I beg to be allowed in this manner to express my sincerest thanks for the many demonstrations of heartfelt sympathy and comforting love, which I received in such generous measure during the long sickness of my dear son Eugen, and at his death, for I lack the strength and courage to express my gratitude to everyone individually.<sup>119</sup>

According to H. A. Köstlin, Lang's compositional response to Eugen's death on Easter Sunday 1880 was an "Osterlied" (Easter Song), which she dedicated to her last living son.<sup>120</sup>

During the summer of 1880, Lang received a number of visitors. Her daughter Therese came to Tübingen for several weeks (Maria and her two boys were planning a visit the following year). Lang's seventy-year-old brother Ferdinand, with his wife and family managed to make the long journey from Munich to Tübingen. Toward the end of September, Heinrich Adolf visited with his wife and daughter.<sup>121</sup> It was to be the last time that any of her family saw her.

At some point Lang's children seem to have hired nurses, who moved into the "Villa Köstlin" to care for Lang and to keep her company in her large house. Her son mentions the "loyal caregiver Frl. Mathilde S."<sup>122</sup> One of Lang's late autographs bears the following title and dedication: "'Verfehlte Werbung' [Failed Courtship]. A little joke based on an old song by C. M. v. Weber, composed and dedicated to her two cherished young caregivers from Thuringia, Fräulein 'Mathilde' and 'Auguste,' by Josephine Lang. It must never be printed (it was only a nonsensical joke)."<sup>123</sup> It was Mathilde who looked after Lang during her last days.

During the fall of 1880, Lang was still composing. In September, she wrote a "Cradle Song for the Little Prince Ulrich,"<sup>124</sup> on a poem by Therese von Niemeyer. The recipient of this lullaby was the firstborn son of Lang's exalted pupil, Prince Wilhelm of Württemberg. Therese von Niemeyer also knew the prince; many of the festivities of the *Prinzenwinter* (as the good citizens of Tübingen called the winter of 1866) took place in her home. We have not been able to locate the copy of the lullaby that Lang must have sent to Prince Wilhelm, but it was likely adorned with a "vignette" by her daughter Maria.<sup>125</sup> According to Maria's son, the seventeen-year-old girl had been the life and soul of the social gatherings dur-

ing the winter when the two princes were studying in Tübingen. She and Prince Wilhelm remained friends and exchanged letters throughout their lives.<sup>126</sup> Lang must have sent her lullaby to Maria to have it copied out neatly and illustrated before it was sent to the royal family. Sadly, little Prince Ulrich only outlived Lang by 26 days; he died at the age of five months.

On 29 November 1880, only a few days before her death, Lang wrote to her one remaining son, “You see, the weeds are still flourishing! Oh my music—how I thank God for this precious gift, for [it] raises me above so much that is hard and bitter!”<sup>127</sup> The only extant dated composition after the royal lullaby is a piano piece—a Nocturno—from 18 November, which remained a fragment.<sup>128</sup> This may have been the “weed” to which Lang was referring in her letter.

On the evening of 1 December, Lang experienced chest pains. She passed a bad night during which her pains worsened. Her condition improved slightly during the following day, but at 7:00 p.m. on 2 December she suffered a fatal heart attack.<sup>129</sup>

### After Lang’s Death

Lang’s memorial service demonstrated the reverence in which she was held by numerous individuals and societies. Representatives of the two main musical organizations of Tübingen—the Oratorio Society and the *Liedertafel*—laid wreaths on her grave. The university’s music director, Emil Kauffmann, representing the former society, said in his eulogy:

We mourn in her the noble artist, and I personally also the highly talented colleague. The deeply felt melodies that she created, and the truly artistic forms in which she clad them, secure for her an honored position in the history of the German art song. . . . A lonely artist’s life, far from the great highway, has come to an end; a truly German artist’s heart has ended its struggles.<sup>130</sup>

After her death, Lang’s three surviving children continued to campaign for her songs, which they had always treated like a “vast treasure.”<sup>131</sup> H. A. Köstlin was most active in this respect. In 1881, he wrote his biography of his mother, which immediately attracted attention to the departed composer.<sup>132</sup> At the same time, Köstlin prepared an edition of forty of Lang’s songs for Breitkopf & Härtel, which appeared in 1882. This collection was widely advertised and contributed significantly to Lang’s posthumous reputation.<sup>133</sup> Finally, perhaps because he realized, as Marcia Citron puts it, that “future history depends in large measure on

the longevity of physical documents,"<sup>134</sup> Köstlin exerted himself to collect as many as possible of Lang's musical autographs. Judging by the fact that a number of the autographs were album leaves, "exert" is no exaggeration; he must have had to contact a large number of his mother's acquaintances all across Germany to retrieve them. In 1904, he presented the collection to the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, where it can still be studied today.

On a more modest scale, Lang's daughters also contributed to the preservation of her memory. The Fellingiers became close friends of Brahms in 1881 and introduced him to Lang's songs in 1885, when Brahms asked Maria for copies.<sup>135</sup> It cannot be determined exactly which scores she gave him, but a copy of the Breitkopf & Härtel publication is in his *Nachlaß* at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. Lang's elder daughter, Therese, also introduced others to her mother's compositions. In Vienna, there exists a copy of the posthumous op. 48 with the dedication, "This piano work of my beloved mother is sent to my dear niece, Fr. Dr. E. Friedrichs, by the [composer's] daughter, Therese Schleich née Köstlin."<sup>136</sup> Elsbeth Friedrichs's interest in Lang must have been intense, for in 1905 she published an article about the composer in the *Neue Musik-Zeitung*, supplemented by a piano piece and a song by Lang.<sup>137</sup>

The appearance of several posthumous publications after the Breitkopf anthology of 1882 provides evidence of continuing interest in Lang's music in the late nineteenth century, even outside of the family circle. In 1888, the firm A. Michaelis in Leipzig published the aforementioned *Deutscher Siegesmarsch* (op. 48) and *Two Mazurkas* (op. 49), as well as an impromptu entitled *In der Dämmerung* (op. 50). Around the same time E. H. Schuncke in Frankfurt published (without an opus number) a set of three piano pieces: an "Arabeske," a minuet entitled "Der trauernde Humor," and a piece called "Heimweh."<sup>138</sup>

In the early twentieth century, Lang was almost completely forgotten. Hermann Rosenwald's lengthy discussion of her songs in his dissertation on the Lied between Schubert and Schumann is a remarkable exception to this general neglect. Surprisingly for his time of writing (1929), Rosenwald mentioned numerous women composers of song, for example, Luise Reichardt, Julia von Baroni-Cavalcabò, Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, and Johanna Mathieux (Kinkel). None of these women, however, received detailed discussion; Reichardt was merely mentioned by name, Cavalcabò was cited as a "sensitive" composer who was appreciated by Mendelssohn and Schumann, Kinkel was listed (along with a large number of male composers) as a "minor talent," and Droste-Hülshoff appeared only in a footnote as an example of a multi-talented artist.<sup>139</sup> Rosenwald mentioned Clara Schumann, but not as a composer, and did not refer at all to Emilie Zumsteeg and Fanny Hensel. Josephine Lang's songs, on the other hand, received



a thoughtful and detailed treatment in Rosenwald's study. He made brief analytical comments about a considerable number of her songs, and penetrating remarks about her oeuvre as a whole. He had much praise for the "genuine" character of her songs and for the richness of her palette (which he compared to Robert Schumann's). He not only compared aspects of her songs to those of Schumann, but truly placed her on the same footing as that composer.<sup>140</sup> Rosenwald also compiled an anthology in which he included two of Lang's songs along with songs by other neglected early nineteenth-century composers.<sup>141</sup>

After Rosenwald's extraordinary dissertation, there was a hiatus in Lang scholarship; only in the 1980s did research on her life and songs begin again, the most significant contributions being the Da Capo Press anthology of 52 songs, with an introduction by Judith Tick (1982), and the dissertation of Roberta Werner (1992). We are happy to be able to contribute to the continuation of the work on Lang that her children began in the 1880s.

## SEVEN

### Josephine Lang as a Person and as a Composer

#### Josephine Lang as a Person

Having investigated Josephine Lang's life and songs in some detail, we here offer some summarizing observations about her as a person and as a composer. For information about her personality, her son's biography is an excellent source. From the following statement, for instance, a number of conclusions can be drawn about her character:

She remained to the end . . . completely unconscious of her worth and importance. Every homage, every mark of appreciation, every friendly gesture she accepted as an unearned gift of a love of which she still had to prove herself worthy. This unconsciousness gave her character, even in her old age, a charming, moving, childlike quality, and therewith an amiable magic that no frank spirit was long able to resist!<sup>1</sup>

This comment refers to Lang's charisma—a feature that is corroborated by Mendelssohn's and Heller's letters. Recall Heller's reminiscing, thirty years after meeting her, about her “enchanting” personality,<sup>2</sup> and Mendelssohn's description of her as “so interesting, so distinctive that one can hardly take one's eyes off her.” Mendelssohn concluded the passage about Lang in this letter with the words, “I wish you could see her sometime; she could by herself already make the memory of Munich dear to me.”<sup>3</sup>

H. A. Köstlin's statement also alludes to Lang's “unconsciousness of her worth and importance.” Her humility is confirmed by her own remarks in her letters and on her musical autographs. The title of one of her musical notebooks (fig. 3) is “Attempts to lend tones to words”—a typically modest wording. The title of another notebook, “Beautiful words clothed in poor melodies,”<sup>4</sup> similarly makes clear that she did not think highly of her music. When she submitted her work to the scrutiny of others, she was often impelled to plead for forbearance. On the

autograph of an unpublished song dedicated to Hans Schleich, for example, she wrote, "The Falstaffian, old, ~~obese~~ composer, suffering from a laryngeal complaint, begs for extra special leniency."<sup>5</sup> Further indications of her modest and unassuming personality are her recurring use in her letters of "rampant weed" imagery with reference to her songs, and her relegation of herself to the metaphorical role of a flower of the meadow or a shrub (rather than to that of a tree, a role that she reserved for the "great" composers).<sup>6</sup>

It may be tempting to regard such modesty, shared by numerous other nineteenth-century woman composers, as an inescapable outcome of the restrictions imposed by society upon their education and their careers. Some of Lang's modesty may indeed stem from her lack of a solid musical education; had she received such an education, she would not have had to worry, as she constantly did, about technical errors in her songs. It is unlikely, however, that her attitude arose from specific negative experiences, for she received much more encouragement and support from the male establishment than did most women composers. Her modesty seems to be a deep-seated character trait rather than a product of her environment.

In part her humility surely stems from her devout Christianity. That her religion was a powerful driving force in her life is evident from her letters to Hiller, in which she frequently affirmed her trust in and gratitude toward God, even in the most difficult times. The title pages of Lang's autograph booklets provide further evidence of her devoutness; a number of the quotations that Lang copied out are religious texts, some of which she appears to have authored herself.<sup>7</sup> Her frequent settings of sacred texts, especially in her last years, substantiate this aspect of her character.

The representation of Lang in her son's biography and in Roberta Werner's dissertation as a meek and saintly individual is not, however, entirely accurate. The title pages and sometimes the final pages of Lang's autograph booklets make clear that she possessed an earthy sense of humor. One notation in Bavarian dialect translates roughly as follows: "At times a bit jolly, at times a bit thirsty, at times a bit of snuff, at times a bit of money in the purse. Be old thus, be always thus" (*Alt seid so so, All Zeit so so*).<sup>8</sup> Lang's relishing of the coarser kinds of humor is corroborated by poems that Köstlin wrote for her during their marriage; these poems include comical references to emunctory matters that one might expect to have shocked a sedate nineteenth-century woman of good breeding. Since Köstlin repeatedly indulged in such humor in poems addressed to her, one can only assume that she enjoyed it.

Another trait that must be considered as a counterpoise to the received image of Lang's character is her intensely passionate nature. Joseph Stieler, her godfather, referred to her in conversation with her friend Wilhelm von Eichthal as

being “gifted with the hot imagination and all the impetuosity of spirit of an Italian woman.”<sup>9</sup> She undeniably felt deeply and was not afraid to express her emotions in her music and in her prose. Her letters are filled with single and double underlining, with dashes and exclamation marks. On her autographs she often added extra exclamation marks to the poetic texts. In her music her impetuosity is evident, for example, in her volatile dynamic markings, in indications like *dringend* (urgently) and *appassionato* (see exx. 2.8 and 2.11), and in massive build-ups to seething climaxes.

### Josephine Lang as a Composer

For all her diffidence about her music, Lang was firmly convinced that she was intended to be a composer rather than just a wife and mother. This certainty is demonstrated by her bemusement at being thrown after her marriage into the role of a housewife,<sup>10</sup> and by her persistence in pursuing a compositional career, even when it was difficult to find the necessary time. She expressed her conviction of her calling in the following excerpt from a letter to the poet Eduard Eyth: “[Composing songs] is a rampant weed within me that cannot be exterminated, even in the autumn of my life, and that is so interwoven with my being as to be one of life’s necessities for me.”<sup>11</sup>

Lang was, however, faced with numerous distractions and obstacles in her pursuit of this “necessity of life” even before her marriage. Having described one of Lang’s performances in 1839, one of her acquaintances continued:

One could wish that her creative spirit [*Genius*] were able to unfold without restraint and in complete joyousness, but as a pianist who gives lessons, leisure time—even in moments—is sparingly meted out to her. . . . The all too delicate artist pays dearly for her [compositional] rapture by stealing time from the sleep [that she needs] after strenuous labor.<sup>12</sup>

At no time of her life was Lang’s creative spirit “able to unfold without restraint.” In her youth, the obstacles were teaching and performance in salons. During her marriage, she was burdened with domestic responsibilities and, during her husband’s illness, also with financial concerns and anxiety about his health. The worries about finances and about the health of her family members continued after Köstlin’s death; furthermore, Lang was again forced to devote time to teaching. In her old age, illness, fatigue, and a lack of musical stimuli resulting from her relative isolation in Tübingen at times seem to have diminished her creative powers.

Nevertheless, with the exception of a few interruptions, Lang pursued composition throughout her life. As she wrote three years after she was widowed, "Despite all obstacles and dreary events, I have continued to permit the 'rampant weeds' to flourish within me—and hence a large stock of little song-compositions is piled up before me."<sup>13</sup>

Lang's passion for composition had nothing to do with the pursuit of fame. She was always surprised when a modicum of notoriety came her way (as it did, for instance, after the publication of Hiller's biography). Her willingness to be content with a small niche is demonstrated by an inscription in a manuscript booklet from the years 1837 and 1838—a copy of an aphorism by Schiller: "If you cannot please everyone through your deeds and your artworks, please the few; it is not good to please many."<sup>14</sup> This quotation reflects her own attitude; she had no desire to please a large audience and made no efforts to adapt her work to the changing tastes of her times.

Within her niche, Lang worked in a truly professional manner. Her autographs reveal her as a hardworking composer, tirelessly whittling away at a given song. For many songs there exist numerous autographs that show the various stages of her compositional process. From a variety of documents (her autographs and letters), it is possible to deduce her usual working method. The reading of a poem that appealed to her often triggered an immediate compositional response. She wrote, for example, to the poet Eduard Eyth:

[My song owes] . . . its simple melody and its origin solely to the instantaneous impression of your lovely poetry. . . . The poem is already melody in itself! So that I must really confess that it formed itself into a song already while I read through it, without any contribution on my part!<sup>15</sup>

Her initial step seems to have been to underline particular words of the poem.<sup>16</sup> A pencil sketch of the vocal line followed, then one or more ink drafts that included the piano part. Fair copies were prepared by copyists or by Lang herself. At times Lang made minor changes (especially in dynamic markings) on the fair copies or even on the published scores.<sup>17</sup>

There are various factors aside from her systematic working method and her compositional diligence that qualify Lang for the status of a professional composer. As was mentioned in chapter 1, she satisfied all of the requirements for professionalism: publishing, being performed, and being written about.<sup>18</sup> She began publishing at a young age and continued to do so until late in life, albeit with a few interruptions. Nine of her songs were included in a prominent anthology when she was twenty-five years old—a publication entitled *Lieder-Kranz gewun-*

*den von den vorzüglichsten Tonsetzern* (Song-Wreath Woven by the Most Outstanding Composers). Even during her marriage, which has often been characterized as an inactive period, she published four collections and a number of individual songs, including new compositions and reissues of songs that had appeared earlier.<sup>19</sup> During her youth her works were published only by local firms, but later on they appeared with some of the most prestigious publishers in German-speaking Europe (Haslinger, Breitkopf & Härtel, Kistner). The two-volume collection of forty of her songs that Breitkopf & Härtel issued shortly after her death was a fitting conclusion to her lifelong publishing activity.

Her music was performed during her lifetime. In her youth she performed her songs in public venues as well as salons, and the prominent Munich soprano Katharina Vespermann sang them publicly as well. Performances by male musicians can also be documented, for example, Mendelssohn's and Silcher's performances of some of her songs in arrangements for male chorus. In the 1850s, Köstlin's cousin Mimi sang Lang's songs both within the family circle and in public,<sup>20</sup> as did Lang's son-in-law Hans Schleich in the 1860s and 1870s.

There was a considerable amount of writing about Lang during her lifetime. Throughout this volume we have mentioned reviews of her songs in prominent journals (we have located nineteen thus far). The most significant publications about Lang were, however, Ferdinand Hiller's "Musikalische Briefe" in the *Kölner Zeitung*—his article about Mendelssohn in 1861 (in which he devoted a large amount of space to Lang), and the article entirely about Lang in 1867. Both were subsequently reprinted in 1868 within a widely read book of essays. The biography by her son, published shortly after her death, must also be included in the list of contemporary writings about Lang.

Another aspect of Lang's professionalism was her involvement in an extensive network of composers, both male and female. It will be well to review its members here. Felix Mendelssohn, the "founding member," remained her supporter from 1830 up until his death in 1847. In the early 1830s, he brought her into contact with at least three other prominent composers and musicians: Adolf Bernhard Marx, Franz Hauser, and Ferdinand Hiller. In the mid-1830s, Stephen Heller became an important member of her network—important in his own right, but also because of his friendship with Robert Schumann, whom he won over as Lang's supporter. Franz Lachner, the most prominent musician in Munich, advised Lang about some of her songs and assisted her in negotiations with publishers during the late 1830s and the 1840s. Lang received similar assistance from Franz Hauser during the 1840s. The Tübingen composer and choral director Friedrich Silcher had at least one of her works performed. Ferdinand Hiller was Lang's loyal supporter beginning in 1859; as was shown in chapter 6, his biographical essay

brought her incalculable benefits. In her final years, the amateur composer Baron Oscar von Samson-Himmelstierna encouraged her and went so far as to advocate for a collected edition of her songs.

Lang's network contained numerous female musicians as well. The fact that Lang's grandmother and mother were both illustrious professional performers no doubt had a strong impact on her decision to pursue a musical career. In her youth in Munich, she was acquainted with at least two publishing women composers—Delphine von Schauroth and Maria Vespermann. She was also familiar with a number of the most gifted women composers of the century, or at least with some of their music. As was mentioned in chapter 1, she knew at least one song by Fanny Hensel, and no doubt heard a lot about her from Felix Mendelssohn. Hensel, in turn, knew many of Lang's songs, found them "truly musical and heartfelt," and admired their striking modulations.<sup>21</sup>

Lang probably knew the Stuttgart composer Emilie Zumsteeg; both the proximity of Stuttgart to Tübingen and the fact that Agnes von Calatin and Reinhold Köstlin were on friendly terms with Zumsteeg speak for the likelihood of this acquaintance.<sup>22</sup> Lang's correspondence with Clara Schumann and their respect for each other as composers were discussed in chapter 5. Given the many connections among Lang and her female colleagues, it seems appropriate to refer to a network of women composers in the nineteenth century and to regard Lang as being one of its central figures.

The list of male colleagues who actively encouraged and assisted Lang is remarkably long. To our knowledge, no other nineteenth-century woman composer enjoyed a comparable amount of assistance from men. It is difficult to determine why Lang should have been more successful than other women composers in finding support from male colleagues. One factor was surely her poverty and relatively low social station. Whereas for a gentlewoman (for example, Fanny Hensel) a professional career in music was not deemed acceptable, Lang's background allowed the shakers and movers in the musical world to support her without reserve. Other factors were her immense charm and her willingness to ask for help. Had she been obnoxious, nobody would have wanted to help her—and had she not dared to ask illustrious friends for help, she would have had much more difficulty in becoming known as a composer.

Josephine Lang did not find support consistently and everywhere. She received her share of rejections from publishers and some negative reviews. Inevitably, some reviewers claimed to find traces of the "female hand" in various aspects of her music (for example, the untrammelled flow of emotion, or the amount of ornamental detail). Such remarks, however, were usually balanced by acknowledgements that the songs were expressive, genuine, and intelligently crafted. Most

reviewers took Lang seriously as a composer rather than trivializing her as a woman. Rejections and negative reviews did not come Lang's way primarily because of her gender; such disappointments have been the lot of all composers, male and female, who submitted their works to the eyes of "cold-hearted" publishers and critics.

### Josephine Lang's Musical Style

Contemporary reviewers already recognized that Lang had a distinctive musical voice. Particularly interesting in this connection is the review of 1846 (see chapter 4), which, while observing an affinity between Lang's style and that of Felix Mendelssohn, stressed that her style was different enough that there could be no question of emulation.<sup>23</sup> It is true that Lang's style is not quite like Mendelssohn's, or anyone else's. It is difficult to articulate the ingredients of her individual voice, for her songs exhibit immense variety, but a few broad observations can be made.

Lang's harmony is generally diatonic; some of her songs are even restricted almost entirely to the simplest harmonies (I, IV, V). When she deemed it appropriate, however, Lang used surface- and deep-level chromaticism—especially modulations to chromatic third relations (exx. 1.4, 3.5a, and 5.5b)—and sharp dissonances (exx. 1.6, 2.5, and 5.4). Such colorful harmonic language is all the more effective for its occurrence within a primarily diatonic context.

Melody was for Lang an even more significant vehicle of musical expression than harmony. Her vocal melodies, always finely crafted, are characterized by a wide range and by strategic use of the highest and lowest notes of the available span as significant goals (see exx. 4.1 and 5.5). Lang's piano parts sometimes double the vocal melody but may also contribute their own beautifully constructed counterpoints (see ex. 2.6). Independent piano lines often move above the vocal melodies, so that the latter are enclosed within the piano parts (see mm. 5–8 of exx. 2.4, 3.4b, and mm. 55–56 and mm. 61–67 of ex. 5.2b).

The uniquely imaginative nature of Lang's piano parts was already recognized by her contemporaries, one of whom wrote, "Her deeply poetic compositions . . . are full of imagination, which cannot be accommodated within the voice alone and therefore pours forth, storming and frolicking, lamenting and rejoicing, in the accompaniment."<sup>24</sup> The piano parts demonstrate Lang's expertise as a pianist; many of them are virtuosic in character (listen, for example, to tracks 1, 2, 18, and 23). They exhibit a wide spectrum of patterns, the most common being pure arpeggiation, arpeggiation with embellishing tones, and throbbing solid chords. The solid chords are often thick in texture; there is nothing frail about Lang's



piano style (see exx. 2.5, 2.9, and 2.10). Her piano introductions are frequently substantial and significant in terms of their content, as they overtly or subtly anticipate the material of the body of the song (see exx. 1.3, 1.9, 2.11, and 3.8). Long postludes are much less common in Lang's songs, although there are some striking instances (exx. 2.4, 3.2c, and 3.7).

A constant feature of Lang's style is surprise. Surprising leaps are a hallmark of her vocal melodies (see m. 15 of ex. 3.1b; mm. 29 and 31 of ex. 3.2b; m. 6 of ex. 3.6; and mm. 42–43 of ex. 4.1). The aforementioned chromatic modulations often occur unexpectedly (exx. 3.5a and 5.5b). In the rhythmic domain, Lang employs surprising dotted rhythms (mm. 5, 9, and 11 of ex. 2.5), rests (mm. 5 and 11 of the same example), and hypermetric irregularities (m. 25 of ex. 1.9, ex. 3.3c). Lang's most dramatic surprises, however, involve dynamics. Recall, for example, the unexpectedly loud final tonics of "Vögelein" (ex. 4.1) and of "Lied des Katers Hiddigeigei" (track 29). The dynamic surges in "Nachts" (op. 12 no. 4) and "Wiegenlied" (op. 26 no. 1) are even more shocking, giving the impression of intensely personal responses to the poetry.<sup>25</sup>

### "My Songs Are My Diary"

Hermann Rosenwald regarded the personal quality of Lang's songs as another significant hallmark of her individual style.<sup>26</sup> Although it would be an overstatement to regard this quality as being unique to Lang,<sup>27</sup> it is true that her songs are in many senses her "diary," as she herself wrote.<sup>28</sup> This statement is rich in implications, only a few of which can be discussed here.<sup>29</sup> First, Lang's song autographs functioned to some extent as her diaries. Lang was in the habit of writing notes about the circumstances of composition in the upper margins of her autographs. These notes inform us, at times in the greatest detail, about the genesis of particular songs (e.g., "Written down 16 July 1863 in the hospital at Tübingen"; "Composed 8 September 1868 on the other bench opposite the train station"<sup>30</sup>). Many of her inscriptions provide information about her health. For example, she wrote down one song after she "had recovered from [her] severe toothache," composed another "as a coughing invalid," and wrote yet another while "in bed! Ill!"<sup>31</sup>

We also learn something of Lang's state of mind from her inscriptions. Some entries radiate unbounded joy, others deep sadness. For instance, her inscription on one autograph reads: "Sunday evening[,] 14 October. Composed 1860 (with a stream of tears and suffering under the pressure of my hard fate), thinking of my dear deceased one and of my poor Felix."<sup>32</sup> The title pages of Lang's autograph notebooks also contain diary-like references to Lang's state of mind. On a

page dated 1834, she wrote, "I am to play? To be merry? In silence I bear heart's pain. To appear happy without joy, to weep secretly, gnaws at the breast."<sup>33</sup> This notation may reflect Lang's aversion to performing at social functions. A passage on another title page from around 1834 vividly conveys the depths of despair: "I, too, am struggling with personal sorrow! Sorrow sorrow etc. sorrowful suddenly not happy—sorrow."<sup>34</sup> In short, Lang's autographs, including the title pages, justify her reference to her songs as her diary.

Although Lang's statement can be applied to her autographs, her statement that her songs were her diary probably referred to the text and music rather than to the autograph pages. Most writers, following Rosenwald's lead, have argued that her songs are her diary because she selected her poetic texts on the basis of their relevance to her life. Roberta Werner, for instance, focuses almost exclusively on Lang's identification with the content of a text at a given time of her life. It is indeed frequently possible to show a connection between Lang's poetic choices and the events of her life. For example, she seems to have selected the poems of her "Eichthal cycle" (see chapter 2) because of their relevance to the events surrounding her relationship with Eichthal. The texts, all based on the themes of separation, of longing for an absent lover, and of the pain of love in general, are arranged so as to sketch the progress of the relationship.<sup>35</sup> In chapter 3, we described similar connections between Lang's Köstlin settings and her life, for instance, in our discussions of "Nach dem Abschied" (ex. 3.4), "Frühling ist gekommen" (ex. 3.7), and "Der Herbst" (ex. 3.10). Lang's settings of three of the approximately sixteen poems that Köstlin enclosed within quotation marks are particularly interesting "diary songs." These songs—op. 12 no. 4 ("O wärest du da"), op. 12 no. 5 ("Der Herbst"), and op. 27 no. 6 ("Zu Tod möchte ich mich lieben")—provide a record of Lang's own words in letters to Köstlin. He transformed her words into poems and sent them back to her, whereupon she set the poems to music. Despite the intermediate step that Köstlin carried out (the conversion of prose to poetry), Lang essentially wrote her own texts for these songs, based on her experiences and sensations. They are therefore diary songs in the truest sense.

Even songs whose texts at first appear not to lend themselves to an autobiographical interpretation may qualify as diary songs, if one takes into consideration the events around the time of composition. The "Lied des Katers Hiddigeigei" is an excellent example. One might initially wonder how a poem written from the perspective of an imposing aristocratic cat could be relevant to Lang's life. As we have shown in chapter 6, however, some of the words of the feline protagonist correspond to Lang's own thoughts at the time when she wrote the song.

Although there are often connections between Lang's song texts and her life, it would be misguided to look no further when interpreting Lang's assertion that

her songs were her diary. Even if we focus only on the poems, there are other matters to consider besides the relevance of the original poem to her life. For example, Lang's modifications of a poem can substantiate the role of a song as a "diary entry." Werner has drawn attention to the most common type of text modification in Lang's songs, namely repetition of words. Werner regards such repetition as Lang's way of making the poem "her own creation," of "develop[ing] or intensify[ing] the meaning of the text," and of "help[ing] to firmly establish her understanding and internalization of [the poem's] meaning."<sup>36</sup> In essence, Werner is arguing that text repetition contributes to the function of the songs as diaries. A case can often be made for connections between Lang's text repetitions and aspects of her life. One example must suffice here. Lang may have been drawn to Köstlin's poem "Abermals am See" in April 1841 because of its theme of longing for a reunion with the beloved; she had at this time been waiting several months for Köstlin's return. Lang's twofold repetition of the word "Eile!" (hurry!) in the second strophe, which replaces a melisma at the corresponding point of the first strophe, results in strong emphasis on a word that is linked with her experiences and state of mind at the time of composition (see mm. 120–22 of ex. 3.5b).

Aside from repeating words or lines, Lang occasionally manipulated texts by altering individual words or punctuation marks (especially by adding exclamation marks!), by rearranging the order of the stanzas of the poem, and by omitting lines or entire stanzas. Such changes may turn a poem into a more accurate representation of her life or state of mind. Her final Köstlin setting, "Scheiden" (ex. 6.7), illustrates both rearrangement and omission of stanzas. We have argued in our discussion of this song that these textual manipulations reinforce Lang's reading of the text in the light of her experiences of separation and bereavement that postdate the creation of the poem. In other words, Lang's manipulations of the text cause the song to become a diary entry.<sup>37</sup>

The poems allow us to interpret Lang's songs as diaries in a completely different sense as well: because so many of her songs are based on texts by friends and relatives, her songs are virtually a record of her acquaintanceship. She set some of the poetry of her best friend of the 1830s, Agnes von Calatin, during that decade (see ex. 2.7) and also remembered her after her death in two settings from the 1860s.<sup>38</sup> A number of Lang's songs are based on poems by members of the Stieler family, who played such a significant role in her youth. Joseph Stieler's second wife, Josephine Stieler, provided poems for a number of Lang's songs of the 1830s.<sup>39</sup> Lang later set two poems by Stieler's daughter Ottilie,<sup>40</sup> and also several by his son Carl, who became a well-known poet.<sup>41</sup> Poetry by acquaintances from Lang's Tübingen years similarly became a source of song texts. The two songs published in 1864 as op. 30 are based on poems by the Tübingen author

Otilie Wildermuth.<sup>42</sup> In the early 1860s, Lang set two poems by the director of Heinrich Adolf's school, Eduard Eyth,<sup>43</sup> and several by Albert Zeller, the doctor who treated Felix (among them, the *Lieder des Leids*, op. 29). As was mentioned in chapter 6, she set three poems by Carl Gerok, the father of Heinrich Adolf's wife, and three by Therese von Niemeyer, the wife of a Tübingen doctor who had treated her. The best example of Lang's selection of texts by an individual who was close to her is, of course, her almost exclusive concentration on the poetry of Reinhold Köstlin in 1840–56.<sup>44</sup>

We have so far investigated how the poetry of Lang's songs renders them similar to diary entries. Lang's statement "my songs are my diary," however, can be applied to the *music* of her songs as well. If we look at the music of a given song and at its relation to the text in light of Lang's life at the time of composition, a reading of the song as a diary entry sometimes falls into place. Her music may, for instance, reinforce the meaning of a text that has a relationship to her life and may thereby contribute to the diary entry. The introduction of "In die Ferne," composed in 1837 (ex. 2.3), can be interpreted in this manner. The text, which deals with yearning for faraway places, probably corresponded to Lang's feelings at the time of composition (given the repeated broaching, then quashing of the possibility of her traveling to a distant city). As was mentioned in the discussion of example 2.3, the music of the introduction, like the text that follows, seems to express a yearning for faraway places while being bound to one location. The music thus underscores the personal statement that Lang is making in this song.

We may look for a diary-like function in passages of Lang's music that stand out sharply from their context. In "Frühlingsglaube," op. 25 no. 1, for instance, the most powerful moment is the resolution to the tonic after a long prolongation of dominant harmony. This resolution, co-ordinated with the line "Now everything must change," beautifully reflects the poetic idea of a long-awaited and imminent change for the better. It is noteworthy that this harmonic ploy was not present in Lang's early (pre-marriage) versions of the song; it appears only in her version of 1859, when this poetic theme became pertinent to her situation—when after three difficult years of mourning the expectation arose within her that her life was about to change. The presence of this striking resolving gesture only in the final version supports the notion that this musical passage contributes to the function of this song as a diary entry.

Some of Lang's surprising dynamic changes give the impression of underscoring lines of text that were particularly meaningful to her. The *fortissimo* outburst that follows the quiet beginning of "Nachts" (ex. 3.8), for instance, occurs at the mention of two forces that do not participate in the calm of the night: the brook and the poet's thoughts of love, which continue to flow impetuously. Lang's repetition

of the text “my thoughts of love” during the dynamically volatile passage gives the impression of a violent outpouring of her own loving thoughts.

In some of Lang’s songs, the music diverges from the type of setting that the text implies. In these songs, the music performs an independent diary-like function rather than merely reinforcing the text. Köstlin’s poem “Frühling ist gekommen” (ex. 3.7), for instance, would seem to call for an exuberant setting—a setting that exudes joy at the reawakening of “golden days.” Lang, however, sets this poem to restrained and hesitant music, suggesting her inability to believe in Köstlin’s assurances that “golden days” were dawning. Felix Köstlin’s poem “Die Wolken” (track 23) is dominated by the yearning for freedom. As we read the poem, we can imagine the young poet looking out of an asylum window and wishing that he could fly away with the clouds and the birds in pursuit of life and light. In a musical setting of this poem, particularly a setting by the mother of the suffering poet, one would expect a somber tone—the minor mode, expressive dissonance, dark, low sounds, and so on. Lang’s setting instead employs the major mode, limpid triadic sonorities, chirping grace notes, light textures, and high registers. While the poem communicates the yearning for freedom, the music appears to celebrate the yearned-for freedom of the clouds and the birds as if it had already been attained. From this musical diary entry, it appears that Lang was not immured in despondency about her son’s condition, but rather filled with hope that he would soon recover and be able to return to the outside world.

Another song, “Den Abschied schnell genommen” (op. 15 no. 1—track 11),<sup>45</sup> also illustrates how the music can be linked, independently of the text, with Lang’s life or psyche. The poem’s message, apparently directed at the poet’s beloved, can be summarized as follows: farewells are inevitable and should take place without delaying, and the resulting pain should be borne courageously. One would expect a setting of this text to be assertive and noble in tone. Lang’s setting does possess such features, for instance, upward-striving melodic lines with triumphant arrivals at high points. One aspect of the music, however, connotes quite different emotions: Lang consistently elongates and thereby emphasizes those portions of the text that deal with pain and with its cause (namely separation). By stretching harmonies at mm. 24–28, Lang gives the impression of meditating on the line “wird im Leben auch getrennt” (is separated in this life). She also lingers on the third stanza of the poem, in which the idea of bearing pain is central. For example, she begins the setting of this stanza (“Should you bear, must you bear,” m. 31) with rhythmic values twice as slow as those beginning any other stanza, and further draws out the first line of the stanza by interpolating interludes between text segments. Lang’s emphasis by elongation on words denoting sorrow suggests a critical, questioning stance to the theme of the poem and subtly undermines its rather

cocky and egotistical message. She responds to the call for quick farewells with musical suggestions of lingering, and to the exhortations *not* to yield to pain with an insistent, vivid evocation of present sorrow. The sorrow to which the music of Lang's song makes such eloquent reference is likely that which she felt at the farewell from Eichthal upon his departure for America (which presumably coincided with the final dissolution of their engagement).<sup>46</sup>

Lang's songs are her diary in at least one other significant way. A diary, to this day, often functions as "a refuge," a place for "a secret confession or a liberating therapeutic dialogue."<sup>47</sup> Penelope Franklin writes that the function of the diary as a refuge is especially pertinent for women, "who are often isolated physically by the conditions of their lives."<sup>48</sup> Lang did view her songs as a diary in this sense—a "refuge" from her daily duties and a source of comfort in the many tragic events of her life. She frequently made statements or copied out quotations to this effect. On the title page of one of her autograph booklets she wrote, "If you can elevate your pain into a song, you need tremble before no fate." On the same page is the similar sentiment, "Poor friend, are you already so tired? Just turn your pain quickly into a song."<sup>49</sup> These quotations (from unknown sources) represent song composition as therapy in the face of sorrow. Statements in her letters to Hiller also demonstrate that writing songs offered her comfort, just as writing a diary entry might have done (see the end of chapter 5 for an example).

We have mentioned numerous possible interpretations of Lang's comparison of her songs to a diary. We stress, finally, that her statement must not be interpreted in the sense that her songs are *only* a diary—that they merely have a personal significance and are of little relevance to other "readers." Josephine Lang was inspired to make entries in this diary by experiences and emotions that affect all of us: deep sorrow, loneliness, disappointment, love, and joy. Like other diaries that have been published and read over centuries, hers is one in which all readers can find something that will interest, intrigue, and move them. Her songs are a diary worthy of being read by many, and to be read frequently and with care.

In conclusion, we return to the quote with which we prefaced our introduction: "Our singer is called Josephine. Whoever has not heard her does not know the power of song. There is no one who is not transported by her singing."<sup>50</sup> Kafka's Josephine was destined to be "forgotten like all her brethren" after her death because her "people" (mice) did not "engage in history."<sup>51</sup> We humans *do* engage in history and although our historians forgot Lang for a time, it has been possible, by returning to her long neglected "diary," to rediscover her. We are able to "hear" her *Gesang* again—and to be transported.

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## APPENDIX

### Thirty Songs of Josephine Lang, with Translations

- 
- 1 “Frühzeitiger Frühling” (Premature Spring), “op. 6” no. 3, 2:07  
text by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

Tage der Wonne, kommt ihr so bald? Schenkt mir die Sonne Hügel und Wald?	Days of ecstasy, come you so early? Does the sun present me with hill and forest?
Reichlicher fließen Bächlein zumal, Sind es die Wiesen? Ist es das Tal?	The brooks flow more generously now. Is it the meadows? Is it the valley?
Unter des Grünen blühender Kraft Naschen die Bienlein summend vom Saft.	Under the blossoming wealth of greenery, The little bees sip, buzzing, on nectar.
Buntes Gefieder rauschet im Hain, Himmliche Lieder schallen darein!	Colorful plumage rustles in the grove, Heavenly songs ring out!
Mächtiger rühret bald sich ein Hauch, Doch er verlieret gleich sich im Strauch. Aber zum Busen kehrt er zurück, Helfet ihr Musen tragen das Glück!	Soon a breath of air stirs more powerfully, Yet it is immediately lost in the shrubs. But it returns to [my] bosom; Muses, help [me] bear the happiness!
Leise Bewegung bebt in der Luft, Reizende Regung, schläfernder Duft. Saget seit gestern wie mir geschah[,]	A soft stirring trembles in the air, Delightful commotion, soporific scent. Tell me what happened to me since yesterday.
Liebliche Schwestern, Liebchen ist da!	Sweet sisters, my beloved has arrived!



- 2 "Fee'n-Reigen" (Fairy Dance), "op. 3" no. 4,  
text by Friedrich von Mathisson

2:33

Die silbernen Glöckchen der Blume des Mai's	The silver bells of the flower of May,
Sie läuten zum Reih'n!	They ring, inviting to the dance!
Herbei! In den Kreis, ihr schwärmenden Fey'n!	Come into the circle, you swarming fairies!
Auf! purpurne Flöckchen und weisse zu streu'n!	Come, strew flakes [i.e., petals] of purple and white!
Wo Mondschein die duftige Primel umbebt,	Where moonlight trembles about the scented primrose,
Da werde der luftige Reigen gewebt!	There the airy dance shall be woven!
Die Menschen, gleich Blättern verschwinden sie früh:	People, like leaves, soon disappear
In angstvoller Hast!	With fearful haste!
Erbau'n sich mit Müh den Wolkenpalast!	They laboriously build themselves a palace in the clouds!
Im Räumchen von Brettern da finden sie Rast!	In a small room made of boards they find rest!
Wir lachen der grämlichen Runzeln der Zeit!	[But] we laugh at the miserable wrinkles of time!
Und bleiben die Nämlichen morgen wie heut'!	And remain the same tomorrow as today!
Wir herrschen in Reichen, wo nimmer dein Born,	We reign in dominions where thy wellspring,
O Jugend, versiegt!	Oh youth, never dries up!
Die Ros' ohne Dorn am Pfade sich wiegt,	The thornless rose sways beside the path,
Und ewig kein Zeichen im Sternenbuch trügt,	And eternally no sign in the book of stars shall deceive.
Wo Mondschein die duftige Primel umbebt,	Where moonlight trembles about the scented primrose,
Da werde der luftige Reigen gewebt!	There the airy dance shall be woven!

- 3 "Traumbild" (Dream Image), op. 28 no. 1, text by Heinrich Heine

2:51

Wenn ich auf dem Lager liege	When I lie on my bed,
In Nacht und Kissen gehüllt,	Wrapped in night and pillows,
So schwebt mir vor ein süßes	There hovers before me a sweet,
Anmutig liebes Bild.	Charming, lovely image.

Wenn mir der stille Schlummer  
Geschlossen die Augen kaum,  
So schleicht das süße Bild  
Hinein in meinen Traum.

When quiet slumber  
Has barely closed my eyes,  
The dear image creeps  
Into my dream.

Und mit dem Traum des Morgens  
Zerrinnt es nimmermehr.

And in the morning,  
It [the image] does not dissolve along  
with the dream;

Dann trag ich es im Herzen  
Den ganzen Tag umher.

I carry it around in my heart  
All day long.

---

4 "Schmetterling" (Butterfly), op. 8 no. 1, poet unknown

3:03

Frühlingsbote! Schmetterling!  
Sanft wie Zephirs lindes Wehen,  
Schmeichelnd wie der Liebe Flehen,  
Flatterst du mit leichtem Sinn  
Durch die Blumenwelt dahin!  
Frühlingsbote! Schmetterling!  
Mit des Schmeichelns süßem Kosen  
Gaukelst du um junge Rosen,  
Wendest dann mit Mönnersinn,  
Dich zu ändern Blumen hin!

Harbinger of spring! Butterfly!  
Soft as the gentle breath of Zephyr,  
Flattering as the pleading of love,  
You flutter with a light heart  
Through the world of flowers!  
Harbinger of spring! Butterfly!  
With the sweet caress of flattery  
You flit about the young roses,  
Then you turn, in the manner of a man,  
Toward other flowers!

Frühlingsbote! Schmetterling!  
Ist dein ganzes Leben Scherz,  
Fesselt nichts dein kleines Herz,  
O so nenne nicht die Triebe  
Deiner Flatterseele Liebe!  
Frühlingsbote! Schmetterling!  
Bunter Wechsel scheint dein Ziel,

Harbinger of spring! Butterfly!  
If your whole life is a jest,  
If nothing can bind your little heart,  
Oh, then do not call the urges  
Of your fluttering soul "love!"  
Harbinger of spring! Butterfly!  
Colorful change seems to be your aim  
in life,

Aber grausam ist das Spiel.  
Ach! ein Schmetterling wie du  
Nahm mir tändelnd meine Ruh'!

But this game is cruel.  
Alas, a butterfly like you  
Carelessly deprived me of my peace!

---

5 "In die Ferne" (Into the Distance), op. 8 no. 2, text by Hermann Klätke

4:43

Siehst du am Abend die Wolken zieh'n,  
  
Siehst du die Spitzen der Berge glüh'n,

Do you see the clouds passing at  
evening,  
Do you see the tops of the mountains  
glowing,

Mit ewigem Schnee die Gipfel umglänzt,  
Mit grünenden Wäldern die Täler  
umgrenzt[?]

Ach! in die Ferne sehnt sich mein Herz!

Ach! in den Wäldern so ewig grün  
Kann still und heimlich die Liebe glühn.  
Der Morgen sieht sie, der Abendschein,

Und Lieb' ist mit Liebe so selig allein.

Ach! in die Ferne sehnt sich mein Herz!

O könnt' ich ziehen im Morgenrot,

O hauchte Abend mir Liebestod[!]

Es schwindet das Leben, du weisst es  
kaum,

O ew'ge Liebe, o ewiger Traum!

Ach! in die Ferne sehnt sich mein Herz!

The peaks shining with eternal snow,  
The valleys bounded by green forests[?]

Oh! My heart longs for faraway places!

Oh! In the eternally green forests  
Love may glow silently and secretly.  
Morning sees it and the evening glow  
[sees it],

And the lover is rapturously alone  
with the beloved.

Oh! My heart longs for faraway places!

Oh, could I but pass away in the  
morning light,

Oh, if evening could bring me love's  
death[!]

Life is passing away, you barely notice it,

Oh eternal love, oh eternal dream!

Oh! My heart longs for faraway places!

---

6 "Ew'ge Nähe" (Eternal Nearness), op. 8 no. 3, text by Agnes von Calatin

2:17

Heller ward mein inn'res Leben,  
Schöner, seit ich dich erkannt,  
Seit ein gleiches hohes Streben  
Herz mit Herz so eng verband.  
Meine Lieder, wie mein Fühlen,  
Alles hab' ich dir geweiht.  
Nichts konnt' meine Liebe kühlen,  
Keine Trennung und kein Leid!  
Und doch soll ich dir entsagen,  
Dir, mein heller Lebensstern,  
Soll die tiefe Nacht ertragen,  
Dass du mir auf ewig fern!  
Nein, ach nein, so darf's nicht werden,  
Nein, es darf kein Abschied sein.  
Ob getrennt, ob nah auf Erden,

Hier im Herzen bleibst du mein!

My inner life became more radiant,  
More beautiful since I met you,  
Since the same exalted striving  
So closely united our hearts.  
My songs [poems], like my feelings,  
Everything I have dedicated to you.  
Nothing was able to lessen my love,  
No separation and no sorrow.  
And yet I am to renounce you,  
You, my radiant star of life;  
I am to endure the dark night  
Of eternal separation from you!  
No, oh no, this must not happen!  
No, oh no, there must be no farewell!  
Whether we are separated or close  
together on earth,  
Here in my heart you shall remain mine!

- 
- 7 "Namenloses" (Nameless [Poems]), text by Apollonius von Maltitz 1:15

Wenn auch alles Täuschung ware,	If everything were deception,
Jeder Glaub' uns untersagt,	If every faith were denied us,
Würd' ich dennoch unverzagt	I would still trust, undaunted,
Glauben noch der Abschieds-Zähre.	In the tear of farewell.

- 
- 8 "Zur Erinnerung an 'Wh.' Aus Maltitz's Namenloser [*sic*]" 1:48  
(In Remembrance of "Wh." From Maltitz's Nameless One),  
text by Apollonius von Maltitz

Wenn sich von des Mittags Höhen	When from the heights of midday
Schon die Sonne neigt zur Nacht,	The sun already inclines itself toward
	night,
Bleibt so mancher Lenz noch stehen,	Many a springtime remains standing,
Sieht uns freundlich an und lacht,	Gazes at us in a friendly manner and
	laughs;
Blickt dann auf entlaubte Bäume,	Looks then at the trees stripped of
	their leaves,
Neigt sein holdes Angesicht.	Inclines its lovely face.
Schenken kann er nur noch Träume,	All it can give [us] now is dreams;
Hoffnungsschwingen gibt er nicht!	It does not give [us] wings of hope!

- 
- 9 "Du denkst an mich so selten" (You think of me so rarely), op. 26 no. 3, 3:04  
text by August Graf von Platen

Du denkst an mich so selten,	You think of me so rarely.
Ich denk' an dich so viel.	I think of you so much.
Getrennt in beiden Welten	Separated in both worlds
Ist unser beider Ziel!	Are our respective goals!
 Ich möchte beide Welten	 I would like to pass through both
	worlds
Durchzieh'n an deiner Hand,	Hand in hand with you,
Bald schlummern unter Zelten,	Sometimes slumbering under tents,
Bald gehn von Land zu Land!	Sometimes wandering from land to
	land!
 Und willst du mir vergelten	 And if you wish to reward me
Durch Liebe dies Gedicht,	For this poem with love,
So fließt um beide Welten	Then around both worlds
Ein rosenfarb'nes Licht.	Shall flow a rose-colored light.

## 10 "Frühes Sterben" (Early Death), op. 26 no. 4, text by Friedrich Mayer

2:30

Wie die Wellen still sich legen  
 Nach dem leichten Abendwind,  
 Wie die Mutter sorgsam leget  
 In den Schlaf ihr liebes Kind,  
 Möchte ich mein heisses Sehnen  
 In der Seele wiegen ein,  
 Und die alte schlimme Klage  
 Sollt' damit verklungen sein.

Just as the waves come to rest  
 After the soft evening breeze,  
 Just as a mother solicitously  
 Puts her dear child to rest,  
 Thus would I like to rock to sleep  
 The hot yearning in my soul,  
 And the old, evil lament  
 Would therewith have faded away.

Spielend mit den Frühlingslüften  
 Wird die Blume rosenrot,  
 Aber in dem zarten Kelche  
 Schlummert auch ihr früher Tod!  
 So geschieht's auch meiner Liebe  
 In dem stets bewegten Herz;  
 Hat ihr Lieben auch begonnen,  
 Fühlt sie schon des Todes Schmerz.

Playing with the breezes of spring,  
 The flower turns rose-red,  
 But in the tender chalice  
 Sleeps, too, its early death!  
 Thus it happens to my love  
 In my ever restless heart;  
 As soon as its loving has begun,  
 It already feels the pangs of death.

11 "Den Abschied schnell genommen" (Take Farewell Quickly),  
 op. 15 no. 1, poet unknown

2:15

Nur den Abschied schnell genommen,  
 Nicht gezaudert, nicht geklagt,  
 Schneller als die Tränen kommen,  
 Losgerissen unverzagt!  
 Aus den Armen losgewunden,

Only take leave quickly,  
 Do not linger, do not lament,  
 More quickly than the tears can come,  
 Tear yourself away!  
 Disentangle yourself from [each  
 other's] arms,

Wie dies in der Brust auch brennt!

No matter how much it burns in your  
 breast!

Was im Leben sich gefunden,

[Those] who have found each other  
 in this life

Wird im Leben auch getrennt.

Are also separated from each other in  
 this life.

Sollst du tragen, mußt du tragen,

If you are destined to bear, if you must  
 bear [pain],

Trage nur mit festem Sinn!

Only bear it with a steadfast spirit!

Deine Seufzer, deine Klagen

Your sighs, your laments

Wehen in die Lüfte hin!

Are wafted away in the breezes!

Soll der Schmerz dich nicht bezwingen,

If pain is not to overcome you,

So bezwinde du den Schmerz,

You must overcome pain,

Und verwelkte Blüten schlingen	And wilted flowers, refreshed, shall entwine
Frisch sich um dein wundes Herz!	Themselves around your wounded heart!

---

12 "Scheideblick" (Parting Glance), op. 26 no. 3, text by Nikolaus Lenau 2:41

Als ein unergründlich Wonnemeer	Like an unfathomable ocean of joy
Strahlte mir dein seelenvoller Blick!	Your soulful gaze shone for me!
Scheiden muß' ich ohne Wiederkehr,	I had to take leave, knowing I would never return,
Und ich habe scheidend all' mein Glück	And as I departed, I quietly sank
Still versenkt in dieses tiefe Meer!	All my happiness into this deep ocean.

---

13 "O sehntest du dich so nach mir" (If you longed for me), op. 14 no. 1, 3:38  
text by C. Reinhold [Köstlin]

O sehntest du dich so nach mir,	Oh, if you yearned for me
Wie ich nach dir,	As I for you,
Du kämst zu mir!	You would come to me.
Mein Aug' ist nur nach dir ein Strahl	My eye is nothing but a beam [of light] aimed at you,
Voll süsser Qual.	Full of sweet torture.
O komm' einmal!	Oh come!

In meinem Ohr an jedem Ort	In my ear, everywhere,
Tönt immer fort	Constantly echoes
Dein liebes Wort!	Your dear word!
O sehntest du dich so nach mir,	If you yearned for me
Wie ich nach dir,	As I for you,
Du wärest schon hier!	You would already be here!

---

14 "'Und noch von dir kein Wort' aus der Novelle 'Die Mathildenhöhle'" 3:11  
("And still no word from you" from the novella "The Mathilde Cave"),  
text by C. Reinhold [Köstlin]

Und wieder ist ein Tag dahin,	And again a day has passed,
Und noch von dir kein Wort—	And still no word from you—
Weiss nicht, wie ich geschlichen bin,	I know not how I crept about
Nur bis zum Abend fort!	All day until evening!
Weiss nicht mehr, wo ich stand und ging,	I know not where I stood and walked,
Was Auge trieb und Ohr,	What my eye did and my ear,

Denn ach, vor meiner Seele hing  
Ein schwarzer Trauerflor.

For oh, before my soul there hung  
A black shroud.

Weiss nicht, was ich gedacht im Schmerz,  
Denn was ich denken wollt',  
Schlug's wie ein Hammer mir auf's Herz,  
Als ob's zerspringen sollt!

I know not what I thought in [my] pain,  
For whatever I wanted to think,  
It was as if a hammer struck my heart,  
As if it were about to burst!

Weiss nicht, mit wem ich ging und  
sprach,  
Denn Alles ausser dir  
Dahin ja schwebt es vor und nach,  
Wie Truggestalten mir!

I know not with whom I walked and  
spoke,  
For everything other than you  
Floated away before and behind me  
Like phantoms!

So steh' ich hier denn einsam nur,  
Vom Einz'gen in der Welt  
Verlassen, d'rauf mein ganzes Tun  
Und Sinnen war gestellt!

Thus I stand here in solitude,  
Abandoned by the one thing in the world  
Upon which all my deeds  
And thoughts were focused!

Umsonst reich' ich nach dir die Hand,  
Du tust mich in die Acht—\*  
Zerrissen unsrer Liebe Band  
Hinflattert in die Nacht.

In vain I reach out to you;  
You declare me an outlaw.  
Our love's bond, torn,  
Flutters away into the night.

\*Lang's autographs give this line as "Du tust mich nicht in Acht", which is a variant of the phrase "Du nimmst mich nicht in acht" (you take no notice of me). Köstlin's original text, however, is "Du tust mich in die Acht" (you declare me an outlaw). Lang's alteration may represent her effort to make sense of a rare construction that she had never encountered.

15 "Ach ich denke' aus dem Roman 'Die Mathildenhöhle'"  
("Oh, I think" from the novel [*sic*] "The Mathilde Cave"),  
text by C. Reinhold [Köstlin]

3:46

Ach, ich denke, ach, ich senke  
In ihr Bild mich Tag und Nacht!  
Und kein Grüßen von der Süßen—  
O ich hätt' es nie gedacht!

Oh, I think, oh I sink  
Myself into her image day and night!  
And no greeting from the sweet one—  
Oh, I would never have thought [that  
this could happen]!

Ach, ich schaue tief in's Blaue  
Bis mein Aug' in Tränen steht,  
Ach, ich lausche ob es rausche,

Oh, I look deep into the blue [heavens]  
Until my eye is filled with tears.  
Oh, I listen [to discover] if there is a  
swishing [of her garments]

Ob sie gleich mir ferne steht!

Even though she is far from me!

Vögeln, Lüften, Wolken, Düften, Geb' ich mit den tiefsten Sinn,	To the birds, the breezes, clouds, scents I impart the most profoundly meaningful messages,
Aber schweifen, aber streifen Lässt du sie an dir dahin.	But [heedlessly] you permit them To roam and ramble past you.
So versäumst du, so verträumst du Was mir einzig Frieden gibt? Fühlst im Herzen keine Schmerzen, Hast so früh schon ausgeliebt?	Thus you miss, thus you dream away The only thing that gives me peace? You feel no pain in your heart? [You] have ceased to love so soon?

---

16 "Nach dem Abschied" (After the Farewell), op. 9 no. 3, 2:55  
text by C. Reinhold [Köstlin]

Die Sonne senkt sich in des Meeres Schoss, Allein das Licht[,] der Himmel lässt's nicht los. Es blüht und glüht und macht die Nacht zum Tage, Zum Jubellied der Nachtigallen Klage.	The sun sinks into the lap of the sea,  But the light[—]the sky does not release it. It blossoms and glows and turns night into day, The lament of the nightingale into a paean of joy.
So gingst du zwar, doch deines Wesens Licht Verlässt den Himmel meiner Seele nicht. Wo ich denn wandern mag und ruh'n auf Erden, Kann nimmer Nacht und Trauer in mir werden.	Thus you departed, but the light of your being Does not depart from the sky of my soul. Wherever I may wander and rest on earth, Night and sadness can never arise within me.

---

17 "Zusammen" (Together), op. 26 no. 5, text by C. Reinhold [Köstlin] 1:55

Nach jenen blauen Bergen senden Willst du die Blicke sehnsuchtsvoll, Willst, daß auch ich mein Aug' hin wenden Und deinen dort begegnen soll!	Toward those blue mountains you wish To send your yearning gazes, [You] wish me also to turn my eyes toward them And to meet yours there!
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18 "Abermals am See" (Once Again by the Lake), op. 12 no. 3, 2:15  
text by C. Reinhold [Köstlin]

Drüben schon von dem Altane, Schimmert ihr weisses Gewand.	Yonder from the balcony, Her white dress is already shimmering.
---	--



Frisch! im gebrechlichen Kahne  
 Führe mich Schiffer an's Land,  
 Zög're du nicht, dich zu wagen,  
 Weil stürmisch die Welle sich rührt!  
 Mutig! es braucht nicht zu zagen,

Wer einen Glücklichen führt.  
 Siehst ihre Augen du blinken?  
 Steure nach ihnen nur zu.  
 Göttliche Sterne[,] sie winken  
 Wogen und Winde zur Ruh',  
 Lass denn das Schiffein nur schwanken,  
 Keine Gefahr ist für dich.  
 Das sind der Liebe Gedanken,  
 Schaukelnd und gaukelnd um mich!

Quickly, in the fragile craft,  
 Boatman, carry me to the shore.  
 Do not hesitate to brave [the lake]  
 Because the waves are stormily agitated.  
 Courage! One who carries such a happy  
     man  
 Need have no fear.  
 Do you see her eyes sparkling?  
 Steer toward them.  
 They are divine stars  
 Quieting the waves and the winds.  
 Let the little boat rock then.  
 There is no danger for you.  
 It is only the thoughts of love  
 That are rocking and fluttering around  
     me!

---

19 "Ob ich manchmal dein gedenke?" (Whether I sometimes think of you?), 2:45  
 op. 27 no. 3, text by C. Reinhold [Köstlin]

Ob ich manchmal dein gedenke?  
 Wüßtest du, wie sehr ich's tu!  
 Dir auch noch die Schatten lenke  
 Träumender Gedanken zu!

Tag und Nacht, und alle Stunden,  
 O dies alles sagt es nicht;  
 Du[,] seitdem wir uns gefunden,  
 Bist's allein, was aus mir spricht.

Alles andre seh' ich schwanken  
 Um mich her wie Traum und Schein!  
 Dein gedenken ist mein Leben!  
 Dich zu lieben ist mein Sein.

[You ask] whether I sometimes think  
     of you?  
 If you [only] knew how much!  
 Draw unto yourself even the shadows  
 Of [my] dreaming thoughts!

Day and night, and at all hours,  
 Oh, all [those words] do not express it;  
 You alone, since we found each other,  
 Are the substance of my utterances.

I see everything else tottering  
 About me like dreams and illusions!  
 To think of you is my [very] life!  
 To love you is my existence.

---

20 "Der Herbst" (Autumn), op. 12 no. 5, text by C. Reinhold [Köstlin] 1:42

Raschelt's schon im Laube,  
 Rötet sich die Traube,  
 Kommt der Herbst schon an?  
 Ach! Wie so beklommen  
 Fühlt ich sonst sein Kommen,  
 Und die Träne rann!

Is there a rustling in the leaves[?]  
 Does the grape turn red[?]  
 Is autumn already arriving?  
 Ah, how oppressed  
 I used to feel at its arrival,  
 And how the tears flowed!

Soll man alle Freuden  
Trunken dann vergeuden  
Rasch an einem Tag?  
Denn die Blätter fallen,  
Und die Nachtigallen  
Ruh'n aus vom Schlag!

Should one then drunkenly,  
Quickly, squander  
All pleasures in one day?  
For the leaves fall,  
And the nightingales  
Rest from their song!

Jetzt in andre Sorgen  
Späh ich in den Morgen,  
Herbst, ob du's schon bist?

Now with other concerns  
I peer into the morning;  
[I ask myself], autumn, if you are  
already here.

Wann die Blätter fallen,  
Kommt er, der von Allen  
Mir der Liebste ist!

When the leaves fall  
Then he shall come, who of all [people]  
Is the dearest to me!

---

21 "Vögelein" (Little Bird), op. 14 no. 5, text by C. Reinhold [Köstlin]

2:00

Ein Vögelein  
Fliegt über'n Rhein  
Und wiegt die Flügel  
Im Sonnenschein,  
Sieht Rebentügel  
Und grüne Flut.  
Wie wohl das tut,  
So hoch erhoben  
Im Morgenhauch!  
Beim Vögelein droben,  
O wär' ich auch!

A little bird  
Flies above the Rhine  
And waves its wings  
In the sunshine.  
[It] sees vineyards  
And green water.  
How enjoyable it is  
[To be] up so high  
In the morning breeze!  
If only I, too, could be  
Up there with the little bird!

---

22 "1. Jülj," text by C. Reinhold [Köstlin]

1:47

Leise sinkt der Abend nieder,  
Bringt die Gegenwart zur Ruh;  
Rausche denn, bewegter Flieder,  
Sing' von alter Zeit mir zu!

Quietly the evening falls,  
Bringing the present to rest;  
Rustle then, agitated lilac bush;  
Sing to me of olden times!

Bring' sie all, die holden Tage,  
Holden Nächte wieder vor!  
Ganz wie fremde Wundersage,  
Trifft es mein beraushtes Ohr.

Bring them all, the lovely days,  
Lovely nights, [bring them] forth again!  
Just like a strange myth, [your rustling]  
Reaches my intoxicated ear.

Kehrte heut der Tag nicht wieder,  
Der zuerst mich froh gemacht?

Did not today return  
The day that first made me happy?

Sinke drauf, wie damals, nieder,  
Himmlich friedensvolle Nacht!

Sink down upon it, just as you did back  
then,  
You heavenly, peaceful night!

---

23 “Die Wolken” (The Clouds), op. 25 no. 5, text likely by Felix Köstlin 1:03

Rasch wie die Pfeile zieh’n sie dahin,  
Ach! Dass du wüsstest, wie weit und  
wohin[!]

Quickly as arrows they go by.  
Oh, if you knew how far and whereto!

Flögest so gerne von hinnen!

You too would be so glad to fly from  
here!

Leicht wie der Vogel im luftigen Raum,  
Flögest du dort in der Wolke Saum,  
Leben und Licht zu gewinnen!

Lightly as birds in the airy expanse  
You would fly to the edge of the clouds,  
To attain light and life!

---

24 “Leb’ wohl, leb’ wohl du schöne Welt” (Farewell, farewell, beautiful world), 2:15  
op. 29 no. 1, text by Albert Zeller

Leb’ wohl, leb’ wohl du schöne Welt!  
Mein Herz ist müd und schwer.  
Lebt alle wohl, auf wiederseh’n,  
Fahrt wohl, ich kann nicht mehr!

Farewell, farewell, beautiful world!  
My heart is exhausted and heavy;  
Farewell to all of you,  
Farewell, I can endure no more!

Du heilig Land, das mich geliebt  
Und tausendfach erfreut,  
Mir einen Gott und Himmel gab  
Und süßes Weh und Leid,

[Farewell], you holy land that loved me  
And gave me a thousand joys,  
Gave me a God and a Heaven,  
And sweet pain and sorrow,

Und manche sel’ge Menschenbrust  
An meine Brust gelegt,  
In leichtem Spiel, in hohem Ernst  
Mich namenlos bewegt!

And placed many a blessed human breast  
Against my breast,  
And in easy play, in high seriousness,  
Unutterably moved me.

---

25 “Wenn zwei von einander scheiden” (When two people part), 2:03  
op. 33[34] no. 6, text by Heinrich Heine

Wenn zwei von einander scheiden,  
So geben sie sich die Händ’,  
Und fangen an zu weinen  
Und seufzen ohne End’!  
Wir haben nicht geweinet,  
Und seufzten nicht Weh und Ach.  
Die Tränen und die Seufzer  
Sie kamen hintennach!

When two people part,  
They give each other their hands  
And they begin to weep  
And sigh endlessly!  
We did not weep,  
And did not sigh “woe” and “alas.”  
The tears and the sighs  
Came afterwards!

---

26 "Vorsatz" (Resolve), op. 38[39] no. 1, text by Robert Prutz 1:59

Ich will dir's nimmer sagen,  
Wie ich so lieb dich hab'.  
Im Herzen will ich's tragen,  
Will still sein wie das Grab.

I shall never tell you  
How much I love you.  
I shall carry it in my heart,  
And shall be quiet as the grave.

Kein Lied soll dir's gestehen,  
Soll flehen um mein Glück.  
Du selber sollst es sehen,  
Du selbst in meinem Blick!

No song [poem] shall confess it to you,  
Shall plead for my happiness.  
You yourself must see it,  
You yourself [must see it] in my gaze!

Und kannst du es nicht lesen,  
Was dort so zärtlich spricht,  
So ist's ein Traum gewesen,  
Dem Träumer zürne nicht!

And if you cannot read  
What speaks so tenderly there,  
Then it was but a dream.  
Do not be angry with the dreamer!

---

27 "Im reinsten Gold ich treu bewahr'" (Encased in purest gold), 3:40  
op. 34[35] no. 1, text likely by Felix Kunde

Im reinsten Gold ich treu bewahr'  
Vom Liebchen hold das seid'ne Haar!  
Wir haben beid' sie einst geküsst,

Encased in purest gold, I faithfully keep  
The silken hair of my beloved!  
Both of us [the poet and the lock of  
hair] once kissed her,

Die Seligkeit so bald gebüsst!  
Nun teilen wir ein gleich Geschick,  
Getrennt von ihr, getrennt vom Glück!

And all too quickly paid for this bliss!  
Now we share the same fate,  
Severed from her, severed from joy!

---

28 "Lied des jungen Werner. Am Ufer blies ich ein lustig Stück" 2:31  
(Song of Young Werner. On the riverbank I played a merry piece),  
op. 45 no. 2, text by Viktor von Scheffel

Am Ufer blies ich ein lustig Stück[.]

On the riverbank I [Werner] played a  
merry piece.

Wie klang die alte Trompete  
Hell in den Sturm, der das Getön

How the old trumpet rang out  
Brightly into the storm, which blew the  
sound

Zum Herrenschesse verwehte!

To the lord's castle!

Die Wasserfrau im tiefen Grund

The *Wasserfrau* [literally, "waterwoman"]  
in the depths

Hört Sturm und Töne rauschen,

Hears the rushing sound of storm and  
music.

Sie steigt herauf, neugierig will  
Die Klänge sie erlauschen.

She ascends; curious,  
She wants to listen to the sounds.

Und als sie wieder hinab getaucht,  
Erzählt sie den Fischen mit Lachen:  
O Rheineskinder, man erlebt

Doch sonderbarliche Sachen!

Sitzt oben einer im Regengsturm,

Was glaubt ihr, dass er triebe?  
Bläst immerzu dasselbe Lied,  
Das Lied von seiner Liebe!

And when she has dived down again,  
She laughingly tells the fishes:  
Oh children of the Rhine, one  
experiences  
Strange things!

There's someone sitting up there in the  
downpour;  
What do you think he is doing?  
He blows the same song constantly,  
The song of his love.

---

29 "Lied des Katers 'Hiddigeigei'" (Song of the Cat Hiddigeigei),  
op. 45 no. 5, text by Viktor von Scheffel

3:03

An dem Ende seiner Tage  
Steht der Kater Hiddigeigei.  
Und er denkt mit leiser Klage,  
Wie sein Dasein bald vorbei sei.  
Möchte gerne aus dem Schatze  
Reicher Weisheit Lehren geben,  
Dran die Zukunft mancher Katze

Haltpunkt fänd im schwanken Leben.  
Miau! Miau! Miau!

Ach der Lebenspfad ist holpernd,  
Liegen dort so manche Steine,  
Dran wir Alten schmählich stolpernd

Oftmals uns verrenkt die Beine.  
Ach, das Leben birgt viel Hader  
Und schlägt viel unnütze Wunden[.]  
Mancher tapfre schwarze Kater  
Hat umsonst den Tod gefunden.  
Miau! Miau! Miau!

Doch wozu der alte Kummer?  
Und ich hör' die Jungen lachen.  
Und sie treiben's noch viel dummer,  
Schaden erst wird klug sie machen.  
Fruchtlos stets ist die Geschichte[.]  
Mögen seh'n sie, wie sie's treiben!

At the end of his days  
Stands the cat Hiddigeigei.  
And he thinks, with faint lamenting,  
How soon his existence shall be over.  
He would gladly, out of his treasure  
Of rich wisdom, supply teachings  
That would lend the future of many  
a cat

An anchor in this unstable life.  
Meow! Meow! Meow!

Oh, the path of life is rough.  
Many stones lie there,  
On which we old ones, wretchedly  
tripping,

Have frequently sprained our legs.  
Oh, life contains much strife  
And often wounds [us] unnecessarily.  
Many a courageous black cat  
Has needlessly found his death.  
Meow! Meow! Meow!

But of what use is the age-old sorrow?  
And I hear the young ones laughing.  
And they act even more stupidly.  
Only misfortune shall make them wise.  
History is always without effect[.]  
Let them manage as best they can!

Hiddigeigeis Lehrgedichte  
Werden ungesungen bleiben.  
Miau! Miau! Miau!

Hiddigeigei's instructive songs  
Shall remain unsung.  
Meow! Meow! Meow!

---

30 "Scheiden" (Parting), op. 43 no. 4, text by C. Reinhold [Köstlin]

3:31

Warum muss, ach, das Scheiden sein,  
Das Scheiden?  
Darum man muss so bitter Pein

Oh why must there be parting,  
Parting?  
Through which one must such bitter  
pain

Erleiden?  
Kein böses Wort in aller Welt!  
Tod spricht es!  
Und wem es recht auf's Herze fällt[.]

Endure?  
No word more evil in all the world!  
Death utters it!  
And the person onto whose heart it  
falls[.]

Dem bricht es.

That person's heart breaks.

Halt was du liebst, fest an der Brust!

Clasp what you love tightly to your  
breast!

O scheue dich!

Take care!

Zusammen trägt sich Leid und Lust  
So freudig!

Together, sorrow and joy can be borne  
So happily!

Warum muss, ach, das Scheiden sein!

Oh why must there be parting?

Tod spricht es!

Death utters it!

Und wem es recht auf's Herze fällt[.]

And the person onto whose heart it  
falls[.]

Dem bricht es.

That person's heart breaks.

*Recording and Mastering:* Stop, Look, and Listen . . . , Victoria, BC, Canada

*Recorded in the Phillip T. Young Recital Hall, University of Victoria, 2002, 2003, 2005*

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# NOTES

## Introduction

1. Franz Kafka, "Josefine, die Sängerin, oder Das Volk der Mäuse," in *Meistererzählungen*, ed. Herbert Tauber (Zürich: Manesse Verlag, 1978), 276.

2. The Leipzig publisher Kistner communicated with Felix Mendelssohn about the appropriate name for Lang's title pages after her marriage. In a letter of 26 July 1844, Kistner wrote, "Don't you agree that 'Josephine Lang' sounds better on a title page than 'Josephine Köstlin, née Lang'?" (MS. M.D.M. d.46, no. 33, Mendelssohn MSS, BL).

3. Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 96–97.

4. Eva Rieger and Käte Walter, eds., *Frauen komponieren: 25 Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier* (Mainz: Schott, 1992), 42–49.

5. The website is <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang.html>. The database, which appeared on the library's website in December 2000, is a work in progress to which we shall continue to add as manuscripts of Lang's music come to light. It allows users to search Lang's oeuvre by title, incipit, poet, year of composition, opus number, and so on.

6. Josephine Lang to Ferdinand Hiller, 23 March 1867, 36(185), Hiller MSS, HASK. In all citations from Hiller's letters, the first number is the number of the *Briefbuch* (the *Briefbücher* are large books into which Hiller glued his letters), and the parenthesized number is the first page of the given letter.

7. Ferdinand Hiller, "Josephine Lang, die Lieder-Componistin," originally published in the *Kölner Zeitung*, no. 148, Erstes Blatt, 3, 29 May 1867 as "Musikalische Briefe von Ferdinand Hiller. X. Josephine Lang, die Lieder-Componistin"; reprinted in *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, (Leipzig: H. Mendelssohn, 1868), 2:116–36. As the reprinted article is more readily available, all subsequent citations will refer to that publication; hereinafter cited as "Hiller."

8. Heinrich Adolf Köstlin, "Josefine Lang (Lebensabriß)," in *Sammlung musikalischer Vorträge*, ed. P. Waldersee, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881), 51–103. Hereinafter cited as "Lebensabriß."



9. Roberta Werner, *The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang: The Expression of a Life* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1992), hereinafter cited as “Werner.”

10. Lang mentioned in a letter to Hiller that she had begun to work on these notes (20 September 1861, 30[737]). She finally sent them to Hiller five-and-a-half years later (enclosed with her letter of 23 March 1867, 36[185], Hiller MSS, HASK).

11. “Lebensabriß,” 51.

12. Lang’s daughter Maria married Richard Fellingner and eventually moved with him to Vienna, where she became a close friend of Brahms. Their last living descendant, the musicologist Imogen Fellingner, died in 2001 and left all of her musical manuscripts, including the Lang manuscripts, to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. This collection is not yet fully catalogued at the time of writing.

13. On a loose leaf inside the cover of the large album (I.N. 23971, Fellingner MSS, GdMf) is a song manuscript (not composed by Lang) with an inscription indicating that this album was given to “Papele” [Richard Fellingner] as a birthday present on 11 March 1881, explaining the pictures on the front, and stating that the embroidery was by “Mammele” [Maria Fellingner].

14. All of the sources listed here will be cited in detail in later endnotes.

15. The vast majority of sources used in writing this book are in German. All translations are by Harald and Sharon Krebs unless otherwise indicated.

16. The SPK in Berlin once possessed copies of opp. 1 and 3; these scores were, however, destroyed in World War II. Lang’s personal copies are also missing because she sent them back to the publisher in the hopes of having them reissued (see her autograph list of works in the box containing Mus. fols. 54a–57b, Lang MSS, WLB).

17. Josephine Lang, *Selected Songs*, Women Composers Series 11, ed. Judith Tick (New York: Da Capo Press, 1982), hereinafter cited as “Da Capo.”

18. See, for example, *Von Goethe inspiriert: Lieder von Komponistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel: Furore Verlag, 1999), which contains Lang’s “op. 5” no. 3, op. 9 no. 1, and op. 10 no. 2.

19. Harald Krebs, ed., *Josephine Lang, Songs* (Bryn Mawr: Hildegard Publishing, forthcoming), 2 vols., hereinafter cited as “Hildegard.” The songs in this edition were selected to avoid overlap with the Da Capo volume, and to correspond to analytical discussions in this book.

20. The website is <http://www.freidok.uni-freiburg.de/volltexte/74/>, accessed 13 July 2006.

21. The website is <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

22. “Lebensabriß,” 58.

## Chapter 1

1. The sources of information about Lang’s earliest years (1815–30) are Hiller, 116–26 and “Lebensabriß,” 52–61. There is little other documentary evidence for this period of her life. Information about the Lang family comes from these sources, and from

Heinz Schuler, “Münchener Künstlerfamilien aus dem Mozartschen Freundeskreis,” *Genealogie* XIV/28 (1979), 435–49. A partial Lang family tree is provided in the first genealogical chart in the front matter of our book.

2. The two brothers were associated with prominent composers. Franz Lang married the daughter of Johann Stamitz. Mozart befriended both brothers in Mannheim in 1777 and remained in touch with them throughout his life (Schuler, “Münchener Künstlerfamilien,” 441).

3. According to genealogical tables in Schuler (“Münchener Künstlerfamilien,” 447), an older [half?]-brother, Anton, pianist and composer, was born in 1804, that is, four years before the marriage of Josephine Lang’s parents. Anton Lang, whose death date is unknown, is not mentioned in Köstlin’s and Hiller’s biographies, and thus seems to have had no impact on Lang’s life.

4. Hiller, 117.

5. Quoted in “Lebensabriß,” 54.

6. “Lang-Hitzelberger, Regina,” *Großes Sängerlexikon*, ed. K. J. Kutsch and Leo Riemens (Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag, 1999, 2000), CD-ROM (Digitale Bibliothek 33), 13715.

7. Quoted in “Lebensabriß,” 54.

8. “Lang-Hitzelberger, Regina,” *Großes Sängerlexikon*, ed. K. J. Kutsch and Leo Riemens (Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag, 1999, 2000), CD-ROM (Digitale Bibliothek 33), 13715.

9. Oskar Kaul, “Hitzelberger, Sabina, geb. Renk,” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), 492.

10. “Lebensabriß,” 53.

11. Werner, 13.

12. Quoted in “Lebensabriß,” 54–55.

13. “Lebensabriß,” 55.

14. Hiller, 121.

15. “Lebensabriß,” 56–57.

16. H. A. Köstlin and Hiller represent Lang’s lessons with Mlle. Berlinghof and her Museum concert as occurring after her mother’s death—but given that her mother did not die until 1827, these events must pre-date her death. Werner provides detailed information on the Munich Museum concerts, and on Munich musical life in general (40–65).

17. Felix Mendelssohn, *Letters*, trans. Gisella Selden-Goth (London: Paul Elek Publishers, 1946), 82.

18. Hiller, 122.

19. See Werner, 59–60, for a list of composers whose operas were performed in Munich in 1810–24.

20. Ulrike von Hase, *Joseph Stieler 1781–1858: Sein Leben und sein Werk—Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke*. Materialien zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts, vol. 4 (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1971).

21. “Lebensabriß,” 58.

22. During her marriage, she wrote a nostalgic account of these vacations to her husband (undated letter, 45965, Köstlin MSS, DLA).

23. Hiller, 123.

24. Ibid.

25. Köstlin and Hiller both give the date of this event as 1824. Although the two biographers got this date from Lang herself, it is incorrect. Werner located the correct date in Munich church records (66n); her date is confirmed by Schuler (“Münchener Künstlerfamilien,” 446).

26. Hiller, 120.

27. Lang remained in contact with her stepmother, stepbrother, and half-sister after she left Munich; some of this correspondence is preserved at the WLB.

28. “Lebensabriß,” 56.

29. Hiller, 121.

30. Quoted in Joanne Schneider, “Enlightened Reforms and Bavarian Girls’ Education: Tradition through Innovation,” in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History*, ed. John C. Fout (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984), 64.

31. Juliane Jacobi-Dittrich, “Growing Up Female in the Nineteenth Century,” in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History*, ed. John C. Fout (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984), 211.

32. Quoted in Joanne Schneider, “Enlightened Reforms and Bavarian Girls’ Education: Tradition through Innovation,” in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History*, ed. John C. Fout (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984), 58.

33. “Lebensabriß,” 57.

34. Werner surmises that this special dispensation may have occurred through the influence of Queen Caroline, second wife of Maximilian I of Bavaria (79–80). Documents to be cited later reveal that this royal personage was kindly disposed toward Lang.

35. Joanne Schneider, “Enlightened Reforms and Bavarian Girls’ Education: Tradition through Innovation,” in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History*, ed. John C. Fout (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984), 60–63.

36. Adolf Bernhard Marx wrote that Lang had no training in composition when he met her in 1830; *Erinnerungen: Aus meinem Leben* (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1865), 161.

37. This song is by Fanny Mendelssohn; it is one of three songs that were published under her brother’s name within his op. 8.

38. Lang’s first six published sets did not appear with opus numbers; she assigned the numbers when she prepared a list of her works in 1867. It is for this reason that we place her early opus numbers within quotation marks.

39. The publication dates for all of Lang’s songs are given on the WLB website (<http://193.196.167.59/%7Elang/Opuszahlen.html>, accessed 13 July 2006). These dates were laboriously gathered from annual and monthly catalogues of published music, prepared by Carl Friedrich Whistling, Friedrich Hofmeister, and Adolph Hofmeister during the nineteenth century. Since no single library possesses a complete set of these catalogues, it is fortunate that a large body of them (Adolph Hofmeister’s *Monatsberichte*) is currently being encoded into an online searchable database, with delivery scheduled for late 2006 (<http://www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/content/intro.html>, accessed 13 July 2006).

40. Mus. fol. 54d, 14r, Lang MSS, WLB.

41. Mus. fol. 53a, 4r, and Mus. fol. 53a, 5r, Lang MSS, WLB, respectively.

42. Mus. fol. 53a, 2r, and Mus. fol. 54a, 6r, Lang MSS, WLB, respectively.

43. For the sets that Lang later called “opp. 2, 3, and 5,” Hofmeister lists the publication date as 1834. One can therefore assume that the set called “op. 4” appeared in that year as well. Hofmeister does not list the set that Lang called “op. 6,” but since she performed a song published within this set for Felix Mendelssohn in 1830, it is likely that these songs, too, are very early.

44. No autographs of this song exist, so there is no possibility of checking what Lang actually wrote. Extant first editions of her early songs are riddled with errors.

45. For scores of “Leichte Lüfte” and “Auf der Alpe,” see Hildegard, 1:1–2 and 3, respectively.

46. For a score, see <http://www.freidok.uni-freiburg.de/volltexte/74/>, accessed 13 July 2006.

47. Ibid.

48. For a score of “Geisternähe,” see Hildegard, 1:4–5.

49. “Lebensabriß,” 58.

50. Ibid., 58–59.

51. Quoted in “Lebensabriß,” 58.

52. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, “An Lina,” *Deutsche Literatur von Lessing bis Kafka*, ed. Mathias Bertram et al. (Berlin: Directmedia, 1998), CD-ROM (Digitale Bibliothek 1), 19337. The fact that the poem begins with the word “darling” (*Liebchen*) does not imply that Mendelssohn was romantically interested in Lang. His interest had been captured by the Munich pianist Delphine von Schauroth; see Clive Brown, *A Portrait of Mendelssohn* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 28–30.

53. In nineteenth-century publications, names were rarely spelled out; they were represented only by their first letter. H. A. Köstlin (“Lebensabriß,” 59) incorrectly guessed that the initial “M.” in the first publication of this letter referred to “Moscheles,” when in fact Mendelssohn had written “Marx.” Unlike Mendelssohn, Marx was not overly impressed with Lang’s performing. He found that women in Munich did not strive for general accomplishment, but remained true to one pursuit and specialized in it. The specialty of “Fräulein L[ang]” was, in his opinion, composition, whereas her singing and playing were “insignificant”; see Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Erinnerungen: Aus meinem Leben* (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1865), 161.

54. This passage was first published in the collection of Mendelssohn’s *Reisebriefe* (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1865), 211–15; there it was designated as stemming from a letter dated Munich, 6 October 1831, and it has been similarly labeled in many later sources, including H. A. Köstlin’s biography. The letter from 6 October actually contains only Mendelssohn’s brief statement that he was teaching “the little Lang.” The much longer passage about Lang translated here appears in a letter that Mendelssohn wrote just after leaving Munich (Mendelssohn to his family, Stuttgart, 7 November 1831, \*MNY+++, Mendelssohn MSS, New York Public Library, New York).

55. Hiller, 125.

56. “Lebensabriß,” 61. It is interesting that Lang chose to set such “masculine” texts, and that Mendelssohn chose to arrange precisely these. He clearly was not disturbed, as one might expect a nineteenth-century man to have been, by a woman composer’s dealing with masculine topics.

57. Felix Mendelssohn, *Letters*, trans. Gisella Selden-Goth (London: Paul Elek Publishers, 1946), 82.

58. “Lebensabriß,” 61.

59. Hiller, 125.

60. “Lebensabriß,” 61.

61. Recent biographers have exaggerated the amount of time that Mendelssohn spent teaching Lang. Lang’s friend, the pianist and composer Stephen Heller, specified that Mendelssohn taught Lang for twelve hours. Stephen Heller to Robert Schumann, Augsburg, 17 August 1836; published in Ursula Kersten, ed., *Stephen Heller, Briefe an Robert Schumann*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Series 36, Musikwissenschaft, no. 37 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988), 59. Hereinafter cited as “Kersten.” Among Lang’s autographs at the WLB are a few species counterpoint exercises (Mus. fols. 55a, 31v, and 56b, 29v), and several pages of four-part modulation exercises (Cod. mus. fol. zu 53–57, 9r–10v and 38r–39v), both probably in Lang’s hand. On p. 37v in Mus. fol. 56c there is a figured bass line, likely in a teacher’s hand. The Mendelssohn expert R. Larry Todd has informed us that the teacher’s hand is not that of Felix Mendelssohn and that Mendelssohn, moreover, did not teach species counterpoint. It appears, then, that Lang had some theory training from someone other than Mendelssohn. The identity of this other teacher cannot be determined.

62. “Lebensabriß,” 59.

63. Mendelssohn to his family, Stuttgart, 7 November 1831, \*MNY+++, Mendelssohn MSS, New York Public Library, New York.

64. Hiller, 125.

65. Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 80.

66. Mendelssohn to Heinrich Baermann, Düsseldorf, 7 July 1834; published in Ludwig Mohl, ed., *Musikerbriefe: Eine Sammlung Briefe von Christoph Willibald Gluck, Philipp Emmanuel Bach, Joseph Haydn, Carl Maria von Weber und Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, nach den Originalen veröffentlicht* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1866), 321–23.

67. See Da Capo, 4–5, and *Frauen komponieren: 25 Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, ed. Eva Rieger and Käte Walter (Mainz: Schott, 1992), 44–45, or <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

68. Lang’s version changes the order of Goethe’s stanzas and omits one stanza. The poem is reproduced here so that it matches Lang’s strophes; the original lines and stanzas are half as long.

69. Her original indication was *Appassionato*; she subsequently changed it to *Allegro con anima*, then settled on *Allegro agitato* (Mus. fol. 54c, 6r, Lang MSS, WLB).

70. The last song of Schumann’s *Liederkreis* op. 39 (“Frühlingsnacht”) is a good example; there, the repeated-note pattern is used in the service of a similar topic.

71. Arnold Schoenberg, *Structural Functions of Harmony*, ed. Leonard Stein (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), 2.

72. The three bars that immediately follow the vocal strophes are meant as an interlude; only the last four bars are to be played after the final strophe as a postlude. This intention is clear from Lang’s autograph (Mus. fol. 54c, 6r–6v, Lang MSS, WLB).

73. For an introduction to the theory of hypermeter, see Harald Krebs, “Hypermeter and Hypermetric Irregularity in the Songs of Josephine Lang,” in *Engaging Music*, ed. Deborah Stein (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 13–29.

## Chapter 2

1. Publications that can be confirmed for this period are “opp. 2, 3, 5,” 7 and 8—a total of 23 songs. It has not been possible to determine exact publication dates for Lang’s “opp. 4 and 6,” but it is very likely that these two sets of four songs each appeared between 1834 and 1838 as well (see <http://193.196.167.59/%7Elang/Opuszahlen.html>, accessed 13 July 2006).

2. For a score of “Schmetterling,” see Harald Krebs, “Josephine Lang (1815–1880),” in *Composers Born 1800–1899: Vocal Music*, vol. 7 of *Women Composers: Music through the Ages*, ed. Sylvia Glickman and Martha Furman Schleifer (New Haven: G. K. Hall, 2003), 132–34.

3. Mus. fol. 53f, 7r, Lang MSS, WLB.

4. Mus. fol. 53i, 14–16, Lang MSS, WLB. Like many of Lang’s autographs, this one contains two dates: “composed on the 14th of November” and “written in Tegernsee on 13th September 1833, on a Friday.” By “written,” Lang must have meant “written down,” which would mean that the song was “composed” in November 1832.

5. The pages Mus. fol. 53i, 22–25 (Lang MSS, WLB) contain two different versions of this song.

6. Three of the Kerner settings were published within Lang’s op. 11 in 1845 (nos. 4, 5 and 6). No. 6 had already appeared as op. 7 no. 4 in 1838. For a score of the latter song, see Hildegard, 1:6, and for a score of op. 11 no. 5, see Hildegard, 1:7–8. For a score of op. 11 no. 4, see <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

7. Mus. fol. 53o, 11r, Lang MSS, WLB.

8. Out of context, there is nothing to indicate that this poem could not refer to a beloved rather than a friend. Kerner, however, addressed this poem to his friend Ludwig Uhland. Within Lang’s op. 11, the song’s text is therefore a hidden link between the two poets and dedicatees of that collection (Uhland and Kerner).

9. Mus. fol. 53n, 7, Lang MSS, WLB. For a score, see <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

10. For a score, see Hildegard, 1:9–11.

11. Mus. fol. 53o, 7v, Lang MSS, WLB.

12. The expressive hypermetric irregularities in “Mignons Klage” are analyzed in Harald Krebs, “Hypermeter and Hypermetric Irregularity in the Songs of Josephine Lang,” in *Engaging Music*, ed. Deborah Stein (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 15–21, 26, and 28.

13. Dated 22 September 1837 (Mus. fol. 53q, 10–11, Lang MSS, WLB). For a score, see Harald Krebs, “Josephine Lang (1815–1880),” in *Composers Born 1800–1899: Vocal Music*, ed. Sylvia Glickman and Martha Furman Schleifer (New Haven: G. K. Hall, 2003), 135–39.

14. Kersten, 131 (Heller to Schumann, 22 August 1838). In a review article on recent songs, Oswald Lorenz referred to Lang's setting of the "Mannheim prize poem" as one of the best he had seen; *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 10/42 (24 May 1839), 165. Robert Schumann reached a similar verdict (see below).

15. Mus. fol. 53q, 11–12, Lang MSS, WLB.

16. In 1838, Lang made one of her very rare forays into the genre of chamber music. Under the guidance of Peter Moralt, a prominent violinist and colleague of her father, she wrote the first movement of a sonata for violin and piano. Numerous sketches for this movement are found in Mus. fol. 57a, Lang MSS, WLB; the page numbers of the various versions, in chronological order, are 17r–19r, 15r, 4r–7v, and 34v–31v. These autographs refer to "Pierre Moralt" as Lang's adviser in this project. For information about the Moralt family, see Folker Göthel, "Moralt [Muralter, Muralt, von]," *Grove MusicOnline*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 13 July 2006), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

17. For a score, see Hildegard, 1:16–18.

18. Mus. fol. 53u, 9r–10r, Lang MSS, WLB. For a score, see Da Capo, 48–49 or <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

19. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 2/4 (13 January 1835): 16.

20. "Lebensabriß," 61.

21. Baermann to Mendelssohn, 20 July 1834, MS. M.D.M. d.29, no. 280, Mendelssohn MSS, BL. "Mme. Vespermann" must be Katharina Sigl-Vespermann, a well-known singer in Munich at the time.

22. "Lebensabriß," 61–62.

23. Small album, I.N. 23970, 8r and 16r, respectively, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

24. Ateş Orga, *Chopin: His Life and Times* (Tunbridge Wells: Midas Books, 1976), 51.

25. The mazurka in memory of Chopin (Mus. fol. 56a, 41v–42v, Lang MSS, WLB) was published posthumously in 1888 as op. 49 no. 2. The two mazurkas constituting op. 49 were republished in *Nineteenth Century German Keyboard Music*, ed. Martha Furman Schleifer (Bryn Mawr: Hildegard Publishing Company, 2000), 3–11.

26. Lang to Mendelssohn, 19 February 1841, MS. M.D.M. d.39, no. 83, Mendelssohn MSS, BL. A letter from Franz Lachner to Lang (10 February 1838, loose letter in large album, I.N. 23971, Fellingner MSS, GdMf) demonstrates that she sought his opinion about some of her works; in this letter, he asked her to let him know when it would be convenient for him to visit her to discuss the compositions that she had sent to him.

27. Maria Vespermann signed herself as "your genuine friend" in an album entry for Lang (22 March 1842, large album, I.N. 23971, Fellingner MSS, GdMf).

28. The source of most of our information about Schauroth's career is Dorothea Hofmann, "'Tag und Nacht möchte man so spielen hören . . .': Notizen zu Delphine von Schauroth—Kritiken als biographische Quelle," *Musik in Bayern* 60 (2001), 59–78.

29. Martin Kreisig, ed., *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker von Robert Schumann* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1914; rpt. Westmead: Gregg International Publishers, 1969), 1:55 and 238. Hereinafter cited as "Kreisig."

30. Small album, I.N. 23970, 5r, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

31. Lang dedicated only one published set to Agnes von Calatin, namely the six songs of op. 10, which appeared in 1841.

32. Mus. fol. 53q, 18; Mus. fol. 53k, 9r; Mus. fol. 53q, 6; Lang MSS, WLB.

33. “Lebensabriß,” 65.

34. The latter three songs remained unpublished during Lang’s lifetime. “Wie glänzt so hell dein Auge” and “Getäuscht hat mich ein Schimmer” were published in a posthumous collection of Lang’s songs published by Breitkopf & Härtel (1882); they are reprinted in Da Capo, 60–61 and 71–72, respectively.

35. Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bay HstA, Adelsmatrikel Ad C 1. Personal communication with Archivinspektor Frauenreuther, Munich, 17 July 2000. For additional information about Agnes von Calatin and her family, see Harald Krebs, “Neues zu Josephine Langs Münchener Kreis,” *Literatur in Bayern* 72 (June 2003), 32–41.

36. 24 June 1839, KN8030; 18 September 1839, KN6444; 20 May [1840], KN6836 (part of a letter from her sister Emma); 11 February 1841, KN659, Kerner MSS, DLA.

37. Emma Niendorf, *Aus der Gegenwart* (Berlin: Verlag von Alexander Duncker, 1844); *Lenau in Schwaben: Aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt seines Lebens* (Leipzig: Friedrich Ludwig Herbig, 1853).

38. Emilie von Reinbeck to Kerner, beginning of June 1839, KN5548, Kerner MSS, DLA.

39. Emma Niendorf, *Aus der Gegenwart* (Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1844), 90 and 92.

40. Emma von Suckow to Kerner, 19 April 1839, KN6433; Reinbeck to Kerner, [June] 1839, KN5548, Kerner MSS, DLA.

41. Julie Hartmann to Kerner, 15 May 1839, KN1944, Kerner MSS, DLA.

42. Emma Niendorf, *Lenau in Schwaben* (Leipzig: Friedrich Ludwig Herbig, 1853), 47–48. For a score of “Scheideblick,” see Da Capo, 88–89.

43. This meeting is mentioned in a letter from Fernanda [von Pappenheim] Preetorius (Calatin’s aunt, with whom she frequently traveled) to Kerner, 6 May [1840], KN5272, Kerner MSS, DLA.

44. Suckow to Count Alexander of Württemberg: “Finally our guardian angel, Justinus, the spirit of love, arrived with his Rickele [his wife’s nickname]. I assure you, Count, Munich was completely transformed when those two were here” (Munich, 1 August 1841, 69.1675/1, Württemberg MSS, DLA).

45. The meeting in Tegernsee is mentioned in “Lebensabriß” (62), and confirmed by Kerner’s inscription in Lang’s small album, dated Tegernsee, 16 July 1841 (I.N. 23970, first of three items on page 44 [incorrectly numbered; should be 48r], Fellingner MSS, GdMf).

46. Suckow to Kerner, undated, KN6938, Kerner MSS, DLA.

47. Reinbeck to Kerner, 22 August 1840, KN5522, Kerner MSS, DLA.

48. Kerner to Heinrich Breslau, 12 January 1845, KN8062, Kerner MSS, DLA.

49. Mus. fol. 53t, 11r–12r, Lang MSS, WLB.

50. For a score, see Harald Krebs, “Josephine Lang (1815–1880),” in *Composers Born 1800–1899: Vocal Music*, ed. Sylvia Glickman and Martha Furman Schleifer (New Haven:



G. K. Hall, 2003), 140–42, or <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

51. Heinrich Schenker, *Free Composition*, trans. and ed. Ernst Oster (New York: Longman, 1979), 47–49.

52. Calatin and Lang enjoyed such word-play. For example, on the final page of the autograph booklet from 1840 (Mus. fol. 53w, 30v, Lang MSS, WLB), Josephine Lang transcribed a riddle that Agnes had posed to her: “What is the opposite of ‘dirty’? [pure]. What is the opposite of ‘abominable’?” [lovely]. In German, the two parts of the answer, “rein” and “hold,” yield the name of Lang’s future husband, whom she met in 1840.

53. H. A. Köstlin (“Lebensabriß,” 65–66) wrote that Lang and Heller met in 1835, but Rudolf Schütz, in his biography of Heller, gives the year 1836. See *Stephen Heller: Ein Künstlerleben* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 20.

54. Schütz, op. cit., 20; and Kersten, 81 (Heller to Schumann, 6–7 March 1837).

55. Eva Weissweiler asserts, without documentation, that Lang and Heller were engaged to be married; see *Komponistinnen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart: Eine Kultur- und Wirkungsgeschichte in Biographien und Werkbeispielen* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999), 220. No extant documents corroborate this engagement.

56. Kersten, 86 (Heller to Schumann, 25 April 1837).

57. Ibid., 122 (Heller to Schumann, 1 August 1838).

58. Heller to Hiller, Paris, 5 June 1867, 36(485), Hiller MSS, HASK.

59. Heller to Lang, 28 August 1836, Autogr. 202, Stadt- und Staatsbibliothek, Augsburg.

60. “Lebensabriß,” 66.

61. Heller’s letters to Schumann (with whom he began to correspond in 1835) are filled with expressions of reverence. Schumann’s letters to Heller were unfortunately destroyed in a fire in Heller’s apartment (see Kersten, 12), but the fact that Schumann admitted Heller into his “Davidsbund” (under the name of “Jeanquirit”), and solicited from him reports on the musical life of Augsburg for the *Neue Zeitschrift*, shows that the respect was not all on Heller’s side.

62. Heller wrote to Schumann, for example, that Lang “takes untold pleasure in your *Intermezzi* [op. 4] and other works, which she describes as ‘unfathomably original.’” Kersten, 104 (Heller to Schumann, 26 August 1837).

63. Kersten, 58–59 (Heller to Schumann, 17 August 1836).

64. Ibid., 105.

65. This reviewer, who signed with the number “6,” was likely Carl Banck, who was at this time in charge of reviewing songs for the *Zeitschrift*. See Kreisig, 2:527.

66. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 2/33 (24 April 1835): 135. The songs under scrutiny here are simply referred to as “Four German Songs.” Judging by the supplied publication information, the collection in question could be the four songs from “op. 3” or from “op. 5” (all very early works).

67. Kersten, 122.

68. Schumann’s original letter was destroyed in the aforementioned fire. A transcription is preserved at the Schumann-Haus in Zwickau (S. u. B. I, 1838, 58/74a).

69. Kersten, 131.

70. The supplement also included songs by Leopold Schefer and Vesque von Püttlingen, and a “Funeral March” for piano by Joseph Elsner, Chopin’s teacher (*Sammlung von Musik-Stücken alter und neuer Zeit als Zulage zur neuen Zeitschrift für Musik* [1838; reprint, Scarsdale: Annemarie Schnase, 1967]).

71. Schumann’s review, originally published with the supplement, is reprinted in Kreisig, 2:334.

72. For a score, see Da Capo, 109–12 or <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

73. Werner mentions the chromatic ascent as a significant idea in the song (522–25).

74. All of these versions are discussed in greater detail in Harald Krebs, “Josephine Lang and the Schumanns,” in *Nineteenth-Century Music: Selected Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference*, ed. Jim Samson and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), 345–65 (esp. 356–62).

75. *Clara und Robert Schumann: Briefwechsel. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Eva Weissweiler, vol. 2 (Basel: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1987), 491.

76. “Lebensabriß,” 65.

77. *Ibid.*, 66.

78. Mus. fol. 56a, 37v–38r, Lang MSS, WLB. The letter “t” is represented by the note D, and the letter “l” by the note E (the letters “l” and “e” look similar when written in Latin script, which was normally used for writing proper names). Lang published this piece in 1864 as op. 32[33] no.1; all traces of the name “Eichthal” were removed in the publication and the piece was renamed “Nachtgesang eines Gondoliers” (The Gondolier’s Night Song). The opus numbers of Lang’s later works are in disarray. H. A. Köstlin (“Lebensabriß”) initiated the practice of providing two numbers for these works, the first being the number on the title page of the first edition, the second, in brackets, being a correction, reflecting the chronology of publication to the best of his knowledge. This double numbering has been retained in modern Lang scholarship.

79. Mus. fol. 53r, 9, Lang MSS, WLB.

80. Information about the Eichthal family is found in the *Genealogisches Handbuch des in Bayern immatrikulierten Adels*, XI (Neustadt: Degener, 1975), 204–7, and in Franziska Jungmann-Stadler, “Drei Generationen Seligmann-von Eichthal in München, ‘allda etablierte Banquiers,’” in *Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Bayern: Lebensläufe*, ed. Manfred Tremml et al. (Munich: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 1988), 53–58.

81. Mus. fol. 53r, 17, Lang MSS, WLB.

82. Sulpiz Boisserée, *Tagebücher 1808–1854*, ed. Hans J. Weitz, vol. 2 (Darmstadt: Edward Roether Verlag, 1981), 417.

83. Eichthal to Mendelssohn, Nauplia, 15 May 1833, MS. M.D.M. d.28, no. 91, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

84. Letters to Mendelssohn from his family in June 1830 are addressed to “Herrn Baron von Kerstorff, for Herrn Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy” (MS. M.D.M. d.28, nos. 29 and 30, Mendelssohn MSS, BL). By 1831 Eichthal and Mendelssohn definitely knew each other; in that year, Eichthal wrote a letter of introduction for Mendelssohn to the poet Gustav Schwab, referring to Mendelssohn as his friend (Eichthal to Schwab, 5 November 1831, Md 755 123, Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen).

85. Some information about Eichthal's departure is given in the diary of Sulpiz Boisé; on 4 November 1832, he wrote, "Wilhelm Eichthal visits us, he is going to Greece with the expedition," and on 15 December, "Visit to the Eichthals Mme Forster Sister of the Wilhelm Eichthal who is leaving for Greece today with Greiner and Stademann. Farewell to Wilhelm Eichthal"; *Tagebücher 1808–1854*, ed. Hans J. Weitz, vol. 2 (Darmstadt: Eduard Roether Verlag, 1981), 702 and 709.

86. Mendelssohn to his family, Stuttgart, 7 November 1831, \*MNY+++, Mendelssohn MSS, New York Public Library, New York.

87. Baermann to Mendelssohn, 11 October 1834, MS. M.D.M. d.29, no. 280, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

88. *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 6 January 1848, 81.

89. Eichthal's death date was provided by the Milstein Division of United States History, Local History & Genealogy, New York Public Library.

90. Mus. fol. 53m, 1r, Lang MSS, WLB.

91. Lang copied out a setting of this poem by another composer, whom she identified as "Lenz." See Cod. Mus. II. Reihe 83, 1r–2r, Lang MSS, WLB.

92. Mus. fol. 53n, 1, Lang MSS, WLB.

93. Mus. fol. 53r, Lang MSS, WLB.

94. In the published song, the incipit is "Nimm, was Götter nur verstehen."

95. Maria Wagner, ed., *Was die Deutschen aus Amerika berichteten 1828–1865* (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1985), 286.

96. For a score of "Frühes Sterben," see Hildegard, 1:14–15 or <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

97. For scores, see <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

98. The relationships between these songs are discussed in greater detail in Harald Krebs, "Josephine Langs 'Eichthal-Lieder,'" *Musik in Bayern* 65/66 (2003), 61–83.

99. The latter return involves some reharmonization; the F5 is transformed from an accented passing tone to a chord tone within V of vi, whereas the D♭5 is demoted from root to third (within the vi triad).

100. Werner mentions the importance of this rhythm within "Frühes Sterben" (564).

101. The hypermeasure beginning in m. 5 is further expanded by the elongation of the cadential dominant. For a detailed analysis of hypermetric irregularity in "Den Abschied schnell genommen," see Harald Krebs, "Hypermeter and Hypermetric Irregularity in the Songs of Josephine Lang," in *Engaging Music*, ed. Deborah Stein (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 21–29.

102. Lang's revisions on the autograph (Mus. fol. 53r, 9, Lang MSS, WLB) show that she wrestled with the exact pitches of the chromatic ascent in mm. 5–7. Her original ascent was more rapid, reaching B♭ during the first rather than the second beat of m. 7. Her final decision (as final as a decision set down in an unpublished fair copy can be!) was to end m. 5 with E4, then to move in parallel sixths against the bass in m. 6 (F4–G4–G♯4; these notes are doubled by the piano), and finally to rise quickly through A4, B♭4, B4, and C4 in m. 7.

103. That Lang wished to conceal this friendship is also evident from her removal of allusions to Eichthal in her publication of the piano piece originally entitled “Evening Fantasy, Containing a Name.”

104. Small album, I.N. 23970, 1r, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

105. “Lebensabriß,” 67.

106. Ibid.

### Chapter 3

1. “Lebensabriß,” 68.

2. Ibid., 69.

3. His literary manuscripts are housed at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach, Germany.

4. In the sermon he delivered at Lang’s and Köstlin’s wedding, Köstlin’s father mentioned that his son’s life had been in danger in 1840 (see “Traurede,” Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 8, no. 5, Köstlin MSS, WLB).

5. “Lebensabriß,” 69.

6. Agnese Schebest (1813–69) embarked on an operatic career while she was still in her teens. She sang roles such as Agathe (*Freischütz*), Fidelio, Rosina (*Il barbiere di Siviglia*), and Donna Elvira (*Don Giovanni*), and was especially admired (including by Köstlin) in her portrayal of Romeo in Bellini’s *I Capuletti e i Montecchi*. Her voice had an incredible range; she performed alto, mezzo-soprano and soprano repertoire with equal ease. See “Schebest, Agnes,” *Großes Sängerlexikon*, ed. K. J. Kutsch and Leo Riemens (Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag, 1999, 2000), CD-ROM (Digitale Bibliothek 33), 21558–59.

7. This song was published in 1841 as op. 10 no. 5. For a score, see Da Capo, 88–89.

8. To his stepsister, Köstlin later said that “no one on the face of the earth can sing [Lang’s] songs, but [she herself]” (Marie Jäger to Lang, 27 March 1850, 86, [Therese] Köstlin MSS, SAS).

9. Unpublished poem entitled “Aus dem Tagebuch” (From the Diary), 20 July [1854], Z 2722/7, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

10. Mus. fol. 53u, 17v, Lang MSS, WLB.

11. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 8 December 1841, MS. M.D.M. d.40, no. 214, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

12. Unpublished poem, 8 July [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA. Lang’s copy is entitled “Nachsehend” (While Gazing After), Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10a [1], 17r–v, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

13. Unpublished poem, first of five poems dated 9 July [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA. Lang’s copy is entitled “Abschied” (Farewell), Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10a [1], 5r–v, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

14. Ibid.

15. Unpublished poem, second of four poems dated 9 July [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA. Lang’s fragmentary setting is found in Mus. fol. 53u, 18v, Lang MSS, WLB.

16. Unpublished poem entitled “Abschied” (Farewell), Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10a [1], 7r, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

17. Unpublished poem, dated 12 July [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA. Lang’s copy is entitled “An Josephine,” 13 July 1840, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10a [2], 1r–v, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

18. On one of her autographs of “Gedenke mein” Lang notated that it was composed on 15 July 1840 (Mus. fol. 53x, 9r, Lang MSS, WLB). The song was published in 1848 as her op. 14 no. 3.

19. For reasons of space, the CD includes only the first strophe. For a score, see Hildegard, 2:7–8.

20. “Gedichte im Jahr 1840,” Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10a [1], Köstlin MSS, WLB.

21. There are 43 Lang/Köstlin settings, many of which—at least 21, and possibly as many as 24—originated during their courtship (July 1840 to March 1842).

22. The fragment “Erstes Beegnen” composed on 10 July 1840 (Mus. fol. 53u, 17v) and op. 23 no. 2 (“Wenn du wärest mein eigen”) composed on 16 August 1840 (Mus. fol. 54a, 54r–v), both based on texts by the popular novelist Ida Gräfin von Hahn-Hahn; an unpublished, incomplete song (“Die Wacht am Rhein”), text by Max Schneckenburger, composed on 12 January 1841 (Mus. fol. 53w, 18r–19v); and another unpublished song (“Geständnis”), text by Franz Danzi, composed on 10 January 1841 (Mus. fol. 53w, 5v, Lang MSS, WLB). Lang’s almost exclusive preoccupation with Köstlin’s poetry continued throughout their marriage. Again, the *dated* manuscripts indicate that from 1842 to 1853 the majority of the poems were by Köstlin; these manuscripts include one setting of an unknown poet and three songs with texts by other poets (Heine, Schlude, Börkle[?]). It is possible that there are further settings of texts by other poets from this time among Lang’s undated manuscripts.

23. C. Reinhold [Köstlin], *Die Mathildenhöhle: Novelle nach einer wahren Begebenheit* (Stuttgart: F. Brodhag’sche Buchhandlung, 1839). Hereinafter cited as “*Mathildenhöhle*.”

24. Hermann Fischer, *Reinhold Köstlin. Eine Säkular-Erinnerung* (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1913), 5.

25. *Ibid.*, 28n.

26. The evidence of the autographs is ambiguous; the earliest date that Lang provides for a *Mathildenhöhle* setting is 25 July 1840 (Mus. fol. 53v, 9v). The same song, however, is dated “August 1840” on another autograph (Mus. fol. 53x, 11r, Lang MSS, WLB).

27. Hermann Fischer, *Reinhold Köstlin. Eine Säkular-Erinnerung* (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1913), 7.

28. Leopold Lechner, *Die Landparthie. Poetische Beschreibung des Würmsees und seiner Umgebung* (München: Deschler’sche Schriften, 1840).

29. *Ibid.*, vi.

30. Evers to Köstlin, 15 February 1841, 45964/2, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

31. For a score, see Da Capo, 20–21, or Hildegard, 1:19–20.

32. *Mathildenhöhle*, 93.

33. For scores, see Hildegard, 1:21–23 and 1:24–28.

34. See William Caplin, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 17.

35. Most of these sentential structures are not actually “sentences” in Caplin’s sense because they do not constitute self-contained themes.

36. Caplin, *Classical Form*, 17.

37. The term “expanded cadential progression” is again William Caplin’s (*Classical Form*, 254).

38. Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

39. Respectively, no. 11 of a group of twelve “Seelieder” (Lake Poems) in his published *Gedichte* (Stuttgart: Carl Macken Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1853), 41–42 (hereinafter cited as *Gedichte*); and an unpublished poem entitled “Tegernsee Westenhof,” 22 July [1854], Z 2722/7, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

40. Unpublished poem, first of two poems dated 30 July [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

41. Unpublished poem, first of two poems dated 8 August [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA. Also, Lang’s copy entitled “Frage” (Question), Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10a [1], 26r–v, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

42. Nathanael Köstlin, “Gemischte Ehen,” Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 6a, no. 4, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

43. Unpublished poem, first of three poems dated 9 August [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA. Also, Lang’s copy entitled “Vor der Kirche” (In Front of the Church), Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10a [1], 25v, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

44. Unpublished poem, third of three poems dated 9 August [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA. There is no copy in Lang’s poetry collection.

45. “Lebensabriß,” 70.

46. This song was later published as op. 33[34] no. 4; it is reprinted in Da Capo, 15–17.

47. “Lebensabriß,” 71.

48. Ibid.

49. The mark appears after the last of three poems dated 12 August [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

50. Unpublished poem, 18 August [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

51. “Lebensabriß,” 71.

52. Unpublished poem entitled “Tagebuch” (Diary), 19 August [1854], Z 2722/7, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

53. The “diary poems” from 1854 suggest that as he was reading Lang’s old diary, Köstlin realized for the first time exactly how hurtful his behavior had been and wrote these poems as a kind of atonement.

54. Werner, 189.

55. Unpublished poem entitled “Tagebuch” (Diary), 7 August [1854], Z 2722/7, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

56. Mus. fol. 53u, 11v, Lang MSS, WLB.

57. Ibid., 13r.

58. Ibid., 17v and 18v.

59. Lang did not tear off the entire inscription; she left just enough of the text to permit identification.

60. Lang published this song in 1841 as op. 9 no. 3. For a modern edition, see Hildegard, 2:1–2.

61. First of two poems dated 20 June [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA. Also, Lang's copy entitled "Nach dem Abschied," Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10a [1], 28r, Köstlin MSS, WLB. The poem was later published as "Verwandlung 5," *Gedichte*, 93.

62. An inscription at the conclusion of her ribbon-bound booklet of Köstlin's poems indicates that Lang was under the impression that all of the poems had originated between 6 July and 12 August 1840 ("Gedichte im Jahr 1840," Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10a [1], 30v, Köstlin MSS, WLB).

63. Werner considers the dominant pedal not as a source of calm but as a musical symbol of the beloved's presence even in absence (594).

64. The latter statement is also true of longer passages. In mm. 6–23, the descents are enclosed within an overall rising motion (B4, m. 6; C#5, m. 11; D#5, m. 13; F#5, m. 23). Only in m. 21 is there a brief setback; the downward resolution of D#5 to C#5 is a crouching the better to spring, in preparation for the vocal high point in m. 23.

65. Unpublished poem, 18 August [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

66. Unpublished poem, Innthal, 19 August [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

67. For example, the following unpublished poems: second of two poems dated 19 August [1840]; first of four poems dated 24 August [1840]; second of four poems dated 24 August [1840]; 4 September [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

68. Unpublished poem, third of four poems dated 24 August [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

69. Three unpublished poems, all 5 September [1840]; two poems, both 21 September [1840]; and two poems, both 27 September [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA. The latter four were later published as "Aus Italien 1–4," *Gedichte*, 207–9.

70. "Lebensabriß," 71.

71. Ferdinand Lang to Josephine Lang, 24 August 1840, not yet catalogued, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

72. Sulpiz Boisserée, *Tagebücher 1808–1854*, ed. Hans J. Weitz, vol. 3 (Darmstadt: Eduard Roether Verlag, 1983), 667.

73. Suckow to Kerner, [13 May 1842], KN6561, Kerner MSS, DLA.

74. This supposition is supported by the memoirs of one of Köstlin's second cousins (Mathilde Haug, "Großonkel- und Großtanten-Bilder [1901]" [transcribed and annotated by Stefan J. Dietrich, 2005], 5).

75. "Lebensabriß," 71–72.

76. Perhaps H. A. Köstlin received some feedback about this "explanation" from the readers of his biography, and as a result decided to write the following very condensed—and contradictory!—account of the courtship for his later article on his mother in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, which was published sometime after 1905: "When they had to part from each other, both knew that they were destined to belong to each other for life, without having actually spoken about it together. Only in the following year did they become engaged" ("Köstlin: Josefine Caroline K. [Josefine Lang]," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 51, [Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, no date], 347).

77. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 8 December 1841, MS. M.D.M. d.40, no. 214, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

78. Unpublished poem, 12/13 December [1840], Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA. Lang's copy is not extant, but she must have received one, for she composed her setting on 4 January 1841.

79. It is fortunate that there exist dated autographs for these two songs, for without them one would assume that a song published as part of op. 14 in 1848 was written later than a song published as part of op. 10 in 1841.

80. For a score, see Da Capo, 26–30.

81. Mus. fol. 53w, 1v, Lang MSS, WLB. Aside from the fact that he was an artist ("Lebensabriß," 62; and small album, I.N. 23970, 29r–v, Fellingner MSS, GdMf), we have not been able to gather any information about Hanno.

82. Mus. fol. 56a, 24r, Lang MSS, WLB. This piece was published in 1860 as "op. 35[37]" no. 1.

83. Heller to Lang, Paris, 14 March 1841, N. Mus. ep. 2785, Heller MSS, SPK.

84. Lang to Mendelssohn, 19 February 1841, MS. M.D.M. d.39, no. 83, Mendelssohn MSS, BL. Lang's only foreign publisher up until this point was Haslinger of Vienna (op. 8), but we have thus far located no documentation that Mendelssohn was involved in facilitating this publication.

85. Booklets 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, and 12 of *Lieder-Kranz gewunden von den vorzüglichsten Tonsetzern* (München: Falter & Sohn und Joseph Aibl, no date). Given the fact that one of Lang's contributions was composed in August 1840, this publication must have appeared in the latter half of 1840 or in early 1841.

86. Small album, I.N. 23970, 19r, Fellingner MSS, GdMf. This song was published as Mendelssohn's op. 57 no. 1.

87. Mendelssohn to Lang, 26 April 1841, MA Nachl. 7, 85, 1, Mendelssohn MSS, SPK.

88. Mus. fol. 53w, 7r, Lang MSS, WLB. For reasons of space, the CD includes only the first strophe. Lang published this song in 1845 as op. 12 no. 3.

89. Werner interprets the neighbor as a symbol of Lang's "nagging doubt about Reinhold's coming decision" (608), but given the text, restlessness seems to be a more convincing interpretation.

90. The song was published as op. 27 no. 3 in 1872. It is reissued in Da Capo, 100–1; in *Frauen komponieren: 25 Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, ed. Eva Rieger and Käte Walter (Mainz: Schott, 1992), 42–43; and in Joseph Straus, *Elements of Music* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 2003), 420–22.

91. Mus. fol. 53w, 10r, Lang MSS, WLB.

92. Unpublished poem, first of two poems dated 31 December [1840], Z 2704; and Evers's copy, 30 December 1840, 874, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

93. Four unpublished poems, all 5 February [1841], Z 4131; and what were likely Evers's copies, 5 February [1841], 875, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

94. Evers to Köstlin, 4, 15 and 25 February 1841, 45964/1–3, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

95. Unpublished poem, 15 February [1841], Z 4131, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

96. "Lebensabriß," 72.



97. Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10a [1], 30v, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

98. Mus. fol. 53w, 30v, Lang MSS, WLB.

99. “Lebensabriß,” 71.

100. Ibid., 73.

101. Ibid.

102. The song was published as op. 27 no. 4 and is reprinted in Da Capo, 102–3.

103. Mus. fol. 53w, 10v, Lang MSS, WLB.

104. Quoted in “Lebensabriß,” 73.

105. Werner mentions the less than definitive conclusion of the song and the “controlled emotion” and the lack of “bubbling” in the song as a whole (611–13).

106. Mus. fol. 56d, 5r, Lang MSS, WLB.

107. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 8 December 1841, MS. M.D.M. d.40, no. 214, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

108. Mendelssohn to Köstlin, 15 December 1841, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1870), 468.

109. Op. 12 no. 1 (“Am Wasserfall”), op. 12 no. 2 (“Nachts”), most likely op. 12 no. 5 (“Der Herbst”), op. 14 no. 2 (“Am Flusse”), op. 14 no. 6 (“Auf dem See in tausend Sterne”), and op. 27 no. 4 (“Frühling ist gekommen”).

110. The two sets were immediately reviewed by Oswald Lorenz; see *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 15/4 (13 July 1841): 14. Lorenz’s review contains both positive and negative remarks. He admired the warm, spontaneous, instinctive quality of the songs, but found some uncertainties in the voice leading (especially in the bass) and considered the complete surrender to the flow of emotion and the tendency toward ornamental detail to be “evidence of the reign of a feminine spirit.”

111. “Lebensabriß,” 74.

112. Z 4131, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

113. Op. 12 no. 4 (“Die Sonne kam im reinsten Glanze”) and most likely op. 27 no. 6 (“Zu Tod möcht’ ich mich lieben”).

114. The song was published in 1848 as op. 14 no. 6. For a score, see Da Capo, 30–33 or <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

115. Yonatan Malin discusses this and other metric dissonances in this song in *Metric Dissonance and Music-Text Relations in the German Lied* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 2003), 246–52.

116. Werner also interprets the ending as an assent (614).

117. “Spät,” *Gedichte*, 67. Lang published the song in 1845 as op. 12 no. 2. For a score, see <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

118. Unpublished poem, 11 August [1841], Z 4131, Köstlin MSS, DLA. Lang’s copy of the poem is not extant. The song was published in 1848 as op. 14 no. 2; reprinted in Da Capo, 34–38.

119. For reasons of space, the CD includes the first strophe only. The song was published in 1845 as op. 12 no. 5; for a modern edition, see Hildegard, 2:3–6.

120. Unpublished poem, 14 November [1841], Z 4131, Köstlin MSS, DLA. The song was published in 1845 as op. 12 no. 4; it is reprinted in Da Capo, 90.

121. The song was published as op. 27 no. 6. It is reprinted in Da Capo, 104–7. Detailed analyses appear in Werner, 625–29, and in Walther Dürr, “Musikanalytische Beobachtungen,” in *Annäherung X—an sieben Komponistinnen*, ed. Clara Mayer (Kassel: Furore Verlag, 1999), 145–48.

122. Unpublished poem, Cod. hist. 4° 437 Fasz. 10a [2], 56r–v, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

123. Hermann Rosenwald, “Das deutsche Lied zwischen Schubert und Schumann” (Ph.D. diss., Badische Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 1929), 62.

## Chapter 4

1. Diary of Wilhelmine Köstlin, née Mayer, in private possession; excerpts graciously provided by Tilman Krause, Berlin.

2. Marie Jäger to Reinhold Köstlin and Josephine Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 16 March 1842, 74, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

3. The destinations and duration of Lang’s and Köstlin’s wedding trip can be gleaned from Köstlin’s poetry manuscripts. There is a gap between 28 March [1842] (Stuttgart) and 4 April (Frankfurt). The poems from 4, 6, 7, and 8 April are all labeled “Frankfurt.” The poem from 9 April has no place name. There follows a gap until 15 April (Cologne-Bonn), 17/18 April (Mannheim), 19 April (Heilbronn), and finally 21 April (Stuttgart). All poems found in Z 2722/8, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

4. Unpublished poem, 6 April [1842], Z 2722/8, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

5. Suckow to Kerner, [13 May 1842], KN6561, Kerner MSS, DLA.

6. Eberhard Sieber, *Stadt und Universität Tübingen in der Revolution von 1848/49* (Tübingen: H. Laupp’sche Buchhandlung, 1975), 10–11.

7. Our source of information about musical activities in Tübingen is Manfred H. Schmid, ed., *Friedrich Silcher 1789–1860: Die Verbürgerlichung der Musik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Kulturamt, 1989), esp. Jutta Schmoll-Barthel, “Die ‘Dienstfunctionen’ des Universitätsmusikdirektors,” 32–34; “Der Oratorienverein,” 35–41; and “Bürgerliches Konzertleben,” 78–87.

8. The concerts of this organization were not of high quality. Sophie Klüpfel, wife of a Tübingen professor and one of Lang’s acquaintances, wrote in her diary on 19 December 1844, “I went . . . to the Oratorio Society, and was happy to hear the precious music, although it was unsatisfactory, especially with respect to expression” (Zugehörige Materialien/MS. Anderer, Schwab MSS, DLA).

9. Lang was definitely present at the Liszt soirée, as well as at concerts by pianist Alexander Dreyschok and harpist Elias Parish-Alvars in the fall of 1843. See Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 3 January 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.45, no. 9, Mendelssohn MSS, BL. We shall investigate her reaction to yet another concert in a later chapter.

10. “Lebensabriß,” 79.

11. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 8 December 1841, MS. M.D.M. d.40, no. 214, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

12. Richard Fellinger [Jr.], “Ein jung gebliebenes hundertjähriges Tübinger Haus,” 54.744 (Fellinger MSS, DLA), 1. By North American reckoning, the house would be considered as having three stories.

13. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 21 September 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.46, no. 93, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

14. Ottilie Wildermuth to Justinus Kerner, 25 September 1856, *Briefwechsel 1853 bis 1862: Justinus Kerner, Ottilie Wildermuth*, ed. Adelheid Wildermuth (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1960), 134.

15. Lang to Mendelssohn, 10 June 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.45, no. 294, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

16. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 3 January 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.45, no. 9, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

17. Unpublished poems, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10c, nos. 128 and 136, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

18. Jäger to Lang, 30 August 1842, 75, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

19. Ibid.

20. The poem is dated 17/18 April [1842] (Z 2722/8, Köstlin MSS, DLA). It was later published as “Auf dem Schiffe” (On the Ship), *Gedichte*, 65–66.

21. Mus. fol. 53w, 20v, Lang MSS, WLB. The song was published in 1848 as op. 14 no. 5.

22. Lang omitted this line in her setting.

23. Mendelssohn to Köstlin, 12 January 1843, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1870), 501.

24. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 3 February 1843, MS. M.D.M. d.43, no. 63, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

25. Ibid.

26. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 2 October 1842, MS. M.D.M. d.43, no. 130, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

27. In 1843, he received letters, for example, from Mendelssohn and from the Berlin singer and actor Eduard Devrient, both responding to his earlier pleas for assistance with the production of his plays, and both bringing him the bad news that the writers’ efforts had thus far met with no success (Mendelssohn to Köstlin, 12 February 1843, MA Nachl. 7.85.6, Mendelssohn MSS, SPK, and Devrient to Köstlin, 20 February 1843, 46090/207, Köstlin MSS, DLA).

28. Devrient very kindly gave Köstlin some good advice about play-writing, to the effect that his next play should be “quite spare in form, [with] only a few characters, brief, [and] without difficulty or complexity of representation.” Devrient here put his finger on some of the factors that prevented Köstlin’s success as a playwright.

29. The contents of a group of poems labeled “1842. Oktober. Schwarzwaldreise” indicate that Lang did not accompany Köstlin (Z 2722/3, Köstlin MSS, DLA).

30. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 3 January 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.45, no. 9, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

31. Poetry manuscripts, Z 2717, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

32. This song was published in 1845 as op. 12 no. 6. It is reprinted in Da Capo, 91–94.
33. Lang to Mendelssohn, 10 June 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.45, no. 294, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.
34. Ibid.
35. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 26 July 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.46, no. 32, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.
36. Unpublished poem, Lustnau, 1 July 1844, Z 2727/67, Köstlin MSS, DLA.
37. 6 July 1844, Mus. fol. 53w, 23v, Lang MSS, WLB.
38. Our edited transcription of the autograph can be found at <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.
39. Kistner to Mendelssohn, 26 July 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.46, no. 33, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.
40. Lang to Mendelssohn, 10 June 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.45, no. 294, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.
41. Ibid.
42. This reference to Lang's "marvelous husband" was her aunt's way of smoothing Köstlin's ruffled feathers. Margarethe Carl had recently sent him a candid critique of one of his plays, and she feared that he was still angry.
43. Margarethe Carl to Lang, 23 May 1847, not yet catalogued, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.
44. "Lebensabriß," 74. In her memoirs, Mathilde Haug (a member of the extended Köstlin family) confirms that Lang was "in no way prepared for the calling of a housewife" because of the "one-sided pursuit of music" in her earlier years ("Großonkel und Großtanten-Bilder [1901]" [transcribed and annotated by Stefan J. Dietrich, 2005], 5).
45. Friedrich Walther to Köstlin, 27 October 1850, 46091/1, Köstlin MSS, DLA.
46. C. Reinhold [Köstlin], *Real und Ideal* (Bremen: Verlag von Franz Schlodtman, 1847), 61.
47. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 26 July 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.46, no. 32, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.
48. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 21 September 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.46, no. 93, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.
49. "Lebensabriß," 83.
50. Poetry manuscripts, Z 2717, Köstlin MSS, DLA.
51. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 26 July 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.46, no. 32, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.
52. Lang to Mendelssohn, 10 June 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.45, no. 294, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.
53. Unpublished poem, Meran, 20 September 1843, Z 2717, Köstlin MSS, DLA.
54. Mus. fol. 53w, 26v, Lang MSS, WLB.
55. Although Lang was apparently not very active as a composer in 1845, she did come before the public eye that year; in February her opp. 11 and 12 finally came out with Kistner in Leipzig. The whole process of bringing these two song groups to publication took well over a year.

56. Jäger to Lang, 12 April 1845, 79, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

57. Poetry manuscripts, Z 2717 and Z 2727/45, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

58. Unpublished poem, December [1845], Z 2727/45, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

59. Unpublished poem, [likely December 1845], Z 2727/45, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

60. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 22/22 (15 March 1845): 93.

61. This supposed increase in maturity and skill is puzzling at least as far as op. 11 is concerned, for these songs originated around the same time as the song “Traumbild,” which had been reviewed in this journal in 1838.

62. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 48/3 (21 January 1846): 36–37. Another review expressing similar sentiments appeared in *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 3/4 (January 1845): 26–27.

63. Unpublished poem, 14 March 1847, Cod. hist. 4<sup>o</sup> 437, Fasz. 10b, no. 4, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

64. In 1839, *Die Mathildenhöhle* was published by Fr. Brodhag’sche Buchhandlung in Stuttgart. In the same year *Blüthe und Frucht*, an excerpt from *Die Mathildenhöhle*, and a work entitled *Der Turm des Doktors*, appeared in the first volume of the literary journal *Flora*. After a seven-year gap, *Ein Sommerabend* appeared in 1846 in the third volume of the periodical *Novellenzeitung*.

65. *Der Freigeist* appeared in the fourth volume of *Novellenzeitung*. The series *Gesammelte Novellen und Erzählungen* (Bremen: Verlag von Franz Schlotdmann) only included three works: *Die Kinder der Fremde* in 1847, *Real und Ideal* also in 1847, and *Die Karfreitags-Christen* in 1848.

66. John Warrack and Douglass Seaton, “Hauser, Franz [František],” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 13 July 2006), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

67. Compare, for example, Hauser to Lang, 7 July 1847 and 8 April 1867, Mus. ep. Hauser 6 and 8, SPK.

68. Hauser to Lang, 7 July 1847, Mus. ep. Hauser 6, SPK.

69. Ibid.

70. Hauser to Lang, 30 October 1847, Mus. ep. Hauser 7, SPK.

71. Hauser to Lang, 7 July 1847, Mus. ep. Hauser 6, SPK.

72. It should be recalled that in the nineteenth century, as was the case when Lang herself performed, singer and pianist were often one and the same person.

73. Many years later, Ferdinand Hiller expressed a similar appreciation of how Lang’s songs revealed her gifts as a singer and pianist: “Another great merit of the Lang songs is how the voice is handled—in every measure one may discern the singer in the best possible sense of the word. But the piano accompaniment also bears witness to the fact that the composer is completely at home on that instrument” (Hiller, 134).

74. Jäger to Lang, 27 September 1847, 80, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

75. This song was published in 1860 as Lang’s op. 26 no. 2. It was composed on 18 September 1847 (Mus. fol. 53w, 25v, Lang MSS, WLB). The poem is dated 1 September 1847 (Z 2722/4, Köstlin MSS, DLA).

76. Z 2722/4, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

77. Before the birth of her fourth and sixth children, Heinrich and Maria, there is no evidence of creative activity. Either Lang did not compose anything during the relevant times, or she did not date the autographs of the songs that she produced.

78. “Lebensabriß,” 83.

79. Werner, 331–34.

80. Tübingen, Verlag der Laupp’schen Buchhandlung, 1848.

81. Cod. Mus. fol. zu 53–57, 25v (Lang MSS, WLB) is a pencil sketch in six-eight time. Mus. fol. 53x, 46v and 53r–53v are pencil sketches in four-four time.

82. The version for bass is found in Mus. fol. 53x, 45r–46r, and two copies of the choral version (neither in Lang’s hand) are found in Mus. fol. 55a, 9v and 11r–11v, respectively (Lang MSS, WLB).

83. Programm—Tübingen Neunzehntes Jahresfest der Liedertafel, Inv. Nr. 90/1876.1, Silcher MSS. A score of Lang’s song in Silcher’s hand is still preserved in the Silcher Museum (Partitur der Liedertafel, Bd. V, c. 1848, 90/1608, Silcher MSS, Schnait, Germany).

84. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 50/24 (14 June 1848): 395–96.

85. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 29/13 (12 August 1848): 66.

86. Exactly that was happening to Fanny Hensel around the same time. A review of Hensel’s first publication in 1847 contained some glowing praise—but it also referred to her music as the “expression of a harmless, deeply feeling, feminine spirit” to which it would be inappropriate to apply “the scalpel of analytical criticism.” *Wiener Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 17 (8 May 1847): 223; quoted in Marian Kimber, “The ‘Suppression’ of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography,” *19th Century Music* XXVI/2: 123. A detailed comparison of reviews of Lang’s songs to those of other women composers’ works (which is beyond the scope of this study) would be a worthwhile undertaking. Numerous reviews could be adduced, many of them from the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*; Robert Schumann openly expressed his special interest in reviewing women composers (see Kreisig, 1:183).

87. “Lebensabriß,” 81.

88. Therese Lang to Köstlin, 16 March 1849, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 11, no. 10, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

89. Therese Lang to Köstlin, 7 December 1850, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 11, no. 12, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

90. Unpublished poem, 14 March 1852, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10c, no. 140, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

91. Mus. fol. 53y, 1r, Lang MSS, WLB. The song appeared as op. 23 no. 1 in 1859.

92. “Insbruck,” 1/2 September [no year], Z 2727/15, Köstlin papers, DLA MSS. Later published as “In Welschland” (In Italy), *Gedichte*, 85.

93. Lang contemplated the addition of a cello part to this song. Mus. fol. 53x, 54r–56r (Lang MSS, WLB) is an incomplete autograph with a cello part. The “tenor” melody obviously lends itself to the cello and was indeed assigned to that instrument in the incomplete cello version.

94. In chronological order, Mus. fol. 53y, 2v–3r; Mus. fol. 53x, 50r–51v; Mus. fol. 53x, 54r–56r; Mus. fol. 53s, 2r–3v; Mus. fol. 53x, 60r–61v (Lang MSS, WLB).

95. It is tempting to speculate that Lang’s minor-mode outburst at this point of the text grew out of her own continued subjection to these trials, and her resentment that only Köstlin was able to escape them. Her ultimate abandonment of the minor-mode pas-

sage would then have to be interpreted as expressing her resignation—or at least her suppression of her personal emotions in favor of those prevalent in the poem.

96. Mus. fol. 53x, 49r, Lang MSS, WLB. The song was published sometime between 1852 and 1859 as op. 20. For a score, see Hildegard, 2:9–10.

97. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 52/20 (11 May 1860): 183.

98. This song appeared in 1866 or 1867 as op. 38[39] no. 4. For a score, see <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

99. Werner, 643.

100. Nathanael Köstlin to Lang, 13 March 1849, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 5, no. 29, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

101. Nathanael Köstlin to Reinhold Köstlin, 1 March 1849, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 5, no. 26, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

102. Nathanael Köstlin to Lang and Reinhold Köstlin, 21/24 January 1848, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 5, no. 4, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

103. Nathanael Köstlin to Reinhold Köstlin, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 5, nos. 32, 42–45, 51, 57–59, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

104. Nathanael Köstlin to Reinhold Köstlin, 15 November 1850, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 5, no. 58, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

105. Nathanael Köstlin to Reinhold Köstlin, 19 December 1850, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 5, no. 59, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

106. Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 22 September 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.46, no. 93, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.

107. Nathanael Köstlin to Reinhold Köstlin, 21 July 1850, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 5, no. 54, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

108. Jäger to Lang, 27 June 1851, 91, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

109. *Personal-Akte* Reinhold Köstlin, 126/339, Universitätsarchiv Tübingen.

110. Dr. Franck[?], “Aerztliches Zeugnis,” 22 September 1856, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 13, no. 7, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

111. Jäger to Lang, 14 March 1853, 92, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

112. Nathanael Köstlin to an unidentified “sister-in-law,” 15 July 1853, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 5, no. 65, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

113. Dr. Franck[?], “Aerztliches Zeugnis,” 22 September 1856, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 13, no. 7, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

114. Z 2704, Köstlin MSS, DLA. Also, fragment entitled “zu 2,” Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10a [1], 2r, Köstlin MSS, WLB. Later published as “An einer Quelle” (By a Spring), *Gedichte*, 20.

115. Mus. fol. 53x, 3r, Lang MSS, WLB.

116. The two settings from October 1853 are found in Mus. fol. 53x, 7v, and 5v–7r (Lang MSS, WLB), respectively. The pages were not bound into the booklet in chronological order.

117. Jäger to Lang, 28 October 1853, 93, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

118. Jäger to Lang, 21 June 1854, 94, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

119. Jäger to Lang, 14 March 1853, 92, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

120. *Cacilia: Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift von Nederland Tiende* 7 (1 April 1853): 67. The title “Abschied” could refer to op. 10 no. 6, op. 11 no. 4, or op. 13 no. 1. An additional indication of Lang’s foreign exposure is a publication of an English translation of her op. 15 no. 2 in *Lyra Anglo-Germanica: A Collection of the Latest and Most Select Vocal Gems of Germany* (London: T. Boosey & Co., c. 1849).

121. Eugen Köstlin to Reinhold Köstlin, 24 December 1853, Z 2634, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

122. Felix Köstlin to Reinhold Köstlin, 1 January 1853 [*sic*, should be 1854], 45966, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

123. Unpublished poem, 14 March 1854, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10b, no. 6, WLB, MSS.

124. Z 2727/41, Z 2727/43, and Z 2722/7, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

125. Jäger to Lang, 21 June 1854, 94, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

126. Unpublished poems, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10c, nos. 121 and 123, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

127. [Lang] to [Köstlin], undated, 45965, Köstlin MSS, DLA. As Lang refers to Köstlin’s health, particularly his coughing, it may be assumed that this letter was written after the onset of his final illness in 1853.

128. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 43/16 (12 October 1855): 175.

129. Jäger to Lang (dates in text), 96, 101, 102, 103, 104, respectively; Köstlin MSS, SAS.

130. Unpublished poem, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10b, no. 7, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

131. Wildermuth to Kerner, 25 September 1856, *Briefwechsel 1853 bis 1862: Justinus Kerner, Ottilie Wildermuth*, ed. Adelheid Wildermuth (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1960), 134.

132. Unpublished poem, 11 September 1856, Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 10b, no. 8, Köstlin MSS, WLB.

133. Quoted in “Lebensabriß,” 80.

## Chapter 5

1. Jäger to Lang, 30 October 1856, 105, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

2. The inventory and the record of the legal proceedings associated with the division of the property (the *Theilung*) are preserved in the Stadtarchiv Tübingen (A80/205/10).

3. Lang’s son wrote that “the management of [Lang’s] financial circumstances was in good, faithfully concerned hands,” but gave no further details (“Lebensabriß,” 87).

4. Jäger to Lang, 27 March 1858, 109, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

5. Wildermuth to Kerner, 25 September 1856, *Briefwechsel 1853 bis 1862: Justinus Kerner, Ottilie Wildermuth*, ed. Adelheid Wildermuth (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1960), 134.

6. Köstlin to the Stadtschultheißenamt, 12 April 1855, 45959, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

7. Lang to Clara Schumann, 26 [or 16] August 1859, Mus. Nachl. K. Schumann 5, 216, SPK. It was very unusual at this time for the children of a Catholic to be raised as Protestants; we have been unable to uncover the background of this decision (which would normally have resulted in Lang’s excommunication).



8. Copy of a decision of the academic *Rektoramt* in Tübingen, 6 October 1856 (Cod. hist. 4° 437, Fasz. 13, no. 8, Köstlin MSS, WLB).

9. *Personal-Akte* Reinhold Köstlin, 126/339, Universitätsarchiv Tübingen.

10. On 20 September 1860, for example, Hoffmann had to sign a notarized document binding him to financial responsibility for all expenses associated with the institutionalization of Lang's eldest son (in *Patienten-Akte* Felix Köstlin, F235 II Bü. 2009, SAL).

11. Friedrich Walther to Lang, 17 September 1856, 46061/1, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

12. Walther to Köstlin, 27 October 1850, 46091/1, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

13. The progress of this project can be traced in seven letters from Walther to Lang (17 September 1856 to 14 April 1857, 46061/1–7, Köstlin MSS, DLA).

14. *Abhandlungen aus dem Strafrechte von C. Reinhold Köstlin*, ed. Theodor Gefbler (Tübingen: Laupp, 1858), and *Geschichte des deutschen Strafrechts im Umriss*, ed. Theodor Gefbler (Tübingen: Laupp, 1859).

15. Lang to Hiller, 27 February 1860, 39(123), Hiller MSS, HASK. We have not been able to determine exactly when Lang first took in tenants.

16. Jäger to Lang, 14 April 1857, 107, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

17. Lang to Clara Schumann, 26 [or 16] August 1859, Mus. Nachl. K. Schumann 5, 216, SPK.

18. Ibid.

19. Fest-Nummer zum Schiller-Tage, *Über Land und Meer: Allgemeine Illustrierte Zeitung*, Stuttgart, 10 November 1859.

20. Lang to Clara Schumann, 26 [or 16] August 1859, Mus. Nachl. K. Schumann 5, 216, SPK. The relationship between Josephine Lang and Clara Schumann is discussed in Harald Krebs, "Josephine Lang and the Schumanns," in *Nineteenth-Century Music: Selected Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference*, ed. Jim Samson and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), 347–50.

21. "Lebensabriß," 86.

22. Clara Schumann to Johannes Brahms, 5 August 1859, in *Clara Schumann, Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, ed. Berthold Litzmann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927), 272.

23. Clara Schumann to Ferdinand Hiller, 17 August 1867, 36(735), Hiller MSS, HASK. We have as yet discovered no evidence that the benefit concert actually took place.

24. Although Imogen Fellingner informed us that all letters and Lang's diary were burned after Lang's death, at least nine of the Hiller letters seem to have survived. In the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, we found an auction catalog from 1926 in which these letters were offered for sale (Georg Kinsky, *Versteigerung von Musiker-Autographen aus dem Nachlaß des Herrn Kommerzienrates Wilhelm Heyer in Köln*, 41). The sale took place on the mornings of 6 and 7 December 1926. Attempts to discover who purchased the letters and where they are today have so far been unsuccessful.

25. These were likely the six Köstlin songs that were later published as Lang's op. 27.

26. Lang to Hiller, 22 October 1859, 28(709), Hiller MSS, HASK.

27. Lang to Hiller, 19 April 1860, 29(365), Hiller MSS, HASK.

28. Ibid.

29. Marcia J. Citron discusses the attitude of women composers toward “newness” in *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 160.
30. Lang to Hiller, 19 April 1860, 29(365), Hiller MSS, HASK.
31. Lang to Hiller, 6 May 1868, 37(519), Hiller MSS, HASK.
32. It is possible that “Wagner” still stands in the Botanical Gardens of Tübingen. There is a conifer that looks quite healthy, but its top (the part that would have been growing in the 1860s) is deformed.
33. Lang to Hiller, 6 June 1860, 29(607), Hiller MSS, HASK.
34. Ibid.
35. Lang to Hiller, 6 May 1868, 37(519), Hiller MSS, HASK.
36. Lang to Hiller, 9 December 1867, 36(1177), Hiller MSS, HASK.
37. See [www.orchesterverein-stuttgart.de/c/c51.php](http://www.orchesterverein-stuttgart.de/c/c51.php), accessed 2 January 2006.
38. Marc Moskovitz, “Goltermann, Julius,” *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (accessed 13 July 2006), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.
39. Lang to Hiller, 27 April 1868, 37(369), Hiller MSS, HASK. By artists (*Künstler*), Lang must have meant musicians. It is only in this light that one can understand her initial (and immediately corrected) inclusion of the years of her marriage in the period in which she lacked interaction with “artists.” Her husband was a pianist, but not a *Künstler* who could fully satisfy her craving for interaction with other musicians.
40. Lang to Hiller, 23 March 1867, 36(185), Hiller MSS, HASK.
41. Lang to Hiller, 5 December 1866, 36(13), Hiller MSS, HASK.
42. Lang to Hiller, 22 October 1859, 28(709), Hiller MSS, HASK. The work in question must be an arrangement, possibly of K. 498 (originally for clarinet, viola, and piano).
43. The work that Lang conducted (from the piano) was Mozart’s *Schauspieldirektor*. See Richard Fellingner [Jr.], “Ein jung gebliebenes hundertjähriges Tübinger Haus,” 54.744 (Fellinger MSS, DLA), 9.
44. Lang to Hiller, 5 December 1866, 36(13), Hiller MSS, HASK.
45. Lang to Hiller, 19 April 1860, 29(365), Hiller MSS, HASK.
46. Lang to Hiller, 5 December 1866, 36(13), Hiller MSS, HASK.
47. For a score, see <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.
48. Mus. fol. 54e, 5r–7v, Lang MSS, WLB.
49. For a score, see <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.
50. Mus. fol. 54a, 56r–56v, Lang MSS, WLB.
51. Mus. fol. 53i, 2–6, Lang MSS, WLB.
52. Mus. fol. 53y, 7r–7v, Lang MSS, WLB.
53. Mus. fol. 53z, 10r–11r, Lang MSS, WLB.
54. Werner offers a similar interpretation of the resolution to the tonic at m. 55 (499).
55. For a score, see Hildegard, 2:11–13.
56. Mus. fol. 54a, 47r–49v, Lang MSS, WLB.
57. Mus. fol. 53s, 6r–7r, Lang MSS, WLB.

58. The fact that Platen was a homosexual could affect the interpretation of the poem. As there is no evidence that Lang was aware of this potential interpretation, we do not take it into consideration in our analysis of her setting.

59. The introduction foreshadows the F–C/A–E dualism (and hence the “separation/togetherness” dualism as well). Harmonically, the introduction is based on the “F–C” component; it consists entirely of F-major and C-major harmonies (for the most part over an F pedal). The melody, however, emphasizes the notes E5 and A4 by durational accentuation (the final restatement of the introductory melody is shown in mm. 61–65 of ex. 5.2b); these notes, though embedded within an F-major prolongation, allude to A minor.

60. In *Patienten-Akte* Felix Köstlin, F235 II Bü. 2009, SAL.

61. Lang to Hiller, 20 September 1861, 30(737), Hiller MSS, HASK.

62. Jäger to Lang, 8 August 1861, 118, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

63. Lang to Hiller, 20 September 1861, 30(737), Hiller MSS, HASK.

64. Emma Niendorf, *Lenau in Schwaben* (Leipzig: Friedrich Ludwig Herbig, 1853), 246.

65. *Ibid.*, 241.

66. *Ibid.*, 242 and 248.

67. Jäger to Lang, 4 August 1860, 116, Köstlin MSS, SAS.

68. “Musikalische Briefe von Ferdinand Hiller. VII. Mendelssohn’s Briefe,” *Kölner Zeitung*, no. 250 (9 September 1861): 1–2.

69. That Hiller’s voluminous mention of Lang in the 1861 article was a deliberate ploy to draw the musical world’s attention to her is evident from the fact that his later book about Mendelssohn, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Briefe und Erinnerungen* (Cologne: M. DuMont-Schauberg, 1874), contains no reference to Josephine Lang.

70. Lang to Hiller, 28 September 1861, 30(745), Hiller MSS, HASK.

71. The following publications can be confirmed: op. 28 (“2 Lieder” [with cello obbligato]) with Carl Haslinger in Vienna (1861); op. 29 (“Lieder des Leids”) with N. Simrock in Bonn (1862); op. 30 (“2 Lieder”) with the Verlag der Ebner’schen Kunst- u. Musikhandlung, Stuttgart (1864); op. 31 (piano piece entitled “Elegie auf den Tod Ludwig Uhlands”) with G. A. Zumsteeg in Stuttgart (1863); op. 32[33] (“Zwei Charakterstücke”) with G. A. Zumsteeg in Stuttgart (1864); the first volume of op. 33[34] (“Disteln und Dornen”) with G. W. Niemeyer in Hamburg (1865), and op. 34[36] (“Drei Lieder”) with Schlesinger in Berlin (1865). Recall that Josephine Lang’s opus numbers are in disarray and were in part corrected by H. A. Köstlin (hence the numbers in square brackets).

72. Copies of op. 40 with the “wrong” first song are extant both in Stuttgart (WLB) and Vienna (GdMf).

73. Lang to Hiller, 5 December 1866, 36(13), Hiller MSS, HASK.

74. *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* 2/2 (12 January 1861): 12–13.

75. *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* 2/22 (1 June 1861): 172.

76. Lang to Albert Zeller, 15 November 1861, in *Patienten-Akte* Felix Köstlin, F235 II Bü. 2009, SAL.

77. Felix Köstlin to Lang, Winnenthal, 19 May 1861, in *Patienten-Akte* Felix Köstlin, F235 II Bü. 2009, SAL.

78. Wildermuth to Kerner, 21 February 1860, *Briefwechsel 1853 bis 1862: Justinus Kerner, Ottilie Wildermuth*, ed. Adelheid Wildermuth (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1960), 279.

79. Lang to Hiller, 5 December 1866, 36(13), Hiller MSS, HASK.

80. Ibid.

81. She wrote that she had “no conception of how to write prose”; Lang to Hiller, 5 December 1866, 36(13), Hiller MSS, HASK.

82. Despite Lang’s efforts at accuracy, there were errors in her notes. For example, as was mentioned in chapter 1, she must have given Hiller the incorrect year of her mother’s death.

83. Ferdinand Hiller’s diary, 12, Hiller MSS, HASK.

84. “Musikalische Briefe von Ferdinand Hiller. X. Josephine Lang, die Lieder-Componistin,” *Kölnener Zeitung*, Erstes Blatt, no. 148 (29 May 1867): 3.

85. Lang to Hiller, 5 December 1866, 36(13), Hiller MSS, HASK.

86. For a score, see Hildegard, 2:14–16.

87. “Lebensabriß,” 100.

88. Since Felix Köstlin was admitted to the asylum at the end of July 1860, and op. 25 appeared in print during the same year, there is only a small window within which he could have written the poem, and his mother the music.

89. Werner refers to this modulation as generating a “lifting” effect. She mentions the obvious word-painting in the piano accompaniment pattern as well (655–56).

90. In a letter to Zeller of 5 November 1861, Lang thanked him for his “friendly reception” of her “little songs” (in *Patienten-Akte Felix Köstlin*, F235 II Bü. 2009, SAL).

91. “Lebensabriß,” 86.

92. The autograph provides only a date of notation, not a date of composition (Mus. fol. 53z, 7r, Lang MSS, WLB). For reasons of space, the CD includes only the first strophe. For a score of op. 29 no. 1, see Da Capo, 113–15, or Hildegard, 2:17–19.

93. For explanations of terminology relating to “metrical dissonance,” see Harald Krebs, *Fantasy Pieces: Metrical Dissonance in the Music of Robert Schumann* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 2.

94. In Schubert’s song, the displacement is similarly used to create an agitated effect. It is abandoned only briefly as the wanderer reminisces about a happier past (mm. 28–39), but is reinstated as soon as he remembers the “burning eyes” of his beloved (m. 40). The hemiola is weakly present at the opening of the vocal part and is intensified by dynamic accents in mm. 21–24.

95. See also the discussion of op. 45 no. 3 in the following chapter.

96. The song was published in 1869 as the sixth and final song of op. 33[34]; it is reprinted in Da Capo, 55–56. The introduction in the Da Capo publication is different from that published in 1869. For a score of the 1869 version performed on the CD, see <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

97. The song was published in 1866 or 1867 as op. 38[39] no. 1. For a modern edition, see Hildegard, 2:20–23.

98. Edda Bergmann, *Ich darf das Beste, das ich kann, nicht tun: Robert Eduard Prutz (1816–1872) zwischen Literatur und Politik* (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 1997), 20, 53, and 61.

99. To avoid awkward repetition of the construction “his or her” in our discussion of “Vorsatz,” we have arbitrarily assigned the male gender to the lyric *I* and the female gender to the beloved.

100. Caplin, *Classical Form*, 254.

101. Lang wrote two alternate versions of the melody, both of which stress G5.

102. Mus. fol. 53bb, 16v, Lang MSS, WLB. Aside from his supposedly being a professor, we have been unable to find any information about the poet. The song was published in 1865 as op. 34[35] no. 1. For a score, see Hildegard, 2:24–26.

103. Werner comments on this “unique and unexpected move” (764).

104. Lang to Hiller, 22 October 1859, 28(709), Hiller MSS, HASK.

## Chapter 6

1. Auguste Schüler to Hiller, Berlin, 4 May 1867, 36(441), Hiller MSS, HASK.

2. “Men of wealth and power” refers to a remark that Hiller made toward the end of his article. He commented on what he described as the problem of German national diffidence, which made artists too modest to ask for assistance and the wealthy too modest to offer it. He concluded with the wish that at least the “men of wealth and power might become quite, quite forward [about offering financial assistance]” (134).

3. S[ophie] Klingemann to Hiller, Bonn, [4 June 1867], 36(465), Hiller MSS, HASK.

4. Tony Hiller to Ferdinand Hiller, [no date], 36(525), Hiller MSS, HASK.

5. Henriette Gouvy to Hiller, Rolandseck, 1 June 1867, 36(457), Hiller MSS, HASK.

6. Lang to Hiller, 18 June 1867, 36(517 and 519), Hiller MSS, HASK.

7. Lang to Hiller, 4 and 7 July 1867, 36(615 and 621), Hiller MSS, HASK.

8. Paul Mendelssohn to Hiller, Berlin, 4 June 1867, 36(469), Hiller MSS, HASK.

9. Copy (in Lang’s hand) of a letter from Paul Mendelssohn to her, [no date], 36(517), Hiller MSS, HASK.

10. Paul Mendelssohn to Hiller, 4 June 1867, 36(469), Hiller MSS, HASK.

11. Paul Mendelssohn to Hiller, 18 June 1867, 36(515), Hiller MSS, HASK.

12. Marie Diruf to Hiller, Kibingen, 10 June 1867, 36(537), Hiller MSS, HASK.

13. Antolka Hiller to Ferdinand Hiller, [no date], 36(541), Hiller MSS, HASK.

14. Antolka Hiller to Ferdinand Hiller, [no date], 36(553), Hiller MSS, HASK. The chronology of the letters is clear from their position in the book in which Hiller mounted them.

15. Ferdinand Hiller’s diary, 13, Hiller MSS, HASK.

16. Eduard Joest to Hiller, 27 June 1867, 36(557), Hiller MSS, HASK.

17. Lang to Eduard Zeller, 2 March 1868, Md 747–393, Zeller MSS, Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen.

18. Lang to Hiller, 27 April 1868, 37(369), Hiller MSS, HASK.

19. Lang to Hiller, 27 February 1870, 39(123), Hiller MSS, HASK.

20. Lang to Hiller, 28 May 1870, 39(419), Hiller MSS, HASK.

21. Lang to Hiller, 4 July 1867, 36(615), Hiller MSS, HASK.

22. See <http://193.196.167.59/%7Elang/Opuszahlen.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

23. Lang to Hiller, 5 December 1866, 36(13), Hiller MSS, HASK.

24. Hofmeister gives the publication date of 1860 for op. 26, and of 1861 for op. 28, so it is puzzling that op. 27 did not appear until 1872. A letter from Lang to Hiller (20 September 1861, 30[737], Hiller MSS, HASK) suggests that she expected publication of this set of songs around 1861; she wrote that Hiller would be happy to hear that it “would shortly appear in Stuttgart with Ebner.” The reasons for the eleven-year delay in the publication of op. 27 are unknown.

25. Lang to Hiller, 4 July 1867, 36(615), Hiller MSS, HASK.

26. “Lebensabriß,” 88.

27. Lang to Eduard Zeller, 2 March 1868, Md 747–393, Zeller MSS, Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen.

28. Lang to Hiller, 9 December 1867, 36(1177), Hiller MSS, HASK.

29. “Lebensabriß,” 88.

30. In the light of the pre-admission diagnosis written by his uncle and the nature of the burns on the body, it seems that Felix, despairing of ever recovering from his condition, attempted to castrate himself by fire (in *Patienten-Akte* Felix Köstlin, F235 II Bü. 2009, SAL).

31. *Patienten-Akte* Felix Köstlin F235 II 2009, SAL. The authors are indebted to Dr. Brian Sonnenberg of the University of Alberta Hospital in Edmonton, Alberta, for discussing the neurological portion of the autopsy report with one of the neuropathologists at the hospital and establishing that it contains no definite indications of the incurability of Felix Köstlin’s mental illness.

32. Lang to Hiller, 9 December 1867, 36(1177), Hiller MSS, HASK.

33. Lang remained in touch with her godfather and his family after leaving Munich in 1842. The large album in Vienna (I.N. 23971, Fellingner MSS, GdMf) includes a letter from Stieler that is apparently addressed to one of Lang’s sons, offering him art lessons once he was older.

34. Mus. fol. 53dd, 1v–3r, Lang MSS, WLB.

35. Ibid., 3r–4v.

36. Lang to Hiller, 27 April 1868, 37(369), Hiller MSS, HASK.

37. Lang to Hiller, 27 February 1870, 39(123), Hiller MSS, HASK.

38. Lang to Hiller, 20 September 1861, 30(737), Hiller MSS, HASK.

39. Lang to Hiller, 27 February 1870, 39(123); and 21 October, 1871, 40(1073), Hiller MSS, HASK.

40. Imogen Fellingner, ed., *Klänge um Brahms: Erinnerungen von Richard Fellingner* (Mürzzuschlag: Österreichische Johannes Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1997), 14.

41. Lang to unknown, 17 February 1874, 21818, Köstlin MSS, DLA.

42. Lang to Hiller, 27 February 1870, 39(123), Hiller MSS, HASK.

43. Mus. fol. 53dd, 14r–15r (autograph of op. 45 no. 4) and 15r–17r (autograph of op. 45 no. 2), Lang MSS, WLB; dated 1 December and 4 December 1869, respectively.

44. Manfred Lechner, *Joseph Victor von Scheffel: Eine Analyse seines Werks und seines Publikums* (Ph.D. diss, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1962), 7–8.

45. Scheffel to Ludwig Uhland, 8 January 1854 (quoted in Lechner, op. cit., 117).

46. A setting of one of the “Songs of the Quiet Man” remained a fragment (not yet catalogued manuscript, Fellingner MSS, GdMf).

47. The first two bars of op. 45 no. 3 are very similar to the opening of Schubert's "Die Nebensonnen" (the penultimate song of *Winterreise*), although Lang's passage is much more energetic. There is no obvious reason why Lang should have quoted this passage here; the themes of the two poems in question are not closely related. To be sure, the wanderer's situation in *Winterreise* as a whole is similar to that of Werner in this poem.

48. The beginning of the vocal part is quite similar to the melody of the piano introduction of Felix Mendelssohn's duet "Gruss." Since there is absolutely no connection between the poems of Lang's and Mendelssohn's songs, it is unlikely that this is a deliberate quotation.

49. For a score, see Da Capo, 120–24 or <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

50. *Wasserfrauen*, common denizens of nineteenth-century German literature, are not equivalent to mermaids; we should not imagine a creature who is half woman and half fish, but simply a woman who lives underwater. For information about *Wasserfrauen*, see Isabel Gutiérrez Koester, *'Ich geh nun unter in dem Reich der Kühle, daraus ich geboren war . . .': Zum Motiv der Wasserfrau im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2001).

51. Additional examples of fanfare-like ideas in Lang's oeuvre are found in the song "Dem Königs-Sohn" and the closely related piano piece *Deutscher Siegesmarsch* op. 48, both composed in 1870.

52. For a score, see Da Capo, 125–26.

53. Lang made an additional change to Scheffel's text: in his second stanza, she altered "Dran in Zukunft manche Katze" to "Dran die Zukunft mancher Katze." We have reproduced and translated Lang's, not Scheffel's text.

54. Various melodic features of the final "meow" are surprising as well—the intervallic structure (a diminished fifth!), the melismatic format (as opposed to the earlier syllabic "meows"), and the breaking off on scale degree 2.

55. One could argue that the entire song involves displacement by a half note; readers can test this interpretation by moving the bar lines forward by two beats. The main accents of the text, however, are lined up with the bar lines as Lang wrote them, so that the sense of displacement is weak except in the indicated locations. This weak displacement gives the song the feel of a gavotte.

56. The first edition's G $\sharp$ /A semitone in m. 10 is not an instance of "expressive dissonance," but an obvious error. The correct pitches are F/G $\sharp$  (cf. m. 6).

57. Viktor von Scheffel, *Der Trompeter von Säckingen*, Part V, lines 118, 132–33.

58. Schleich's name first appears on the title page of an unpublished song entitled "First Draft of an Anthem in a Wagnerian Style Written 1863 for Hans Schleich as a Little Jest for Christmas Eve" (Mus. fol. 54b, 7r, Lang MSS, WLB). Lang's "Wagnerian style" is, by the way, the style of *Lohengrin*, not that of Wagner's mature music dramas. That Lang had *Lohengrin* in mind becomes clear from another version of the same song (with a different text—this is the second of two instances of Lang's use of the same music for different texts). This "dramatic hymn for tenor" is subtitled "Nach *Lohengrin*'schen Gedanken" (Mus. fol. 54b, 10r, Lang MSS, WLB).

59. Op. 33[34] appeared in two volumes, the first in 1865 and the second in 1869 (see <http://193.196.167.59/%7Elang/Opuszahlen.html>, accessed 13 July 2006).

60. Lang to Hiller, 31 May 1867, 36(405), Hiller MSS, HASK.

61. Most likely “Ich liebe dich und will dich ewig lieben,” Da Capo, 62–63.

62. On 16 July 1872, for example, Schleich gave a concert in Tübingen in which he sang two of Lang’s songs (printed program, with 46088, Köstlin MSS, DLA)

63. Lang to Hiller, 31 May 1867, 36(405), Hiller MSS, HASK.

64. Mus. fol. 54b, 8v and 10r, Lang MSS, WLB. Also, a not yet catalogued copy, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

65. Not yet catalogued title page, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

66. Not yet catalogued manuscript of op. 33[34] no. 6, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

67. Lang to Hiller, 27 April 1868, 37(369), Hiller MSS, HASK. Scherzer was Silcher’s successor.

68. Lang to Hiller, 7 July 1867, 36(621), Hiller MSS, HASK.

69. Lang to Hiller, 9 December 1867, 36(1177), Hiller MSS, HASK.

70. Schleich continued to sing on the opera stage until 1881, then became a painter specializing in seascapes.

71. Imogen Fellingner informed us that Maria felt that an unfair proportion of the household work fell to her even while Therese was still at home. See also Imogen Fellingner, ed., *Klänge um Brahms*, 14.

72. Lang to Hiller, 27 February 1870, 39(123), Hiller MSS, HASK.

73. Ibid.

74. Not yet catalogued manuscript, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

75. “Lebensabriß,” 90.

76. Handwritten dedications on two scores in Vienna indicate that Therese visited her mother in winter 1878–79. On a score of op. 46, which appeared in 1879, Lang wrote a dedication to “her dear daughter Therese as a memento of her help with the proof-reading” (third of three copies of op. 46 constituting VII-72351, Fellingner MSS, GdMf). On a score of op. 44, she wrote “For her precious daughter Therese in remembrance of the winter 1878–9 and of the composer” (second of three copies of op. 44 constituting VII-72352, Fellingner MSS, GdMf).

77. Lang set three of this poet’s texts to music: “Ich möchte heim!” (op. 41), “Sommerfahrt” (op. 43 no. 3), and “Herbst-Gefühl” (Da Capo, 80–81).

78. Maria Köstlin, *Das Buch der Familie Köstlin* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1931), 150–51.

79. Lang to Hiller, 27 February 1870, 39(123), Hiller MSS, HASK.

80. “Lebensabriß,” 90.

81. Ibid.

82. Lang to Hiller, 5 May 1873, 42(405), Hiller MSS, HASK.

83. Ibid.

84. Lang to Hiller, 20 July 1874, 43(521), Hiller MSS, HASK.

85. Not yet catalogued manuscript, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

86. Not yet catalogued manuscripts, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

87. Mus. fol. 54b, 48r–49r, Lang MSS, WLB.

88. The dedication is signed “from his old, now merely quietly vegetating, devoted mother” (third of three copies of op. 44 constituting VII-72352, Fellingner MSS, GdMf).

89. Loose letter from Lang to Richard Fellingner, 29 August 1874, small album, I.N. 23970, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.



90. Lang to Hiller, 28 May 1870, 39(419), Hiller MSS, HASK.
91. Lang to Hiller, 4 February 1871, 40(137), Hiller MSS, HASK.
92. There are two copies in Stuttgart: Mus. fol. 54b, 50r–51v and 52r–52v, Lang MSS, WLB. The latter autograph has an incorrect title. A “good” copy belonging to the Wachs is also extant (MS. M.D.M. c.23, 30r–32v, Mendelssohn MSS, BL).
93. Lang to Hiller, 28 May 1870, 39(419), Hiller MSS, HASK.
94. MS. M.D.M. c.23, 30r–32v, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.
95. The only extant autograph of this song is located in the Bodleian Library (MS. M.D.M. c.23, 34r–35r, Mendelssohn MSS, BL).
96. Lang to Hiller, 5 May 1873, 42(405), Hiller MSS, HASK.
97. Lang to Hiller, 20 July 1874, 43(521), Hiller MSS, HASK.
98. “Lebensabriß,” 93.
99. Müller to Hiller, 4 August 1874, 43(571), Hiller MSS, HASK.
100. “Lebensabriß,” 93.
101. Ibid., 90.
102. Oscar von Samson-Himmelstierna to Hiller, 21 October 1876, 45(713), Hiller MSS, HASK.
103. “Lebensabriß,” 90.
104. Mus. fol. 54b, 55r–55v, Lang MSS, WLB. An autograph (not yet catalogued) of this song in Vienna (Fellinger MSS, GdMf) refers to the departure of “Mariechen von Samson” rather than Emma von Samson. The former name is likely an error; we have been unable to trace Mariechen von Samson.
105. Entry by Oscar von Samson-Himmelstierna in large album, 29 April 1878, I.N. 23971, Fellinger MSS, GdMf.
106. We have located no reviews of these late publications. The latest reviews that we have found are one of Lang’s songs op. 40 (*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 66/51 [16 December 1870]: 479) and one of her opp. 27 and 34[35] in the same journal (69/52 [19 December 1873]: 537). The latter review is very brief, praising both sets for their euphony (*Wohlklang*) but criticizing the publications (and the composer) for poor editing. In the slightly more substantial review of op. 40 (signed “Kn.”), the reviewer described in an insufferably patronizing tone what he would have said to Lang if she had presented the songs to him as her op. 1: “Wouldn’t you rather in future prefer to confer your compositions only upon your circle of female and male friends, who will no doubt thank you more than will the evil world?” The reviewer regretted that he was unable to perform the good deed of advising Lang in this manner, since her songs were already in print as op. 40.
107. See Da Capo, 82–87.
108. For a score, see Da Capo, 83 or <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.
109. Mus. fol. 54e, 26r–27v, Lang MSS, WLB.
110. Mus. fol. 54b, 62r–63r, Lang MSS, WLB. Therese von Niemeyer, the wife of a doctor who had treated Lang, was her close friend (according to an inscription on Mus. fol. 54d, 35r). Lang’s late songs include two other settings of Niemeyer’s poems, namely “Aus der Pilgerfahrt am Felix-Tag” (unpublished; Mus. fol. 54d, 35r–37r), and her last song, “Wiegenlied: An den kleinen Prinzen Ulrich” (unpublished; Mus. fol. 54d, 41r–44r).

111. Poetry manuscripts, 29 September 1845, Z 2717; and 29/30 September 1845, Z 2727/64, Köstlin MSS, DLA. Judging by the text of op. 43 no. 4, Lang was working with the published copy of the poem (*Gedichte*, 53–54), not with these two manuscripts.

112. Not yet catalogued manuscript, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

113. Andreas Vogt, a Swabian heritage specialist with particular expertise on graves in the old Tübingen cemetery, has informed us that Ida von Samson died on 21 April 1878.

114. Not yet catalogued manuscript, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

115. Cod. Mus. fol. zu 53–57, 47r–47v, Lang MSS, WLB.

116. Mus. fol. 53ee, 11v, Lang MSS, WLB.

117. In the (not yet catalogued) autograph of the song located in Vienna, an *f* in voice and piano was crossed out and replaced with *pp*. That is, the original male viewpoint was changed to the female viewpoint.

118. The ending of Chamisso's *Frauenliebe und Leben* corroborates that a quiet acceptance of emotional pain was "proper" for nineteenth-century women: "ich zieh' mich in mein Inn'res still zurück" (I silently withdraw into myself). For a discussion of how Lang's performance instruction is relevant specifically to her and Köstlin, see Sharon Krebs, "'My Songs are My Diary': An Investigation of Biographical Content in the Köstlin Settings of Josephine Lang" (M. A. thesis, University of Victoria, 2001), 111–15.

119. Cited in Helmut Hornbogen, *Der Tübinger Stadtfriedhof: Wege durch den Garten der Erinnerung* (Tübingen: Verlag Schwäbisches Tagblatt, 1995), 94.

120. "Lebensabriß," 91. The song was posthumously published (under the title "Ostern. Easter") in a collection of religious songs in 1882 (*Halleluja. Organ für ernste Hausmusik*, III/9 [June 1882], 20). Either H. A. Köstlin or Lang made an error in the composition date of this song; Lang's date (1879, on a not yet catalogued manuscript, Fellingner MSS, GdMf) does not match Köstlin's. The wording of the dedication on an autograph given to Heinrich Adolf (Mus. fol. 54e, 38r, Lang MSS, WLB) renders it difficult to believe that the song had a connection with Eugen's death: "Dedicated in faithful love to her beloved son 'Heinrich' from his mother Josefine Lang (with a heartfelt birthday kiss)."

121. "Lebensabriß," 91.

122. Ibid., 92.

123. Mus. fol. 54d, 50r, Lang MSS, WLB.

124. Ibid., 45r–47r.

125. Ibid., unnumbered page between 41 and 42. The words "Vignette von Maria Fellingner" are written above the copy of the song's text.

126. Richard Fellingner [Jr.], "Ein jung gebliebenes hundertjähriges Tübinger Haus," 54.744 (Fellingner MSS, DLA), 9.

127. "Lebensabriß," 91.

128. Not yet catalogued manuscript, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.

129. "Lebensabriß," 92.

130. Ibid., 93.

131. Lang to Hiller, 19 April 1860, 29(365), Hiller MSS, HASK.

132. For instance, Köstlin's biography inspired a Berlin critic to write an essay about Lang. See G. Doempke, "Eine berühmte Unbekannte," *Musik-Welt* 1/37 (2 July 1881), 423–24.

133. An example of an advertisement for the collection may be found in the *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 17/25 (21 June 1882): 300; the announcement of the publication included Hiller's words of praise for her songs (quoted at the end of chapter 5). Immediately after Lang's death, the same journal announced the republication of her op. 15 by Breitkopf & Härtel (*Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 15/50 [15 December 1880]: 800).

134. Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 111.

135. Imogen Fellingner, ed., *Klänge um Brahms*, 19n and 22n. Brahms thought highly of Reinhold Köstlin's poetry and set four of his poems to music: "Nachtigall," op. 97 no. 1; "Auf dem Schiffe," op. 97 no. 2 (the same poem that Lang set in her op. 14 no. 5—see ex. 4.1); "Ein Wanderer," op. 105 no. 5; and "Auf dem See," op. 106 no. 2 (the same poem that Lang used for her op. 14 no. 4). Richard Fellingner [Jr.] wrote that Brahms composed the latter setting in deliberate homage to "Josephine Lang's manner of writing songs" ("Ein jung gebliebenes hundertjähriges Tübinger Haus," 54.744 [Fellinger MSS, DLA], 2). There is actually little similarity between the style of Brahms's op. 106 no. 2 and that of Lang's setting, although the two songs are in the same key. Brahms definitely knew Lang's setting of the text, as it is found in the posthumous Breitkopf & Härtel anthology, which he owned.

136. First of two copies constituting VII-72349, Fellinger MSS, GdMf.

137. Elsbeth Friedrichs, "Josephine Lang," *Neue Musik-Zeitung* 26/10 (1905): 220–22. The piano piece is a Schumannesque "Arabeske," the song a Carl Stieler setting entitled "Im Abendstrahl."

138. The approximate date of the publication can be deduced from an inscription on a copy in Vienna (VII-72353, GdMf), which includes the year "1890." The "Arabeske" is the same as that published in the *Neue Musik-Zeitung* in 1905 (see note 137). We have not been able to determine when Lang composed the first of the two pieces (no autographs are extant). An as-yet-uncatalogued autograph of "Heimweh" (Fellinger MSS, GdMf) is dated 20 May 1878.

139. Hermann Rosenwald, "Das deutsche Lied zwischen Schubert und Schumann" (Ph.D. diss., Badische Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 1929), 114, 124, 77, and 85n, respectively.

140. *Ibid.*, 61–64 and 125.

141. *Ibid.*, 63. The anthology, *12 ausgewählte Lieder der deutschen Romantik* (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Edition Benno Balan, 1929), includes Lang's "Scheideblick" and the late sacred song "Arie."

## Chapter 7

1. "Lebensabriß," 62–63.

2. Heller to Hiller, 5 June 1867, 36(485), Hiller MSS, HASK.

3. Mendelssohn to his family, Stuttgart, 7 November 1831, \*MNY+++, Mendelssohn MSS, New York Public Library, New York.

4. Mus. fol. 53t, 1r, Lang MSS, WLB.
5. Mus. fol. 54b, 8v, Lang MSS, WLB.
6. Lang to Hiller, 6 May 1868, 37(519), Hiller MSS, HASK.
7. See, for example, Mus. fol. 53r, 1, Lang MSS, WLB. Beside the poem is the notation, "Written 26 Nov. 1838." It is likely that by "written," Lang meant "created" rather than "copied out"; she did not usually provide dates for quotations by others that she had copied.
8. Mus. fol. 53l, 1r (from 1834), Lang MSS, WLB.
9. Eichthal to Mendelssohn, Nauplia, 15 May 1833, MS. M.D.M. d.28, no. 91, Mendelssohn MSS, BL.
10. Lang to Mendelssohn, 10 June 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.45, no. 294, Mendelssohn MSS, BL; Margarethe Carl to Lang, Vienna, 23 May 1847, not yet catalogued, Fellingner MSS, GdMf.
11. Lang to Eduard Eyth, [no date, but likely 1861], 28801, Eyth MSS, DLA.
12. Emma von Nindorf [*sic*], *Reiseszenen in Bayern, Tyrol und Schwaben* (Stuttgart: Verlag von Ebner & Seubert, 1840), 2.
13. Lang to Hiller, 22 October 1859, 28(709), Hiller MSS, HASK.
14. Mus. fol. 53q, 28, Lang MSS, WLB.
15. Lang to Eduard Eyth, [no date, but likely 1861], 28801, Eyth MSS, DLA. Another example of Lang's immediate compositional response to a poem is her reaction to the Scheffel poems (discussed in chapter 6). For further examples involving Köstlin's poetry, see Sharon Krebs, "My Songs are My Diary," 40–42.
16. Samples of poems with such underlining are preserved in the Archive of the GdMf in Vienna and in the autograph collection of the WLB; an example from the latter collection was cited in chapter 3.
17. Pencilled revisions can be found on many of Lang's own copies of the first editions. These copies are preserved in the WLB in Stuttgart, in the Archive of the GdMf in Vienna, and in the case of one song (likely one that she sent to Mendelssohn) in the SPK, Berlin.
18. Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 80.
19. Hofmeister's index to publications lists the following reissues of songs: op. 9 no. 6 and op. 10 no. 6 in 1848, and op. 15 no. 4 in 1852.
20. Diary of Wilhelmine Köstlin, née Mayer, in private possession; excerpts graciously provided by Tilman Krause, Berlin.
21. The two composers could easily have met, for Fanny Hensel visited Munich on her way to Italy in 1839; from a letter to her brother, however, it is apparent that no such meeting took place. See Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn, 13 July 1841; Marcia J. Citron, ed., *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn, Collected, Edited and Translated with Introductory Essays and Notes* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987), 583.
22. Agnes von Calatin referred in affectionate terms to Emilie Zumsteeg in a letter to Justinus Kerner (24 June 1839, KN8030, Kerner MSS, DLA). One letter from the young Reinhold Köstlin to Emilie Zumsteeg, written in a mildly flirtatious tone, is preserved (18 May 1832, 90.96.4, Köstlin MSS, DLA).

23. Two reviews comment on the similarity of Lang's style to Mendelssohn's: *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 3/4 (Leipzig, Januar 1845): 26–27, and *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 48/3 (21 January 1846): 36–37. Both are reviews of Lang's op. 12, which is dedicated to Mendelssohn. One wonders whether the reviewers would have perceived this stylistic similarity if Mendelssohn's name had not been on the title page.

24. Emma von Nindorf [*sic*], *Reisescenen in Bayern, Tyrol und Schwaben* (Stuttgart: Verlag von Ebner & Seubert, 1840), 1.

25. Scores of the latter two songs may be found at <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

26. Hermann Rosenwald, "Das deutsche Lied zwischen Schubert und Schumann" (Ph.D. diss., Badische Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 1929), 61–62.

27. There is ample evidence that the Lieder of other composers reflect biographical events. Schubert's friends suggested that he "saw . . . parallels to his own wintry condition" in the texts of the *Winterreise* cycle; see Susan Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey: Schubert's "Winterreise"* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 72. Parallels between Schumann's life and his songs are also evident, for example, his distilling of aspects of his difficult courtship into *Dichterliebe*; see Arthur Komar, ed., *Robert Schumann: Dichterliebe* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), 4. Barry Cooper argues that "many of Beethoven's vocal works were written because of some deep personal significance in the subject-matter"; see *Beethoven and the Creative Process* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 215.

28. Quoted in "Lebensabriß," 58. Lang probably made this well-known statement within the biographical notes that she prepared for Hiller's use in the 1860s; she may well have been struck by the multitudinous connections between her songs and her life as she wrote notes on her life and prepared the list of works that was to accompany them.

29. For a detailed discussion of the diary aspects of Lang's songs, see Sharon Krebs, "My Songs are My Diary."

30. Mus. fol. 53z, 15r, and Mus. fol. 53dd, 3r, Lang MSS, WLB. Evidently Lang was not dependent on a piano for the drafting of songs. This is confirmed by one of her letters to Hiller: "When you look at my songs, keep in mind that I composed them mostly during my little walks. For only then is it at all possible for me to compose! Since I must walk alone (because talking fatigues me too much), my little songs have for four years originated under God's open sky" (Lang to Hiller, 5 December 1866, 36[13], Hiller MSS, HASK).

31. Mus. fol. 53t, 1v; Mus. fol. 53u, 5r; and Mus. fol. 53z, 19r, Lang MSS, WLB.

32. Mus. fol. 54a, 57r, Lang MSS, WLB. See chapter 3 for additional examples from 1840 to 1841.

33. Mus. fol. 53l, 1r, Lang MSS, WLB.

34. Mus. fol. 53k, 14v, Lang MSS, WLB.

35. For a detailed discussion of this aspect of Lang's "Eichthal cycle," see Harald Krebs, "Josephine Langs 'Eichthal-Lieder,'" 67–68.

36. Werner, 827, 833, and 847. According to Werner, Lang's practices in the area of textual repetition are similar to those of Robert Schumann: "It is perhaps from Schumann that Josephine also received affirmation as far as repeating words, lines or altering the original poem goes, so that it (the poem) is almost a new creation in the sense of being

nearest her own mood or personal feelings” (884–85); and “In her use of poetic text repetition in such a way as to place her own stamp upon a poem and convey her own meaning, she was much like Schumann” (847). Lang’s textual manipulations, particularly repetitions, are, however, much more frequent than Schumann’s.

37. For numerous additional examples of Lang’s textual manipulations, see Sharon Krebs, “My Songs are My Diary,” chapter 3.

38. Da Capo, 60–61 and 71–72.

39. Her name is given on Lang’s manuscripts as “Jos. Müller” (Mus. fol. 53b, 1r), “J. St.” (Mus. fol. 53n, 30), and “J. Stieler” (Mus. fol. 54c, 21r, Lang MSS, WLB). Josephine Stieler’s maiden name was Miller.

40. See examples 6.1 and 6.2. Both songs were composed in September 1868.

41. “Ich gab dem Schicksal dich zurück,” “Seebild,” and “Im Abendstrahl” (Da Capo, 44–47, 64–66, and 66–67). We have not yet been able to confirm that the latter two poems are actually by Carl Stieler (the attributions on publications or autographs cannot always be trusted).

42. In chapter 5, we have quoted Wildermuth’s remarks that show her awareness of Lang’s difficult situation. There is, however, no evidence that the two women were close friends, as some writers have claimed.

43. “Auf dem Felsen” and “Die Waldglocken,” both unpublished (Mus. fol. 54e, 11r–12r and 28r–29r, Lang MSS, WLB).

44. It is noteworthy that Lang virtually abandoned Köstlin’s poetry after his death (see ex. 6.7 for one of two exceptions). Two possible explanations come to mind: (1) it was too painful for her to set her deceased husband’s poetry, and (2) once it was no longer possible to set his poems shortly after their creation and to elicit his immediate reaction to her setting, it was not as rewarding for her to set his poetry.

45. For a score, see <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html>, accessed 13 July 2006.

46. This discussion of the expressive function of hypermeter in “Den Abschied schnell genommen” comes in part from Harald Krebs, “Hypermeter and Hypermetric Irregularity in the Songs of Josephine Lang,” in *Engaging Music*, ed. Deborah Stein (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 29.

47. Verena von der Heyden-Ryensch, *Belaushtes Leben: Frauentagebücher aus drei Jahrhunderten* (Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler Verlag, 1997), 9.

48. Penelope Franklin, Introduction to *Private Pages: Diaries of American Women 1830s–1970s* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1986), xix–xx.

49. Mus. fol. 53w (1840–45), 1r, Lang MSS, WLB.

50. Franz Kafka, “Josefine, die Sängerin, oder Das Volk der Mäuse,” in *Meistererzählungen*, ed. Herbert Tauber (Zürich: Manesse Verlag, 1978), 276 (our translation).

51. Ibid., 299 (our translation).

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# INDEX OF LANG'S COMPOSITIONS

Published compositions that were never assigned an opus number are designated as “WoO” (*Werke ohne Opuszahl*) and are listed after the works with opus number (alphabetically by title). Numbers in **boldface** refer to pages with musical examples. Songs for which the score is available online at <http://www.wlbstuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang-lieder.html> are marked with a boldface “WLB.”

## Published Songs

“op. 1” *Acht deutsche Lieder*, 15–16, 19, 20,  
25, 252

No. 1: An die Entfernte, 16, **17**, 20

No. 2: An den Frühling, 16, **18**, 19, 20

No. 3: Liebessehnen, 16, **18**, 20

No. 4: Am Tag, wo freudiges

Entzücken, 16

No. 6: Hexenlied, 16, 22

No. 7: Abschied vom Herbst, 20

No. 8: Das Wunderblümchen, **16**

“op. 2” *Sechs teutsche [sic] Lieder*, 19, 255, 257

No. 4: Lied (“Leichte Lüfte, linde,  
süße”), **19**

“op. 3” *Vier deutsche Lieder*, 19, 252, 255,  
257

No. 2: Auf der Alpe zu singen, 19, **20**

No. 4: Fee'n-Reigen, 22, 27–33

(**28–31**)

“op. 4” *Vier deutsche Lieder*, 19, 44, 255, 257

No. 1: Schlummerlied, 19

No. 4: Sehnsucht, 19, **21**

“op. 5” *Vier deutsche Lieder*, 19, 20, 255, 257

No. 1: Nähe des Geliebten, 20

No. 2: Lied (“Auf dem frischen Rasen-  
sitze”), 19

No. 3: Glückliche Fahrt, 20

“op. 6” *Vier deutsche Lieder*, 19, 20, 255, 257

No. 1: An \_\_\_, 51

No. 3: Frühzeitiger Frühling, 20, 22,  
25–27, 33, **WLB**

No. 4: Geisternähe, 20, **21**

op. 7 *Sechs Gesänge*, 257

No. 4: Im Herbst, 257

op. 8 *3 Lieder*, 53, 257

No. 1: Schmetterling, 35, **36**, 37, 51,  
52

No. 2: In die Ferne, 38, **39**, 52, 53,  
231

No. 3: Ew'ge Nähe, 45, 47, 49–50, 52,  
**WLB**

op. 9 *Sechs Lieder*, 110

No. 1: Lebet wohl, geliebte Bäume, 45

No. 2: Frühlingsgedränge, 172

No. 3: Nach dem Abschied, 97–99  
(**97–98**), 105, 172, 229

No. 4: Am Morgen, 172

No. 6: Komm Liebchen, 287

- op. 10 *Sechs Lieder*, 110, 259  
 No. 1: Gedenkst du mein?, 102–3  
 No. 2: Mignons Klage, 37–38  
 No. 3: Die Schwalben, 37, **WLB**  
 No. 5: Scheideblick, 46, 73, 96, 172, 220  
 No. 6: Abschied, 130, 275, 287  
 op. 11 *Sechs deutsche Lieder*, 126, 130, 257, 271, 272  
 No. 3: Frühlings-Ahnung, 130, 172  
 No. 4: Abschied, 36, 130, 257, 275, **WLB**  
 No. 5: Sängers Trost, 172, 257  
 No. 6: Im Herbst, 257  
 op. 12 *Sechs Lieder*, 126, 130, 171, 271, 287, 288  
 No. 2: Nachts, 111, **112**, 130, 228, 231–32, **WLB**  
 No. 3: Abermals am See, 104–6 (**105–6**), 230  
 No. 4: O wärst du da, 114, 229  
 No. 5: Der Herbst, 111, **113**–14, 229  
 No. 6: Die wandernde Wolke, 125, 126  
 op. 13 *Sechs Lieder*, 132  
 No. 1: Abschied, 128, 275  
 No. 2: Der Wanderer an die Quellen, 45  
 No. 4: Der Schmetterling, 62, 64, **66**  
 No. 5: An die Entfernte, 172  
 No. 6: Namenlos, 62, 64–65, **69**  
 op. 14 *Sechs deutsche Lieder*, 132, 133, 136, 152, 171  
 No. 1: Aus der Novelle: 'Die Mathildenhöhle,' 77–81 (**79–80**), 136  
 No. 2: Am Flusse, 111, **113**  
 No. 3: Gedenke mein, 75, 103  
 No. 4: An den See, 103, 286  
 No. 5: Vögelein, 118–23 (**1**, **119–121**), 125, 148, 228  
 No. 6: Auf dem See in tausend Sterne, 110, **WLB**  
 op. 15 *Sechs deutsche Lieder*, 72, 132, 133, 136, 152, 286  
 No. 1: Den Abschied schnell genommen, 62, 65, 68, 72, 232, **WLB**  
 No. 2: Lied ("Mag da draußen Schnee sich türmen"), 275  
 No. 4: Lied ("Lüftchen ihr plaudert"), 287  
 op. 20 *Am Bache*, 138, **140**–41, 152  
 op. 22 *Auf der Reise*, 146–47, 152  
 op. 23 *Drei Lieder*, 115, 152, 169, 170  
 No. 1: In Welschland, 137–38, **139**  
 No. 2: Wenn du wärst mein eigen, 264  
 op. 25 *Sechs Lieder*, 154, 207  
 No. 1: Frühlingsglaube, 159–62 (**161**), 231, **WLB**  
 No. 5: Die Wolken, 172, 232, 279  
 op. 26 *Sechs Lieder*, 72, 154, 281  
 No. 1: Wiegenlied, 159, 228, **WLB**  
 No. 2: Bei Nacht und Nebel, 133  
 No. 3: Du denkst an mich so selten, 63, 162–66 (**164–65**)  
 No. 4: Frühes Sterben, 62, 65, 68, 72, **WLB**  
 No. 5: Zusammen, 75  
 op. 27 *Sechs deutsche Lieder*, 115, 186, 281, 284  
 No. 2: An einer Quelle, 143, **144**, 148  
 No. 3: Ob ich manchmal dein gedenke, 104–5, **107**  
 No. 4: Frühling ist gekommen, 108–9, 111, 114, 229, 232  
 No. 6: Zu Tod möcht' ich mich lieben, 114, 229, 269  
 op. 28 *Zwei Lieder*, 170, 278, 281  
 No. 1: Traumbild, 52–56 (**55**), 170, **WLB**  
 No. 2: Herz, mein Herz so schweig auch du!, 170  
 op. 29 *Lieder des Leids*, 171, 173, 231, 278  
 No. 1: Leb' wohl, leb' wohl, du schöne Welt, 173, **174**  
 op. 30 *Zwei Lieder*, 230, 278  
 op. 33[34] *Disteln und Dornen*, 169, 186, 200, 201, 278, 282  
 No. 4: Sie liebt mich, 95, 96  
 No. 6: Wenn zwei von einander scheiden, 173, 279, **WLB**  
 op. 34[35] *Zwei Lieder*, 172, 284

- No. 1: Im reinsten Gold ich treu bewahr,  
180–82 (**181**)
- op. 34[36] *Drei Lieder*, 172, 186, 278
- op. 36[38] *Drei Lieder*, 172, 185
- op. 38[39] *Sechs Lieder*, 172, 185, 186,  
201
- No. 1: Vorsatz, 174, 176–80  
(**177–79**)
- No. 2: Der Liebe Bann, 173, **175**
- No. 4: Seit die Liebste mir entfernt,  
141, **WLB**
- op. 40 *Sechs deutsche Lieder*, 169, 185, 284
- No. 4: Lied (“Wehe! So willst du mich  
wieder”), 39, **41**
- op. 41 *Ich möchte heim!*, 185, 283
- op. 43 *Fünf Gesänge*, 208
- No. 3: Sommerfahrt, 283
- No. 4: Scheiden, 212–16 (**213–14**),  
230, 285
- op. 45 *Fünf Lieder aus dem Trompeter von  
Säckingen*, 190–200, 208
- No. 1: Lied des jungen Werner (Es hat  
nicht sollen sein), **192**
- No. 2: Lied des jungen Werner (Am  
Ufer blies ich ein lustig Stück), 191,  
193–97, **WLB**
- No. 3: Ein’ festen Sitz hab’ ich veracht’t,  
192–**93**, 282
- No. 4: Als ich zum erstenmal dich sah,  
193
- No. 5: Lied des Katers ‘Hiddigeiger’,  
197–200, 228, 229, **WLB**
- Arie (WoO), 220
- Dem Königs-Sohn (WoO), 282
- Erinnerung (“Mein Ende zeigt mir jeder  
Traum”) (WoO), 39, 41–**42**, **WLB**
- Es ist noch eine Ruhe vorhanden dem  
Volke Gottes. Hebr. 4. 9 (WoO),  
209, **WLB**
- Getäuscht hat mich ein Schimmer (WoO),  
45
- ‘Gott sei mir Sünder gnädig.’ Luc. 18. 13  
(WoO), 204
- Herbst-Gefühl (WoO), 283

- Ich gab dem Schicksal dich zurück (WoO),  
289
- Ich liebe dich und will dich ewig lieben  
(WoO), 201
- Im Abendstrahl (WoO), 219, 286, 289
- Ostern. Easter. (WoO), 217, 285
- Seebild (WoO), 185, 289
- Wie glänzt so hell dein Auge (WoO), 45
- Published Piano Music
- op. 31 *Elegie auf den Tod Ludwig Uhlands*, 278
- op. 32[33] *Zwei Charakterstücke*, 278
- No. 1: Nachtgesang eines Gondoliers,  
57, 261
- “op. 35[37]” [*Zwei*] *Lieder ohne Worte*, 103,  
267
- op. 42 *Hochzeits-Marsch*, 208
- op. 44 *Gruß in die Ferne*, 204, 208, 283
- op. 46 *Danse infernale*, 208, 283
- op. 48 *Deutscher Siegesmarsch*, 202–3, 219, 282
- op. 49 *Zwei Mazurkas*, 43, 219
- op. 50 *In der Dämmerung, Improptu*, 219
- Apollo-Marsch* (WoO), 152
- Arabeske, 219, 286
- Der trauernde Humor, 219
- Drei Klavierstücke* (WoO), 219
- Heimweh, 219
- Unpublished Songs
1. Jul’ (1844), 125, 148, **WLB**
- Abschied (fragment, 1840), 75
- ‘Ach ich denke’ aus dem Roman ‘Die  
Mathildenhöhle’ (1840), 85–91,  
**88–90**
- Alpenglühn (1845), 128
- An die Leyer (1832), 35–36
- Auf dem Felsen (1861), 289
- Aus der Pilgerfahrt am Felix-Tage (likely  
1879), 284
- Blumengruß (“Die Blumen grüßen mich  
am Wege”) (1843), 125
- Der Großmutter erstes Angebinde in’s  
Wickelkissen ihres ersten Enkel’s  
Richard Fellinger (1871), 204

Deutsches Lied vom März (fragment,  
1848), 135

Die Wacht am Rhein (incomplete, 1841),  
264

Die Waldglocken (1862), 289

Du bist mir lieb (1879), 209–**10**

Ein musikalischer Tauf-Gruß und 'Toast'  
dem kleinen 'Hugo Wach' geweiht  
zum 30. Mai 1872, 206

Einzigster Trost (1863), **187**

Erinnerung ("Seit ich liebe muss ich lei-  
den") (1837), 38–39, **40**

Erstes Begegnen (fragment, 1840), 74, 96,  
264

Flieg' auf, o deutscher Adler (1848), 135

Frisch auf ihr Jäger" (before 1831), 23

Geständnis (1841), 264

Gruß der Engel an ein geätztes bezaubern-  
des Stimmband (1863), 201

Ich denke dein, im heil'gen Abendschim-  
mer (1838), 62, 64, **65**

Lieder des stillen Manns (fragment, likely  
1870), 281

Mutterlieb' sorget, Mutterlieb' wacht  
(1879), **211**

Namenloses ("Wenn auch Alles Täuschung  
wäre") (1838), 57, 61, 62, 64, 65,  
**67–68**, 69–71

Nichts über Ruh (1839), 45, 47, **48**

Ruhe (likely 1833), 36, **37**

Scheide-Gruß der theuren Freundin zur  
Abreise (1877), 208

Schlummerliedchen [for Felix Wach]  
(1871), 206, 284

Seligster Glaube (fragment, 1868), 187–88,  
**189**

Trinklied vor der Schlacht (before 1831), 23  
'Und noch von dir kein Wort' aus der  
Novelle 'Die Mathildenhöhle'  
(1840), 81–86 (**83–85**)

"Und wieder ist ein Tag dahin" [incipit].

See 'Und noch von dir kein Wort . . ."

Verfehlte Werbung (likely 1880), 217

Wiegenlied 'An den kleinen Prinzen Ulrich'  
(1880), 217, 284

Wo gehst du hin? Joh. 16, 5 (1873), 204

Zum 8ten Juni 1873. Taufe des kleinen  
Enkel Felix Robert Fellingner. 'Wer  
da glaubet und getauft wird, der  
wird selig werden.' Marc. 16, 16  
(1873), 204

Zur Erinnerung an 'Wh.' Aus Maltitz's  
Namenloser [*sic*] (1838), 57

#### Other Unpublished Compositions

Lied [Song without Words] (piano, 1841),  
109

Nocturno (piano, fragment, 1880), 218

Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin, first  
movement (1838), 258

# GENERAL INDEX

- accompaniment. *See* piano parts  
*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 130, 136, 288  
 ambiguity  
   metric, 70–71  
   tonal, 49, 69–70, 78–79  
 A. Michaelis (publisher), 219  
 Amsterdam, 144  
 André, Johann Anton (1775–1842;  
   composer), 15  
 Anton Diabelli & Co. (publisher), 133  
 Augsburg, 38, 50, 51, 57, 72, 157, 260  
*Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 63  
 autograph albums, 6, 43, 44, 72, 104, 205,  
   208, 252, 258, 259, 281  
 autographs, Köstlin's, 73, 74, 75, 91, 92,  
   93, 94, 95, 101, 105–7, 110, 114,  
   125, 128–29, 137, 145, 263, 269  
 autographs, Lang's, 3, 5, 15, 74, 76, 132,  
   134, 137, 159, 172, 173, 188, 204,  
   215, 216, 219, 223, 256, 264, 273  
   inscriptions on, 4, 13, 35, 45, 46, 57,  
   61, 62, 71, 96, 103, 104, 107, 108,  
   109, 118, 128, 176, 190, 201, 209,  
   213, 217, 222, 224, 228, 257, 258,  
   260, 264, 267, 279, 284, 285, 289  
   revisions in, 54–56, 123, 138, 143,  
   159–64, 166, 224, 262  
   title pages of, 4, 5, 14–15, 61–62, 221,  
   222, 228–29, 233  
 Bach, Johann Sebastian (1685–1750;  
   composer), 12, 22, 44, 156  
   *Wohltemperiertes Clavier*, 118  
 Bad Wildbad, 205  
 Baermann, Heinrich (1784–1847; clar-  
   inetist), 43, 60  
 Balzac, Honoré de (1799–1850; novelist),  
   15  
 Barbarossa, Friedrich (1122–90; Holy  
   Roman emperor), 135  
 Baroni-Cavalcabò, Julia von (1813–87;  
   composer), 219  
 Beethoven, Ludwig van (1770–1827;  
   composer), 11, 12, 22, 44, 117,  
   118, 156, 288  
   piano sonatas, 73  
   songs, 207–8  
 Bellini, Vincenzo (1801–35; composer),  
   76, 116, 263  
 Benecke, Marie née Mendelssohn  
   (1839–97; daughter of Felix  
   Mendelssohn), 183  
 Berlin, 24, 203, 285  
 Berlinghof, (first name unknown) (dates  
   unknown; Lang's piano teacher), 11,  
   12, 253  
 Bernbrunn, Carl Andreas Freiherr von.  
   *See* Carl, Carl  
 Boisserée, Sulpiz (1783–1854; art collec-  
   tor), 57–58, 101, 262  
 Bonn, 115, 184  
 Brahms, Johannes (1833–97; composer),  
   153, 219, 252, 286  
 Breitkopf und Härtel (publisher), 8, 133,  
   190, 218, 219, 225, 259, 286  
 B. Schott's Söhne (publisher), 132



- Bull, Ole (1810–80; violinist), 43  
 Bülow, Hans von (1830–94; conductor, composer), 158  
 Bulwer-Lytton, Edward G. D. (1803–73; novelist), 15  
 Byron, Lord George Gordon Noël (1788–1824; poet), 15, 39
- cadence, 20, 38, 49, 54, 70, 79, 87, 104, 108, 114, 122, 147, 164  
 evaded, 20, 54, 68  
 expanded cadential progression, 89, 91, 177  
 Phrygian, 215  
 plagal, 125
- Calatin, Agnes von (1813–44; singer; poet), 45–47, 50, 101, 226, 230, 259, 260, 287
- Cannabich, Carl (1771–1806; composer), 9
- Carl, Carl (Carl Andreas Freiherr von Bernbrunn) (1787–1854; theater director), 6, 10
- Carl, Margarethe née Lang (1788–1861; Lang's aunt), 6, 10, 72, 127, 271
- Carl Haslinger qm Tobias (publisher), 278
- Caroline, queen mother of Bavaria (1776–1841), 73, 254
- C. F. Peters (publisher), 207
- Chamisso, Adelbert von (1781–1838; writer), 285  
*Frauenliebe und Leben*, 285
- Chopin, Frédéric (1810–49; composer, pianist), 43, 44, 258, 261  
*Fantasia on Polish Airs*, op. 13, 43  
*Piano Concerto in E minor*, op. 11, 43
- chorale style, 199, 200, 209, 215
- chromatic harmony. *See* harmony
- Cologne, 115
- Corelli, Arcangelo (1653–1713; composer), 156
- counterpoint, 24  
 imitative, 47, 99  
 between voice and piano melodies, 20, 41, 47, 227
- Cramer, Jean-Baptiste (1771–1858; pianist, composer), 43, 157
- Danzy, Franz (1763–1826; composer), 15, 264
- Desbordes-Valmore, Marceline (1786–1859; poet), 15  
*Deutsche Musik-Zeitung*, 169
- Devrient, Eduard (1801–77; actor, singer), 183, 270
- Diabelli. *See* Anton Diabelli & Co.
- Diruf, Marie née Girtl (1834–?; Hiller correspondent), 185
- dissonance, 19, 39, 78, 82, 131, 138, 200, 216, 227, 232  
 unresolved, 78, 79, 136
- Dreyschock, Alexander (1818–69; pianist, composer), 269
- Droste-Hülshoff, Annette von (1797–1848; writer, composer), 219
- dynamics, 54, 111, 196, 215, 285  
 unexpected, 56, 108, 111, 159, 178, 180, 199, 209, 223, 228, 231–32
- Ebner. *See* Eduard Ebner; Verlag der Ebner'schen Kunst- und Musikhandlung
- Eckermann, Johann Peter (1792–1854; secretary to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe), 39
- Eduard Ebner (publisher), 208, 281
- E. H. Schuncke (publisher), 219
- Eichthal, Wilhelm von (1805–47; diplomat), 57–64, 68, 69, 71–72, 92, 162, 166, 222, 229, 233, 261, 262, 263, 288
- Elsner, Joseph (1769–1854; composer), 261
- Esser, Heinrich (1818–72; composer), 135
- Eugen, Duke of Württemberg (1846–77), 158
- Europa, Chronik der gebildeten Welt* (journal), 62
- Evers, Cathinka (1822–?; singer, actress), 77, 105
- Eyth, Eduard (1809–84; pedagogue), 223, 224, 231
- Faßt, Immanuel (1823–94; conductor, composer), 117, 128
- Falter und Sohn (publisher), 15, 133
- Feldmann, Leopold (1801–82), 20

- Fellinger, Imogen (1928–2001; musicologist, Lang's great-great-granddaughter), 252
- Fellinger, Maria née Köstlin (1849–1925; Lang's daughter), 5, 6, 136, 137, 188, 201–3, 205, 217–18, 219, 252, 272, 283
- Fellinger, Richard (1848–1903; Lang's son-in-law), 6, 201–3, 204–5, 252
- Fellinger, Richard, Jr. (1872–1952; Lang's grandson), 6, 203, 204, 217
- Fellinger, Robert (1873–1955; Lang's grandson), 6, 203, 204, 217
- Field, John (1782–1837; composer, pianist), 11
- form  
   period, 54, 194, 197  
   sentence, 87–89, 265  
   strophic, 16, 82, 138, 215  
   ternary, 54, 86
- Forster, Louise von née von Eichthal (1807–65; sister of Wilhelm von Eichthal), 57, 62, 262
- Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), 202–3
- Frankfurt, 115, 135, 136
- Franz, Robert (1815–92; composer), 170
- Friedrich Kistner (publisher), 110, 126, 154, 225, 251, 271
- Gartenlaube* (popular journal), 183
- G. A. Zumsteeg (publisher), 278
- gender, 135–36, 154, 155, 169, 195–97, 216, 222, 226–27, 277
- Gerok, Carl (1815–90; theologian, poet), 203, 231
- Gluck, Christoph Willibald (1714–87; composer), 156
- Goerres, Maria née Vespermann (1823–86; singer, composer), 44, 226, 258
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749–1832; poet), 12, 15, 16, 20, 22, 25, 27, 38, 39, 95, 256
- Goltermann, Julius (1825–76; cellist), 156–57
- Greece, 58, 60, 62, 262
- Greifswald, 142
- Hahn-Hahn, Ida Gräfin (1822–80; writer), 264
- Handel, Georg Friedrich (1685–1759; composer), 117, 156, 158
- Handley, Delphine. *See* Hill-Handley, Delphine née von Schauroth
- Hanno, A. (dates unknown; artist), 103, 267
- harmony, 16, 26, 49, 71, 78–79, 89, 91, 99, 131, 135, 136, 137, 159, 160, 161–62, 163–64, 171, 181, 191, 193, 196–97, 200, 209, 211, 215–16, 227, 231
- augmented sixth chord (German), 16, 19, 196
- augmented triad, 82, 200
- chromatic progression, 69, 87, 215, 216, 227
- chromatic third relation, 19, 36, 49, 104, 125, 172, 177, 188, 227, 228
- diminished-seventh chord, 33, 36, 38, 89, 199, 200, 209
- minor-ninth chord, 36, 39, 82, 216
- mode mixture, 16, 19, 41–42, 49, 104, 147, 182, 197, 200, 209
- modulation, 19, 33, 36, 53, 54, 125, 138, 160, 163–64, 177, 188, 226, 227, 228
- Neapolitan sixth chord, 38, 69, 82
- off-tonic opening, 49, 69, 104
- sequence, 54, 211
- tonal dualism, 163–64, 278
- tonicization, 26, 33, 122, 125
- Haslinger. *See* Tobias Haslinger; Carl Haslinger qm Tobias
- Hauser, Franz (1794–1870; singer), 24, 43, 132–33, 148, 225
- Haydn, Joseph (1732–1809; composer), 11, 117, 156
- Heine, Heinrich (1797–1856; poet), 15, 52, 53, 56, 141, 173, 264
- Heller, Stephen (1813–88; composer, pianist), 6, 38, 50–53, 54, 56, 57, 74, 103, 157, 221, 225, 256, 260
- hemiola. *See* metrical dissonance

- Hensel, Fanny née Mendelssohn  
(1805–47; composer), 24, 219,  
226, 273, 287  
“Italien,” 15, 254
- Henselt, Adolf (1814–89; pianist, com-  
poser), 43
- Herbert, George (1593–1633; poet), 15
- Herz, Henri (1803–88; pianist, com-  
poser), 11
- Hill-Handley, Delphine née von Schauroth  
(1814?–87?; pianist, composer), 44,  
226, 255  
Caprice for Piano, 44  
*Sonata brillante in C minor*, 44
- Hiller, Antolka (1820–96; wife of Ferdi-  
nand Hiller), 185
- Hiller, Ferdinand (1811–85; composer,  
conductor), 4, 5, 6, 24, 25, 43, 50,  
51, 117, 152, 154–59, 165–67,  
168–69, 170–72, 183–86, 188,  
206, 207, 224, 225–26, 251, 252,  
272, 278, 280, 286, 288  
*Passion* (unpublished?), 156  
*Christnacht*, op. 79, 156
- Hiller, Tony (1850–1931; daughter of  
Ferdinand Hiller), 183
- Hitzelberger, Regina. *See* Lang, Regina née  
Hitzelberger
- Hitzelberger, Sabine née Renk  
(1755–1817; singer, Lang’s grand-  
mother), 9, 10, 226
- Hoeslin, Caroline von née von Eichthal  
(1792–1866; sister of Wilhelm von  
Eichthal), 50, 57
- Hoffmann, Karl Heinrich Ludwig  
(1807–81; *Pfleger*, husband of  
Lang’s cousin by marriage), 149–50,  
167, 188, 276
- Hoffmann, Mathilde née Köstlin  
(1815–67; Lang’s cousin by  
marriage), 167
- Hölty, Ludwig (1748–77; poet), 16, 20
- Hugo, Victor (1802–85; poet, novelist),  
15
- Hummel, Johann Nepomuk (1778–1837;  
pianist, composer), 11, 12
- humor, 50, 101, 222  
in Lang’s songs, 176–77, 195, 197,  
198–200
- hypermeter, 257  
four-bar, 32, 91, 123, 125, 128, 135,  
143, 199, 215, 257  
hypermetric expansion, 20, 32, 38,  
91, 123, 125, 128, 143, 147, 232,  
262  
hypermetric irregularity, 19, 30, 32, 33,  
38, 68, 89, 91, 123, 228
- introduction, 26, 27, 28–30, 37, 38, 39,  
63, 69, 70, 71, 72, 78, 99, 104,  
138, 176–77, 181, 182, 187, 195,  
196, 198, 199, 200, 279  
anticipation of later material in, 16, 19,  
30, 32–33, 54, 64–65, 111, 125,  
138, 140–41, 160, 180, 228, 278  
anticipation of meaning of poem in,  
29–30, 38, 160, 166, 192, 193,  
231
- Italy, 95, 100, 101, 137–38
- Jacobi, Johann Georg (1740–1814; poet),  
8, 19, 20
- Jäger, Marie née Müller (1812–64; Lang’s  
stepsister by marriage), 6, 115, 118,  
128, 136, 142, 143, 146, 147, 149,  
151, 167, 263
- Joest, Eduard (1821–92; merchant), 185
- Johann Georg Müller (publisher), 133
- J. Rieter-Biedermann (publisher), 154,  
190
- Kalkbrenner, Frédéric (1785–1849;  
pianist, composer), 11
- Kauffmann, Karl Emil (1836–1909;  
composer, conductor), 218
- Kerner, Justinus (1786–1862; poet, physi-  
cian), 36, 45, 46, 47, 101, 126,  
257, 259
- Kinkel, Johanna, formerly Mathieux née  
Mockel (1810–58; composer), 219
- Kistner. *See* Friedrich Kistner
- Klätke, Hermann (1813–86; poet), 38

- Kleinschrod, Ottilie née Stieler  
(1836–1913; poet, daughter of  
Lang's godfather), 187, 230
- Klingemann, Sophie née Rosen (1822–91;  
Hiller correspondent), 183
- Klitzsch, Emanuel (1812–89; organist,  
composer, critic), 136
- Klüpfel, Sophie née Freiin von Podewils  
(1822–75; acquaintance of Lang),  
269
- Kölner Zeitung*, 166, 169, 171, 183, 184, 225
- Körner, Theodor (1791–1813; writer), 20
- Köstlin, Adelheid (1823–86; Lang's sister-  
in-law), 115, 118
- Köstlin, Christian Reinhold (1813–56;  
poet, law professor), 3, 6, 7, 20, 25,  
73–114, 115–48, 149, 150–51, 152,  
157, 158, 162, 167, 170, 172, 182,  
185, 188, 201, 205, 209, 212–13,  
222, 223, 226, 228, 229, 231, 232,  
260, 263, 271, 277, 287, 289  
birthday poems, 108, 118, 131–32,  
137, 141, 145, 147–48, 222  
Christmas poems, 146, 222  
diary, poems as, 7, 73, 91, 92, 100,  
106, 212  
*Die Matbildenhöhle*, 76–78, 81, 272  
as dramatist, 73, 270, 271  
health, 73, 91, 142, 143, 145–46,  
147–48, 152, 166, 223, 275  
legal writings, 132, 150–51  
literary publications (various), 132,  
151, 272  
*Real und Ideal*, 127  
solitary journeys, 124, 127–28, 133,  
137, 145–46  
“Totdenopfer für Felix Mendelssohn-  
Bartholdy [*sic*],” 134
- Köstlin, Eugen (1845–80; Lang's son),  
128, 144–45, 146, 170, 171, 203,  
217, 285
- Köstlin, Felix (1842–67; Lang's son), 123,  
124, 127, 128, 131, 141–42, 145,  
146, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173,  
184, 186, 206, 228, 231, 232, 276,  
279, 281
- Köstlin, Heinrich Adolf (1846–1907;  
Lang's son and biographer), 4, 5,  
102, 131, 186, 202, 203, 209, 217,  
218–19, 231, 255, 266, 272, 285
- Köstlin, Maria. *See* Fellingner, Maria née  
Köstlin
- Köstlin, Nathanael Friedrich (1776–1855;  
Lang's father-in-law), 7, 73, 93,  
108, 115, 118, 141–42, 263
- Köstlin, Sophie née Gerok (1847–1930;  
Lang's daughter-in-law), 203, 217,  
231
- Köstlin, Theobald (1844–73; Lang's son),  
127, 128, 141, 142, 145, 148,  
155–56, 170, 171, 202, 203–4, 205
- Köstlin, Therese. *See* Schleich, Therese née  
Köstlin
- Köstlin, Therese (1877–1964; Lang's  
granddaughter), 6, 203, 217
- Köstlin, Wilhelm (1818–88; Lang's  
brother-in-law), 167
- Köstlin, Wilhelmine (Mimi) (1824–1904;  
Lang's cousin by marriage), 115,  
225
- Köstlin, Wilhelmine née Mayer  
(1798–1867; Lang's aunt by  
marriage), 115
- Kreuth, 7, 73–75, 78, 91, 92, 101, 102,  
104, 125, 145–46
- Kühn. *See* T. F. A. Kühn
- Kunde, Felix (dates unknown; poet), 180
- Lachner, Franz (1803–90; composer,  
conductor), 43, 44, 132, 148, 169,  
225, 258
- Lachner, Ignaz (1807–95; composer,  
conductor), 43
- Lang, Anton (1804–?; Lang's half-  
brother?), 253
- Lang, Ferdinand (1810–82; actor, Lang's  
brother), 6, 9, 10, 100–1, 150, 217
- Lang, Franz (1785–1853; horn player,  
Lang's great-uncle), 9, 253
- Lang, Josephine (1815–80)  
appearance, 23, 50, 52, 59–60, 158,  
188, 190, 222

Lang, Josephine (*continued*)

compositional process, 5, 13, 75, 159,  
162, 215, 224, 228, 257, 287, 288  
diary, prose, 4, 7, 74, 95, 96, 265, 276  
diary, songs as, 8, 57, 61–63, 71–72,  
98–99, 104–5, 108–9, 111, 114,  
143, 161–62, 200, 213–15, 216,  
228–233, 288  
financial circumstances, 13, 24, 44,  
117–18, 141, 144–45, 146,  
149–52, 154, 159, 167, 169, 170,  
182, 184–85, 188, 190, 205–6,  
223, 226, 275, 276, 280  
health, 9, 12, 73, 74–75, 101, 125,  
127, 148, 151, 158, 159, 167, 170,  
171, 182, 188, 190, 202, 205–6,  
222, 223, 228  
as housewife, 110, 118, 126–27, 223,  
271  
memoirs (biographical notes), 4, 167,  
170, 171, 172, 252, 288  
musical training, 10–12, 15, 24, 44,  
51, 72, 222, 256  
opinion of contemporary music, 155–56  
pedagogical activities, 13, 15, 22, 43,  
151, 158–59, 186, 188, 190,  
205–6, 207, 223  
as performer, 10, 11, 13, 15, 22–24,  
43, 46, 51, 73–74, 95, 133, 151,  
158, 171, 188, 223, 225, 229, 255,  
263, 272  
personality, 56, 59–60, 96, 126, 127,  
155, 184, 208, 221–24, 226  
productivity, 15, 35, 38, 39, 42, 72,  
104, 110, 118, 123–25, 127, 130,  
131–32, 134, 137, 141, 148, 182,  
186, 204, 208, 224, 272  
professionalism, 25, 44, 127, 152,  
223–27  
publishing activities, 25, 35, 39, 53, 62,  
71–72, 77, 80–81, 103–4, 110,  
126, 130, 132–33, 137, 143, 144,  
146, 148, 151–52, 153–54, 168,  
169, 185–86, 201, 208, 224–25,  
226, 252, 254, 257, 267, 271, 275,  
278, 281, 287

religion, 93, 108, 115, 141, 149, 150,  
204, 209, 222, 275

Lang, Margarethe (Meta) (dates unknown;  
Lang's half-sister), 13, 115, 149,  
150, 254

Lang, Marianne (Anna) née Boudet  
(1755–1835; Lang's grandmother),  
10, 13

Lang, Martin (1755–1819; horn player,  
Lang's grandfather), 9

Lang, Regina née Hitzelberger (1786–1827;  
singer, Lang's mother), 9, 10, 11,  
12, 13, 226, 253

Lang, Theobald (1783–1839; violinist,  
Lang's father), 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15,  
24, 72, 253

Lang, Therese, widowed Seligmann née  
Dietl (1799?–?; Lang's stepmother),  
13, 24, 133, 137, 150, 254

Lechner, Leopold (dates unknown; writer),  
77

Lenau, Nikolaus (1802–50; poet), 46, 73,  
168

Lenz, Leopold (1804–62; singer, com-  
poser), 15, 42

*Lieder-Kranz gewunden von den vorzüglichsten  
Tonsetzern*, 103–4, 146, 224–25, 267

Lind, Jenny (1820–87; singer), 133

Lindpaintner, Peter Joseph (1791–1856;  
composer, conductor), 117

Liszt, Franz (1811–86; composer, pianist),  
117, 156, 157, 269

Lorenz, Oswald (1806–89; critic), 258, 268

Ludwig I, king of Bavaria (1786–1868),  
12, 20, 58

Maltitz, Apollonius Freiherr von  
(1795–1870; poet), 20, 69

Malybrok-Stieler, Ottilie (pseudonym).  
*See* Kleinschrod, Ottilie née Stieler

Marx, Adolf Bernhard (1795–1866;  
composer, theorist), 23, 24, 225,  
254, 255

Matthisson, Friedrich von (1761–1831;  
poet), 20, 27

Mecchetti. *See* Pietro Mecchetti qdm. Carlo

- melodic structure, 16, 55, 64–65, 82, 88,  
138, 166, 171, 173–74, 180, 188,  
191, 193, 209, 227, 282
- changes of direction, 27, 35, 70,  
79–80, 82, 99, 122
- chromaticism, 19, 26–27, 38, 54, 70,  
104, 138, 200, 211, 262
- filling-in of intervals, 27, 49, 54, 122,  
164, 180, 194, 216
- large leaps, 27, 32, 41, 42, 54, 82, 85, 87,  
99, 136, 174, 187, 198–99, 216, 228
- striving toward a melodic goal, 41,  
49–50, 70, 82, 105, 108, 111, 114,  
122, 138, 140–41, 180, 181, 188,  
192, 227, 232, 266
- Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Fanny. *See* Hensel,  
Fanny née Mendelssohn
- Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Felix (1809–47;  
composer), 6, 7, 11, 22–25, 33, 35,  
42, 43, 44, 51, 58–61, 63, 64, 74,  
102, 103, 104, 109–10, 117, 118,  
123–24, 125, 126, 128, 130, 134,  
135, 148, 156–57, 167, 168, 183,  
184, 191, 206, 207, 219, 221, 225,  
226, 227, 251, 255, 256, 261, 267,  
270, 278, 287, 288
- “Altdeutsches Lied,” op. 57 no. 1, 104,  
267
- Cello Sonata*, op. 45, 156
- “Gruss,” op. 63 no. 3, 282
- A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Overture,  
op. 21, 22, 118
- Octet*, op. 20, 22
- Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Paul (1812–74;  
banker, brother of Felix Mendels-  
sohn), 184–85
- metrical dissonance, 181
- displacement dissonance (syncopation),  
30, 33, 39, 173, 199, 279, 282
- grouping dissonance (hemiola), 32,  
173, 181–82, 279
- Michaelis. *See* A. Michaelis
- Moralt, Peter (1844–after 1866; violinist),  
258
- Moscheles, Ignaz (1794–1870; pianist,  
composer), 255
- motivic development, 32, 33, 141
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756–91;  
composer), 11, 12, 135, 156, 253
- Der Schauspieldirektor*, K. 486, 277
- Trio*, K. 498, 158, 277
- Müller. *See* Johann Georg Müller
- Müller, Carl (1813–81; artist, Lang’s  
stepbrother by marriage), 128, 157,  
170, 207
- Müller, Niclas (1809–75; poet), 173
- Müller, Wilhelm (1794–1827; poet), 15,  
20, 61, 173
- Munich, 9, 11, 12, 13, 22, 23, 24, 25, 42,  
43, 44, 46, 50, 57, 58, 60, 62, 72,  
101, 110, 128–29, 132, 149, 150,  
151, 171, 172, 184, 188, 217, 221,  
225, 226, 255, 259, 281, 287
- Academy concerts, 44
- Museum Society, 11, 253
- Odeon Theatre, 43
- opera in, 12, 44, 253
- Philharmonic Society, 43
- Royal Chapel Choir, 43–44, 72
- salons, 15, 19, 22, 43, 223, 225
- schools and education in, 13–14
- Neue Musik-Zeitung*, 219
- Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 42, 52, 53, 56,  
130, 136, 258, 260, 268, 273,  
284
- Neukomm, Sigismund (1778–1858;  
composer), 117
- Niedernau, 167
- Niemeyer. *See* Verlag von G. W. Niemeyer
- Niemeyer, Felix von (1820–71; physician),  
205, 231, 284
- Niemeyer, Therese von née Reinstein  
(1822–1903; poet, friend of Lang),  
211, 217, 231, 284
- Niendorf, Emma. *See* Suckow, Emma von  
née Calatin
- Nindorf, Emma von. *See* Suckow, Emma  
von née Calatin
- Nissen, Constanze, widowed Mozart née  
Weber (1762–1842), 72
- N. Simrock (publisher), 133, 278

- Paris, 43, 51, 103, 183  
 Parish-Alvars, Elias (1808–49; composer, harpist), 269  
 Paul, Jean. *See* Richter, Jean Paul  
 pedal tone, 87, 99, 163, 164, 197, 209, 266, 278  
 Pentenrieder, Franz Xaver (1813–67, composer), 42  
 performances  
     by Lang. *See* Lang, Josephine  
     that Lang heard, 12, 22, 43, 116, 117, 156–57, 269  
     of Lang's music by others, 23–24, 25, 43, 46, 115, 135, 144, 201, 202, 225, 283  
 Peters. *See* C. F. Peters  
 piano parts (of Lang's songs), 136, 171  
     accompaniment patterns, 16, 19, 26, 39, 82, 85, 104, 110, 114, 125, 133, 138, 143, 171, 172, 173, 188, 196, 199, 200, 209, 211, 227, 256, 279  
     difficulty, 19, 35, 104, 111, 133, 172, 191, 193, 227  
     interaction with vocal line, 20, 35, 39, 41, 47, 82, 99, 131, 138, 188, 195–96, 197, 215, 227  
     thick texture, 36, 55, 56, 180, 227–28  
 Pietro Mecchetti qdm. Carlo (publisher), 133  
 Platen, August Graf von (1796–1835; poet), 15, 19, 20, 39, 63, 162, 278  
 Polko, Elise née Vogel (1823–99; singer, writer), 176  
 postlude, 27, 39, 64, 65, 70, 78, 79, 85, 99, 104, 108, 114, 123, 125, 134, 172, 193, 195, 199, 200, 228, 256  
     summarizing earlier material, 33, 50, 54, 122, 215  
 Preetorius, Fernanda née von Pappenheim (1806–80; aunt of Agnes von Calatin), 46, 259  
 Pruckner, Dionys (1834–96; pianist), 156–57  
 Prutz, Robert (1816–72; writer), 174, 176  
 register, 9, 65, 108, 111, 114, 122, 123, 159, 180, 188, 195, 200, 232  
     fluctuations in, 27, 28–30, 32–33, 35, 37, 49–50, 99, 138, 193, 198–99  
 Reichardt, Johann Friedrich (1752–1814; composer, writer, critic), 135  
 Reichardt, Luise (1779–1826; composer), 219  
 reviews of Lang's music, 52, 53, 54, 130–31, 136, 141, 144, 146–47, 148, 169–70, 225, 226–27, 258, 268, 272, 284, 288  
 Revolution of 1848, 134–36  
 Richter, Jean Paul (1763–1825; writer), 15, 50  
 Rieter-Biedermann. *See* J. Rieter-Biedermann  
 Rossini, Gioacchino (1792–1868; composer), 12  
 Rubinstein, Anton (1829–94; pianist, composer), 43  
 Rückert, Friedrich (1788–1866; poet), 15  
 Salzburg, 72  
 Samson-Himmelstierna, Baron Oscar von (1844–1906), 207–8, 213–14, 226  
 Samson-Himmelstierna, Baronin Emma von née von Moeller (1848–1912; wife of Baron Oscar von Samson-Himmelstierna), 207–8, 209, 213–14, 284  
 Samson-Himmelstierna, Ida (1873–78; daughter of Emma and Oscar von Samson-Himmelstierna), 214, 285  
 Schaueroth, Delphine von. *See* Hill-Handley, Delphine née von Schaueroth  
 Schebest, Agnese (1813–69; singer), 73, 76, 93, 97, 101, 102, 105, 106, 108, 116, 263  
 Schefer, Leopold (1784–1862; writer, composer), 45, 261  
 Scheffel, Joseph Viktor von (1826–86; writer), 190–91, 193, 194, 197, 198, 200, 282, 287  
 Scherzer, Otto (1821–86; composer, conductor), 201, 283

- Schiller, Friedrich von (1759–1805; poet), 15, 16, 20, 152, 224
- Schindler, Alexander Julius (1818–85; writer), 209
- Schinn, Fanny (dates unknown; singer), 72
- Schleich, Johannes (Hans) (1834–1912; singer, artist, Lang's son-in-law), 200–1, 203, 222, 225, 282, 283
- Schleich, Therese née Köstlin (1847–1914; Lang's daughter), 133, 201–2, 203, 217, 219, 283
- Schlesinger'sche Buch- und Musikhandlung (publisher), 278
- Schlude, Anton (1808–66; poet), 264
- Schneckenburger, Max (1819–49; poet), 264
- Schott. *See* B. Schott's Söhne
- Schubert, Franz (1797–1828; composer), 15, 117, 156, 159–60, 161, 207–8, 219, 288  
*16 Deutsche und 2 Ecossaises*, op. 33 (D. 783), 20  
*36 Originaltänze*, op. 9 (D. 365), 20  
 "Der Wanderer," D. 489, 15  
*Die schöne Müllerin*, D. 795, 15, 61  
*Winterreise*, D. 911, 133, 173, 279, 282, 288
- Schumann, Clara née Wieck (1819–96; pianist, composer), 6, 44, 56, 114, 152–54, 219, 226, 276
- Schumann, Robert (1810–56; composer), 38, 44, 50–56, 57, 114, 153, 156, 170, 219, 220, 225, 258, 260, 273, 288–89  
*Dichterliebe*, op. 48, 288  
*Frühlingsnacht, Liederkreis*, op. 39 no. 12, 256  
*Intermezzi*, op. 4, 260  
*Myrthen*, op. 25, 153
- Schuncke. *See* E. H. Schuncke
- Seligmann, Karl (dates unknown; Lang's stepbrother), 13, 254
- Shakespeare, William (1564–1616, dramatist), 15, 76
- Sigl-Vespermann, Katharina. *See* Vespermann, Katharina née Sigl
- Silcher, Friedrich (1789–1860; conductor, composer), 116–17, 135, 225
- Simrock. *See* N. Simrock
- song cycle, 62, 64–72, 81, 162, 229
- Spitzweg, Simon (1776–1828; Munich city magistrate), 14
- Spohr, Ludwig (Louis) (1784–1859; composer), 117
- Stieler, Carl (1842–85; poet, son of Lang's godfather), 185, 230, 286, 289
- Stieler, Joseph (1781–1858; artist, Lang's godfather), 12, 13, 22, 24, 58, 59–60, 92, 100, 101, 102, 105, 187, 222, 230, 281  
 house in Tegernsee (*Stielerhäus'l*), 12, 74, 92
- Stieler, Josephine née von Miller (1809–90; wife of Joseph Stieler), 13, 22, 101, 230, 289
- Stieler, Ottilie. *See* Kleinschrod, Ottilie née Stieler
- Stürmer. *See* Theodor Stürmer
- Stuttgart, 73, 110, 115, 116, 117, 141, 152, 156–58, 226
- Suckow, Emma von née von Calatin (1807–76; writer), 45, 46, 101, 102, 116, 168
- Tartini, Giuseppe (1692–1770; composer), 156
- Taubert, Wilhelm (1811–91; composer), 43
- teaching. *See* Lang, Josephine
- Tegernsee, 12–13, 46, 72, 74, 75, 91–92, 93, 94, 95, 100, 104, 128, 257, 259
- text repetition, 20, 36, 85, 91, 104, 111, 114, 166, 182, 194, 215, 216, 230, 231–32, 288–89
- T. F. A. Kühn (publisher), 208
- Thalberg, Sigismond (1812–71; pianist, composer), 43
- Theodor Stürmer (publisher), 169
- Tieck, Ludwig (1753–1853; writer), 15
- Tobias Haslinger (publisher), 52, 53, 225, 267
- Tobias Haslingers Witwe und Sohn (publisher), 133



- Traun, Julius von der (pseudonym). *See*  
Schindler, Alexander Julius
- Tübingen, 46, 95, 116–17, 118, 126, 128,  
132, 134, 136, 142, 149, 150, 151,  
156, 158, 171, 200, 201, 203, 205,  
206, 207, 208, 213, 217, 218, 223,  
225, 226, 228, 230, 231, 277, 283,  
285  
Akademische Liedertafel, 116, 117,  
135, 218  
Museum, 117, 134, 188  
Oratorienverein, 117, 156, 218, 269  
University, 73, 116, 117–18, 134, 142,  
149, 150, 158, 208, 218  
*Tübinger Chronik*, 217  
Turkey, 60, 61
- Uhland, Ludwig (1787–1862; poet), 126,  
159, 257, 278
- Ulrich, prince of Württemberg  
(1880–80), 217–18
- Valmore. *See* Desbordes-Valmore, Marceline
- Verlag der Ebner'schen Kunst- und  
Musikhandlung (publisher), 278
- Verlag von G. W. Niemeyer (publisher),  
169, 278
- Vespermann, Katharina née Sigl (1802–77;  
singer), 43, 44, 225, 258
- Vespermann, Maria. *See* Goerres, Maria née  
Vespermann
- Vesque von Püttlingen, Johann (1803–83;  
composer), 261
- Vienna, 72, 143–44
- Vieuxtemps, Henri (1820–81; violinist,  
composer), 43
- Villa Köstlin, 117–18, 128, 150, 184, 217
- Vogler, Abbé Georg Joseph (1749–1814;  
composer), 9
- voice leading, anomalous, 19, 80, 126,  
130, 136, 147, 268
- Wach, Elisabeth (Lily) née Mendelssohn  
Bartholdy (1845–1910; daughter of  
Felix Mendelssohn), 206
- Wach, Felix (1871–1943; grandson of  
Felix Mendelssohn), 206
- Wach, Hugo (1872–1939; grandson of  
Felix Mendelssohn), 206
- Wagner, Richard (1813–83; composer),  
156, 277, 282
- Walther, Friedrich (1822–74; lawyer),  
151
- Weber, Carl Maria von (1786–1826;  
composer), 9, 135  
“Minnelied,” op. 30 no. 4, 217  
“Schwäbisches Bettlerlied,” op. 25 no. 4,  
15  
“Und ob die Wolke sich verhülle,” from  
*Der Freischütz*, 15  
“Wunsch und Entsagung,” op. 66 no. 4,  
15
- Wildbad Kreuth. *See* Kreuth
- Wildermuth, Ottilie née Rooschütz  
(1817–77; writer), 150, 170,  
230–31, 289
- Wilhelm II, king of Württemberg  
(1848–1921), 158, 188, 208,  
217–18
- Winnenden, 186
- Winnenthal, 167–68, 170, 173, 186
- Winter, Peter von (1754–1825; com-  
poser), 9
- Zeller, Albert (1804–77; physician), 6,  
168, 173, 231, 279
- Zeller, Eduard (1814–1908; philosopher),  
185
- Zelter, Carl (1758–1832; composer), 24
- Zumsteeg. *See* G. A. Zumsteeg
- Zumsteeg, Emilie (1796–1857; composer,  
conductor), 219, 226, 287