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Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

Josephine Lang's Goethe, Heine and Uhland Lieder: Contextualizing her Contribution to Nineteenth-Century German Song

(2 Volumes)

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Abbreviations

AmZ	*Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*
BA	Goethe, *Berliner Ausgabe*
DA	Heine, *Düsseldorfer Ausgabe*
GdMF	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna
GMO	*Grove Music Online*
GW	Uhland, *Gesammelte Werke*
NZfM	*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*
SPK	Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
WLB	Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart

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Introduction

1.1 Rationale for the Study

Josephine Lang, a composer of over 300 songs, made a unique contribution to the German Lied tradition, yet the importance of her musical voice is only gradually beginning to be recognized today. A large-scale study by Harald and Sharon Krebs, *Josephine Lang, Her Life and Songs,* appeared in 2007.[1] They have each published numerous articles on Lang individually,[2] in addition to their formidable edition of Lang's Köstlin settings by Strube Verlag[3] and two volumes of Lang's Lieder published by Hildegard Publishing,[4] and have thus emerged as the leading scholars in Lang studies. The diverse work undertaken by Harald and Sharon Krebs has focussed on presenting an accurate account of Lang's biography through an examination of letters, serious analysis of her songs including examination of manuscript sources,

[1] Harald Krebs & Sharon Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, *Her Life and Songs* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[2] Harald Krebs, 'Irregularités Hypermetriques dans les Lieder de Josephine Lang', in *Revue de Musique Classique et Romantique* (October 1999), 33–57; 'Josephine Lang and the Schumanns', in *Nineteenth-Century Music: Selected Proceedings from the Tenth International Conference*, ed. by Jim Samson & Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 343–64; 'Josephine Langs "Eichthal-Lieder", in *Musik in Bayern*, 65/66 (2003), 61–83; 'Ihre Lieder waren ihr Tagebuch… Neues zu Josephine Langs Münchener Kreis', in *Literatur in Bayern*, 72 (June 2003), 32–41; 'Josephine Lang (1815–1880)', in *Women Composers: Music Through the Ages*, ed. by Sylvia Glickman and Martha Furman Schliefer (New York: G.K. Hall, 1996–), VII: *Composers Born 1800–1899*, *Vocal Music* (2004), pp. 113–42; 'Hypermeter and Hypermetric Irregularity in the Songs of Josephine Lang', in *Engaging Music*, ed. by Deborah Stein (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); pp. 13–29; 'The "Power of Class" in a New Perspective: A Comparison of the Compositional Careers of Fanny Hensel and Josephine Lang', in *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 4/2, ed. by Bennett Zon (December 2007), 37–48.

Sharon Krebs, '"My Songs are My Diary": An Investigation of Autobiographical Content in the Köstlin Settings of Josephine Lang' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of Victoria, 2001); 'Meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch'—Autobiographisches in den Liedern und Liedmanuskripten Josephine Langs', in *Musik in Baden-Württemberg*, *Jahrbuch*, 9, ed. by Georg Günther und Reiner Nägele (2002) 121–36; 'Eine oberbayerische Idylle… Josephine Lang und Christian Reinhold Köstlin in Kreuth und am Tegernsee', in *Literatur in Bayern*, 72 (June 2003), 42–45 & 58–65; 'Josephine Lang (1815–1880): Die Jahre in Tübingen', in *klangwelten:lebenswelten. komponistinnen in südwestdeutschland*, ed. by Martina Rebmann und Reiner Nägele (Karlsruhe & Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 2004), pp. 62–89.

[3] Josephine Lang, *Lieder nach Texten von Reinhold Köstlin*, *Denkmäler der Musik in Baden-Württemberg*, ed. by Harald Krebs in collaboration with Sharon Krebs (Munich: Strube Verlag, 2008).

[4] Josephine Lang, *Lieder for Voice and Piano*, ed. by Harald Krebs (Bryn Mawr: Hildegard, 2007), I & II.

analysis of Lang's Lieder and in particular the consideration of Lang's Köstlin settings as a 'diary'.

Lang's unique gift for song composition was recognized in her own day by such musicians as Felix Mendelssohn and Robert Schumann and by other leading critics in contemporary reviews. While Harald and Sharon Krebs' work contains perceptive musical analysis, there remains a lacuna in Lang scholarship for a detailed investigation of Lang's contribution to German song through her musical engagement with the poetry of prominent literary figures.[5] The exceptional work carried out by Harald and Sharon Krebs thus created the possibility for a study that contextualizes Lang's Lieder in the manner of Susan Youens' work on Heine, Wolf, Schubert and Müller[6] and Lorraine Byrne Bodley's work on Schubert's Goethe settings.[7] It is therefore hoped that this study shall further develop our knowledge of Lang's contribution to the nineteenth-century Lied.

When studying Lang's songs, it became increasingly apparent to this author that Lang's status as a 'woman composer' had a profound impact on her music and career and that in order to highlight Lang's achievement in song, the socio-cultural background to her Lieder would have to be explored. Therefore, a sociological consideration of Lang and her musical environment, which thus far has not been

[5] Three studies consider Lang's settings of specific poets: Karin Strey, 'Die Lenau Vertonungen von Josephine Lang (unpublished master's dissertation. Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1991); Andrea Hartmann, *Klavierlieder nach Gedichten von Ludwig Uhland und Justinus Kerner. Ein Beitrag zum musikalischen Biedermeier am Beispiel von fünf schwäbischen Komponisten* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991), and Sharon Krebs' master's thesis, '"My Songs are My Diary": An Investigation of Autobiographical Content in the Köstlin Settings of Josephine Lang'.

[6] See for example, Susan Youens, *Heine and the Lied* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2007); *Hugo Wolf's Mörike Lieder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); *Retracing a Winter's Journey: Schubert's Winterreise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); *Schubert, Müller and Die schöne Müllerin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[7] Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

examined extensively in Lang scholarship,[8] forms an important subsidiary element of the thesis and provides a contextual backdrop to discussion of the songs of her Lieder. This study, therefore, seeks to build on the pioneering work by Harald and Sharon Krebs in two significant ways, firstly through broadening our knowledge of German song and secondly by illuminating the situation for women composers.

1.2 Research Questions

First and foremost, this thesis seeks to contextualize Lang's contribution to the German Lied tradition by analyzing word-music relationships in her Goethe, Heine and Uhland settings. There are a variety of possible approaches to the study of women composers; therefore, current trends in feminist musicology and the study of women composers are probed. In relation to Lang's biography, questions are raised concerning the roles of key figures in her life: her father, Theobald Lang, her husband Christian Reinhold Köstlin; and perhaps her most important musical influence, Felix Mendelssohn. In addition to such biographical questions I consider: What position was occupied by Lang's songs in their own day? How has this changed today? What was Lang's relationship to literature in her day? In exploring these questions, the polemics of the debate on the relationship between words and music are considered. I also ask such questions as: how does Lang realize texts by Goethe, Heine and Uhland in her Lieder? How close is the relationship between poetry and music in her songs? How does she successfully realize a poem in music? Is it possible to summarize Lang's style? What was the response to these songs in the nineteenth century? How has she been received today?

[8] Lang has rarely been considered from a feminist perspective. An exception is found in Eva Weissweiler, *Komponistinnen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, 2nd edn (Munich: Bärenreiter, 1999). Harald and Sharon Krebs' study, while acknowledging some gender issues, is not a feminist study.

1.3 Literature Review

1.3.1 Nineteenth-Century Literature

Reviews of Lang's songs in major journals such as the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* are significant to this study since they tell us much about women composers in the nineteenth century. Two primary writings on Lang's life have served as major sources for Lang scholars. The first is a biography of Lang by Ferdinand Hiller, a prominent nineteenth-century composer and advocate of women's education.[9] Hiller's efforts to promote Lang were the result of Lang's request for help to publish her works and are based on biographical notes she sent to him. The second major source from the late nineteenth century is by Lang's son, the theologian, Heinrich Adolf Köstlin, who wrote a posthumous biography of his mother in 1882 and was involved in the posthumous publication of forty of Lang's songs.[10] Indeed, Köstlin admits that his biography is not intended as a serious scholarly examination of Lang as a composer.[11] Köstlin's biography was based on Lang's diary, which along with letters, was burned after Lang's death[12] and the biographical notes that Lang sent to Hiller in 1867. Although not entirely accurate, the two sources are useful sources on Lang and were most likely based on the same primary source.[13] In addition to these two major sources, other articles appeared on

[9] Ferdinand Hiller, 'Josephine Lang, die Lieder-Componistin', in *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, II, (Leipzig 1868), pp. 116–36, originally published as 'Musikalische Briefe von Ferdinand Hiller, X, Josephine Lang, die Lieder-Componistin', *Kölner Zeitung*, 148, 29 May 1867, p. 3. Preceding the biography, while he waited for information from Lang, Hiller included substantial mention of Lang in an article on Mendelssohn in 1861 in which he included quotations of Mendelssohn praising Lang's music. See 'Musikalische Briefe von Ferdinand Hiller. VII. Mendelssohn's Briefe,', in *Kölner Zeitung*, 250, 9 September 1861, 1–2.

[10] Köstlin, Heinrich Adolf, 'Josefine Lang (Lebensabriß)', in *Sammlung musikalischer Vorträge*, III, ed. by P. Waldersee (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1881), pp. 51–103. Köstlin, Heinrich Adolf, 'Köstlin: Josefine Caroline K. (Josefine Lang)', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 51, Berlin [No date], pp. 345–50; Josephine Lang, *40 Lieder* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1882).

[11] This is also observed by Harald and Sharon Krebs. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 5.

[12] Harald and Sharon Krebs learned this from Imogen Fellinger, the great-great-granddaughter of Lang. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 276.

[13] S. Krebs, 'My Songs are my Diary', p. 12.

Lang in the later nineteenth century.[14] Alfred Michaelis wrote a substantial entry on Lang in his publication on women composers, and dedicated more space to her than any other woman composer, signifying that Lang was one of the most prominent female composers in the nineteenth century.[15]

1.3.2 Lang Scholarship in the Early Twentieth Century

In the twentieth century, Hermann Rosenwald considered Lang at length in his study of the Lied.[16] A handful of more articles appeared in the early twentieth century.[17] During and after the war years, there was a virtual hiatus in Lang scholarship until the rise of feminist musicology in the 1980s when musicologists began to examine the lives and music of women composers. Marcia Citron's article on Lang in Briscoe's *Historical Anthology of Women's Music*[18] and an article in Bowers and Tick's *Women Making Music* were useful in reintroducing Lang's songs to modern audiences.[19] Judith Tick's 1982 edition of Lang's songs, with an enlightening preface by Tick, helped to revive interest in Lang's Lieder by making her songs readily accessible.[20] Klaus Karl Hübler presented a programme on the radio station Bayern 2

[14] See, for example, [Anonymous], 'Josefine Lang', in *Halleluja*, *Organ für ernste Hausmusik*, 3/5, 9 (June 1882), pp. 74–76 and Gustav Doempke, 'Eine berühmte Unbekannte', in *Musik–Welt* 1/37, 2 July 1881, pp. 423–24.
[15] Alfred Michaelis, *Frauen als schaffende Tonkünstler*, *Ein biographisches Lexicon* (Leipzig: A. Michaelis, 1888), pp. 20–23.
[16] Hermann Rosenwald, 'Das deutsche Lied zwischen Schubert und Schumann' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Heidelberg Universität, 1929).
[17] Elsbeth Friedrichs, 'Josephine Lang', in *Neue Musik-Zeitung*, 26/10, 23 February 1905, pp. 220–22; [Anonymous], 'Zur Erinnerung an Josefine Lang-Köstlin', in *Schwäbische Kronik*, 14 March, 1915.
[18] Marcia Citron, 'Josephine Lang', in *Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, ed. by James Briscoe (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 109–12. Lang was curiously omitted from the second edition of this book in 2004.
[19] Marcia Citron, 'Women and the Lied, (1775–1850)', in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition*, *1150–1950*, ed. by Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), pp. 224–48.
[20] Josephine Lang, *Selected Songs* (New York: Da Capo, 1982).

on Lang in 1985.[21] Diane Peacock Jezic dedicated a chapter to Lang in her ground-breaking book, *Women Composers, The Lost Tradition Found,* first published in 1988.[22]

1.3.3 From the 1990s to the Present Day

The 1990s witnessed increased interest in Lang's songs. Lang was included in Nancy Reich's article in Karin Pendle's *Women and Music.*[23] Andrea Hartmann's study of settings of Uhland and Kerner in 1991 included Lang's settings of these poets, though the analysis is quite succinct and basic, while Karin Strey wrote an excellent study on Lang's Lenau settings in 1991.[24] The latter study, however, seeks to contextualize Lang's contribution to the wider Lied tradition but illuminates text music relationships within Lang's Lenau Lieder. In 1992, Roberta Werner wrote a PhD dissertation on Lang's life and songs.[25] While the thesis provides much useful information on Lang's family background and her musical environment, it relies heavily on H. A. Köstlin's biography. Harald and Sharon Krebs describe it as an 'admirable first attempt at a modern reconsideration of Lang's life and music, although there was room for a more thorough treatment of both.'[26]

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[21] Klaus Karl, Hübler, 'Bayern—Land und Leute: "Sie ist mir eine der liebsten Erscheinungen"—Ein Porträt der Münchner Komponistin', Radio Program, Sunday 22 December 1985, 13.30–14.00, Bayern 2.
[22] Diane Peacock Jezic, *Women Composers: The Lost Tradition Found*, 2nd edn prepared by Elizabeth Wood (New York: The Feminist Press, 1994), pp. 83–90.
[23] Nancy B. Reich, 'European Composers and Musicians, ca. 1800–1890', in *Women & Music: A History*, ed. by Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 103–04.
[24] Karin Strey 'Die Lenau Vertonungen von Josephine Lang' (unpublished master's dissertation. Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1991).
[25] Roberta Carol Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang: The Expression of a Life' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1992).
[26] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 4.

In 1996, Beatrix Borchard considered Lang in her book on women composers in Germany.[27] Reiner Nägele's article on Lang and Mendelssohn appeared in 1997[28] and Elena Ostleitner considered Lang in a paper on women composers in 1998.[29] In the same year, Marita Panzer and Elisabeth Plößl's discussion of Lang appeared, an example of an article where Lang draws interest from outside the field of musicology as a woman of significant achievement.[30] In the late 1990s, more substantial articles appeared on Lang that encapsulated serious approaches to her music. Chapters written by Albrecht Dürr and Walther Dürr in *Annäherung X—an sieben Komponistinnen,* are useful examples.[31] Eva Weissweiller gives Lang ample attention in her study of women composers treating Lang's musical career from a feminist perspective.[32] Lorraine Gorrell also considers Lang in her book in a balanced critique.[33] Douglas E. Bomberger included Lang in his article on women musicians of the nineteenth century.[34] Since the 1990s, more recordings of Lang's music have appeared.[35] In 2009, an edition of Lang's settings by major German poets

[27] Beatrix Borchard, 'Between Public and Private', in *Women Composers in Germany* ed. by Roswitha Sperber, trans. by Timothy Nevill (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1996), pp. 26–27.
[28] Reiner Nägele, 'Der Lehrer', in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und Württemberg*, *Katalog zur Ausstellung der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart vom 17.April bis 31.Mai 1997* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 1997), pp. 28–35.
[29] Elena Ostleitner, 'Fanny Hensel, Josephine Lang, Johanna Kinkel: Drei komponierende Zeitgenossinnen aus der Zeit Benedict Randhartigenrs', in *Vergessene Komponisten des Biedermeier*, *Wissenschaftliche Tagung 9. bis 11. Oktober 1998*, *Ruprechtshofen*, *N. Ö.*, ed. by Andrea Harrandt & Erich Wolfgang Partsch, *Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft*, 38 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2000) (pp. 53–60), pp. 57–60.
[30] Marita Panzer and Elisabeth Plößl, 'Josefine Lang (1815–1880), Komponistin, Pianistin und Sängerin', in *Bavarias Töchter Frauenporträts aus fünf Jahrhunderten* (Pustet: Regensburg, 1997), pp. 156–59.
[31] Albrecht Dürr, 'Meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch' & Walther Dürr, 'Musikanalytische Beobachtungen', in *Annäherung X—an sieben Komponistinnen*, ed. by Clara Mayer (Kassel: Furore Verlag, 1999), pp. 127–36 & pp. 136–58.
[32] Eva Weissweiler, *Komponistinnen aus 500 Jahren: Eine Kultur- und Wirkungsgeschichte in Biographien und Werkbeispielen*, (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag: 1981), pp. 204–17. This book was later republished under the title, *Komponistinnen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Barenreiter, 1999), pp. 212–25.
[33] Lorraine Gorrell, *The Nineteenth-Century German Lied* (Amadeus Press, 2005), pp. 178–82.
[34] E. Douglas Bomberger, 'The Nineteenth Century', in *From Convent to Concert Hall*, ed. by Martha Furman Schleifer and Sylvia Glickman (Westport, Conneticut: Greenwood Press, 2003), pp. 164–66.
[35] See, for example, *Lieder von Josephine Lang*, Dana McKay (soprano), Thérèse Lindquist (piano), (CD Deutsche Schallplatten DS 1016-2, 1995); Josephine Lang & Johanna Kinkel: *Ausgewählte Lieder*, Claudia Taha (soprano), Heidi Kommerell (piano), (Bayer Records BR 100 248, 1996);

including Heine, Goethe and Lenau edited by Barbara Gabler was published by Furore Verlag.[36] Thus it is hoped that the present research will build on the developing tradition of Lang scholarship, in particular, the work of Harald and Sharon Krebs and Barbara Gabler and will contribute to twenty-first-century research on Josephine Lang.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Why Goethe, Heine and Uhland?

The selection of Lang's Goethe, Uhland and Heine settings (33 in total) allows for close reading and sustained reflection on these settings. After the poetry of her husband, Christian Reinhold Köstlin (1813–56), Lang set the work of these three poets more frequently than that of other artists. Given that these names have become synonymous with German song, a comparison with Lang's contemporaries, both male and female, canonic and non-canonic, is made possible by this selection.

1.4.2 Analytical Methodology

The analytical methodology employed is based on the exploration of text-music relations in the work of renowned Lieder scholars, Susan Youens and Lorraine Byrne Bodley. Youens reminds us that:

> When scholars approach Lieder, Schubert's or anyone else's, from the vantage point of curiosity about its origins in language and explore the poet and literary tradition as well as the musical context, there is much […] to be gained.[37]

Josephine Lang: *Lieder 'Feenreigen'*, Heidi Hallaschka (soprano) Heidi Kommerell (piano), (CD, Audite 97.472, 2002).

[36] Josephine Lang, *Ausgewählte Lieder auf Texte von Heine*, *Goethe*, *Lenau u. a.*, ed. by Barbara Gabler (Furore: Kassel, 2009).

[37] Susan Youens, 'Schubert and his Poets: Issues and Conundrums', in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. by Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), (pp. 99–117), p. 117.

An underlying ideology of the Lied as a musical reading of the poem, that song is a kind of musical ekphrasis,[38] pervades the analysis. Musical hermeneutics are grounded in Lang's interpretation of the text, bearing in mind Kofi Agawu's *caveat* that we must focus on divergences as well as correspondences between music and text in song.[39] The poetry's historical and cultural identity is explored, and the poems are examined individually in terms of language, rhythm and metaphor. It is hoped that an exploration of the text will deepen our understanding of Josephine Lang's Lieder.

Stein and Spillman's significant book, *Poetry into Song* has been influential on my analytical methodology.[40] The analysis of Lang's songs here utilizes motivic and harmonic analysis, textural and formal scrutiny and how these may represent features of the text. A key feature of Lang's compositional style is observed in the prominent role given to the piano; hence pianistic style and its interaction with the voice are studied in detail. The musico-poetic persona of each song is scrutinized, thereby aiding performance knowledge, while technical and performance practice issues, musical treatment of language and rhyming scheme are also duly explored. Although Schenkerian analysis has been employed successfully in Lieder scholarship, particularly the work of Carl Schachter,[41] Heather Platt,[42] and Jonathan

[38] Ekphrasis means an artistic response to an existing work of art. This idea is developed in Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[39] Kofi Agawu, 'Theory and Practice in the Analysis of the Nineteenth-Century Lied', in *Music Analysis*, 11/1 (March 1992), (3–36), p. 12.
[40] Deborah Stein and Robert Spillman, *Poetry into Song: Performance and Analysis of Lieder* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
[41] See, for example, Carl Schachter, 'Motive and Text in Four Schubert Songs', in *Unfoldings: Essays in Schenkerian Theory and Analysis*, ed. by Joseph N. Straus (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 209–20.
[42] Heather Platt, 'Text-Music Relationships in the Lieder of Johannes Brahms' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, City University of New York, 1992).

Dunsby,[43] I have chosen not to adopt it in this thesis.[44] Schenkerian analyses of Lang's songs by other scholars would be a welcome addition to Lang scholarship as it would further show that her music is being taken seriously. Here, however, I wish to focus on the nuances of Lang's musico-poetic aesthetic. Indeed the musical variety of Lang's Lieder, or that of any composer means that different songs may require an adjustment in analytical methodology depending on the compositional premise of the particular song.[45] Although textual and musical analysis are separate to some degree, an ideology of the Lied as an artistic whole pervades this study on Lang.

In my discussion of the songs, chronology of each setting is provided as well as biographical detail that may provide insight into a song or expose it as being confessional.[46] Developments in musical style are charted through the analyses. While this thesis does not attempt to seek an elusive 'feminine style' in Lang's compositions, certain songs are examined in light of Lorraine Byrne Bodley's comment that song is a 'social document.'[47] For example, it may be interesting to explore how Lang deals with such social commentary in her Heine settings. Settings of the same text are compared side by side in order to gauge a development in Lang's musical style. Comparative analyses form a central part of the study and help to define Lang as a unique contributor to the Lied tradition, both musically and sociologically while revealing that her musical style reflected trends of the period.

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[43] Jonathan Dunsby, *Making Words Sing: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 33–56.
[44] Schenkerian analysis and the Lied is discussed further in Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[45] This term is used by David Epstein in *Beyond Orpheus: Studies in Musical Structure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 161. There are of course some analytical procedures which may be applied to all songs; studies of hypermeter and declamation, for example.
[46] Sharon Krebs notes that the problem with Werner's thesis is that she assumed 'that every song Lang wrote was biographically motivated.' See S. Krebs, 'My Songs are my Diary', p. 35.
[47] Lorraine Byrne Bodley, 'A Tradition Redefined: Seóirse Bodley's Song Cycles on the Poetry of Micheal O'Siadhail', in *A Hazard Melody of Being*, *Seóirse Bodley's Song Cycles on the Poems of Micheal O'Siadhail*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2008), p. xv.

1.4.3 Lang's Manuscripts and Correspondence

The manuscripts for Lang's Goethe, Heine and Uhland settings were consulted in this thesis. Most of Lang's manuscripts are housed at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart.[48] Additional manuscript sources held in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna were also consulted.[49] Published exemplars of the majority of songs discussed in this thesis are also found in Stuttgart. Later editions of Lang's music such as those published by Da Capo, Furore Verlag and Hildegard were useful sources in carrying out the analysis. Musical examples were based predominantly on the published exemplars of Lang's songs in combination with consultation of manuscript sources. Barbara Gabler's fine edition of Lang's settings of major poets was useful in clarifying any uncertainties in the previously unpublished Lieder by Goethe and Heine.

As Harald and Sharon Krebs note, 'letters are, of course, an important source for any research on Lang.'[50] Lang exchanged many letters in her lifetime with musically significant figures. Since letters to and from Lang are primarily unpublished, with the exception of letters from Felix Mendelssohn, I have used Harald and Sharon Krebs' reading of them.

[48] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS Josephine Lang. There are forty-four books in this collection. Lang most likely bound these together herself as the title pages are in her own hand. Dates were added to each folder posthumously, most likely by H.A. Köstlin.
[49] Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, MS Fellinger.
[50] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 6.

1.4.4 Postmodernist Perspectives on Women and Music: An Integrated Approach to Lang's Lieder

This thesis combines analytical and gendered approaches to Lang's music. The contextual chapters of the thesis are grounded in reading of literature in both English and German, both nineteenth-century sources and secondary literature in contemporary musicology. Chapter 2 considers the implications of referring to Lang as a 'woman composer', arguing that it is in fact necessary to illuminate the difference between women and men's experience of the musical past. In this project, I approach Lang's Lieder with a critical quasi-feminist approach akin to Nancy Reich's seminal study of Clara Schumann[51] in order to contextualize Lang's career comprehensively. Relative questions posed by Marcia Citron in her influential book are also important to this study.[52] Wilson Kimber's article on biographical issues and Fanny Hensel has influenced my perception of Lang's music in this thesis.[53] It is hoped that the project will carry weight not only in adding to existing knowledge of female composers but that it will also increase our understanding of the socio-cultural context of German song.

1.4.5 Editorial Notes

In addition to the articles mentioned above, the development of a website dedicated to Josephine Lang in collaboration with the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart has permitted ease of access to information on Lang.[54] The online catalogue

[51] Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann*, *The Artist and the Woman*, 2nd edn (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001).
[52] Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; repr. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000).
[53] Marian Wilson Kimber, 'The Suppression of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel: Rethinking Feminist Biography', in *19th-Century Music*, 26/2 (Autumn 2002), pp. 113–29.
[54] Harald Krebs & Sharon Krebs, 'Josephine Lang', <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/index.php?id=1992>. For an online catalogue of Lang's manuscripts, see 'Josephine Lang: Gesamtliste', '<http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/~lang/lang_gesamtliste.php4>

of Lang's manuscripts prepared by Harald and Sharon Krebs is indispensable for anyone wishing to study Lang's music. Sharon Krebs' development of the Lang website on *Musik und Gender im Internet* is another important source that gives a full list of Lang's compositional output.[55]

Lang's first song collections were published without opus numbers. To signal this, the number is given in inverted commas, (e.g. 'op. 1') to indicate that the opus number was added later. Some of Lang's collections were published under the same opus number. In this case, square brackets are used to denote such occurrences.[56] The opus numbers used are based on the list of Lang's publications given in an appendix to H.A. Köstlin's biography, which in turn is based on a list of her works that Lang drew up in 1867[57] and was later updated by Sharon Krebs.[58] Discussion of the settings are mostly in chronological order except where there are two settings of one poem, in which case, the two settings are discussed respectively. In order to reflect my poem-based analysis, discussion of the poem followed by discussion of the Lied. The rhyming scheme of each poem is provided. Unless stated otherwise, translations of biographical and review extracts are by Mary Adams. Poetic translations of Goethe's and Heine's poetry are sourced from editions by David Luke[59] and Peter Branscombe.[60] A recording of Lang's unrecorded works discussed in this thesis is

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[accessed 15 January 2010]. Here, Harald and Sharon Krebs provide useful information on each manuscript, date composed, indications of whether the copy is that of Lang's hand or not.

[55] Sharon Krebs, 'Josephine Lang' Musik und Gender im Internet, <http://www.mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/grundseite/grundseite.php?id=lang1815> [accessed 1 December 2009].

[56] For example, op. 33 [34] where 34 indicates Lang's thirty-fourth publication. In order to facilitate easy cross-reference, I have adopted Harald and Sharon Krebs' method in labelling the songs.

[57] H.A. Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', pp. 97–103.

[58] S. Krebs, <http://www.mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/grundseite/grundseite.php?id=lang1815> [accessed 1 December 2009].

[59] Goethe, *Selected Verse*, with an introduction and translation by David Luke, reprint (Middlesex et al.: Penguin, 1972)

[60] Heine, *Selected Verse*, with an Introduction and Prose Translation by Peter Branscombe (Harmondsworth : Penguin Books, 1986).

provided for the reader who may want to listen to these works.[61] Working through the songs in this way has given me insight into Lang's Lieder that I could not have gained from analysis alone.[62] The total word count of this thesis is *c.* 101,000 words (*c.* 13,000 words dedicated to German and English citations of poetry and other sources). This thesis conforms to the House Style of the Department of Music, NUI Maynooth and the MHRA Style.

[61] *A Selection of Josephine Lang's Goethe*, *Heine and Uhland Lieder*, Aisling Kenny (soprano), Judith Gannon (piano) (Private Recording, 2009). This CD contains recordings of eighteen of the songs under discussion in this thesis, the majority of which were previously unrecorded.

[62] Some of the songs are not Lang's finest, which perhaps serves to explain why they remain unrecorded. The recording therefore serves as a listening tool for readers of this thesis. I have also performed songs by Lang that are not on this CD, for example, in a lecture-recital on her Goethe Lieder at Dublin Institute of Technology Conservatory of Music and Drama in May 2007 and in a recital of Lang's Lieder at Christ Church Cathedral Dublin in November 2005, both with pianist Judith Gannon.

2

Integration or Isolation: Feminist Ideology and the Study of Women Composers

2.1 Unearthing Women's Music: Considering Objectives of Feminist Musicology

Although we now live in a world where equality between the sexes has been attained for the most part, we still find it significant that Lang was a 'woman' composer. Indeed the study of women composers with a view to their rehabilitation into mainstream pedagogical and performance repertoires is one of the chief objectives of feminist musicology. However, the term 'feminism' has, rightly or wrongly, garnered much negative attention both in academia and the popular media, so as to cause reticence among some researchers of women's music to deem themselves 'feminist.' Cook and Tsou have pointed out that 'the term *gender* may blunt the force of the term *feminist*'[1] and indeed scholars of women's music may wish to place their work under the label 'gender studies' rather than 'feminist studies'. Indeed, one may search in vain for a less militant synonym for 'feminism', but one will invariably return to the designation 'feminist' which, despite its shortcomings, proves to be more suitable than any other. The examination of Lang's compositional career in this thesis is, admittedly, feminist, in that it seeks to draw fresh insights into the career of one of the nineteenth century's most successful woman composers. The use of 'feminist' here is neither with political nor polemical intent but with particular emphasis on the original definition of the term. Instead it seeks to treat Lang's music as being *equal* to that of her male contemporaries, a process that must entail an acknowledgement of the gendered obstacles that hindered Lang, in order to redress the gender imbalance of the

[1] Susan C. Cook & Judy S. Tsou, 'Introduction: "Bright Cecilia"', in *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music,* ed. by Susan C. Cook & Judy S. Tsou (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), p. 2.

past. This chapter, therefore, considers issues of feminist musicology and the study of women composers and encourages some modifications in the way we consider female musicians from a feminist perspective.

2.2 Considering Implications of the Designation 'Woman Composer'

The female composer of today perhaps has the most cause for concern over the use of the term 'woman composer' and any separate consideration of women's music. Certainly many composers are opposed to it. Jill Halstead has described the viewpoint of many women, claiming: 'many of them feel that any special examination of their position—that is, any study which highlights problems affecting women as a group—in some way 'excuses' those who lack sufficient talent and training.'[2] Citron presents a similar view, stating that some female composers refuse to accept the term 'woman' composer, since 'any qualifier can imply specialness and therefore lesser competence.'[3] One can certainly empathize with this view: why—in the twenty-first century—should women be separated from the mainstream musical tradition? Yet our stance must be modified for composers of the past. In exploring the achievements of a nineteenth-century woman composer such as Josephine Lang, for example, one cannot claim that she was on an equal footing with her male contemporaries because of the virtual absence of a proper musical education in her formative years, an absence that occurred directly as a result of her gender. In the past, gender, above class and ethnicity, was 'the most important factor in shaping the lives of European women'[4] and its inestimable role cannot be overlooked. In the nineteenth century, women composers were forced to cope with debilitating

[2] Jill Halstead, *The Woman Composer: Creativity and Gendered Politics of Musical Composition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. x.
[3] Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p. 78.
[4] Bonnie Anderson & Judith Zinsser, *A History of their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* (London: Penguin, 1989–90), II, p. xii.

limitations placed upon them by society. Professional activities were seen as improper to their sex. Alongside this, there existed the widespread belief that women were not capable or worthy of creating art.[5] Paradoxically, music's close connections to the feminine have been another key factor in the exclusion of women. Despite Goethe's celebration of the 'Eternal Feminine' in art, the female artist did not benefit from such ideals. The guardians of music worked to preserve it from charges of effeminacy by relegating women's activities to the private amateur realm, and making the production of 'high art music' off-limits to women because such skills as orchestration were beyond the bounds of their education. In addition, the confines of time later as a wife and mother, also impacted on women's ability to devote time to their compositions.

Historically, further significant obstacles hindered women composers and up until the 1970s, historical reception of women composers was virtually dormant. Halstead alludes to one of these historical obstacles:

> Many people still question the need to single out women composers and musicians for special attention. It is often felt that women have more than sufficient encouragement and opportunity to become professional musicians and that therefore any 'artificial' segregation serves only to reinforce their position outside the mainstream. The belief that any music of quality will sooner or later be recognized as such, no matter who composed it, is widespread.[6]

Here Halstead suggests the popular view that if women's musical works are deserving of scholarly attention, their music will inevitably emerge and segregation of their music would not be necessary. The notion that the works will receive the attention they deserve without any extra effort is an idealistic one, however. Paradigms of history have neglected women's activities, which still remain grossly

[5] This view was implemented successfully by Rousseau. See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre à d'Alembert sur son article Genève* (1758: Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 1967), 199–200, n.2. For more information on women's relationships to creativity, see Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* pp. 44–79.

[6] Halstead*, The Woman Composer,* p. vii.

underrepresented. Although the canon has been debunked since the 1970s, it still wields power in the writing of history.

The myopically linear pattern of history-writing has meant that even if a woman did something new and noteworthy in her music, it did not fit in with the retrospective construction of a musical tradition. With glacier-like strength, history's mechanisms became extremely forceful but also like the slow-moving glacier that cuts through everything in its path, there was much going on below the smooth surface of music history that remained unseen to the 'naked eye.' Jim Samson sums up part of the rationale for the system of canon-formation:

> It was rather easy to represent a developing (mainly Austro-German) symphonic tradition as the culmination of music's quest for autonomy, and this perception in its turn influenced the subsequent expansion of the canon. Of the Romantic generation, for example, Mendelssohn and Schumann were more readily aligned to a developing tradition than Berlioz, Liszt or Chopin.[7]

Indeed, the formation of history in such a fashion meant that composers who 'fitted the bill' would be perceived as contributors to a tradition, when in reality, the 'whole' was much more complex. This has led to the overlooking of many composers, male or female, who has made a valid contribution to the music of his or her time but does not fit into the linear pattern that has dominated. With regard to women musicians, one of the most notable examples of such an overlooking is observed in the case of Hildegard von Bingen, the twelfth-century composer of medieval chant, whose music positively transcends plainchant composition of that time. Bingen's music was not what music historians were 'looking for' in creating a history, and if one is not being sought, it is unlikely that one will be found. Consider also the music of Ethel Smyth, which was highly praised in her day but today

[7] Jim Samson,'The Great Composer', in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music,* ed. by Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), (pp. 259–84), p. 265.

remains known only to a minority. A conscious effort, therefore, is needed to unearth women's music of the past.

In the history of the Lied, a succession of male composers have been seen to carry the genre forward, each adding to it and developing it in his own way. The music of women composers has been considered inconsequential to such developments. Lang's Lieder, however, prove that she was firmly positioned in the nineteenth-century tradition of Lieder-composing and was *au fait* with the developments of the tradition. At the same time, she succeeded in communicating her own musical identity through her Lieder. The absence of women in history is not just a contemporary problem; systems in place since the early nineteenth century already ensured that women would be omitted, which in turn may have affected how women's music was composed, that is, it may have been composed in the knowledge that it would not carry historical weight. Lang's songs followed Schubert's revolutionizing of the genre but preceded Schumann's *Liederjahr,* a perceived 'trough' in the history of the Lied. Lang's songs of the 1830s tell us much about the Lied tradition of that time, as well as about her own style of composition. The music of Lang and her contemporaries dissolves the accepted linear developmental pattern of the Lied.

Despite opposition from some contemporary female composers to the siphoning off of women composers, some twenty-first-century female composers may wish to partner their knowledge of their male predecessors with that of their female ones. This view is not intended to be interpreted as a longing for ancestral roots in a past 'female tradition.' In fact, the idea of a 'female tradition' is, in my

opinion, dissonant with the original feminist quest for equality. The study of women composers should not, perhaps, seek to provide a separate alternative to our existing version of music history but rather to fill in the gaps, to provide tangents, parallel and even conflicting narratives, to create a diversified history that fairly represents both sexes but also acknowledges the contradictions of reality, which are rarely clear-cut. Indeed, the study of women composers is pertinent not only to female composers of today but to academics, performers, students and members of the general public who are interested in women's musical activities of the past.[8]

In labelling Josephine Lang as a 'woman composer', we cannot deny that a degree of separation from mainstream musical tradition occurs. Susan McClary, like Citron earlier, issues a word of caution in relation to the prejudicial implications of 'Otherness', which may infer that the quality of her work will not equal that of her male contemporaries.[9] Sally Macarthur has made a similar claim:

> The label 'women's music' is a problematic one, for it immediately conjures up the idea that it exists in a domain separate from men's music. In fact, it could be argued that the category 'women's music' has been brought about by the fact that men's music is simply music; women's music, to follow this line of thinking, is understood as something else.[10]

However, this separate treatment of women composers, as McClary and Macarthur see it, need not necessarily be antagonistic. The specific labelling here of Lang as a 'woman composer' is not intended to separate her but to highlight both the struggles she faced and her exceptional achievement, especially at that time. Concurrently, the

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[8] I acknowledge that although women and male composers are considered equal today, there are still some signs of gender imbalance between the sexes in the music industry, the sparseness of performance of women's works in the concert hall for example (although contemporary music of both sexes suffers in this regard) and the dearth of female conductors in the concert halls and opera houses. At the same time, it is increasingly possible for women to occupy the same professional posts as men, this imbalance is therefore ever decreasing. The ongoing struggle for women who are both professionals and mothers is the chief source of imbalance among professional women nowadays. The complexities of this issue, however, fall outside the bounds of this thesis.

[9] Susan McClary, 'Different Drummers: Theorising Music by Women Composers', in *Musics and Feminisms* (Sydney: Australian Music Centre, 1999), cited in Sally Macarthur, *Feminist Aesthetics in Music* (Westport, Conneticut & London, Greenwood Press, 2002), p. 4.

[10] Macarthur, *Feminist Aesthetics*, p. 2.

designation ‘woman composer’ is not intended as a finite definition of who Josephine Lang was: equal emphasis should be given to the other constituent of the designation, namely, *composer.*

Indeed, any implications of the designation ‘woman composer’ suggested here, such as those of ‘otherness’, inferiority or ‘specialness’, which may cause anxiety for contemporary female composers, have arisen out of the persistent ideology of the designation ‘composer’ as male. Lucy Green has argued that ‘music delineates not only a masculine mind but also the notion of a male composer.’[11] Although the designation ‘composer’ is relatively neutral today, Green’s contention certainly remains true for the general perception of composers’ occupations in the past. Indeed in the popular imagination, it is still not acknowledged that women composed at all. Such composers as Rebecca Clarke published their music under pseudonyms because of the strong perception of the composer as male. In the case of Clarke, the music she published under the pseudonym ‘Anthony Trent’ received more critical attention even though she had already established a solid reputation for herself as a serious musician.[12] Today, the idea that men were the only creators is still one that needs to be dispelled. Of the term ‘woman composer’ Citron claims that, ‘many [female composers] consider gender-specific structures necessary for strategic and psychological reasons at least until “composer” is gender-blind and works by women receive the same attention as men.’[13] Hence, the term ‘woman composer’ is necessary for dealing with female composers of the past. Indeed, some measure of isolation in the study of women composers, up to the twentieth century at

[11] Lucy Green, *Music, gender, education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 89.
[12] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 77.
[13] Ibid., pp. 77–78.

least, will probably always be necessary to acknowledge that a gross gender imbalance occurred.

It should be noted that the gender imbalance, which celebrated 'masculine' as the 'norm' and feminine as 'other', also had impact on the lives of men, not in the same subordinating manner but restrictive all the same. If men diverged from this norm, they too were subjected to criticism. Although socially and politically more powerful than women, men were also subject to the confines of such gendered ideologies. Representations of this phenomenon are observed in music through the criticism of some composers who engaged predominantly in the composition of so-called 'feminine' genres; men's exploits in larger 'masculine' genres were panegyrised. Such contrasts point to the paradoxical nature of gendered ideologies in the nineteenth century.

While the use of the term 'woman composer' is endorsed here, this endorsement is not undertaken without recognition that the term may be problematic. It is plausible that in paying special attention to women's music, we might cause a certain 'segregation' of their music, and yet paradoxically such 'separate' consideration is essential in order to combat the enduring obstacles that prevent women's music from being heard today. Any possible effect of 'segregation' is therefore valid and worthwhile, although, in my opinion, the risk of actually bringing about isolation of women's music from the mainstream is small if scholars resolve to present a critical appraisal of the composer's music. Suzanne G. Cusick refers to the power that the practice of musicology once attained by separating itself from the

feminine.[14] Perhaps, by temporarily disentangling women's music from the wider musical tradition, we can in fact empower women's music.

An avoidance of labelling may be equally problematic. If we strive to eliminate all sense of dissemblance between the musical activities of women and men of the nineteenth century, that is, when we think of women's music as 'men's music', women's music may not always cope with such contextualization. Karin Pendle, and later Marcia Citron, have acknowledged the futility of what they call the 'add and stir' method for incorporating women into musical history.[15] This is not to say that comparison with men's music is futile; on the contrary, it is an intrinsic element of the study of women's music. However, when embarking on such comparative studies, an awareness of the restrictions on women's musical activities and limited compositional training in the nineteenth century must be at the forefront of our considerations. We must ensure that the model we use to investigate women's music is appropriate for the music, namely, that we are using a form of analysis that is relevant to the musical milieu in which she worked. An attempted inclusion of female composers in a male-dominated canon, for example, brings with it the possibility of subjecting women's music to criteria that are not compatible with women's singular experiences. Citron describes a possible consequence of such subjection by stating that 'the new work becomes integrated into the canonic pantheon and as such is discussed in the same terms, according to the same

[14] Suzanne G. Cusick, 'Gender, Musicology and Feminism', in *Rethinking Music,* ed. by Nicholas Cook & Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), (pp. 471–98), p. 473.
[15] See Marcia J. Citron, 'Women and the Western Canon: Where are we now?', in *Notes,* 64/2 (December, 2007), (209–15), p. 120. Here Citron refers to Karin Pendle's paper, 'Teaching the History of Women in Music,' presented at the Music and Gender Conference, King's College, University of London, July 1991.

paradigms and categories.'[16] For this reason, it would not be appropriate merely to try to slot women into the existing canon; instead we must try to adjust our own understanding and perception of how that canon is formed. Citron advocates a pluralistic approach to the canon where new members will 'enrich and not replace'[17] while at the same time testifying that 'pedagogical canonicity can be elastic.'[18]

It may appear to some that a 'canon' of women composers is evolving. The futility of a canon made up only of women composers, however, is avowed by Alison Booth who states, 'If constructing supplementary canons of histories were an effective way to infiltrate dominant canons or histories, we would have long ceased to need such supplements.'[19] Booth's comments reinforce the reality that there is still a dearth in representation of women in history. Consequently, there remains a deep need to argue for women's inclusion in history, not merely by adding women to the existing canon but by continuing to re-evaluate 'the canon' as we know it today. Although the concept of the canon has been questioned since the early 1970s, the issue of women's visibility in music history has not yet become a moot point: there is still the need to draw attention to the scarcity of women in music history. The creation of a canon of women composers would create the same dominant/subservient model as has been in existence, with the weaker members getting pushed out to the margins. In challenging the method by which a canon is set up, Citron effectively highlights the need for a 'reconceptualization' of history in

[16] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p. 222.
[17] Ibid., p. 197.
[18] Ibid., p. 200.
[19] Alison Booth, 'The Lessons of Medusa: Anna Jameson and Collective Biographies of Women', in *Victorian Studies,* 42/2 (1999), (257–88), p. 258.

order to challenge the 'dominion of men',[20] which has endured in music history with unremitting tenacity.

One must be careful that the isolation of women composers for scholarly study does not create an impassable dichotomy between the music of women and men. Sally Macarthur has commented on the difficulties of resisting such tendencies.[21] Dichotomies, by nature, possess the tendency to become hierarchical.[22] One must work hard to resist the conceptualization of the relationship between the music of women and men as mutually exclusive elements of such a hierarchy. In this study of Josephine Lang's Lieder, I examine how she relates to the Lied tradition, which incorporates comparison of her Lieder with both her female and male contemporaries. Hence it is possible to discuss her music both in the context of a feminist study but also as a part of a wider tradition of German song to which I believe her contribution is unique. The consideration of Lang as a 'woman composer', therefore, can only allow for a deeper understanding of her career and music.

2.3 Writing on Women Composers: Issues of a Critical Discourse

In encountering the injustices that women composers faced, there may be a tendency to write a history based on what women *might* have achieved, posing a very significant question, namely: how we approach the issue of unrealised potential. Essentially, it is a grey area and there are no easy answers. We may recognize the unlocked potential of a woman composer. Josephine Lang, for example, showed prodigious talent from an early age—some of her best Lieder originate from her

[20] John Shepherd, *Music as Social Text* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), p. 153.
[21] Macarthur, *Feminine Aesthetics,* p. 3.
[22] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 192.

teenage years—and yet was denied the opportunity to study composition with Zelter in Berlin, a figure who was central to musical life in nineteenth-century Germany.[23] Who is to say what more Lang might have achieved if she had been given this opportunity? Later in her married years, a lack of time seriously restricted her output, another symptom of her gender. One can easily become frustrated in contemplating how many women were deflected from music composition because of societal obstacles. While such ideas may cross the mind of the scholar, one can only dwell on these questions for so long. Despite the difficulty, one must endeavour to move beyond these questions in order to grasp a real sense of these women's musical achievements.

Similarly, when faced with the tragic realities of denied opportunity, scholars must also be particularly careful not to distort the truth and create the story they want to tell.[24] It is tempting to try and claim for Lang a significant position between Schubert and Schumann as a championess of the Lieder in the 1830s.[25] While, Lang's contribution is indeed valid, aesthetically, it cannot be said to surpass that of Schubert and Schumann. At the same time, it is not worlds apart and embraces its own unique aesthetic ideal, which is worth investigating and provides insight into the development of the Lied in the 1830s, one of Lang's most productive periods. Indeed individualism was a key theme in the nineteenth century. Lang can be seen to embrace this individuality through her songs. The uniqueness of and validity of Lang's contribution to German song should be central to any study of her music.

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[23] Lorraine Byrne Bodley has recently reassessed Zelter's important role in nineteenth-century music in her book, *Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues* (Surrey & Burlington: Ashgate, 2009). See also *Der Singemeister: Carl Friedrich Zelter, Eine Festschrift Zu Seinem 250. Geburtstag,* ed. by Christian Philips (Mainz: Schott, 2008).

[24] Wilson Kimber, 'The Suppression of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel', p. 126.

[25] Judith Tick gives such an opinion in the introduction to Da Capo's publication of Lang's songs in 1982. See Judith Tick, 'Introduction', in *Josephine Lang Selected Songs* (New York: Da Capo, 1982).

Wilson Kimber has pointed out another potential hazard in the study of women composers, that of trying to impose a single narrative of the suffering heroine of the woman composer.[26] While there are certainly significant divergences between the lives of Lang, Clara Schumann and Fanny Hensel, for example, there are even more striking parallels. The divergences may equally highlight other important issues that affected women and their music, those of family relations, class, and financial situations, for example. While there is a need to retain a critical stance, the shared experiences of these women are significant. They not only aid our understanding of women composers' circumstances, but outline the broader cultural backdrop to musical experience in the nineteenth century. Wilson Kimber echoes Quilligan, testifying that 'to write a biography of a female artist with the assumption that "each woman's story is moulded by a pattern, more or less the same pattern" reinscribes the essentialist gender division that feminist biography supposedly seeks to critique.'[27] However, such patterns were linked to the near-certainty of a pre-determined life path for a woman in the nineteenth century. Boundaries were placed on women's activities from the outset; consider, for example, the impact of marriage and motherhood on a woman's creative life. The parallels between the lives of women of different classes in the nineteenth century are remarkable. Gender, so important and influential in all their lives,[28] proves an over-riding factor. That women composers from different family backgrounds can share similar experiences reveals a certain universality of experience. Consideration of gender in relation to Lang's songs, not only helps us deepen our understanding of Lang's Lieder but also the social and cultural context of song in general.

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[26] See Wilson Kimber, 'The Suppression of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel', p. 127.
[27] Maureen Quilligan, 'Rewriting History', The Difference of Feminist Biography', in *Yale Review*, 77 (1988), (261–62), p. 261, cited in Wilson Kimber, 'The Suppression of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel', p. 127.
[28] Anderson & Zinsser, *A History of their Own,* II, p. xii.

2.4 The Need for a Serious Approach to Women's Music

McClary asks questions about the approach to women composers:

> Along with the rediscovery of this long-buried music comes almost inevitably a difficult set of questions. First, how do we assess the quality of our discoveries? Do we admire them, simply because they were composed by women? Or should we find ways of dealing critically with these artists? [29]

Whitney Chadwick points to the tendency of historians to avoid serious criticism of women's works because of an idealist desire to see the works materialize in the public domain.[30] In the same vein, McClary observes how feminist musicology is sometimes criticized because it 'fails to deal with the music in adequate detail.'[31] Similarly, in a review of *New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers*, Judy Tsou criticizes the volume for a dearth of technical description of these composers' music.[32] And when Charles Rosen considers that uncritical examination of women composers' works does not do justice to the real tragedy of their lives, we are alerted to one of the dangers involved in study of women composers, namely that their music should not be blindly uncovered.[33] However admirable the desire to revive women's music and see it revitalized in the current musical climate, the continued avoidance of critical discussion of the music of women composers will hinder any hope of women's scholarship gaining a place in pedagogical and performance canons. Such an approach fails to achieve awareness of women's musical works by treating these works as 'special'[34] and beyond the possibility of serious criticism. In pursuing this path, a certain weakness in women's music is, albeit unintentionally, implied.

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[29] Susan McClary, 'Reshaping a Discipline: Musicology and Feminism in the 1990s', in *Feminist Studies,* 19/2. *Women's Bodies and the State* (Summer, 1993) (399–423), p. 405.
[30] Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society,* 4th edn (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p. 11.
[31] McClary, 'Reshaping a Discipline', p. 413.
[32] Judy Tsou, 'Review of The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers, in *Notes,* Second Series, 26/2 (1996), (423–25), p. 423.
[33] Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (London: Fontana Press, 1999), p. xi.
[34] Marcia Citron discusses the prospect of treating women's music as 'special'. See Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* pp. 77–78.

It is interesting to observe that in the early 1980s, precisely the opposite was happening in the broader field of musicology. Joseph Kerman, in 1983, wrote that 'everyone now sees that analysis cannot serve as the sole critical methodology, not even for the nineteenth-century canon in aid of which it was developed, let alone for earlier and later music.'[35] While critical musicology has flourished since Kerman's essay, incorporating feminist musicology as one of its branches, in the overhaul of the discipline towards a 'new' musicology, women's *music*, paradoxically, seems to have been overlooked. Wilson Kimber states of Fanny Hensel's musicological reception, 'Although many performers and scholars are dedicated to the publication and performance of Hensel's music, much writing about Hensel, including Tillard's acclaimed biography, is largely not about her music at all. Ironically this perpetuates the very obscurity of Fanny's music that it seeks to criticize.'[36] Our music history, has, rightly or wrongly, been one of composers and their music and the 'author-function' of the composer has held tremendous sway.[37] While the focus of this history has since shifted, it seems that women's music has suffered as a result of such a shift; close attention to the music of women is needed in order to provide a counterweight to the emphasis on analysis of canonical composers and to give women's music a sense of presence in history. [38]

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[35] Joseph Kerman, 'A few canonic variations', in *Critical Inquiry*, 10/1 *Canons* (September 1983), (107–25), p. 124.
[36] Wilson Kimber, 'The Suppression of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel', p. 126.
[37] Citron, 'Women and the Western Canon', p. 211.
[38] McClary acknowledges in *Feminine Endings* (2nd Edition) that 'recent research has begun to deal specifically with their [women's] compositions.' (p. xiv). She notes three studies as successful examples of research where the scholars have developed their own theoretical knowledge of women's music: Bruce W. Holsinger's study of Hildegard von Bingen, *Music, Body and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard von Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Suzanne G. Cusick's study of Francesca Caccini, 'Of Women, Music and Power: A Model from Seicento Florence in *Musicology and Difference,* ed. by Ruth Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 281–304; and Ellie M. Hisama's study of twentieth century women composers, *Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marian Bauer and Miriam Gideon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). See McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music*, *Gender and Sexuality*

It is pertinent to recognize the importance of biographical and sociological study but this needs to be balanced by examination of the music, using rigorous, though not necessarily formalist, analytical methods.[39] This study of Lang's Lieder incorporates analytical methods and principles by such scholars as Jonathan Dunsby,[40] Steven Paul Scher,[41] Edward T. Cone,[42] Lorraine Byrne Bodley[43] and Susan Youens.[44] The two latter scholars' work is especially relevant in analyzing Lang's innate gift for interpreting the meaning of poetry in her Lieder. Indeed there is a need for even more recording and editing of Lang's music. Much of it is still in archives in either manuscript forms or out of print. The importance of good recordings of Lang's music cannot be over-emphasized. Comparative work is by no means futile in the study of women composers. Green points to the need for this 'comparative analytical work' on both the music of women and men,[45] which can provide further insights into the musical landscape of the nineteenth century. Bearing

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(Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1991; repr. 2002), p. xv. Other studies where women's music is given primacy include Citron, 'The Lieder of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel', in *The Musical Quarterly,* 69/4 (1983), pp. 570–94; Citron's analysis of Cecile Chaminade's Sonata for piano, op. 21, in *Gender and the Musical Canon,* pp. 145–59, Harald and Sharon Krebs, *Josephine Lang, Her Life and Songs* (Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press, 2007) and Susan Youens' discussion of Clara Schumann's Heine Lieder in Youens, *Heine and the Lied,* pp. 174–265. Nonetheless, the number of close readings of women's music such as these are dwarfed in relation to theoretical studies surrounding women and music.

[39] This comment should not be read as a criticism of Harald and Sharon Krebs book' on Lang. Their seminal publication provides much needed biographical information on Lang. It also contains fine analysis of many of her songs. See also Harald Krebs' article 'Hypermeter in Josephine Lang's Lieder', in, *Engaging Music,* ed. by Stein. Rather, I am arguing in *general* that there has been too much emphasis on biography and there is now a real need for a *corresponding* emphasis on the analysis of the music itself as Harald and Sharon Krebs have done and as I endeavour to undertake in my own study of Lang's Goethe, Heine and Uhland settings.

[40] Jonathan Dunsby, *Making Words Sing: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[41] Steven Paul Scher (ed.), *Music and Text, Critical Enquires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[42] See, for example, Edward T. Cone, 'Poet's Love or Composer's Love?', in *Music and Text*, ed. by Steven Paul Scher, pp. 177–92.

[43] For models on analyzing both poetry and music within the Lied, see Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). See also Lorraine Byrne Bodley, 'A Tradition Redefined', pp. xiii–xxxvii.

[44] See Susan Youens' many books on German Lieder including *Schubert's Winterreise, Retracing a Winter's Journey* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) and *Heine and the Lied* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[45] Green, *Music, gender, education,* p. 115.

in mind nineteenth-century pedagogical limitations and women's lack of time to compose, comparison with men's music plays a crucial role in the study of women's music. It acts as a useful yardstick to evaluate a composer's musical style, formal and harmonic progressiveness, and use of the piano in the Lied, for example. A balance is needed if women's music of the past is to gain a permanence in music history, in particular the teaching canon, but also a rightful place in the public perception.[46]

2.5 Women's Music and Questions of Quality and Value

As McClary noted in 1993, a chief goal of feminist musicology was to uncover the 'extraordinary' music of women composers,[47] but what if the music is not always extraordinary? What if some of it is only *ordinary*? McClary reflects:

> When feminist scholars have held their women composers up to scrutiny of these criteria, they have sometimes felt pressed to admit that the music might be of lesser quality; or they have tried to claim 'greatness', often with little evidence brought forward; or they have deferred the question of 'the music itself'. This impasse has created a situation that reinforces, in some ways what the discipline has always said: if there were women composers, they are not worth knowing about.[48]

There is an unvoiced fear among some scholars, I suspect, that the music we are exploring may not be of good quality. This has resulted in a fear of discussing women's music critically.[49] Indeed in examining Lang's Goethe, Heine, and Uhland settings, one discovers that some settings are certainly better than others. However if such discrepancies do occur in the music of nineteenth-century women composers, it only strengthens existing findings in nineteenth-century gendered studies of music, namely that having been denied the same opportunities as their male contemporaries,

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[46] One major barrier of the past to scholarly appraisal of women's music was the inaccessibility of scores and recordings, but now that these sources are more readily available, this problem should no longer hinder scholarship on women's music.
[47] McClary, 'Reshaping a discipline', p. 400
[48] Ibid., p. 406.
[49] Paula Higgins astutely remarks that 'Being a second-rate composer has never kept any man out of the annals of music history or banished his music from the concert halls or the air waves'. See Higgins, 'Women in Music, Feminist Criticism, and Guerrilla Musicology: Reflections on Recent Polemics', in *Nineteenth-Century Music,* 17 (174–92), p. 174.

women's music was severely affected. In musicological discourse on women's music, it is absolutely essential to stay faithful to the music and not distort the reality in an attempt to disguise women's music in order to prove its scholarly worth. It is also important that women's music is heard in performance. Since much of women's music was composed for the salon, an awareness of the performance context is required so as not to distort the music or create unrealistic expectations for the audience; that women were outside the loop of innovation and influence that pervaded men's music is a factor, for example. In many cases, we must learn to appreciate women's music within a broader social and musical context. The issue of quality is especially relevant in examining unpublished scores: it is not certain that the composer would want her unpublished manuscripts published and critiqued and one may need to view these works as works in progress.

The issue of quality in women's music raises questions about value and how we assign value to musical works. In the words of Paula Higgins:

> In urging that a feminist criticism of music place a high priority on according the music of women the dignity of study we have always bestowed on male composers, I do not wish to suggest that women have been the only composers of merit overlooked or undervalued. On the contrary, a feminist criticism of music should seek to interrogate the very aesthetic criteria by which we evaluate music of all kinds.[50]

Therefore, we should not dismiss women's music based on accepted ideas of value. Our examination of women composers requires that we mediate between cultural (or sociological) and aesthetic value. Lucy Green considers:

> It is a matter of maintaining a sensitive balance between socio-historical relativity in the construction of aesthetic value, and the subject-position of the receiver and the producer of art. In order to ascertain whether there is any aesthetic value in a work, we must attempt to make our criteria explicit.[51]

[50] Higgins, 'Reflections on Recent Polemics', p. 191.
[51] Green, *Music, gender, education,* p. 114.

If we do make our aims as explicit as possible, as Green suggests, the impact of our conclusions will, hopefully have more credence. Examining a selection of a composer's works which vary in proficiency, such as Josephine Lang's Goethe, Heine and Uhland Lieder will help us to contextualization her contribution to the tradition of German song.

2.6 Refocusing the Lens: Feminist Musicology and the Study of Women Composers

The unearthing of a feminine tradition in art has become one of the goals of feminist musicology. Marcia Citron has outlined some of the most pertinent objectives of the study of women composers through a series of questions:

> In the Western art tradition women have fashioned varied connections to the creative act. There are many important questions to be asked. What are the foundations and manifestations of those connections? From what kinds of positions have women had to negotiate the legitimacy of their creativity? How have they dealt with symbolic and rhetorical structures aimed at creative suppression? What kinds of tangible constraints have they faced? How have psychological factors affected self-confidence and what has that meant for the larger historical picture? And what are the personal and historiographic implications of the notion of a female tradition?[52]

The questions Citron proposes raise an important point about discussing the repression of women composers, namely the treatment of male influences on the female composers. Let us consider Citron's notion of a female tradition. Firstly, it is doubtful that women composers would really want to be part of a separate tradition. Lang speaks of wanting to learn about the masters.[53] She admired her male contemporaries such as Mendelssohn and Robert Schumann, but on the other hand, she equally admired Clara Schumann.[54] She wanted to be, and actually was, part of a wider musical world. This is evident in her pleas to both male and female contemporaries to help her publish. The evidence thus far suggests that Josephine

[52] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 44.
[53] Lang to Hiller, 6 June 1860, 29 (607) Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 156.
[54] Lang to Clara Schumann, 26 [or 16] August 1859. Mus. Nachl. K. Schumann 5, 215, SPK, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* pp. 151–52.

Lang revelled in *music*, not in the knowledge that she was an unusual case. In fact, the awareness of being unusual was more likely to cause her anxiety than reaffirm creativity. Although the knowledge of female predecessors had the ability to bolster the compositional careers of women, a separate 'female tradition' is not the answer to women's struggles in music.[55] Rather, it is the absence of females in the existing tradition that proved problematic. A second notion to address is the search for a female style of composition. McClary asks:

> Are the premises of these women composers the same as those of their male contemporaries? Or did women sometimes try to write in ways that differed from what they heard around them? Is it possible, in other words, to write music as a *woman*?[56]

Hélène Cixous' ideal of *Ecriture Feminine* is compelling, namely that woman must write her self: must write about women and bring women to writing, from which they have been driven away as violently as from their bodies',[57] but where the separation of women's music for separate study may cause some isolation, the search for a feminine aesthetic would, perhaps, act as a real agent of separation. The idea of a feminist aesthetic is a highly complex area, and engages with psychological and cognitive issues. McClary has claimed that women have had to write 'like men' in order to be accepted.[58] Yet, as Virginia Woolf believed, 'a woman's writing is always feminine; it cannot help being feminine: the only difference lies in defining what we mean by feminine.'[59] Later Woolf admitted, 'Perhaps a mind that is purely masculine cannot create, any more than a mind that is purely feminine.'[60] Green

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[55] Citron cites Ethel Smyth, who states, 'You can not get giants like Mt. Blanc and Mt. Everest without the mass of moderate-size mountains on whose shoulders they stand. It is the upbuilding of this platform that is impossible so long as full musical life is denied to women.' See Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 76.
[56] McClary, 'Reshaping a Discipline', p. 405.
[57] Hélène Cixous, cited in 'Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness.' *The New Feminist Criticism: essays on women, literature, and theory*, ed. by Elaine Showalter (London: Virago 1986), p. 249.
[58] McClary, *Feminine Endings,* p. 115.
[59] Virginia Woolf, 'Women Novelists', in *Selected Essays,* ed. by David Bradshaw (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), (pp. 129–31), p. 131.
[60] Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own & Three Guineas* (1929 & 1938), with an introduction by Hermione Lee (London: Vintage, 1984), p. 93.

makes a similar claim, in response to McClary's assertions about the sensual and physical nature of music, that music is as equally cerebral as it is connected with the body,[61] alluding to the all-encompassing nature of art. McClary has found reason to believe that Sonata Form and Opera embody misogynistic agendas,[62] yet Citron admits that 'ignoring received paradigms, even if rejected in principle as representative of male-centered society, can lessen our effectiveness in bringing about meaningful change.'[63] In order to continue our efforts of expanding the horizons of musicology effectively, that is, to include the works of women composers in a more than superficial way, we should try to understand the connections of women's music to existing scholarship and methodologies, rather than insist on exploring their music tangentially where knowledge may never be shared.

2.7 Conclusion: Appraising Women's Achievements in Music

While I disagree with the notion of a 'feminine aesthetic,' there is still a need, as Citron stresses, to try and understand women composers 'in their own terms.'[64] If we do not attempt to attain this understanding we will, as Rosen argued, ignore the real 'tragedy' of many of their situations.[65] Consequently, I wish to move away from the antiquated ideology that Lucy Green describes as talented women becoming acknowledged as 'honorary men.'[66] Green states that the woman composer 'has been recognized as an honorary man, her femininity, her real woman's achievement,

[61] Green, *Music*, *gender*, *education*, p. 86.
[62] See McClary, *Feminine Endings,* pp. 53–79.
[63] Citron, 'Feminist Approaches to Musicology', in *Cecilia Reclaimed* (pp. 15–34), p. 18.
[64] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 43.
[65] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation,* p. xi.
[66] Green, *Music, gender, education,* p. 144.

remaining unsung.'[67] Instead, we must recognize Josephine Lang's achievements as important in their own right in their own specific context, one that overlapped with many contexts. The habit of designating exceptional women as 'honorary men' does nothing to encourage the investigation of women's music. Instead, this stance pushes the investigation of women's music into a deeper position of isolation. In considering exceptional women as 'honorary men', we recreate the musical tug of war of the past where it seems that women were either criticized if their works proved too difficult for an amateur market or praised when their music transcended typical feminine norms. In the spirit of a feminism that supports equality, my aim is to recognize the achievements of Josephine Lang, in a study that embraces her struggle as a woman but examines her contribution to the musical world around her. Although it may seem like a given that we would do this, studies of women composers have tended to focus on the struggles of a woman when an integrated process would be more useful. While this may result in a somewhat 'anecdotal'[68] approach, when more stories of women composers are pieced together, we shall be able to draw more insightful conclusions as to the meaning of music in women's lives.

Some time before she wrote her more provocative writings, McClary once eloquently stated her ideals for feminist musicology: 'the intention here is not to victimize or lay blame but to uncover extraordinary music.'[69] The present study is carried out with such ideals in mind. In examining Lang's music, I advocate a realistic approach that praises instances of brilliance but also uncovers reasons why some songs are not as effective as others. It is therefore the musical impetus and the

[67] Ibid., p. 114.
[68] Citron remarks that history 'cannot embrace an endless string of anecdotes'. See Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p. 7.
[69] McClary, 'Reshaping a discipline', p. 400.

exceptionality of Lang's achievement that drives this study; perceptions of Lang as a woman composer should not be viewed in a negative light.

It may seem odd to single out Josephine Lang for separate consideration, given the spirit of a feminism of equality being argued for here, but this is only intended to redress a gender imbalance that has taken place in the past. Due to social, pedagogical and ideological limitations on women in the nineteenth century, their music has not made its way through to the public consciousness in the same way that men's music has. Although women's music is isolated by separate study, it is not with a view to sustaining isolation but in the hope that this work will aid Lang's continued integration into music history. Liane Curtis, for example, considers that 'as the veil is lifted on women's musical activities, we are gaining a fuller and more accurate picture of the history of music.'[70] Similarly, Citron considers that 'works by women can indeed play an important role. Not only do they introduce new questions for themselves, but they have the very real power of modifying the discourse for the entire canon so that a fuller range of human expression is being represented.'[71] Margaret Mead declares that 'when an activity to which each could have contributed is limited to one sex, a rich differentiated quality is lost from the activity itself.'[72] In examining Josephine Lang's Lieder, we thus learn more about the nineteenth-century German Lied tradition and its position within society.[73] Is it possible therefore to award Lang's musical life its primacy in our study and let feminist concerns be secondary? In the words of Lillian S. Robinson, it is up to feminist writers 'to

[70] Liane Curtis, 'Christine de Pizan and "Deuil Angoisseux"', in *Gender and Sexuality in Early Music,* ed. T. Borgerding (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 266.
[71] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 222.
[72] Margaret Mead, cited in James R. Briscoe, 'Preface', in *A Historical Anthology of Music by Women,* p. xi.
[73] Marcia Citron has expressed a similar view. See Citron, 'The Lieder of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel', in *The Musical Quarterly,* 69/4 (1983), p. 594.

demonstrate that such an inclusion would constitute a genuinely affirmative action for all of us'[74] so that we all may learn. It is in this spirit that this research on Josephine Lang is undertaken.

[74] Lillian S. Robinson, 'Treason Our Text: Feminist Challenges to the Literary Canon', in *The New Feminist Criticism,* p. 118 cited in Higgins, 'Reflections on Recent Polemics', p. 192.

3

A Nineteenth-Century Woman Artist: Perspectives on Gender and Creativity in Lang's Biographical Narrative

3.1 Approaching Lang's Biography

Josephine Lang's achievements as a female composer in nineteenth-century Germany were undoubtedly unique: her vast published song output remained virtually unparalleled amongst her fellow women composers in the nineteenth century. Outside musical circles, Lang's individual experience as a professional woman composer in the nineteenth century diverged from norms of women's behaviour. The exceptionality of her life did not mean, however, that Lang was immune to the restrictions and ideologies placed on women. The significance of Lang's gender as a life-shaping factor becomes apparent through her fulfilment of the expectations of gendered roles as daughter, wife and mother, roles that crucially affected her musical training and compositional activity.

Although feminist strands of thought began to develop in early nineteenth-century Germany,[1] there is no documentary evidence that Lang possessed feminist ideals similar to those of author and composer Johanna Kinkel (1810–58), for example.[2] Nonetheless, the rarity of Lang's achievement could be interpreted as 'feminist' in that it transcended female norms and occupied, though not fully, a mostly male-dominated sphere of musical composition. Although female composers

[1] John C. Fout, 'Current Research on German Women's History in the Nineteenth Century', in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by John C. Fout (New York & London: Holmes & Meier, 1984), (pp. 3–54), p. 4.
[2] Lia Secci, 'German Women Writers in the Revolution of 1848', in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by John C. Fout, pp. 51–56. See also Margaret McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1999), pp. 86–88.

were still in the minority, song's relative neutrality as a potential site of creativity for both male and female composers is noteworthy. In the spirit of feminist inquiry laid out in the previous chapter, this chapter seeks to raise questions about Lang's life and consider how she was affected by gendered restrictions. An attempt is made to develop some existing perceptions of key events in Lang's life and perhaps to present some fresh perspectives on some of the biographical minutiae of her life-narrative.

Familial influences and Lang's multiple familial roles are considered in full recognition that these roles fulfilled the gendered paradigms of her day and hence a 'humanist' standpoint is necessary when appraising the actions of patriarchal figures in her life and trying to understand motivations for their behaviour. Discussion of existential concerns is interwoven with an examination of significant biographical events that highlight issues for Lang, both as a woman and as a musician. This chapter is envisaged not in the light of Wilson Kimber's 'documentation of failures'[3] that may arise when one focuses solely on the repression of women but rather as a reflective inquiry and an embracement of both the difficult realities and triumphant accomplishments of Lang's life, and the place of music within that life.

3.2 Women's Life-Paths in the Nineteenth Century: Ideology and the Role of Education

The respective roles of daughter, wife and mother are noteworthy for their universal significance to women of the early nineteenth century and beyond. The myopic ideology of a woman's solitary goal as wife and mother formed the nucleus around which women's entire being and education were cultivated. Rousseau's ideas that a woman's role was always as nurturer and carer of the man influenced society's

[3] Wilson Kimber, 'The Suppression of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel', p. 128.

treatment of women greatly, especially in Germany. Katherine Anthony recognizes that 'the original evil genius of the segregated girls' schools was the celebrated Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose influence on the development of pedagogical ideas was greater in Germany than anywhere else.'[4]

A key result of this 'pigeon-holing' of women's lives was the discernible deficiency in their education, compared to that of men, and this deficiency resulted in the denial of women's rights to better themselves through cultivation. The preclusion of intellectual development and stimulation, along with the possibilities of self-expression, independence and self-esteem occurred through the absence of an entitlement to choose a career for themselves. Personal fulfilment in a preferred profession was rarely an option for women. The goals of marrying and bearing children were a woman's highest aspirations and any hopes of developing an intellectual life were clouded over by the ideologies as to how their sex should behave. Women today are fortunate to see clearly the possibilities of their lives, but women of the past, never having seen possibility, perhaps doubted its existence. That there were no 'great' female composers has long been observed, but one can immediately see that given the limited opportunities for self-development the emergence of a 'female Beethoven'[5] at this time would have been unimaginable and yet paradoxically, one realizes that what some women actually did achieve within these limits was all the more remarkable.

[4] Katherine Anthony, *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia* (London: Constable & Company Ltd, 1916), p. 41.
[5] Amy Fay, cited in Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p. 76.

3.3 Musical Beginnings: The Influence of Lang's Musical Heritage

It was into this social ethos that Josephine Lang was born in 1815. Both of Lang's parents were professional musicians. Lang's grandfather, Martin Lang (1755–1819) and great-uncle, were professional musicians at the Mannheim court, and moved to Munich from Mannheim in 1777 with Elector Karl Theodor. Martin Lang married Marianne Lang (neé Bouder), a well-known actress, in 1782. Lang's father, Theobald Lang (1783–1839) was a prodigious violinist who played professionally at the Munich court and in Stuttgart.[6] Lang's maternal grandmother, Sabine Renk-Hitzelberger from Würzburg, was one of the most well-known opera singers of her day.[7] Lang's maternal grandfather was Franz Hitzelberger (1743–1805), a virtuoso flautist. Lang's mother, Regina Hitzelberger (1786–1827) became an opera singer like her own mother.[8] After studying with her mother, Regina Hitzelberger went on to study with Peter von Winter, Carl Cannabich and Abbé Vogler, and was apparently admired by Carl Maria von Weber and Napoleon for her performances.[9] In 1808, Lang's parents were married and in 1810, Regina Lang gave birth to her first child, Ferdinand. Five years later, their second and only other child, Josephine, was born two months' premature, which caused her to have a frail constitution all her life.

Since Lang was born into a family of professional musicians, her particular experience of the societal boundaries on women deviated somewhat from the typical experience of a woman in the nineteenth century. A musical family seems to have

[6] Roberta Werner provides ample background information on the wider activities of both the Lang and Hitzelberg families. See Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', pp. 1–25.
[7] Oskar Kaul, 'Hitzelberger, Regina', in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, VI (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), p. 491.
[8] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 10.
[9] H. A. Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 53.

created opportunities for women to which they would otherwise not have been exposed. Francesca Caccini (1587–1641)[10] eventually became the highest paid singer at court in Florence,[11] for example. Clara Schumann's parents were both professional musicians and her father groomed her for a career as an international musician. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel received an exceptional education through her mother, Lea Mendelssohn, who had an excellent background in music and had access to Berlin's most eminent musicians. In short, women who came from musical families had easier access to musical training. The status of the Lang family as professional court musicians also erased some of the barricades that would have prevented most women from even considering a professional career. The Langs' position as court musicians also blurred some of the boundaries of class: they were by no means wealthy or aristocratic, but their artistic occupations permitted them to interact with the aristocracy and fellow artists, such as the famous painter Joseph Stieler, who became Lang's godfather.[12]

Despite such ease of contact with music, Lang, like women of non-musical backgrounds, experienced familial and societal restrictions on her activities; it was common that women were allowed to flourish to a certain extent as musicians, but often their musical activities operated within boundaries. A common example is the limitation of women's publishing activities. In addition, life's milestones of marriage and motherhood practically and socially often diverted them from their path. A further element of tragedy is witnessed where women were allowed to partake of

[10] Francesca Caccini was the daughter of the composer Giulio Caccini (1551–618) and Lucia Caccini, a talented musician in her own right. See Karin Pendle, 'Musical Women in Early Modern Europe', in *Women and Music*, ed. by Karin Pendle, (pp. 57–96), p. 78.
[11] Carolyn Raney, 'Francesca Caccini (1587–*c.* 1630)', in *A Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, ed. by James R. Briscoe, (pp. 22–24), p. 22.
[12] Joseph Stieler (1781–1858) was renowned for his portraits of Beethoven (1820) and Goethe (1828), which are the most well-known of the two men today.

musical life but not as fully as men. They were often offered a foretaste of what it would be like to be professional independent musicians, but were rarely granted full admittance to a musical realm.[13] Nevertheless, many of these women were able to negotiate ways around these obstacles and 'fashioned relationships with the creative act,'[14] in particular through the genre of song.

3.4 Matriarchal Lineage and the Foundations of a Compositional Career

Harald and Sharon Krebs point out that unusually Regina Lang continued her career after she got married and performed at concerts in Stuttgart, Amsterdam and Hamburg with her husband.[15] She also continued to perform at the Munich court and to teach. Regina Lang ceased performing on the European operatic stage, however, one year after her son was born, which seems to have been in response to her husband's wishes. Hiller reports that 'her husband withdrew her from the stage early on, as her delicate constitution was not suited to the trials of such an occupation.'[16] H.A. Köstlin later refers to Theobald Lang as the 'sorglichen Gatten'[17] (worrying husband) who was supposedly looking out for his wife's health. Since Lang's mother died at a young age, one may speculate that she may have been unwell for some time prior to her death and may not have been able to sustain professional activities.

Certainly, the presence of female professional ancestors as well as male ones allowed Lang to begin a musical career more easily than if she had not come from a

[13] Clara Schumann was an exception here who achieved acclaim as an international performer. Even she, however, faced obstacles during her marriage. She was not to interrupt Robert Schumann's composing with her practice, for example. See Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 93.
[14] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p. 44.
[15] Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 53.
[16] 'Ihr Gatte entzog sie jedoch schon frühzeitig der Bühne, da ihr allzu zartes und weiches Wesen dem Treiben derselben nicht gewachsen war.' Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 118.
[17] Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 53. Werner raises the question of whether 'life was too strenuous in reality or whether her husband was succumbing to nineteenth-century social expectations of women'. See Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 20.

musical family.[18] The level of influence of these female professional role models is, however, a complex issue. In most cases, a father determined the fate of his daughter (Lang's musical education certainly conforms to this pattern). The presence of female professional role models, her mother in particular, would have endorsed the notion of a working woman (and working mother) for Lang. However, as a professional woman, Lang, like her mother, would face struggles throughout her life and further societal barriers when her music entered the public domain. Unlike her mother, Lang was not predominantly a singer, but a composer, and was traversing a path less travelled. Therefore the presence of female role models constituted just one of the important factors in creating a path for Lang's compositional activity. Perhaps more vital to Lang's chosen path as a composer, however, was her historical location within the nineteenth century and the external influences of shifting musical structures, namely the move from the court to the realm of the middle-classes. As music was embraced by the bourgeoisie, a niche was created for Lang to express her musical gifts through the genre of Lieder. Indeed, the subsequent popularity of the piano within the home and Schubert's transformation of the Lied were also critical in laying the foundations for Lang's musical career.

3.5 Lang's Early Musical Instruction

The heritage of a musical family such as Lang's did not denote a first-class musical education, however. Despite the plethora of music in Lang's environment, the inadequacy of her early musical education has been recognized in recent writings.[19] In actuality, Lang's musical education appears to have begun as a natural process

[18] The influence of Lang's female professional role models has been noted by Harald and Sharon Krebs. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 10.
[19] See, for example, Judith Tick, 'Introduction', in *Josephine Lang*, *Selected Songs* (New York: Da Capo, 1982) and Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 12.

where music was a part of her environment as she grew up. Lang's first music lessons were given by her mother, who in turn, had been taught by her mother.[20] Lang's descriptions of these early lessons seem to have occurred as a result of a maternal relationship rather than out of a desire for formal instruction. Lang recalled:

> It was my greatest joy when my mother would sit me on her lap and, with a thousand caresses, let my fingers walk up and down the piano, and teach me to sing children's songs and play little pieces. Thus it often occurred to me that I went to sleep while playing or singing.[21]

These beginnings revealed promise for Lang's musical activities. However, despite the grounding in music granted to Lang by her mother, Lang's continuing musical education was surprisingly haphazard. The disorganized nature of Lang's musical education that followed this period is relatively inexplicable. Harald and Sharon Krebs conclude that Lang's mother, although she was a fine musician, was by now inadequate to teach Lang any more and it 'soon became necessary to seek other instructors for the gifted child.'[22] Although Lang obviously possessed a prodigious musical talent, it is difficult to fathom that her mother was no longer qualified to give the five-year old child lessons, or that the young Josephine had already absorbed all she could from her mother. Conceivably, her mother could have continued to supplement Lang's musical education. Equally curiously, there never seems to have been any suggestion that Lang would be taught by her father, although he did give his son violin lessons and hoped that he would follow in his footsteps in the orchestra of the Munich court.[23]

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[20] 'Lang-Hitzelberger, Regina', in *Großes Sängerlexicon*, cited in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 10.

[21] 'Meine größte Freude war es, wenn sie mich auf den Schoß nahm und unter tausend Liebkosungen meine kleinen Finger auf dem Klavier spazieren gehen ließ, mich Kindermelodien singen oder gar kleine Stücklein spielen lehrte. So kam es, dass ich gar oftmals unter Gesang und Spiel einschlief.' Josephine Lang cited in Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß,' p. 54.

[22] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 10.

[23] Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 32

Recognition of Lang's prodigious musical gifts came from outside the family circle. When the music teacher of her brother Ferdinand heard the little girl performing a song,[24] he asked her who had composed it and was surprised when she replied that she had composed it herself. She was only five years of age, the song being apparently her first known composition.[25] The teacher, whose identity is unknown, immediately recommended to Lang's parents that she begin formal studies.[26] Hiller notes, however, that this recommendation was 'without success', and that 'the right piano teacher was still not found.'[27] H.A. Köstlin also remarks that no serious effort went into finding Lang an adequate music instructor. Some of her teachers even fell asleep during her lessons.[28] According to Hiller, these lessons were 'agonizing' (qualvoll) for the young Lang.[29] Again, one wonders why Ferdinand's music teacher was not employed to teach Lang, since he obviously showed an interest in Lang's talent. The state of affairs is perhaps representative of the times, where the education of girls was not taken as seriously as that of boys, although it could also be argued that at the age of five, Lang was possibly too young to have been considered previously for formal lessons.

Due to their daughter's poor health, Lang's parents made the decision to home school her, a move that was not very successful since the tutor they appointed appears to have been lackadaisical about her education.[30] Despite the unsystematic nature of Lang's early musical education, she did, however, as Harald and Sharon Krebs adduce, benefit in other ways from interaction with artistic and musical

[24] Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 119
[25] This composition is unfortunately no longer extant.
[26] Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben*, *unserer Zeit*, p. 120.
[27] 'Wurde der rechte Mann noch immer nicht gefunden.' Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 121.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid., p. 120.
[30] Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 55.

circles. Her contact with her artist godfather, Joseph Stieler, for example, gave her a glimpse of the artistic world beyond Munich through his relating of his encounters with Goethe and Beethoven.[31] Lang later noted such experiences as going to the opera with her parents, since the age of three, as being among the most significant of her early life.[32] Although Harald and Sharon Krebs have pointed out that this must have been hazardous to Lang's health,[33] Lang's early immersion in the arts helped shape the future artist she would become.

The situation of Lang's musical education improved greatly when Josephine Berlinghof,[34] one of the better piano teachers in Munich, recognized Lang's talent at a performance given at the home of the Ascher family in Munich and subsequently offered to teach Lang.[35] Lang's development with the new teacher was very rapid and the new instruction led to Lang's debut concert at the age of eleven with the Munich Museum Society in 1826.[36] The development of her pianistic skill would have aided her song composition. Harald and Sharon Krebs observe that the repertoire Lang studied with Berlinghof was commonly taught to women at the time.[37] At her debut concert with the Munich Museum Society, she performed a set of variations on Rossini's *Donna Del Lago,* op. 17, by the popular contemporary composer, Henri Herz (1803-88). Although deemed 'salon-music', the music Lang

[31] Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 122.
[32] Ibid. Harald and Sharon Krebs note that it is 'noteworthy that her parents' concern for her health did not prevent them from taking the young girl to the opera.' See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 12.
[33] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 12.
[34] There is little information available on Josephine Berlinghof. H. A. Köstlin tells us that she died in 1877 in Darmstadt as wife of the pianist, Wagner. See Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 56. Lang later dedicated her 'op. 5' collection of songs to Berlinghof in 1834.
[35] Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 121. I have been unable to locate any more information on the Ascher family.
[36] Ibid. See also Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 57.
[37] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 15.

learned was by no means easy. That Lang could play Herz's piece at a young age is a testament to her musical ability.

3.6 *Wunderkinder* and *Dilettantismus:* Lang's Early Public Performances in Munich

The Munich Museum Society was a private society whose members included upper class professionals and members of both the nobility and bourgeoisie and regularly held concerts for its members.[38] Given that women had only been permitted in the society for less than twenty years, Werner's view that Lang would have been allowed to perform because of her '*Wunderkind'* status could be supported.[39] It also shows how childhood prodigiousness precluded gender bias against women's musical activity.[40] In fact, there is little information on further public performances by Lang: Harald and Sharon Krebs surmise that Lang must have once performed in the Philharmonic Society before it moved to the Odeon Hall; the Munich soprano, Katharina Sigl-Vespermann later performed Lang's songs instead of Lang herself because seemingly Lang's 'relatively small voice could not fill that hall.'[41] This was articulated in a letter from Heinrich Baermann, the well-known clarinettist, to Mendelssohn, who added that that he had heard Lang play the piano quite well.[42] It is interesting that Lang's songs were being performed by a singer other than herself. There is also reference to another of the Museum Concerts in 1835 in the *Neue*

[38] Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p 38. For more information on musical life in Munich, see Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', pp. 38–65.
[39] Ibid., p. 39. Werner states that along with virtuosi, there was a fashion for *Wunderkindern* to perform at these concerts.
[40] Further examples of where this status of child prodigy precluded gender bias are seen in the case of Fanny Hensel.
[41] See letter from Heinrich Baermannn to Felix Mendelssohn, 20 July 1834, Mendelssohn MS, M.D. M, d. 29 no. 280, Bodleian Library, Oxford, referred to in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 43.
[42] Ibid.

Zeitschrift für Musik in which a 'Fräulein Lang' performed in Mozart's wind quintets and reputedly played 'well' (trefflich).[43]

Munich was an active musical city in early nineteenth-century Germany, but like Vienna, 'preference was for the familiar and not the new and demanding.'[44] The Museum Society's musical tastes fell in line with the burgeoning public concert. Concert billings usually consisted of 'a symphony or an overture, solo performances either of song or for one or several instruments with piano or orchestral accompaniment.'[45] Although later we shall see that Munich could play host to serious music in a private setting, the 'popular' appears to have reigned supreme in Munich. Felix Mendelssohn comments on the musical milieu in Munich, writing to Zelter that:

> [The people of Munich] believe that good music may be considered a heaven-sent gift, but just *in abstracte* and as soon as they sit down to play they produce the stupidest, silliest stuff imaginable, and when people do not like it they pretend that it was still too highbrow. Even the best pianists had no idea that Mozart and Haydn had written for the piano; they had just the faintest notion of Beethoven and consider the music of Kalkbrenner, Field and Hummel classical and scholarly. On the other hand, having played myself several times, I found the audience so receptive and open-minded that I felt doubly vexed by those frivolities. Recently, at a soirée given by a Countess, who is supposed to lead in fashion, I had an outbreak. 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; when I was asked to play, I thought: well, if you get bored it serves you right, and started right out with the C-sharp minor sonata of Beethoven. When I finished, I noticed that the impression had been enormous; the ladies were weeping, the gentlemen hotly discussing the importance of the work. I had to write down a number of Beethoven sonatas for the female pianists who wanted to study them. Next morning the Countess summoned her piano-teacher and desired from him an edition of good, really good music, by Mozart, Beethoven and Weber. This story went around Munich and the good-natured musicians were very pleased that I had set myself up as the preacher in the desert. Subsequently I gave a long sermon to the leading pianist and reproached her for having contributed nothing towards the knowledge and appreciation of the works of the great masters here and for having just followed the popular trend instead of guiding the taste of the public—and she vowed to improve. Since that time I play only what I really like, however serious, and everybody listens to me with attention.[46]

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[43] 'Aus München', in *NZfM*, 3/5, 17 July 1835, p. 20. Katherine Sigl-Vespermann is mentioned as singing in the same concert.

[44] Lorraine Byrne Bodley, 'Schubert's Literary Genius and Eclectic Imagination: Questions of Literary Inheritance', Unpublished guest lecture, Department of Music, University College Dublin, 1 November 2001.

[45] Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 40.

[46] Letter from Felix Mendelssohn to Carl Friedrich Zelter, Munich, June 22 1830 in Felix Mendelssohn, *Letters*, trans. by Gisella Selden-Goth (London: Paul Elek, 1946), p. 82.

One can garner from Mendelssohn's letter the 'lighter' tone of music performance in Munich. That Lang played variations by Herz in her debut recital raises some interesting points in regard to tensions in the musical world, which had particular resonance for women musicians at that time. The genre of variation appears to have been extremely popular in Munich.[47] Significantly Hiller notes Herz as a dominant figure in the repertoire of dilettantes.[48] However, it is also known that Clara Schumann and Robert Schumann played the works of Herz in 1831 when they were both taught by Friedrich Wieck.[49] Clara Wieck played variations by Herz when she visited Goethe in 1831.[50] Herz's music wasn't always considered the music of dilettantes. Robert Schumann had once been an admirer of Herz's piano music and modelled his unfinished piano concerto in F on Herz's first piano concerto.[51] Schumann, however went on to criticize publicly such Parisian virtuoso-pianist composers as Herz, Thalberg and Kalkbrenner, who were extremely popular in Munich on account of the virtuosic style of their compositions.[52] In Schumann's characteristic opinion, such virtuosity and empty showmanship lacked real musical depth. Schumann was also highly critical of their 'mercenary' attitude to composition: he preferred the 'beautiful intimacy of music.'[53] Leon Plantinga points out that 'there was a strong commercialism about the Parisian virtuosi, and that the

[47] A review of music in Munich in 1823 deems the city the 'Vaterland der Variationen'. See *AMZ*, 49, 3 December 1923, p. 810.
[48] Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 121.
[49] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 62.
[50] See letter from Goethe to Zelter, Weimar, 5 October 1831, in Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Goethe and Zelter*, *Musical Dialogues* (Surrey & Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), p. 528.
[51] Joseph Kerman, 'The Concertos', in *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, p. 173. Kerman notes that by 1839, Schumann had turned his back on the music of Herz.
[52] For an example of Schumann's ongoing criticism of Herz, see Schumann's review of Herz's Second Piano Concerto in Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker,* ed. by Maritn Kreisig (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1914), pp. 153–54.
[53] There is a marked change in Schumann's attitudes concerning music and commerciality throughout the 1830s. Perhaps it has something to do with his witnessing of Clara Wieck's performances, and experiencing jealousy of either her talents or seeing her on stage with other men as Reich has noted. He wrote to Clara, 'the bit of fame in the contemptible paper that your father considers the greatest happiness in the world—I despise it.' See Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 68.

pianists themselves did nothing to dispel it.'[54] Steve Lindeman, on the other hand, has defended Herz's works, claiming that many of them are of 'considerable merit.'[55]

While a re-appraisal of Herz's music is not the focus here, both Mendelssohn's and Schumann's criticism of Herz and his compatriots reveals the underlying friction that existed between the 'serious' and the 'popular', which would later affect music composed by Lang, thereby creating obstacles with which she and other women composers like her would have to battle both socially and internally. While some of Mendelssohn's and Schumann's criticism is valid, one cannot help suspect that they believed that popular music could never possess genuine value.[56] Mendelssohn and Schumann were trying to preserve something of the sacredness of art but their views can also be interpreted as elitist. Mendelssohn's disparagement of Field and Hummel, for example, has been overturned today as both have been reassessed in recent years.[57] There is certainly a need for a more in-depth exploration of Herz and his role in the musical milieu in Germany. The case of Lang's playing of Herz's music illustrates the complex tensions between the 'serious' and 'popular' in Lang's musical environment.

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[54] Leon Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New York: Da Capo, 1976), p. 19.
[55] Stephan D. Lindeman. 'Herz, Henri', in *GMO*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12915> [accessed 3 January 2010].
[56] Byrne Bodley raises this point in regard to the musical climate in Vienna in 'Schubert's Literary Genius'.
[57] See for example, Mark Kroll, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel: a Musician's Life and World* (Lanham MD, Scarecrow Press, 2007). Alison Hood has worked to bring John Field's achievements to light in establishing the John Field Institute and organising study days on the composer. At the time of writing, Majella Boland is also undertaking doctoral work on Field's Piano Concertos at University College Dublin.

3.7 Untimely Tragedy and Lang's Ongoing Educational Progress (1827–30)

Not long after Lang's debut recital in Munich, Lang experienced the tragic loss of her mother, who died in 1827 at the age of 41. Although Regina Lang's role in Lang's early life, apart from the early lessons at the piano, is not recorded, one speculates that Lang's career may have been different had her mother lived longer. Until Lang's father remarried, Lang stayed with her grandmother, Marianne Lang, a successful actress and acting coach. Lang's new step-mother, Therese Seligman, a widow of one of Theobald Lang's colleagues in the Munich Court Orchestra, seems to have taken a keen interest in Lang's musical education. Lang 'received regular lessons in the usual subjects, and quickly and almost effortlessly made up for what had been neglected.'[58] After her mother's death Lang is reported to have attended an 'Institut' in Munich for a time.[59] The subjects that Lang studied may prove this: all of them were available at the Max Joseph Institute.[60] Schneider maintains that 'although there was quite a selection of courses, the school's graduates were expected to become good housewives and mothers, according to the dictates of their social standing.'[61] Harald and Sharon Krebs also note that Lang received an education that was beyond her social station,[62] as did her contemporaries Fanny Hensel and Clara Schumann. As court musicians, the Lang family were not aristocratic. The fifth-floor apartment in Munich where they lived suggests that they were not wealthy. Lang's period of study at the Institute was probably a result of her favourable connection with Queen Caroline,[63] which was most likely made through Lang's parents who

[58] 'Josephine erhielt nun geordneten Unterricht in den gewöhnlichen Bildungsfächern, und das Versäumte wurde von ihr schnell und fast ohne Mühe nachgeholt.' Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 56.
[59] Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 57.
[60] This was first observed by Werner. See Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p.79. Harald and Sharon Krebs endorse this view. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 59.
[61] Joanne Schneider, 'Enlightened Reforms and Bavarian Girls' Education: Tradition through Innovation', in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by John C. Fout, p. 60.
[62] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 14.
[63] Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', pp. 79–80.

were court musicians. Joanne Schneider notes the curriculum that girls studied at the Max Joseph Institute, which included 'religious instruction […], German, French, history, geography, natural history, arithmetic, drawing, music, dancing and handiwork. Girls in the upper grades could take English or Italian if they wished.'[64] The education of boys and girls in Bavaria, as in the rest of Europe, therefore contrasted greatly[65] and Schneider notes the particular aim of the school to provide 'good housewives and mothers',[66] which was in keeping with the gender ideology of the day. Although arithmetic is listed among the subjects at the school, women's education in mathematical and scientific subjects certainly was not as thorough as that of boys. Since music is, in one sense, mathematical,[67] it is very significant that women did not receive adequate education in mathematics, which is proven to nourish the logical side of the brain. This may have led to difficulties later for female musicians with the study of harmony and form in music composition and may have prevented women from attempting to compose large-scale orchestral works.

In addition to her studies, there was now a need for Lang to contribute to the family income; while she herself was still a child of twelve years of age,[68] she began teaching piano to the young women of Munich in order to supplement Theobald Lang's 'meagre income'.[69] This may have resulted from the loss of Regina Lang's income. Hiller's biography claims that Lang taught up to eight hours a day.[70]

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[64] Schneider, 'Enlightened Reforms and Bavarian Girls' Education, p. 60.
[65] Ibid., p. 55.
[66] Ibid., p. 60.
[67] Connections between music and mathematics have been acknowledged since the time of Ancient Greek philosophy. Later Leibniz recognized such connections. See *Music and Mathematics: From Pythagoras to Fractals*, ed. by John Fauvel, Raymond Flood & Robin Wilson (Oxford University Press, 2006).
[68] Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 123.
[69] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 13.
[70] Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß' p. 57.

It is around this time when Lang appears to have begun to compose. Apart from one dated fragmentary piano piece from 1824,[71] Lang appears to have begun composing songs in earnest in 1828. Harald and Sharon Krebs surmise that Lang was active as a song-composer from 1828 to 1830.[72] Although much of the work is undated, its grouping in a collection with dated settings suggest that it was composed at that time.[73] Her songs from this time display a willingness for harmonic adventure, and a developed sense of the role of the piano. Examples include her settings of Matthisson's 'Fee'n Reigen', 'op. 3' no. 4, Goethe's 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', 'op. 6' no. 3, and 'An die Entfernte', 'op. 1' no. 1. It is astonishing that Lang was still a young teenager when she composed these songs. As the sensation of the *Wunderkind* proscribed gender bias, women composers seem to have found the act of composition easier during their youth. Later in life, however, both psychologically, and physically, obstacles were set in the path of Lang's creativity. Citron poignantly asks about Clara Schumann's creativity, 'Did being a grown woman instead of a girl signal the closing off of possibility?'[74] Childhood innocence and lack of self-awareness helped early compositional activities flourish, while later, self-doubt and ambivalence towards one's compositions set in.[75] Indeed young women were often more active in public musical activity before the practical obstructions of marriage and motherhood took over, and before the transition to womanhood created more self-consciousness of societal perceptions of women's public role. This transition is more interesting in relation to composition, where composers like Lang and Clara Schumann felt less inhibited to compose as teenagers; some of Lang's best works were composed as a teenager/young woman, and Clara Schumann began composing

[71] WLB, MS Lang, Cod. Mus. fol. zu 53–57, p. 59.
[72] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 15.
[73] See Josephine Lang, 'Liedersammlung von J. Lang 1828', in WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53a.
[74] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p. 57.
[75] Ibid., p. 54. Citron claims that this ambivalence is a result of an 'anxiety of authorship.'

her stunning piano concerto at the age of thirteen.[76] Lang's most active period as a composer was the 1830s, from the age of fifteen to twenty-five: by the year 1840, Robert Schumann's *Liederjahr*, Lang had composed *c.*100 songs over approximately a twelve-year period.[77]

3.8 A Providential Encounter with Felix Mendelssohn

Lang's songs must have impressed those around her for in 1830, she was asked to play for Felix Mendelssohn at the home of Joseph Stieler, an occurrence that would alter the course of Lang's career. Lang performed for Mendelssohn, who wrote his glowing praise of her songs and performance in a letter to his family on 7 November 1831:

> She has the gift for composing songs, and singing them in a way I never heard before, causing me the most unalloyed musical delight that I ever experienced. When she is seated at the piano and begins one of the songs, the sounds are unique; the music floats strangely to and fro and every note expresses the most profound and delicate feeling. When she sings the first note in her tender tones, every one present subsides into a quiet and thoughtful mood, and each, in his own way, is deeply affected.[78]

While Mendelssohn's admiration of Lang is referred to in virtually all research on Lang, his comments testify to the uniqueness of Lang's Lieder at this point in the nineteenth century: Mendelssohn had not heard anything quite like them before. Mendelssohn was known as a sharp critic, was extremely critical of musical

[76] For example, Lang composed a large proportion of her songs from 1828 to 1840 (between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five). Clara Schumann began composing her Concerto in January 1833 and worked on it for over two years. It was first performed in full at the Leipzig Gewandhaus under Mendelssohn's direction on 9 November 1835. See Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 227.

[77] It is known that Lang did not date her manuscripts before she met Mendelssohn so one may speculate that there may be considerably more songs from that period.

[78] Felix Mendelssohn, letter to his family 6 October 1831 [*sic*] in Felix Mendelssohn, *Letters*, ed. by G. Selden-Goth, p. 175. Harald and Sharon Krebs have corrected an error which frequently occurs in writing on Lang where Mendelssohn's letter of 6 October 1831 is cited in Selden-Goth's edition as the source for this passage on Lang. In fact, the October letter only gives brief reference to the fact that Mendelssohn was teaching Lang. The longer and oft-cited passage is actually drawn from a letter to his family on 7 November 1831, Stuttgart, *MNY++ Mendelssohn MSS, New York Public Library, New York. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 255.

dilettantes, and had, for example, criticized Maria Szymanowska, whom Robert Schumann had praised as the 'feminine field'.[79]

The following year, Mendelssohn taught Lang for twelve hour-long lessons and as was typical of the composer, these lessons were without charge. Lang studied theory and double counterpoint with Mendelssohn.[80] Notably, this was the extent of Lang's education in the subjects, which following Mendelssohn's Bach revival, *normally* laid the musical foundations for any composer.[81] Later, she would also receive 'guidance' from Franz Lachner, although the exact extent or level of such guidance is unknown.[82] Despite the improvements in women's musical education in the nineteenth century, their lack of instruction in theory, harmony, and orchestration limited their compositional possibilities.[83] Citron echoes Ethel Smyth, pointing out that training is a necessary factor in the composition of music.[84] However, despite these limitations, many women composers, like Lang, flourished in smaller genres such as song. Adolf Bernhard Marx, an important music theorist, who is often held responsible by feminists for attributing gendered terms to the subjects of sonata form, was one of the few men to teach women these subjects, revealing how the actions of

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[79] Nancy Fierro, 'Maria Szymanowska', in *Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, ed. by James R. Briscoe, p. 126. Fierro adds that Felix Mendelssohn was Szymanowska's competitor and claimed that her success was merely as a result of her personal charm.

[80] See letter from Mendelssohn to his family, 7 November 1831, *MNY++ Mendelssohn MSS, New York Public Library, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 23. The notebooks of Felix and Fanny Mendelssohn at the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin reveal a great discrepancy between their instruction under Zelter. Felix was being taught to compose in large complex forms such as string symphonies whereas Fanny was learning to compose songs. See the notebooks of Felix and Fanny Mendelssohn in Mendelssohn-Archiv in Musikabteilung, SPK. I am grateful to Lorraine Byrne Bodley for pointing this out to me.

[81] Lang apparently received some instruction on figured bass, which according to R. Larry Todd is not in the hand of Mendelssohn. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 256.

[82] In a letter to Mendelssohn, Lang describes how Lachner advised her on some of her songs. See letter from Josephine Lang to Felix Mendelssohn, 19 February 1841, Mendelssohn Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, MS. M. D. M. d. 39 XIII 83, cited in A. Dürr, 'Meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch...', p. 132.

[83] See E. Douglas Bomberger, 'Adolph Bernhard Marx on Composition Training for Women', in *Journal of Musicological Research*,17/3, pp. 1–2.

[84] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p. 60.

a male musician in relation to women composers could sometimes conflict with his written expression.

Mendelssohn criticized Lang's parents for encouraging her to perform at social gatherings, which she had done from the age of three,[85] another example, as Harald and Sharon Krebs point out, of how Lang's ill health does not seem to have been of prime concern when it came to these performances.[86] Mendelssohn directed Lang to organize her compositional activity, which up to then had been unsystematic. Hiller relays Mendelssohn's advice: 'he scolded that she was wasting her time with bravura concert performances, directed her mind to the works of the great masters, recommended her to write down her songs nicely and neatly.'[87] Lang took heed and began to date her compositions and organize them in a more orderly fashion. H.A. Köstlin quotes Lang's diary, 'He spoke very firmly. He was most dissatisfied with my efforts to date. He scolded me for wasting my talents performing in salons, one must treat one's gift as sacred.'[88] The interest that Mendelssohn took in Lang's music fuelled her desire to compose more and improve herself, in line with the concepts of *Bildung* and self-cultivation prevalent in nineteenth-century Germany at the time.[89]

[85] Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 54.
[86] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 13.
[87] 'Er schalt, dass sie ihre Zeit mit Bravour-Concertvorträgen verderbe, lenkte ihren Sinn auf die Werke grossen Meister, empfahl ihr, ihre Lieder hübsch ordentlich aufzuschreiben.' Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben*, p. 124, translated by Mary Adams.
[88] 'Er sprach sehr eindringlich. Mit meinem bischerigen Treiben war er sehr unzufrieden. Er schalt mich aus, dass ich in Gesellschaften meine Gaben verschleudere, man müsse sein Talent heilig halten.' Lang quoted in Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', pp. 58–59. Unfortunately, it appears that Lang's diary has been lost.
[89] Letter from Mendelssohn to his family, 7 November, 1831 in Felix Mendelssohn, *Letters*, ed. by G. Seldon Goth, p. 175.

3.9 Dwindling Hopes of an Aspiring Composer: Theobald Lang's Dissenting Voice?

Mendelssohn recommended that Lang study composition in Berlin with Zelter and piano with his sister, Fanny. Her father would not permit it, however. Hiller affirms, 'It all came to naught because of her father's worries over her health—because of his love. He could not bring himself to be separated from his greatest joy.'[90] Mendelssohn's recommendation was not the first that Theobald received concerning Lang's musical education. Stieler encouraged Theobald to source some better musical education for Lang, preferably with Hummel in Weimar, but it never materialized. Harald and Sharon Krebs cite financial reasons as the cause for Theobald Lang's reluctance.[91] Yet, it seems that the reason for not allowing Lang to pursue further study in Berlin was not the cost of sending Lang to Berlin to be educated but the need for her to stay in Munich and contribute to the family income. Later, in 1839, Lang had made plans to study composition in Vienna. Harald and Sharon Krebs note that she would have stayed with her aunt Margarethe Carl,[92] but at the last minute, the plans were abandoned because of the father's reluctance to part with his daughter.[93] According to Hiller, 'Her case was packed, her passport issued, her place in the carriage booked, but the parting was so difficult for her father that the daughter gave up her plans out of filial love.'[94] Theobald Lang again, apparently, 'could not bear to let her go.'[95] Since Hiller's biography originated from Lang's own biographical notes, one possibly hears Lang's own personal disappointment when

[90] 'Alles scheiterte an der Sorge des Vaters um ihre Gesundheit und—an seiner Liebe. Er konnte sich nicht entschließen, sich von seinem höchsten Glücke zu trennen.' Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben*, p. 125.
[91] Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 58. It is significant that Robert Schumann expressed a desire to study with Hummel in the year 1830, see Reich, Clara Schumann, p. 62.
[92] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 72.
[93] Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 127.
[94] 'Der Koffer war gepackt, der Paß ausgefertigt, ja, der Platz im Eilwagen bezahlt—aber der Abschied wurde dem Vater so schwer, dass die Tochter in kindlicher Liebe von Allem abstand.' Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 127
[95] Ibid.

Hiller asserts, 'the young artist's need for more consistent, higher musical education was not satisfied.'[96] This is one of the few times we sense Lang's own disappointment at her situation. Indeed the denial of Lang's last opportunity for musical education in 1839 seems particularly tragic for the young artist.

It is difficult to highlight some of the injustices of the past without recriminating some of the people involved. In the study of a female composer, it is undoubtedly her male relatives who come off the worst. While recognizing that Theobald Lang acted in accordance with prevailing patterns of his time, some questions must be raised concerning her father's intervention in Lang's further education. It seems apparent that his parting with his daughter would have represented a reliving of parting with her mother in death. This clearly played a role and surfaced at the moment of planned departure. There is also evidence that he exhibited a controlling attitude towards his son, Ferdinand, in trying to prevent him from following an acting career, an opinion that he later altered because of Regina Lang's role as 'mediator': and 'it was through her gentle persuasion that Theobald finally relented and gave his consent.'[97] In sharp contrast to Josephine Lang's career path, Ferdinand went on to become one of the most well-known actors in Germany and a favourite of Richard Wagner.[98] Eva Weissweiler has also expressed scepticism concerning the motivations of Lang's father.[99]

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[96] 'Aber es stillte nicht das Bedürfniss der jungen Künstlerin nachhaltigerer, höherer musikalischer Ausbildung.' Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben*, p. 126.
[97] Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 24.
[98] For more information on Ferdinand Lang see Richard Gadermann, *Ferdinand Lang*, *Fünfzig Jahre eines Künstlerlebens* (P. Höpfner, 1877).
[99] Despite the factual errors in this essay, Weissweiler makes some interesting observations. See Weissweiler, *Komponistinnen*, p. 214.

Perhaps also noteworthy is H.A. Köstlin's claim that an unhappy engagement in the 1830s, probably to the diplomat Wilhelm von Eichthal (a friend of Mendelssohn's) came about a result of her father's wishes. Köstlin alleges, 'The mid-1830s saw an unhappy engagement, which Josephine accepted mainly out of pity for her father, without consulting her heart.'[100] Theobald Lang may have also been accountable for Lang's long hours of teaching. Hiller professes that '[Josephine Lang] became one of the top-ranking female piano teachers in Munich, and was able not only to support herself but also to help her family, who were now less well off.'[101] Despite Lang's sickly nature—the excuse that was used to prevent her further education—Lang taught up to eight hours a day to help support her family, a practice criticized by both Weissweiler and Krebs.[102] It seems that her sickly state was only made worse by such overbearing demands.

In 1835, Lang became a court singer at the Munich *Hofkapelle*. At first the job was without pay but it later functioned as paid employment for Lang. Werner traces a parallel between the increase in Lang's salary in 1839 and the dire financial need of the family.[103] If this was the case, rather than view Theobald Lang's actions as selfish, it is rather tragic that the family's poverty was so great that Lang was impelled to work since her teenage years. After her father's death, Lang continued to support her family (her step-mother and half-brother).[104]

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[100] 'In die Mitte der dreißiger Jahre fällt eine unglückliche Verlobung welche Josefine, haupsächlich aus Pietät gegen den Vater, ohne ihr Herz zu fragen, eingegangen hatte.' Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 65. For a detailed account of this relationship with interesting discussion of a song-cycle, which arose from this time, see Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, pp. 57–71.

[101] [Josephine Lang] 'war eine der ersten Clavier-lehrerinnen Münchens geworden und nicht allein im Stande, sich selbständig die eigene Existenz zu gründen, sondern auch ihrer jetzt wenig bemittelten Familie helfend zur Seite zu stehen.' Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 123.

[102] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 43. See also Weissweiler, *Komponistinnen*, p. 214.

[103] Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 165.

[104] Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 27.

Perhaps one of the reasons Theobald Lang could not bear to part with his daughter was a strong emotional connection they shared, especially considering his wife's early death.[105] Theobald Lang's selective reference to Lang's health suggests that he may have been selfish in wanting to keep his daughter at home. His concern did not manifest itself in a reduction in her teaching hours, which as well as her public performances, were hazardous to Lang's health.[106] Most likely, Theobald Lang's reticence in allowing his daughter to pursue further musical studies was a result of a combination of many complex factors, factors that were, nevertheless, injurious to Lang's compositional development.

3.10 Misdirection of Musical Talent: Lang's Pedagogical Years in Munich

Lang's role as a pedagogue in Munich deserves some further discussion. It is particularly poignant that Lang was teaching music to the young women of Munich, before she, as a young woman herself, had fully developed as an artist. The development of other, less talented musicians was put before her own progress. The notion of music as a social accomplishment for women and increased prospects for women's education here takes a cruel twist. Yet paradoxically it was this new musical milieu that created a market for the songs Lang would compose. In view of this and Lang's performances for guests since she was a small child, Lang's musical talents seem to have been capitalized on rather than encouraged and allowed to develop.

[105] Letter from Theobald Lang to Josephine Lang, 1839, cited in Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 67.
[106] This is proved by Lang needing to take time to recover. The worst of these occurences was in 1840 when Lang fell seriously ill with pleurisy.

3.11 Artistic Development and Self-fulfilment: Lang's Musical Activities in the 1830s

As Harald and Sharon Krebs point out, the greatest influence that Mendelssohn had on Lang was to encourage her to become a professional composer.[107] Her first publication appeared in 1831, which was probably due to Mendelssohn's influence. In 1831, Mendelssohn had noted a marked change in Lang:

> 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] 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.[108]

With Mendelssohn's influence, Lang's musical and artistic milieu appears to transform somewhat, with musicians showing an interest in Lang.

Lang's meeting with Mendelssohn has been described as 'catalytic' in her career,[109] and it seems fitting to reiterate these sentiments here. Mendelssohn was the first person to take a deep interest in Lang as a *composer* and although they did not see each other again after 1831, Mendelssohn's role in Lang's life was as her mentor. He was largely responsible for transforming Lang's musical life. Lang spoke of his profound influence: 'The encounter with this master generated a complete upheaval in my being. His spirit brought me light, his creativity gave me an ideal.'[110] Citron has claimed that encouragement from one's family was vital to a woman composer, but in the case of Lang, this badly needed encouragement came from outside the

[107] Harald and Sharon Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 25.
[108] Letter from Mendelssohn to his family, 7 November 1831, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 23. Mendelssohn also wrote to publishers secretly on behalf of Ferdinand Hiller, and encouraged the publication of Schumann's oratorio *Paradise und der Peri.* See letter to Simrock, 21 September, Frankfurt, 1842, p. 188, and letter to Edward Buxton, Berlin Jan 27 1844, in *Mendelssohn Letters and Recollections by Dr. Ferdinand Hiller*, 2nd edn, trans. by M. E. von Glehn (London: Macmillan and Co., 1874), p. 331.
[109] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p 35.
[110] Lang, cited in Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 58.

family boundaries.[111] At the same time, while Mendelssohn was Lang's senior, in age and professional experience, his encouragement as a *fellow* composer was vital. Later, Lang's interaction with Stephen Heller and Ferdinand Hiller would prove vital to her as an artist: due to women's exclusion from the upper echelons of such musical realms, Lang would come to depend on her male contemporaries for support. While Citron has made a strong case for the need for senior female composers in a woman's creative life,[112] Lang's situation reveals how connections with male colleagues were equally, if not more important to the nineteenth-century woman composer. This is not to deny that Lang possessed or did not seek a rapport with her female contemporaries.[113] On the contrary, there is evidence of an open empathy between women composers of nineteenth-century Germany.[114] Josephine Lang, for example, dedicated 'op. 4' a collection of songs to her Munich contemporary, Delphine von Schauroth.[115] Later in her life, Lang solicited help from Clara Schumann in trying to find a publisher for her songs and dedicated her op. 26 to Clara Schumann.[116] Fanny Hensel praised Lang's songs in a letter to her brother.[117] Further rapport between women composers and musicians is seen in 1847, when Clara Schumann cancelled her plans to move to Berlin after the death of Fanny Hensel. She had previously become acquainted with Hensel and looked forward to developing their friendship. She had intended to dedicate her Trio, op. 17 to

[111] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p. 61.
[112] Ibid., p. 66.
[113] Ibid., p. 76. Citron claims that they had scant knowledge of each other's musical activities.
[114] One must also remember that professional sites of musical and intellectual interaction such as the university or conservatoire where men earned their livings, were, for the most part, off limits to women. Certainly intellectual activities took place in the salon but it lacked the formality of the professional realm.
[115] 'Josephine Lang' <http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/grundseite/grundseite.php?id=lang1815> [accessed 10 November 2009]. Sharon Krebs notes that this collection was probably published before 1838.
[116] Lang to Clara Schumann, 26 [or 16] August,1859. Mus. Nachl. K. Schumann 5, 215, SPK, cited and translated in Harald and Sharon Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, pp. 151–52.
[117] Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn, Berlin, 13 July, 1841, in *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, ed. by Marcia J. Citron (New York: Pendragon, 1987), pp. 308–09.

Hensel.[118] So, too, it is clear that Lang valued her female colleagues, but she also realized the value of having male colleagues and friends in musical circles.[119]

During the 1830s Lang became acquainted with some prominent musical figures. According to H.A. Köstlin, among them were the composers Jean-Baptiste Cramer, Adolf Henselt, Sigismond Thalberg, Frédéric Chopin and Wilhelm Taubert, Henri Vieuxtemps, Anton Rubinstein and Ole Bull.[120] Lang's artistic circle widened and she encountered, through Mendelssohn, such figures as Ferdinand Hiller, who would later become a champion of her music, and Adolf Bernhard Marx.[121]

In the 1830s Lang performed widely in the salons of Munich. As these performances largely took place in the private domain, little documentary evidence concerning these performances has been unearthed. From the small quantity of information we do have, we can tell that she performed in some musically sophisticated venues, suggesting that perhaps her performances became more serious after her encounter with Mendelssohn.[122] An account by Anna Jameson, the Irish

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[118] Reich, 'The Diaries of Fanny Hensel and Clara Schumann: A Study in Contrasts', in *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 4/2 (pp. 21–36), p. 25.

[119] Harald and Sharon Krebs note that Lang realized that the backing of a male contemporary would have more weight in her efforts to get her music published. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 154.

[120] H.A. Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', pp. 61–62. Krebs & Krebs have confirmed that Lang met Cramer and Thalberg as they wrote notes in Lang's album. No documention of a meeting with Chopin exists but Lang later composed some mazurkas in his memory. Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 43. Jameson's account serves as the documentation of Lang's meeting with Vieuxtemps which up until now could not be proven. Indeed H.A. Köstlin mentions a long list of names with whom Lang was supposedly acquainted. There is still no evidence of her meetings with Anton Rubinstein or Ole Bull or the composer Adolf Henselt. Anna Jameson, *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad*, I, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1834), pp 168-169. See also Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 43.

[121] Marx believed that Lang was a more talented composer than a performer. Marx, *Erinnerungen: Aus meinen Leben*, p. 161, cited in Harald and Sharon Krebs, p. 254.

[122] Unlike Mendelssohn, it is likely that Lang was paid for such performances. Dahlhaus describes how musicians at these gatherings were paid, although such figures as Felix Mendelssohn could refuse the fee and be considered as one of the gentlemen. See Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* California Studies in 19th-Century Music, 5, trans. by J. Bradford Robinson (University of California Press, 1989), p. 49.

feminist travel writer, describes an evening in 1833 in the house of the famous botanist, Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (1794–1868):[123]

> In the evening, a very lively and amusing *soiree* at the house of Dr. Martius. We had some very good music. Young Vieuxtemps, a pupil of De Beriot, was well accompanied by an orchestra of amateurs. I met here also a young lady of whom I had heard much—Josephine Lang, looking so gentle, so unpretending, so imperturbable, that no one would have accused or suspected her of being one of the Muses in disguise, until she sat down to the piano, and sang her own beautiful and original compositions in a style peculiar to herself. She is a musician by nature, by choice, and by profession, exercising her rare talent with as much modesty as good-nature. The painter Zimmermann, who has a magnificent bass voice, sung for me Mignon's song—'Kennst du das Land!' And, lastly, which was the most interesting amusement of the evening, Karl von Holtei read aloud the second act of Goethe's *Tasso*. He read most admirably, and with a voice which kept attention enchained, enchanted; still it was genuine reading. He kept equally clear of acting and of declamation.[124]

The description of the gathering at Martius' home certainly does not correspond to that of the average salon in Germany, but rather mirrors the salons of the social elite. That Martius engaged an orchestra of albeit amateurs, reveals a certain special attention given to music performance. Notably, esteemed musicians such as Henri Vieuxtemps (1820–81), the Belgian violinist and composer, performed. The presence of the renowned actor, Karl von Holtei, and his reading of Goethe's play on the Italian poet, Tasso, also attests to the artistic quality of Martius' salon. Jameson's description of Lang's performance bears testament to the merit of Lang's performance while the reference to the 'peculiar' nature of her performance attests to Lang's unique style of performing, an opinion shared by Mendelssohn. Jameson's account also reveals that Lang was mixing in circles of respected artists in the 1830s.

Emma von Suckow (pseudonym, Emma Niendorf) provides a description of Lang's performance in an apparently musically rich salon in Munich in 1839, where Beethoven and Haydn's music was also performed. Lang's close friend, the poetess,

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[123] Carl Friedrich Phillip von Martius (1794–1868) accrued fame for his discovery of Brazilian flora. A correspondent of Goethe, H. A Köstlin describes him as a friend of Lang. See Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 62.

[124] Anna Jameson, *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad*, p. 168. See also Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 43.

composer and singer Agnes von Calatin (1813–44) also sang on this occasion.[125] Lang (piano) and Calatin (mezzosoprano) appear to have often performed together. In 1841 in Munich, they performed for the poet Nikolaus Lenau. Emma von Suckow, sister of von Calatin and was a saloniere in Stuttgart,[126] wrote that Lenau was moved to tears at their performance of Lang's setting of his poem 'Scheideblick', op. 10 no.5.[127] That Lenau attended this performance says something about the kind of salon it was. Again, it was not in the vein of the social gatherings that Mendelssohn had previously criticized. Lang noted on her manuscripts that many of her songs were intended for Calatin to sing.[128] Although Lang set only four of von Calatin's poems, her relationship with Agnes von Calatin formed an important artistic partnership for Lang and an important musical collaboration.[129] It was during this time, and most likely through von Calatin,[130] that Lang came to know the poet, Justinus Kerner, who became, according to Werner, an enthusiastic 'worshipper' of her songs.[131]

While at Augsburg on one of her summer vacations, which she used to recoup her energy and recover from her hectic schedule, Lang stayed with Caroline Hoeslin, sister of the aforementioned Wilhelm von Eichthal. It was at Hoeslin's house that Lang met the pianist and composer, Stephen Heller, who was a friend of

[125] Emma von Nindorf, [sic] *Reisescenen in Bayern*, *Tyrol und Schwaben* (Ebner & Seubert: 1840), pp. 1–2.
[126] Victor G. Doerken, *The Path to Freedom*, *The Liberal Project of the Swabian School in Württemberg*, *1806–1848* (Columbia: Camden House, 1993), p. 39.
[127] Emma Niendorf, *Lenau in Schwaben* (Leipzig: 1853). Mendelssohn later reiterated Lenau's reaction to the performance. See Felix Mendelssohn to Christian Reinhold Köstlin, Berlin, 15 December 1841, in *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. by Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy & Dr. Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, trans. Lady Wallace (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1878), pp. 256–58.
[128] See for example, the Goethe setting 'Lebet wohl geliebte Bäume', WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53k, p. 9^{r}.
[129] Lang's friendship with Agnes von Calatin is discussed in more detail in. Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, pp. 45–47.
[130] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 46.
[131] Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 133.

Robert Schumann and was responsible for introducing Lang's music to Schumann.[132] Heller heard Lang perform her songs here at Ausgburg. The Heller connection was artistically significant for Lang because Stephen Heller went to great lengths to encourage Robert Schumann to take interest in Lang's songs.[133] Later in 1840, Lang performed her songs at Wildbad Kreuth, where she often went to receive a whey cure, because she was so exhausted from working, She also performed at Tegernsee, the Stielers' holiday home. While Lang was not a professional performer *per se,* her performances should cause us to re-evaluate performance traditions in the nineteenth century. Although she rarely performed professionally in public concerts, Lang's private performance context was important in the dissemination of her songs and her participation in musical culture.

Even before her marriage to Christian Reinhold Köstlin would bring about a virtual hiatus in her compositional activity, Lang's active role as a pedagogue and performer in Munich detracted from the time she could spend composing.[134] Ferdinand Hiller makes reference to the little time Lang had for composition. Sympathetically he states, 'Her time was not her own but her musical spirit remained creative and active, untroubled by all that went on around her' [135] and later 'Only in the quiet of night and on the walks that had become essential to her, could she still

[132] For a full description of Schumann's reaction to Lang's works, see chapter 11 in this thesis. See also Harald Krebs, 'Josephine Lang and the Schumanns', in *Nineteenth Century Music: Selected Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference,* ed. by Jim Samson & Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 343–64.

[133] This is documented in letters by Stephen Heller to Robert Schumann. See Ursula Kersten, *Stephen Heller. Briefe an Robert Schumann*, *Europäische Hochschulschriften*, 36 (Musikwissenschaft). (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988).

[134] Harald and Sharon Krebs make reference to the 'obstacles' of teaching and performing that curtailed Lang's compositional activity somewhat during her youth. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 223.

[135] 'Ihre Zeit war an Fremde verkauft—aber ihre musikalische Seele schaffte und wirkte, unbekümmert um alles, was um sie her vorging.' Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit*, p. 124.

listen to the inspiration of her creative genius.'[136] Emma von Suckow notes in 1839 that Lang, due to her busy schedule, used the time when she should have been sleeping to compose.[137] Harald and Sharon Krebs note that Lang's vacations, rather than serving a recreational purpose, helped her to recover from exhaustion and that she also used the time in Tegernsee to write out compositions that she had 'hastily sketched in Munich.'[138]

Although Mendelssohn had previously criticized Lang's performing at private houses in 1830, it seems that due to his influence, Lang's musical situation improved greatly. Recalling the performance at Martius' house and the performance for Lenau, it seems that Lang's performances were not in the spirit of dilettantism or 'showmanship' but exuded an ethos of rich cultural activity. Indeed these sites also served as a performance context for Lang's songs and therefore constituted a musically enriching experience for her. Harald and Sharon Krebs point out that during the 1830s, Lang's most stimulating and productive period—she had published eight collections of songs in this decade—ended 'rather sadly' for Josephine Lang, when she was denied her final opportunity to study in Vienna in 1839.[139] Although her education was rather 'hit and miss', Lang, through new musical acquaintances and performance outlets, appears to have led a relatively satiated artistic life in the years preceding her marriage.

[136] 'Nur in der Stille der Nacht oder auf nothwendig gewordenen Spaziergängen konnte sie den Eingebungen ihres Genius noch Gehör geben.' Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben,* p. 126.
[137] Niendorf, *Reisescenen*, p. 2.
[138] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 13. This is apparent from many of Lang's autographs which give Tegernsee as the location where the song was written out.
[139] Ibid., p. 72.

3.12 New Horizons: Engagement and Marriage

In 1840, Lang became ill with pleurisy, and with the assistance of the Queen Mother, Caroline, she took a vacation at Wildbad Kreuth for a whey cure.[140] It was here that she became acquainted with Christian Reinhold Köstlin (1812–56) who also was recovering from illness.[141] H.A. Köstlin provides the romantic anecdote that Köstlin fell in love with Lang on hearing her singing her own setting of Lenau's 'Scheideblick' in the next room.[142] Köstlin, who hailed from Stuttgart, was a lawyer but also a part-time poet, and was, apparently, proficient in music—it was reported that he could play all of Beethoven's sonatas from memory.[143] During their time in Tegernsee, Köstlin and Lang fell in love. At the centre of their mutual attachment lay an abiding interest in poetry and music. Lang noted that she felt she had found a 'heavenly pure echo'[144] of her own soul through Köstlin. The burgeoning relationship inspired both artists to creativity. Köstlin was inspired to write poetry and sent Lang thirty-eight poems over the summer of 1840. Lang who had composed very little that summer, set ten poems of Köstlin that year. Indeed, Köstlin's poetry began to dominate her Lieder if not in great quantity, in comparison to other poets she set. According to Lang's dated manuscripts, during the period from 1840 to 1842, Josephine Lang set only four texts by someone other than Köstlin.[145]

Despite the idyllic beginnings of the relationship, Köstlin's treatment of Lang in the next few months was far from exemplary. He absconded after they declared

[140] Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 68.
[141] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 73.
[142] Emma Niendorf, *Lenau in Schwaben*, pp. 47–48.
[143] Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß,' p. 73. The accuracy of this claim is debatable considering that one of Clara Schumann's achievements was to premiere some of Beethoven's sonatas which, at that time, were still unknown.
[144] Poem by Köstlin based on Lang's diary entries (now lost). See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 74.
[145] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 76.

their love for each other, apparently to sort out affairs with his previous romantic partner, Agnes Schebest, a singer from Stuttgart. He left Lang with no explanation. After a period of separation of one year, and probably through the aid of Stieler,[146] Lang and Köstlin became engaged, however, and Lang appears to have completely forgiven him. In contrast to the earlier period of inspiration that the love affair brought, in the period before the wedding Lang's song output had already declined as she had to learn domestic skills to become a housewife. For unlike Clara Schumann and Fanny Hensel, Lang would have to perform these household tasks herself. Sharon Krebs states that the 'lack of dated manuscripts could reflect H.A. Köstlin's assertion that at this time she was learning how to run a household and to cook'.[147] Lang's time was therefore spent undertaking household tasks, leaving less time for composition, which in addition to the lack of attention to musical education in her early years, was another symptom of how her gender affected her compositional career.

3.13 Forsaking Artistry: Lang as *Hausfrau* in Tübingen

Although Josephine Lang was found to be 'immediately interesting and important' by the people of Tübingen,[148]on her arrival, we have no evidence that anything concrete came of this interest. Household pursuits seem to have left her little time for composition. During the marriage, Lang composed only eighteen songs, fifteen of which were settings of her husband's poems. The pair moved to Tübingen, where Köstlin had a job as lecturer in the law department of the university. During the marriage, Lang's compositional career declined further as 'composing that even only

[146] Harald and Sharon Krebs state that the 'friends' who helped the situation as described by Emma Niendorf were most likely the Stielers. See a letter from Suckow to Kerner, 13 May 1842, KN6561, Kerner MSS, DLA, cited in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 101
[147] S. Krebs, 'My Songs are my Diary', p. 6.
[148] Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 260.

approached being professional work was really no longer appropriate for the social standing of the wife of a professor of law.'[149] While of course, her decline in productivity was as a result of time constraints because of familial duties, the ideology that a working wife may detract from the standing of her husband as the bread-winner is likely to have played a key role in Lang's career.

In Tübingen, Köstlin built a large unpractical home, which was later dubbed 'Villa Köstlin'.[150] Later, in Lang's home in Tübingen such Swabian poets as Ludwig Uhland, Karl Mayer and Gustav Schwab met.[151] Martin Kazmaier stated that Josephine Lang 'gathered a brilliant array of art-loving' people to her feast and that the 'Köstliner Villa' was a 'bright point of old Tübingen.'[152] We have no concrete evidence of musical performance at these literary gatherings, however. Lang's marriage to the poet, Christian Reinhold Köstlin, was beneficial to Lang who was able to move in intellectual circles. Werner has pointed out that Lang's role in these gatherings, rather than a participating artist, was now as a hostess: '[Lang] continued to perform socially, she was also the hostess and professor's wife with many household duties to carry out and the necessity of making her guests welcome and comfortable.'[153] This exemplifies the transferral of roles that had occurred. It is indeed puzzling that there is no reference to music at these gatherings. One would think that had it occurred, Lang would have mentioned it in the biographical notes she sent to Hiller. At the same time, Lang does not document her own performances

[149] Ibid., p. 268.
[150] Lang's house on Rümelinstrasse is still in existence today as a department building for the University of Tübingen. For more information on the Köstlin house, see Fellinger, Richard und Peter Goeßler, 'Zur Geschichte eines alten Tübinger Professorenhauses', in *Tübinger Blätter*, 35 (1946–47), pp. 48–56.
[151] Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 81.
[152] Martin Kazmaier, *Tübinger Spaziergänge*, (Pfullingen: 1977), p. 124 cited and translated in Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 288.
[153] Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 329.

or at least they are not referred to by her biographers. If musical activity had taken place, she may not have written about it.

Noteworthy, perhaps, are Uhland's ambiguous comments to Köstlin: 'For it is good if someone like you can have their own poems sung by their own wife.'[154] Both Werner and Weissweiler have interpreted Uhland's comments as criticism of Köstlin and this view may have some validity.[155] Perhaps Uhland was referring to the quality of Köstlin's poetry or perhaps he is merely commenting on the felicitous situation for a poet such as Köstlin. More clearly, however, the remark does suggest that Uhland had heard Lang perform her settings of Köstlin's poetry at 'Villa Köstlin.' Both Hiller and Köstlin's biographies derive from Lang's notes, but there is no mention of performance even before her marriage. Yet we know that she was active as a performer in that period. Perhaps this says something about the emphasis on composing rather than performing in the writing of music history. With Köstlin's own musical background, it would be very surprising if there were no serious performance activities in the home. However, given his seemingly domineering personality, it is plausible that the soirees at the Köstlin home did not centre around music. Indeed H.A. Köstlin states that musical activities now centred around her children as was befitting to motherhood and the social practice of the time. H. A. Köstlin states, 'But music remained the jewel of life, and no family celebration or festive event passed without celebration through poetry and song. There was also contact with the most eminent men, visits of the most interesting nature.'[156] It is

[154] 'Denn ist's gut, wenn einem, wie Ihnen, die eignen Lieder von der eignen Frau vorgesungen werden!' Uhland cited in Hiller p. 130.
[155] Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', pp. 292–93. Weissweiler, *Komponistinnen*, p. 222.
[156] 'Aber die Musik blieb stets der Schmuck des Lebens, und keine Familienfeier, kein festliches Ereigniß gingen vorüber, ohne durch Poesie und Gesang verherrlicht zu werden. Dazu kam der

unclear whether these men to which Köstlin refers were musical or not. That 'Villa Köstlin' became predominantly a meeting place for poets is remarkable; the possibility that music was omitted suggests that her husband dominated what was once her domain.

On having children, women composers have traditionally engaged in musical activities that involved the family. In Lang's household these included performances at Christmas and birthdays, and performance in ensembles. These activities, are often belittled by musicologists, need not be seen in a completely negative light; Lang was sharing her gifts and encouraging her children, both male and female. Yet tragically, these activities could not have been a substitute for the kind of musical interaction with fellow musicians to which she had been used. The house had two pianos, a grand piano and an up-right piano which Köstlin bought for Lang.[157] Lang and Köstlin reportedly performed piano duets together or played chamber music with acquaintances.[158] It is not clear who these acquaintances were. According to Harald and Sharon Krebs, Lang played solo and Köstlin often gave Lang scores as gifts and encouraged her to play for him and the children.[159] However, there is no evidence that a musical gathering in the style of Fanny Hensel or Henriette Herz's salons ever took place. Lang's musical environment in Tübingen was not as rewarding as that in Munich, and was possibly one of the factors which contributed to a decline in her compositional activities.

Umgang mit den bedeutendsten Männern, Besuche der interessantesten Art.' See Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 130.

[157] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 118.

[158] Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 3 January 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.45 no.9, Mendelssohn, MSS, Bodleian Library, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 118.

[159] This information comes from the poems from Köstlin, which accompanied Lang's birthday gifts. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 118.

3.14 Composition and Publication during Marriage

Responding to a letter from Köstlin, in which the poet informs the composer of his engagement to Lang, Mendelssohn entreated Köstlin not to let his wife give up composing. In this letter of congratulation to Köstlin on his engagement to Josephine Lang, he dwells on the subject of Lang's songs:

> If I were not the most miserable correspondent in the world, I should have written to your bride six months ago to thank her for the two books of songs she published. I have done so in thought twenty times at least. It is long since I have seen any new music so genial, or which affected me so deeply, as these charming songs; their appearance was equally unexpected and welcome, not only to me, but to all those whose predilections are in accordance with my own, who participate in my love of music, and feel in a similar manner with myself. I sent my sister a copy at the time from Leipzig, but when it arrived she had already bought one, without our ever having corresponded on the subject. Your 'poem' in F sharp major is, I think, best of all, and the 'Meer' by Lenau in C major, and the 'Frühlingskinder' in E, and the "Goethe'schen geliebten Bäume" in F major 3/8 wonderfully lovely; nothing more charming could be devised than the happy way in which they tell their tale, one following another, and all so delicate and sportive, and a little amorous too. In so many passages in both books, I thought I heard Josephine Lang's voice, though it is a long time now since I have heard her sing; but there are many inflections peculiar to her which she inherits from the grace of God, and when such a turn occurred in the music, she used to make a little turn with her head; and in fact her whole appearance was once more placed before my eyes by these songs. I intended to have written all this to her and to have thanked her a thousand times in my name, and in that of all my friends. Now this will come sadly into the background, for our cordial congratulations must take place of everything else, and prevent any other topic being alluded to. But when you tell her of these, tell her at the same time what pleasure she has caused us all. For Heaven's sake, urge her to continue composing. It is really your duty towards us all, who continually look and long for good new music. She once sent me a collection of music by various composers, with some of her own, stating that among so many master-works she hoped I would view her attempts with indulgence, &c. Oh Gemini! How petty many of these *chefs-d'oeuvre* appear beside her fresh music! So, as I said, instigate her strongly to new compositions.[160]

It is most interesting that in the letter above, Mendelssohn discusses Lang's songs at length rather than show an interest in Köstlin's literary works as the composer was also a man of remarkable literary and philosophical engagement. Noteworthy also is the stronger emphasis on Lang's songs than on the couple's engagement in the letter. Mendelssohn's employment of the term 'duty' is particularly interesting as it conflicts with ideologies of typical duties for a woman. The dichotomy between the conflicting roles of women is highlighted vividly here. In a letter in which he accepts the invitation to become godfather to Lang and Köstlin's son, Mendelssohn adds,

[160] Letter from Felix Mendelssohn to Christian Reinhold Köstlin, Berlin, 15 December 1841, in *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (1978), pp. 256–58.

'Tell me if she has composed new songs or anything else; what I should like best would be to receive one from her in a letter; they always delight me so much when I hear and play them.'[161] It is clear that Mendelssohn was keenly interested in Lang's songs and his comments may be intended to persuade Köstlin to encourage Lang to compose. Köstlin's reply to Mendelssohn reveals a certain apathy towards Lang's professional career, however. He writes, 'you will […] be dissatisfied when I confess to you that my wife has composed very little in the last ten months. It is hoped that everything she would have produced has passed over to little Felix' (who was named after his godfather, Felix Mendelssohn).[162] Here Köstlin's comments exude the typical Rousseauian ideology that a woman lives only as a mother to her children.

With Lang's marriage and the birth of six children, her compositional activities dwindled. However, she still managed to publish songs, so as far as the general public was aware, she was still composing. She continued to publish in the years 1845, 1847 and 1848, retaining some form of a public persona. Harald and Sharon Krebs note that in 1847, in particular, Lang seems to have made an attempt to revive her career and wrote to Franz Hauser and Franz Lachner for assistance.[163] Her motivations for doing this are not clear, although Harald and Sharon Krebs assert that it may have been either due to her hiatus in composition the previous year, or a reaction to Köstlin's success in having a major publication that year.[164] In 1848, at the time of the revolution, Lang composed a choral work to a text by Köstlin, 'Flieg auf o deutscher Adler', which was performed by Friedrich Silcher's *Akademische*

[161] Letter from Felix Mendelssohn to Köstlin, Leipzig, 12 January 1843, in *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (1978), pp. 300–01.
[162] Letter from Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 3 February 1843, MS, M.D.M. d.43 no.63, Mendelssohn MSS, Bodleian Library, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 124.
[163] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 132.
[164] Ibid.

Liedertafel in Munich.[165] Notably, Lang was the only female composer included in the programme. Harald and Sharon Krebs note the patriotic theme of the piece and that Lang did not shy away from such themes, whereas other women composers might have avoided such activities.[166] While others such as Silcher showed an interest in Lang's compositions, the structure of her life with six children whom she would have looked after single-handedly, were detrimental to her professional development.

3.15 Lang's Köstlin Settings: An Artistic Collaboration?

Over their course of their courtship and marriage, Lang set approximately forty-four poems by Köstlin.[167] Harald and Sharon Krebs say of Köstlin and Lang's artistic liaison that 'such collaborative creativity is unique in the history of the Lied.'[168] While Lang benefited from the collaboration enormously through the re-awakening of creativity after illness in 1840, the rewards for Köstlin appear to have been greater, however. Lang's collaboration with Köstlin produced some of Lang's finest settings but one cannot deny that the quality of the poetry is undistinguished. Perhaps the dominance of Köstlin's poetry may have prevented Lang from engaging with contemporary developments in German verse and this may have hindered her reception as a Lieder-composer.

Köstlin was a man torn between two professions. He was seemingly successful in law but persisted in literary activities throughout his life. Unfortunately, in his literary efforts his activities were not as felicitous. Sharon Krebs notes that

[165] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 55a, pp. 9^{v}–10^{r}.
[166] S. Krebs, 'My Songs are my Diary', p. 6.
[167] Lang set five of these poems twice. See 'Inhalt', Josephine Lang, *Lieder nach Texten von Reinhold Köstlin.*
[168] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 114.

Köstlin did not achieve success as a poet, dramatist or novelist.[169] Krebs cites Hermann Fischer who was critical of Köstlin's literary output, but less so about his poetry.[170] Harald and Sharon Krebs criticize Köstlin's novella for having 'too many characters too elaborately described, too many subplots, inconsistencies in some of the main characters and a general lack of economy in writing.'[171] Köstlin faced criticism of his literary works during his lifetime. According to Harald and Sharon Krebs, Lang's aunt, Margarethe Carl was critical of his poetry.[172] Köstlin also wrote to Mendelssohn that the governing body of the University of Tübingen disapproved of his literary pursuits and that if he wished to be promoted he would have to give up writing poetry.[173]

Although Köstlin's artistic production suffered too after the marriage—he relates to Mendelssohn that artistic creativity only flourished when he and Lang were apart[174]—there are no signs that he gave up his literary pursuits. Of the artistic collaboration with his wife, Köstlin says that there is 'nothing more charming than when words and music, both newly born, intertwine',[175] revealing that perhaps he encouraged Lang to set his poetry to music. While again, there is nothing wrong with the sentiments here, they suggest that he may have enforced such a way of thinking on Lang in relation to her own compositions. He now saw their creativity as a joint activity, as is evident in letters to Mendelssohn where Köstlin states, 'You will

[169] S. Krebs, 'My Songs are my Diary', p. 6.
[170] Hermann Fischer, *Reinhold Köstlin. Eine Säkular-Erinnerung* (Tübingen: JCB Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1913), cited and translated in S. Krebs, 'My Songs are my Diary', p. 6.
[171] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 76.
[172] Ibid., p. 271.
[173] Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 21 September 1844, MS. M.D.M. d.46 no.93, Mendelssohn MSS, Bodleian Library, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 118.
[174] Köstlin, for health reasons, took long sojourns for months at a time during his marriage to Lang. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 124.
[175] Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 26 July 1844, MS, M.D.M., d.45 no.294, Mendelssohn MSS, Bodleian Library, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 125.

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.'[176]

The clearest motivation for Köstlin's dominance of Lang's oeuvre, as alluded to by Harald and Sharon Krebs, was that Köstlin exploited his wife's musical efforts to promote his own works. Köstlin had limited success as a poet, and now here was a way of bringing his poetry to an audience through musical settings by his wife. In 1840, there were signals of intention to publish songs from his novella *Die Mathildenhöhle,* published in the previous year. Harald and Sharon Krebs suggest that he 'likely hoped that Lang's musical settings would generate publicity for his novella.'[177] Later accounts concur with this intent. Hermann Fischer in 1913, as Harald and Sharon Krebs note, described Reinhold's personality as 'incessantly calculating.'[178] In his initial letter to Mendelssohn, whom he had met in Berlin, he derogatorily referred to his success in winning Lang as a 'piratical takeover' and a 'miraculous catch.'[179] Another example of unfavourable behaviour is observed during his abscondment; it seems that he initiated a flirtation with another actress/singer, Cathinka Evers since there are poems to her dating from that time while he was writing to Lang.[180] In a later letter of 1841 to Mendelssohn, he mentions a libretto for a cantata that he has written and asks Mendelssohn if he

[176] Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 3 February 1843, MS. M.D.M. d.43 no.63, Mendelssohn MSS, Bodleian Library, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 124.
[177] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 77
[178] Hermann Fischer, *Reinhold Köstlin. Eine Säkular-Erinnerung* (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1913), p. 5, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 77.
[179] Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 8 December 1841, MS. M.D.M. d.40 no.214, Mendelssohn MSS, Bodleian Library, cited in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 110.
[180] S. Krebs, 'My Songs are my Diary', pp. 26–27.

would consider setting it to music.[181] According to Harald Krebs, 'Köstlin asked Mendelssohn several times to bring his plays to the attention of his friends in theatrical circles, which Mendelssohn graciously promised to do when the opportunity presented itself.'[182] A letter from Mendelssohn to Köstlin replying to Köstlin's call for assistance tells that Mendelssohn's efforts had been unsuccessful.[183] Mendelssohn was highly educated and discerning of literature and it is telling that he did not set Köstlin's poetry.[184] Mendelssohn's lengthy references to Lang's composition in the letters suggest that he may actually have had her interests at heart when writing to Köstlin.

The connection between Köstlin and Mendelssohn is an interesting one. They had met previously in Berlin,[185] but the exchange of letters between them suggests that they were not exceedingly well acquainted with each other.[186] In the letter of 1841, Köstlin goes into great detail about his literary pursuits.[187] Werner suggests that it is likely that Mendelssohn had asked him for this detail but we cannot be sure of such a request. Werner defends Köstlin's taking over of the correspondence with Mendelssohn, stating that 'in no way is he using this connection to Lang to get to

[181] Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 9–15 February, 1841 to Felix Mendelssohn, Mendelssohn Collection, Section 13 no.68. Bodleian Library, cited and translated in Werner 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', pp. 198–200. In fact, Köstlin may have used Lang's music as an avenue to draw attention to his own works, which admittedly are not of good quality. Weissweiler has expressed criticism of Köstlin and has criticized his 'patriachal-egocentric mode of thinking.'
[182] H. Krebs, 'Josephine Lang', in *Women's Music through the Ages*, p. 118.
[183] Mendelssohn to Köstlin, 12 February 1843, MA, Nachl. 7, 85, 5, Mendelssohn MSS, SPK, and Devrient to Köstlin, referred to in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 270.
[184] Some of Köstlin's poetry was set by Brahms, however, who was introduced to Lang's songs through his friendship with Lang's daughter, Maria.
[185] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 74.
[186] There are seven letters from Köstlin to Mendelssohn in existence, three from Mendelssohn to Köstlin, two from Lang to Mendelssohn and one from Mendelssohn to Lang.
[187] Letter from Köstlin to Mendelssohn, 9–15 February 1841 to Felix Mendelssohn, Mendelssohn Collection, Section 13 no.68. Bodleian Library, Oxford, cited and translated in Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang, pp. 198–200.

Mendelssohn.'[188] Although she did write jointly with Köstlin to Mendelssohn,[189] and no doubt, domestic duties and illness weighed heavily on her, one cannot ignore the possibility of Köstlin using his relationship with Lang to forge a relationship with Felix Mendelssohn, one of the most renowned composers in Germany at that time.

Lang did write individually in 1844 to Mendelssohn, however, calling herself a *Hausfrau* and asking if he would accept the dedication of her op. 12.[190] Mendelssohn's reply in which he informs her that he has accepted the dedication is telling of the high esteem in which he held Lang and for the concern he showed for her compositional activities:

> Can you imagine what I wrote to Herr Kistner about the dedication! I don't believe that you can; for you have always been so modest and unassuming that you can't even imagine what happy hours your songs have already brought me and all those who truly love music, and how grateful I am that you want to include my name in one of your volumes! Thank you a thousand times for that—and for the good souvenir that you have saved me—and belatedly for the post of sponsorship—simply for everything! […] I would much rather come myself and chat the contents of this letter to you instead of writing them down slowly; I would like to take my godchild in my arms (I understand him very well), allow myself to be sung to by you all evening long, or if you didn't want to, you would have to allow yourself to be played to by me all evening long, or it you didn't want that either, then we could go for a walk together and take in the good Black Forest air or even alpine air. […] My whole life is quite gypsy-like at this moment, I can't say for certain where I will spend the coming months or even years. But as far south as possible, and to Switzerland as quickly as possible, and then by all means to the Black Forest and to your door and into your house, that much is certain. Should I teach little Felix the 'Kapellmeisterei' the art of counterpoint? And should he make up for what you have missed? It's only that I think that the same things remain to be taught which you missed—namely nothing. All of the Kapellmeister posts and counterpoints would go up for sale for the 'Scheideblick' and the 'Sonnenuntergang' in F ♯ and 'Freund ach und Liebster' in F minor, but even then they aren't to be possessed. Lenau said as much, I met with him yesterday and he is as moved by your setting of his words as I am and as everyone who can love and feel music is.[191]

Mendelssohn's letter of acceptance to Kistner is also interesting. He writes, 'Let me hear or see something about these new Lieder really soon; hopefully they are in no

[188] Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 200.
[189] Letter from Lang and Köstlin to Mendelssohn, Tübingen, Mendelssohn Collection, Section XVII (17), No. 63, Bodleian Library, cited and translated in Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 271.
[190] Ibid., p. 277.
[191] Letter from Felix Mendelssohn to Josephine Lang, Soden, near Frankfurt am Main, 19 July 1844, cited in H.A. Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', pp. 95–96, and translated Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', pp. 280–81.

way inferior to the earlier ones and then we all have a great joy to await.'[192] Mendelssohn perhaps fears that Lang's environment has adversely affected her composition.

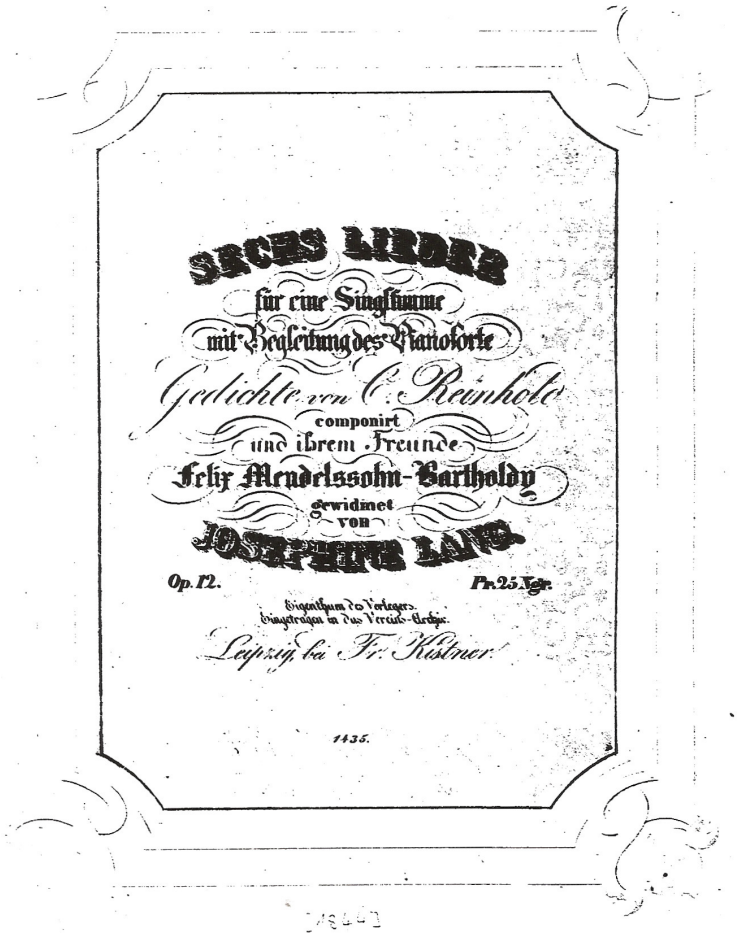

Figure 3.1 Cover page of Josephine Lang, *Sechs Lieder,* op. 12, Würtrembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.
Reproduced with permission.

3.16 The Husband of a Woman Artist: The Challenges of Authority

The lives of women in the nineteenth century differed from those of men in that the superventions of their lives were often beyond their own control. While the lives of men were also subject to a certain level of control, they were free to choose a career

[192] Letter from Felix Mendelssohn to Kistner, Soden bei Frankfurt am Main, 18 July 1944, to Kistner, in Felix Mendelssohn Barthology, *Briefe an Deutsche Verleger*, ed. by Rudolf Elvers (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1968), pp. 327–28, cited and translated in Werner, 'The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang', p. 209.

and experienced much more freedom than women. For women, there was a transition from a being father's daughter to a husband's wife, with men always in control. Like the dominating role, which the father often had in the lives of women composers, the demands of husbands were equally taxing on a woman's musical activities. However, women like Lang threatened, although not consciously, the social order and the men in their lives had to cope with situations that were not the norm.

Men's treatment of their wives was related to their own sense of authority in the household and a desire not to compromise their authority. A wife's professional activities, for example, would have taken away from the man's authority as sole breadwinner. This issue of money caused some conflict during the courtship of Clara Wieck and Robert Schumann.[193] As a socially conditioned man of his time, Köstlin cannot be blamed entirely for his behaviour. However, we may observe the implications of his actions on his wife's life in order to gain more insights into her career. The need to develop his own career may have been a selfless act in order to support his family. One must be very careful when judging the actions of the past. Similar to Lang's own brother, Köstlin felt his true calling was to be a poet but he was persuaded not to follow these inclinations by his seemingly domineering father.[194] Perhaps his desire to have his poetry received by the public reflected wishes to please his father or even to prove him wrong.

It is interesting to compare Köstlin with the husbands of Lang's female contemporaries. Wilhelm Hensel was unusually supportive of Fanny Hensel's compositional activity and encouraged her to publish. The case of Robert and Clara

[193] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 90.
[194] [Karl] Klüpfel, 'Köstlin, Christian Reinhold K.', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 16 (reprint of the 1882 version, Berlin, 1969), pp. 759–61. p. 759.

Schumann is fascinating as it is a partnership between two musicians. On the one hand, Robert Schumann deeply admired Clara Schumann. Nancy Reich describes the situation:

> Robert continually urged her to compose and to catalogue, organize and preserve her manuscripts. He pressed her to treat her own work with care and respect: her urged her to make and keep fair copies of her songs; with his obsession for systematic order, he wrote out title pages and tables of her manuscript collections. His hand can be seen on cover pages and in suggestions regarding tempo and naming of pieces.[195]

On the other hand, he restricted her practice through enforcing silence in the house when he was composing. According to Reich:

> Although Robert Schumann encouraged and praised her original efforts and exerted his influence to have them published, he had mixed feelings about her creative activities. On the one hand, he took pride in her successes and acknowledged her talents. Among the reviews and articles that Robert Schumann carefully preserved was one in which he underlined phrases and made marginal comments. He underlined the following: 'The greater influence on his profession was his marriage to one of the greatest artists of our century, the admirable Clara Wieck!'[196]

Robert Schumann recognized his wife's talent for composing and occasionally expressed guilt about restricting her activities:

> Clara has written a number of small pieces that show a musical tender invention that she has never attained before. But to have children and a husband who is always living in the realms of imagination do not go together with composing. She cannot work at it regularly and I am often disturbed to think how many profound ideas are lost because she cannot work them out. But Clara herself knows that her main occupation is as a mother and I believe she is happy in the circumstances and would not want them changed.[197]

Reich observes, 'Occasionally Schumann expressed some guilt about depriving his wife of a full career as a musician. […] At the same time, however, he expressed the conviction that she was happiest in her role as a mother.'[198] We see a similar statement by Köstlin in his novel, *Real und Ideal* (1847), which appears to be confessional. Describing the heroine, he says, '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

[195] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 214.
[196] Robert Schumann, *Tagebuch*, cited in Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 228.
[197] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 228.
[198] Ibid., p. 96.

duties and therein be more likely to do too much than too little.'[199] It seems that both Schumann and Köstlin were trying to convince themselves that their wives were all the happier for having forsaken (or in the case of Clara Schumann, partly forsaken) their musical activities for domestic ones.[200]

With this discussion of her husband's behaviour, it is easy to assume that Lang was miserable during this period. In a letter to Mendelssohn she writes that she finds her new occupation as *Hausfrau* amusing yet she 'would not for anything in the world dream [herself] out of this pleasant reality.'[201] during marriage. Rather than disillusionment, Lang expresses bemusement at her position.[202] Harald and Sharon Krebs comment that Lang felt that the role of a housewife was not her true destiny.[203] Lang and Köstlin were obviously in love and had many happy years of marriage but Lang's lack of self-awareness at the curtailment of her music was perhaps a survival instinct, for these issues were really not discussed. After the death of her husband, she does refer with a slight hint of bitterness to the hiatus in her song composition, and that she has been left behind by current developments.[204] That Lang was supremely happy during her marriage years is not in any doubt. The expression of bitterness does not disprove the fact that she was exceedingly happy during her marriage, rather it shows that she was bitter at the resulting effects on her career.

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[199] Reinhold Köstlin, *Real und Ideal* (Bremen: Verlag von Franz Schlodtmann, 1847), p. 61, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 127.
[200] Ruth Solie has discussed this projection of ideas in Schumann's song cycle, *Frauenlieben und Leben.* See Ruth Solie in Steven Paul Scher, *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 219–40.
[201] Lang to Mendelssohn, 10 June 1844 MS. M.D.M. d.45 no.294, Mendelssohn MSS, Bodleian Library, cited and translated in Harald and Sharon Krebs, p. 126.
[202] Harald and Sharon Krebs point out that Lang must have expressed similar sentiments to her aunt Margarethe Carl who writes to Lang, 'You believe that I could not imagine you in these circumstances?' See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 127.
[203] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 127.
[204] Lang to Hiller, 28 February 1870, 39 (123), Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 190.

In the 1850s, Köstlin became seriously ill with a throat ailment. This was a time of great financial hardship for the family. There are examples of heartbreaking letters from his children at Christmas, wishing him a speedy recovery so that he will be able to work once again.[205] Indeed reading these letters makes it difficult to be critical of him. There is no doubt that Köstlin was a man who suffered greatly towards the end of his life. The loss of ability to earn income must have been very difficult.[206]

Lang declared that she was supremely happy during her marriage, 'so happy that [she] sometimes felt it was an injustice.'[207] Despite the negative effects of married life, Lang's marriage to Köstlin also brought artistic rewards. Many of the settings of her husband's poetry, can be counted among her most imaginitive. Indeed, their unique artistic collaboration[208] offers a unique contribution to the Lied repertoire for both scholars and performers.

3.17 Lang in Widowhood: Music's Consolation and the Re-awakened Public Persona

The death of the husband was a critical event in the life of any woman, not only for reasons of emotional upset but also with respect to practical change. Clara Schumann lost Robert Schumann in the same year as Lang lost her husband and it is illuminating to explore some of the connections between the two women.[209] Both

[205] Letter from Eugen Köstlin to Christian Reinhold Köstlin, 24 December 1853, DLA, MSS, Z 2634. Cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 145.
[206] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 149.
[207] Lang, cited in 'Lebensabriß', cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 148.
[208] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 114.
[209] Harald Krebs has discussed Lang's interaction with both Robert and Clara Schumann. See Harald Krebs, 'Josephine Lang and the Schumanns', in *Nineteenth Century Music: Selected Proceedings of*

husbands left their widows with young families. Lang had six children to support, aged seven to thirteen, whereas Clara Schumann had seven between the ages of two and fifteen. One prevailing consequence of the death of the husband was the loss of the main income of the house, although with the onset of Robert Schumann's illness, Clara Schumann was already endeavouring to support the family, while Lang was making attempts to publish since Köstlin had developed his throat illness.[210] In what seems like a cruel twist, Lang was not given full control of the family's finances, due to the appointment of a 'Pfleger' to look after the pension that she was allocated from the University of Tübingen.[211] Lang also revived a teaching career and taught the children of the aristocracy in Württemberg. Ill-health, however, often prevented her from teaching as much as she needed to in order to earn a sufficient living. Clara Schumann increased her concert activities in order to support her family. Lang also sought to publish previously composed songs. One wonders how these women would have survived had they not had the musical faculties upon which they would be forced to rely.

The efforts by each woman to support her family reveal a striking contrast between their lives. Clara Schumann, one of the most established pianists of her day, was able to resume a career in performance in order to support her family (although she had never fully retired from the concert scene). Nancy Reich has shown that this filled an artistic need as well as a financial one.[212] Lang, whose musical education was far inferior to Schumann's, drew on her experience as a composer and

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the Tenth International Conference, ed. by Jim Samson & Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 343–64.

[210] Lang's family was in a situation of poverty at this time as Köstlin was unable to lecture. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 146.

[211] Harald and Sharon Krebs note that she suffered a huge drop in income. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 150.

[212] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 158.

pedagogue. Whereas Clara Schumann was able to competently support her children, pay for their education, and even the education of her grandchildren, Josephine Lang struggled to make ends meet. Clara Schumann separated her children into groups among family, friends and the housekeeper, while Lang remained in Tübingen and looked after her children there.

That Lang was a composer, trying to resume a career after a virtual hiatus of fifteen years, also worked against her. She noted herself that her style would have been out of touch with current developments, due to the hiatus in composition during her marriage.[213] Since her style did not progress along with that of her contemporaries, she found it difficult, though not impossible, to find a publisher who was willing to accept her Lieder. Through the rejection of her songs by the publishers Breitkopf and Biedermann, Lang was made painfully aware that her songs were no longer in fashion.[214] She asked such colleagues as Clara Schumann and Ferdinand Hiller for help in 1859. She wrote to Clara Schumann in 1859:

> 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.[215]

This is one of the few times where Lang expresses bitterness about the interruption in her compositional activities. The striking juxtaposition between the sorrow of the loss of a husband and the new hope of musical endeavour reveals a longing within Lang to be an artist. It is noteworthy that Lang shares this desire with Clara

[213] Lang to Hiller, 28 February 1870, 39 (123), Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 190.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Lang to Clara Schumann, 26 [or 16] August,1859. Mus. Nachl. K. Schumann 5, 215, SPK, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, pp. 151–52.

Schumann. Nancy B. Reich has observed a similar occurrence in Clara Schumann's life:

> In the sorrowful days and months following Schumann's death, the young widow accepted—almost eagerly—the responsibility of providing for her family. Outsiders may have pitied her, but she soon realized that the life of an artist, even with all its trials and tensions, brought her a fulfilment that motherhood could not match. Most of her contemporaries assumed that financial need was her only reason for living as she did: the good mother was sacrificing her comfort to provide for her little ones. Only Joachim and perhaps a few others understood that concertizing brought this artist satisfactions she could never achieve by remaining at home with her children.[216]

Perhaps Lang was expressing something similar about the place of art in her own life. Lang continued in her letter to Clara Schumann:

> 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, [sic] 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, and to assist me in knocking at the door of the coldhearted publisher's soul?[217]

It is most likely that Clara Schumann acquiesced, for Lang's op. 26 of 1860 is dedicated to her. It is also known that Clara Schumann wanted to host a benefit concert for Lang, illustrating a sense of camaraderie among female musicians.[218]

Another of Lang's calls for help was answered by Ferdinand Hiller, whom she had come to know through Mendelssohn and who was sympathetic to women's musical activities. Hiller asked Lang to send him some biographical notes in 1860. It took years, however, for Lang to send these, for during this period two of her sons were extremely ill. Hiller, in the meantime, published a 'musical letter', which was successful in drumming up some support for Lang. Lang finally managed to send the requested biographical notes in 1867. Ferdinand Hiller's essay had a tremendous

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[216] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 158.

[217] Lang to Clara Schumann, 26 [or 16] August,1859. Mus. Nachl. K. Schumann 5, 215, SPK, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 153.

[218] Clara Schumann to Hiller, 17 August 1867, 36 (735), Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 154. Harald and Sharon Krebs stated that they have yet to discover whether this event actually took place. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 276.

effect on Lang's career and many, including Paul Mendelssohn sent monetary gifts.[219] Lang expressed her delight and surprise at the situation.[220] She felt newly inspired by the attention she received as a result of Hiller's writings. Hiller's influence on Lang was enormous and transformed the situation for her in these years. His position as Lang's first biographer not only enabled the later biography by Lang's son, but also sowed the seeds for Lang scholarship in the twenty-first century.

Figure 3.2
Cover page of Josephine Lang, *Sechs Lieder*, op. 26, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.
Reproduced with permission.

[219] Details of these donations are found in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, pp. 154–59.
[220] Letter from Lang to Hiller 4 July 1867 Lang, 36 (615), Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 185.

Although we lack detailed evidence on the sale of Lang's songs during this period—apart from Ethel Smyth's comment in April 1878 that Lang's songs had 'no sale'[221]—we do know that Lang struggled to publish her songs later in life. Marcia Citron's observations of the difficulties that older women face in contemporary society may perhaps be applied to Lang's situation: 'in a culture obsessed with youth and beauty, the aging woman is often ignored and trivialised.'[222] Lang did, however, succeed in publishing at least sixteen song collections, however, from 1859 to 1879.[223]

Although Lang's later years were filled with great sorrow, she did experience some musical joys and encounters with other musicians. One rewarding musical experience came in 1868, when Lang was visited by the pianist Dionys Pruckner (student and friend of Liszt) and the cellist Julius Goltermann who were giving a concert in Stuttgart.[224] Despite all the tragedy of her life in these years, the experience of respect and professionalism in these years would have had a positive effect. Lang attended the concert and described the experience as follows:

> I stayed behind in the hall for a long time with the artists. […] 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 judgement![225]

Lang's 'confusion' over her years here is extremely telling. For the first reference to 'twenty-six years' refers to the date of her marriage. In reality she must have felt that

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[221] Ethel Smyth, April 1878, *Impressions that remained* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1946), p. 212, cited in *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. by Carol Neuls-Bates (New York, Cambridge et al.: Harper & Row, 1982), p. 165.
[222] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p. 96.
[223] Sharon Krebs, 'Josephine Lang,' <http://mugi.hfmthamburg.de/grundseite/grundseite.php?id=lang1815> [accessed 1 December, 2009].
[224] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 156.
[225] Lang to Hiller, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 157.

her artistry was curtailed at that point. The second number, 'eleven', refers to the death of her husband. In the comment that backtracks toward the artistic nature of her husband, it is difficult to say whether Lang is conforming to the norm of an ideal wife or whether she actually felt this way. What is certain is that her life was enriched by the company of musicians and that she had felt that this was missing during her marriage. A later passage from the letter is also very interesting:

> Pianists rain down 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. […] although I have encountered colossal virtuosos in my life, nobody's playing has pleased me as much as yours, Mendelssohn's, Lÿzt'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 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![226]

Although Mendelssohn had once criticized Lang for lacking musical taste, and not being able to discern the difference between good and bad music, here Lang reveals that she is of the same opinion that Mendelssohn and Schumann held earlier, in favour of genuine music-making rather than virtuosic showiness. This is also evident in the composition of her songs.

Again we see that, like Clara Schumann, Lang's reverting to what she knew best may not have been a purely mercenary activity. The significant role that art played in her life is revealed in a letter to Hiller in 1860:

> 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![227]

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[226] Ibid. The underlining is Lang's own.

[227] Letter from Lang to Hiller, 19 April 1869 29 (365) Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, cited and translated in Harald and Sharon Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 155.

Lang reveals her urge for continual learning and engagement with music when she writes, '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.'[228] In the light of this letter it is interesting that Harald and Sharon Krebs should allude to the dearth in access to musical scores and concerts of high standards in Tübingen, which would have prevented her from broadening her musical knowledge.[229]

Lang was to suffer even more tragedy in these years with the deaths of three of her sons: Felix in 1867, Theobald in 1873 and Eugen in March of 1880 (Easter Sunday), whose demise occurred approximately nine months before her own. Lang's music again provided solace at this time and she turned to sacred texts for inspiration. Themes of religious faith and belief in an afterlife recur as themes in the poetry she set.[230] Lang's own health deteriorated further in the last years of her life. She continued to compose, in the last decade of her life, and produced twenty-six Lieder from 1870 to 1880. A few days before her death, Lang wrote to her 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!'[231] The consolation of music gave Lang, in the most difficult years, not only an income but also a sense of purpose, and a reason to keep going in times of hopelessness.

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[228] Letter from Lang to Hiller, 6 June 1860, 29 (607) Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, cited and translated in Harald and Sharon Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 156.
[229] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 156.
[230] See for example, 'Arie', text probably by Thomas Aquinas (date of composition unknown), Uhland's 'Das Ständchen' op. 43 no.2 (composed 1878). A number of previously unpublished sacred settings were published in the 1882 Breitkopf und Härtel Posthumous Edition. See for example, 'Gott sei mir Sünder gnädig', composed in 1873.
[231] H. A. Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 71, cited and translated in Harald and Sharon Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 218.

3.18 Conclusion: Josephine Lang, the Woman and the Artist

The curtailment of Lang's compositional activities was implemented tangibly by patriarchal figures in her life but who were acting as socially conditioned individuals of their own culture. Indeed the day-to-day enactment of the restrictions on women was executed by both sexes. Mothers raised their sons to act that way and young boys were often victim to fatherly authority over their career paths. For example, we witness a number of composers and poets who studied law before pursuing their chosen careers in music.[232] Although Lang's descent from a family of professional musicians, like many female musicians, allowed her avenues into a musical and professional world, in actuality, these avenues often turned out to be masked *cul de sacs,* where her endeavours would inevitably be, both visibly and imperceptibly, restrained. However, towards the end of her life, the gift of her art consoled her. It is poignant that through the tragedy of Lang's life, she experienced a renewal of creativity, a kind of reunion with her former self, that gave her a sense of purpose in the world.

[232] One immediately thinks of Robert Schumann, Ludwig Uhland and Heinrich Heine. Indeed Lang's husband, Christian Reinhold Köstlin read jurisprudence rather than literature at the wishes of his father.

4

The Blurring of Gendered Dichotomies: Issues for the Professional Woman Composer of Song in Nineteenth-Century Germany

4.1 Introduction

This chapter considers a variety of issues that affected Lang, the composer. As a woman composer, Lang's compositional activities were encumbered by powerful societal mechanisms that did not favour women's independence, uniqueness or creativity. Women had long been accepted as performers but not as composers. We have seen that women's opportunities in composition were hampered because of the limited musical education they received. Beyond educational matters, much of the adversity women composers faced had to do with ideologies of women's behaviour, the female body and female creativity.[1] Indeed, these ideologies pervaded society and the musical world. Here, major external factors, such as cultural and societal concerns, which affected Lang are appraised. Perceptions of the female creator and her cultural context in the nineteenth century are evaluated, interrogating the male-female dichotomy that pervaded culture of the time. A devaluation of the feminine 'lower' strata of cultural activities formed a central tenet of social organization. This was observed in the hierarchical nature of many binary power structures of culture: public and private, professional and amateur, serious and popular, for example. However, these binary pairs were never straightforward, and within each, we witness anomalies that contradict twenty-first-century perceptions of these binaries, the perception of the private realm as a site for mediocre music, for example. Lang's connectedness to these spheres is explored and issues for the female composer in

[1] See Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* pp. 44–79, and Suzanne G. Cusick, 'Feminist theory, music theory, and the mind/body problem (Towards A Feminist Music Theory)', in *Perspectives on New Music* (Winter, 1994), 8–27.

each sphere are examined. It should be noted that the divisions of culture within each of the 'male' and 'female' subdivisions are, to some degree, arbitrary, since each sphere is so closely related to the others; hence, distinctions may become almost invisible. The professional male composer, for example, led his compositional life in the public domain; thus the intrinsic link between professional and public realms is obvious. Interesting in relation to Lang, however, are the various contradictions that become clear when we examine her interaction with these spheres. In Lang's case, the borders between spheres deemed as 'masculine' or 'feminine' become less discernable as we examine her songs.

4.2 Gendered Divisions: 'High' and 'Low' Culture in the Nineteenth Century

From the 1700s and the remodelling of the family unit, women's activities began to occupy a lower ranking in the order of artistic activity.[2] Gender roles became more clearly defined and particular activities and modes of behaviour became assigned to each gender and each gender's sphere of activity. Citron believes that gender played a 'causative' role in the division between arts and crafts.[3] Women became more and more involved with domestic activities and by the nineteenth century, 'high' art, in a general sense, had come to be associated with the masculine and 'low' art with the feminine. This linkage resulted from perceptions of woman as a creature of nature with her activities centred around the body, while males' activities were associated with the mind and culture.[4] This generally accepted ideology of 'high' culture as masculine and 'low' culture as feminine manifested itself in many respects within artistic realms of the nineteenth century and may be observed in the artistic output of

[2] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p. 127.
[3] Ibid., p. 127.
[4] See, for example, Christine Battersby, *Gender and genius: towards a feminist aesthetics* (London: Women's Press, 1989), p. 109, and Citron *Gender and the Musical Canon,* pp. 44–79.

both sexes. An emerging hierarchy in literature was perceived in the elevation of poetry above prose, where the novel became associated with a feminine domain, and thereby devalued.[5] In painting, historical works of art and portraits of the human body, both of which excluded women, were raised above women's artistic endeavours such as flower painting.[6] Citron shows that it was at that time when the arts/crafts division became strongest, highlighting in particular the interesting instance of the activity of embroidery only becoming feminized once women's activities became restricted to a domestic realm.[7] The 'high' arts were products of the mind, calling to mind the male genius, whereas crafts were created with the hands, namely, the body.

According to the popular music scholar Simon Frith, 'the equation of the serious with the mind and fun with the body was an aspect of the way in which high culture was established in Europe and the United States in the nineteenth century.'[8] Association of the masculine with the mind and the feminine with the body are evident in cultural and social practices of the nineteenth century, an ideology that goes back to Plato and philosophical writing of ancient Greece. The creativity and cultural productivity of the male mind was revered, whereas females were valued for their reproductive qualities, and deemed to be incapable or unworthy of creating serious art.[9] Like their sister-arts, musical activities became labelled as either 'high' or 'low' with strong implicit gendered associations. Music with large-scale forms,

[5] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 127.
[6] Ibid., p. 129.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Simon Frith describes how these constructed connections between the mind with the 'serious' and the body with the 'popular' have manifested themselves in the way audiences participate in 'classical music' concerts where the physical is completely restrained. See Simon Frith, *Performing Rites on the Value of the Popular* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 124.
[9] For more information on women's relationships to creativity, see Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* pp. 44–79.

often instrumental, with the exception of opera, was deemed superior to smaller genres such as song. As music moved away from the courts, transcendent claims were made for art music and its creators. David Gramit has convincingly argued how much of this had to do with the new necessity for artists to attain financial stability.[10]

Music abandoned a sense of functionality and ideas of music as a transcendent art became accepted and have been perpetrated up to the present day. Gramit echoes the thoughts of William Weber:

> Music's functions before the nineteenth century simply did not include those that we now easily associate with the classical music tradition. Music could celebrate occasions, display learning, or entertain, but to claim for it a serious role in human development, seemed at best eccentric, at worst, misguided.[11]

Ironically some of the functions alluded to here became associated with song and with women's role in music. Music with a *perceived* function had a lesser status than autonomous works.[12] Indeed, music that became associated with a domestic function was immediately devalued. The functional role of women's music in the contemporary social climate implied that their music lacked a higher aesthetic purpose, both among contemporary critics and in the historical reception of women composers. Thus, women's expressions of creativity have been dismissed for the cultural medium in which they were expressed although they were, in fact, limited to this medium. Citron describes the difference between the two domains: 'Lower art has tended to stress practicality, the present, and plurality of class [whereas] […] the higher arts have prided themselves on timelessness and non-functionality.'[13] High art music or men's music therefore was valued for its transcendent quality whereas the

[10] David Gramit, *Cultivating Music, the aspirations, interests, and limits of German musical culture, 1770–1848* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 1–27.
[11] Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, p. 2.
[12] It is important to stress *perceived* because naturally music possesses some sort of function, namely to 'entertain' the audience that will hear it. Citron expresses a similar view. See Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 126.
[13] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 128.

music of the drawing room, that is women's music, had an immediate social function. This distinction highlights the subordinate position of music in the woman's domain, which made it difficult for aspiring female composers to draw serious critical attention to their musical compositions. As we saw in Chapter 3, Lang's songs arose out of an artistic impulse as well as in reaction to her environment.

The linkage of women's music with function and domesticity adversely affected the reception of Lang's music and the Lied's association with the private domain led it to be devalued as a genre. Lang's songs suffered devaluation because they were used as 'entertainment.' This is observed in reviews of her songs. In one review, for example, the reviewer demeans the songs as being intended for a narrow 'circle of friends' (*Freundeskreis*).[14] But what if these 'friends' were actually an educated circle, possibly more discerning than the audience of the concert hall? Increasingly, we hear examples of serious musical performance in the private sphere. We know of such notable examples as Fanny Hensel's *Sonntagsmusik* in Berlin[15] and Clara Schumann's private performances in the same city,[16] the Schubertiads in Vienna, which entailed performances of Schubert's music, and the private concerts in which works by Beethoven were premiered.[17] Indeed, the salons in which Lang performed could be deemed serious sites of performance. This and many more examples suggest that our perceptions of music in the private domain needs to be expanded. 'Salon music' of the nineteenth century was generally held in contempt

[14] *NZfM*, 2/33, 24 April 1835, p. 135.
[15] Emily Bilski & Emily Braun, 'The Music Salon', in *Jewish Women and their Salons: The Power of Conversation* (New York & New Haven: Jewish Museum & Yale University Press, 2005), (pp. 38–49), p. 44.
[16] David Ferris, 'Public Performance and Private Understanding: Clara Wieck's Concerts in Berlin', *Journal of the American Musicological Association,* 56/2 (2003), (351–407), p. 351.
[17] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, p. 49.

with negative perceptions of this music being held to the present day. The perception of salon music has been coloured by the popular association of the venue as a site for match-making and social enjoyment rather than a place where excellent music-making could occur. The standard of musical performance, however, varied extensively in salons throughout Germany, ranging from the musically mediocre to the sublime, but women's music tends to be coloured by the perception that it belonged to the mediocre and banal.

As in other arts, music and the 'feminine' have been intrinsically linked throughout history; consider Goethe's concept of the 'eternal feminine', for example, which celebrates the creative impulse in life. In general, however, men have dominated such artistic activities as the composition of music. The branding of music as serious and complex was perhaps an attempt to protect music's creators from being perceived as 'effeminate' and music's connections with the feminine were not construed in a way that made inroads for women into the act of music composition. Christine Battersby has shown that the perceptions of the feminine were always perpetrated in a way that solidified ideologies of female behaviour, but the encouragement of creativity by women was never an element in music's gendered discourse.[18] While Lang did receive encouragement in her compositional activities, her music was subjected to the ideological perceptions associated with the gendered dichotomies her environment.[19]

[18] Battersby, *Gender and genius,* p. 4.
[19] This is most strongly perceived in reviews of her music. For a detailed discussion of these reviews, see Chapter 10 of this dissertation.

4.3 Women and Creativity: Defying Boundaries?

Women's activities were consciously linked with the private domain, but a woman's activities of composition and publication defied these boundaries. Citron speaks of women 'daring to compose.'[20] Indeed, women's compositional activities seem remarkable in an era when they had such limited freedom. In Lang's case, however, one does not detect a sense of her 'going against the grain' in her compositional activity. Rather, her composition appears to have begun in an organic fashion from a very early age. Before her marriage, there is no evidence of actual family opposition to the act of composition, which many other female composers faced.[21] In fact, Lang, Hensel and Clara Schumann were most certainly encouraged to compose in their early lives. Citron's reference to composing as an act of rebellion for a woman,[22] therefore, may not be particularly relevant for Lang and her colleagues, for Lang, Hensel and Clara Schumann composed in their teens without hesitation. Lang's early years were, in fact, some of her most prolific. Indeed the musical family was one of the most crucial factors in allowing a woman to compose, whereas this was not an obligatory pre-requisite for male composers. Later in life, however, due to family commitments—and in the case of Hensel, familial opposition to publication—the compositional activities of Lang, Schumann and Hensel suffered. Their transition into womanhood, a significant turning point in a woman's life, brought with it a set of ideologies that affected women's composition psychologically as well as practically. Society's ingrained system of gender structures now influenced their activities. Hensel's father famously declared that music was now only an 'ornament

[20] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 44.
[21] Ethel Smyth is one example of such a composer. See Jane A. Bernstein '"Shout, Shout, Up with Your Song": Dame Ethel Smyth and the Changing Role of the British Woman Composer', in *Women Making Music,* ed. by Judith Tick and Jane Bowers, pp. 304–24.
[22] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 44.

to her sex.'[23] Clara Schumann expressed anxiety about her composing ability although began composing one of her greatest works, her Piano Concerto, when she was just thirteen.[24] Interestingly, Schumann did not compose any songs until she married and Hensel suffered from writer's block as a result of depression. Despite a busy life, Lang managed to compose relatively unhindered until her marriage in 1842, when domestic tasks began to monopolize her time. The actual act of composition generally appears not to have caused problems for the woman composer in her early years. The problem emerged with the question of publication and entrance into a more public realm. In Hensel's case, her status as a wealthy Jewish woman created problems when she wished to publish her work. Interestingly, Lang was the least inhibited in the publication of her songs. It appears that she faced no opposition to publication, most likely because she was not as financially privileged as Hensel.[25] Felix Mendelssohn, as noted, was highly supportive of and influential on Lang's publication but not so of his sister. [26] Lang was one of the most widely published female composers of her day, a formidable achievement. Her publishing activities are not the sum of her success; nor is it observed in the act of composition itself, but rather through the fine works that she composed and her unique contribution to the genre of Lieder.

[23] Letter from Abraham Mendelssohn to Fanny Mendelssohn in, *The Mendelssohn Family*, p. 82.
[24] Reich, *Clara Schumann,* p. 227.
[25] Harald Krebs expresses this idea. See H. Krebs, 'The "Power of Class"', p. 42.
[26] Mendelssohn's opposition of her work is now being re-assessed. Many complex reasons underly his refusal to support Fanny's publishing activities, such as anti-Jewish feeling in Berlin, the criticism he had received himself from publishers, and that Fanny had a miscarriage. I am grateful to Lorraine Byrne Bodley for pointing this out to me.

4.4 Issues of Creativity: Women Composers and the 'Anxiety of Authorship'

The adverse responses to one's own compositional activities have been aptly deemed an 'anxiety of authorship' by Citron, [27] an effect that can be readily observed if one evaluates of women's attitudes to their art. As Citron states, it can often be detected in 'ambivalence, and contradictory statements about one's activities.'[28] Not in the least helpful to women composers' perceptions of themselves in the nineteenth century were Rousseau's influential ideas that 'women, in general, do not like the arts, have limited knowledge of them and possess no genius'.[29] Virginia Woolf described the creative experience for women as follows:

> Outwardly, what is simpler than to write books? Outwardly, what obstacles are there for a woman rather than for a man? Inwardly, I think, the case is very different; she still has many ghosts to fight, many prejudices to overcome.[30]

Internally, women composers experienced difficulties that most likely came with a new awareness of their place in the world. Lang conforms to this behavioural pattern found in women composers, where the 'anxiety of authorship' can also be detected in direct self-deprecation. Like Clara Schumann, Lang reveals embarrassment at her attempts to compose;[31] she constantly refers to her songs as 'weeds' (*Unkraut*). An example is found in a letter to Hiller when she describes her composition of Scheffel's *Trompeter von Säckingen* settings (op. 45) and writes, 'the 'weeds' again began to run wild!'[32] When asking Mendelssohn for his agreement to dedicate her op. 12 to him, she asks: 'Would you be embarrassed to accept this lowly

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[27] Citron discusses the implications of this 'anxiety of authorship', in *Gender and the Musical Canon,* pp. 54–78.
[28] Ibid., p. 54.
[29] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre à d'Alembert sur son article Genève* (1758: Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 1967), (199–200), n.2, cited and translated in Lorraine Byrne Bodley, 'The Vexations of Musical Theatre', in Anna Amalia, *Erwin and Elmire*, full operatic score (Kassel: Furore Verlag. 2009), p. 2.
[30] Virginia Woolf, 'Professions for Women', [1931] in *Selected Essays,* ed. by David Bradshaw, (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 144.
[31] Carol Neuls-Bates: *Women in Music An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), p. 103.
[32] Lang to Hiller, 28 February 1870, 39 (123), Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln. Cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 190.

dedication?'[33] thereby revealing a lack of confidence with regard to her songs. In a letter to Clara Schumann, she refers to her 'small talent'.[34] Although humility was a prized feminine trait, Lang's disparaging attitude towards her own compositions also reveals an ingrained sense of shame at the quality of her compositions. Yet, interestingly, these negative attitudes did not stop her composing, suggesting that composition was a deeply rewarding if ambivalent experience. It is quite possible that this self-criticism, no doubt brought about by a superfluity of external as well as internal factors, may have affected her compositional activities. While this modesty could have been attempts to elicit praise, it may have also been a result of Lang's conditioning due to her gender.

Artistic creativity has often been linked to a man's sexual potency.[35] Burgess states 'I believe that artistic creativity is a male surrogate for biological creativity.'[36] Citron reveals how this was a common perception and how it was even believed that a woman could 'steal' a man's creativity through sexual intimacy.[37] Conversely, it is interesting that some women have referred to the creative act as similar to being a mother. Lang often speaks of her songs as being like children; recall the letter to Hiller where she describes her Lieder as a 'brood.'[38] Curiously, Hiller refers to the 'embryo' of a Lied forming when describing Lang's compositional process.[39] These references may be symbolic of a woman's internalized perception of her own

[33] Letter from Lang to Mendelssohn, 10 June 1844 MS. M.D.M. d.45 no.294, Mendelssohn MSS, Bodleian Library, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 126.
[34] Letter from Lang to Clara Schumann, 26 [or 16] August,1859. Mus. Nachl. K. Schumann 5, 215, SPK, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 153.
[35] Battersby, *Gender and Genius,* p. 26.
[36] Anthony Burgess, 'Grunts from a Sexist Pig', in *Homage to Qwert Yuiop: Selected Journalism, 1978–85*, ed. Elvan Kintner, 2 vols, Harvard Univerity Press, 1969, p. 4, cited in Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, p. 26.
[37] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 51.
[38] Letter from Lang to Hiller, 19 April 1869 29 (365) Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 155.
[39] Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit,* p. 123.

creativity. Lang may genuinely have undervalued her own intellectual gifts because of her flawed music education and society's entrenched myopic perception of women as child bearers. Citron goes so far as to suggest that the woman composer experiences an anxiety of separation when her musical works enter the public domain. I would dispute Citron's perception of anxiety as being a purely gendered experience. Whatever anxieties were involved, Lang was driven to compose; an experience shared directly by many of her female contemporaries. Clara Schumann pinpoints the joy she experienced when composing. She writes 'nothing surpasses creative activity, even if only for those hours of self-forgetfulness in which one breathes solely in the world of sound,' and later when she had composed her Trio, she stated, 'there is no greater joy than composing something oneself and then listening to it.'[40] Time and again, Lang attested to her own joy in the act of creativity.

4.5 Women's Music and the Need for a Critical Environment

Another possible contributing factor to this 'anxiety of authorship' could be the dearth of a constructive critical environment. Since women's music generally took place in the private amateur domain, there was a distinct absence of a critical environment for their music, which may have been damaging to their development as composers. Even where songs by Lang were reviewed, the reviews were often coloured with prejudice. The label 'woman's work'[41] is sometimes applied, a desire 'not to hurt' the composer is expressed, or the review is used as an opportunity to address the 'woman composer' debate, thus overlooking the musical content of the works involved.[42] The credibility and objectivity of such reviews is, therefore, highly debatable. Clara Schumann once criticized her own works as 'woman's work', which

[40] Clara Schumann cited in Reich, *Clara Schumann,* p. 228.
[41] *NZfM*, 15/4, 13 July 1841, p. 14.
[42] See Chapter 10 on Lang's Reception History for a discussion of reviews of Lang's songs.

shows how deeply internalized the ideology of women and composition had become.[43] Mendelssohn expresses his ideas about Lang's lack of a critical environment in Munich. His comments highlights the situation**:**

> It is possible that she could be spoiled by all this nonsense, because she has no one to understand or guide her, and because strangely enough, she completely lacks musical culture; she knows very little, and can scarcely distinguish good music from bad; in fact, except for her own pieces, she thinks everything wonderfully fine. If she were to become satisfied with herself, it would all be over with her. I have, for my part, done what I could, and implored her parents and herself in the most urgent manner, to avoid society, and not to allow such divine talent to be wasted.[44]

Mendelssohn adds, 'I have led her a little way towards good and solid music.'[45] This double-edged comment about Lang's musical potential also stresses the importance of the critical faculty in music.[46] That Lang lacked development of her critical faculty is not a testament to a lack of talent but to a deficiency in her musical conditioning.[47] Women composers perhaps were not driven to advance themselves seriously in their musical activities, when they were faced with relatively little genuine criticism. Why did women not receive constructive criticism? The composer Corona Schröter's enlightening observation on the subject reveals that women composers were aware of this potential danger:

> A certain feeling towards propriety and morality is stamped on our sex which does not allow us to appear alone in public and without an escort. Thus, how can I otherwise present this, my musical work to the public than with timidity? For the complimentary opinion and the encouragement of a few persons […] can easily be biased out of pity.[48]

Yet, like everyone who enters the public domain, Lang did not escape public criticism. However, in the reviews that condemn her we also witness the critics'

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[43] Clara Schumann cited in Reich, *Clara Schumann,* p. 228.
[44] Letter from Felix Mendelssohn to his family, 7 November 1831, in *Letters* (1945), p. 176
[45] Ibid., p. 177
[46] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 24
[47] She did develop a critical faculty later in life, evident in her eloquent description of a concert in 1868. See letter from Lang to Hiller, 27 April 1868, 27 (369), Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 157.
[48] Corona Schröter, in *Women in Music An Anthology of Source Readings,* p. 87.

reluctance to criticize Lang for fear of 'hurting' her.[49] This kind of protectiveness from critics is also evident in Mendelssohn's shielding of his sister Fanny and his knowledge of the mores of a professional musical world. While there were some exceptions,[50] this desire to protect resulted in a lack of uncensored and unbiased criticism towards the music of female composers was paradoxically a hindrance to their compositional development.

4.6 Women's Independence and Creative Freedom

It has been contested that there has been no great woman composer because women lacked 'genius', but Schröter's comments illuminate another issue for the woman composer: the connection between creativity and independence of body and mind. As Schröter states, women were not permitted to go anywhere 'without an escort.' A potential disadvantage of women's musical environment was that their lives were relatively sheltered. Indeed, women were groomed to forgo their own independence and rely financially on the men in their lives. The man, as head of the house, wielded authority over his wife. Citron has highlighted the restricted nature of women's lives in practical terms:

> An ideology of masculine domination did exist in society and it was pervasive. It affected and mirrored many aspects of women's lives. Depending on country and time period, women were restricted legally, economically, politically, and sexually. Women could not own property, sue for divorce, inherit, or vote. Legally they were property of husband or father and had few rights as individuals. Sexuality and reproductive freedoms were also controlled. It is important to place women composers in this general context.[51]

One can immediately see how a creative woman could be stifled in such a climate. It is therefore not in the least surprising that women composers of the early nineteenth century rarely approached the larger institutionalized genres of the symphony and

[49] *NZfM,* 15/4, 13 July 1841, p. 14.
[50] See, for example, a review of Lang's songs in *NZfM*, 22/22, 15 March 1845, translated on p. 205, in Volume 2 of this thesis.
[51] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 156.

opera; quite apart from the question of musical instruction in these forms, it almost seems inconceivable that they would have considered them. Interestingly, Lang's most productive period is observed at a time when she was busily occupied with teaching. Harald and Sharon Krebs have suggested that Lang may have gained some satisfaction from contributing to the family.[52] Indeed, she may have also gained a sense of independence. Furthermore, Lang was at this time unmarried and without children, suggesting an important criterion for women composers: namely that creativity depended on a woman's independence. Interestingly, Fanny Hensel experienced a surge in creativity as a result of her trip to Italy with her husband and only child Sebastian.[53] Of course, Lang did not have ample opportunity to travel which was an example of another denied opportunity. Financial and physical independence gave a woman's mind the freedom to create, before her faculties were channelled into the restrictive life-moulds of marriage and motherhood. Women were universalized as conformers, as opposed to men who were able to express their individuality. It is, therefore, not surprising that their creativity was suppressed.

4.7 Innovation and Influence: Women's Music's Disconnections

Women's music operated outside the institutions on which history would rely for its content. Therefore, they escaped what Harold Bloom has termed the 'anxiety of influence.'[54] However, women's position outside spheres of musical influence would have affected their compositions. They were not going to act as agents of influence in the music of the future. It could be argued that the music they composed under these circumstances could have constituted a purer expression of the self. However, the

[52] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 13.
[53] R. Larry Todd, *The Other Mendelssohn* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 235–58.
[54] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

feeling of not being pushed to achieve one's potential must have been equally damaging. It is obvious that Lang was not conscious of the possibility of becoming an agent of influence. Correspondingly, the pressure to innovate, as undoubtedly felt by Schubert in Beethoven's shadow, would not be present for Lang, although she did experience a pressure to sound 'in fashion.'[55] Samson states that 'very broadly, the tendency of the nineteenth-century composer was to look beyond the recent past (in some cases cultivating a certain ambivalence or hostility towards it) to a more distant past.'[56] Although canonic building blocks were in place in the early nineteenth century, they eluded women composers. Nonetheless, women's music can, in fact, capture a truer reflection of the musical aesthetic of the period, like a still-life of that musical moment in time. A position outside a sphere of influence may also have encouraged an originality that did not depend on contemporary trends. Citron quotes the American composer Libby Larsen (*b.*1950): 'you don't expect to be heard, you don't have to fit into a tradition […] That frees you a bit.'[57] While this is understandably true, such lack of awareness could also adversely affect women's music in that their music may appear to be 'stagnant' if it does nothing to challenge current conventions.

It is of great interest that after Robert Schumann's death, Clara Schumann devoted herself to the promotion of his works.[58] She felt it was her duty to ensure their permanence in the musical milieu. While there is no doubt that her efforts arose out of her love for Robert Schumann, alongside the pre-eminence of his musical achievement, they may also have been coloured by an awareness of canonic trends

[55] Letter from Lang to Hiller, 28 February 1870, 39 (123), Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln. Cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 190.
[56] Jim Samson, 'The Great Composer, p. 268.
[57] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 70.
[58] She also ceased composition after Robert Schumann's death.

and the superior status of men's music compared to women's creative expression. It is also telling that Clara Schumann did not compose herself after Robert Schumann's death. She wrote to Lang, 'I am to compose songs? I only did it because it made him happy—why should I do it now? And I can't do it anyway since my heart is broken?'[59] Clara Schumann was not driven to compose to the same extent as Josephine Lang. For Clara Schumann, performing was her true passion and not composition. For Josephine Lang, it was composition, and not performance, that was an integral part of her being.

4.8 Performance and Response: Incentives to Compose

Citron observes the three elements that are necessary for the professional composer: their music must be published, performed and written about.[60] Performance opportunities, or the availability of a site to perform one's works, and response to one's works acted as crucial incentives for the woman composer. Some issues in relation to reviews of women's works have been discussed above, but response to a woman's music in an informal, personal way, such as the way in which Felix Mendelssohn encouraged Lang, were equally if not more important. The inspiration Lang received from Mendelssohn's high praise is surely proof that one needs incentives to compose. Fanny Hensel describes this situation appositely:

> Once a year, perhaps, some one will copy a piece of mine, or ask me to play something special—certainly not oftener; and now that Rebecca has left off singing, my songs lie unheeded and unknown. If nobody ever offers an opinion, or takes the slightest interest in one's productions, one loses in time not only all pleasure in them, but all power of judging their value. Felix, who is alone a sufficient public for me, is so seldom here than he cannot help me much, and thus I am thrown back on myself. But my own delight in music and Hensel's sympathy keep me awake still, and I cannot help considering it a sign of talent that I

[59] 'Und ich soll noch Lieder Componieren? ich that's ja aber überhaupt nur, weil's Ihn erfreute, warum sollte ich es jetzt noch? ich kann auch nicht mehr, seit mein Herz geknickt ist'Letter from Clara Schumann to Josephine Lang, Wildbad, 18 August 1859, D-Zsch, Archiv-Nr. 1733-A2 cited in Wolfgang Seibold: '"Wald aussen. Musik innen": Clara Schumann in Wildbad 1859', in *Musik in Baden-Württemberg. Jahrbuch 2009* (Munich: Strube Verlag Edition 9086, 2009), (169-199), p. 191. Citation translated by Mary Adams.

[60] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 80.

> do not give it up, though I can get nobody to take an interest in my efforts. But enough on this uninteresting topic.[61]

Public performance of one's compositions is the mark of a professional composer, yet the information available on performance of Lang's songs is limited. We know that she and Agnes von Calatin performed her own songs at social gatherings. We also know that one of her songs was performed in at a concert in Amsterdam[62] and we noted that she had songs performed by the famous singer Katharine Sigl-Vespermann. An interesting intended dedication to Jenny Lind (See Figure 4.1) is found among Josephine Lang's papers. Although the dedication was not presented, it reveals that Lang knew of Lind, most likely through Felix Mendelssohn, and that Lind may have performed Lang's songs.[63] That Lang could perform her own works and garner responses to it, from Felix Mendelssohn, or in the music journals, doubtlessly inspired her to continue in her compositional efforts. Although a measure of her success, it should be stressed that these activities do not equate to the experience of professional male composers. Lang's songs were performed in an arbitrary way and she did not command the commissions a professional male composer would have received. This lack of formality no doubt shaped the music she and her female contemporaries composed.

[61] Letter from Fanny Hensel to Carl Klingemann, Berlin 15 July 1836, in *Letters from Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, pp. 147–48.
[62] *Caecilia: Algemeen Misikaal Tijdschrift von Niderland Teiende 7* (1 April 1853), p. 67, referred to in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 144 & p. 275.
[63] WLB, MS Lang, Cod. mus. fol. 53–57, p. 25.

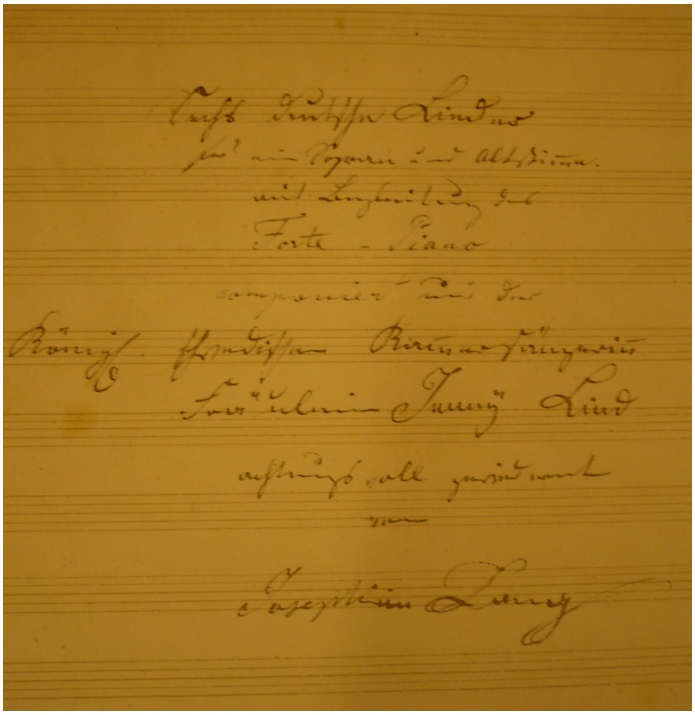

Figure 4.1 Intended dedication to Jenny Lind, (WLB, MS Lang, Cod. mus. fol 53–57, p. 25).
Reproduced with permission.

4.9 Professional and Amateur: The Female Composer and the Blurring of Boundaries

In the nineteenth century, it became difficult to differentiate between the highly accomplished amateur and the aspiring professional composer. Women faced obstacles in that their music was viewed as dilettantish, a term whose meaning had transformed since the eighteenth century from an artist who composed but was not paid, to that of a dabbler.[64] C.P.E. Bach's earlier collections *Für Kenner und Liebhaber* from 1779 instantly spring to mind where Josephine Lang's songs would surely belong to the category of *Kenner*. Connotations of the amateur as dilettantish *always* had negative connotations in the nineteenth century. Felix Mendelssohn

[64] Jane Bowers, 'Introduction', in *Historical Anthology of Music by Women,* p. x.

criticized Szymanowska for being a dilettante.[65] And Nancy Reich has observed the effect of linking women with non-serious musical activities:

> The emphasis on the home as the proper sphere of woman and the subsequent 'cult of domesticity' that developed during the first half of the nineteenth century must have caused considerable conflict for and perhaps even embarrassment to professional women musicians.[66]

Reich's perceptive comments reiterate that women's intrinsic connection to the private, domestic sphere had the effect of limiting her musical experience. Women's ambitions in music were placed in opposition to society's expectation of how a woman should behave, resulting in this feeling of unease at their professional inclinations. With regard to composition, Lang was relatively uninhibited before her marriage, but after she got married there was a sharp decline in the number of compositions. This was predominantly because as a married woman and mother, she had little time to compose, but also because as the wife of a professor, it would have been inappropriate for her to work professionally.

Reich highlights another issue for the woman composer and argues that with the rise of an increasingly prosperous middle class, more women took part in amateur musical activities during the first half of the nineteenth century.[67] While the development of women's musical activities was positive with regard to women's participation in music in general, it certainly had an adverse effect on women composers, placing their music in the category of amateur musical activities.[68] Essentially it presented an added difficulty for a female composer who wanted to distinguish herself in musical circles, where her music would sometimes be labelled

[65] Fierro, 'Maria Szymanowska', p. 126.
[66] Nancy B. Reich, 'Women as Musicians: A Question of Class', in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship,* ed. by Ruth Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), (pp. 125–46), p. 130.
[67] Nancy B. Reich, 'European Composers and Musicians, p. 147.
[68] This is evident in reviews of Lang's songs. See Chapter 10 of this thesis.

as ‘dilettantish’. This was observed in the claim that Lang’s songs were composed for a limited *Freundeskreis.*[69]

The absence of a clear boundary between professional and accomplished so-called amateur/connoisseur was also observed in the salon.[70] In addition, given the mix of performers witnessed at Martius’s house in Munich, one can see that there was an absence of a clear boundary between the performers and the audience, who, in some contexts, were interchangeable. The salon certainly had a different dynamic from the public concert, where the roles of performer and audience were and still are clearly defined. I would argue that this kind of elusive boundary affected women composers and was discernable in the Lied. Many Lieder could be played by amateurs. As Tick surmises, others were obviously for the ‘concert singer.’[71] Harald and Sharon Krebs attest that many of Lang’s piano parts are virtuosic.[72]

In the amateur musical world, women tended to compose music for other women to perform, deliberately simple in style and easily performed by amateur musicians in this salon context. Such songs were regularly published in almanacs intended specifically for women, a good example of which is found in the songs of Luise Reichardt. Lang’s 150 published songs, a staggering figure, however, were published as single opera, usually in collections of three to six songs, which was a relatively unusual and exceptional achievement for a woman of her time.[73] Lang’s

[69] *NZfM*, 33, 24 April, 1835, p. 135.
[70] Leon Botstein, ‘Music, Feminity and Jewish Identity: The Tradition and Legacy of the Salon,’, in *Jewish Women and their Salons*, p. 167
[71] Tick, ‘Introduction’, *Josephine Lang,* [p. 2].
[72] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 227.
[73] In the late eighteenth century, Corona Schröter had success in publishing her music. She published forty-one Lieder, twenty-five in one collection of 1786, sixteen in 1794 and a single Lied publication in 1780, republished in 1796. She also published incidental music for Goethe’s *Singspiel, Die Fischerin.* See Marcia Citron, ‘Corona Schröter: Composer, Singer, Actress’, in *Music & Letters,* 6/1

songs, however, do not conform to a simple domestic style. Indeed there was an invisible publication boundary for women composers: once they crossed it, their music was criticized for sounding like a 'woman,' or for sounding as if they were written by a man.[74] This musical tug-of-war is evident in Lang's songs, which varied from the serious to the light-hearted.

Lang was criticized for the difficulty of both the piano and vocal writing, an important example of which is found in a letter from the baritone, Franz Hauser, whom Lang came to know through Felix Mendelssohn.[75] Although Hauser was an admirer of Lang's songs, he also believed they were far too difficult for the average performer. On 30 October 1847 he wrote to Lang:

> You know well what an interest I have taken in them [your songs], and how highly I value everything you write, and therefore you must permit me to tell you as well when I do not agree with you. […] 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.[76]

Hauser's comparison with Jenny Lind, the most prominent diva of the day, is telling as it acknowledges Lang as a skilled performer,[77] but Hauser's comments also serve to illustrate the instability of Lang's position as an aspiring professional female composer and allude to the potential market for her songs among amateur performers. We know that Hauser was also very critical of Hensel's music, but this

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(January 1980), (15–27), p. 21. Other composers such as Luise Reichardt and Louise Hensel published but not to the same degree.

[74] For a detailed discussion of Lang and the reviewers, see Chapter 11 of this thesis.

[75] John Warrack and Douglass Seaton. 'Hauser, Franz', in *GMO*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12562pg1> [accessed February 7, 2010]. Hauser was a key figure in the Bach revival.

[76] Letter from Franz Hauser to Lang, 30 October 1847, Mus. ep. Hause 6, SPK, cited in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 133.

[77] Krebs & Krebs acknowledge that 'although Hauser found Lang's songs too difficult, both for the singer and the pianist, these remarks reveal his immense respect for Lang as a singer, pianist, and composer.' See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 133.

criticism was not malicious and was intended in a constructive way.[78] Rather, it could be read as a sign of his respect for these women musicians that he was honest in sharing his perceptions.

Hauser's letter reveals the precariousness of Josephine Lang's situation, in that her music was occasionally criticized by prominent reviewers and yet her songs often proved too difficult for the average drawing room performer.[79] Interestingly, Schubert also faced criticism for harmonic audacity in his songs, which could be inferred as a criticism of difficulty.[80] In both cases such comments poignantly illustrate the tensions composers faced: namely those between the public/private, professional/amateur and of course the 'serious' and the 'popular'. In the case of such composers as Josephine Lang, this dichotomy was blurred. An obscuring of these divisions is also evident in the career of Fanny Hensel, who carried on the tradition of her mother's salon in Berlin. Music-making in the Mendelssohn salon went way beyond the confines of conventional drawing room song in the standard of performance and the range of repertoire performed.[81] With hundreds of guests in attendance, Hensel's salon transcended the musical gathering in the home and was more like a serious public concert. The dichotomy between the serious and the popular, the public and the private, constituted a very fluid relationship. The private realm of music is still often treated as the lower element of a hierarchy, when in fact in the nineteenth century, it was capable of playing host to some of the finest musical

[78] Harald Krebs, 'The "Power of Class"', p. 44.
[79] Letter from Franz Hauser to Lang, 30 October 1847, Mus. ep. Hauser 6, SPK, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 133.
[80] Josef von Spaun, 'On Schubert' (1829), in *Schubert: Memoirs by his Friends*, collected an ed. by Otto Deutsch, English translation by Rosamund Ley & John Nowell (London: A. & C. Black, 1958), p. 23.
[81] Barbara Hahn, 'A dream of living together: Jewish Women in Berlin around 1800', in *Jewish Women and their Salons* (pp. 149–58), p. 167.

performances.[82] Lang's musical environment corresponds to this model; while Mendelssohn criticized her musical environment in the 1830s, performances for Lenau and Martius reveal that her performing activities were divided between serious and popular.

4.10 Lang's Publishing Activities and Expectations of Women's Music

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Lang's career was the vast published output of 150 Lieder, unprecedented for a woman composer of her time. Lang's songs were published by many leading publishing houses in Germany including Schlesinger of Berlin, Breitkopf und Härtel and Kistner in Leipzig, Falter und Sohn in Munich. In addition to the thirty-four published opera of songs, some of Lang's Lieder were published in a series of song publications called *Lieder-Kranz* in 1840 or 1841 in which she was the only woman included.[83] Lang's songs also appeared in a collection by Franz Hauser in 1860.[84] An English translation of her setting of Heine's 'Mag da draußen Schnee sich thürmen', op. 15 no.2, was published in 1849.[85] Emma von Suckow notes in 1839 that Lang published songs in Paris.[86] In 1882, Breitkopf und Härtel published a posthumous collection of forty Lieder prepared by her son.

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[82] See, for example, David Ferris' article on Clara Schumann's private performances in Berlin. David Ferris, 'Public Performance and Private Understanding', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 56/2 (Summer, 2003), pp. 351–408.

[83] Sharon Krebs, 'Josephine Lang', <http://www.mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/grundseite/grundseite.php?id=lang1815>, [accessed 30 November 2009]. *Lieder-Kranz gewunden von den vorzüglichsten Tonsetzern* (Munich: Falter & Sohn, undated) Nine of twelve booklets in the series contain a song by Lang. Krebs & Krebs surmise that since one of the songs by Lang was composed in 1840, this publication must have happened in either 1840 or 1841.

[84] Dale A. Jorgenson, *The life and legacy of Franz Xaver Hauser: a forgotten leader in the Nineteenth-Century Bach movement* (Carbondale IL: Southern Univiersity Illinois Press, 1996), p. 194. Hauser provides a song book at the end of his treatise on singing, *Gesanglehre für Lehrende und Lernende* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1866). He includes three songs by Lang, 'Auf der Alpe', reprint of 'op. 3' no. 4, 'Lied' Auf dem frischen Rasensitze', reprint of 'op. 5' no. 2 and 'Sehnsucht' 'op. 4' no. 4, as well as works by Bach and Felix Mendelssohn.

[85] *Lyra Anglo-Germanica, a collection of the latest and most select Vocal Gems of Germany (*London: Boosey & Hawkes, undated). Sharon Krebs gives the date as most likely 1849. <http://www.mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/grundseite/grundseite.php?id=lang1815> accessed 30 November 2009.

[86] Niendorf, *Reisescenen,* p. 2. I was unable to locate an exemplar of this publication.

Indeed, the publication of Lang's songs has been crucial in permitting scholarship on her music.

Despite being 'outside the loop' of influence, Lang's music was influenced by the musical landscape of her time. The common expectation for her music to sound a certain way because she was a woman is reflected in public and private reviews of her songs.[87] Hauser's ideas may reflect a wider consensus that a woman's songs should not be challenging for performers. Even if the popular market was not Lang's priority, publishers were acutely aware of their potential audience. The difficulty of many of her songs suggests that she, like Schubert, intended them for skilled amateurs and professionals.

4.11 Considerations of Genre: The Anomaly of German Art Song

In musical realms, the 'high' and 'low' divide was observed most poignantly, paradoxically and ambiguously in the genre of song. In the ranking of genres, song probably occupied one of the lower positions, but Schubert's revolution of the genre in the early nineteenth century resulted in the Lied now being considered a serious genre. The Lied was unusual in that it held a dual status[88] as both a serious artwork and popular genre. Because of its potential for mainstream adoption, there was always a chance that song might be construed as unworthy of 'art.' As Dahlhaus avows, 'even the worst imaginable symphony still fell under a different category from what Benetto Croce called "nonart," which made no effort to partake of "artistic status."'[89] There was a question, however, over the Lied's status as a genre

[87] This is discussed in Chapter 10 of this thesis.
[88] David Gramit, 'The Circulation of the Lied', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. by James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), (pp. 301–14), p. 301.
[89] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* p. 103.

because it did not fit comfortably in either the domain of the 'serious' or the 'popular.' The same musical medium of voice and piano could be used to communicate the deepest musical and poetic sentiment and at the same time it could be employed for frivolous love songs.

The genre of song is so culturally rich and musically diverse that the term 'Lied' itself is on the verge of being saturated with multiplicity of meaning. At one extreme, there was simple drawing room music, and on the other, high art song. Embracing the plurality of song, Dahlhaus was one of the first to use the term 'Lied traditions' to show how diverse the genre actually is.[90] He describes Schubert's elevation of the Lied:

> To grasp the historical character of the Schubert lied, as well as the European context from which it stood out, we will have to process from the wide array of lied traditions rather than the unity of the lied as an ideal. The lied type with which Schubert ushered in a new era is not the same as his entire output of lieder, and we spoil our chances of understanding its special nature if we elevate it prima facie to an ideal type against which the remaining types or genres degenerate into flawed subspecies instead of preserving their aesthetic independence. We have no right to measure an arietta, a cavatina, a romance, or an ode against a lied aesthetic derived from *Gretchen am Spinnrade* (1814) or *Wandrers Nachtlied* (1815). And any history which arrives at the conclusion, whether tacit or not, that an overwhelming majority of the various heterogeneous items falling under the heading of 'lieder' are not 'genuine' lieder at all is simply distorting the reality of history to fit an idealized construct. In fact, there were countless genres in existence at any one time.[91]

Dahlhaus points to the problematic nature of understanding the Lied, warning that we should not use the Schubertian Lied as the 'norm' by which we measure every song. Nor should we, however, ignore the connections of Schubert's Lieder to the wider tradition of song around him. As Lorraine Byrne Bodley writes, Schubert 'did not work in a vacuum.'[92] Byrne Bodley later adds that 'the search to please his public took the form of an acutely refined technique, honed in response to an awareness of

[90] Ibid., p. 96.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings,* p. 41.

what the Viennese public enjoyed.'[93] While, of course, it would be unreasonable to compare an arietta from *Claudine von Villa Bella*,[94] for example, to one of Schubert's well-known Goethe settings, we must recognise the subtle links that connected Schubert to the song traditions of his day.

The vast expanse of Lied traditions that underlies the genre of Lieder has consequences for women composers of song. Because of their strong ties to the private domain, their songs have been construed as being less 'serious' and as bearing no relation to the Schubertian Lied at all. While Lang did not revolutionize the genre as Schubert did, her songs bear a deep relationship to Schubert's song aesthetic. Indeed it is possible for a composer's song output to bear the stamp of many Lied traditions and one must refrain from trying to categorise a song composer's output too narrowly. In the Lieder of Reichardt, Zelter, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Robert Franz, Karl Loewe, Fanny Hensel and Josephine Lang, one discovers songs in both simple style and complex styles, depending on various compositional circumstances, namely creative inspiration, performance context, and most importantly, reaction to the stimulus of poetic content. Dahlhaus posits one feature, which could define where a song fit in the tradition of Lieder:

> For one thing, the music must be seen to reflect both the outer and the inner form of the underlying poem, with the emphasis depending in part on the genre to which the lied belongs. For another, as Herder had already demanded of the lied as a poetic form, a lyric 'tone' must be struck in the music as well.[95]

Schubert, as shown by Lorraine Byrne Bodley, masterfully portrayed the 'inner' structure of Goethe's poetry in his Lieder.[96] We shall see that Lang was capable of achieving this, too, in her songs and that she on many occasions struck the 'right

[93] Ibid., p. 42.
[94] Franz Schubert, *Claudine von Villa Bella*, *Goethe's Singspiel set by Franz Schubert*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley & Dan Farrelly (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2003).
[95] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* p. 99.
[96] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings,* p. xvii. Here she states this as her main aim.

tone.'[97] Lang's songs seem to mediate between a song style that would appeal to salon audiences and high art song, combining a depth of poetic perception with musical dynamism.

4.12 The Lied as 'Feminine': Women and Song

Despite Schubert's elevation of the genre, his association with song as a feminine genre triggered negative reception of his orchestral and chamber music.[98] Chopin underwent the same prejudice through his composition of music for a domestic setting.[99] These composers became somewhat feminized, with distinctly negative connotations. Paradoxically, Schubert's revolutionising of the Lied, however, a genre previously considered to be inferior to instrumental music, also served to narrow this dichotomy between 'major' and 'minor' genres.[100] So too the rise of the étude from a 'technical exercise' to a concert piece highlights the changeable nature of this dichotomy.

According to Dahlhaus, 'the pinnacle of art [song] lay in a semblance of artlessness.'[101] Before him, Robert Schumann expressed a similar view.[102] Song, therefore, led a life that flirted with the boundaries for both 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow' music. How did the position of song influence Josephine Lang and other

[97] Dahlhaus claims that the key to a successful Lied was striking a tone in keeping with the poem. See Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, p. 104.
[98] See Christopher H. Gibbs, 'Poor Schubert: Images and Legends of the Composer', in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert,* ed. by Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), (pp. 36–55), pp. 50–51.
[99] Jeffrey Kallberg refers to the devaluation of the nocturne as a genre which occurred as a result of its association with the 'feminine' realm. Jeffrey Kallberg. 'Gender (i)', in *GMO*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/41235> [accessed February 7, 2010]. R. Larry Todd has discussed Mendelssohn's linking with the feminine as a problem in his recption. See R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2003), p. xxv.
[100] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* p. 127.
[101] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* p. 99.
[102] John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a New Poetic Age (*Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 206.

women's handling of the genre? The 'Lied traditions' to which Dahlhaus refers frequently collided with each other. While most of Schubert's songs occupy a position distant from the simple folk-like song settings of the First Berlin School, there is a vacillating middle-ground where Lang's Lieder reside. In short, while the separateness of each 'Lied tradition' should be acknowledged, the frequent imbrication between the branches of the tradition should be recognized as being fluid where one composer's song may occupy more than one tradition at one time or even move between traditions.

David Gramit has noted that the Lied 'lay at the borders of the serious and the popular'[103] and he describes women composers' access to the Lied as follows:

> If association with the feminine threatened the Lied's status, however, it also made it one of the genres in which activity by women composers was most visible and acceptable. As a result, a succession of women achieved public visibility as composers in whose output Lieder played a dominant role, among them Maria Theresia Paradis, Luise Reichardt, Emilie Zumsteeg, and Josephine Lang, in addition to the more familiar figures of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel and Clara Wieck Schumann. Moreover, women whose principal activities lay in other areas could participate relatively freely in the composition of Lieder […] And so the Lied played a role in yet another ambivalent situation: it provided a creative outlet for women, who were strongly discouraged from other public creativity, even while its position within the hierarchy of musical genres reinforced the ideologies that justified their exclusion.[104]

The Lied's apparent low ranking in the hierarchy was possibly one of the reasons why women composers' pursuits in song-composition were accepted. Although they were accepted, however, there were very few female composers who took on the genre with Lang's gusto and imagination. The breadth and variety of her output made her one of the few exceptional women composers of the nineteenth-century Lied.

[103] Gramit, 'The circulation of the Lied', p. 301.
[104] Ibid., p. 308.

Despite the relative ease of engagement with Lieder for women composers, Gramit notes that: 'by the later nineteenth century, however, signs of the Lied's seriousness and canonic status are unmistakeable, heralded by a weighty new mode of circulation: critical editions of the works of great composers.'[105] It is also interesting to consider the repositioning of the Lied from the drawing room to the concert hall in the later nineteenth century, which suitably illustrates the fluidity and instability of this dichotomy but also a reclaiming of 'song', or more specifically the 'art song', as a 'serious genre.'[106] Women were excluded from these kinds of musical developments because they were ill equipped to deal with changing needs of the audience through a lack of grounding in orchestral compositions.

4.13 The Lied as a Commodity? Women's Song and the Marketplace

Indeed Hauser's comments above point to another important issue that affected Lang and other women composers of Lieder and in fact all composers of Lieder: that of its marketability. David Gramit claims:

> The Lied has a kind of double nature, born of the interaction of poetry and music. This is scarcely an original observation; indeed, it is a truism so familiar that it would not bear repeating if not for its relevance to another sort of double life, one that has far less frequently received consideration: throughout its history, the Lied has existed both as an artistic genre and as a class of commodity, an object for sale in the marketplace.[107]

In the early nineteenth century, song became the most marketable aspect of the music industry. Thousands of publications of small collections of Lieder by hundreds of Lieder composers can by found at the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin. Indeed, the popularity and commerciality of song in general have raised questions about its status as a genre. Gramit reminds us that 'the Lied's status as a genuinely artistic

[105] Ibid.
[106] Although musical scholarship has expanded to incorporate song, we are still living with a historical remnant which Susan Youens points out: 'symphony legitimates song, or used to do so.' Susan Youens, *Heine and the Lied,* p. xxii. In order to gain a deeper understanding of song traditions in Germany, it is necessary to continue the study of composers like Lang, both male *and* female.
[107] Gramit, 'The Circulaton of the Lied', p. 301.

genre was contested precisely because its status as an all-too-viable commodity appeared to threaten its standing as art.'[108] Indeed the term 'popular' immediately invokes the notion that this music could not hold serious value and indeed that the intentions behind its creation are not conscientious. Although one acknowledges that Lieder by Schubert and Wolf could not be considered in this light, one must recognize that women's songs, due to their connection with the popular, have been considered as ephemera, unworthy of scholarly appraisal.[109] However, to write off Lang's songs as popular ephemera is to do her, and women composers like her, a great injustice. Lang composed songs because her education did not allow her venture into the composition of large-scale orchestral works; but in the genre of song, her artistic and poetic talents were able to flourish. If we write off the genre in which she flourished, we continue the tradition of the past of revering 'greatness.' Indeed the market was a huge factor in the composition of songs by women: it both gave an incentive to create and publish[110] yet placed implicit boundaries on the music itself. The commerciality of the Lied was double-edged for the woman composer in that although it provided a market for their output, it relegated their music to the label 'popular'.

In the late nineteenth century, women composers in general found it increasingly difficult to find a market for their songs. In a letter to Hiller in 1870, Lang expressed her disillusionment at being rejected by publishers, 'Since I received rejections from Breitkopf 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,

[108] Ibid., p. 301
[109] Dunsby expresses this view in *Making Words Sing*, p. 33.
[110] She notes that Lang composed her songs with the intent of publication. S. Krebs, 'My Songs are my Diary', p. 6.

where better things are available.'[111] In April 1878 the renowned British composer, Ethel Smyth, confided to Clara Schumann:

> Well, he [Dr. Hase] began by telling me that songs had as a rule a bad sale—but that no composeress had ever succeeded, barring Frau Schumann and Fräulein Mendelssohn, whose songs had been published together with those of their husband and brother respectively. He told me that a certain Frau Lang had written some really very good songs, but they had no sale. I played him mine, many of which he had already heard me perform in various Leipzig houses, and he expressed himself very willing to take the risk and print them.[112]

Firstly Smyth's comments point to one important issue for the woman composer, namely the importance of male familial connections, as in the cases of Hensel, Schumann and Alma Mahler, for example. Like Corona Schröter, who published widely, Lang was not able to rely on male relatives for success.

As underscored by Hauser's comments, the relative technical difficulties and intricacies of Lang's songs suggest that they were not intended for the average amateur musician. In the nineteenth century, a woman's ability to play the piano was viewed as a social accomplishment and increased desirability for marriage.[113] Over-accomplishment in music by women in general, however, was considered unattractive, and nineteenth-century women suffered because of this invisible ceiling that was placed on their musical education. Perhaps that is one of the reasons why the sale of Lang's songs suffered a decline, which may have reflected a decline in the general standard of music making. A cruel vicious circle, therefore, restricted both Lang as a composer and the female clientele at whom her songs would have been targeted.

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[111] Lang to Hiller, 28 February 1870, 39 (123), Hiller MSS, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, cited and translated in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 190.
[112] Ethel Smyth, April 1878, *Impressions that Remained* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1946), cited in *Women's Music: An Anthology of Source Readings*, p. 165.
[113] Reich, 'European Composers and Musicians', p. 98.

Indeed Lang was not alone in facing pressures from market expectations. Gramit echoes Dahlhaus's claim above that the Schubertian Lied, which became popular, was not representative of his entire output:

> While Schubert's early song compositions ranged widely, the broadened exposure of publication would appear to have narrowed his preferences and moved them in the direction of the form he is said to have invented. Serious poetry dominates Schubert's early publications […].[114]

In song studies, there is perhaps a reluctance to admit that song acted as a commodity, but it is impossible to escape this truth. Gramit shows how the popularity of Lieder did not take away from their credibility:

> The creation of the autonomous Lied-as-artwork appears not simply as an ahistorical stroke of individual genius, but as the product of the interaction of an individual aspiring to distinguish himself as a composer with both the generic conventions and the altered circulatory potential of what was for him a newly available medium. Viewing Schubert's activity in this way, in no way denies his unique musical-poetic sensitivity, but rather places it in the context of the larger developments through which it found expression and which rendered it intelligible.[115]

We have no concrete proof that market expectations of Lang's music affected her own compositions but the range of settings observed reveals a certain dichotomy between songs that seriously interpreted a text and songs that appear to have been for the purpose of entertainment. As a result of comments like Hauser's, Lang may have been tempted to simplify her compositional approach, a prospect that seems quite tragic. Undoubtedly, Josephine Lang was in a musical tug-of-war between expectations of society and those of serious musical circles, a highly unstable position for the female creator, and yet one that paradoxically allowed her to flourish.

4.14 Conclusion: The Place of Paradox in Lang's Musical World

Lang's musical environment presents the observer with a whole host of ironies and contrasts. The Romantic era, known for its celebration of the primacy of emotion and the lyrical, simultaneously championed ideals of grandeur in music. Lang's

[114] Gramit, 'The Circulation of the Lied', p. 303.
[115] Ibid., p. 304.

compositional life took place at a time when Romantic and Biedermeier currents worked in opposition. The flourishing of Biedermeier culture gave her an outlet to produce her songs, and yet, her songs do not conform to a cosy Biedermeier aesthetic.[116] These paradoxes, however, always seem to work in a way that suited the higher power in the nineteenth-century hierarchy of men and women. Lang's individual environment is striking for the overlap of various social and cultural realms at that time. For example, much of Lang's musical activities took place in the salon environment but publication and reviews in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* brought her music into a public realm. Situated on the cusp of so many colliding musical traditions and contexts, Lang's songs offer insight into the conflicting dichotomies of the nineteenth-century Lied—especially for women composers. Although outside the spheres of influence in the nineteenth century, Lang's musical environment was fraught with its own volatile tensions and contradictions. The milieu of Lang's Lieder tenuously mediated between popular tastes and her own desire to contribute to a more serious and developing art form.

[116] W.E. Yates, 'Biedermeier', in *GMO*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03049> [accessed 10 December 2009].

5

Words, Music, Song: Polemics in Contemporary Lieder Studies

5.1 Introduction

The interaction of music and literature has long inspired the interest of scholars with art song forming one significant branch of the discourse. Song, one of the earliest and most beloved musical phenomena known to man, is used to honour every variety of occasion from birth to death, as an expression of sentiment, whether personal, emotional, religious or patriotic. Moreover, song is one of humankind's most natural forms of self-expression. In paradoxical relief, however, the debate surrounding words and music in song has become increasingly complex, particularly in relation to German Lieder. Indeed, with the dawn of a new genre of song in the early nineteenth century, the act of 'song' was, ostensibly, intellectualized, and divorced itself, though not completely, from more conventional forms of song. Song became a combination of 'art and artlessness',[1] although, realistically, it remained distant from actual folk song. Franz Schubert was primarily responsible for the musical elevation of the Lied to a 'serious'genre.[2] Through his musical advancement of the Lied, however, Schubert also succeeded in forging a deeper connection to the text of the song. This close kinship between music and text has resulted in a highly complex discourse concerning words and music in the Lied.

The implosion of two artistic provinces, music and literature, within the Lied, has led to it being examined from manifold positions: musically, literarily, analytically, philosophically, performatively, and psychoanalytically. This chapter

[1] Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, p. 206.
[2] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* p. 195.

seeks to address some of the central questions concerning the interaction of music and words within German art song, with particular emphasis on its relationship to Josephine Lang's Lieder. The question of the relevance of this word-music debate is raised in relation to Lang's songs. The creative backdrop of the Lied is explored and nineteenth-century attitudes to the Lied are considered. The contemporary debate on words and music is parsed, with particular regard to analysis of song. The relevance of a theory of words and music (or lack of it, as Jonathan Dunsby has posited[3]) to our experience of the Lied, as performers and listeners, is considered.

5.2 Music and Literature in the Nineteenth Century: The Lied's Cultural Aperçu

Composers write songs to poetry of both contemporary and past epochs, where the poetic verse of each era possesses a distinct cultural identity. The Lied is unique, however, in that composers and poets often created these works of art in the same period in the same cultural climate.[4] Although one cannot deny the musical variety and innovation within the genre, the Lied was very specific, pertaining to a specific place and historic period and echoed particular ideologies of that period. The spirit of the lyric poem and the miniature artwork dominated the cultural scene of the nineteenth century. Paradoxically the specificity of artistic aesthetic of the Lied is contrasted with its universal ability to move audiences of any era. Based on this close historical and aesthetic affinity between the music and poetry of Lieder, we are led to ask further questions with reference to music and literature of the period, namely how does the Lied reflect trends in German Romanticism? How did musical and literary spheres interact with each other? How did the poets and composers relate to

[3] Dunsby, *Making Words Sing*, pp. 10–32.
[4] Of course, there are exceptions to this: Brahms, Schumann, Wolf and Lang all set Goethe's poetry after his death, but in general, poetry that was selected was relatively close in chronological proximity.

each other? In what capacity were the two arts considered analogous and in what respects were they considered 'separate'?

The rise of the Lied was one of the most significant innovations of the artistic milieu of German Romanticism. Indeed, Goethe's lyric poetry (although Classical in its origins) is widely acknowledged as a major influence. In the early nineteenth century, the two art worlds of music and literature were seemingly striving towards the perceived perfection of the other. Into the nineteenth century, music leaned towards the poetic with aptly named piano pieces such as the *Ballade* and the *Lied ohne Worte* while lyric poetry, a key element in the Lied's existence, strove to be more 'musical'. These romantic artistic desires to create 'musical poetry' and 'poetic music' expedited the evolution of the Lied. Earlier, E.T.A. Hoffmann considered that 'poets and musicians are members of one church related in the most intimate way: for the secret of word and tone is one and the same'.[5] While the conclusions Hoffmann draws are metaphorical, the metaphor confirms a certain shared kinship between these arts. Despite such mutual empathy between the arts, however, Steven Paul Scher later affirms, 'no matter how similar literature and music may appear on occasion, they are only analogous, never identical'.[6] It is this irreconcilability that is one of the central issues in the word-music debate in Lied studies. The very phrases 'musical poetry' and 'poetic music' are, in fact, misnomers. Northrop Frye once noted that the term 'musical', when used to describe poetry, means 'pleasant sounding'[7] and obviously not 'musical' in the sense of possessing specific pitch and

[5] E.T.A. Hoffmann cited in Steven Paul Scher, 'Comparing Poetry and Music: Beethoven's Goethe Lieder as Composed Reading', in *Word and Music Studies 5, Essays on Literature and Music (1867–2004),* ed. by Walter Bernhart and Werner Wolf (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2004), p. 173.
[6] Ibid., p. 175.
[7] Northrop Frye, 'Introduction' *Sound and Poetry,* ed. Northrop Frye (New York and London, 1956), p. xi.

duration, pointing to the differences between the two art forms. Likewise, the term 'poetic' in music, does not mean 'like a poem', but really connotes 'lyrical' music, pointing to a potential difficulty, that of language, where such terms as 'lyrical', 'musical' and 'poetic' mean something different in the discourse on each art. The paradoxical similarities of two art worlds, which possess similar inner spirits and yet are admittedly disparate in their communicative means, is probably most discernable in poets' tendency to label their poems, 'Lieder'.

5.3 The Lied in its Creative Context

In spite of the differences between words and music, the Lied brings to light the strong connections between artists involved in different realms of the artistic world of the early nineteenth century. Significantly, musical and literary spheres shared a performance context, namely, the intellectual salon. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the most notable of these were the Jewish salons of Fanny Hensel in Berlin and Rahel Levin before her.[8] In contrast to the majority of salons in Germany, which were often home to ordinary amateur music-making, the intellectual salons constituted sites of artistic excellence. Poets, musicians, actors and intellectuals gathered at such salons, which served as sites for cultural exchange. Poetry reading and musical performance were focal activities in the salon. Often, a poet would have been present to hear musical settings of his own poetry. Heinrich Heine most likely heard settings of his poetry at Levin's salon, for example, and, as was mentioned earlier, Nikolaus Lenau was present at a gathering where Lang and Agnes von Calatin, performed a setting of his poem 'Scheideblick', op. 10 no. 5.

[8] Bilski & Braun, 'The Music Salon', pp. 38–50.

Lang's environment was saturated with poetry. Similarly, Franz Schubert's circle was deeply immersed in literary interests[9] and it is widely known that Felix Mendelssohn was close to Goethe. Robert Schumann, the son of a bookseller, is famous for his fervent literary pursuits since his childhood. Many Lied composers not only engaged with the poetry of their literary counterparts through their musical settings but also interacted socially with the poets of their day. In Lang's case, her citations of Goethe and Uhland in her private letters reveal that they were not only part of her musical language but also part of her everyday life.[10] That composers and poets were never very remote from each other may be enlightening when examining their songs and gives us insight into the genre in a more general sense; namely that the Lied's *mise-en-scène* was as literary as it was musical, if not more so. That Lieder were therefore cultivated in this rich creative environment was a crucial factor in the Lied's development in that it contributed to intimacy of the relationship between words and music within this genre.

5.4 Nineteenth-Century Perceptions of the Lied

Concomitant with the development of the 'serious' German art song, various composers contributed to the discussion on the relationship between words and music. Examining contemporary opinions by both composers and poets before and during Josephine Lang's period of song composition gives us more insight into the development of the Lied and deepens our awareness of the creative environment in which composers set poetry to music. Before Schubert revolutionized the Lied, composers and poets were already aware of the complexities of the concatenation of words and music in the Lied. The Lieder of Reichardt and Zelter as a musical

[9] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings,* p. 59.
[10] Letter from Lang to Hiller, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln No. 37 (519–28), Tübingen, 6 May 1868. I am grateful to Sharon Krebs for sharing these references with me.

heritage to Schubert have been discussed by Lorraine Byrne Bodley.[11] During his thirty-three year correspondence with Goethe,[12] Zelter commented on his own aesthetic values in relation to song composition: 'I respect the form of the poem and try to recognize my poet therein, for I imagine him as having a melody of his own hovering in mind.'[13] On the 'poet's melody', Zelter stated:

> That this melody should fit all strophes is a condition that is not clear even to the better composers. The objectors against this are not unknown to me; you, dear friend, will at least realize at this point that I am not in favour of the *durchkomponiert* method of setting strophic poems. Others will hold otherwise and may act accordingly, although a melody which one doesn't enjoy hearing is probably not the best.[14]

Zelter composed some very fine settings that have escaped musicologists' attention. However, it is clear that Zelter sometimes shifts the focus from his own creative impulse in order to give the poem pride of place. Goethe later wrote to Zelter:

> I feel that your compositions are, so to speak, identical with my songs, the music like gas blown into a balloon merely carries them to the heavens. With other composers, I must first observe how they have conceived of my song, and what they have made of it.[15]

Despite this hesitance, Byrne Bodley shows how Goethe[16] is known to have later enjoyed a performance of Schubert's 'Erlkönig' by Wilhelmine Schroeder Devrient, illustrating that in later years he was receptive to Schubert's settings of his poetry.[17] He also awarded the composer a certain freedom of interpretation and he believed:

> One can take the poem as one pleases. I do not demand that all my literary works should be observed through the same glass. Everyone can take from them what they find, and for them this is the truth.[18]

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[11] Ibid., pp. 39–50.
[12] This correspondence has recently been translated by Lorraine Byrne Bodley. See Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues*, (Surrey & Burlington: Ashgate, 2009).
[13] *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, ed. by Max Hecker, (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1913), II, p. 59, cited and translated in Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice* (London: University of California Press, 1974), p. 20.
[14] *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, ed. by Max Hecker, (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1913), II, p. 262, cited and translated in Edward T. Cone, *Music: A View from Delft*, *Selected Essays*, ed. by Robert P. Morgan, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 117.
[15] *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, ed. by Max Hecker, (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1913), II, p. 59, cited and translated in , cited and translated in Cone, *Music: A View from Delft*, p. 115.
[16] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings,* pp. 3–24.
[17] Ibid., p. 22.
[18] *Goethes Werke*, 3, p. 172, cited and translated in Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 14.

Youens notes that Felix Mendelssohn had a complicated relationship with the Lied. [19] A good example of this is found in a letter by Mendelssohn written in 1831 expressing ideals about setting a descriptive poem to music:

> Now to me, it seems completely impossible to set a descriptive poem to music. The majority of such compositions speak not against but for me in this, for I do not know a single successful one among them. One is caught midway between a dramatic interpretation of a merely narrative way of doing it; in the 'Erlkönig', one [according to Youens, clearly this is Schubert] has the meadows rustling, the child crying, the horse galloping, while another one envisions a bard who relates the grisly story altogether calmly, the way one tells a ghost story. The latter is still the more correct (Reichardt almost always did it this way), but it does not appeal to me—the music gets in the way. For me, it would be more imaginative to read such a poem to myself in silence and to think up the rest of the things myself than to have it painted for me or read aloud to me.[20]

Youens reads these comments as criticism of Lieder by Schumann, Schubert and Loewe. What Mendelssohn appears to dislike are settings of already very descriptive poetry. However, Mendelssohn composed such inspired songs as 'Andres Maienlied' op. 8 no. 8 (before 1827) and 'Neue Liebe' op. 9 no. 4 (before 1834), which are firmly in a Schubertian aesthetic, and so his stance on the Lied, as Youens has pointed out, is complicated.[21] As Youens later notes:

> Mendelssohn's aesthetic of songwriting does not mean disregard for the text. Rather, the composer must realize in music the idea which had given rise to the poem and therefore enable performers and listeners to identify with that idea. But words and music in song are responses to larger, universal concepts […] Music that was too specific in its attachment to this or that textual nuance interfered, he believed, with the ability to perceive more important things in poetry.[22]

Evidently, poetry retained an important position in Mendelssohn's Lieder aesthetic.

Robert Schumann's opinion on the Lied is particularly fascinating given his strong literary grounding. Schumann's ideals possess an unusual emphasis on poetry. On the relationship between words and music, Schumann writes:

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[19] Susan Youens, 'Mendelssohn's Songs', in *The Cambridge Companion to Mendelssohn,* ed. Peter Jameson Mercer-Taylor (Cambridge University Press, 2004), (pp. 189–205), p. 189.
[20] Letter from Felix Mendelssohn to Henriette von Arnstein-Pereira, 1831, cited in Youens, 'Mendelssohn's Songs', p. 190.
[21] Ibid., p. 189.
[22] Ibid., p. 191.

> Still greater is the effect of their union: greater and fairer when the simple tone is enhanced by the winged syllable, or the hovering word is lifted on the melodious billows of sound. When the light rhythm of verse is gently combined with the orderly measure of the bars in gracious alternation.[23]

Overlooking Schumann's use of flowery language, his opinion of song is that it combines the two art forms, which are now enhanced in song. Daverio claims that Schumann located the song composer's central mission in the preservation of the poem's 'delicate life' and this aim was to be fulfilled 'not through mere translation but through a far more subtle process of re-creation'.[24] This resonates with Mendelssohn's ideas on words and music in song; the text was not to be painted literally but its crux was to be construed in music. Plantinga claims that Schumann's principal requirement of the Lied, most simply put, was that it should interpret the text.[25] An interesting account of Schumann's attitudes to song is provided by Plantinga, who writes:

> One very specific complaint Schumann makes about Klein's settings is that they never make use of what he calls the "material" means—that is, onomatopaeic or illustrative devices, like Schubert's well-known imitations of spinning wheels and brooks. While Schubert and Loewe, as well as many more recent composers, tend to overdo this sort of thing, Schumann says, Klein's stubborn avoidance of such effects deprives him of one means of relating text and music.[26]

Although Plantinga considers that this amounts to 'minor criticism', it reveals something very central about Schumann's aesthetic of Lieder composition, namely, that song should depict a poem *fully.* Plantinga goes on to claim that Schumann was cautious of literal interpretation of the text:[27]

> An ideal relationship between music and its text, Schumann believed, was something much subtler than that provided by *Tonmalerei*. Music and text in vocal music ought to be related, he felt, much as an instrumental composition is related to an appropriate literary program or a poetic critique. In each case an impression or *Stimmung* is approached in two ways: through music and through words. In the case of an instrumental composition the music is the point of departure; it provides the inspiration for any 'poetic counterpart'. But in vocal music the

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[23] Robert Schumann, 'On the Intimate Relationship between Poetry and Music', *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik u. Musiker*, Vol. II, p. 173, cited and translated in Susanne Langer, *Feeling and Form* (New York: Schreibner & Sons, 1977), p. 153.
[24] Daverio, *Robert Schumann,* p. 206.
[25] Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic,* p. 165.
[26] Ibid., p. 169.
[27] Ibid., pp. 169–70.

> situation is reversed. Here the text is given, and appropriate music must be found to reinforce and enhance its *Stimmung* (mood).[28]

Schumann, then, had an overriding desire to harmonize the poem with music that echoed its sentiments: he believed in a Lied where music and text worked together.

Even this brief glimpse of some contemporary opinions reveals that treatment of the text was a central concern to song composers. The poetry of Lieder and its role within the Lied was given ample consideration by both composers and poets. It was in this climate, then, that Josephine Lang approached song composition. It is useful to bear in mind composers' profound respect for poets and poetry of Lieder when exploring modern theories of song.

5.5 Music, Poetry and Philosophies of Song

While modern theories of song have focussed on some of the issues discussed above, the debate has moved towards the central question: what is song? The archaic notion of a 'marriage' between words and music, while useful to us in defining what was special about the genre at a pedagogical level, is not precise enough in its meaning. In the following sections, song's status as a musical genre is probed and the Lied is considered from a variety of perspectives.

The writings of the renowned music theorist, Edward T. Cone, are still considered today by significant writers in the debate. In one of his early studies examining the composer's motives for setting a poem, Cone stated that 'ultimately there can be only one justification for the serious composition of a song: it must be

[28] Ibid., p. 170.

an attempt to increase our understanding of the poem'.[29] Cone, however, underestimated the listener's capacity to understand the essence of the poem. He later revised his previous view, however, providing the useful observation that:

> A song is not primarily the melodic recitation or the musical interpretation or criticism of a poem. Although it may be any or all of these things it is first of all a new creation of which the poem is only one component. The familiar pun that accuses composers of using texts as pretexts goes too far, but it contains an element of truth nevertheless. The composer is not primarily engaged in 'setting' a poem. As I have pointed out elsewhere, a composer cannot set a poem directly, for in this sense there is no such thing as 'the poem': what he uses is one reading of the poem—that is to say, a specific performance, for even a silent reading is a kind of performance. He must consider all aspects of the poem that are not realizable in this performance as irrelevant. And to say that he 'sets' even this reading is less accurate than to say he appropriates it; he makes it his own by turning it into music. What we hear in a song, then, is not the poet's persona but the composer's.[30]

The notion of creating 'something new', as Cone has pointed out, conjures up the notion of composer employing the poem as a 'pretext' or 'point of departure', which holds slightly negative connotations in that the poem of a song is somehow reduced in importance. Schoenberg's statements concerning song composition have also been influential in inciting such negative perception:

> A few years ago I was deeply ashamed when I discovered in several Schubert songs, well-known to me, that I had absolutely no idea what was going on in the poems on which they were based. But when I had read the poems it became clear to me that I had gained nothing for the understanding of the songs thereby, since the poems did not make it necessary for me to change my conception of the musical interpretation in the slightest degree. On the contrary, it appeared that, without knowing the poem, I had grasped the content, the real content, perhaps even more profoundly than if I had clung to the surface of the mere thoughts expressed in the words. For me, even more decisive than this experience was the fact that, inspired by the sound of the first words of the text, I had composed many of my songs right through to the end, without troubling myself in the slightest about the continuation of poetic events, without even grasping them in the ecstasy of composing, and that only days later I thought of looking back to see just what was the real poetic content of my song. It then turned out, to my great astonishment, that I had never done greater justice to the poet than when, guided by my first direct contact with the sound of the beginning, I divined everything that obviously had to follow this first sound with inevitability. [31]

Rather than point to a lack of attention to the poem, Schoenberg's comments reveal the act of song composition as a dynamic creative process. It is not that Schoenberg has not paid attention to the text, but he has been unaware that this process was

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[29] Edward T. Cone, 'Words into Music', in *Sound and Poetry,* ed. by Northrop Frye, p. 15.
[30] Cone, *The Composer's Voice*, p. 19.
[31] Arnold Schoenberg, 'The Relationship to the Text' (1912), in *Style and Idea*, ed. by Leonard Stein, trans. by Leo Black (Faber & Faber, London), p. 144.

taking place, resulting in a felicitous setting of the text at hand. Interestingly Josephine Lang reveals a similar approach to song composition, where she says songs develop within her, 'without any contribution on [her] part'.[32] Kofi Agawu remarks, 'Like anything else that goes into the making of a song, words function in a generative capacity to release a composer's creative energies; once this has been accomplished the words disappear and assume a musical form'.[33] However, although Agawu is correct in asserting a certain 'generative' capacity of words, his allegation that the words 'disappear' seems a little misguided at best. As Cone has suggested, the notion of 'setting' a poem is something of a misnomer. It is distinctly at odds with the notion of composing as it suggests restriction by text. Many composers, however, including Josephine Lang, convey that song composition is an organic process.[34] It is both 'setting' and 'composition'. Joseph Coroniti provides a relevant argument that justifies the composer's freedom of creativity. He asks:

> But why should composers be satisfied to function as musical explicators of another medium? After all, if the poet doesn't want to share his art with a composer, then it should come as no surprise that a composer would assert his own artistic rights.[35]

Perhaps a more satisfactory motive for setting a poem is the desire to render it in another artistic medium, to create art from art.

5.6 Scher's Composer-as-Reader Analogy

Steven Paul Scher has presented the most interesting and perhaps useful ideas on the position of the composer, whereby the composer's setting of a text is posited as the musical manifestation of his reading of the text. The composer, according to Scher,

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[32] Letter from Lang to Eduard Eyth (undated but likely 1861), cited in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 224.
[33] Agawu, 'Theory and Practice', p. 5.
[34] Letter from Lang to Eduard Eyth (undated but likely 1861), cited in Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang,* p. 224.
[35] Although this is a modern study, Coroniti's ideas about text setting are relevant when considering nineteenth-century composers. Joseph Coroniti, *Poetry as text in twentieth-century vocal music: from Stravinsky to Reich* (Lewiston, N.Y. & Lampeter: E. Mellen Press, 1992), p. 3.

carries out a 'composed reading'. As Scher suggests, the composer is simultaneously 'reader' and 'creator' and therefore participates as fully as is possible in art.[36] This echoes Kramer's idea that 'a song, we might say, does not use a reading, it is a reading'.[37] To endorse Scher's concept, the 'composer as reader' analogy ties in with the way we examine art today in '"Reader and reader-response" criticism'.[38] According to Scher, 'The composer as reader commands a special "musical competence" that is over and above the literary competence ordinary readers bring to the listening process.'[39] Scher continues:

> The composer becomes a special reader whose interpretive perception of the text is charged with an additional creative-artistic dimension. The musical setting is thus the direct result of a specifically charged reading process. The composer performs a generic transformation. [40]

Therefore the composer subconsciously realizes his or her reading of the poem in music: it is the musical crystallization of his or her thoughts**.** Yet, song is more than a reading: a song reveals how a poem has resonated with the composer's inner creativity. David Lewin captures something of this activity of reading and reacting to a poem in song:

> If we have a poem on X, we should not consider the song to be another, related poem on X. Rather, the song should be considered a poem on the poem-on-X.
>
> Hence we can understand the song as a poetic 'reading' of the poem-on-X that is its text, a reading that employs a particular mimesis of X as a representational means. From this point of view, I find it suggestive to conceive the relations of composer, text and song as analogous to the relations of actor, script and dramatic reading.[41]

Lewin's definition, as he observes, 'goes beyond the stance adopted by Edward T. Cone in *The Composer's Voice*'.[42] What is significant about this distinction is that it suggests more than internal reading but also now an uttering of this text in a new way. Lewin continues his analogy:

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[36] Steven Paul Scher, 'Beethoven's Goethe Lieder as Composed Reading', in *Music and Text*, pp. 223–38.
[37] Lawrence Kramer, *Music and Poetry: The Nineteenth Century and After (*Berkeley, 1984*),* p. 127.
[38] Scher, 'Beethoven's Goethe Lieder as Composed Reading', p. 223.
[39] Ibid., p. 244.
[40] Ibid., p. 225.
[41] David Lewin, *Studies in Music with Text* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 110.
[42] Ibid.

> The relation between Müller's poem and Schubert's setting is formally analogous to that, say, between Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Henry Irving's *Hamlet.* One could not sensibly analyse or criticize Irving's *Hamlet* without referring to Shakespeare's, but it is important not to identify or confuse distinct artworks.[43]

Here the 'active' creative role suggested by Lewin dismisses the sense of creating something new in the Lied. Thus a combination of Scher's and Lewin's philosophies may serve us best: the composer internalizes the meaning of the poem and presents the poem in a new medium.

5.7 The Lied: A Conflict between Words and Music?

When reading through the literature on words and music in the Lied, one cannot help but notice that the terminology often presents words and music in direct contest with each other. To quote Daniel Leech Wilkinson, 'music always wins' in this supposed battle.[44] It is a common observation about song that the composer destroys the poem when he creates a song.[45] Indeed this is at the root of Goethe's early reservations. Admittedly, the composer, once inspired by the poetry, has his or her own motives for composition, which Schoenberg refers to as 'musical need'.[46] Might not this 'musical need' of which Schoenberg speaks, hinge on the literary sensibilities of the composer? The notion that the composer has the 'final say' should not be considered as a hierarchy between composer and poet but rather a natural sequence of events. John Neubauer considers 'within mixed genres, like opera and the Lied, the music is more often part of the canonical musical repertoire than the text of the canonized literature'.[47] Yet the belief that 'music wins' needs to be adjusted. Although it is

[43] Ibid., p. 111.
[44] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Right at the Wrong Time' (Review of Don Harran, In Defense of Music: The Case of Music as Argued by a Singer and Scholar of the Late Fifteenth Century), Times Literary Supplement, 16–22 March 1990, p. 185, cited in Agawu, 'Theory and Practice', p. 36.
[45] Langer, *Feeling and Form,* p. 153.
[46] Dunsby, *Making Words Sing,* p. 28.
[47] John Neubauer, 'Music and Literature, The Institutional Dimensions', cited in Scher, *Essays on Literature,* p. 3.

conceded that song is a musical genre, many theorists like Kramer believe that 'the song is a "new creation" only because it is de-creation. The music appropriates [the poem] by contending with it, phonetically, dramatically, and semantically; and the contest is what most drives and shapes the song'.[48] Nicholas Cook argues that the words and music are consistently in a state of contest.[49]

Cone aptly refers to the composer's freedom in setting a text, stating, 'some poems are designed to be set to music, others are written with no such intent. No matter, in either case the song composer considers that the poem is his [or hers] to use'.[50] Cone continues:

> 'Since he [or she] is, after all, primarily a man [or woman] of music, his [or her] choice will be determined not only by his [or her] conception of the poem but also by his [or her] recognition of the potentialities of realizing this concept in a valid musical structure'.[51]

Jack Stein rightly asserts that the composer has 'certain responsibilities'[52] toward the poem, but let us not forget that he or she also has responsibilities to his or her own musical creativities.[53] Indeed a respect for the content of the poem and freedom of creativity are probably unattainable ideals. Yet it is the tensions between these ideals that make the Lied so fascinating to explore.

5.8 What happens to a poem when it is set to music?

As noted, the question that is most often asked is what happens to a poem when it is set to music? Susanne Langer's writing on song from her seminal book, *Feeling and Form,* is still referred to by authors today. She argues that:

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[48] Kramer, *Music and Poetry,* p. 127.
[49] Nicholas Cook, *Analysing Musical Multimedia (*Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 98–106.
[50] Cone, *The Composer's Voice,* p. 19.
[51] Cone, 'Words and Music', in *Sound and Poetry*, pp. 9–10.
[52] Jack M. Stein, *Poem and Music in the German Lied,* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 2.
[53] Byrne Bodley has worked to dispel the myths of Zelter's and Reichardt's 'mediocre music'. See *Schubert's Goethe Settings,* pp. 3–24, and *Goethe and Zelter, Musical Dialogues,* pp. 1–28.

> When words and music come together in song, music swallows words; not only mere words and literal sentences but even literary word-structures, poetry. Song is not a compromise between poetry and music, though the text taken by itself be a great poem; song is music […] When a composer puts a song to music, he annihilates the poem and creates a song.[54]

Langer's claim that 'one art swallows another' is too strong, however. The poem retains a strong identity within the Lied. Langer continues:

> When words enter into music they are no longer prose or poetry, they are elements of the music. Their office is to help create and develop the primary illusion of music, virtual time, and not that of literature, which is something else; so they give up their literary status and take on purely musical functions. But that does not mean that now they have only sound value.[55]

When a poem is set, it indeed enters a musical sphere and retains some literary and poetic characteristics. I agree with Langer that the poem will be transformed. According to Scher, 'the words of the poem merge with and are shaped into the vocal line, which together with the instrumental (predominantly piano) accompaniment, constitutes the larger musical framework'.[56] The words may indeed be shaped but their original contour remains intact.

As for all signs of a poem being destroyed by a musical setting, the beauty of poetic language, consonant and vowel sounds may be retained in a fine setting, although the poem's metrical structure may disappear, it can retain its poetic meaning. Although the words are durationally distorted to fit a musical phrase, the music can be moulded to fit the poem, which Kramer deems as 'a regressive form of utterance'.[57] In Schubert's setting of 'Wandrers Nachtlied II' D768, for example, the beauty of Goethe's language is actually enhanced in the slowing down of the declamation of the language. In this case, poetry is not annihilated but in a successful musical interpretation such as this one, its effect can be amplified.

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[54] Langer, *Feeling and Form*, pp. 152–53.
[55] Ibid., p. 150.
[56] Scher, 'Beethoven's Goethe Lieder as Composed Reading', p. 225.
[57] Kramer, *Music and Poetry,* p. 130.

When one considers the specificity of the German Lied, that is, the very specific aesthetics of music and words in the early nineteenth century (not to dismiss the vast variety of musical styles present within the genre), it is difficult to imagine how a poem could be 'annihilated' although it could be metrically altered. The words are generally heard clearly by an audience, provided the singer possesses the gift of good diction. Susan Youens presents a more plausible explanation for what happens in song: 'poetry loses its poetic structure but retains its meanings, imagistic associations, and literary pleasures and provocations, while music both insists on its self-sufficiency and is bent to poetic analogy'.[58] Lewin argues, 'the world of the song […] is not simply a musical world. On the other hand, it is also not simply the textual world translated into music: it not only "represents" this world […] but also "transfigures" it'.[59] Here, Lewin recognizes that the situation is not clear-cut. As Dunsby states, the *gaze* of the text is something that composers have to grapple with,[60] indicating that song-composition is not a purely musical process: both poetry and music exert influence over each other in the Lied.

Suzanne Lodato interprets the 'assimilation' principle as the belief that 'the text, once set, loses its identity as text'.[61] While the text may lose its identity as a poetic structure, it does not usually lose its meaning as a text. Kramer has usefully suggested the term *incorporation* rather than assimilation as it acknowledges that the poem 'retains its own life'.[62] The term 'appropriation' has been posited as a plausible

[58] Susan Youens, 'Words and music in Germany and France', in *Cambridge Guide to Nineteenth-Century Music.* ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 460.
[59] Lewin, *Studies in Music with Text,* p. 110.
[60] Dunsby, *Making Words Sing,* p. 23.
[61] Suzanne M. Lodato, 'Recent Approaches to Text/Music Analysis in the Lied. A Musicological Perspective', in *Word and Music Studies,* Vol. 1 ed. by Walter Bernhart, Steven Paul Scher, and Werner Wolf, p. 98
[62] Kramer, *Music and Poetry,* p. 127.

theory as to what happens when a poem is set.[63] Coroniti uses the example that if we can hear the tune of Schubert's 'Erlkönig', then we can say that appropriation of the poem has taken place (granted, he admits that the experiment should not be taken too seriously).[64] Those who are familiar, however, with Carl Loewe's highly dramatic ballad or Corona Schröter's simple setting of the text would surely disagree with this.[65] Therefore the principle of 'appropriation' is weakened if our knowledge of Lieder is increased. The notion of the poem being reincarnated, proposed by Ned Rorem, the acclaimed American song composer,[66] is also useful as it reiterates the poem's inhabitance of a new musical sphere. Perhaps another useful analogy for song is a transplantation of the poem into the musical realm. While the many definitions suggested each hold an element of truth, what really happens in the Lied is broadly indefinable and is often a matter of interpretation, as the experience of a song, whether it be aural, analytical or compositional, is essentially a hermeneutical matter.

5.9 A Second Class Citizen? Poetry's Status in the World of Song

Friedrich Nietzsche claimed that poetry is a mere symbol and unrelated to the music to which it is set:

> When the composer writes music for a lyrical poem […] he, as a musician, is not excited either by the images or by the feelings speaking through this text […] A necessary relation between poem and music […] makes no sense, for the two worlds of tone and image are too remote from each other to enter more than an external relationship. The poem is only a

[63] Ibid.
[64] Coroniti, *Poetry as Text,* p. 4.
[65] Carl Loewe, 'Erlkönig' op. 1 no.3, composed 1818, *in Carl Loewes Werke: Gesamtausgabe der Balladen*, *Legenden*, *Lieder und Gesänge für eine Singstimme/im Auftrage der Loeweschen Familie* ed. by Max Runze. For a score of Schröter's setting, see Marcia J. Citron, 'Corona Schröter: Singer, Composer, Actress', in *Music and Letters,* 61/1 (January, 1980), pp. 23–24.
[66] Ned Rorem, *Critical Affairs: A Composer's Journal* (New York: Briziller, 1970), p. 26, cited in Coroniti, *Poetry as Text,* p. 13.

> symbol and related to the music like an Egyptian hieroglyph of courage to a courageous soldier.[67]

I would agree that the poetry is indeed a symbol but I would not concur with Nietzsche's claim that it bears little relation to the song. On the contrary, the poem bears a very close relationship to the music. Yet, to recall Cone's assertion, what actually 'goes in' to a Lied is not the poem itself but a malleable text replicated from the poem, a duplication for the purposes of musical manipulation by the composer. What the poem conveys, its essence, *gaze*[68] or *agency*,[69] which Goethe terms its *Gehalt,*[70] and indeed, its cultural identity, however, does not disappear and is open to many interpretations in composition and performance. In song composition, this 'essence' enters a musical domain. The resulting song, is inextricably bound to this poetic essence. Crucially then, although the poetic gaze is enveloped by music, it does not become invisible.

Poetry evidently had several modes of existence in the nineteenth century, from private reading of texts to spoken recitations in literary salons. Indeed, music scholars have tended to overlook this separate identity of the poem. They have failed to acknowledge the poem's own independent life, its literary existence and cultural identity. We are led to question how this identity relates to a poem's musical setting. How do musical settings affect the reception of a poem? Who influences this 'reception'? Dahlhaus notes that:

> Neglect of the text is a key feature of music aesthetics as practiced in our century, but its impact has been less severe and devastating in opera than in non-theatrical vocal music. Lieder and oratorios […] whose texts pass unnoticed or are even deliberately ignored, resemble a language whose meaning, at least in nineteenth-century terms, has largely fallen

[67] Friedrich Nietzsche, 'On Music and Words' (1871), translated by Walter Kaufmann, cited in *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the later Nineteenth Century,* by Carl Dahlhaus, translated by Mary Whitall (Berkely: University of California Press, 1980), p. 112.
[68] Dunsby, *Making Words Sing*, p. 24.
[69] Ibid., p. 22.
[70] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 12.

> into obscurity. When we reduce vocal pieces to absolute music by listening to them 'instrumentally'—thereby creating expectations regarding their thematic material, motivic elaboration, and formal articulation—we subject them to an aesthetic for which they were not intended and against which they most often fall short. Originally in the nineteenth century, vocal music was in equal measure part of the literary and the musical culture of the educated classes, the 'carrier strata' for culture; and these classes only gradually, under the influence of Beethoven's symphonies and string quartets, accustomed themselves to the notion that music by itself, without an explanatory and justifying text, might exercise an educational and cultural function comparable to literature. […] Music was more a vehicle for the text than vice versa; in any event, the text was not an 'extramusical ingredient' so much as part of 'music itself', which in accordance with the teachings of antiquity, was thought to consist not only of *harmonica* and *rhythmos* but also of *logos,* language.[71]

In contemporary society, as Dahlhaus shows, the receptive climate for Lieder has changed. Joseph Coroniti corroborates Dahlhaus' assertions by stating that 'many audience members and singers won't know the poem except for its use as song text.'[72] Indeed, reception of musical settings of poetry had an influence on the reception of the poet. A recent example is the rehabilitation of Müller's poetry as a result of Schubert's settings of the poetic cycles *Die Schöne Müllerin* and *Winterreise*.[73] Although nowadays, we are firmly divided into respective disciplines (for the most part), it is pertinent to remember that in the past, the audience would have been familiar with the text of the poem. A musical setting of one's poetry would have been just another mode of existence, though admittedly a poem certainly accumulates musical weight the more it is set. Kramer rightly points out that 'a composer who sets a work by Goethe or Shakespeare, Blake or Rilke, will not find it so easy to suggest an imaginative space that the text is unable to occupy'[74] because their poetry had a special ability to fire the imagination. However, the work of such poets also had the potential to exert some 'anxiety of influence' over a composer. Indeed, Kramer claims that 'a piece of vocal music based on a well-known poem

[71] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* pp. 5–6.
[72] Coroniti, *Poetry as Text,* p. 14.
[73] Susan Youens, *Retracing a winter's journey* (Cornell University Press, 1991) and *Schubert, Müller and Die Schöne Müllerin* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).
[74] Kramer, *Music and Poetry,* p. 145.

necessarily risks a comparison that may make it seem expressively inferior'.[75] Consider all the settings of Mignon's 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt', in which we can count a setting by Lang, for example, which must surely have been intimidating to potential composers.

One argument against the importance of poetry in the Lied is that a first-class song can be composed to a second-rate poem.[76] Schubert's 'An die Musik' D547 is a prime example. Certainly, the presence of good poetry can inspire felicitous song composition, yet a successful response to the text is about more than the text itself. The text must resonate with the composer's inner creative being. Admittedly, one of the contradictions of song is that this is also possible with a mediocre poem. Linked with the composer's inspiration is the place of the Lied as a personal form of expression. Youens has commented that the Lied acted as a 'biographical bridge' for composers[77] and Lang famously declared 'My songs are my diary'.[78] That a personal connection to the poetry was important is seen in Lang's fine settings of her husband's undistinguished poetry. This identification is also found in the abundant settings of major poets, thereby underscoring the complexity and unpredictability of our creativity.

5.10 The Musical Interpretation of Poetry

When composers set a poem to music, the potential for the kind of setting they create is vast. Lieder vary between compositions that interpret the outer structure of a poem, its language and sound in Goethe's terms, its *Gestalt,* or they may also interpret the

[75] Kramer, *Music and Poetry,* p. 145.
[76] Langer, *Feeling and Form,* p. 153.
[77] Youens, 'Schubert and his Poets', pp. 99–120.
[78] H.A. Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 58.

inner essence of the poem, its *Gehalt.* Of course, the interpretation of both is wholly possible: Schubert regularly achieved this in many of his songs. There are many additional variables in the interpretation of the Lied. The *Gehalt* is difficult to pin down. As Goethe pointed out, a poem can mean different things to different people. Schoenberg argues that:

> in all music composed to poetry, the exactitude of the reproduction of events is as irrelevant to the artistic value as is the resemblance of a portrait to its model; after all, no one can check on this resemblance any longer after a hundred years, while the artistic effect still remains.[79]

However, the poem is an essential element of that work and in order to understand the full artistic effect, an understanding of the poem is necessary. Schoenberg aptly describes a facet of this consonance and dissonance of the text:

> It is easy to understand that the outward correspondence between music and text, as exhibited in declamation, tempo and dynamics, has but little to do with the inward correspondence, and belongs to the same stage of primitive imitation of nature as the copying of a model. Apparent superficial divergences can be necessary because of a parallelism on a higher level. Therefore the judgement on the basis of the text is just as reliable as the judgement of albumen according to the characteristics of carbon.[80]

Schoenberg advises us that vocal music is like every other complete organism. It is so homogeneous in its composition that in every detail it reveals its truest, inmost essence.'[81] The poem is, however, an important part of that essence. Schoenberg correctly points out that divergences occur but ignores that this can be a fluid relationship. In Lang's Lieder, as in Schubert's songs, intrinsic and extrinsic interpretations are interchangeable.

5.11 Realization of Poetry in Music: A Theory of Musical Ekphrasis Applied to Song

As noted, Schubert's developments in the Lied were not only musical but they served to deepen the connections between poetry and music within the Lied. Dahlhaus

[79] Schoenberg, 'The Relationship to the Text', p. 145.
[80] Ibid., p. 145.
[81] Ibid., p. 144.

considers, 'For one thing, the music [of Lieder] must seem to reflect both the inner and outer structure of the underlying poem, with the emphasis depending in part on the genre to which it belongs'.[82] Dahlhaus shows here that there is much possibility in the portrayal of poetry in music. Dahlhaus later comments on the nature of the Lied as an expresser of the text: 'originally, the musical structure of the lied had served as a vehicle for reciting poems; now it was to become a 'work' in the strong sense of the word'.[83]

Scholars have long sought a definition of what happens in the Lied, which in turn has posed methodological questions of how to approach the Lied. Perhaps terminology borrowed from visual art may help us to address these issues. According to *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms,* ekphrasis is 'a verbal description of, or meditation upon, a non-verbal work of art, real or imagined, usually a painting or sculpture'.[84] The most famous example of the representation of visual art in literature is probably Keats' *Ode to a Grecian Urn.* Murray Krieger has posited a theory of 'reverse ekphrasis', where 'they seek in the visual arts to produce an equivalent of the verbal text instead of the other way around'; here Krieger suggests the example of the recreation of the shield from Homer's *Iliad*.[85] We can substitute elements in Krieger's statement to show how a reverse ekphrasis may be possible in song. If we momentarily dissolve artistic boundaries, we may witness ekphrasis in the act of Lieder-composition where a song is composed based on an existing poem. Ekphrasis can therefore serve to explain the phenomenon of song as it corresponds to a composer's potential desire to create art from art.

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[82] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* p. 99.
[83] Ibid., p. 15.
[84] Chris Baldick, *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 104.
[85] Murray Krieger, *Ekphrasis, The Illusion of the Natural Sign* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. xiii.

Siglind Bruhn has conducted ground-breaking research into the possibilities of ekphrasis in music[86] and recognizes the beginnings of musical ekphrasis in nineteenth-century programme music.[87] In her early work, Bruhn denies that a setting of a text can be ekphrastic because it contains the original medium:

> I recognize this variant of ekphrasis particularly in compositions of non-vocal music that re-create a literary text—as opposed to setting it (as in art song or *Literaturoper*) and thus including the primary medium in the re-presentation. [88]

She later adds:

> Whenever a poetic text is set as vocal music or a dramatic text is set as opera (or for that matter a musical composition as ballet), the original medium is *inflected* rather than *transformed*. [89]

However, in her study of Hindemith's setting of Rilke's *Marien-leben*, Bruhn begins to explore the possibility that 'this assumed musical genre [musical ekphrasis] could, in specific cases, be extended to include vocal music'[90] Of *Marien-leben,* she states, however, that the work 'does not pertain to the nineteenth-century understanding of *lied* settings'.[91] Yet, if we continue Cone's assumption that what goes into a song is no longer 'a poem' as it existed in the literary sphere, then, we can see that ekphrasis *can* indeed by applied to song as it meets the necessary criteria of transformation.

To my mind, Schubert's Lieder were one of the first signs of musical ekphrasis in vocal music. In a sense, Schubert began a type of musical ekphrasis in the intentional creation of a new and artistically autonomous artwork (the Lied) that is based on a pre-existing art work (the poem).[92] If we recall the problematic nature of 'setting a text', as opposed to 'composing a song', ekphrasis appears to satisfy our

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[86] See Siglind Bruhn, 'A Concert of Paintings: "Musical Ekphrasis" in the Twentieth Century', in *Poetics Today*, Volume 22, Number 3, Fall 2001, 551–605; *Musical Ekphrasis* (New York: Pendragon 2000); *Musical Ekphrasis in Rilke's Marien-Leben* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000).
[87] Bruhn, *Musical Ekphrasis,* p. xix.
[88] Bruhn, 'A Concert of Paintings', pp. 554–55.
[89] Ibid., p. 568.
[90] Bruhn, *Rilke's Marien-Leben*, p. 9
[91] Ibid., p. 41
[92] The 'pre-existing' art work of ekphrasis can also be imaginary.

needs in this regard. Ekphrasis mediates between this problem of setting and composing. Admittedly it does not solve all our problems, but considering Lieder as partly ekphrastic provides a justification for examining the text in Lieder but acknowledges the 'intra-art' (to borrow a term from Bruhn) relations that exist in song. Considering the Lied as ekphrastic may help to explain why Lang excelled in song, that is, her composition depended on her musical response to a literary stimulus.

The use of ekphrasis is not intended to impose hierarchical categories on the genre of Lieder. If we consider the intra-art relationships that occur during ekphrasis, similar to the act of painting a picture of a sculpture, we see that there are manifold possibilities for the genre, the concrete evidence of which we see when we explore the Lieder of any composer. Ekphrasis is not used just as a term for highly developed art song but any song that utilizes a poem. Similar to the painter sketching his sculpture, the composer has a freedom to depict the poem in any way he likes. Thus ekphrasis in song justifies arguments that we have already encountered: Cone and Scher's hypotheses of the composer as interpreter and Coroniti's argument that the composer is free to do as he wishes. Although the term ekprhasis has not been used in relation to the Lied specifically, the work of Susan Youens and Lorraine Byrne Bodley actually reveals that the Lied is already being considered in this way without the actual use of the label. Given that the 'painter', that is, the composer, has freedom to interpret the 'sculpture' or poem as he or she sees fit, ekphrasis encompasses musical settings which are perceived as consonant or dissonant with the poem's essence.

All types of art song may be considered in relation to this theory of ekphrasis. However, the degrees of original creativity and musical rendition can vary in each song. We can say that the composer performs ekphrasis in two ways. Original creativity refers to creativity on the part of the composer, this is not independent of the poem but dependent on a number of factors. Musical rendition does not preclude creativity but is a musical response to poetry that follows the text. This idea is not intended to be hierarchical. Rather, a complex matrix of possibilties for song is observed—we witness the complex results of such ideas when we merely glance at the Lied repertoire. The benefits of such a way of thinking is to bear witness to the creativity of Lang's Lieder. Again, exploring the degrees to which ekphrasis may occur is not intended to categorize song hierarchically, in other words, a complex through-composed setting is not considered 'better' than a simple strophic setting. However, considering the Lied as ekphrastic can allow us to explore the extent to which a song is interpreted in a poem.

The idea of ekphrasis is admittedly more theoretical than practical—its use will not overhaul the discipline—however, it does have relevance for analysis, which needs to pay attention to the 'quoted' artwork as much as the new creation. Most crucially, I believe, the term may be employed as one reason to justify a school of Lieder scholarship which seeks to emphasize the poetry of Lieder and as rationalization for the text-based methodology I employ in examining Lang's songs. I use it for the sole purpose that it acknowledges more than any other term I think, that the Lied is derived from literature. Hence, a text-based methodology is necessary in our examination of the Lied.

5.12 Song Analysis: The Practice of Interpreting Song

The lack of analytical models for song analysts has long been noted. Dunsby states, 'It is difficult to marshal the main reasons why there has not been and does not seem likely to have been a theory of vocal music'.[93] Musically, the genre of Lieder is a varied form. Since music analysis is based on examining developments based on a 'norm', the Lied's lack of a 'norm' has mystified critics and resulted in 'individualized' approaches to song. Schubert's Lieder, 'Heidenröslein' D257 and 'Erlkönig' D328, for example, do not warrant the same kind of analyses because Schubert treated the text of each song differently. In fact, each song may warrant analysis from a different perspective.

Agawu has summarized analysts' approach to song by describing four models in use by song analysts:[94] a) the *assimilation model* (Langer), b) the 'irreducible relationship between words and music' model, c) the 'pyramid model' where 'song is a compound structure in which words, lying at the top, provide access to meaning, while the music lies at the base and supports the text' and d) song as 'a confluence of three spheres, words, music and song.' While each model is representative, Agawu's definitions are too clear-cut. While text and music work together in the Lied, they are admittedly irreducible. On the other hand, through a process of ekphrasis, something *new* is created: a third *musicopoetic* aesthetic. Even if Schoenberg 'never gave [his approach to song composition] much thought', this third aesthetic still exists. Although Dunsby cautions against Kramer's idealized aesthetic,[95] it nevertheless exists. There is indeed no analytical model to elucidate how music and poetry combine to make song. Each method defined by Agawu appears to hold an element

[93] Dunsby, *Making Words Sing,* p. 25.
[94] Agawu, 'Theory and Practice', pp. 5–7.
[95] Dunsby, *Making Words Sing,* p. 30.

of truth. Suzanne Lodato has written an excellent article in response to Agawu in which she responds to his criticism of existing song analysis:

> While Agawu's tri-partite model [text, music, song], in allowing for various textual and musical readings both intrinsic and extrinsic to the entity of song, would seem to be the most suitable vehicle for lieder analysis, musicologists have been producing an array of fascinating song analyses primarily from the standpoint of the pyramidal model (and to a lesser degree the incorporation model). The growing methodological variety in the field continues to yield stimulating results and could also provide a number of options for investigating less analytically accessible lieder by composers such as Liszt, Strauss, Ritter, Reger, Zemlinsky. As long as such a potential exists, we need not—and should not—establish a single model for lieder analysis.[96]

Indeed Lodato sees the individual approaches to song analysis as something to be celebrated. Her comments may also be applied to the Lieder of women composers, where the incorporation of a variety of methodologies may deepen our knowledge of women's relationship to art in the nineteenth century through an examination of their choices of and reactions to particular texts.

Conversely Kramer attributes the difficulties in analysis of Lieder to the absence of a concrete methodology for Lieder scholarship.[97] If we are to develop a 'syntax of song', as Agawu has called for, there will be a necessity to examine constants, even though this may induce marginalization. In the Lied, however, the most significant constant is obviously the employment of the German lyric poem and so the poem is a useful starting point for our analysis of the song. In the absence of a set musical analytical model that we can apply to Lieder, perhaps the best starting point is the literary domain.

On the study of vocal music, Scher states, 'for a long time, opera criticism and lied scholarship have been practiced almost exclusively by musicologists. As a result the poetic elements in the word-tone synthesis have rarely received due

[96] Lodato, 'Recent approaches to text/music analysis in the lied', pp. 108–09.
[97] Kramer, *Music and Poetry,* pp. 125–70.

attention'.[98] However, Scher's comments point to the lack of true interdisciplinarity in academia in the 1990s. Nowadays, there is a school of musicologists such as Susan Youens, Lorraine Byrne Bodley and Beate Perrey who explore Lieder from a poetic perspective.[99] Indeed there is a need for more collaboration between disciplines in order to broaden our knowledge of the Lied. As stated the poem is often depicted as the weak and malleable constituent of song, but this view arises from scholars' lack of desire to come to terms with a poem. Indeed a song analyst will often discuss the words of the poem, but studying the poem in its broader cultural context aids our understanding of song as a musical work.[100] Although Susan Youens calls for greater attention to the poetry of German Lieder is beginning to be answered, there is often a failure by scholars to explore the cultural identity of a poem.

Byrne Bodley rightly points out that the 'idea of combining of both arts into a single art form is, to a degree, chimerical'.[101] Indeed the degree to which a composer interprets the poem can be measured through analysis of both the poem and the music, giving us new insights into both. In analysis of Lieder, we may look for literal references to the text in the music, but we may also consider *how* the poetic meaning is conveyed, examining how a Lied can be ekphrastic. Schenkerian analysis has served as the prime methodology for the examination of tonal music in recent times. However, it is sometimes employed in a way that does not pay attention to the

[98] Scher, 'Beethoven's Goethe Lieder as Composed Reading', p. 176.
[99] See Youens and Byrne Bodley's works already noted. See also Beate Perrey, *Schumann's Dichterliebe and early romantic poetics: fragmentation of desire* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[100] Ruth Solie, 'Whose life? The Gendered Self in Schumann's *Frauenliebe* Songs', in Steven Paul Scher, ed. *Music and Text: Critical Enquiries,* pp. 219–40.
[101] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings,* p. xv.

text.[102] The work of Schachter, however, focuses on 'imagery of the poem and the motivic design in the music.'[103] Kerman believed that Schenkerian analysis was 'too coarse a sieve' for the Lied.[104] While Kerman's views on Schenkerian analysis represent an extreme stance there is an element of truth in what he says.[105] Agawu has criticized other forms of analysis, namely that of Susan Youens for being too simplified.[106] Yet Youens' in-depth studies of the poetry are highly engaging and complex. While Schenkerian analysis is not used in this thesis, perhaps used in combination with thorough studies of the poetry, as in the work of Carl Schachter, its results may be more rewarding for analysts and musicologists alike.

Another criticism of song analysis is that it continues to look for correspondences between text and music. Dunsby criticizes the search for homogeneity in Lieder analysis:

> In the traditions of discussing music and text, the 'totality-machine' approaches—looking for literal correspondences between note and word, looking for an idealized unity of poetic conception, looking for some kind of elusive 'third' language, that, if it exists, we can be sure is completely, categorically beyond description, let alone analysis—have been the least satisfying.[107]

Similarly, Agawu criticizes how the approach of looking for correspondences between the poetry and the music 'often leads to a discounting of pertinent information and produces analyses in which the irreducible tension characteristic of any expressive structure that is formed by more than one semiotic system is

[102] This view is shared by Schachter, 'Motive and Text', p. 209.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Joseph Kerman, 'How We Got Into Analysis and How to Get Out', in *Critical Inquiry*, 7/2, (1980), (311–31), p. 326.
[105] Nicholas Cook criticized Kerman's arguments by stating that 'Kerman's characterizations [of analysis] were really caricatures. See Nicholas Cook 'Preface', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook & Mark Everist (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. vii.
[106] Kofi Agawu, 'Review: Perspectives on Schubert's Songs', in *Music Analysis*, 16/1 (March 1997), 107–22. Here Agawu reviews Youens' book, *Schubert: Die Schöne Müllerin.*
[107] Dunsby offers an opposing view to Kramer's. See Dunsby, *Making Words Sing,* pp. 30–31.

undervalued.'[108] Exploring how the piece functions based on connections between words and music is a valid path; once a poem is set, the musicopoetic aesthetic has been established. The notion that divergences are overlooked is somewhat misguided as scholars explore how a musical setting may comment on a text. Agawu ignores the significance of these connections, which form a starting point for gleaning something of the essence of what song actually is. Although Agawu is correct in his belief that there may be a tendency to overlook 'musical events' at the expense of trying to draw connections between text and music, we must examine how they relate to each other.[109] Indeed, they may not necessarily be in 'agreement' but we can learn as much from points where text and music do not 'agree'; the goal should be to examine their relationship. Important musical events become even more problematic when we forcibly separate them from the song as a whole. Parts of the song where the voice is silent are still part of that song, and seemingly extrapoetic, that is, musical elements must relate to the song. Some musical occurrences, while they relate to the poem, also have a musical function. In other words, the music of song is both independent music and also related to the poetry. If we consider Lied as ekphrasis, both of these possibilities are catered for.[110]

5.13 Conclusion: The Analysis of Lieder: Reconciling Music and Text

Jonathan Dunsby has argued that the music of song should be our analytical starting point, stating that 'our ability to get at any of the essentials of vocality will rest crucially on the depth and substance of our music-analytical hermeneutics in the first

[108] Agawu, 'Theory and Practice', p. 12.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Note that the text-based methodology which I am advocating here may include all forms of musical analysis, including Schenkerian.

place. There can be no other worthwhile starting point.'[111] And later, Agawu claims, 'While there may sometimes be little difference between the results of a text-to-music and a music-to-text approach, the possibilities of a Schenkerian poetics suggest that we may yet learn more from a music-to-text approach'.[112] Since the third 'musico-poetic' aesthetic is difficult to define and impossible to analyze without breaking song into its components, I advocate a holistic approach to Lieder, where we examine it first from 'text-to-music' but also consider it from 'music-to-text'. In this way, perhaps we can hope to understand more about Lieder as individual artworks but also as a genre. As Youens notes:

> Lieder begin with words; they are born when a composer encounters poetry. If this statement seems obvious, it is not reflected in writings on music, which tend to 'skip over' the literary surroundings in order to arrive more swiftly at musical matters.[113]

In a balanced approach, which focusses on the composer's musical reaction to the text, and the circumstances of their individual creativity, we may hope to understand more about the artistry of Lieder, including those by Josephine Lang.

[111] Dunsby, *Making Words Sing,* p. 6.
[112] Agawu, 'Theory and Practice', p. 29.
[113] Youens, 'Schubert and his Poets', p. 99.

6

Unity and Uniqueness in Lang's Goethe Settings: The Synthesis of Goethe's Poetry with a Distinctive Musical Voice

6.1 Goethe and Music

6.1.1 Goethe's Musical Provenance

Goethe's influence on music and song is immeasurable. There are thousands of musical settings of his poetry through which Goethe helped shape the direction of the Lied. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Goethe's poetry was set frequently by Carl Friedrich Zelter and Johann Friedrich Reichardt. Anna Amalia, Corona Schröter, Bettina von Arnim and Louise Reichardt were among the first women to set his poetry. Later, realizations appeared by such prominent composers as Ludwig von Beethoven, Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, Felix Mendelssohn, Johannes Brahms, Hugo Wolf, Gustav Mahler, Richard Strauss and Nikolas Medtner as well as lesser-known figures, Konradin Kreutzer, Carl Loewe, Edward Bache and Robert Franz. Indeed such nineteenth-century women composers as Fanny Hensel, Clara Schumann, Ingeborg von Bronsart and Josephine Lang frequently set Goethe's poetry. It testifies to the mastery and musical inclinations of Goethe's poetry that so many composers undertook musical settings of his work and, more interestingly perhaps, that such a miscellaneous range of musical interpretations exists. It is interesting that Goethe's poetry inspired many artists to compose some of their best settings. Lorraine Byrne Bodley has shown, for example, how Schubert's settings of Goethe's poetry unlocked the composer's potential for the Lied.[1] Among these

[1] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, pp. 25–57.

composers who were inspired by Goethe we can count Josephine Lang, a figure who is beginning to emerge in our chronicle of nineteenth-century song.

6.1.2 Goethe and the Lied: Creative Inspiration

Goethe's cult status as a poet in the nineteenth century assured him of a massive musical following, but deeper reasons explain the seemingly magnetic attraction that drew musicians to his poetry. Goethe's profound affinity with music is discernable in his poems, including those set by Lang. Byrne Bodley points to 'music as a source of inspiration' for the poet.[2] Goethe's 'Nähe des Geliebten', for example, was written after he heard Friederike Brun's poem set to music by Zelter.[3] Despite such parodies, Goethe's relationship to music has continually been called into question. However, Byrne Bodley has championed Goethe's own rich musical life and dispelled the myth of Goethe as an unmusical individual, revealing that the poet possessed an acute sense of musical awareness.[4] Goethe was perhaps more vocal on the aesthetics of Lieder writing than any other poet; it is therefore paradoxical that his attitudes have been construed as the antithesis of musicality.

6.1.3 Classical Poetry and Romantic Music: Goethe, the Lyric and Music

Although Goethe is acknowledged as a Classicist, composers of the Romantic era espoused his poetry in their myriad musical settings. Goethe's poetry embodied the new directions in which music was moving, and given the undeniably rich musical

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[2] Ibid., p. 426.

[3] Ibid., pp. 172–73. Brun's poem was a parody based on Matthisson's original literary trope. For more on the origins of this poem, see Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, pp. 172–75. Lang set this poem twice, one of the settings was published as her 'op. 5' no. 1 in 1834, the second setting of 1835 remains unpublished.

[4] See for example Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); *Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2004); *Goethe and Schubert: Across the Divide*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley and Dan Farrelly (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2004), and Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Goethe & Zelter: Musical Dialogues* (Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009).

tradition in Germany, Goethe's art paralleled the new heights of personal expression that were being reached in music of the romantic period. Susan Youens recognizes that the 'mastery of Goethe's poetic language, his creative control over sounds, images, diction, rhythms and versification informs and vitalises much of his literary work.'[5] This innate musicality, coupled with Romantic composers' desire to express feeling in their music, reveals two of the reasons why so many composers sought to set his poetry to music. As Youens describes:

> It is his incomparable achievement to have imposed the unity of dominant concerns on a massive body of work so heterogeneous in style and form, to have found a way of experiencing and writing in which the thing experienced is always interfused with the emotions of the experiencing subject and is therefore rendered symbolic.[6]

Youens' adulating description provides convincing justification for nineteenth-century Lieder composers' celebration of Goethe's poetry.

Although musicality of language should be recognized as separate from actual music,[7] the euphonious language of Goethe's poetry does lend itself so eloquently to musical setting. Goethe's musicality is mirrored in the poet's inherent belief that his poetry indeed contained music. He signalled this in the designation of many of his poems as 'Lieder'[8] and in his intention for them to be sung.[9] Significantly, along with the tangible musicality of his verse, music itself is never far from the heart of his poetry. Although Lang only set fourteen of Goethe's poems,[10]

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[5] J. R. Williams, *The Life of Goethe* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1998, repr. 2001), p. 53.
[6] Susan Youens, 'Schubert and his Poets', p. 106.
[7] Frye, 'Introduction: Lexis & Melos', in *Sound and Poetry*, p. xi.
[8] Kenneth S. Whitton, 'Goethe and Schubert, Poetry and Music', in *Goethe and Schubert*, *Across the Divide*, p 54.
[9] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 10.
[10] This number does not include a rough sketch for a trio of voices with 'Kirschen und Bäume wie sie behagen, mußt du nur Kinder und Sperlinge fragen'. WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 56a, p. 37^{r}. Lang set Goethe's 'Nähe des Geliebten' twice. Two other Goethe settings, 'Der Abschied' and 'Jägers Abendlied' are found among Lang's manuscripts at WLB. See WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 54v, pp. 8^{v}–11^{r}. However, the handwriting is not by a familiar copyist and no duplicate or published versions of the songs appear as with most of Lang's songs. Harald Krebs believes that the songs may have been inserted in Lang's manuscripts in error when her family made the effort to collect the Lieder she had

these songs contain many references and allusions to music in many forms and in varying ways: for example, 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', 'op. 6' no. 3, contains references to 'himmlische Lieder' (heavenly songs); 'Mailied', op. 40 no. 2, is a 'song to nature', and in 'An die Entfernte', 'op. 1' no. 1, the song of the lark is heard. Frequently, Goethe intends the poem itself to be sung; 'Mignons Klage', op. 10 no. 2, for example, appears as a song in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre.* Goethe once stated, 'Music is the true element, from which all poetry originates and to which it returns'.[11] This is observed most strongly in his poem 'An Lina', which reveals his intent for poetry to be sung.[12] Significantly, it was this poem that Felix Mendelssohn inscribed on the volume of Goethe's poetry that he gave to Lang as a gift on leaving Munich in 1831.[13]

6.1.4 Goethe and Women's music

In recent times, Goethe's influence on women and their music has been recognized: an article on Bettina von Arnim's Goethe settings appeared in 2001, for example.[14] A recording of many musical settings by female composers of the nineteenth century such as Fanny Hensel, Johanna Kinkel and Josephine Lang was released in 1999 with a corresponding edition by Furore Verlag.[15] Goethe benefited from fortunate associations with women musicians, and vice versa. He was also closely associated in a professional capacity as director of the Weimar Theatre with the composers

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sent to various people. Although Lang's musical style was varied, the songs do not sound as if they are by Lang. I am grateful to Harald Krebs for sharing his views with me.

[11] Goethe, *Tag und Jahreshefte* (1805), cited in Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 10

[12] *BA*, I, p. 72.

[13] Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 59.

[14] See Briony Williams, 'Bettina von Arnim, Goethe and the Boundaries of Creativity', in *Goethe: Musical Poet*, *Musical Catalyst*, pp. 185–202.

[15] *Von Goethe inspiriert. Lieder von Komponistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Elisabeth Scholl (Soprano), Burkhard Schaeffer (Piano), (Salto, SAL 7007); *Von Goethe inspiriert: Lieder von Komponistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Ann Willison Lemke (Kassel: Furore, 1999). This is a noteworthy collection of settings of Goethe's poetry by women composers.

Duchess Anna Amalia of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach and Corona Schröter. The latter was also, significantly, the first composer to set 'Erlkönig' in her setting of Goethe's *Singspiel, Die Fischerin*.[16] Goethe esteemed and supported women musicians' contributions to musical life. After hearing her perform in October 1831, he gave the twelve-year old Clara Wieck a bronze medallion with his portrait and a note inscribed 'For the gifted artist, Clara Wieck.'[17] He once wrote to Felix Mendelssohn to give his regards to his 'equally gifted sister.'[18] He also received Fanny warmly when he met her in 1825 and later sent her a poem for her to set to music which she had requested.[19] Women were equally devoted to Goethe; Hensel and Bettina von Arnim[20] stand out in this respect, with Hensel setting thirty-three of his poems.

6.2 Lang's Goethe Settings

Lang's Goethe settings were composed during the years *c.*1828 to 1840,[21] a period which marks Lang's second most intense chronological engagement with one poet's work, after the forty-nine settings of her husband's poetry. The 1830s were a dynamic compositional period for Lang and her Goethe settings reflect both the energy and youth of her early song aesthetic as well as a deep affiliation with Goethe's poetry.

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[16] For more information on Corona Schröter, see Citron, 'Corona Schröter: Singer, Composer, Actress', in *Music and Letters*, 61/1 (January, 1980), (15–27).
[17] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 26.
[18] Letter from Goethe to Mendelssohn, 18 June 1825, cited and translated in Citron, 'The Lieder of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel', p. 578.
[19] See Citron, 'The Lieder of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel', p. 578.
[20] Briony Williams, 'Bettina von Arnim', pp. 185–202.
[21] This is according to the dated settings. A large proportion of her songs are undated. See Sharon Krebs, 'Josephine Lang', <http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/grundseite/grundseite.php?id=lang1815> [accessed 14 May 2009].

Table 6.1: Chronology of Lang's Goethe Settings

Title	Composed	Published
'An die Entfernte', 'op. 1' no. 1	*c.* 1828	1831
'Frühzeitiger Frühling', 'op. 6' no. 3	1830 or earlier	1838
'Mailied', op. 40 no. 2	June 1833	1867
'Der Liebenden Vergeßlichen. Zum Geburtstage.'	1833?	unpublished
'Nähe des Geliebten', 'op. 5' no. 1	1834 or earlier	1834
'Glückliche Fahrt', 'op. 5' no. 3	1834 or earlier	1834
'Die Liebende abermals'	1 May 1834	2009
'Lieb' Kind'	29 November 1834	2009
'Lebet wohl geliebte Bäume', op. 9 no. 1	1834	1841
'Mignons Klage', op. 10 no. 2	31 Aug./1 Sept. 1835	1841
'Nähe des Geliebten'	31 August 1836	unpublished
'Sie liebt mich', op. 33 [34] no. 4	28 January 1840	1840/1841[22]
'Kennst du das Land' (sketch)	undated	unpublished
'Heidenröslein'	undated	unpublished

When Lang was born in 1815, the Goethe craze was at its height and when she came to composing her Goethe settings in the late 1820s, a whole tradition of setting his poetry had been established. While some of Lang's settings do conform to the fashion of the day they are a valid contribution to song of that period. Lang was born in Schubert's *Liederjahr* and she approached Goethe's poetry in the wake of the Schubertian Lied. Lang's Goethe settings, while they do not attain the level of mastery of Schubert's Lieder, are an engaging musical response to Goethe's poetry in the nineteenth century.

[22] The song was first published first in *Lieder-Kranz*, a collection of songs by prominent Lieder composers. *Lieder-Kranz gewunden von den vorzüglichsten Tonsetzern für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte in Commission* (K.b. Hof Musikalien-Handlung von Falter & Sohn und Jos. Aibl in München, published in 1840 or 1841).

6.3 Josephine Lang's Goethe Settings: A Musico-Poetic Appraisal

6.3.1 'An die Entfernte'

Goethe's 'An die Entfernte' (*c.* 1788)

'An die Entfernte'		**'To the woman far away'**[23]
So hab' ich wirklich dich verloren?	*a*	So have I truly lost you?
Bist du, o Schöne, mir entflohn?	*b*	Beautiful one, have you run away from me?
Noch klingt in den gewohnten Ohren	*a*	My accustomed ears still hear
Ein jedes Wort, ein jeder Ton.	*b*	every word, every tone.
So wie des Wandrers Blick am Morgen	*a*	Just as the traveler's gaze at morning
Vergebens in die Lüfte dringt,	*b*	Pierces the sky in vain
Wenn, in dem blauen Raum verborgen,	*a*	When hidden in the blue expanse
Hoch über ihm die Lerche singt:	*b*	The lark sings high above him:
So dringet ängstlich hin und wieder	*a*	So does my gaze penetrate, field, bushes and forests
Durch Feld und Busch und Wald mein Blick;	*b*	Back and forth in anxiety;
Dich rufen alle meine Lieder;	*a*	All my songs call to you;
O komm, Geliebte, mir zurück!	*b*	O loved one, come back to me!

Goethe composed 'An die Entfernte' in *c.* 1788.[24] The origin of the poem marks the end of his relationship with Charlotte von Stein, the wife of one of the officials at the court in Weimar. As the poet begins to accept the departure of his beloved, he retains a clear image of her. That the poet can still hear 'every word' and 'every tone' suggests a sense of really 'knowing' the beloved, in that he remembers the particular inflections of her voice; she remains alive in his memory. Stein's previous influence as a 'soothing force' is felt in this poem through its language.[25]

In the second half of the poem, the poetic focus shifts from the mind of the poet to the universal figure of the wanderer. The poet compares himself to the wanderer who hears the song of the unseen lark, perhaps suggesting the impossibility of salvaging the relationship. Goethe links the futility of the wanderer's search for

[23] Translated by Stanley Appelbaum in *Schubert's Songs to Texts by Goethe*, ed. by Eusebius Mandyczewski (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1979), p. xxi.
[24] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p.140; *BA*, I, p. 44.
[25] Martin Swales & Erika Swales, *Reading Goethe* (New York: Camden House, 2002), p. 43.

the lark to his own search for the beloved. The reference to the lark, which becomes a 'motif of separation'[26] in this poem, is also symbolic of the inspiration of art. Goethe can hear the lark but cannot see it, suggesting how the beloved, von Stein, has continued to inspire Goethe's art after they have parted. The evocation of the blue expanse of the heavens suggests that the parting is part of a natural order: it is their fate.[27] Byrne Bodley considers that in this poem, 'paradoxically, the poet's feeling of loss is interlaced with a feeling of freedom as his perusals take place in the morning, a time which naturally suggests hope and new beginnings.'[28]

The natural imagery of the third stanza depicts the poet's search for the beloved. The pacing of the imagery is more rapid; rather than gazing in wonder at the blue expanse, the poet now searches frenetically through 'field, bush, and forest', an effective chain of imagery which invokes a swiftly sweeping search of the landscape. As the poet sings all his songs to the beloved, he implores her to return. As Byrne Bodley suggests, however, the title of the poem reveals that the poet has begun the road to acceptance.[29]

Lang's setting of 'An die Entfernte', 'op. 1' no. 1 (*c.* 1828)

Although no date is given on the fair copy of 'An die Entfernte' (Track 1) and no published copy of the song exists, H.A. Köstlin gives the date as 1828.[30] In his catalogue of Lang's Lieder,[31] He claims that it was part of her first publication, 'Op. 1' of 1831 published by Falter und Sohn in Munich. One fair copy by a copyist of a

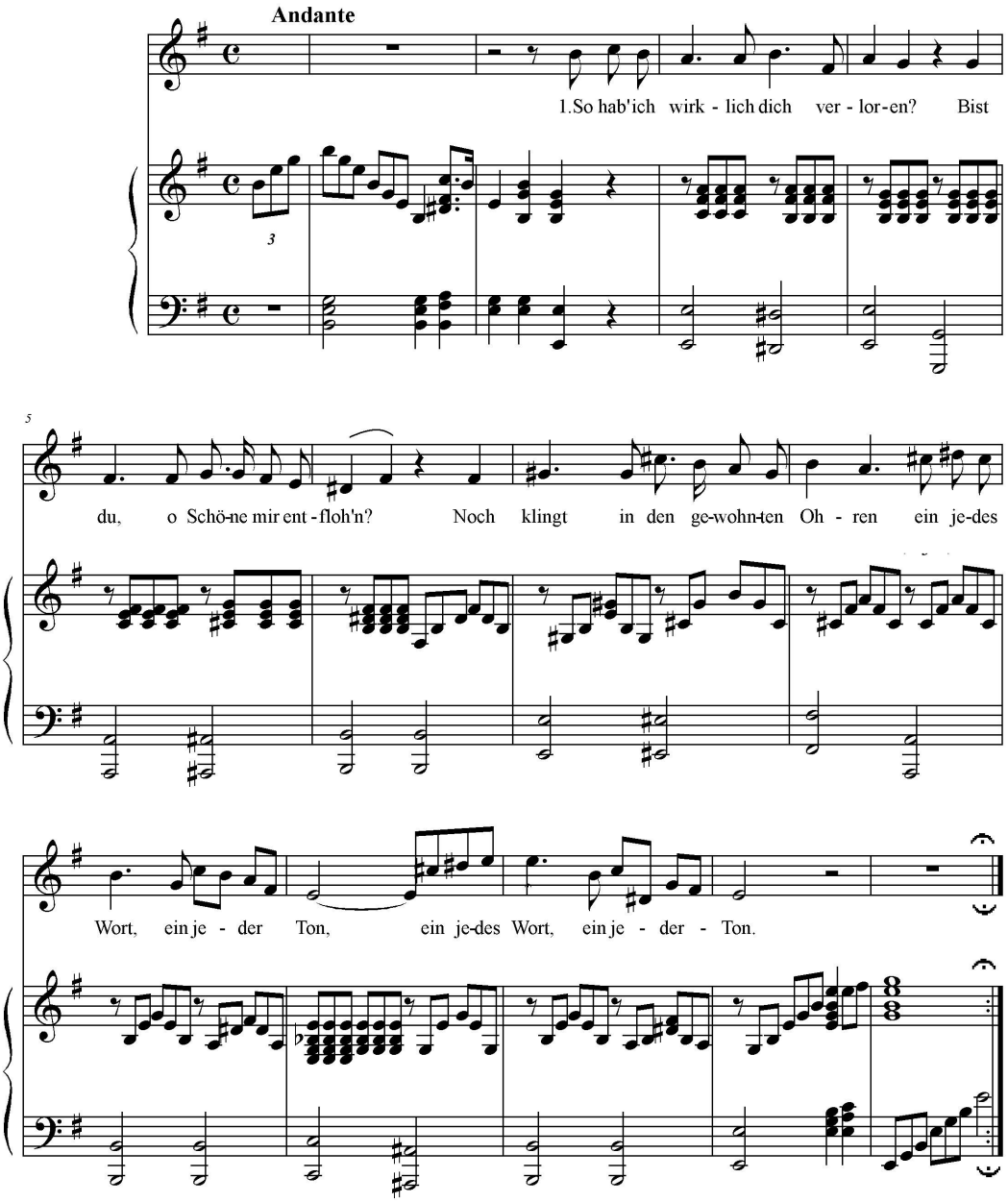
[26] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 140.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] H.A. Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 96.
[31] Ibid.

song entitled 'An die Entfernte', however, is located in one of Lang's earlier manuscript volumes, 'Liedersammlung von J. Lang, 1828' in Stuttgart.[32] Although we cannot be fully certain that the Lied was in fact the published song of 1831, Harald and Sharon Krebs argue that the manuscript and style of these songs suggest that these settings derived from Lang's early compositional period.[33] Indeed the relative simplicity and timbre of the setting suggest that this song is Lang's early setting of 'An die Entfernte' and therefore one of her first musical encounters with Goethe's poetry. It is interesting that Lang's first publication included a Goethe setting, as did Schubert's opus 1 which contained one song, 'Erlkönig' D328.

Analogous to Schubert's setting of 'An die Entfernte' D765,[34] Lang keeps the introduction to this Lied concise in her strophic setting. The poem is set in the sombre key of E minor. As the voice enters in bar 2 of Lang's setting, the initial movement of the quaver accompaniment is punctuated by rests and gives a feeling of sorrow, which is reinforced by the harmonic manoeuvre, II7d to V7b in bar 3. Yet Lang's setting does not wallow in sorrow but possesses a feeling of restlessness in its continued movement.

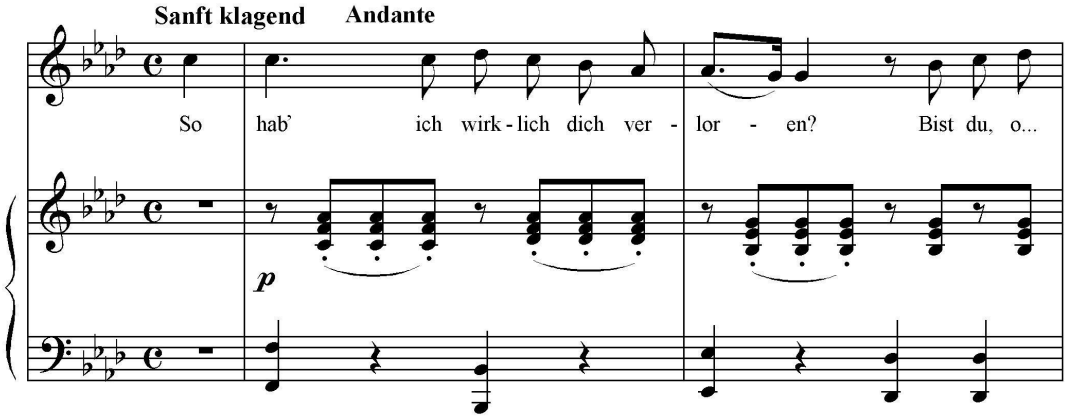
[32] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53a, p. 3^{v} (fair copy not in Lang's hand).
[33] Harald and Sharon Krebs observe that a published exemplar of Lang's 'op. 1' has yet to be located. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 16.
[34] Schubert, *Songs to Texts by Goethe*, pp. 208–09.

Example 6.1: Josephine Lang, 'An die Entfernte', 'op. 1' no. 1, bars 1–13 (WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53a, p. 3^{v})



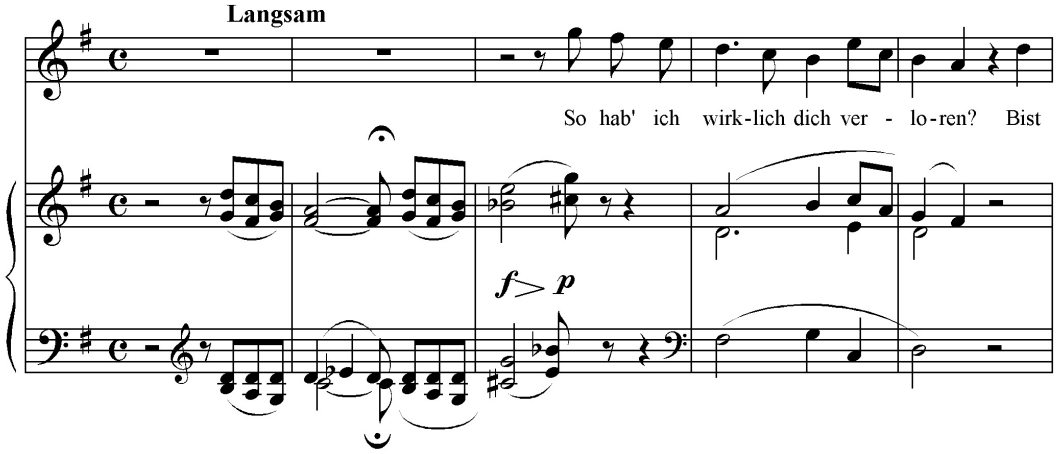
The distinctive piano figuration,[35] which also occurs in later settings by Lang, is similar to an earlier setting of 'An die Entfernte' by Carl Friedrich Zelter.

Example 6.2: Carl Friedrich Zelter, 'An die Entfernte', bars 1–2



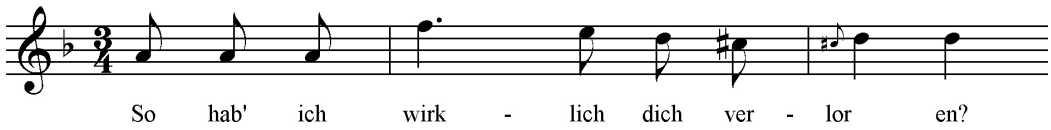
In contrast to Zelter's setting, which is set predominantly in the major mode, the minor tonality of Lang's setting captures the inward mood of Goethe's poem. It is interesting that the rhythmic pattern in the vocal line for the first line of text is almost identical to Schubert's and Reichardt's settings of the poem.

Example 6.3: Franz Schubert, 'An die Entfernte', D765, bars 1–5



[35] The figuration was also widely used by Schubert, for example in 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt' D481, *Schubert's Songs to Texts by Goethe*, pp. 138–39, and also by Beethoven in his first setting of 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt', Woo 134 no. 1, in *Gedichte von Goethe in Compositionen*, 2 vols, ed. by Max Friedlaender (Weimar: Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1896), I, pp. 103–04. This may suggest that the motif has been used to convey isolation.

Example 6.4: Johann Friedrich Reichardt, 'An die Entfernte', vocal line, bars 1–2



Lang, Schubert and Reichardt place durational emphasis on 'wirklich' (really) which underscores the poet's disbelief at his loss.[36] Lang's use of rhythmic upbeats is similar to Reichardt's and Schubert's, revealing a common adherence to poetic meter. In addition, Lang, like Schubert, places emphasis on 'dich' (you), thereby underlining the beloved's absence. For the third and fourth lines of the stanza, Lang alters the piano figuration to an arpeggiated triplet figure in bar 6, echoing the musical imagery of Goethe's poem as the protagonist begins to remember the voice of his absent beloved. Lang's use of contrasting pianistic figurations throughout one song—which Schubert also employs in his setting of this text—is characteristic of the composer's treatment of rhythm; continual mixing of duplet and triplet meters is found frequently in her songs.[37]

The new mellifluous quality of the piano figuration in bar 6 connects the beloved's speech with music and creates the impression of the beloved's words still 'ringing in his ears'. The adjacent use of the tonic major key with a leap to the submediant (C sharp) in bar 7, and the upper-auxiliary quaver pattern in bar 8, bestow a lyricism on the vocal line and betray a sense of longing for past happiness[38]

[36] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 140.
[37] Notable examples where meters are mixed are found in Lang's settings of Goethe's 'Frühzeitiger Frühling' 'op. 6' no. 3 and Heine's 'Das Traumbild' op. 28 no. 1.
[38] Harald and Sharon Krebs also comment on the expressive mode mixture which portrays past happiness. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 16.

somewhat akin to Schubert's 'Der Lindenbaum' from *Winterreise.*[39] As in Schubert's 'An die Entfernte', this admixture of tonic minor and major suggests an inner turmoil in accepting such loss. Crucially, Lang's adventurous sense of harmony and a willingness to experiment within the Lied in the early stage of her career is apparent here in the interchangability of tonic minor and major tonalities, which reflects the unsettled mood of Goethe's poem. While the vocal melody is relatively simple throughout, the fluctuating tonality allows performers of the Lied to imbue a performance with emotional nuance. Harald and Sharon Krebs allude to the dramatic nature of Lang's introduction of a German 6th at bar 10 where tonic harmony is expected.[40] Lang uses it to convey a reluctance to accept parting. Here Lang alters the arpeggiated triplet accompaniment to a block chord pattern for the duration of two beats only in bar 10. This has the effect of conveying the inescapability of the current situation.

In this particular setting, there is not a great deal of interaction between piano and voice, a feature that later becomes more prominent in her songs. However, Lang does utilize fluctuating piano figurations to alter the mood, and her sense of the piano as source of emotive communication is apparent at this early stage of composition. In later songs, the degree to which the piano is integrated in Lang's settings was by no means uniform.

In this strophic setting, Lang adheres to the simple rhyming scheme (*abab*) of the poem in recreating musical rhymes based on the poetic rhymes, for example, the

[39] Franz Schubert, *Complete Song Cycles*, ed. by Eusebius Mandyczewski (New York: Dover, 1970), pp. 70–73.
[40] Harald and Sharon Krebs also comment on this unexpected turn of harmony. Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 16.

musical rhymes on *Verloren* and *Ohren* in strophe 1. An inverted musical rhyme is created between lines 1 and 2 which links those two lines musically, and thus links their poetic ideas. The regular two-bar phrase structure, which pervades the Lied and the presence of musical rhymes mean that this setting retains a close relation to the external form of the poem. While the song contains an element of the 'popular' drawing room style, on close reading, one discovers that Lang's is a sincere musical realization of Goethe's poem. Lang's simple setting which observes poetic form closely comes close to settings by Reichardt, Zelter and Ludwig Berger,[41] while at the same time revealing a willingness to experiment with norms.

Lang's 'An die Entfernte' was composed one year after the death of her mother, Regina Hitzelberger (1786-1827). Although very young when she composed the song, Lang had already experienced tragic loss and her choice of 'An die Entfernte' may be symbolic of an attempt to come to terms with such loss. Despite the epigrammaticism of the song, Lang's setting resonates with the core of Goethe's text. It reveals Lang's early musical maturity and contrasts with the exuberant youthful style found in many of Lang's early settings. In terms of ekphrasis, Lang creates a song which resonates with the sincerity of Goethe's text.

6.3.2 'Frühzeitiger Frühling'

Goethe's 'Frühzeitiger Frühling' (1801)

'Frühzeitiger Frühling'		**'Spring before Springtime'[42]**
Tage der Wonne,	*a*	Oh days of enchantment,
Kommt ihr so bald?	*b*	Are you coming so soon?
Schenkt mir die Sonne,	*a*	Are you giving me the sun,
Hügel und Wald?	*b*	The hills and forest?

[41] Ludwig Berger, 'An die Entfernte', in *Gedichte von Goethe in Composition*, I, p.108.
[42] Translated by David Luke in *Goethe Selected Verse*, pp. 212–13.

Reichlicher fließen	*a*	Flowing fuller, too
Bächlein zumal.	*b*	Are the brooks.
Sind es die Wiesen?	*a*	Are these the meadows?
Ist es das Tal?	*b*	Is this a valley?
Blauliche Frische!	*a*	Blue freshness,
Himmel und Höh'!	*b*	Heaven and heights,
Goldene Fische	*a*	Golden fish
Wimmeln im See.	*b*	Are teeming in the sea
Buntes Gefieder	*a*	Coloured plumage
Rauschet im Hain;	*b*	Murmurs in the grove,
Himmlische Lieder	*a*	Heavenly sounds
Schallen darein.	*b*	Fall upon my ear.
Unter des Grünen	*a*	Amid the greenery's
Blühender Kraft	*b*	Blossoming strength,
Naschen die Bienen	*a*	The bees hum
Summend am Saft.	*b*	And suck the sweet relish.
Leise Bewegung	*a*	A soft tremulous motion
Bebt in der Luft,	*b*	Stirs in the air.
Reizende Regung,	*a*	A stirring that charms,
Schläfernder Duft.	*b*	A fragrance that lulls.
Mächtiger rühret	*a*	There is a breath of stronger wind,
Bald sich ein Hauch,	*b*	From time to time.
Doch er verlieret	*a*	But is lost at once
Gleich sich im Strauch.	*b*	In the undergrowth.
Aber zum Busen	*a*	But to the heart
Kehrt er zurück	*b*	It returns.
Helfet, ihr Musen,	*a*	Oh muses help me
Tragen das Glück!	*b*	To endure this happiness!
Saget, seit gestern	*a*	Tell me, since yesterday,
Wie mir geschah?	*b*	What has happened
Liebliche Schwestern,	*a*	Oh sweet sisters,
Liebchen ist da!	*b*	My sweetheart is here!

Goethe's poem appears at first to be a celebration of spring, suggested by the plethora of imagery associated with nature, 'die Sonne, Hügel und Wald' (the sun, hill and forest) and later 'buntes Gefieder' (the colourful plumage). Ferber remarks that 'poets since antiquity have delighted in spring's return and relished its many distinctive features.'[43] The ephemeral phrases of each stanza lend a sense of joviality and giddy breathlessness to the poem. As is suggested in the title and the opening lines, 'Tage der Wonne, kommt ihr so bald?' (Days of enchantment, have you come

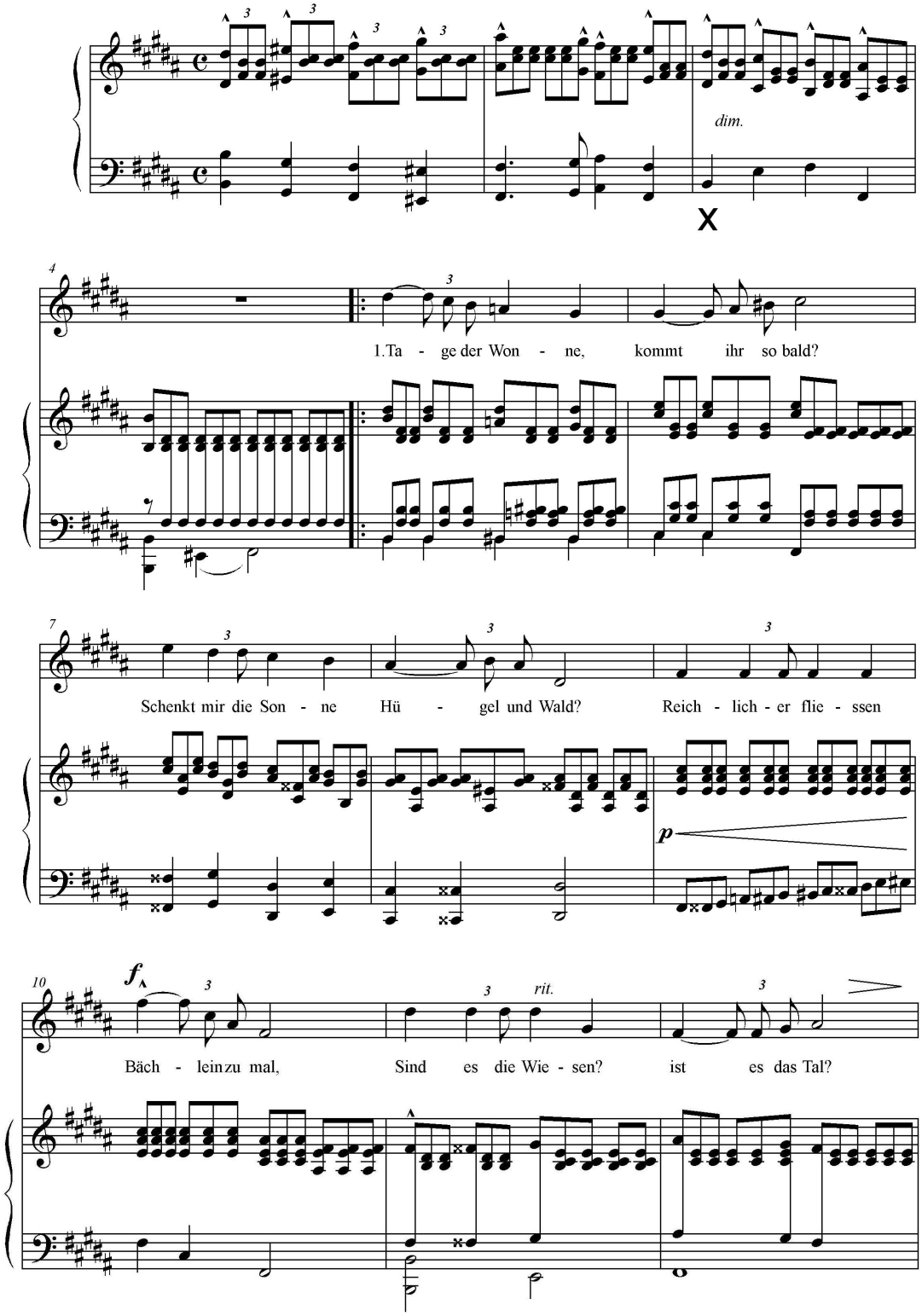
[43] Michael Ferber, *A Dictionary of Literary Symbols* (Cambridge, New York, et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1999, repr. 2007), p. 199.

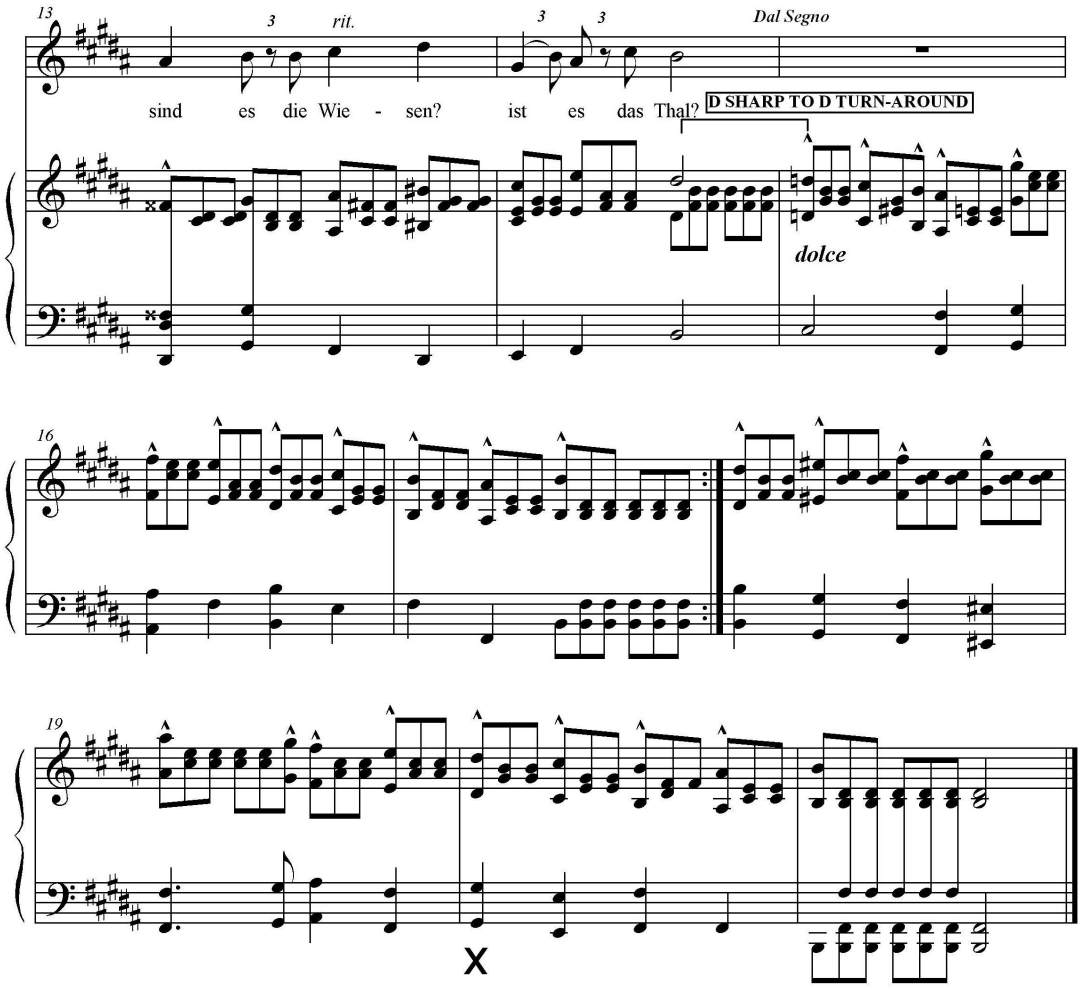
so soon?'), one recognizes how spring, for the poetic persona, has arrived sooner than expected, implicative of the passing of time where it appears to 'speed up' as one gets older. Spring seems to have arrived early but this cannot be a reality, for the seasons are a natural occurrence. If, according to Martin and Erika Swales, the 'autumnal self' reflects the passing of time,[44] then Goethe's treatment of the unexpected arrival of the season suggests a revival of one's youth.

The unexpected experience of love is confirmed in the eighth stanza as the persona pleads with the muses to help him 'endure this happiness' ('Helfet ihr Musen/Tragen das Glück'), a recurring motif in Goethe's literary work, inferring that the joy he experiences is emotionally taxing. This confluence of emotions is characteristic of Goethe's championing of the symbiotic relationship of the joy and sorrow found in love. Goethe's doctrine that nature and love are inextricably linked is reinforced by the unanticipated arrival of the beloved; love, for Goethe is a 'force of nature'[45] and the transience of youth and love make such experiences infinitely more beautiful and more brutally intense. For J. R. Williams, Goethe's lyric poetry is a 'visceral response to love as a life-enhancing force.'[46] The treatment of love as a creative force of nature is also evident in thiss poem. This characteristic identification of man as part of nature is evident in the eighth stanza where the breeze gradually moves from the shrub to his bosom; man is shaped by the creative force of nature.

[44] Swales & Swales, *Reading Goethe*, p. 28.
[45] Terence J. Reed, *Goethe* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 16.
[46] J. R. Williams, 'Goethe the Poet', in *The Cambridge Companion to Goethe*, ed. by Lesley Sharp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), (pp. 42–65), p. 46.

Example 6.5: Josephine Lang, 'Frühzeitiger Frühling','op. 6' no. 3, bars 1–21





Lang's setting of 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', 'op. 6' no. 3 (1830 or earlier)

Although we do not have a definite date of composition for 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', Lang notes in her diary that she performed this Lied for Mendelssohn when he came to Munich in June 1830.[47] Four manuscript copies of the song are located in Stuttgart and one in Vienna.[48] The setting was later published *c.* 1838 by Schäffer in Munich in 'op. 6'. [49] The Lied was again published in a slightly edited version[50] in the 1882

[47] H. A. Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p. 58.
[48] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 54c, pp. 6^{r}–6^{v} (autograph); Mus. fol. 54d, p. 27^{r} (incomplete version not in Lang's hand, possibly that of her son); Mus. fol. 54a, 46v (autograph, fragment); GdMF, MS Fellinger, Musikautographe Josephine Lang 7 & 25.
[49] Sharon Krebs notes that we do not have a definite date of publication for opus [6], but it was most likely published before 1838. See 'Josephine Lang' <http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/grundseite/grundseite.php?id=lang1815> [accessed 1 June 2009].

posthumous edition and duplicated in Da Capo's 1982 edition.[51] It was also published by Schott in 1992 in a collection of works by women composers.[52]

Lang's re-arrangement of the text

Lang's re-ordering of Goethe's poem oversteps the poetic licence taken by Schubert in 'An den Mond' D259. In composing a setting where two poetic stanzas form one musical strophe, Lang omits Goethe's stanza 3 and groups the stanzas as follows:

Table 6.2 Lang's re-arrangement of Goethe's 'Frühzeitiger Frühling'

	Goethe's Order	
Tage der Wonne	1	*a*
Kommt ihr so bald?		*b*
Schenkt mir die Sonne		*a*
Hügel und Wald?		*b*
Reichlicher fließen	2	*c*
Bächlein zumal.		*d*
Sind es die Wiesen?		*c*
Ist es das Thal?		*d*
Unter des Grünen	5	*a*
Blühender Kraft,		*b*
Naschen die Bienlein[53]		*(a)*
Summend vom Saft.		*b*
Buntes Gefieder	4	*c*
Rauschet im Hain,		*b*
Himmlische Lieder		*c*
Schallen darein.		*b*
Mächtiger rühret	7	*a*
Bald sich ein Hauch,		*b*
Doch er verlieret		*a*
Gleich sich im Strauch.		*b*
Aber zum Busen	8	*c*
Kehrt er zurück,		*d*
Helfet ihr Musen		*c*
Tragen das Glück!		*d*

[50] It is likely that her son carried out some light editing on the 1882 posthumous edition. In Mus. fol. 54c, the E sharp in the left hand of the piano in bar 4 is a quaver, but occurs as a crotchet in the 1882 edition. This quaver E sharp occurs in the earlier published version of *c.* 1838 but as a crotchet in the 1882 posthumous edition. It also appears in Lang's autograph copy of the song. Lang crossed out the *appassionato* on her autograph. The *segno* from Mus. fol. 54c and the early published version is missing from the published version of 1882.

[51] Josephine Lang, *Selected Songs*, pp. 4–5.

[52] Female Composers, *25 Songs for Voice and Piano*, ed. by Eva Rieger & Kate Walter (Mainz, London et al.: Schott, 1992), pp. 44–45.

[53] *BA*, I, p. 56. Goethe's original has 'Bienen.'

Leise Bewegung	6	*a*
Bebt in der Luft,		*b*
Reizende Regung		*a*
Schläfernder Duft.		*b*
Saget seit gestern	9	*c*
Wie mir geschah		*d*
Liebliche Schwestern		*c*
Liebchen ist da!		*d*

Lang's desire to set this song in four musical strophes of two stanzas, rather than three strophes of three stanzas may have caused her to omit stanza 3, since its inclusion would offset Lang's strophic setting with even number of strophes. Although we cannot but consider Lang's distortion of Goethe's original poem to be a flaw, it may have emerged through the difficulty of finding a form that suited Goethe's nine stanzas. It may also reveal an awareness of the importance of varying strophic song. How did other composers deal with Goethe's nine verses of 'Frühzeitiger Frühling'? The answer is, with difficulty. They encountered similar problems to Lang when composing Goethe's stanzas as a modified strophic setting. Fanny Hensel's choral setting uses a tripartite form with repetition of the second, fifth and eighth strophes in full, followed with a miniature codetta repeating the text 'Liebchen ist da',[54] while Felix Mendelssohn uses a form of varied strophic choral setting of the text.[55] Carl Loewe's setting is similar in form to Lang's,[56] with two stanzas per musical strophe, but Loewe adds a quasi-coda for the last stanza to accommodate the ninth verse. Zelter's setting is the most successful in its conception of form. His setting caters to Goethe's nine stanzas in a strophic setting without repetition. Zelter grouped three stanzas into one and in a letter to Goethe, he revealed

[54] Fanny Hensel, ''Frühzeitiger Frühling' [Chor-Bibliothek Nr 5236] (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1989).
[55] Felix Mendelssohn, 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', op. 59 no. 2, in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's Werke: kritisch durchgesehene Ausgabe*, ed. by J. Rietz (Leipzig, 1874–77), XVI/3.
[56] Loewe, 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', op. 79 no. 1, composed 1836, in *Loewe's Werke*, XI, pp. 18–19.

how on composition of the song, 'the three strophes automatically became one.'[57] Reichardt composes a strophic setting but with different music for the last verse.

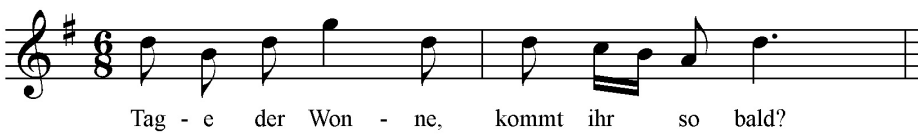
Realization of the Poem through Music

The edgy anticipation and exhilaration of this poem ring out through Lang's effervescent setting of the poem in B major. The Lied actually sounds as if it begins in F sharp major before a descending scale-like passage establishes the true tonic; this skilful delay of the tonic—a characteristic technique used by Lang—is effective in representing the dual nature of Goethe's poem as it destabilizes our aural perception for a moment and corroborates the concept that spring has come early. Lang's idiosyncratic addition of a chromatic E sharp in the left hand of the piano in bar 4 enhances the energized mood of the song.

It is also notable that in other settings of the text, composers usually compose a leap on the word 'Wonne'.

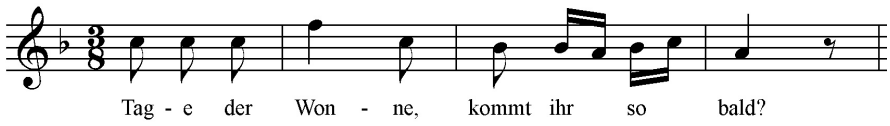
Example 6.6: 'Frühzeitiger Frühling' Initial Vocal Entries by Various Composers

a) Carl Loewe, 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', op. 79 no. 1, vocal line, bars 1–2

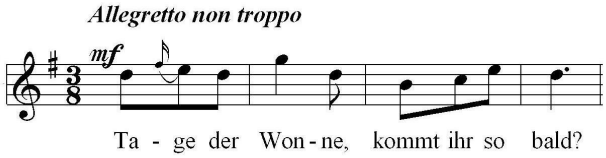


[57] Letter from Zelter to Goethe, Berlin, 7–13 April 1802, in *Musical Dialogues*, ed. by Byrne Bodley, p. 36.

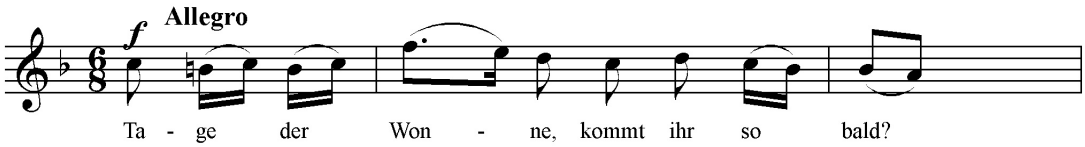
b) Carl Friedrich Zelter, 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', vocal line, bars 1–4



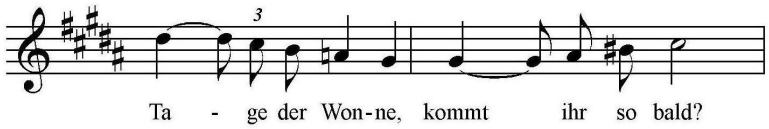
c) Felix Mendelssohn, 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', op. 59 no. 2, choral setting, soprano line, bars 1–4



d) Fanny Hensel, 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', choral setting, soprano line, bars 1–3



e) Josephine Lang, 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', 'op. 6' no. 3, vocal line, bars 5–6



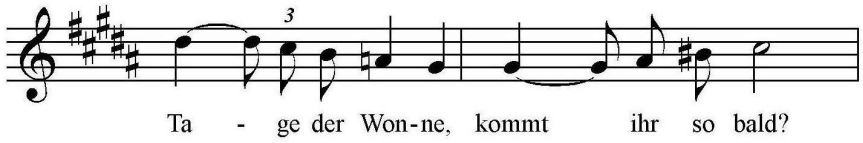
Lang's melodic construction, however, of the vocal line of this song is quite unusual as it goes against the traditional 'rise and fall' of melodic lines. In Lang's setting, we note that the melody descends to 'Wonne', which is more true to the mood of Goethe's poem. We also note the speeding up and slowing down of harmonic rhythm which portrays the underlying tensions of Goethe's poem. An awareness of the hidden tension of Goethe's poem could aid performers in the performance of this song.

Rhythmic Treatment of the Text

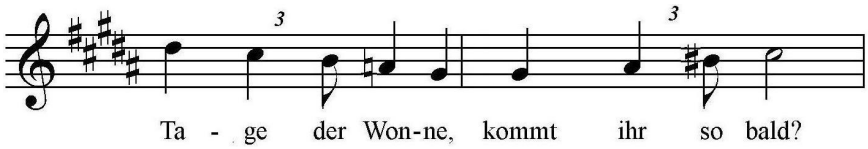
Lang uses an unusual sense of rhythm in this song; the vocal line does not behave as we would expect it to in such a setting.

Example 6.7: Josephine Lang, 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', 'op. 6' no. 3, vocal line, bars 5–6

(a) poetic declamation



(b) Lang's musical declamation



Lang's toying with the rhythmic declamation adds another unexpected nuance to an already electrified setting. A whirring chromatic ascent of quavers in the left hand of the piano at bar 9 accompanying adamantly repeated F sharps in the vocal line also heralds the premature onset of spring. Harald and Sharon Krebs highlight this cluster of chromatic notes as symbolic of the birds which go by in 'flocks.'[58] While the analogy is literal, the impetus created by these reeling triplets is typical of Lang's musical imagination.

The poet's pleading with the muses to help him 'bear this happiness' resonates with the desire to rest in such poems as 'Der Musensohn' and 'Rastlose Liebe'. In their famous settings by Schubert, D766 and 138, the composer depicts inner turmoil by way of a relentless piano accompaniment. It is interesting to see

[58] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 27.

how Lang uses a similar ceaseless piano figuration in her setting of this poem.[59] The assiduous quaver triplet figuration accentuates the daemonic aspect of Goethe's verse—'that our lives are shaped by forces beyond our control.'[60] This is mirrored in performance of this technically demanding song in that there is no respite for performers.

Among other notable traits in this song is the skilful writing of counterpoint in bar 11, where we have such phrases as 'sind es die Wiesen?' and 'himmlische Lieder'. We also note the lyrical quality of the vocal line which echoes Goethe's lyrical text. The twofold nature of Goethe's poem is eloquently conveyed by the telling chromatic reversal from bars 14 to 15, where the mediant is flattened (D sharp to D natural), thereby beginning a charming piano interlude, which borrows a melodic fragment from the initial vocal motif. This inventive manipulation of material in conjunction with an effective interplay between piano and voice and sophisticated harmonic language betray the work of an accomplished composer, remarkable both for its harmonic lustre and for being the work of a girl who was at most fifteen years of age.

The fleeting harmonic difference between the piano introduction and the postlude is also notable. Bar 3, beat 1 employs B major but in bar 20 the harmony is G sharp minor (VI), underscored by double octaves, which gives a greater sense of musical irrevocability to the song (See Example 6.5 marked X). Harald and Sharon Krebs have discussed the repeats of this song, which are sometimes performed

[59] Harald and Sharon Krebs also refer to the relentlessness of the piano. For their analysis of this song see Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, pp. 25–26.
[60] Erika Swales, 'Johann Wolfgang von Goethe 'Urworte', Orphisch', *Landmarks in German Poetry*, ed. by T.J. Reed (Oxford, Bern et al.: P. Lang, 2000), p. 64.

erroneously in recordings.[61] Clearly from the manuscript we can see Lang's intention for the omission of bars 15 to 17 after the final strophe of the song has been sung.[62] As with many of Lang's songs, the singer is in danger of being overshadowed by the heavy accompaniment—an issue that would not arise in period performance as Lang's fortepiano would not have possessed the full dynamic weight of a modern piano. An awareness of this aspect of Lang's songs may help performers.

This setting, composed in close chronological proximity to 'An die Entfernte' reveals a refinement in Lang's musico-poetic language and an expansion in her conception of the genre. The awareness that spring is early is vibrantly captured by Lang. The uniform piano accompaniment gives a consistency of timbre though not a monotonous manner. On the contrary, it reveals that Lang recognized the over-riding feeling of anticipation pervading Goethe's poem. Lang's setting verges on a dramatic interpretation because of the role of the piano and the instrument's range of expression is expanded in 'Frühzeitiger Frühling.' She pays close attention to both the inner and outer structures of the poem, thus interpreting both Goethe's *Gestalt* and the *Gehalt*. Although Lang would return to the aesthetic of 'An die Entfernte' in later songs, 'Frühzeitiger Frühling' reveals an artist who was developing her compositional range through her musical response to poetry.

[61] One example is *Fee'n Reigen*, Heidi Kommerell's and Claudia Taha's recording, where both the interlude and postlude are played at the end of the song.
[62] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 54c, pp. 6^{r}–6^{v}.

6.3.3 ‘Mailied’

Goethe’s ‘Mailied’ (1771)

‘Mailied’		**‘May Song’**[63]
Wie herrlich leuchtet	*a*	How splendidly is the brightness
Mir die Natur,	*b*	Of nature around me,
Wie glänzt die Sonne,	*c*	How the sun shines!
Wie lacht die Flur!	*b*	How the fields laughs!
Es dringen Blüthen	*a*	Blossoms are bursting forth
Aus jedem Zweig	*b*	From every twig
Und tausend Stimmen	*c*	And a thousand voices
Aus dem Gesträuch!	*b*	From the undergrowth,
Und Freude und Wonne	*a*	And joy and rapture
Aus jeder Brust!	*b*	From every heart!
O Erde, o Sonne!	*a*	Oh Earth, oh sun!
O Glück, o Lust!	*b*	Oh happiness, oh delight!
O Liebe, o Liebe!	*a*	Oh love, oh love!
So golden schön,	*b*	So golden beautiful,
Wie Morgenwolken	*c*	As morning clouds
Auf jenen Höh’n!	*a*	On those hills!
Du segnest herrlich	*a*	Your splendour blesses
Das frische Feld,	*b*	The fresh fields,
Im Blüthendampfe	*c*	And in a mist of blossoms
Die volle Welt!	*b*	The fullness of the world!
O Mädchen, Mädchen,	*a*	Oh sweet, sweet girl,
Wie liebe ich dich!	*b*	How I love you,
Wie blickt dein Auge,	*c*	How your eyes shine!
Wie liebst du mich!	*b*	How you love me!
So liebt die Lerche	*a*	The lark loves
Gesang und Luft,	*b*	Singing and air,
Und Morgenblumen,	*c*	And morning flowers,
Den Himmelsduft.	*b*	The scent of the sky,
Wie ich dich liebe	*a*	As I love you
Mit warmem Blut,	*b*	Warm-bloodedly,
Die du[64] mir Jugend	*c*	You who give me youth
Und Freud’ und Mut	*b*	And joy and hearten me
Zu neuen Liedern	*a*	To me new songs
Und Tänzen giebst.	*b*	And new dances
Sei ewig glücklich,	*c*	Be happy forever
Wie du mich liebst!	*b*	As in your love for me.

‘Mailied’ is one of Goethe’s Sesenheim lyrics of the 1770s. T. J. Reed comments on Goethe’s poetry of the this period that:

[63] Translated by David Luke in *Goethe Selected Verse*, pp. 7–8.
[64] Lang has ‘Du die’, in her setting of the text.

> the reality of the natural world meets and matches his vigour of feeling and keenness of perception. He experiences the external world through avid senses, and his response becomes the shape of his poems.[65]

Such is the case in 'Mailied'. Not only are reactions of his senses vital in 'Mailied' but the reaction of the emotional self is equally important. As in 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', love and nature are inextricably linked. Nature is used both objectively and subjectively here; it is the thing that is loved but it is also the origin of love. According to Boyle, the poem's 'glory is the immediacy of the contact between the heart and the object of the feeling.'[66] Boyle comments on the latent energy within the poem: 'The forces in 'Mailied' are in perfect equilibrium, not to say they are non-existent.'[67] Reed remarks how Goethe revitalizes the conventional 'ode to May' by linking the energies that burst forth through nature with his simultaneous response to nature that is stirred up within.[68] As Martin and Erika Swales state, '"Mailied" […] illustrates perfectly the energizing interrelation of landscape and inscape'[69] and its 'song-like mode celebrates the sense of oneness that is at the heart of human loving.'[70]

The juxtaposition of the words 'O Erd', o Sonne, O Glück, o Lust' reveals the interconnectedness of human emotions to the natural sphere while interpenetrating subjective and objective terms.[71] The poem evokes a kaleidoscopic explosion of nature in all its glory. The 'thousand voices' who sing of the glory of nature evoke a rich sound world. Goethe's use of imagery is strikingly beautiful, in particular the

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[65] Reed, *Goethe*, p. 9.
[66] Nicholas Boyle, *Goethe*, *The Poet and the Age: The Poetry of Desire*, *1749–1790* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1992), I, p. 158. For the textual source, see *BA*, I, p. 51.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Reed, *Goethe*, p. 11.
[69] Swales & Swales, *Reading Goethe*, pp. 24–25.
[70] Ibid., p. 25.
[71] Boyle, *Goethe*, I, p. 158.

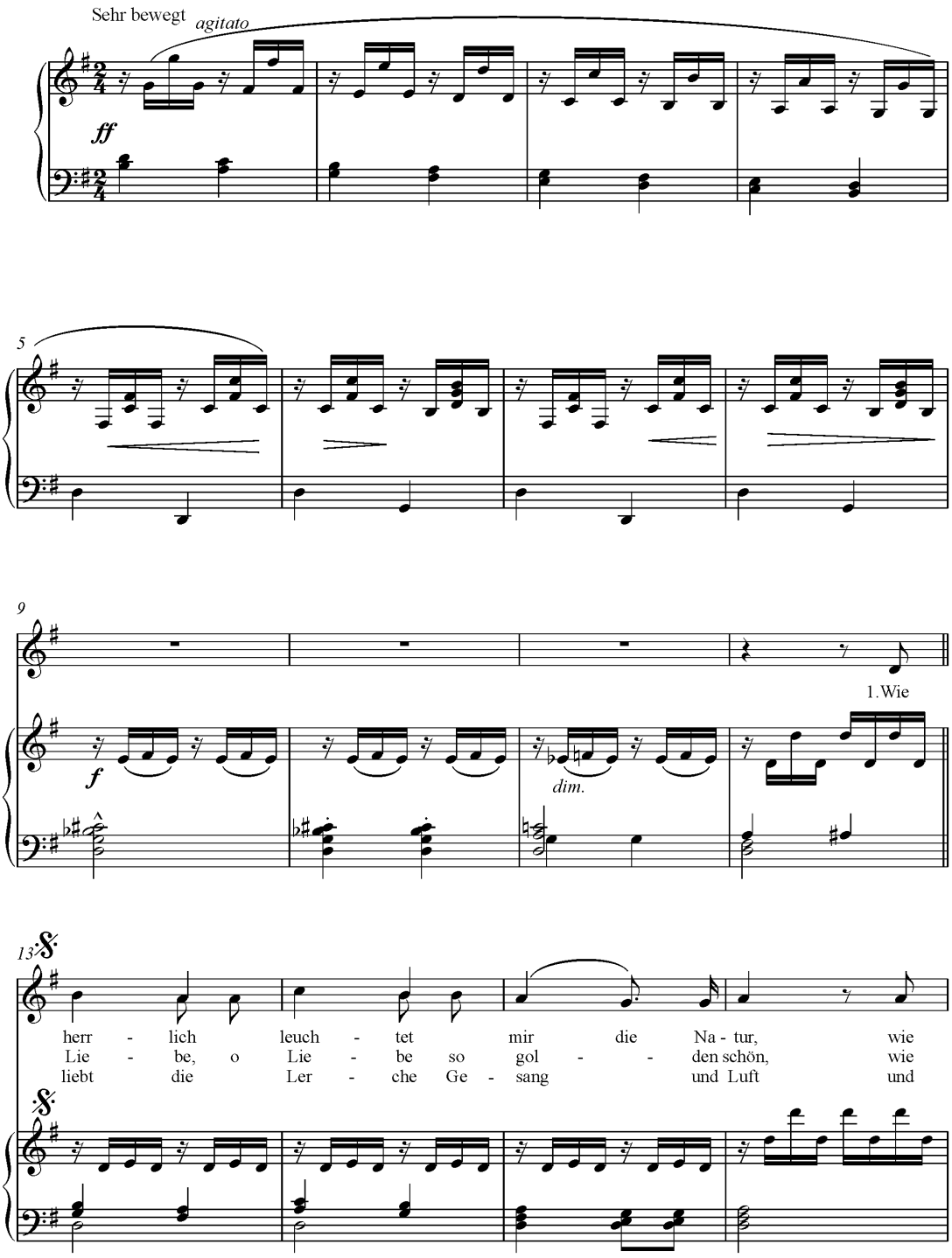
'frische Feld' and the beautiful neologistic word, 'Blütendampfe' (mist of blossoms). The inspiration to new dances and new songs mirrors the creative force of nature.

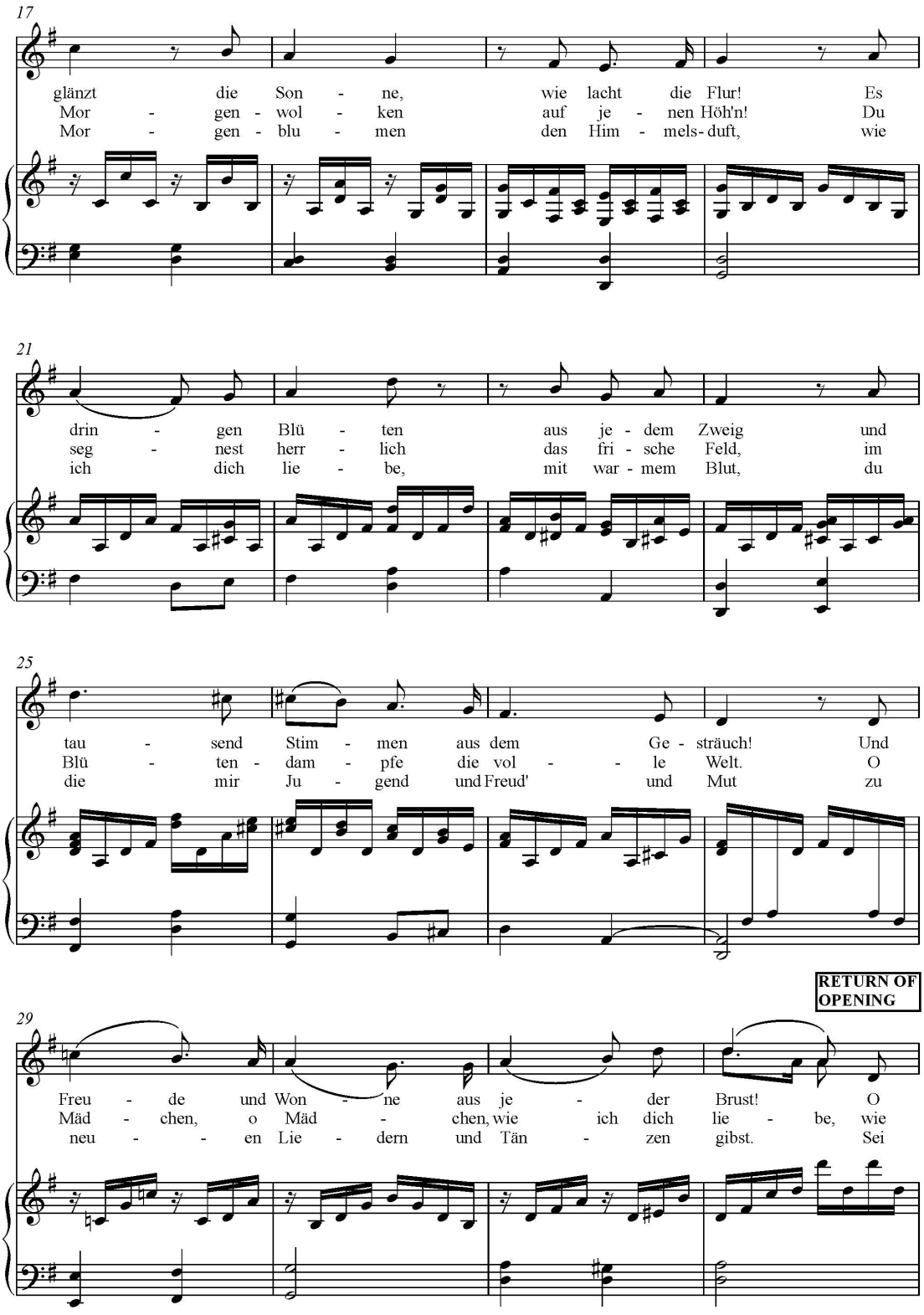
The form and rhyming scheme of the poem (*abcb*) are straightforward, yet we perceive no sense of a 'rhetorical arrangement' in the poem.[72] The form of this poem is felt in the flow of thought and feeling. The transition from stanza 8 to 9 shows the unstoppable flow of language within 'Mailied'. Martin and Erika Swales describe the sense of 'oneness that is at the heart of human loving' that is achieved in the poem through its song-like mode thereby reflecting a wider harmony of man within the world.[73] This idea is supported by Boyle, who comments that the relationship between the 'individual and the whole'[74] is effortlessness in 'Mailied'. According to Gray, 'Goethe was writing in 'Mailied' lines that are strictly unquotable out of context. […] Rising emotion swells on from verse to verse in a way that fends off interruption'.[75] Martin and Erika Swales assert that the emotion, rather than the beloved,[76] is the key to understanding 'Mailied'.

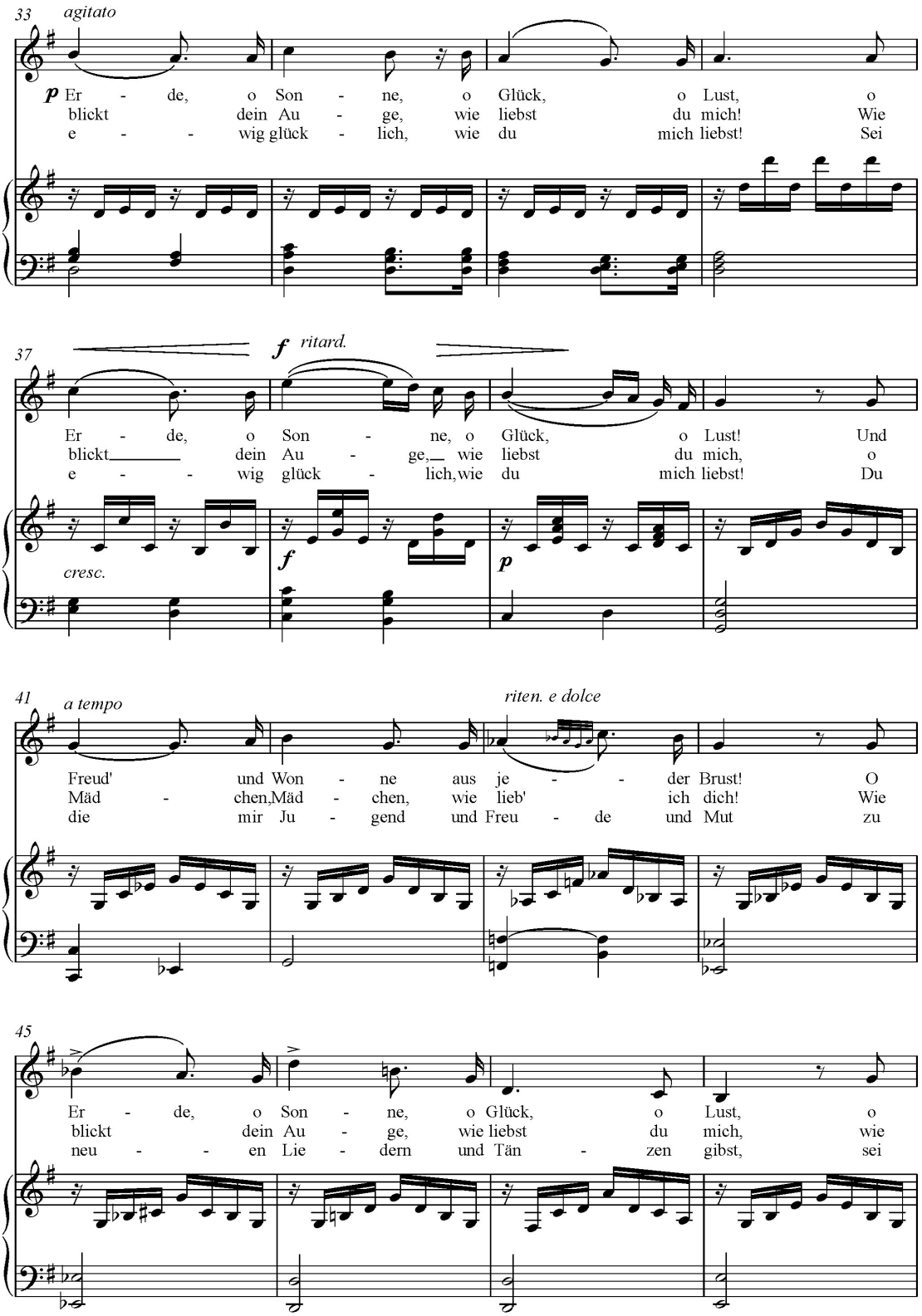
Goethe's love for the beloved is undeniable here, but on close reading we see that he is in love with the idea of 'being in love.' In actual fact, the beloved as an individual in this poem is almost irrelevant; the emotion takes precedence—the feeling of being in love.

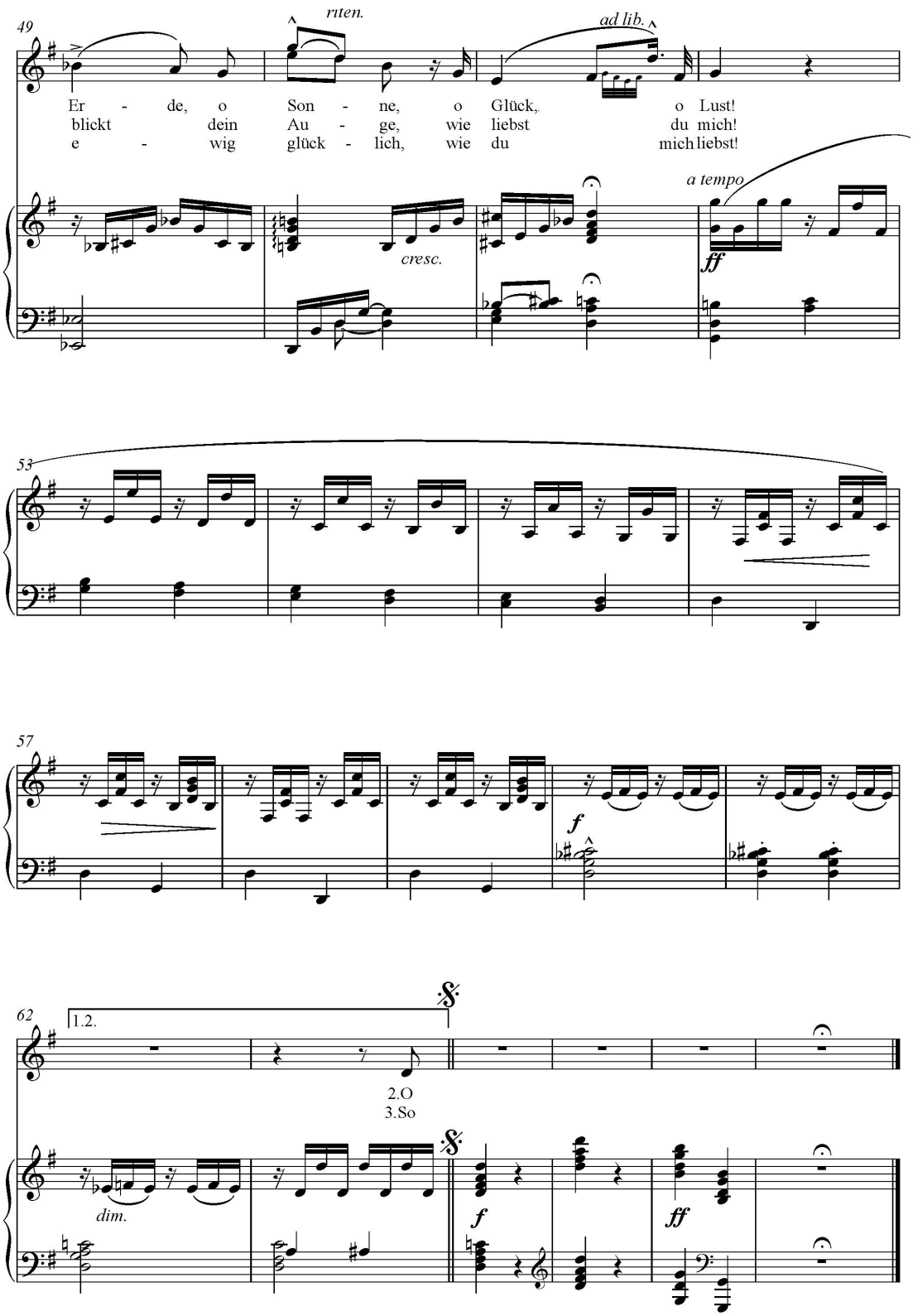
[72] Reed, *Goethe*, p.11.
[73] Swales & Swales, *Reading Goethe*, p. 25
[74] T.J Reed, *Goethe*, p. 9.
[75] Ronald Gray, *Goethe*, *A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 31.
[76] Ibid., p. 33.

Example 6.8: Josephine Lang, 'Mailied', op. 40 no. 2




17
glänzt die Son - ne, wie lacht die Flur! Es
Mor - gen - wol - ken auf je - nen Höh'n! Du
Mor - gen - blu - men den Him - mels- duft, wie
21
drin - gen Blü - ten aus je - dem Zweig und
seg - nest herr - lich das fri - sche Feld, im
ich dich lie - be, mit war - mem Blut, du
25
tau - send Stim - men aus dem Ge - sträuch! Und
Blü - ten - dam - pfe die vol - - le Welt. O
die mir Ju - gend und Freud' und Mut zu
RETURN OF OPENING
29
Freu - de und Won - ne aus je - der Brust! O
Mäd - chen, o Mäd - chen, wie ich dich lie - be, wie
neu - - en Lie - dern und Tän - zen gibst. Sei


33
agitato
p
Er - de, o Son - ne, o Glück, o Lust, o
blickt dein Au - ge, wie liebst du mich! Wie
e - - wig glück - lich, wie du mich liebst! Sei
37
f
ritard.
Er - de, o Son - ne, o Glück, o Lust! Und
blickt dein Au - ge, wie liebst du mich, o
e - - wig glück - lich, wie du mich liebst! Du
cresc.
f
p
41
a tempo
riten. e dolce
Freud' und Won - ne aus je - - der Brust! O
Mäd - chen, Mäd - chen, wie lieb' ich dich! Wie
die mir Ju - gend und Freu - de und Mut zu
45
Er - de, o Son - ne, o Glück, o Lust, o
blickt dein Au - ge, wie liebst du mich, wie
neu - - en Lie - dern und Tän - zen gibst, sei


49
rten.
ad lib.
Er - de, o Son - ne, o Glück, o Lust!
blickt dein Au - ge, wie liebst du mich!
e - wig glück - lich, wie du mich liebst!
cresc.
a tempo
ff
53
57
f
62
1.2.
2.O
3.So
dim.
f
ff

As in 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', the references to song and the power of music are hugely significant in this poem, consciously revealing that music and the poet's joy are inextricably linked. As in 'An die Entfernte', the inspiration to create received from the beloved is also a characteristic theme in this poem.

Lang's Setting of 'Mailied', op. 40 no. 1 (1833)

Although Lang's setting of 'Mailied' (Track 2) was composed in June 1833[77], it was not published until 1867.[78] The setting was recently re-published by Furore Verlag.[79] Four manuscript copies of this song exist.[80] Among the different copies there are a number of inconsistencies such as presence or lack of a piano introduction, rhythmic inconsistencies, and time signature differences. While the majority of the manuscripts are in B flat, the song was originally published in G major, perhaps to suit singers with a lower range.[81]

'Mailied' is very similar to 'Frühzeitiger Frühling' in its nine-stanza structure and the employment of short lines. Rather than omit a stanza as she did in the previous example, Lang groups the stanzas in three and sets the song strophically, similar to settings by Beethoven and Loewe,[82] and capturing the uninhibited flow of ideas in the poem. Although 'Mailied' is a strophic setting, Lang modifies this form by recapitulating the opening melody, therefore employing a kind of modified

[77] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53i, p. 19b.
[78] Josephine Lang, *Sechs Deutsche Lieder*, op. 40 (Stuttgart: Theodor Stürmer, 1867).
[79] Josephine Lang, *Selected Songs*, pp. 12–15.
[80] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53i, pp. 19b–21 (autograph, dated June 1833); Mus. fol. 53e, 12^{v}–14^{r} (not in Lang's hand but with pencil corrections by Lang); Mus. fol. 54d, 10r (autograph, incomplete); GdMF, MS Fellinger, Musikautographe Josephine Lang 25. See 'Josephine Lang: Gesamtliste' <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/~lang/lang_volltitel.php?id=9073> [accessed 26 December 2009].
[81] Josephine Lang, op. 40 (Stuttgart: Theodor Stürmer, 1867).
[82] Beethoven alters the second half of the last verse. Beethoven, 'Mailied', in *Gedichte von Goethe in Compositionen*, I, op. 52 no. 4, 1796, pp. 62–64. Loewe's setting, composed in 1836, op. 79 no. 4, is an example of one of his simpler songs. *Loewe's Werke*, XI, p. 22.

ternary form within her strophic form which is quite unusual and yet gives the song a strong sense of unity.[83] Like Beethoven, Lang did not 'set to music every detail of Goethe's synaesthetic apotheosis of love and nature, instead concentrating 'on capturing the general mood of the poem.'[84]

Marked *sehr bewegt* and *agitato*, this song is most effective when performed in a very quick *tempo.* If not played sufficiently fast, the Lied can sound rather prosaic. The simplicity of Lang's piano introduction, which consists of a series of falling semiquavers in an octave pattern does not adequately set the mood for this 'ode to love' and becomes rather tedious. The fluttering piano figuration finally settles on the dominant, which changes to IVdim7 over a dominant pedal at bar 9 and heralds the onset of the vocal line. Lang flattens the chord in bar 11 to create a feeling of suspense. The opening leap of a sixth in the vocal line is reminiscent of Mendelssohn's song aesthetic, illustrated by his famous Lied, 'Auf Flügeln des Gesanges', among others. The piano part, although not simple, plays a largely supportive role. Lang gives primacy to the melody and the flow of lines in Goethe's text.

The regularity of four-square rhythmic phrases and supportive accompaniment suggest that the setting is closer to a lyrical musical recitation than an independent interpretation of the poem. Musical rhymes echo poetic rhymes, for example, in bars 15 and 16 with 19 and 20. There is no deviation from the meaning

[83] Harald and Sharon Krebs comment on Lang's use of lengthy musical strophes where '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 is less perceptible than usual.' See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 82.
[84] Claus Canisius, 'Göthe and Beethowen: Men of Genius between Distance and Affinity', in *Goethe: Musical Poet*, *Musical Catalyst* (pp. 69–99), p. 72.

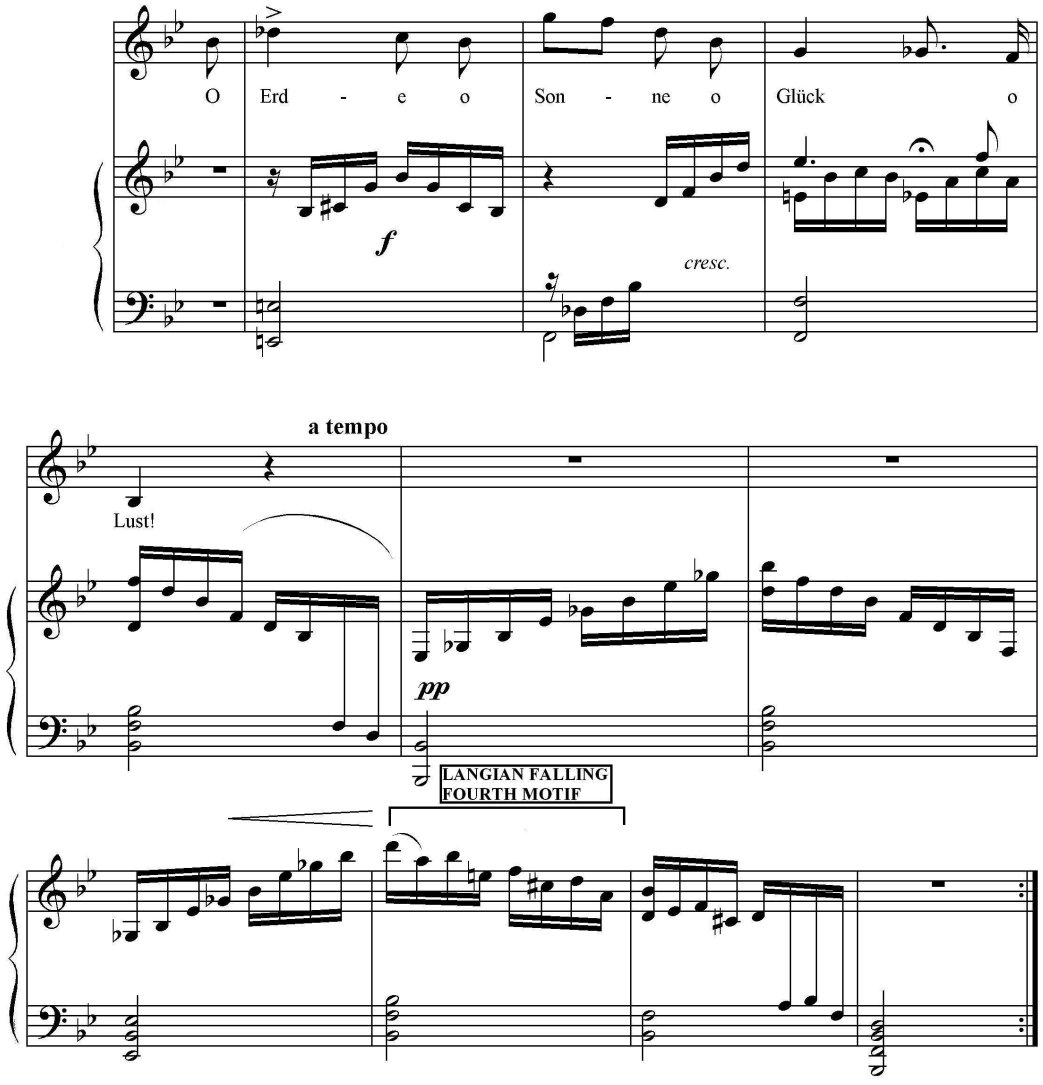
of Goethe's poem in Lang's setting; rather, Lang amplifies the feeling of the poem through her musical setting.

In general Lang constructs the musical stanzas so that they will emphasize important words in the song. This is the case in 'Mailied', where in bars 25 and 26, one of the more lyrical fragments of the song, occurs on the beautiful word 'Blütendampfe'. At bars 38 and 39, the semiquavers in the vocal line that decorate the cadences give the song a slight sense of classical influence, especially in the cadence into bar 40. So too, the German 6^{th} in bar 49 is effective in achieving a sense of musical climax in the Lied. As in some songs by Lang, an alternative is given to the singer for the high G in bar 50; it appears in the published version but not in the manuscripts.[85]

Lang uses the piano introduction as an interlude and postlude to her setting. Given the repetitiveness of this passage, it is interesting that Lang composed an alternative postlude. The other postlude hovers between chords I and IVm with the addition of the 'falling fourth, rising second' motif that is found in many of Lang's Lieder, sometimes very obviously in a vocal line ('Die Liebende abermals') or in the right hand of the piano part, as in this song, or hidden within the piano texture ('Nähe des Geliebten'), (see Example 6.9). Although this alternate version of the postlude is simpler, it seems to be more suitable both in its brief chromaticism and its length. The use of the chord IVm links well to the body of the song whereas the published introduction seems autonomous and its lack of musical imagination does not bear any relationship to the text or the musical content of the song.

[85] In the recording, we employed this high note in the last strophe to show both versions.

Example 6.9: Josephine Lang 'Mailied', bars /36–45 (WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53e, p. 13[v])



At this time of publication of 'Mailied', Lang was working very hard to support her family through both piano teaching and publication of her songs. Perhaps it says something about Lang's perception of the song that she held it back from publication for so long. The later publication brought some improvement: the published version includes the decision to alter the original diminished sevenths of bars 45 and 49 to augmented 6th chords, whose resolution gives a stronger sense of finality to the Lied.

The Lied, composed in Munich, was most likely intended to delight Lang's audiences in the salons of Munich. Although it is not musically outstanding, it does reveal a second attempt by Lang to deal with a poem that has nine stanzas, although ironically it is not as engaging a setting as 'Frühzeitiger Frühling' where Lang altered the structure of Goethe's verse. However, celebration of love is at the fore of Lang's setting. Lang succeeds in fashioning a real sense of joyousness in her musical response to Goethe's poem.

6.3.4 'Der Liebenden Vergeßlichen. Zum Geburtstage.'

Goethe's 'Der Liebenden Vergeßlichen. Zum Geburtstage' (1803)

Der Liebenden Vergeßlichen. Zum Geburtstage.	**To The Forgetful Loving One. On [her] Birthdays.**[87]
Dem schönen Tag sei[86] es geschrieben!	Be it written on this beautiful day!
Oft glänze dir sein heitres Licht.	May its cheerful light often shine upon you.
Uns hörest du nicht auf zu lieben,	You do not stop loving us,
Doch bitten wir: Vergiss uns nicht!	But we ask you, do not forget us!

Goethe's poem is written for a distant friend. The celebratory references to the beautiful day and warm light suggest that this was a parting brought about by life but not death. The poet asks the beloved not to stop loving us, not to forget us, 'us' perhaps being the little coterie in Weimar. The poem is a dedicatory verse on the birthday of a friend. That the poem is written on a birthday along with the reference to the possibility of forgetfulness suggests the importance of not forgetting friends in life.

[86] Lang uses the old German form, 'seÿ'.
[87] Translation is my own.

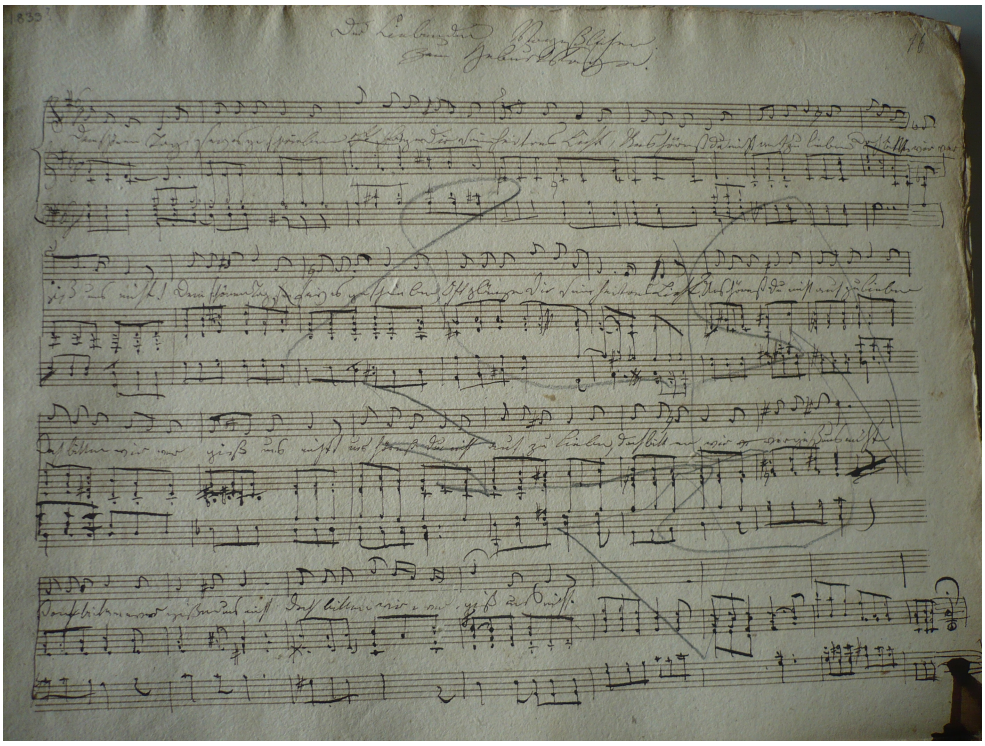


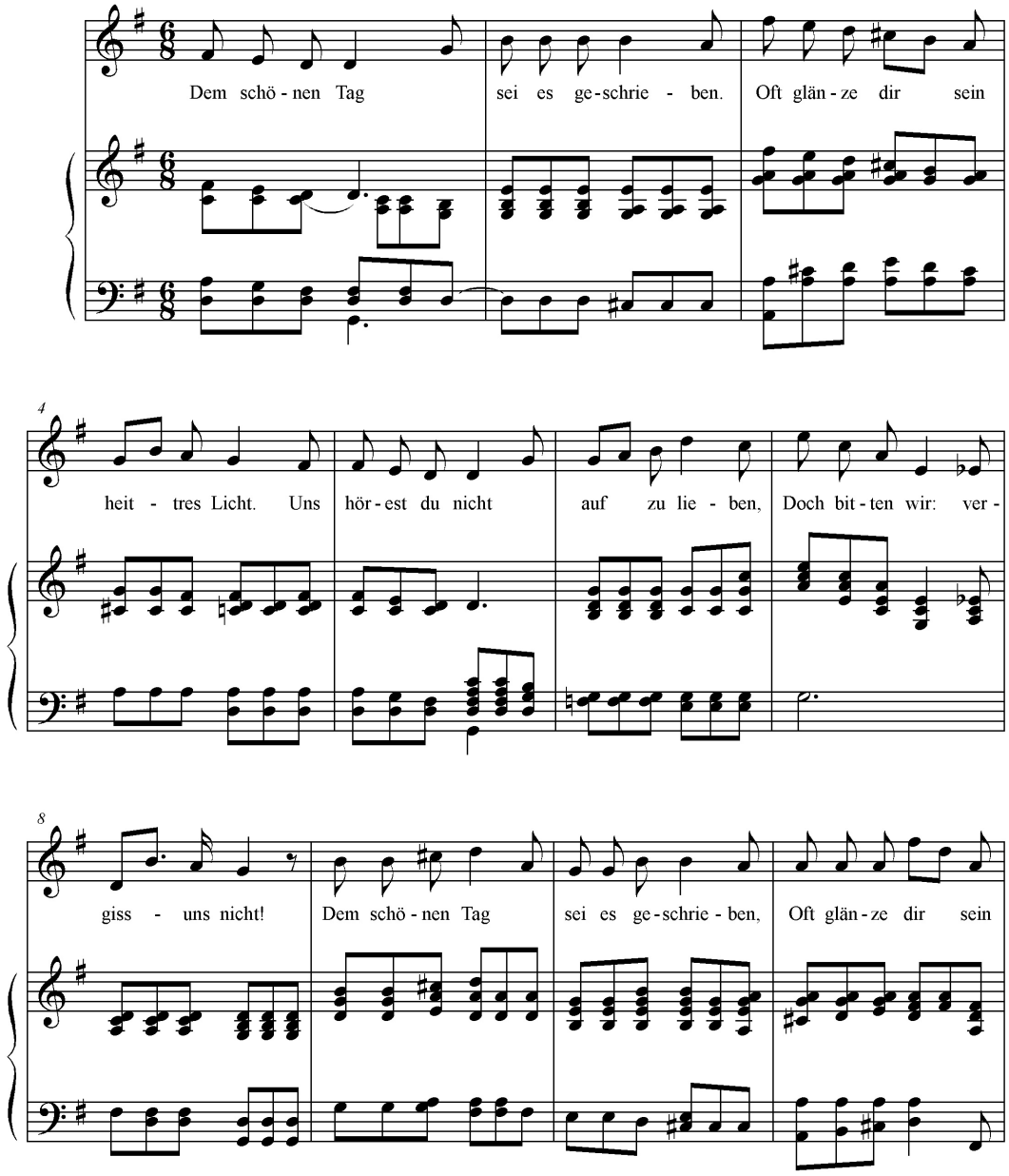
Figure 6.1: 'Der Liebenden Vergeßlichen. Zum Geburtstage.' (WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 54a, p. 16[r]).
Reproduced with permission.

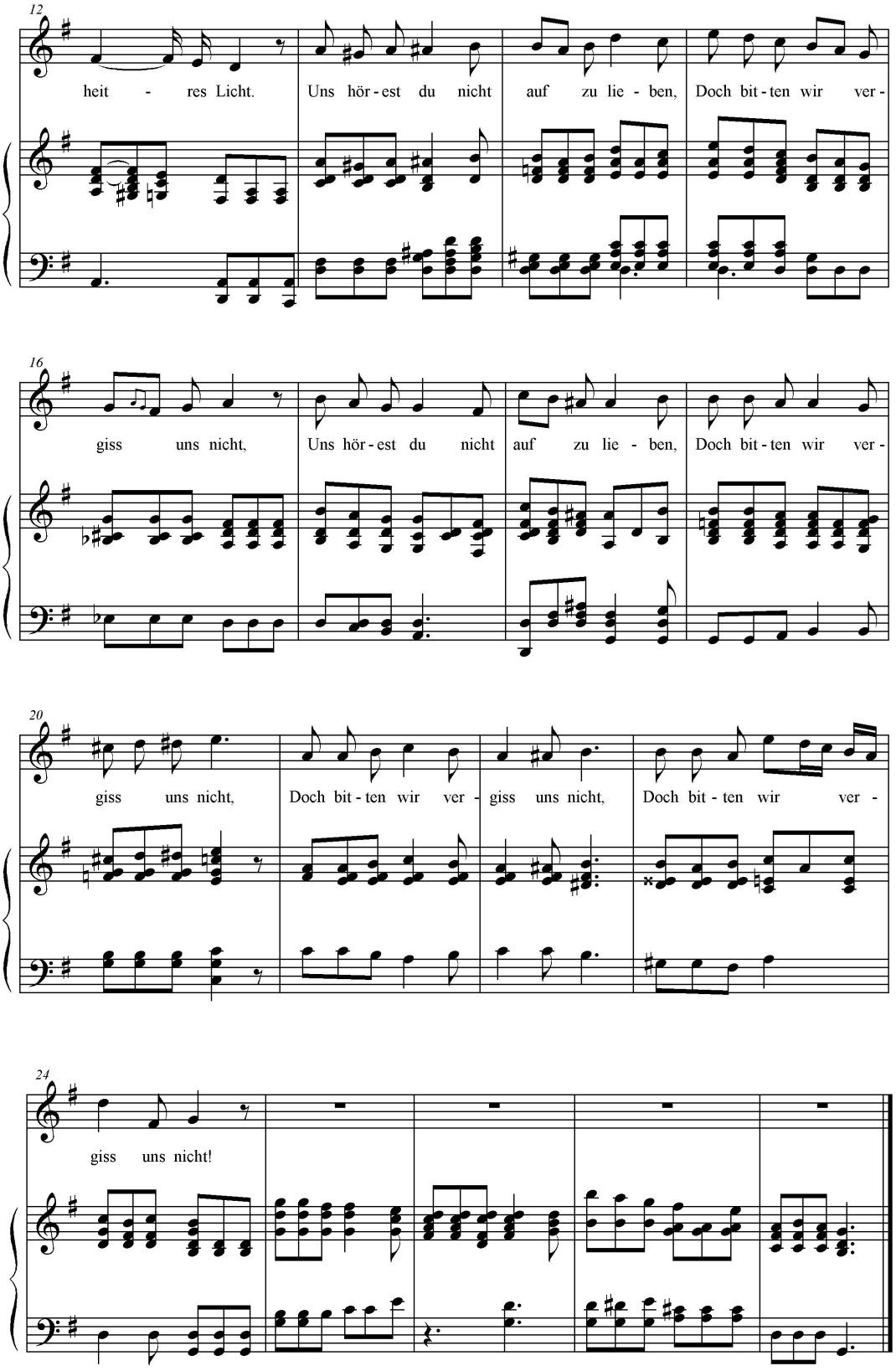
Lang's setting of Goethe's 'Der Liebenden Vergeßlichen. Zum Geburtstage.' (1833?)

The single manuscript of this song is foundin Stuttgart in a folder is dated 1828.[88] The date 1833 has been added in the top left hand corner, most likely by Lang's son.[89] As we can see on Figure 6.1, the score has been scribbled on in pencil, most likely by one of Lang's children. It is an interesting manuscript, bearing the hallmarks of the mother and composer.

[88] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 54a, p. 16[r].
[89] Dates have been added to some of Lang's song in handwriting that resembles that of of Lang's son.

Example 6.10: Josephine Lang, 'Der Liebenden Vergeßlichen. Zum Geburtstage.' (WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 54a, p. 16[r])




12
heit - res Licht. Uns hör - est du nicht auf zu lie - ben, Doch bit - ten wir ver -
16
giss uns nicht, Uns hör - est du nicht auf zu lie - ben, Doch bit - ten wir ver -
20
giss uns nicht, Doch bit - ten wir ver - giss uns nicht, Doch bit - ten wir ver -
24
giss uns nicht!

On perusal of this song, one can see why Lang held it back from publishing, as it is not the most musically interesting song of her output. Lang repeats the quatrain and subsequently repeats the last couplet and the last line twice more. It is typical of Lang's early style; the vocal melody is mostly doubled by the piano throughout. The accompanimental pattern of block chords does not change throughout the song. However, the Lied does possess some interesting attributes. The graceful folk-like melody is effective. Lang also colours the harmony with chromatic chords, a German 6^{th} chord in bar 16 for example, where the dedicatee is asked not to forget the poet. The use of chord II (A minor) in bar 21 is a sole introspective moment in the song and provides effective contrast and underscores the sincerity of the request. The Lied ends triumphantly, however, with a vocal rise to E and a descending semiquaver flourish which concludes the song, as the poem, flirtatiously.

6.3.5 'Nähe des Geliebten' (Two Settings)

Lang rarely set a poem more than once but her settings of Goethe's 'Nähe des Geliebten' are a rare exception to that rule.[90] 'Nähe des Geliebten' was one of the most widely set poems by Goethe[91] Indeed, Lang set many poems that were thematically similar to Goethe's poem. For example, she composed two settings of Matthisson's poem 'Ich denke dein' which served as the inspiration for Friederike Brun's poema and later Goethe's parody.[92]

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[90] Lang did this with a handful of other poems: Heine's 'Seit die Liebste mir Entfernt', 'Ich möchte dir wohl gerne sagen' by Jean Paul, Reinhold Köstlin's 'Am Morgen' and 'Wenn das Herz dir ist beklommen' or 'An einer Quelle', Wilhelm Müller's 'Ich schnitt es gern', Uhland's 'Das Schifflein', Franz Danzi's 'Ich liebe dich so inniglich, ich kann es kaum beschreiben', Julius Hammer's 'Vertraue dich dem Licht der Sterne', Clemens Brentano's 'Es sang vor langen Jahren' and Friedrich Matthisson's 'Ich denke dein wenn durch den Hain'.

[91] 'Nähe des Geliebten' is one of Goethe's most widely set poems with settings by Beethoven, Reichardt, Zelter, Schubert, Carl Loewe (two settings, one Lied and one choral setting), Robert Schumann, Fanny Hensel and later Amy Beach, Nikolas Medtner and Ingeborg von Bronsart.

[92] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53m, pp. 10^{v}–11^{v} & Mus. fol. 56b, p. 35^{v}. The opening vocal motif in this Goethe setting is found in Lang's setting of Matthison's 'Geisternähe' 'op. 6' no. 4, in bars 8–12

Goethe's 'Nähe des Geliebten' (April 1795)

'Nähe des Geliebten'		**'The Nearness of the Beloved'**[93]
Ich denke dein, wenn mir der Sonne Schimmer	*a*	I think of you when I watch the sunlight
Vom Meere Strahlt;	*b*	glitter on the sea
Ich denke dein, wenn sich des Mondes Flimmer	*a*	I think of you when shimmering moonlight
In Quellen malt	*b*	Is mirrored in the streams
Ich sehe dich, wenn auf dem fernen Wege	*a*	I see you when on a distant road
Der Staub sich hebt;	*b*	The dust rises
In tiefer Nacht, wenn auf dem schmalen Stege	*a*	And in deep night, when on the narrow footbridge
Der Wandrer bebt.	*b*	the wayfarer trembles.
Ich höre dich, wenn dort mit dumpfem Rauschen.	*a*	I hear you in that dull roar
Die Welle steigt.	*b*	Of rising waves.
Im stillen Haine geh ich oft zu lauschen,	*a*	In the still grove I often walk and listen,
Wenn alles schweigt.	*b*	When all is silent.
Ich bin bei dir, du seist auch noch so ferne,	*a*	I am beside you, however far away you are.
Du bist mir nah!	*b*	You are near me!
Die Sonne sinkt, bald leuchten mir die Sterne.	*a*	The sun sinks, soon the stars will shine above me!
O wärst du da!	*b*	Would you were here!

One of his parodies, 'Nähe des Geliebten', was written in April 1795 after hearing a musical setting of Friederike Brun's poem, 'Ich denke dein', by Zelter. Inspired by the conventional form which originated with Matthisson,[94] Goethe transforms Brun's sentimental verse into a sublime depiction of separation from the beloved. Boyle notes that Goethe included Zelter's setting of the text in his production of *Claudine von Villa Bella* in Weimar in May 1795.[95] The opening verse begins with 'Ich denke dein' but subsequent verses move through the senses: 'Ich sehe dich' and 'Ich höre dich', culminating in the final stanza's 'Ich bin bei dir' where he can feel her presence even though she is absent. This progression of the senses encapsulates what Byrne Bodley refers to as a phenomenological sequence—'absence is transformed to presence by the power of thought.'[96] This transformation is counteracted, however, by the line, 'O wärst Du da' (Oh if you were only here), where the reality of the

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at the words, 'denk' ich nur dich,' and in another setting based on the same literary trope by an unknown poet, entitled 'Ich denke dein', Mus. fol. 53r, p. 20.

[93] Translated by David Luke in *Goethe Selected Verse*, pp. 111–12.

[94] *BA*, I, pp. 42–43.

[95] Boyle, *Goethe*, II, p. 270.

[96] Ibid., p. 270.

situation is laid bare. The range of imagery in each stanza reveals that Goethe does not associate the beloved with any particular symbol from nature but that she is constantly in his thoughts.

6.3.5.1 Lang's First Setting of 'Nähe des Geliebten', 'op. 5' no. 1 (1834 or earlier)

Three manuscripts of the song are in existence.[97] As in 'Frühzeitiger Frühling', differences occur between the early and posthumous editions of the songs.[98] Lang's setting of this text was originally published in 1834 in the key of D flat major, without a piano introduction. It was also published in the posthumous edition of Lang's Lieder by Breitkopf und Härtel in 1882, transposed into B flat major, a version that was later reprinted in Tick's edition of 1982.[99]

Lang conveys the sense of *Sehnsucht* in Goethe's poem in the lyrical piano introduction, which is used also as an interlude and a postlude.[100] The harmonizations for the initial vocal entry and piano interlude are virtually identical and occur over the same duration in the two sections (see Example 6.11, bars 1 and 6).

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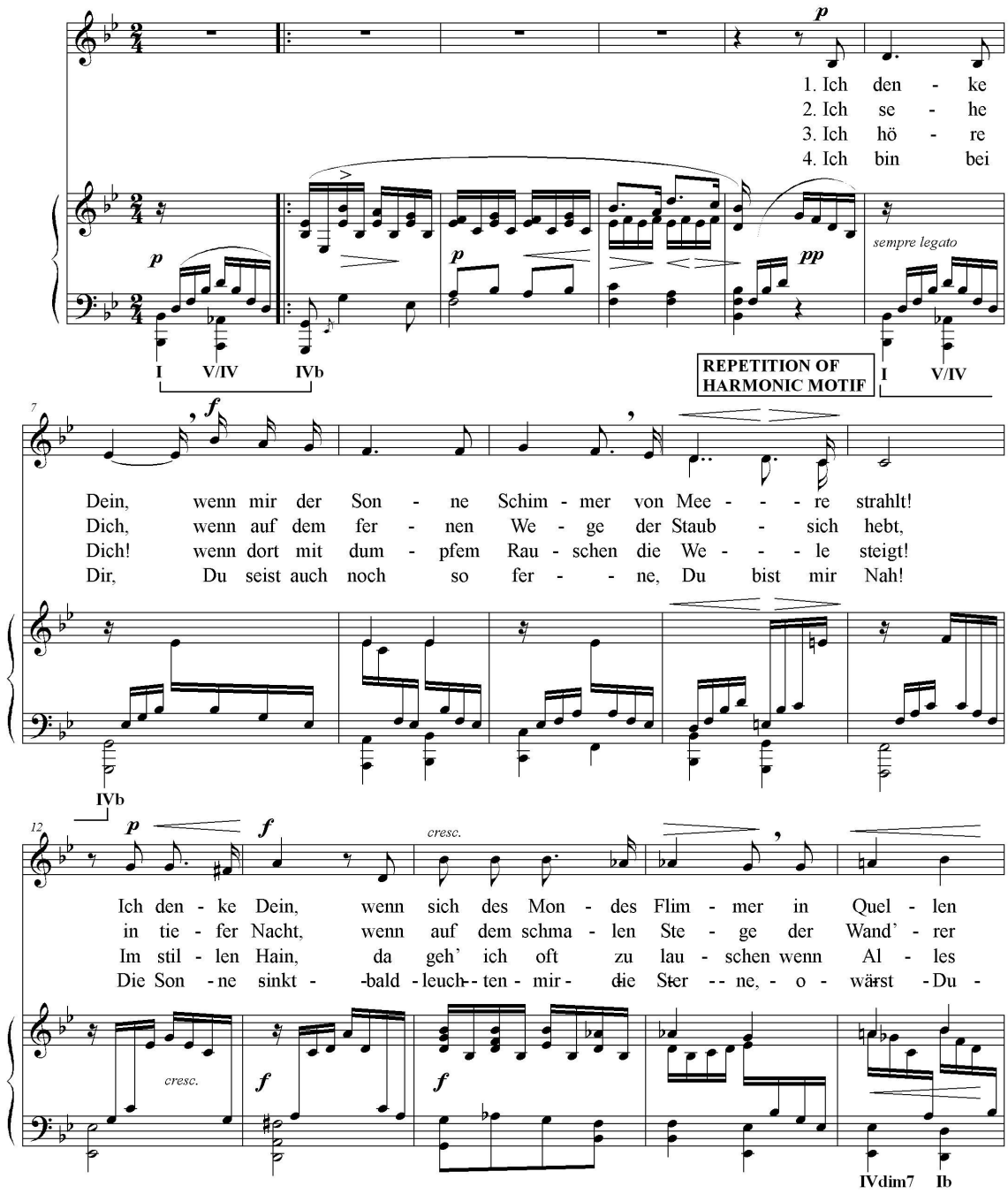
[97] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 54f, pp. 16^{r}–17^{r} (autograph); Cod.mus.II 2º 95 c, pp. 30–31. A third version is also found in the GdMF, MS Fellinger, Musikautographe Josephine Lang 25.

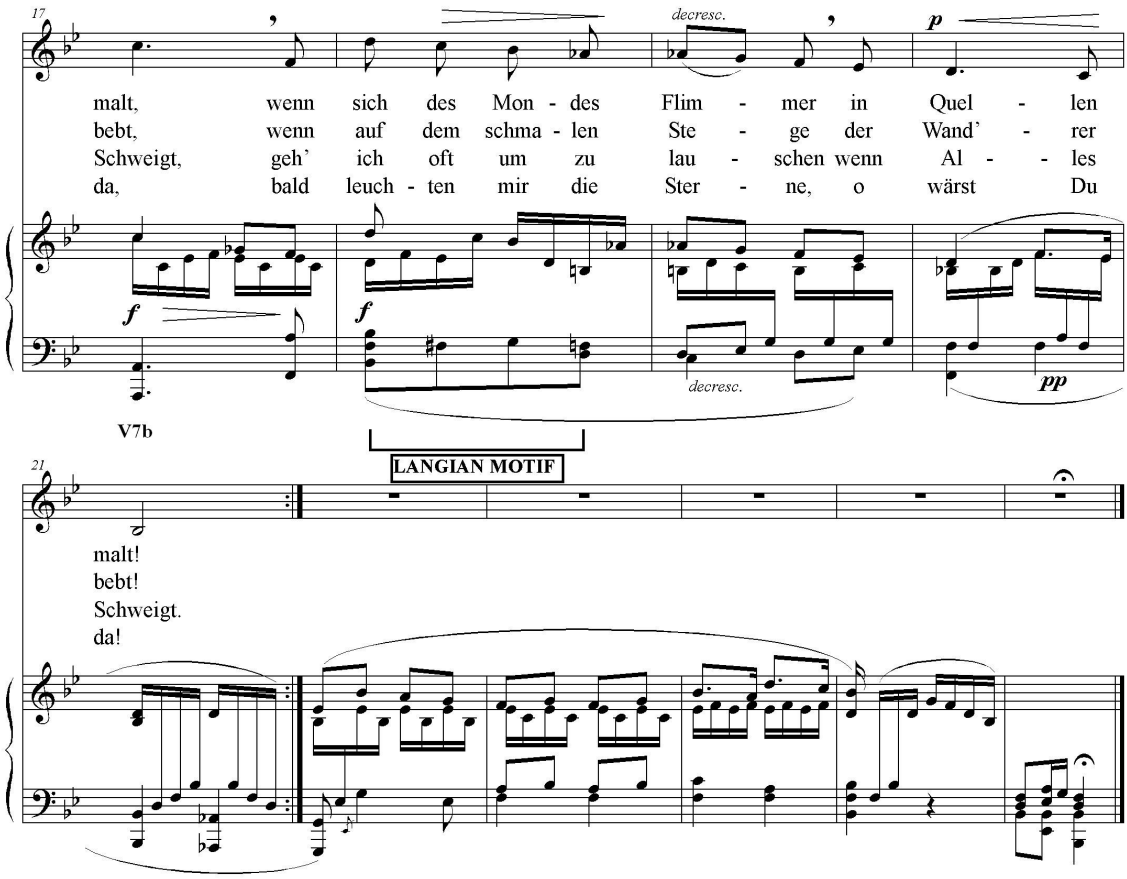
[98] There are no differences harmonically or melodically between the settings—they are essentially the same song. Due to the aural subtlety of most of the differences between the two editions (notwithstanding the inclusion of the piano introduction in the first version), I will discuss the song as a whole using bar numbers from the later edition for convenience and referring to scale degrees and the harmony in Roman numerals for clarity. The direction of the piano accompaniment differs in bar 3. It is an upward motion in bar 3 of the early version whereas it is downward in the later version. Bar 8 of the earlier version has double octaves. The early version contains the expression marking 'Andante con molto espressione' whereas the later version is simplified to 'Andante'. The figuration in the last bar has been altered in the later version. The manuscript at GdMF corresponds to the later version, however. Therefore it is not known if the changes are Lang's intention.

[99] WLB, MS Lang, Cod.mus. II 2º 95c, pp. 30–31 (copy in son's hand). This version is in B flat major and contains a piano introduction. Mus. fol. 54f, pp. 16^{r}–17^{r} (autograph in B flat, no introduction). The transposed version published in the posthumous edition also contains some subtle and not-so-subtle revisions. These revisions correspond to a fair copy by Lang's son.

[100] The introduction, present in the 1882 version is not present in the earlier version of the song.

Example 6.11: Josephine Lang 'Nähe des Geliebten', 'op. 5' no. 1, First Setting





The harmony I7 (V7 of IV) in bar 1 is very typical of Lang, whose songs often have a shade of subdominant colour, which may or may not contain a cadence in that key. Lang's parallel employment of this harmonic blueprint is not immediately perceptible on listening to the song. Firstly, it points to the underlying unity with which Lang's songs are constructed. It also reveals her ability to fortify the musical message of her song in the postlude, to some degree like Robert Schumann. The passage contains a gradually rising line and subtle lyricism. Lang also adds her own comment to the song that somehow underscores the absence of the beloved, although paradoxically, the title of the song is 'Nearness of the beloved'

Lang's choice of strophic setting is perfect for Goethe's text. The continuous sentiment of longing from a distance is consistent throughout the poem, emphasized

by the corresponding opening lines of each stanza, for example, 'Ich denke dein', 'Ich sehe Dich' and 'Ich höre dich'. The beloved appears to move closer with each line, although this takes place within the poet's imagination. The poem's 'unusual strophic form'[101] is granted a more complex musical construction than Lang's earlier Goethe settings, inspired perhaps by Goethe's use of longer poetic lines. The overall structure of the musical strophe is 6+6+4 bars. Internally, musical rhymes echo poetic rhymes, such as 'Schimmer' in bar 9 and 'Flimmer' in bar 15. Also interesting are the quasi-musical rhymes in bars 10 and 11, and bars 20 and 21 which correspond to the poetic rhymes ('Meere strahlt' and 'Quellen malt' for example).

Lang's slightly impetuous interpretation is transmitted by way of a modulation to the relative minor in bars 12 and 13, which increases intensity as the beloved moves nearer. Goethe's words, 'Ich denke dein' and 'in tiefer Nacht' of stanza 2 are sung at a higher pitch. In bar 14, the left hand of the piano takes the melody, and the semiquaver arpeggio-like movement is momentarily suspended while the harmonic pace is increased as the music briefly modulates to the subdominant. This combination of musical effects creates a sense that the beloved is approaching.

Unlike in Lang's 'An die Entfernte' the multifaceted relationship between piano and voice is capitalized on in this setting. The relationship between the two perceived in this strophic setting consists of two elements that intertwine and commune with each other. The distribution of melodic interest between the voice and bass part is significant as it reveals the parity with which Lang treated the piano in

[101] Boyle, *Goethe*, II, p. 270.

many of her settings. In 'Nähe des Geliebten', the piano and voice complement each other but neither outdoes the other; when one constituent of the partnership is relatively static, the other is active. Significantly, the two musical elements converge rhythmically at one point, bar 16, which ultimately leads to the climax of the strophe. The longing of the words 'O wärst du da' in bars 15 and 16 is amplified by the augmentation of rhythmic values and the final ascent of the melody to the supertonic of the tonic key intensifies the longing implicit in these words. Advantageously this occurs simultaneously with the climax of the poem in the last stanza, 'o wärst du da!' which is indicative of some careful anticipation by Lang in her composition of this Lied and reveals her priority in highlighting the meaning of Goethe's poem. As with 'Mailied', we witness how a more assured composer constructs the musical strophe to coincide with the powerful message of the song. In this case, the key exclaimation of the poem 'O wärst du da!' is underscored by Lang's choice of harmony, IVdim7—Ib—V7b. (See Example 6.11, bar 16)

Lang eloquently communicates the sense of escalating desire throughout the poem in that each phrase is melodically higher than the previous one. The ascent culminates in bar 17 and is negated by the relatively quick scale-like descent that takes place over bars 18 to 19 with a flattened seventh at the climax of the song, the effect of which is to emphasize the lasting distance between the lovers and destroys Goethe's illusion. Interestingly, this passage contains a variant of Lang's common 'falling fourth, rising second motif' in the left hand of the piano in bar 18. Lang regularly uses this motif both melodically (as in another Goethe setting, 'Lieb' Kind') and harmonically, as in this setting, although it is identifiable as a melodic motif, it points to a common harmonic motif that occurs at climactic points in some

of Lang's songs. Here the motif is observed in the bass part (see Example 6.11, bar 18). The descending motion of the motif invokes a sense of finality of Lang's songs and in this song, acts to disseminate the tension which has been built up in the musical strophe.

Comparative Study

Lang's setting of Goethe's poem differs from settings of the same text by Schubert[102] and Hensel[103] in that she opts for a more luscious texture in the music, somewhat akin in mood to Amy Beach's later sensuous setting of the text.[104] In contrast to Loewe's ornate through-composed setting,[105] Lang captures more of the immediacy of experienced emotion through the musical intensification of each musical phrase. Schubert and Hensel, like Lang, opt for a strophic setting which perfectly behooves the song. The rising crescendo of emotions cannot be sustained as the beloved remains distant, and therefore is best suited to strophic form which suggests the unaltered condition of the poet who remains separated from his beloved.[106] In mirroring Schubert's setting of the text (D162),[107] Lang effectively portrays the phenomenological sequence[108] of Goethe's poetry through contrasting means to Schubert's setting. Schubert's vocal part (a high voice), after beginning with a cadence in the remote key of E flat minor, enters on a high G flat and a gradual decrescendo in tone and mood permeates the Lied, whereas Lang's singer begins

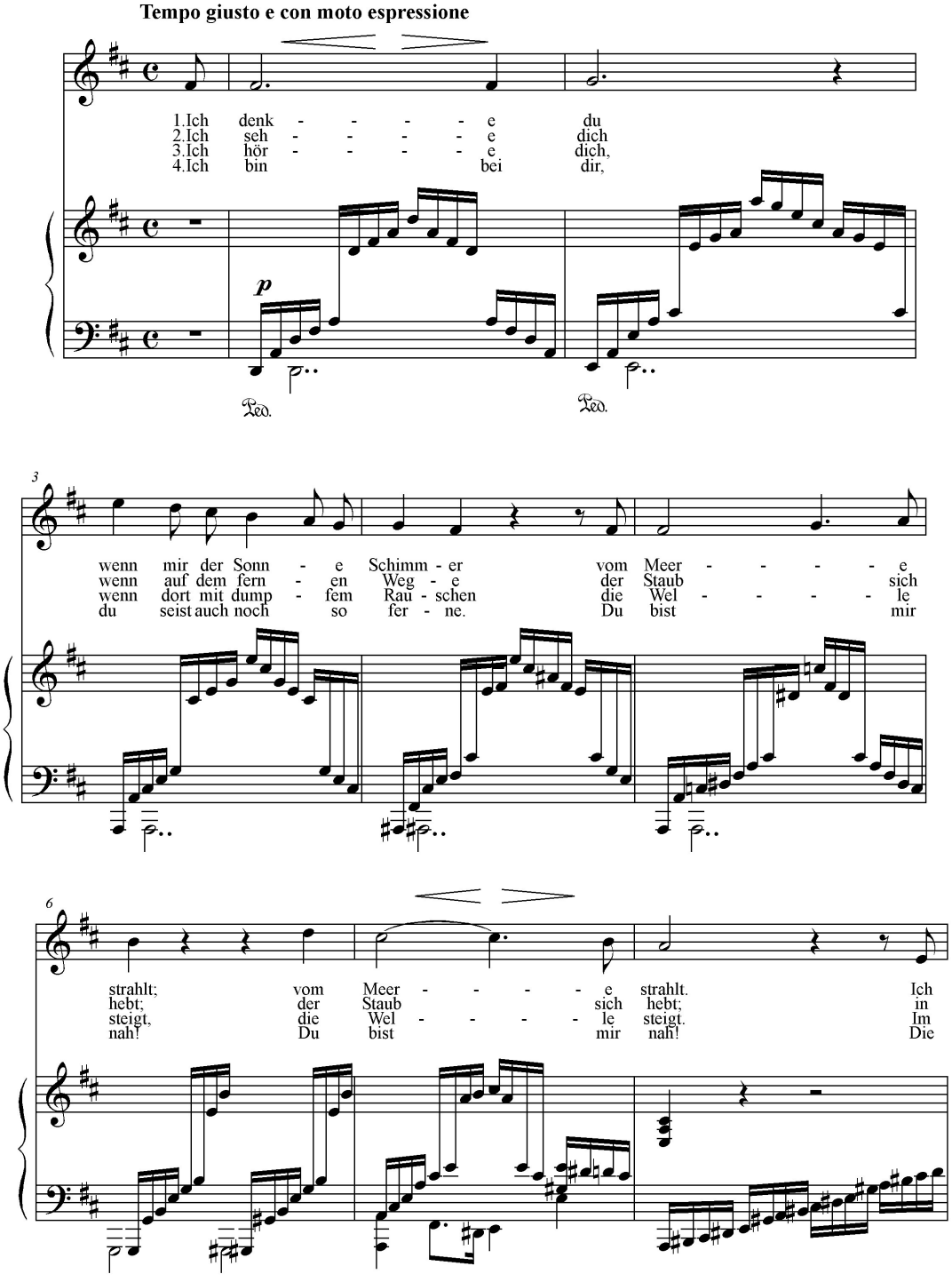
[102] For a score, see *Schubert's Songs to Texts by Goethe*, ed. by Eusebius Mandyczewski (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1979), p. 47.
[103] For a score see *Von Goethe inspiriert*, *Lieder von Komponistinnen*, p. 9.
[104] Amy Beach, 'Nähe des Geliebten' , op. 35 no. 3 (Arthur P. Schmidt). For a recording, *Amy Beach Chanson d'Amour*, Emma Kirkby and Romantic Chamber Group of London (CD Bis 1245, 2002).
[105] Loewe, 'Nähe des Geliebten' op. 9, III, no. 3 1828, in *Loewe's Werke*, XI, pp. 6–8.
[106] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 176.
[107] While it is not known if Lang knew this song in particular, her manuscript booklets did contain some copies of songs by Schubert. WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53a contains copies of 'Der Wanderer' and 'Ungeduld' from *Die schöne Müllerin* for example. It is therefore quite possible that she was familiar with this song.
[108] Ibid., p. 173.

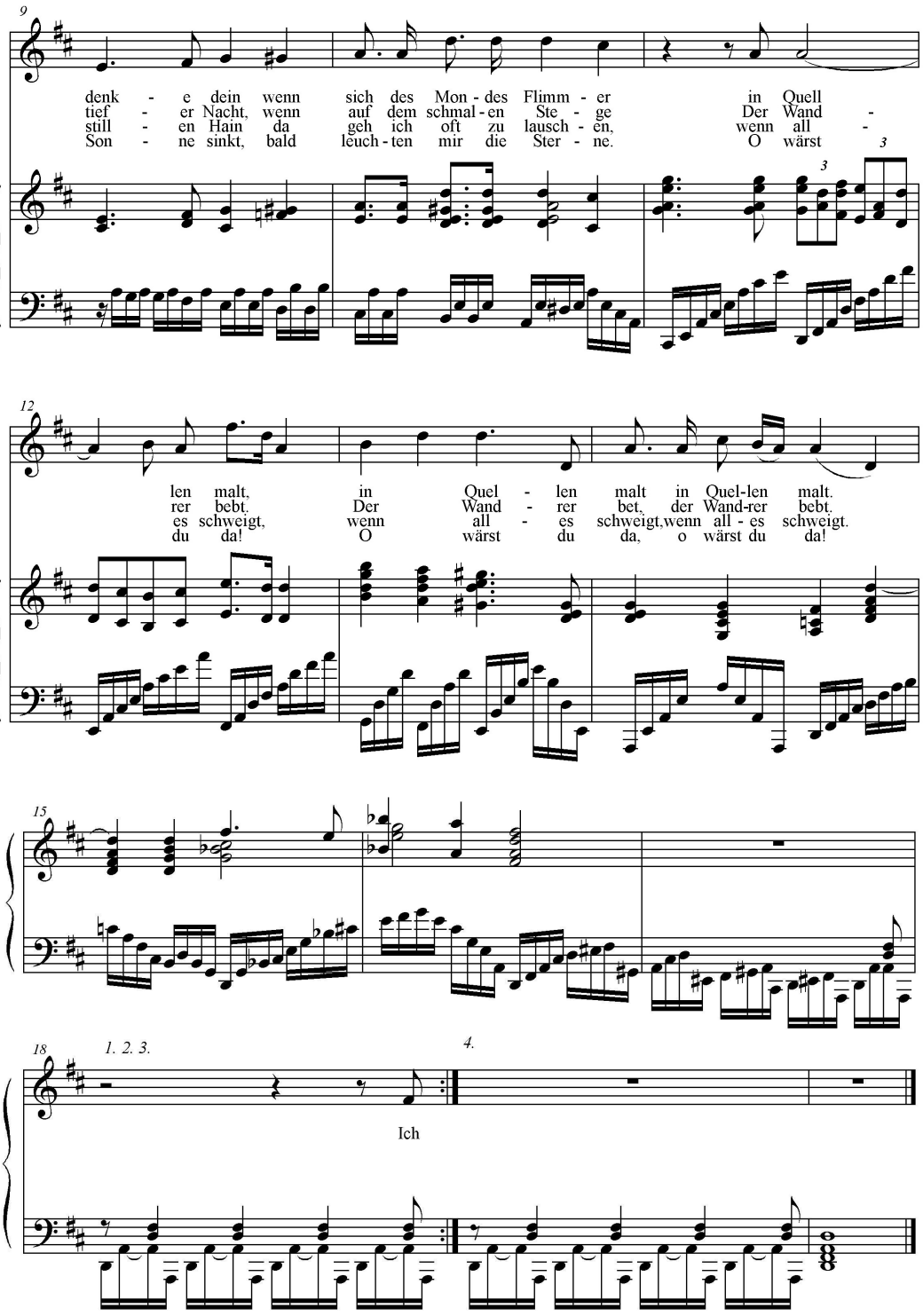
quite low, on the tonic (B flat). The rising melodies and continual intensification of the musical shading in Lang's setting similarly conjure up the notion of the reality of the poem that the beloved is far away. Hensel's setting, on the other hand, betrays a sense of muted longing with sustained notes in the vocal line while Schubert's setting is also certainly more subdued.

As in Schubert's setting, Hensel's employment of the soprano's high register adds an ethereal quality. The mood of Lang's setting differs from Fanny Hensel's 1826 setting of the text, which is one of more quiet contemplation. The lingering sense of longing in the poem is eloquently voiced by Lang's musical interpretation. Goethe's poem is, in essence, one rising musical entity, as the poet methodically conjures up the beloved in his mind, only to realize that they are separated. Lang emulates this in her perfectly-crafted musical strophe which captures the poet's sense of expectation.

The typically Romantic theme of distance from the beloved, which occurs in much poetry of the early nineteenth century and in poetry set by Lang is at the heart of this poem. However, in contrast to Lang's setting of 'An die Entfernte', 'Nähe des Geliebten' embraces more romantic tendencies in its flowing piano accompaniment, increased use of chromaticism and more unusual phrase lengths. Lang's setting of 'Nähe des Geliebten' is a setting by a composer who is developing her musical language as well as her response to poetry.

Example 6.12: Josephine Lang, 'Nähe des Geliebten', Second Setting




9
denk - e dein wenn sich des Mon - des Flimm - er in Quell
tief - er Nacht, wenn auf dem schmal - en Ste - ge Der Wand -
still - en Hain da geh ich oft zu lausch - en, wenn all -
Son - ne sinkt, bald leuch - ten mir die Ster - ne. O wärst
3
3
12
len malt, in Quel - len malt in Quel-len malt.
rer bebt, Der Wand - rer bet, der Wand-rer bebt.
es schweigt, wenn all - es schweigt,wenn all - es schweigt.
du da! O wärst du da, o wärst du da!
15
18
1. 2. 3.
4.
Ich

6.3.5.2 Lang's Second Setting of 'Nähe des Geliebten' (31 August 1836)

One autograph of this song is in existence.[109] In this revisiting of Goethe's text, Lang opts for an even more fervent setting of the text. Harald and Sharon Krebs believe it was around this time that Lang had an unhappy engagement to Wilhelm von Eichthal; this experience perhaps coloured her songs of this period.[110] The ardent nature of Lang's setting is primarily created by the 'stormy' piano figuration, which is to be played *giusto,* with expression. Rhythmically, the opening of the vocal line is similar to that of the previous setting. The sense of longing is captured in the expressiveness in bars 3 to 4 with a descending vocal passage which ends in a suspension over a major mediant 7th chord at the word 'Schimmer' at bar 4.

Harmonically, however, the setting is not excessively adventurous: modulation to the dominant occurs in the second part of each strophe. The rushing semiquavers of bar 8 portray the exhilaration in contemplating the beloved. Lang infuses energy into her setting, however, by varying the piano accompaniment. In bar 9, for example, it changes to a variation of an Alberti bass which, when played as fast as Lang suggests, generates an effervescent quality in the music. Rather than wallow in the distance of the beloved, Lang revels in the 'erotic fantasy'[111] created by Goethe. In bar 11 Lang's characteristic combination of triplets and quadruplet semiquavers adds further excitement to the Lied. However, with the rising figure in bar 15, she asserts the acknowledgement of distance between the lovers.

[109] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53o, pp. 5^{v}–6^{r}, dated autograph, 31 August 1836. Lang omitted the rests in the first few bars. Her exact intension concerning these double-dotted minims is unclear.
[110] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, pp. 57–63.
[111] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 174.

Once again, the piano plays a significant role in this song and often overshoots the vocal line. The final vocal phrase lacks a sense of closure but this is provided by the piano. The force of the music is taken over by the piano in bars 11 and 13 whereas the voice's melody surfaces in bar 12. The immediate chromaticism in bar 16, a diminished 7th chord, is introduced after the voice's conclusion. Although the vocal conclusion is awkwardly executed, the piano in bar 17 somehow intimates the thoughtful nature of the beloved whose part in the song is complete. A strange interlude follows, however, that is unfortunately slightly tedious. Thus, while this setting is not as rich in musical and textual nuances as Lang's earlier treatment of this text, it is a relatively sound interpretation of the poem and reveals Lang's somewhat unusual take on Goethe's poem. Composed in the year after Lang's 'masterpiece', 'Mignon's Klage', this setting reveals an inconsistency in her output, typical of many composers. Despite its shortcomings, however, this song is a fervent musical response to Goethe's poetry, typical of Lang's youthful style.

6.3.6 'Glückliche Fahrt'

Goethe's 'Glückliche Fahrt' (1797)

'Glückliche Fahrt'		**'Prosperous Journey'**[112]
Die Nebel zerreißen,	*a*	The mist is pulled aside,
Der Himmel ist helle,	*b*	The sky lights up
Und Aeolus löset[113]	*c*	And Aeolus undoes
Das ängstliche Band.	*d*	The ties of fear.
Es säuseln die Winde,	*e*	There, the winds rustle,
Es rührt sich der Schiffer.	*f*	There, the sailor moves on.
Geschwinde! Geschwinde!	*e*	Hurry! Hurry!
Es teilt sich die Welle,	*b*	The waves are breaking.
Es naht sich die Ferne,	*g*	The distant becomes nearby,
Schon seh' ich das Land!	*d*	Already I see land!

[112] Translated by Karen Vereycken, on 'The Lied and Art Song Texts Page', <http://www.recmusic. org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=25066 > [accessed 30 September, 2008].
[113] *BA*, I, p. 47.

This poem, describing Goethe's own fortunate escape from disaster in a boat off the coast of Sicily in 1786, was composed retrospectively in 1796. It is the antithesis of its sister-poem, 'Meeresstille',[114] which describes the deadly experience of the becalming of the ship in which he was travelling. In Goethe's 'Glückliche Fahrt' the use of active verbs ('zerreißen', 'säuseln', and 'rührt') portrays the sudden burst of activity aboard the ship. Through his use of language, Goethe's resplendent imagery of the sky lighting up immediately gives the poem a feeling of new hope at the prospect of surviving what had seemed like a hopeless situation. The metaphorical reference to Aeolus, the Greek god of the winds, reminds us that our lives are controlled by a greater force; our fates are not in our own hands. 'Geschwinde, geschwinde' points to the fickleness to the wind,[115] in that the moment must be seized before Aeolus changes his mind. The image of the distance becoming nearby and the inherent conflict in this phrase reveals how the passengers' escape seemed unlikely. Here, a release of tension occurs and a sense of relief prevails. Boyle realizes the musical possibilities of these two poems, describing them as 'song-like', similar to 'operatic versions' of Goethe's Leipzig Rococo poetry.[116]

Goethe's poem is constructed mostly in 6-syllable lines, two amphibrachs per line, with the exceptions of lines 4 and 10. In extending the perceived internal second stanza of the poem to 6 instead of a regular 4-line grouping, Goethe perpetuates tension through his poem. One feels that the 6-syllable lines could nearly continue unceasingly until relief is given in the last 5-syllable line which drives home the sense of reprieve in the poem and confirms the safety of all on board.

[114] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 141.
[115] Ferber, *Dictionary of Literary Symbols*, p. 236.
[116] Boyle, *Goethe*, II, p. 267.

Lang's Setting of 'Glückliche Fahrt' 'op. 5' no. 3 (1834 or earlier)

We have no definite date for composition of 'Glückliche Fahrt' as there is no extant manuscript. The song, as we shall see, demonstrates Lang's interesting approach to Goethe's text. 'Glückliche Fahrt' is certainly aimed at professionals or highly skilled amateurs with the piano part being relatively difficult at this fast tempo (molto presto). The piano introduction begins with alternation of ♯IVdim7c alternating with chord I creates a feeling of tension but this is slightly counterbalanced by the runs of grace notes. The  rhythm which begins the Lied and pervades the piano introduction portrays the pangs of fear. In bar 7, a piano figuration is introduced with auxiliary chromaticism, typical of Lang, and the emphasis on the second beat contrasts with the opening with its sense of playfulness. Certainly in bar 7, the mood becomes lighter where we have chord I with a G sharp under-auxiliary note.

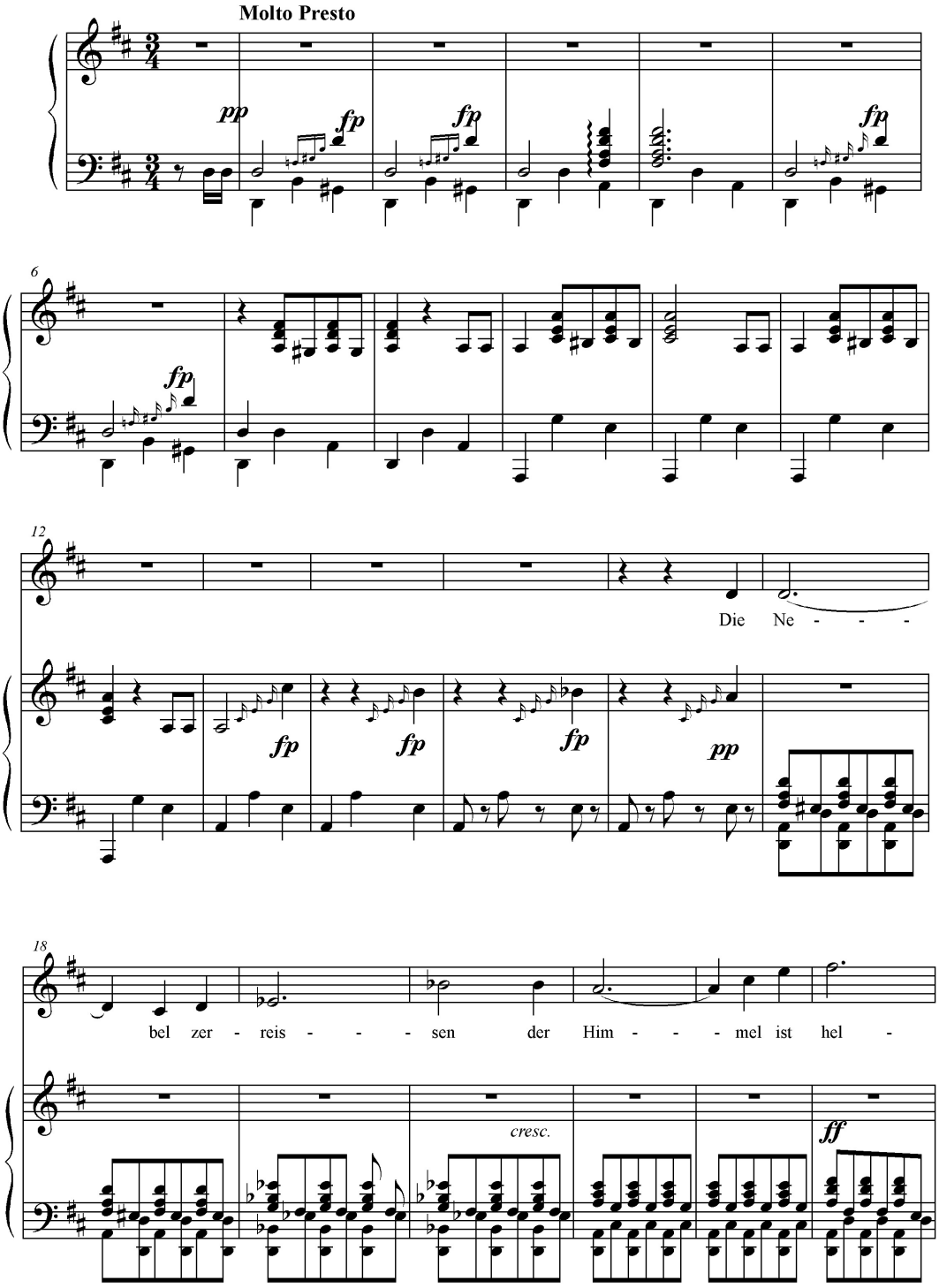
A descending melody introduced on the third beat of the bar 13 prepares for the vocal entry. The voice begins with the words 'Die Nebel zerreißen' in a low register, a sudden ascent to the high register portrays the new brightness of the sky. In the piano, Lang manipulates the auxiliary motif in using it repeatedly as the voice enters, alternating chords, creating a feeling of menace. This is underscored by the low notes of the singer and the movement from chord I with E sharp chromatic auxiliary note, moving to a flattened supertonic major chord (♭II) with F sharp chromatic auxiliary note, and then to V7 with tonic pedal and chord I. This harmonic progression along with the relative stilling of the piano, which musically realizes Aeolus' generation of the wind that will release those aboard from a fear of death.

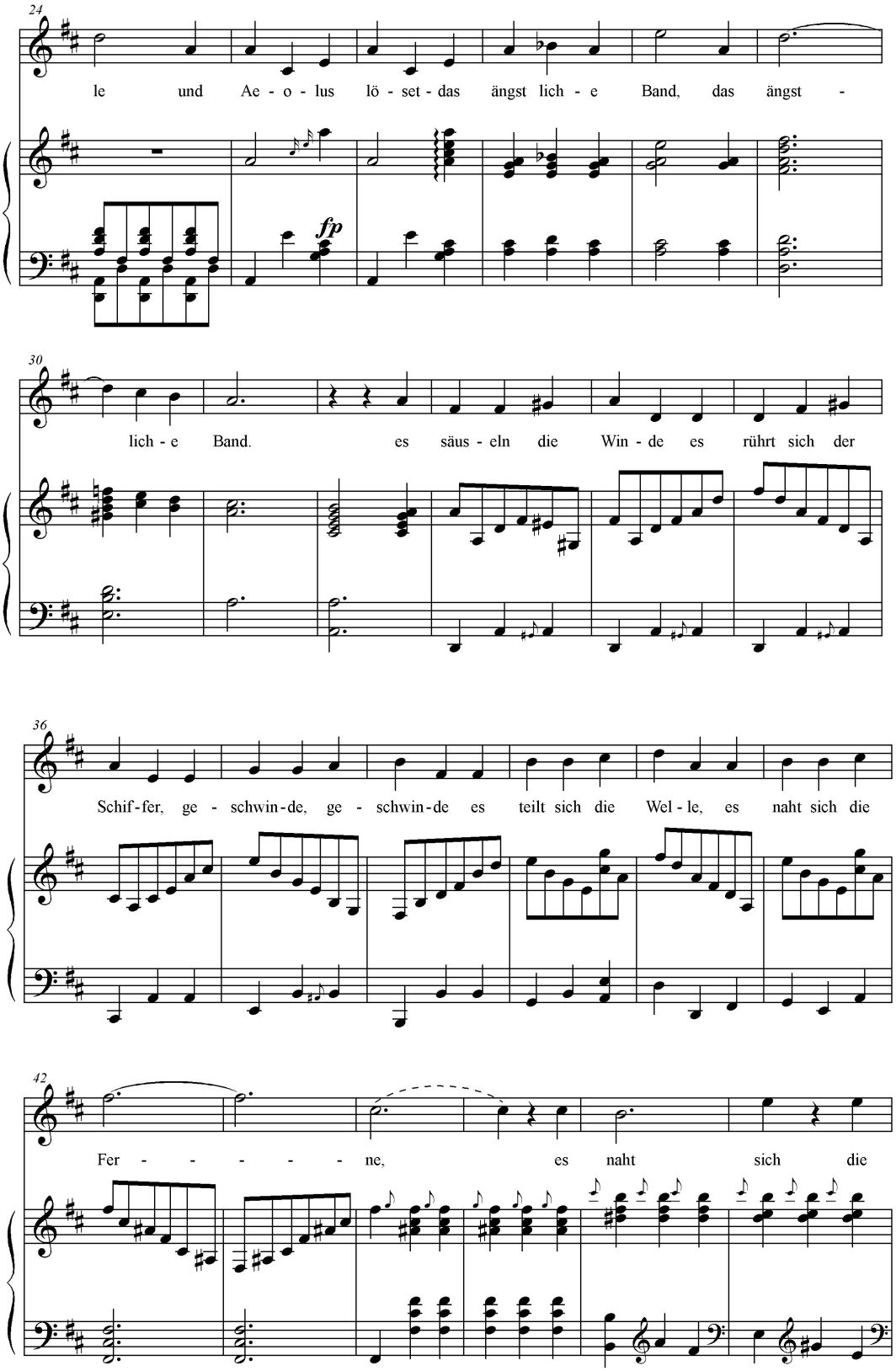
The repetition of the A major triadic figure on ‘Aeolus löset das ängstliche Band’ further dissipates the tension. The tied dotted-minim in the voice at bar 29 and the chord of V9 (minor) in bar 30 gives a nearly comic effect. Relief is now replaced with a feeling of excitement at the possibility of being rescued. The use of sequence from bars 32 to 38 with Lang’s setting of the words ‘geschwinde, geschwinde’ portrays the excitement and gratitude felt at the prospect of escaping a disaster. The introduction of an arpeggiated piano figuration in bar 33 creates a different mood and interprets the new motion of the wind.

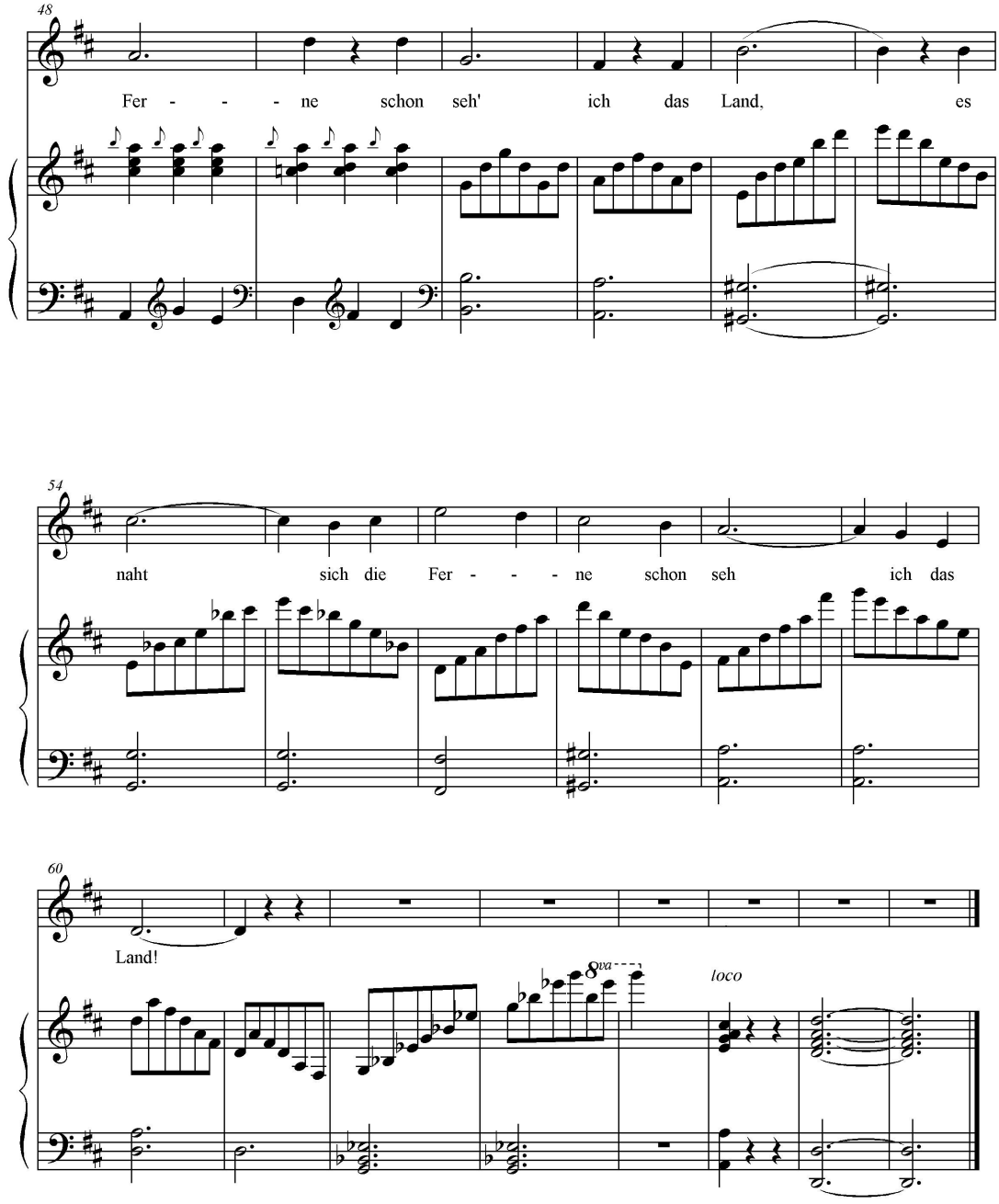
The chromatic grace notes in the left hand are typical of Lang. So too the motif heard in the piano, ‘E, G, F sharp’ in bars 39 to 42 is an example of how the piano possesses its own material, and its repetition underscores the poetic excitement. The eradication of anxiety is musically replicated in the fluctuating piano registers, the lighter higher accompaniment at the words with grace notes from bar 43.

Lang proceeds to treat the subject matter of the poem rather playfully with the use of chromatic upper auxiliary grace notes, moving through a circle of fifths in bars 46 to 49 which is rather playful and frivolous in nature and indicates Lang’s interpretation of the joy at a fortunate escape. It is followed by a return of the arpeggiated figuration. That the Lied does not immediately ‘sound like’ Lang is testament to the range of her expressive scope as a song composer.

Example 6.13: Josephine Lang, 'Glückliche Fahrt', 'op. 5' no. 3




24
le und Ae - o - lus lö - set - das ängst lich - e Band, das ängst -
fp
30
lich - e Band. es säus - eln die Win - de es rührt sich der
36
Schif - fer, ge - schwin - de, ge - schwin - de es teilt sich die Wel - le, es naht sich die
42
Fer - - - - - ne, es naht sich die



The tone in Lang's setting borders on one of joviality at different points in the song. This is achieved through the use of chromatic auxiliary notes, strings of grace notes, repetition of musical ideas, the 3/4 time signature, piano texture, and the romping vocal line. Lang's typical use of non-functional chromaticism amplifies the ambience which is also slightly theatrical in its musical conception. All these factors combined infuse the setting with a sense of joyful relief. Any feeling of panic has been completely assuaged in the second half of the song. The mixture of piano

figurations adds a buoyancy to Lang's settings. The use of the Neapolitan sixth in bars 62 to 63 adds an interesting twist at the conclusion to the setting and a connection to the opening of the vocal portion in bar 19.[117]

Interestingly, there is not a great deal of correspondence between musical rhymes and poetic rhymes in this song. The complex rhyming scheme of 'Glückliche Fahrt' is mirrored in Lang's irregular musical phrases. However, Lang allows the rhyming scheme to determine the form of the song. Lang's setting of 'Glückliche Fahrt', is therefore not just a musical recitation of the poem but a dramatic interpretation in its sense of expressiveness. Lang transforms Goethe's text into a vibrant Lied.

In this skilful setting, Lang expertly creates a musical image of moving from darkness to light and the renewed rise of the winds. In creating an initial feeling of dread, Lang sets the scene for Goethe's poem, without setting his poem 'Meeresstille'. In this way Lang succeeds in musically telling the complete story of Goethe's experience, which she felt was necessary to her setting of the poem. It may also be telling that Lang chose to set this poem and not its companion poem, 'Meeresstille', which was set by Schubert. Reed relates that it is sometimes easier for an artist to be inspired by an unhappy topic, and that sorrowful death-driven thematic content became a feature of the Romantic era.[118] That Lang did not indulge in this Romantic predilection for the tragic in her early songs, perhaps tells us something of her artistic personality, which resonates with that of Goethe's, who continually

[117] I am grateful to Harald Krebs for drawing my attention to this link.
[118] Reed, *Goethe*, p. 12.

recognized a precarious dichotomy between the emotions of joy and sorrow in life as in art.

While Lang encountered much sadness in her own life, tragedy imbues only a small portion of her songs. An important feature of her songs is the gamut of expressiveness she explored. This setting is exemplary in the way Lang recreates the poetic mood through her use of harmony and variable piano accompaniment. Comparable to the way in which Schubert attains unity in his settings of Goethe's poetry, Lang succeeds in this skilfully formulated miniature in mirroring the inner and outer structure of Goethe's poem by firstly depicting the actual imagery, such as the movement of the wind in the piano figuration, but also by musically creating the feeling that anxiety has been dispersed. Lang's setting expertly captures the crux of Goethe's poem but it is also an artistically complete piece of vocal music in itself. In 'Glückliche Fahrt', Lang moves beyond the mirroring of the poem but responds to Goethe's poem with dynamism and creativity.

6.3.7 Lang and Goethe's Sonnets

Goethe composed a cycle of sonnets from 1807 to 1808 which was published in 1816. Byrne Bodley notes that the sonnets are a 'homogeneous cycle of love-lyrics, concerned with the love relationship between the poet and a mysterious *Mädchen.*'[119] Lang embarked upon settings of two of Goethe's sonnets in the 1830s. While Goethe's sonnet 'Die Liebende schreibt' was widely set to music by such composers as Schubert, Mendelssohn and Brahms,[120] in general, composers tended not to set

[119] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 361. For the textual source, see *BA*, I, p. 278.
[120] Schubert, 'Die Liebende schreibt', composed October 1819, For a score see *Schubert's Songs to Texts by Goethe*, pp. 164-166; Mendelssohn: 'Die Liebende schreibt' composed 10 Aug 1831 (not

these poems, undoubtedly because their complex form posed difficulties for the composers. Like 'Die Liebende schreibt', the poems which Lang set belong to Goethe's *Briefsonnette* and convey 'an intensity of emotion not normally attributed to the beloved.'[121] Lang in fact set two of the beloved's love letters of Goethe's sonnet cycle, 'Die Liebende abermals', no. 9,[122] and an extract of 'Sie kann nicht enden', no. 10, another love letter. The settings were published in 2009 by Furore Verlag.[123]

The sonnets Lang chose possess a similar 'mellifluous' nature to the more frequently set 'Die Liebende schreibt'.[124] The fact that Lang titled her setting 'Die Liebende schreibt' suggests a possible knowledge of settings by other composers of this poem or that she was familiar with Goethe's entire poetic cycle. Perhaps her selections show Lang's desire to be original in her choice of poetry while working within the same tradition as her contemporaries. These two sonnets by Goethe differ from the other poetry Lang set, in that they are very personal (in the form of letters) and readers almost feel like they are intruding. Both composed in 1834 (one in May and one in November), the two settings complement each other very well and would be suitable to be performed together.

published until 1850); Brahms: 'Die Liebende Schreibt' (1858), in Johannes Brahms, *75 Songs: High Voice*, ed. by Richard Walters, Laura Ward & Elaine Schmidt (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard, 1996), p. 68.
[121] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 363.
[122] Ibid., p. 361.
[123] Lang, *Ausgewählte Lieder*, pp. 16–19 & pp. 20–21.
[124] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 363.

6.3.7.1 Goethe's 'Die Liebende abermals' (1807-1808)

Die Liebende abermals		**His love writes again**[125]
Warum ich wieder zum Papier mich wende?	*a*	Another note, and what am I intending?
Das muß du, Liebster, so bestimmt nicht fragen:	*b*	That point, my love, you mustn't want decided:
Denn eigentlich hab ich dir nichts zu sagen;	*b*	For though there's nothing to be confided
Doch kommts zuletzt in deine lieben Hände.	*a*	This note you'll hold in hands, all comprehending.
Weil ich nicht kommen kann, soll, was ich sende,	*a*	As I can't come this paper that I'm sending
Mein ungeteiltes Herz hinüber tragen	*b*	Conveys to you my whole heart undivided,
Mit Wonnen, Hoffnungen, Entzücken, Plagen:	*b*	By joys and hopes, delights and torments guided:
Das[126] alles hat nicht Anfang hat nicht Ende.	*a*	All that has no beginning has no ending.
Ich mag vom heutgen Tag dir nichts vertrauen,	*c*	I can't tell you of my day, how I adore you,
Wie sich im Sinnen, Wünschen, Wähnen, Wollen	*d*	My sensing, wishing, dreams and what I've wanted,
Mein treues Herz zu dir hinüber wendet:	*e*	All day my faithful heart to you directed:
So stand ich einst vor dir, dich anzuschauen,	*c*	Once, just to look at you, I stood before you
Und sagte nichts. Was hätt ich sagen sollen?	*d*	And said no word. And what would words have counted?
Mein ganzes Wesen war in sich vollendet.	*e*	I knew then all my being was perfected.

The poem is one of the beloved's devotion to her lover from whom she is separated. The separation of the lovers is reinforced in the line, 'Weil ich nicht kommen kann, soll, was ich sende': she longs to be in her beloved's arms and this letter is a poor substitute. These sonnets written by the 'beloved' are unusual in that it is the male who is adored.[127] The poet explicitly discloses the twofold nature of love in this stanza as the beloved states 'Mit Wonnen, Hoffnungen, Entzücken, Plagen'. The placement of the last 'Plagen' (torments) is crucial because it signifies that the pleasure of love is accompanied by distress. Love as a life-changing force is exalted in the final stanza as the beloved says how complete she felt when she was loved. The personal and intimate nature of the poem is emphasized by the absence of references to nature and the outside world; the lover and his beloved are thereby placed at the centre of our attention. The last tercet suggests that their love is at the

[125] Translated by John Whaley in *Goethe*, and introduced by Matthew Bell (London: Dent, 1998 repr. London: Everyman, 2000), p. 96.
[126] Lang writes 'Dies'.
[127] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 363.

point where everything is understood between them. However this idealistic mindset conflicts with their state of separation.

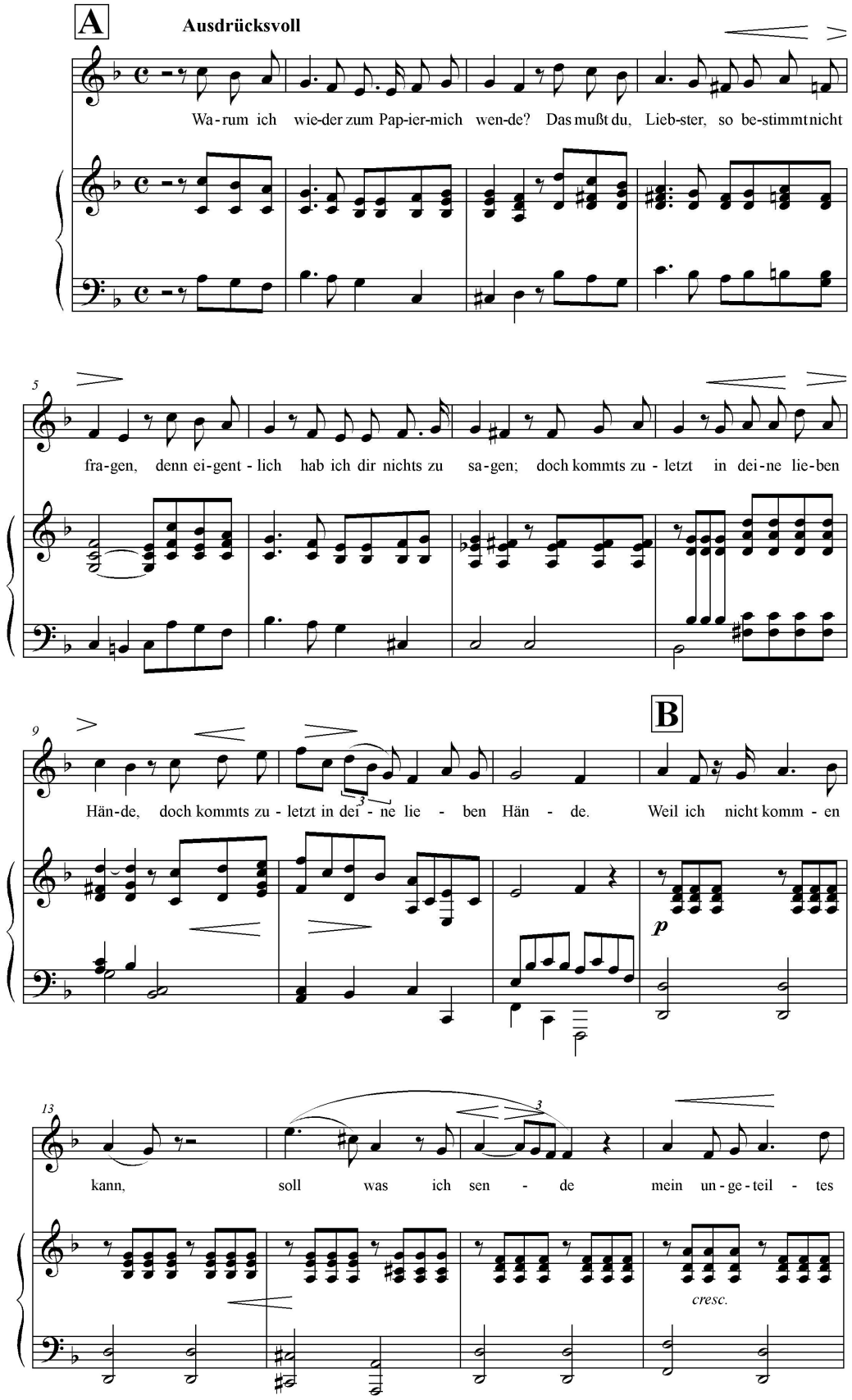
Lang's setting of 'Die Liebende abermals' or 'Die Liebende schreibt'[128] (1 May 1834)

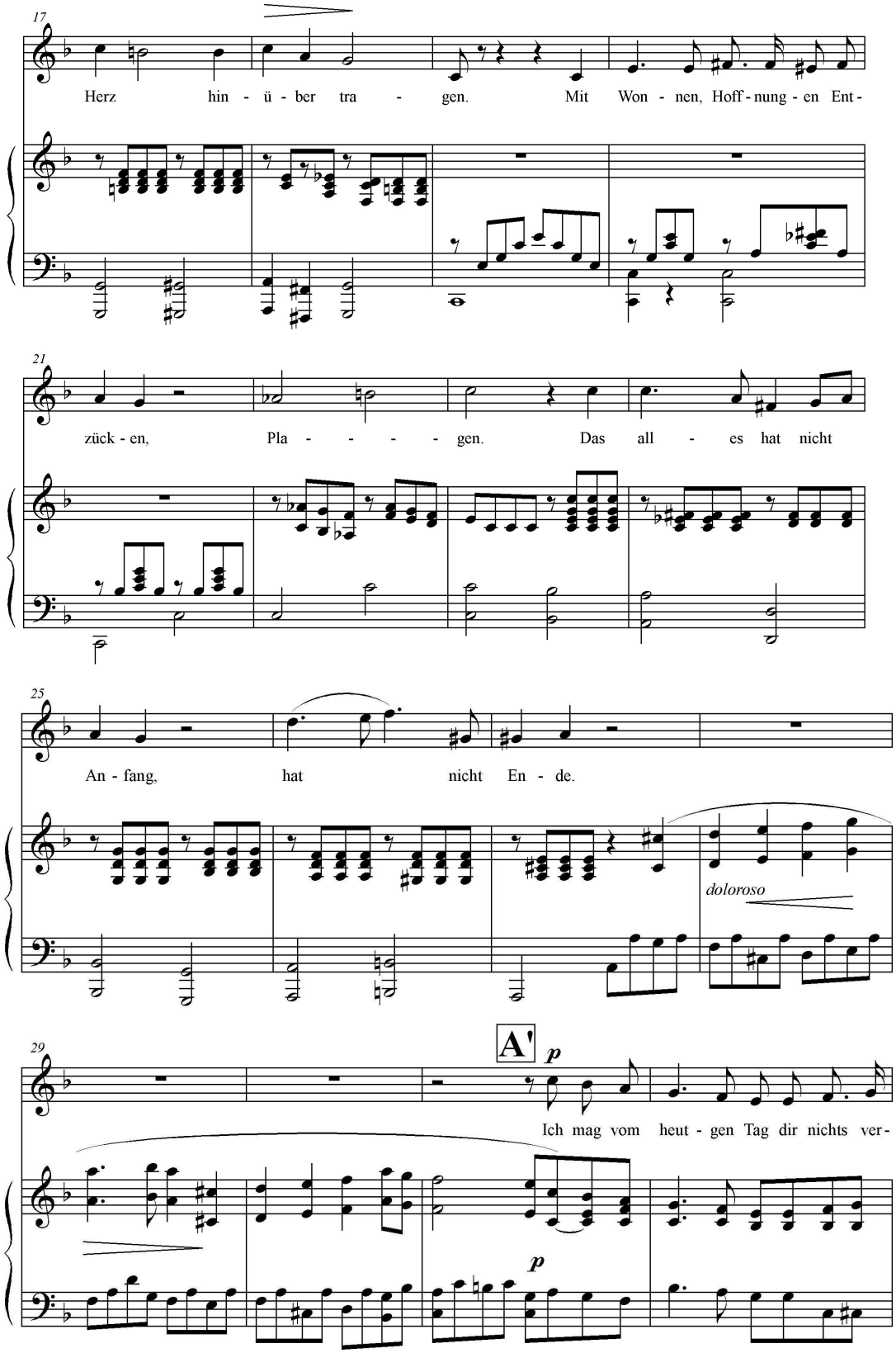
There are three manuscript copies of 'Die Leibende abermals' (Track 3), two in Lang's hand and one by a copyist.[129] The presence of a fair copy by a copyist suggests that Lang did intend this song to be published.[130] Lang's setting of 'Die Liebende abermals'[131] is quite an extensive composition (70 bars). Lang's musical response reveals the challenge of setting a sonnet. In contrast to the strict poetic form of a sonnet, Lang's musical form is slightly rambling with much repetition.

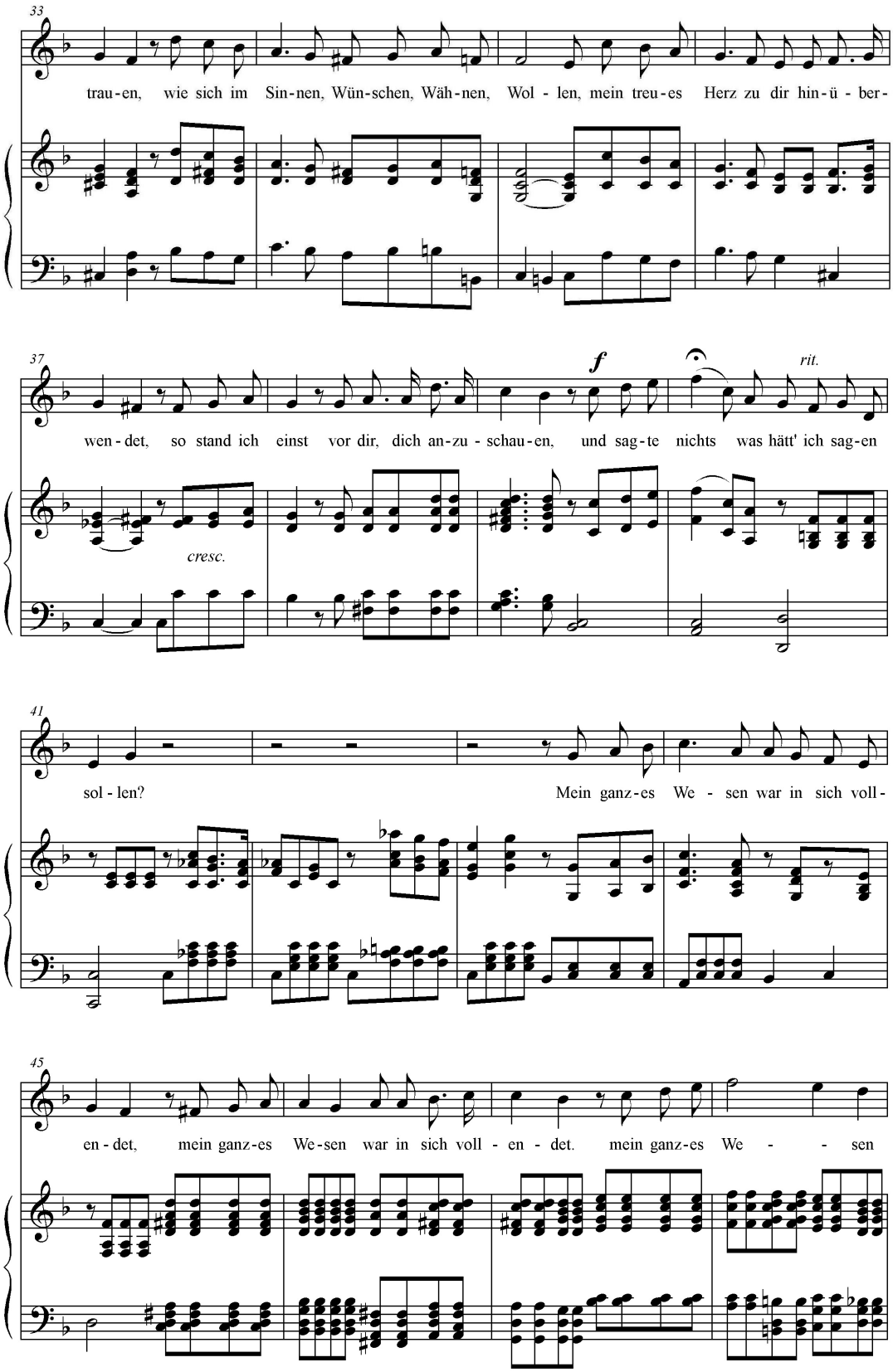
The vocal entry has a three-quaver upbeat and descends a fourth emphasizing the word 'wieder'. This idea is then repeated for the second vocal phrase. Indeed, repetition and sequence are the tools Lang employs to recreate the quiescent yearning of Goethe's poem. The suspensions on 'fragen' at bar 5 and 'sagen' at bar 7 are effective in underscoring the sense of longing, while adhering to Goethe's rhyming scheme. Mild chromaticism throughout the song serves to enrich the musical setting. Examples of diminished sevenths are found in bar 3 and bar 7. At bar 8, the hint of the supertonic minor creates a hue of intensity and leads to Lang's lyrical setting of the second quatrain in the relative minor, which suggests that the musical form is guided by the sonnet form.

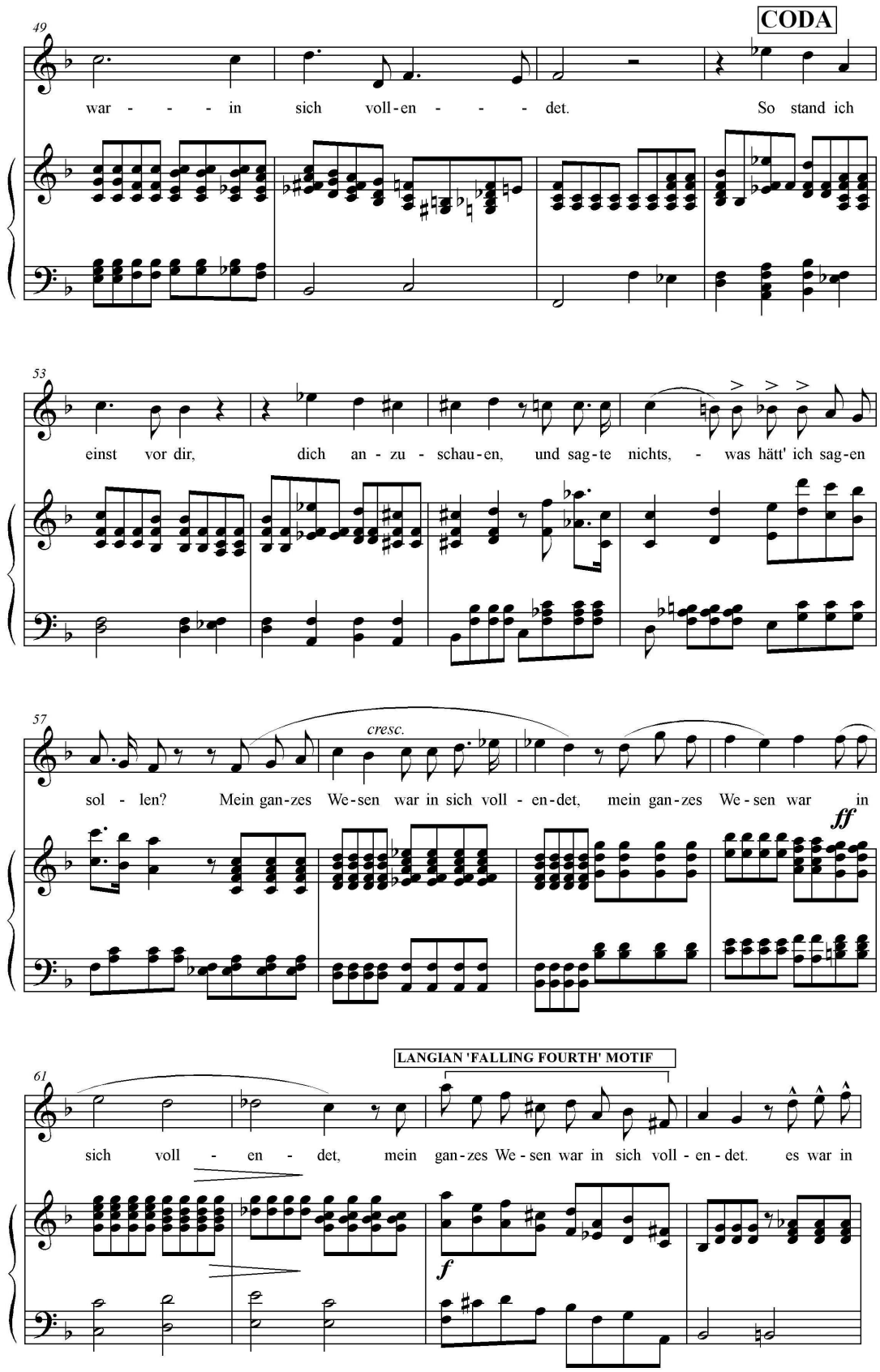
[128] This date is given on WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53l, pp. 6^{v}– 8^{v},
[129] WLB, Mus. fol. 53l, pp. 6^{v}–8^{v} (dated autograph, 1 May 1834). Another copy of the song in WLB, Mus. fol. 53d, pp. 7^{r}–9^{v} (autograph), is found in the folder entitled 'Revisions and Corrections' which indeed shows an intent of refining these works for possible publication. A third manuscript source is found in Mus. fol. 53c, pp. 12^{r}–16^{r} (fair copy, by a copyist with pencil corrections added by Lang).
[130] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53c, pp. 12^{r}–16^{r}.
[131] I will use this title to avoid confusion with Goethe's other poem.

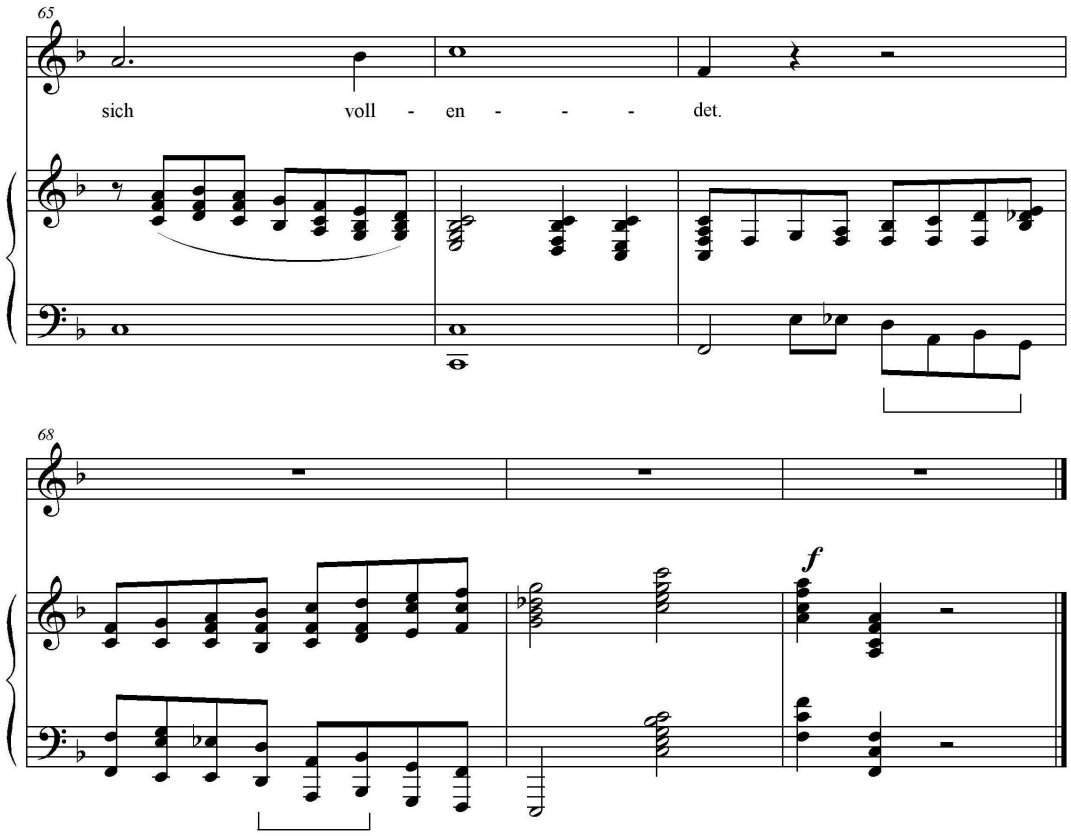
Example 6.14: Josephine Lang, 'Die Liebende abermals'




17
Herz hin - ü - ber tra - gen. Mit Won - nen, Hoff - nung - en Ent -
21
zück - en, Pla - - - - - gen. Das all - es hat nicht
25
An - fang, hat nicht En - de.
doloroso
29
A'
p
Ich mag vom heut - gen Tag dir nichts ver -
p


33
trau-en, wie sich im Sin-nen, Wün-schen, Wäh-nen, Wol - len, mein treu-es Herz zu dir hin-ü - ber-
37
f
rit.
wen-det, so stand ich einst vor dir, dich an-zu - schau-en, und sag-te nichts was hätt' ich sag-en
cresc.
41
sol - len? Mein ganz-es We - sen war in sich voll-
45
en - det, mein ganz-es We-sen war in sich voll - en - det. mein ganz-es We - - sen


CODA
49
war - - - - in sich voll-en - - - - det. So stand ich
53
einst vor dir, dich an - zu - schau-en, und sag-te nichts, - was hätt' ich sag-en
57
cresc.
sol - len? Mein gan-zes We-sen war in sich voll - en-det, mein gan-zes We-sen war in
ff
LANGIAN 'FALLING FOURTH' MOTIF
61
sich voll - en - det, mein gan-zes We-sen war in sich voll - en-det. es war in
f



The constant accompaniment figure lends a sense of inevitable motion and maintains musical impetus in the Lied. In bar 18, however, the insertion of quaver rests between chords and the bass movement slightly diffuses the tension and reminds us of the true drawing-room setting of the Lied.

There is a sustained pedal on C from bars 19 to 23 while the tonality moves from C major in bars 19 and 20 to F major in bar 21, hints at C minor in bar 22 and momentarily returns to C major, chord V in F major before alluding to G minor in bar 25 and eventually moving towards the D minor interlude. The alternation of major and minor tonalities perhaps illustrates Lang's perceptions of Goethe's two-sided happiness. Lang rhythmically elongates the word 'Plagen', (torments) to underscore a sense of burden in this word. In bar 16 'hat nicht ende' Lang depicts this by a melisma, which perhaps reflects the meaning of these words. The piano

interlude has new musical ideas to underscore the conclusion of the octave. It is beautifully composed and the rising melody here offers relief from the downward motion of the opening vocal melody, which pervades much of Lang's musical material. Lang recapitulates the opening music for the sestet, which makes the form of this song a kind of modified ternary model, which she used in many of her Lieder.

The subsequent tonic minor interlude from bars 41 to 43, which sounds like new music, contains the three-note descending motif as part of a filled in descending fourth and possibly relates to Lang's use of the fourth motif from the opening. The modulation illustrates Lang's facility in altering tonality in her songs. In bars 45 to 47, Lang accentuates the beloved's increasing desire though a sequence in G minor. Repeated sequential chords seem to prefigure the repeated chords of Schumann's 'Ich grolle nicht' of *Dichterliebe*. Indeed this thickening of piano texture is one of the ways in which Lang expresses passionate emotion in many of her songs. As mentioned, performers' awareness of this trait in Lang's songs may result in a more effective performance of the song.

Byrne Bodley observes that Mendelssohn models his setting of 'Die Liebende schreibt', op. 86 no. 3,[132] on the rhyme scheme[133] and that the song's division into sections follows the structure of the sonnet, with repetition of musical material between the first quatrain and first tercet. Schubert also models his Lied on the form of the poem, AABB,[134] using contrasting time signatures and melodic material to distinguish the sections. Brahms' Lied sets the quatrains and the tercets to different

[132] Mendelssohn, *Songs for High Voice*, ed. by Alfred Dörfel (Milwaukee: G. Schirmer, 1906, repr. 1942), p. 46.
[133] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 366.
[134] Ibid.

music. Lang employs a similar practice in her setting of 'Die Liebende abermals' but as in Mendelssohn's setting, she unifies the setting by using the same melodic material for both the first quatrain and the first tercet. Instead of the textual repetition that takes place from bars 7 to 11, Lang repeats two lines from the last tercet. Followed by a short interlude in the tonic minor, the last line of the poem is set three times and proceeds to repeat the last tercet in full, which acts as a coda since the music sounds finished in bar 51. These repetitions are like a resolution of musical ideas and echo the key-word of the poem, 'vollendet' in that everything is being brought to completion.

By continual repetition of the text (she repeats it almost *ad nauseam*), Lang's musical response to Goethe's poem is musically copious as we are barraged with musical material. In bars 58 to 60, the sequence of bars 45 to 47 occurs once again in B flat major. Lang successfully builds tension in this section: the rhythmic augmentation at bar 61 and the introduction of D flat in the melody line, accompanied by the high register of the piano, gives the song a feeling of finally coming to a close which very closely reflects the words of the poem ('mein ganze Wesen war in sich vollendet'). Hence Lang musically interprets this completion of the self through love. The musical climax culminates in an appearance of Lang's 'falling fourth motif'. It has the same purpose in her other sonnet setting, namely as a way of releasing the tension that has been built up through the Lied. The material of the piano potlude contains the Langian falling-fourth idea in the left hand of the piano and forms an effective conclusion.

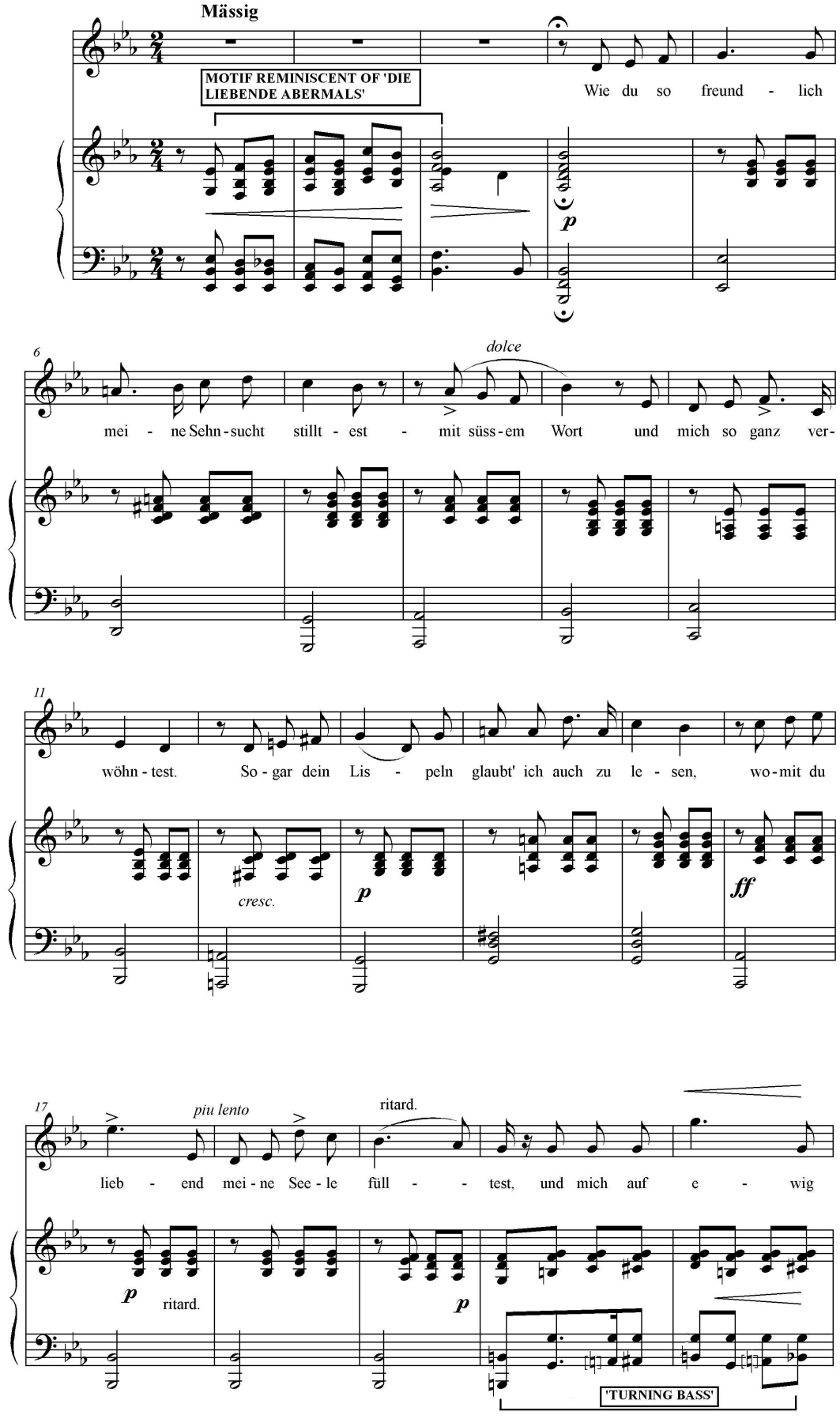
Lang's Lied does contain some redeeming features such as the effective interlude from bars 28 to 31 and the coda where piano and voice are in dialogue and the piano overshoots the voice in bars 52 to 57. The harmonic progression in bars 60 to 62 is also effective with strong linear movement in both voice and piano. The fluctuating piano figurations, however do not work as well as in Lang's other settings. The piano writing is at times awkward and contains some inelegant clashes such as unprepared dissonance, C and B flat, in the left hand of bar 9. Despite the seemingly laboured setting of 'Die Liebende abermals', it is a setting which conveys Lang's adept employment of melodic ideas and effective method of building to a climax, effectively portraying the underlying passion of the love-letter.[135]

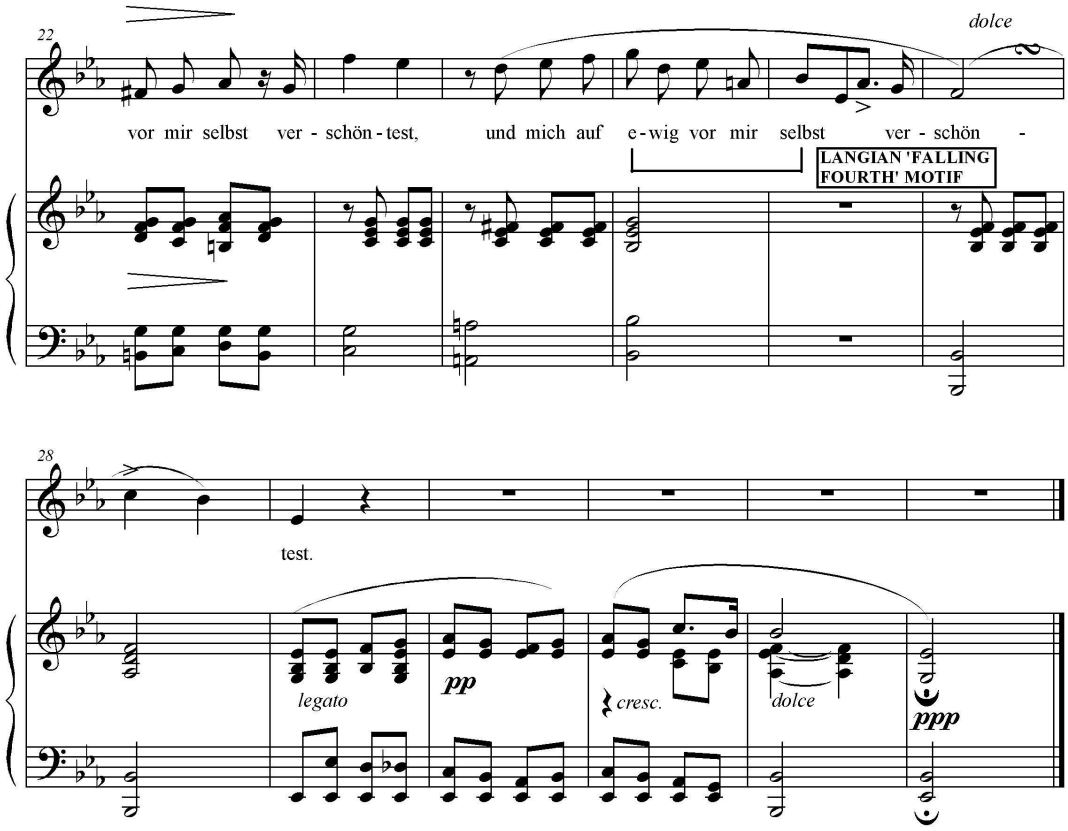
6.3.7.2 Goethe's 'Sie kann nicht enden'

'Sie kann nicht enden'		**'She cannot end'[136]**
Wenn ich nun gleich das weiße Blatt dir schickte,	*a*	If I were now this empty white sheet sending
Anstatt daß ich's mit Lettern erst beschreibe,	*b*	Without first covering it with any writing
Ausfülltest du's vielleicht zum Zeitvertreibe	*b*	Perhaps you'd find to write on it inviting
Und sendetest's an mich, die Hochbeglückte.	*a*	And send it me whose joys you make unending.
Wenn ich den blauen Umschlag dann erblickte,	*a*	As women will, impulsively dependant,
Neugierig schnell, wie es geziemt dem Weibe,	*b*	I'd tear the envelope, be so excited
Riss' ich ihn auf, daß nichts verborgen bleibe;	*b*	To know what's hidden, be so delighted
Da läs ich, was mich mündlich sonst entzückte:	*a*	To read, as you once said them, words transcendent:
Lieb' Kind! Mein artig Herz! Mein einzig Wesen![137]	*c*	Dear child! My sweetest heart! My only being!
Wie du so freundlich meine Sehnsucht	*d*	So you would spoil me with sweet words adoring
Mit süßem Wort und mich so ganz verwöhntest.	*e*	And still my yearning when we're together.
Sogar dein Lispeln glaubt ich auch zu lesen,	*c*	Your murmuring as well, I'd think I'm seeing
Womit du liebend meine Seele fülltest	*d*	As when you filled my soul, your love outpouring,
Und mich auf ewig vor mir selbst verschöntest.	*e*	In me your beauty imaging forever.

[135] Interestingly, Lang repeated the opening passage of this song in a later song of 1870, op. 45 no. 1, 'Es hat nicht sollen sein' of her setting of Scheffel's *Lieder des jungen Werner*, another song that deals with parting from a loved one. I am grateful to Harald Krebs for pointing out this link to me.
[136] *BA*, I, pp. 278–79. Translated by John Whaley in *Goethe*, p. 96.
[137] This was the title used for the Lied. The text which Lang omitted is shaded.

Example 6.15: Josephine Lang, 'Lieb' Kind'





The lines of the poem, which Lang selected, constitute a fervent eulogy to the beloved. A spiritual component of the poet's desire is revealed in the reference to the fulfilment of the soul through this love. Love's power to transform human-beings is also alluded to in the poetic imagining of the beloved's beauty forever.

Lang's partial setting of 'Sie kann nicht enden' (partial setting) or 'Lieb' Kind!' (29 November 1834)

Lang composed 'Lieb' Kind' (Track 4) on 29 November 1834. Two copies of the song are in existence, one autograph and one fair copy.[138] Like the previous setting, the existence of multiple copies suggests that this song was intended for publication. While Lang's treatment of this sonnet by Goethe is highly unorthodox, she is not the first composer to set a poem in part. In the setting to which she gives the title 'Lieb'

[138] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53m, p. 5^{r} (dated autograph); Mus. fol. 53k, pp. 11^{r}–12^{r} (not an autograph but has pencil corrections by Lang).

Kind! Mein artig Herz!' (Dear child! My sweetest heart!), Lang sets only the final two tercets of the sonnet but utilizes the first of these six lines as a title, and then creates a musical setting to the following five lines. I have included Goethe's poem in its entirety above in order to place the text of Lang's song in context.

The Lied itself is quite short, 33 bars. In contrast to her setting of 'Die Liebende abermals', this song is through-composed. Lang's short piano introduction, reminiscent of the previous sonnet setting, with the repeated left hand notes kindles an atmosphere of contentment. The vocal entry is almost identical in rhythm to that of 'Die Liebende abermals'. Its ascending motion gives a feeling of hope in contrast to the previous setting. The lyrical vocal lines relate the intimacy of Goethe's poem. A remarkable moment in the song occurs in bars 20 to 22 where the harmony gets trapped on the dominant of the relative minor with a 'turning bass line' that lasts over the three bars.[139] It has the effect of stopping the song in its tracks and accentuates the beloved's desire for this mutual love to continue forever, 'Und mich auf ewig vor mir selbst verschöntest.' The high G that breaks out of the texture at bar 21 symbolizes Lang's interpretation of this instinctive desire. The employment of the characteristic 'falling fourth, rising second,' found in her setting of the 'Die Liebende abermals' as well as in other songs, has the effect here of restoring a sense of calm to the Lied. Lang's use of this motif as a climactic point in her songs is interesting, as it is the antithesis of the melismas, which Fanny Hensel often uses to conclude her songs. In contrast to Hensel, Lang concentrates the intensity on a mostly syllabic phrase, which is highly effective as a climax to the song. Despite the presence of parallel fifths in bar 27, 'Lieb' Kind' is an effective miniature by Lang, somewhat

[139] This bass line was added later, see WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53k, pp. 12–12 [v].

more successful than her previous sonnet setting. This concentrated setting achieves more musical unity than Lang's previous experimentation with Goethe's sonnets suggesting that perhaps Lang chose to omit some of the lines of the poem in order to attain a tighter musical and poetic focus.

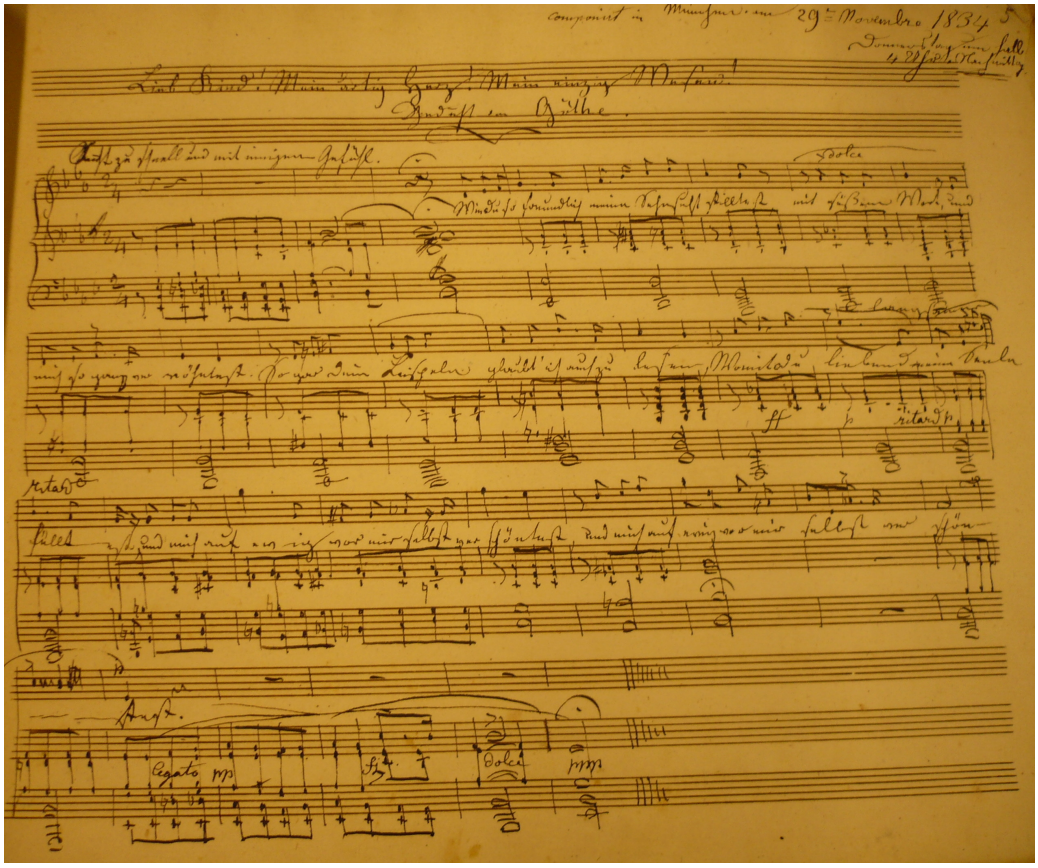


Figure 6.2: Autograph of 'Lieb' Kind' (WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53m, p. 5[r]). Reproduced with permission.

6.3.7.3 Lang's Sonnet Settings by Goethe: Companion Settings?

Although Lang did not generally compose song cycles,[140] occasionally we may draw connections between her songs. It is possible that Lang's two settings of Goethean

[140] Although Lang did not publish any formal 'song cycles', she did compose groups of songs that were musically related but later published separately. Harald and Sharon Krebs discuss the connections between a group of songs they call the Eichtal cycle. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, pp. 57–63. Three settings by Köstlin from his Reinhold Köstlin's novella 'Die Mathildenhöhle', in 1840, were composed together but published separately. Lang's *Fünf Lieder aus dem Trompeter von Säckingen*, op. 45, to texts by Scheffel, are possibly cyclical. I am grateful to Harald Krebs for sharing insights into Lang's cycles with me.

sonnets may have been conceived as companion songs. They share similar poetic and musical means. The first and second vocal entries of each song are rhythmically virtually identical. Both songs begin with three-note ideas, which move by step, but in different directions, suggesting that they were intended to complement each other. The same motif is used in the climax of both Lieder. The postlude of the first setting and introduction second setting are very similar in their conception, with that of 'Lieb' Kind' seemingly a shortened version of the postlude of 'Die Liebende abermals'. They both contain the flattened seventh of the scale and the pianistic figuration is very similar. In essence, Lang reacted very similarly to these two Goethe sonnets, which transmit many of the same sentiments. Where 'Die Liebende abermals' is marked 'Ausdrucksvoll', 'Lieb' Kind' is marked 'Mässig.' It is also intriguing that Lang set two of Goethe's sonnets that are in the form of written letters. Both poems conclude with a powerful message to the beloved, the first with a sense of completion of the beloved's being through her relationship with the poet, the second referring to the continual improvement of the self. Luke notes that 'few other poets can draw us so powerfully into their specific experience and so enrich the emotional with the physical.'[141] The personal, confessional nature of the sonnets perhaps attracted the composer who believed that her 'songs were her diary.' Goethe in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Poetry and Truth) claimed that all his writings were 'fragments of a great confession.'[142] Indeed this highlights a fundamental similarity between Lang and Goethe who were otherwise artistic worlds apart. That these letters are written by 'Die Liebende' may also be important, as Lang may have been attracted to Goethe's telling of the beloved's tale. Despite their shortcomings, Lang's

[141] David Luke, *Goethe Selected Verse*, p. 10.
[142] Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, *HA*, IX, p. 283, cited in David Pugh, 'Goethe the Dramatist', in *The Cambridge Companion to Goethe*, p. 66.

sonnet settings succeed in capturing the sense of passion that lies between Goethe's lines and they work well enough as musical miniatures.

6.3.8 'Lebet wohl, geliebte Bäume'

Goethe's 'Lebet wohl, geliebte Bäume' from *Claudine von Villa Bella*

'Lebet wohl, geliebte Bäume!'		**'Farewell, beloved trees!'**[143]
Lebet wohl, geliebte Bäume!	*a*	Farewell, beloved trees!
Wachset in die Himmelsluft.	*b*	Grow in the heavenly air.
Tausend liebevolle Träume	*a*	A thousand fond dreams
Schlingen sich durch euren Duft.	*b*	Wind themselves through your scent.
Doch was steh ich und verweile?	*c*	But what do I stand and linger?
Wie so schwer, so bang ist's mir.	*d*	How is [my heart] so heavy, how am I so anxious?
Ja, ich gehe! Ja ich eile!	*c*	Yes, I go! Yes, I hasten [away]!
Aber, ach! Mein Herz bleibt hier!	*d*	But ah, my heart remains here.

The poem 'Lebet wohl, geliebte Bäume' appears as an aria in the *Singspiel Claudine von Villa Bella* (composed 1774–76).[144] It also appears separately in publications of Goethe's poetry.[145] Pedro, Claudine's betrothed, sings this song before he bids farewell to her at the beginning of Act 2. The reluctance to depart is keenly felt. Once again, the symbiosis of love and nature is symbolized in bidding farewell to the trees, a symbol of permanence and strength but also of life, in that they 'flourish, bear fruit and die.'[146] Saying goodbye to them opens up an abyss of uncertainty and a new era of change for the poet. There is also the underlying discord in the protagonist's knowledge that leaving is the right thing to do, and yet is hesitant. Comfort is offered in such sensuous references as 'Himmelsluft' (heavenly air) and 'liebevolle Träume' (fond dreams). Goethe creates a wonderfully fragrant picture of the scene in very few words, but the experience of parting is given primacy.

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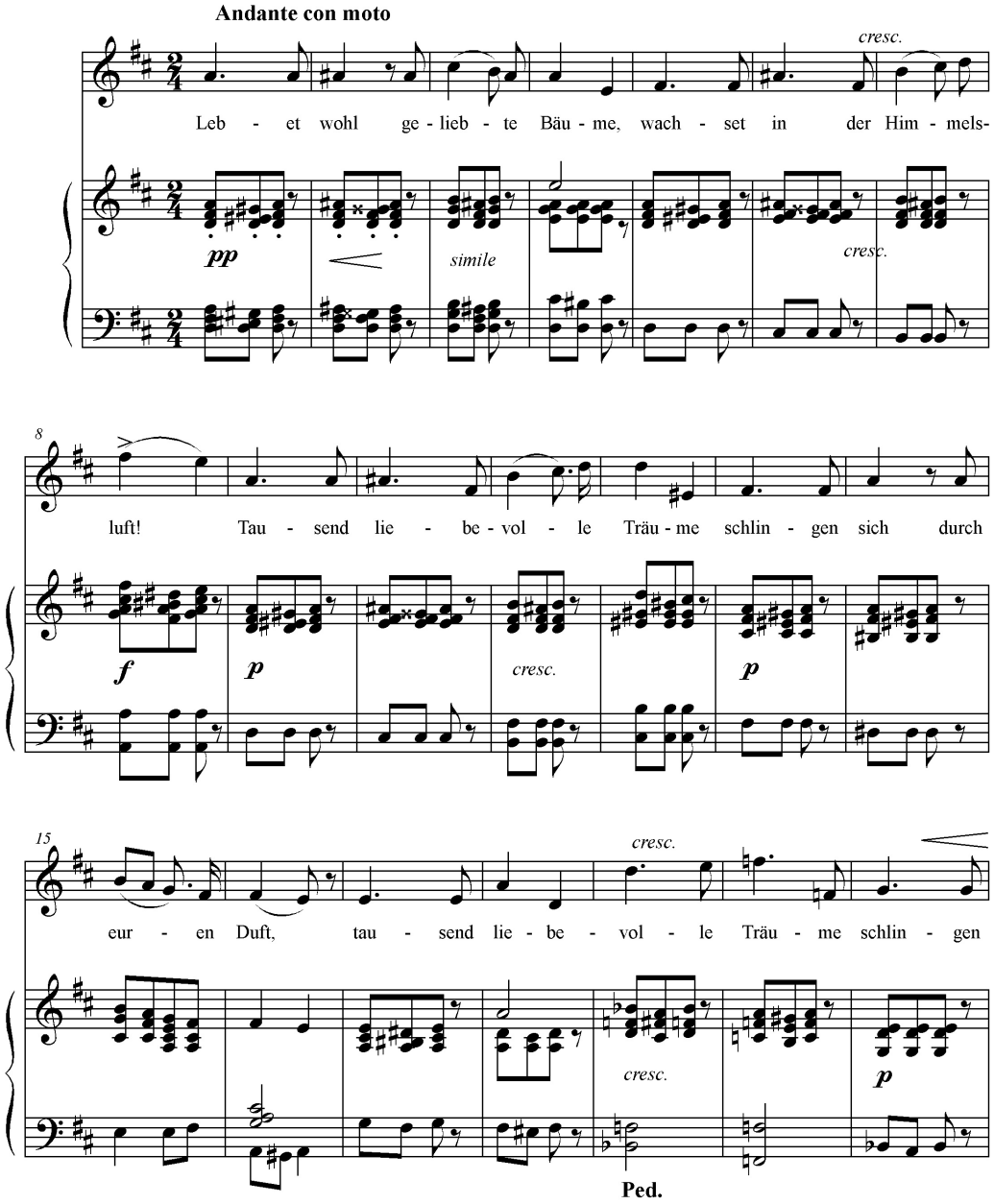
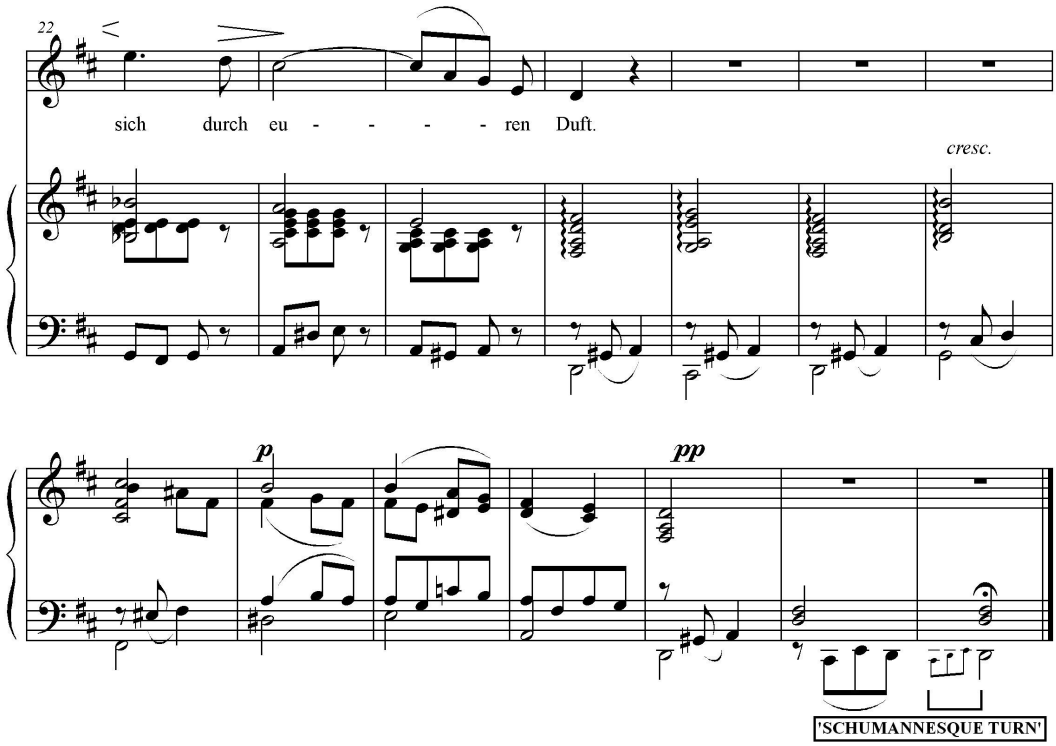
[143] Translated by Sharon Krebs in 'The Lied and Art Song Texts Page'<http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=27769> [accessed 1 September 2008].
[144] *Goethe Sämtliche Werke*, I, ed. by Karl Eibl (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1987), p. 376.
[145] *BA*, IV, p. 142. The poem appears separately from the play in *Goethes Werke. Vollständige Ausg. letzter Hand* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1833), p. 25.
[146] Ferber, *Dictionary of Literary Symbols*, p. 218.

Example 6.16: Josephine Lang, 'Lebet wohl geliebte Bäume', op. 9 no. 1





Lang's setting of 'Lebet wohl Geliebte Bäume', op. 9 no. 1 (1834)[147]

Composed in 1834 and published 1841, 'Lebet wohl Geliebte Bäume' is another youthful setting of Goethe's poetry. There are five handwritten copies of 'Lebet wohl geliebte Bäume' at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, two autographs, one that is most likely an autograph, and two copies by copyists with pencil corrections by Lang.[148] This setting of Goethe's's poem was one of the songs she intended for her best friend, Agnes von Calatin.[149] One copy of the song is particularly neat and the ornate paper on which it is written suggests that it may have indeed been intended as a gift. The dedication on this version reads: 'A song by Goethe and dedicated in deepest respect to my dearly beloved mother.'[150] Another copy written out 1839

[147] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53m, p. 4^{v}.
[148] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 54a, pp. 34^{r}–34^{v} (probably an autograph); Mus. fol. 53k, pp. 10^{r}–10^{v} (not an autograph but with pencil corrections by Lang), Agnes von Calatin's name appears here; Mus. fol 54a, pp. 52^{r}–53^{r} (not an autograph, pencil and ink corrections by Lang); Mus. fol. 53m, p. 4^{v} (autograph); Mus. fol. 54a, pp. 32^{r}–32^{v} (autograph, in B flat).
[149] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53k, p. 10^{r}.
[150] 'Lied v. Göthe componirt und meiner innigst geliebten Mutter in tiefster Ehrfurcht gewidmet.' WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 54a, p. 34^{r}.

contains the inscription, 'mein lieb' Herz' (my dear heart), perhaps a dedication.[151] This dedication was most likely to her stepmother who was alive and with whom she had a good relationship. Lang was once again drawn to the theme of parting in Goethe's poetry. The uncertainty of the poem perhaps resonates with Lang's sense of anxiety of the unknown in her relationship with Eichthal. Parting and home-sickness were popular themes among the poetry and Lieder of the nineteenth century—particularly among women composers of the day and particularly in Lang's songs.

The initial A rises to A sharp, a chromatic passing note, musically intensifying of the theme of separation. The heartbreak of saying goodbye in this poem is musically portrayed by Lang in a gradually rising melodic line, which contains chromatic under auxiliary notes and awards this song a sense of potent nostalgia. The juxtaposition of *staccato* and *legato* mirrors the inner conflict of the protagonist: he must leave but does not want to. The sparse texture of the song augments the feelings of loneliness and isolation. The cursory musical phrases lend a sense of innocence and subtle simplicity to the setting. Lang exploits the drawing room song aesthetic here. Over-sentimentality, however, is counterbalanced by the staccato accompanying chords, which are effective in disguising the depth of emotion within this musical setting. Lang allows expressiveness to shine briefly through where the piano renounces its staccato pattern twice in the Lied, joining the voice in its downward legato melody at bars 15 and later in bars 22 to 24.

In bars 19 to 20 the unanticipated modulation to the flattened mediant major key (F major) by way of a plagal cadence, rather than a close tonal relation of D

[151] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 54a, p. 52[r].

major, musically suggests the sorrow with which the protagonist's parting words are uttered. The distant new key underscores the words 'liebevolle Träume' in stanza 1 and 'ja, ich eile' in stanza 2, thereby highlighting the protagonist's sorrow at parting and evincing Lang's relatively progressive use of harmony. Lang's setting is faithful to both the inner and outer forms of Goethe's poem. The musical rhymes which occur on 'Luft' and 'Duft' and the use of inverted musical rhymes on 'Bäume' and 'Träume' concur with Goethe's poetic structure.

The expressive interlude/postlude echoes the resignation in the last lines of the poem and also the sadness that part of the poet's heart will always remain with the trees. Such symbolic resignation is reflected in the change in the piano's movement to a more legato design that endures to the end of the musical strophe. It is reminiscent of a Schumannesque[152] postlude in that it communicates the truth of the poet's feelings. The little turn at the end reminds us in particular of Schumann's popular Heine setting, 'Du bist wie eine Blume'. The 'Schumannesque' interlude is interesting given that Schumann's *Liederjahr* did not occur for another six years.

Lang attains a balance between the closed protected environment of the salon and the deep expression of her own humanity. The vocal sections are relatively understated whereas the Schumannesque postlude/interlude expresses the poignancy of loss. The conclusion of the song contains an inversion of the auxiliary motif which pervades the setting which is an interesting twist in attaining unity through the musical strophe. The harmony of the song, while not earth-shatteringly radical, is nonetheless skillfully crafted by Lang. This was among the songs by Lang which

[152] I use the term Schumannesque to refer to the Lieder aesthetics of both Robert and Clara Schumann.

Mendelssohn admired.[153] The depth of poetic perception in Lang's poem, however, moves it beyond a typical musical recitation in that it captures the central theme of Goethe's poem in this skilful miniature.

6.3.9 'Mignons Klage'

6.3.6 Goethe's 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt' from *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*

'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt'		**'Only those who know what longing is'[154]**
Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt,	*a*	Only those who know what longing is
Weiß, was ich leide,	*b*	Can know what I suffer.
Allein und abgetrennt	*a*	Alone and cut off
von aller Freude,	*b*	From all joy
Seh ich ans Firmament	*a*	I keep gazing over
nach jener[155] Seite.	*b*	Yonder into the firmament.
Ach, der mich liebt und kennt,	*a*	Alas! He who loves and knows me,
Ist in der Weite.	*b*	Is far away
Es schwindelt mir, es brennt	*a*	I feel giddy
mein Eingeweide,	*b*	I am all on fire inside.
Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt,	*a*	Only those who know what longing is
Weiß, was ich leide,	*b*	Can know what I suffer.

Goethe's poem 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt', from his famous novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, has attracted numerous musical settings by prominent composers since it was written in 1786. Like 'Lebet wohl geliebte Bäume' from *Claudine von Villa Bella,* 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt' also appears separately from its original source. In the novel, the poem is sung as a duet by Mignon and the Harper. In Goethe's poem, the tragic and curious figure of Mignon conveys the depth of escalating suffering and profound loneliness as the result of being separated from Wilhelm, to whom she has become attached both filially and sexually.[156] It also expresses a deep-rooted sorrow at being separated from her mother in childhood, a theme uncannily resonant with Lang's own experience, although we do not know if

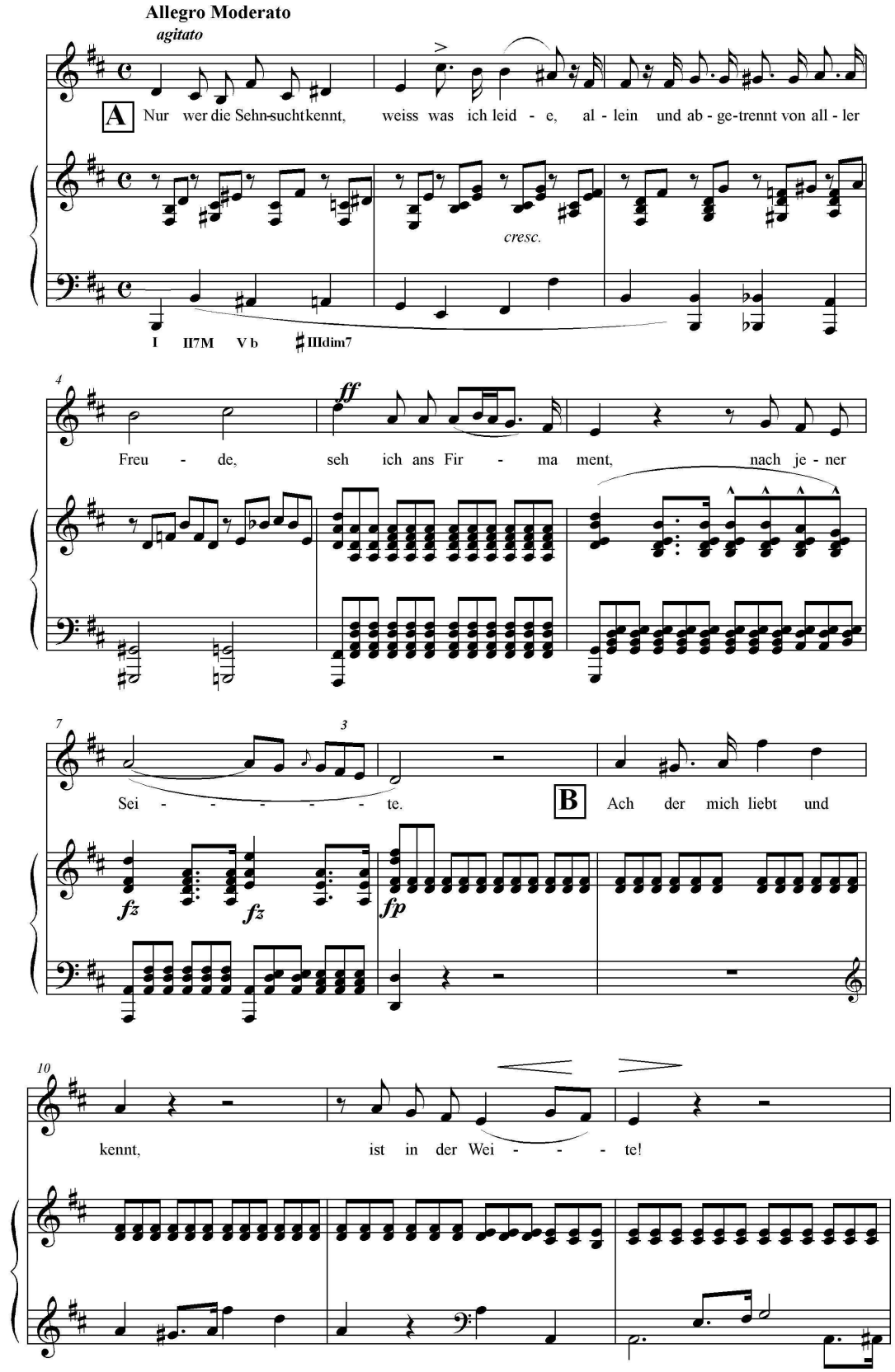
[153] Felix Mendelssohn to Christian Reinhold Köstlin, Berlin, 15 December 1941, in *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, pp. 256–58.
[154] Translated by David Luke in *Goethe Selected Poems*, p. 86.
[155] Initially, the word 'jeder' erroneously appeared in Lang's setting. Harald Krebs has corrected this in his edition of Lang's songs. See Josephine Lang, *Lieder*, I, ed. by Harald Krebs, p. 6.
[156] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 261.

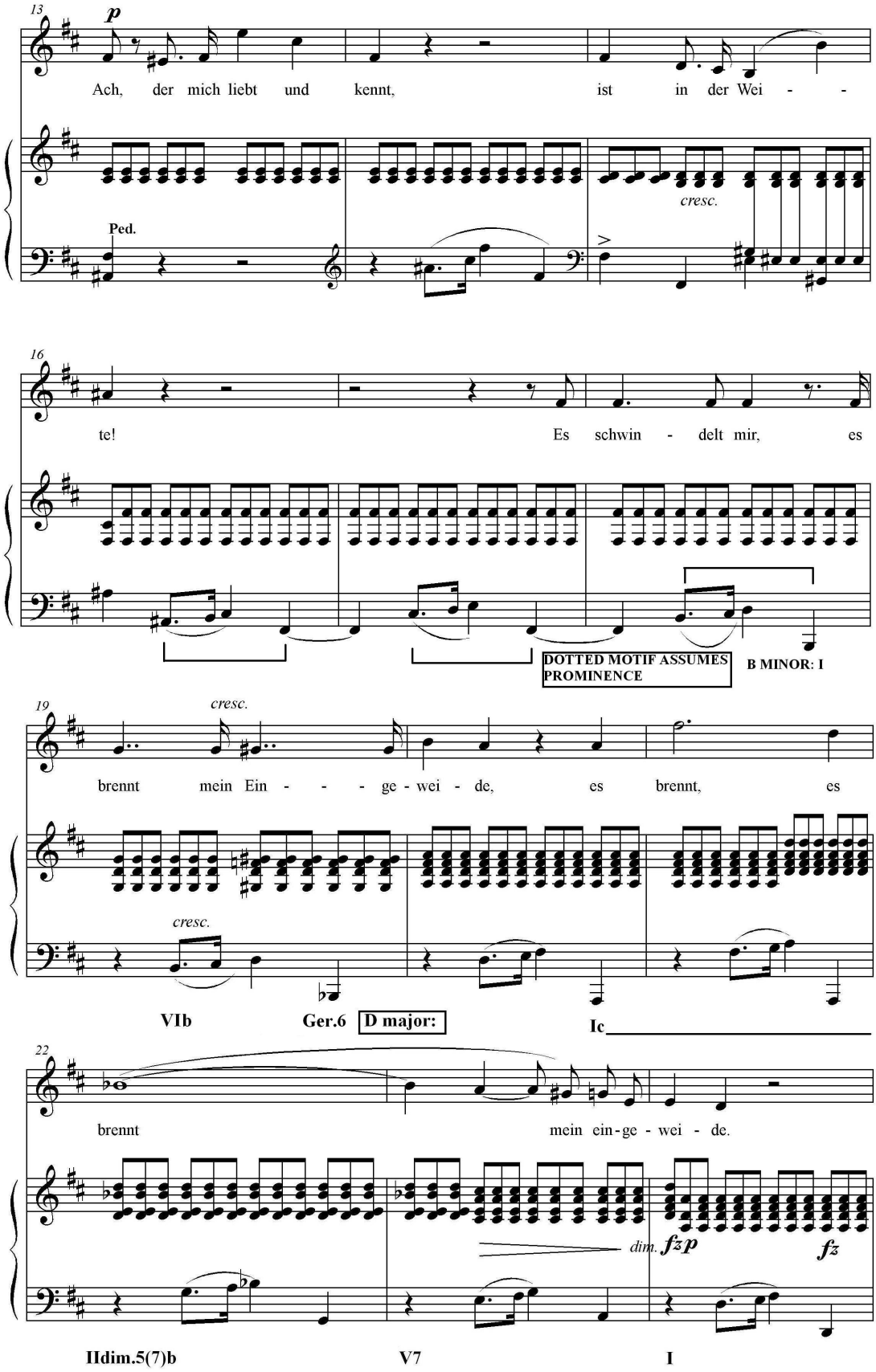
she had read Goethe's novel. Boyle notes that Mignon's half-strangled song is confessional.[157] Mignon's initial statement concerning an 'other'—that is, only *those* who know her suffering—encapsulates a futile attempt to reach out to another human being, but tragically this only consolidates her own seclusion further because her father, who is present to hear her anguish and sings with her in the novel, has rejected her, though this is unknown to Mignon when she sings the Lied. Goethe establishes a connection between the first and seventh lines of the poem in the repetition of the verb 'kennen'. This word-play on the notion of 'kennen' reveals that Mignon's source of anguish is actually the loss of past intimacy, of one who really knows her: 'Ach, der mich liebt und kennt ist in der Weite' (But he who loves and knows me is far away). The acknowledgment that this lost loved one is the only one who could possibly comfort her deepens our sense of her isolation and suffering.

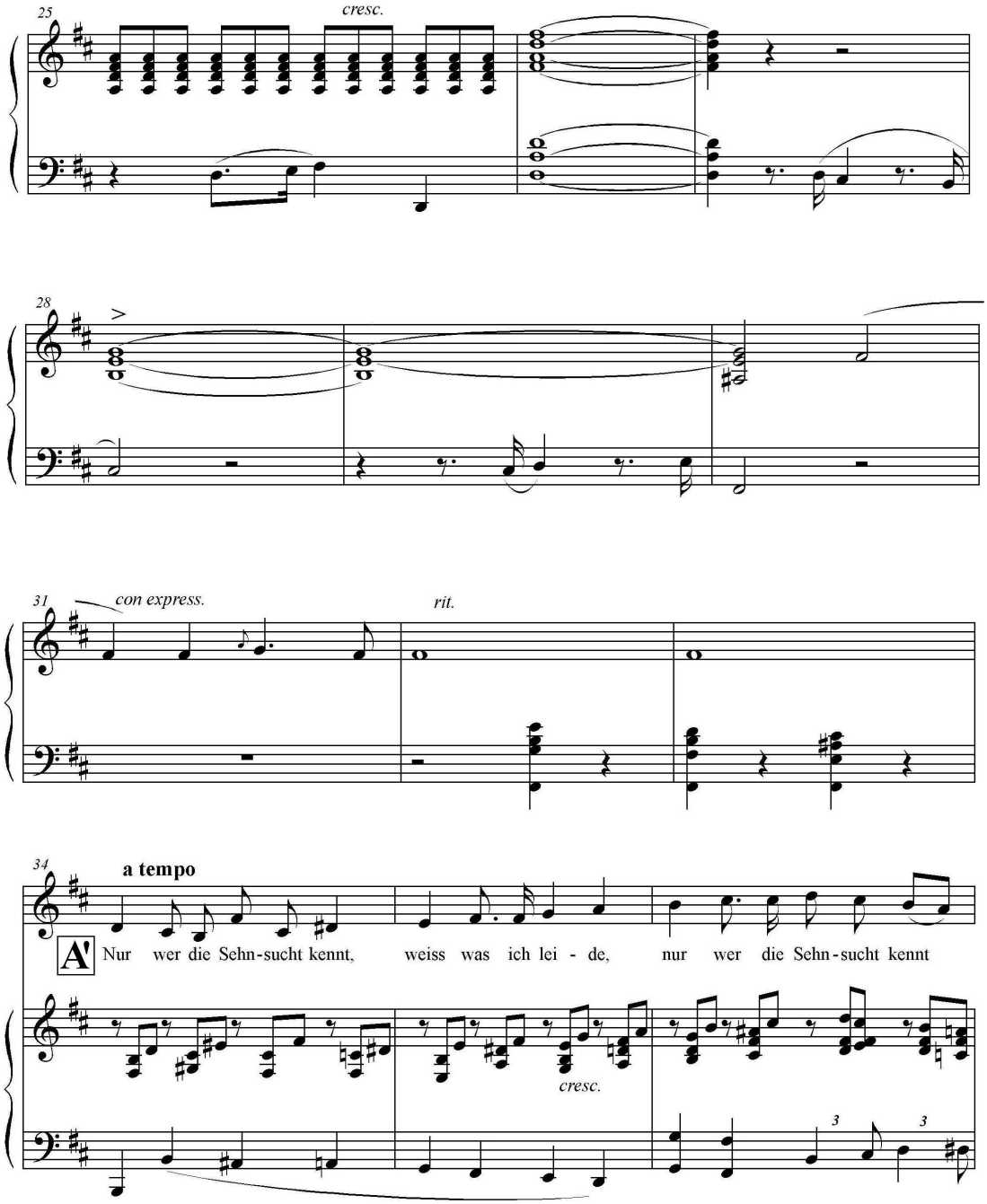
The sheer intensity of Mignon's emotional state is symbolized in the physical reactions she describes, namely the reference to the biblical image[158] of her insides burning, 'es brennt mein Eingeweide' (literally, it burns my innards). Overcome with grief, the physical pain Mignon endures is emblematic of her psychological torture. The poem possesses a very strict rhyming pattern, alternating between just two syllables, 'ennt' and 'eide', throughout. The stern restriction to two rhymes recreates a sense of Mignon's psychological torture.

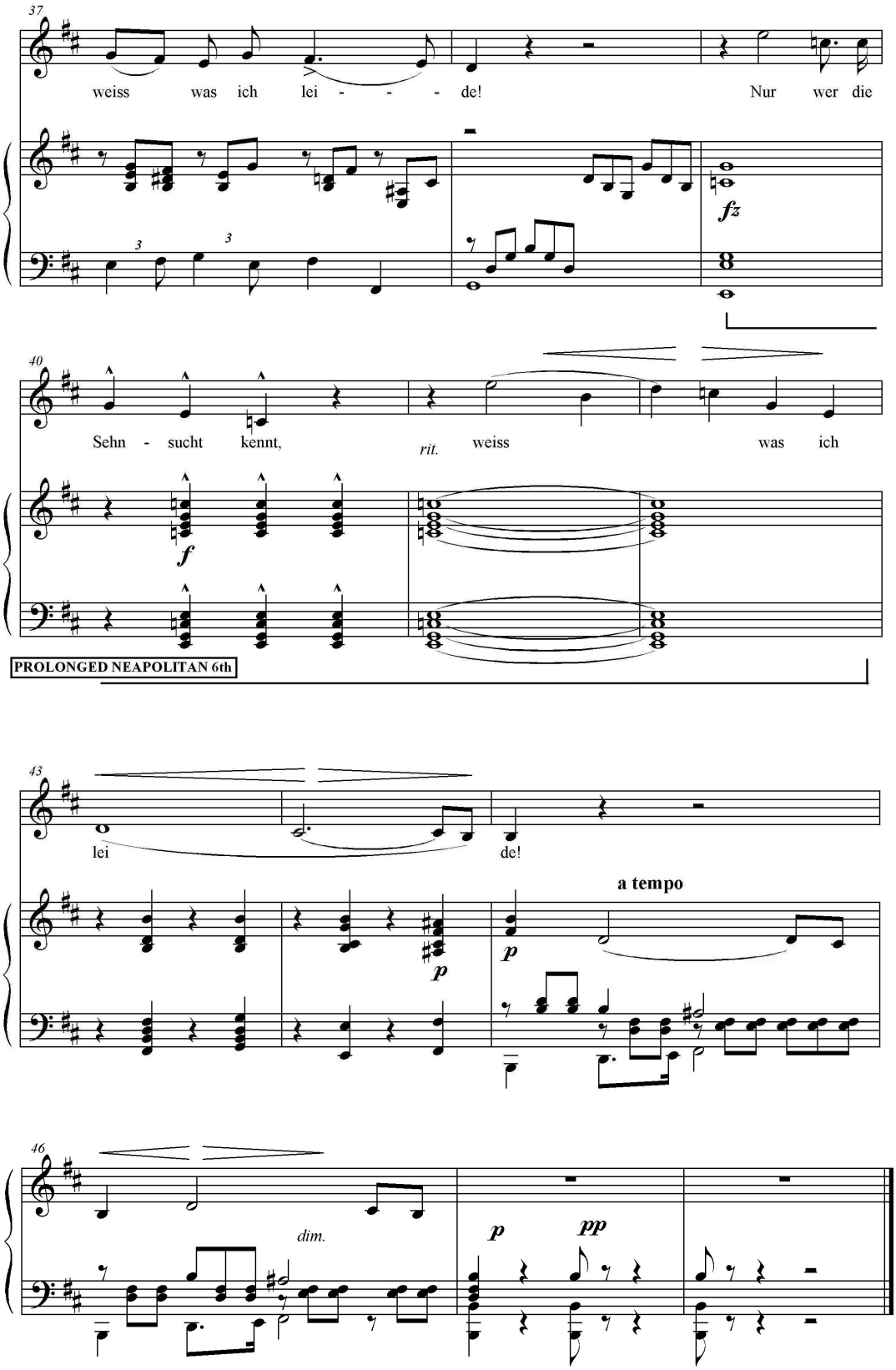
[157] Boyle, *Goethe*, I, p. 390.
[158] The image is taken from the book of Job, 30:27. According to Byrne Bodley, 'Mignon's reference to viscera plays on the biblical image of the intestines as the seat of the emotions.' See Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, pp. 261 & n. 838, p. 491.

Example 6.17: Josephine Lang, 'Mignons Klage', op. 10 no. 2




13
p
Ach, der mich liebt und kennt, ist in der Wei - -
cresc.
Ped.
16
te! Es schwin - delt mir, es
DOTTED MOTIF ASSUMES PROMINENCE
B MINOR: I
19
cresc.
brennt mein Ein - - - ge - wei - de, es brennt, es
cresc.
VIb
Ger.6
D major:
Ic
22
brennt mein ein - ge - wei - de.
dim.
fzp
fz
IIdim.5(7)b
V7
I


25
cresc.
28
31
con express.
rit.
34
a tempo
A'
Nur wer die Sehn-sucht kennt, weiss was ich lei - de, nur wer die Sehn-sucht kennt
cresc.


37
weiss was ich lei - - - de! Nur wer die
fz
40
Sehn - sucht kennt,
rit.
weiss was ich
f
PROLONGED NEAPOLITAN 6th
43
lei
de!
a tempo
p
p
46
dim.
p
pp

Lang's setting of 'Mignons Klage' op. 10 no. 2 (32 August [sic] 1835)[159]

Two manuscripts of 'Mignons Klage' are in existence.[160] Lang's setting was first published in 1841 by Kistner in Leipzig. It has since been published since in Harald Krebs' Hildegard edition and by Furore Verlag.[161] The setting by Lang possesses operatic and dramatic influences. Goethe once complained that Beethoven's setting of 'Kennst du das Land' 'made Mignon sing an operatic aria rather than a song.'[162] His criticism stemmed from the context in which the poem is sung in the novel and the traits he had given Mignon's character. In her setting, Lang endeavours to portray the emotion and therefore removes the song from its context in the novel.

Harald and Sharon Krebs have commented on the 'dramatic quality' of the song.[163] Indeed Lang's setting is not in the style of lamentation present in settings by Beethoven,[164] Schubert,[165] and in Fanny Hensel's setting of the text.[166] Lang's setting perhaps mirrors the mood Reichardt's duet setting.[167] Indeed in this Lied, Lang attains a dramatic character that is not seen in any of her other settings of Goethe's poetry. The mood of utter desolation and intense agitation is evocatively woven into this setting and it is a striking illustration of a 'darker', more passionate aspect of Lang's compositional nature as she recreates Mignon's sensual experience of grief.

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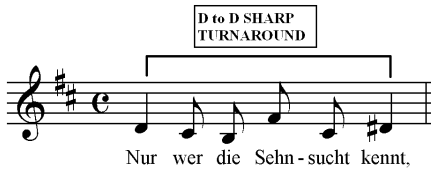
[159] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53o, pp. 7^{v}–9^{r}.
[160] They are both autographs: WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53o, pp. 7^{v}–9^{r} (dated autograph); Mus. fol. 54a, 38^{r}–39^{v}. (dated autograph).
[161] Josephine Lang, *Lieder*, I, pp. 9–11; *Von Goethe inspirirt*, pp. 48–50.
[162] Amanda Glauert, '"Ich denke dein": Beethoven's Retelling of Goethe's Poetry', in *Goethe: Musical Poet: Musical Catalyst*, p. 101.
[163] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 36. They also comment on the mood of 'agitation' rather than yearning.
[164] Beethoven, 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt', first setting, in *Gedichte von Goethe in Compositionen*, p. 75.
[165] See Schubert's settings of the text, D359. D481, D877/1, D877/4, D310 (a), & (b), in Franz Schubert, *Songs to Texts by Goethe.*
[166] Female Composers, *25 Songs for Voice and Piano*, pp. 30–33.
[167] For a score see Reichardt, *Goethes Lieder, Oden Balladen und Romanzen mit Musik*, 2 vols (Munich: G Henle Verlag, 1964), I, 58, p. 103.

Bereft of a piano introduction, voice and piano begin simultaneously which immediately establishes the unsettled atmosphere of Goethe's poem; we are plunged at once into Mignon's desolation, propelled by the incessant quaver motion in the piano and the employment of the minor tonality (B minor), which is reminiscent of Schubert's settings from *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre.*[168] The opening statement 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt' seems inevitable in the way the melody and harmony unfurl. The harmonic fluidity and immediate chromaticism—observed in the progression I, II7Major, Vb, ♯IIIdim7—powerfully portray Mignon's troubled state of mind and award the music a remarkably sinister quality (see Example 6.17, bar 1). The rapid rate of harmonic change from the outset establishes an atmosphere of uncertainty. The unusual contour of Mignon's melody in bar 1 (D, C sharp, B, F sharp, C sharp, D sharp) where D transforms to D sharp, highlights Mignon as a highly complex creature.

Example 6.18: Josephine Lang, 'Mignons Klage', op. 10 no. 2, vocal line, bar 1



McClary has drawn links between extreme chromaticism and the portrayal of the madwoman Schoenberg's *Erwartung*, for example.[169] While Lang is not depicting madness in 'Mignons Klage', she does use chromaticism to depict the complexity of Mignon's character and emotional state while also reflecting that emotions are seldom straightforward. The unusual melody line conveys a sense of the inner torture she is experiencing as feelings become expressed. That the vocal melody does not

[168] Schubert set many poems from the *Lehrjahre*, some of them several times. For example, he set 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt' six times between 1815 and 1826, four of them set in a minor key. For more information, see Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, pp. 246–86.
[169] McClary, *Feminine Endings*, p. 104.

'make sense' on its own is also significant as its nonconformity highlights Mignon's own nonconformity. A similar version of the piano's opening idea is repeated in bar 3 (this time with the A sharp spelled as B flat) as if haunting Mignon with the inevitability of her fate.

'Mignons Klage' reveals how Lang continuously mixes rhythms in her songs. The small-scale rhythmic dissonance between triplets and duplets, which she often employs, has the effect of creating a feeling of impetuosity and excitement within the song. In 'Mignons Klage' the impetuosity, because of the thematic content, is more frenetic and panicked than excited, as in her other Goethe setting 'Sie liebt mich', for example. The sense of panic imparted by Mignon is interpreted by Lang in the dotted rhythmic treatment and rising melodic course of the words 'allein und abgetrennt von aller Freude' (alone and cut off from all joy) which expressively imbues the song with the feeling of Mignon's increasing anxiety. Lang underscores the key word 'leide' with a suspension at bar 2 in a manner similar to Schubert's third setting of the text, D481. The rhythmic elongation of 'Freude' over diminished seventh chords in bar 4, the change in the accompaniment figure to arpeggiated triplets, and the ceaselessly rising melody line poignantly betray a sense of Mignon's yearning to re-experience joy. The change in accompaniment in bar 5 at the words 'Seh' ich an's Firmament', is significant; pulsating quaver chords replace a flowing arpeggiated accompaniment and mirror the change in Mignon's psyche. These chords are, in fact, a little too heavily textured for the modern day piano on which they are difficult to sustain at speed. There is a danger of overpowering the singer, a common occurrence in Lang's Lieder of which performers must be aware. The startlingly bright

modulation to the relative major in bar 5 underscores a fleeting moment of hope as Mignon gazes into the heavens, perhaps searching for her beloved.

The atmosphere changes upon Mignon's recollection of past happiness in bar 9. The new key and the omission of the bass part successfully interprets the notion of the beloved in the distance. Staying in D major, Mignon's lyrical major melody, which is lightly imitated in the left hand of the piano, has the effect of shifting the focus to her rekindled memories, but the persistence of repeated piano chords remind us that the situation is one of unease. A certain tenderness radiates from the music here as Mignon recalls her beloved, and the momentary lyricism of the vocal melody intimates Mignon's vulnerability and conveys the inwardness of these emotions. As in Schubert's setting (D359) and Beethoven's fourth setting of the poem, this section is set in a major key. The melodious quality of Mignon's tune here is in contrast with her fraught opening. The introduction of a dotted semiquaver rhythm in the piano magnifies Mignon's increasing unrest, as this dotted figuration assumes an integral role in driving the impetus of the music forward, thereby illustrating Lang's subtle manipulation of melodic motifs. The refinement of this relationship between piano and voice exhibits Lang's awareness that there are other ways of conveying *Sehnsucht* apart from adventurous harmony.

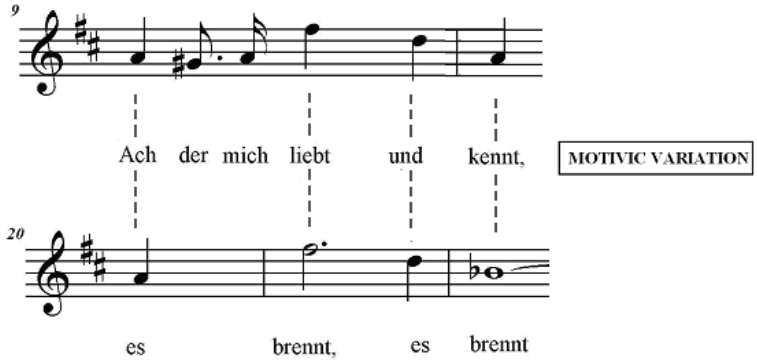
The piano part develops in this song from the role of imitative follower to an independent carrier of melodic line, and the fluctuating registers of the antiphony reflect Mignon's thought process. As Mignon utters 'Ach der mich liebt und kennt', the piano is in the same register but with the words 'ist in der Weite', both piano and voice drop to a lower register, revealing the inner conflict of these contemporaneous

expressions. The register transfer to F sharp also emphasizes this distance. This more lyrical section is offset, however, by the large leaps at the end of the vocal phrases and by the bass line, which becomes more prominent from bar 16. The dotted rhythm already mentioned becomes increasingly conspicuous as it is used in sequence as a link to the next vocal phrase, and subsequently forms the bass line to a powerful passage from bars 16 to 25, which further reinforces Mignon's separation from her beloved. The rhythmic placement of the lowest note at the end of the chord on the fourth beat gives the section impetus and driving force. The momentum of the Lied is substantially intensified as Mignon is immersed in visceral emotion, represented by Goethe through the image of her burning insides.

Lang uses a modulatory corridor from bars 18 to 24 from relative minor to major, through a strong progression (see Example 6.17, bars 18–24). Here Lang successfully captures the sudden welling up of intense emotion. Lang varies the melody from bar 3 and augments the note values, revealing an incendiary transgressive desire which underlies the poem and portrays the depth of Mignon's anguish. Lang treats the text 'Es schwindelt mir' somewhat similarly to Schubert in his settings where there is an increase in intensity with tremolo accompaniment.[170] Lang repeats and rhythmically stretches the phrase 'es brennt', descending from F sharp, to D and then to B flat (over the chord IIdim.5(7)b). This passage is actually a variant of the voice's fragment in bar 9 with auxiliary notes omitted and an austere melodic pattern introduced in bar 21.

[170] This is found in Schubert's multiple settings of 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt', D310 (a), & (b), D481), D877/1, D877/4, D359.

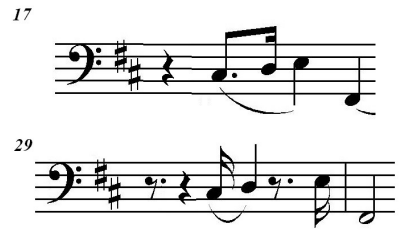
Example 6.19: Josephine Lang, 'Mignons Klage', op. 10 no. 2, vocal lines, bars 9 and 21



This melodic contour (two consecutive major thirds) emphasizes Mignon's catastrophic psychological state.

The crescendo in Mignon's expressions of torment becomes almost unbearable and Lang's sensitive musical tactics here perfectly mirror Mignon's shifting psychological state, realized in an expressive and sparse interlude. This poignant moment in the song is truly unexpected and reflects a passing instance of not only physical incapacity but also psychological resignation on behalf of Mignon. Here, Lang displays acute cognitive sensitivity to the text in her musical materialisation of Mignon's exhausting melancholy. In bars 29 to 30, Lang draws on an earlier melodic fragment by repeating exactly pitches found in bar 17 most recognisable by the falling seventh from E to F sharp:

Example 6.20: Josephine Lang, 'Mignons Klage', op. 10 no. 2, bass part, bars 17 and 29



The idea sounds completely new but this key observation allows us to see the careful thought process behind Lang's song composition. How might this manipulation reflect the text? Perhaps the melodic idea used in bar 17, which becomes the driving force, signifies Mignon's prison of emotion that she cannot escape because it always lurks in the corners of her mind. In the interlude, the piano bears the brunt of the emotional weight where Mignon is emotionally spent. Lang musically conveys this change in Mignon's emotional condition because Mignon is unable to utter it with words. Lang's skilful sustained double suspensions on the dominant 7^{th} in bars 29 and 30 are resolved slowly one at a time, portraying the sense of the prolonged nature of Mignon's exasperating anguish. The interlude conveys Mignon as a lost creature in the world, by way of a melody with no accompaniment.

One of two manuscript sources for this song found at *Württembergische Landesbibiliothek* shows that Lang contemplated using the interlude as the introduction. It also reveals that Lang's intention was originally to use what we know now to be the postlude as the interlude.[171] More significantly it uncovers Lang's thought process behind the song and her eventual choice of which of Mignon's emotions she wanted to portray and the order in which she felt they occurred. Lang effectively portrays a narrative of Mignon's suffering as a vicious cycle. The painful realization of isolation in the piano interlude functions most effectively after Mignon is emotionally spent, a realization that would not have occurred had the song begun with the interlude material. Hence both narratively and musically, the use of the material as an interlude is more satisfying for both the listener and the performer. The published version has a clearer narrative and stronger dramatic impact.

[171] Krebs & Krebs also comment on the manuscript of this song. See Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 36. It is found in WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53o (dated 1835–37), p. 7^{r}.

Table 6.2 Mignon's psychological chart in Lang's 'Mignons Klage'

A:	1-8	emotional turmoil
B:	9-16	futile hope
C:	17-26	visceral emotion
Interlude:	27-33	emotional exhaustion/true isolation
A':	34-48	remembrance of cause of suffering

As Mignon slowly regains her thoughts, recapitulation of the opening lines of text commences exactly as in the opening of the song but this time building through in intensity with a rising melody line, underscoring Mignon's inability to escape this mental torture, while also demonstrating Lang's careful manipulation of ternary form. In contrast to the opening, the bass descends successively through seven pitches as if depicting Mignon's succumbing to the very depths of despair. A brief but new piano figuration at bars 36 to 37 has more urgency about it than the previous rendition of the line. The prolongation of the Neapolitan 6^{th} from bars 39 to 42 is illustrative of Mignon's prolonged isolation, a fine musical manoeuvre by Lang. The poignant musical expansion on 'Weiß' in bars 41 and 42 is touchingly beautiful and stands out from the rest of the song. As with Schubert's third setting and Hensel's setting, the use of the Neapolitan chord emphasizes the distance of the beloved. It is here that Lang invokes the pathos that is related to Schubert's settings.[172] The most fleeting allusion to C major in bars 41 to 42 suggests that happiness is only an illusory possibility. The static nature of the accompaniment here means that the voice is now abandoned, almost in quasi-recitative, another musical allusion to Mignon's solitude. Lang wonderfully conveys the sense of *Sehnsucht* in the lyrical melody

[172] Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 270.

before the music descends to an elongation of the words 'was ich leide' over alternating dominant to tonic harmony. A bleak and lingering piano postlude containing a fragment of the previous interlude concludes Lang's compelling setting of Goethe's poem. A sliver of the opening vocal motif re-appears adding to the song's prevailing sense of doom through its repeatedly descending motion and low register.

While Lang's setting is in ternary form, the A section is extraordinarily transformed when it returns. Perhaps the rising melody in bars 35 suggests a situation that has spun out of control, or someone who is at breaking point. The two strikingly unusual moments in the song, the sparse interlude and the hauntingly beautiful prolongation of 'weiß', are oddities that are in keeping with Mignon's mysterious character. Lang achieves an amalgamation of transparency and richness in her writing for piano here, a dichotomy which the renowned Schubert scholar, Susan Youens, deems as the key to achieving *Innigkeit* (intimacy) in music,[173] and which to me is one of the most alluring aspects of Lang's Lieder.

Lang's setting was criticized for being 'too effusive.'[174] However, Lang does not succumb to effusive emotion in her setting but rather depicts Mignon's own emotional journey, stage by stage. This setting demonstrates how Lang did not wish to shy away from confronting the emotions within Goethe's poem. Not all her settings achieve the psychological realism of Schubert's Goethe settings, yet 'Mignons Klage' affirms that Lang was able to break through the boundaries of drawing room song and aspired towards experimentation and broadening of the

[173] Susan Youens, *Schubert's Late Lieder, Beyond the Song Cycles* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 398.
[174] *NZfM,* 26/22, 15 March 1845, p. 89.

emotional capabilities of the nineteenth-century Lied. Certainly, this setting could not be viewed simply as an adornment of Goethe's poetry. The 'newness' of the artwork that Lang creates suggests that the mechanisms of musical ekphrasis, as laid out in Chapter 5, are at work here. It is telling that Lang created such a powerful song to a poem by Goethe. The depth of his poetry allowed her to unlock her own musical potential. Of course, this did not always happen because the composers' inspiration and reasons for composing songs are highly complex. In Lang's setting, the text of Goethe's poem has been completely immersed in Lang's musical world and she attains the full expressive possibility of the Romantic Lied, in a setting which is perhaps her finest example of Lied composition.

6.3.10 'Sie liebt mich'

Goethe's 'Sie liebt mich' from *Erwin und Elmire* (1773-1775)

Sie liebt mich! [175]		**She loves me!**[176]
Ha! Sie liebt mich!	*a*	Ha! She loves me!
Sie liebt mich!	*a*	She loves me!
Welch schreckliches Beben!	*b*	What tremendous trembling!
Fühl ich mich selber?	*c*	Do I feel like myself?
Bin ich am Leben?	*b*	Am I alive?
Ha! Sie liebt mich!	*a*	Ha she loves me!
Sie liebt mich!	*a*	She loves me!
Ha! Rings so anders!	*a*	Ha! Everything around me is so different!
Bist du's noch, Sonne?	*b*	Is that you, sun?
Bist du's noch, Hütte?	*c*	Is that still you, cottage?
Trage die Wonne,	*b*	Bear the joy,
Seliges Herz!	*d*	Blessed heart,
Sie liebt mich!	*a*	She loves me!
Sie liebt mich!	*a*	She loves me!

Goethe's *Erwin und Elmire,* a *Singspiel,* is based on the ballad of Edwin and Angeline from Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield.*[177] The *Singspiel* originates from Goethe's *Sturm und Drang* phase. Like 'Lebet wohl' and 'Mignons Klage', the song appeared separately in collections of Goethe's poetry. The poem is part of a dialogue

[175] *Goethes Werke*: Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand (J.G. Cotta, 1842).
[176] Translation is my own.
[177] Boyle, *Goethe*, I, p.146.

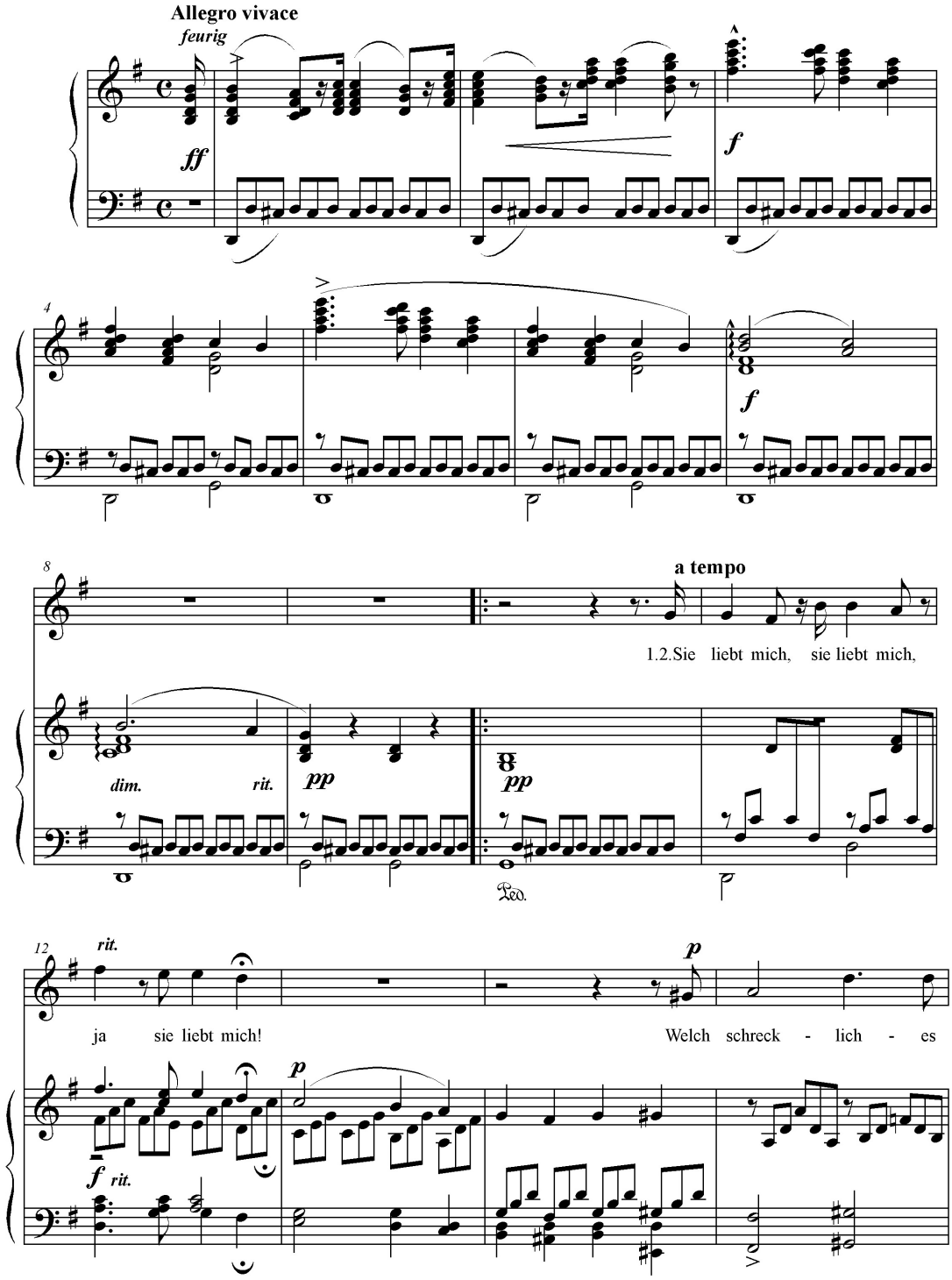
between Erwin and Bernardo. Erwin sings 'Sie liebt mich' after overhearing Elmire confess that she is in love with him while he is in disguise. Goethe perhaps based this poem on the game of French origin *effeuiller la marguerite* (he/she loves me, he/she loves me not). Goethe also uses the game in *Faust* as Gretchen plucks the petals of a flower while talking to Faust as a means of depicting Gretchen's innocence. In 'Sie liebt mich', the allusion to this child-like game recreates this feeling of innocence. The poem describes the euphoria and uncertainty of the realization of true love as the imagined experience becomes reality.

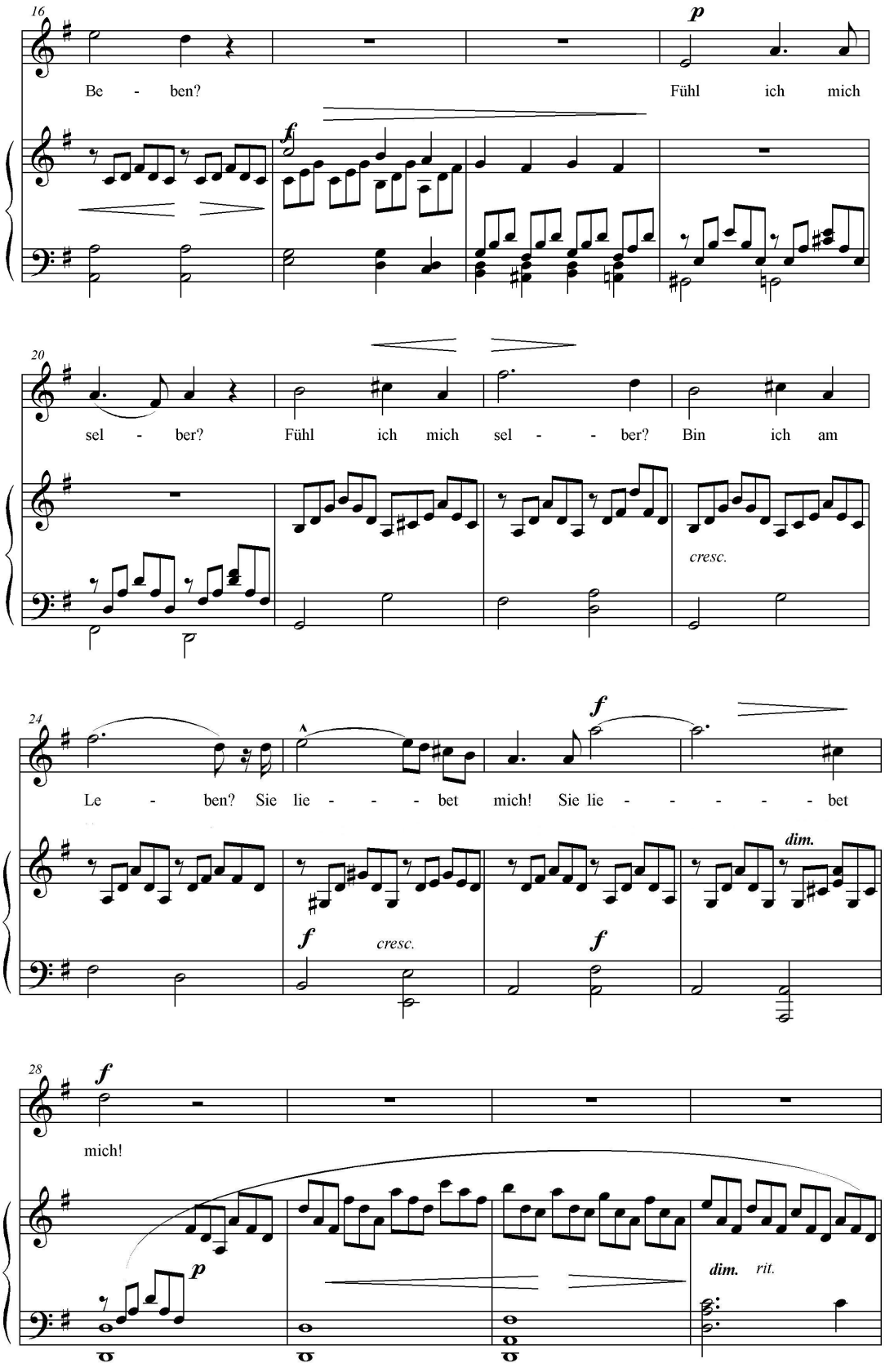
Lang's setting of 'Sie liebt mich', op. 33[34] no. 4 (28 January 1840)

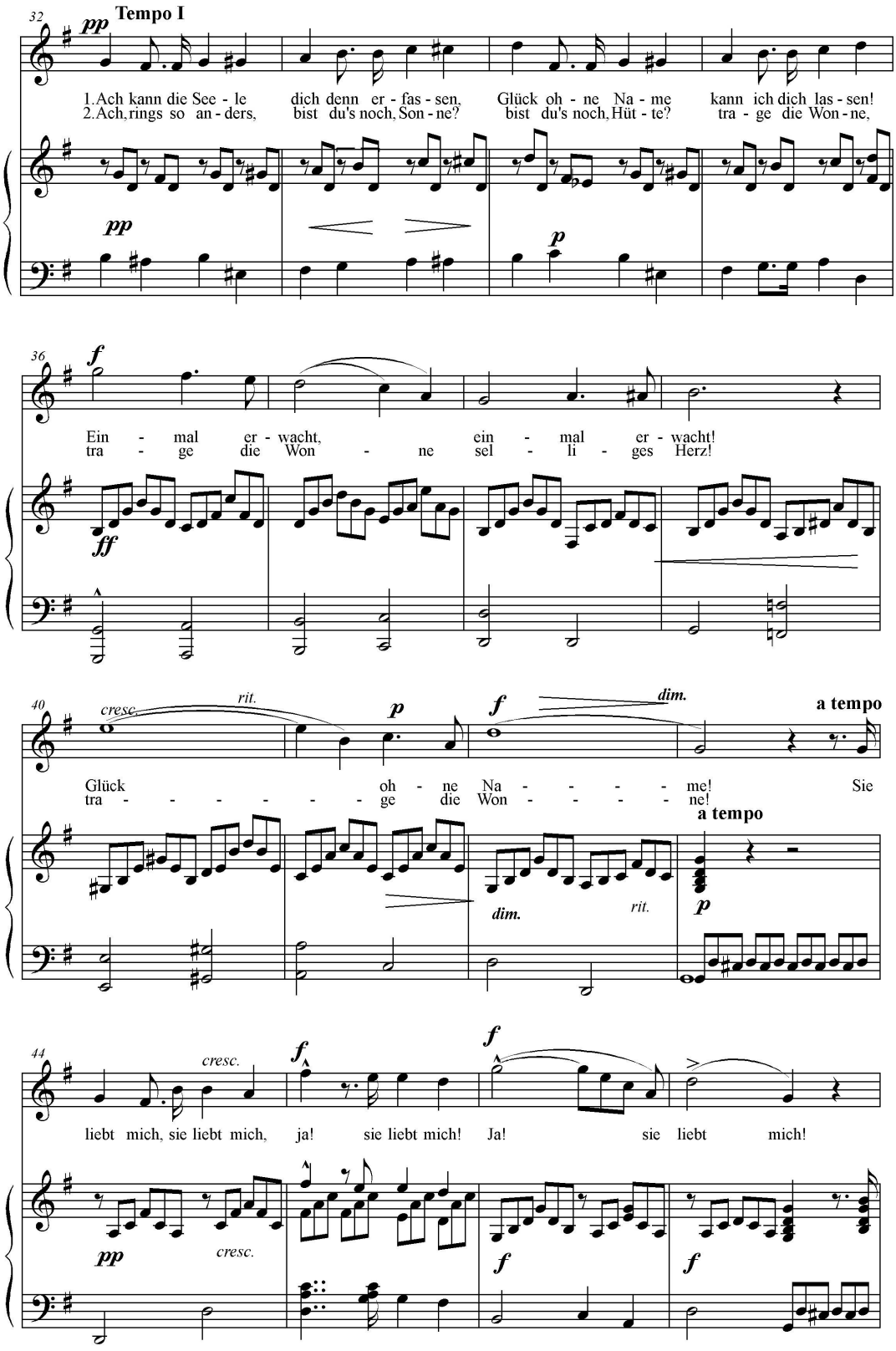
Three fair copies of 'Sie liebt mich' are found at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart; two are copies prepared by her son.[178] Three more copies are found in Vienna[179] and a further copy is held in Munich.[180] Lang's setting of 'Sie liebt mich' was composed in 1840 and first published in 1840 or 1841 as a supplement to the journal *Europa—Chronik der gebildeten Welt*[181] and concurrently in *Lieder-kranz*.[182]

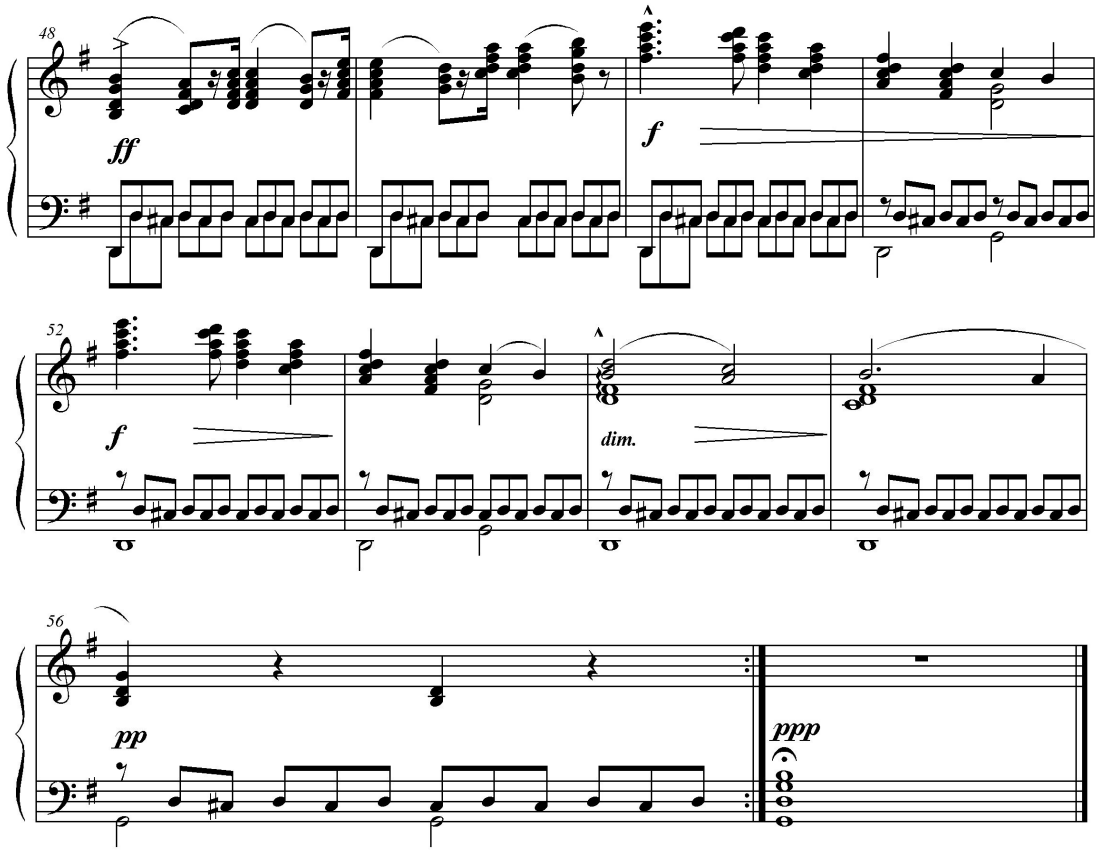
[178] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53u, pp. 11^{v}–13^{r} (autograph, dated 28 January 1840); Cod.mus.II 2º 95 c, pp. 60–61 (incomplete version in her son's hand, D major); Cod.mus. II Reihe 2º 84, pp. 41^{r}–43^{r} (pages unnumbered, possibly in Lang's son's hand). See <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/~lang/lang_volltitel.php?id=796> [accessed 15 October 2008].
[179] GdMF, MS Fellinger, Musikautographe Josephine Lang 8, 9 & 25.
[180] Harald and Sharon Krebs note that a version of this song is found in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Mus.Mss.8325-5, 5), See 'Josephine Lang: Gesamtliste', <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/~lang/lang_volltitel.php?id=9197> [accessed 5 January 2010].
[181] 'Josephine Lang' <http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/grundseite/grundseite.php?id=lang1815> [accessed 20 October 2008].
[182] *Lieder-Kranz gewunden von den vorzüglichsten Tonsetzern für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte in Commission* (K.b. Hof Musikalien-Handlung von Falter & Sohn und Jos. Aibl in München, published in 1840 or 1841).

Example 6.21: Josephine Lang, 'Sie liebt mich', op. 33 [34] no. 4




16
Be - ben?
Fühl ich mich
20
sel - ber?
Fühl ich mich sel - - ber?
Bin ich am
cresc.
24
Le - ben? Sie lie - - - bet
mich! Sie lie - - - - - bet
dim.
cresc.
28
mich!
dim.
rit.


32
Tempo I
pp
1.Ach kann die See - le dich denn er - fas - sen, Glück oh - ne Na - me kann ich dich las - sen!
2.Ach, rings so an - ders, bist du's noch, Son - ne? bist du's noch, Hüt - te? tra - ge die Won - ne,
36
f
Ein - mal er - wacht, ein - mal er - wacht!
tra - ge die Won - ne sel - li - ges Herz!
ff
40
cresc.
rit.
p
f
dim.
a tempo
Glück oh - ne Na - - - - me! Sie
tra - - - - - - - ge die Won - - - - ne!
a tempo
dim.
rit.
p
44
cresc.
f
f
liebt mich, sie liebt mich, ja! sie liebt mich! Ja! sie liebt mich!
pp
cresc.
f
f



'Sie liebt mich' was later published by Niemeyer in Hamburg in 1865 in op. 33 [34] (*Disteln und Dornen*), an interesting collection of songs and the only one of Lang's opera to possess a creative title. The song was also republished in the 1882 posthumous edition and Da Capo's 1982 edition.[183]

Lang's setting of 'Sie liebt mich' precedes her initial meeting with Köstlin but a sentimental anecdote relating to this song is found in H. A. Köstlin's biography. He writes that apparently Lang performed it 'most fervently' after Reinhold Köstlin declared his love to her in Tegernsee, where they both met while taking whey

[183] Unlike 'Nähe des Geliebten', there is virtually no difference between the editions of 1865 and 1882. Lang, *40 Lieder* (1882), I, pp. 17–19. Lang, *Selected Songs*, pp. 15–17.

cures.[184] An inscription in the top corner of the manuscript, crossed out after Köstlin's departure, reveals her close connections to this song.[185]

Once again, Lang took liberties with Goethe's poem by adding six lines of text by an unknown poet, perhaps even her own.[186] Her version of the poem is given here with the added lines shaded:

'Sie liebt mich'		**'She loves me'[187]**
Refrain		
Sie liebt mich!	*a*	She loves me,
Sie liebt mich!	*a*	she loves me!
Ja, sie liebt mich!	*a*	Yes, she loves me!
Welch schreckliches Beben?	*b*	What tremendous trembling,
Fühl' ich mich selber?	*c*	Do I feel like myself?
Bin ich am Leben?	*b*	Am I alive?
Sie liebt mich!	*a*	She loves me!
Sie liebt mich!	*a*	She loves me!
Verse 1		
Ach, kann die Seele	*a*	Ah, can the soul
dich denn erfassen,	*b*	Understand you then?
Glück ohne Name	*c*	Happiness without a name,
kann ich dich lassen!	*b*	can I do without you!
Einmal erwacht,	*c*	Once awakened,
einmal erwacht!	*c*	once awakened!
Sie liebt mich, sie liebt mich!		
Ja, sie liebt mich!		
Ja, sie liebt mich!		
Refrain		
Verse 2		
Ach, rings so anders,	*a*	Ah everything around me is so different;
bist du's noch, Sonne?	*b*	sun, is that still you?
Bist du's noch, Hütte?	*c*	Is that still you, little cottage?
trage die Wonne,	*b*	Bear the joy,
Seliges Herz!	*d*	Blessed heart!
Sie liebt mich, sie liebt mich!		
Ja, sie liebt mich!		
Ja, sie liebt mich!		

[184] H.A. Köstlin, 'Lebensabriß', p.71.
[185] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53u, p. 11[v]. This is discussed by Sharon Krebs. See S. Krebs, 'My Songs are my Diary', p. 14.
[186] Lang did this on a few occasions. See for example her setting of Heine's 'Mag da draußen Schnee sich thürmen', op. 15 no. 2, where she adds two verses by E. Meier. Lang's Lied, 'Winterseufzer' op. 25 no. 2, combines the poetry of Lenau and August Graf von Platen. In her setting of Müller's 'An _____', 'op. 6' no. 1, 'Ich schnitt es gern in alle Rinden' ein' Lang adds two strophes by an unknown poet.
[187] Translation is my own.

The expression marking on Lang's autograph is *agitato*[188]—a common marking in her songs.[189] This was changed to *Allegro Vivace* and *Feurig* on the published version. The piano introduction, which foreshadows the vocal material, gradually calms down from the exalted heights of the introduction to make way for the voice. Musical buoyancy is maintained by the chromatic quavers that are typical of Lang. The opening vocal phrase with the rising utterances of 'Sie liebt mich!' encapsulates the ecstasy of first love as it echoes the rising figure of the piano introduction. The ability to lose oneself in the moment is delineated commendably in Lang's musical treatment of the text, culminating in the third exultant declaration 'Sie liebt mich!', which arrives at the dominant first inversion in bar 12. The absence of a perfect cadence musically illustrates the protagonist getting 'carried away' with his/her thoughts. Lang's added interjections of 'ja' to the text are typical of Lieder composers in the nineteenth century, reinforcing the poetic idea and adding to the ebullient nature of the song.[190]

The piano takes over at bar 13 with a descending scale-like figuration, as if it were becoming more vocal when the voice goes silent. Such interplay amplifies the questioning in the poem, 'am I myself, am I alive?' while also exemplifying the interdependent roles of piano and voice prevalent in Lang's Lieder. The chromatic auxiliary note in the interlude at bar 18 serves to further induce vitality in the setting. The repeated questioning of 'fühl ich mich selber?' at a higher pitch at bar 19 amplifies the uncertainty of these words. Also in bar 19, the piano takes on its own melody in the bass one can nearly hear it reciting the words, an occurrence similar to

[188] WLB, MS Lang, Mus. fol. 53u, p. 11[v].
[189] Examples are found in Lang's songs, 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt', op. 10 no. 2 and 'Mag da draußen Schnee sich thürmen', op. 15 no. 2.
[190] Examples include Lang's setting of Heine's 'Schmetterling', op. 13 no. 4 and Goethe's 'Mailied', op. 40 no. 2.

Youens' descriptions of 'wordless repetition' in the piano parts. The beautifully sustained F sharps at bars 22 and 24 add a mellifluous quality to the Lied, suggesting that the protagonist is ecstatic in his questioning. A climax culminating in the jubilant high 'A' on the repetition of 'Sie liebt mich' heightens the triumphant mood of the poem.

In the 'verse' section from bars 32 to 35, the piano bass shadows the voice in either thirds or sixths. Lang's expert word-setting creates a different sensation here. The music has a slight feeling of trepidation, created by the repetition of the bouncy piano accompaniment and the edgy melody line. This is a quotation from the interlude at bar 18 revealing musical unity in Lang's setting. 'Sie liebt mich' is one setting by Lang where the characteristic interchange of musical material between piano and voice[191] indicates an equal partnership between the two. Though not all her settings share this quality, it seems that Lang was fully aware of the potential of this relationship to realize musically the meaning of the poetry she set. The broad expansion of 'einmal erwacht' at bar 36 contrasts beautifully with the previous section; the protagonist once more revels in his love, a sentiment enhanced by the arpeggiated melody line.

Lang's unusual treatment of the text has implications for the form of the song. It is in strophic form, although each strophe is clearly in ternary form with the repetition of 'sie liebt mich' at the end of each strophe, another example of how she transforms strophic form into a more complex structure. Lang interprets Goethe's crucial phrase 'trage der Wonne, seliges Herz!' (Goethe's own) with a descending

[191] Two outstanding examples are Lang's setting of Heine's 'Traumbild' op. 28 no. 1 and 'Mignon's Klage' op. 10 no. 2.

scale in the vocal line at bar 36, highlighting once again the Goethean relationship between joy and sorrow. Lang's use of a French 6th in bar 39, which resolves to chord V in A minor effectively builds up to the concluding vocal phrase. Lang's fluctuating piano figurations enhance the impulsive nature of the poem in this animated setting. Lang succeeds in capturing the 'inexhaustible energy'[192] of Goethe's poem through the contrasting sections of the Lied. These contrasting pianistic motifs, typical of Lang, inject life into the Lied.

Lang's 'Sie liebt mich' is an effective dramatic response to Goethe's text, perhaps reflective of the text's origins in the genre of the *Singspiel*. Like 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt' the song calls for an element of drama in the performance. While we cannot draw specific biographical links, the primary impact of 'Sie liebt mich' is its capacity to communicate the joy and anticipation of the text. Lang demonstrates her ability to portray a range of emotions.

6.3.11 'Heidenröslein'

Goethe's 'Heidenröslein' (1771)

'Heidenröslein'		**'The rose on the heath'[193]**
Sah ein Knab' ein Röslein stehn,	*a*	A boy saw a rose growing,
Röslein auf der Heiden,	*b*	A little rose on the heath,
War so jung und morgenschön,	*c*	It was so young and lovely as the morning:
Lief er schnell es nah' zu sehn,	*a*	Quickly he ran to see it from near,
Sah's mit vielen Freuden.	*b*	And with much delight he saw it.
Röslein, Röslein, Röslein roth,	*d*	Rose, rose, little red rose.
Röslein auf der Heiden.	*b*	Little red rose on the heath.
Knabe sprach: ich breche dich,	*a*	Said the boy: I shall pick you,
Röslein auf der Heiden.	*b*	Little rose on the heath!
Röslein sprach: ich steche dich,	*a*	Said the rose: I shall prick you,
Dass du ewig denkst an mich,	*a*	So that you shall never forget me;
Und ich will's nicht leiden.	*b*	I won't let you do it!
Röslein, Röslein, Röslein roth,	*c*	Rose, rose, little red rose.

[192] Luke, *Goethe Selected Verse*, p. xxxviii.
[193] Translated by David Luke in *Goethe Selected Verse*, p. 10.

Röslein auf der Heiden.	*b*	Little red rose on the heath.
Und der wilde Knabe brach	*a*	And the rough boy picked
's Röslein auf der Heiden,	*b*	The little rose on the heath;
Röslein wehrte sich und stach,	*a*	The rose defended herself and pricked
Half ihm doch kein Weh und Ach,	*a*	But her cries and sighs were in vain,
Musst' es eben leiden.	*b*	She just had to let it happen.
Röslein, Röslein, Röslein roth,	*c*	Rose, rose, little red rose.
Röslein auf der Heiden.	*b*	Little red rose on the heath.

This popular poem by Goethe has been set by many composers, most famously by Schubert, who acknowledges the folk-like temperament of the poem in his musical setting. The poem originates from the time when Goethe was in the company of Herder, who introduced Goethe to the ballad form. It tells the story of the wild boy and the little rose on the heath. The youth threatens to pick the rose but the rose retorts that if he picks her, she will cause him pain forever. The anecdote, rather than being a euphemism for rape, as some critics have asserted, is Goethe's account of the experience of an early relationship, where the naiveté of the boy causes him to hurt the little rose. Goethe uses the traditional form to contemplate the 'painful moment of self-discovery.'[194] Byrne Bodley comments that it expresses a loss of innocence on both sides.[195]

Lang's setting of 'Heidenröslein' (date of composition unknown)

This unpublished song by Lang possesses no date of composition.[196] The manuscript for this song suggests that it is a sketch (see Figure 6.3). Unfortunately attempts to correct chords and alter sections have rendered parts of the manuscript illegible. Some of these corrections were possibly added at a later date.

[194] Boyle, *Goethe*, I, p. 113
[195] Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, p. 211.
[196] WLB, MS Lang, Cod. Mus. fol. zu 53–56. The folder in which it is kept contains a mix of loose sheets with compositions from throughout Lang's career.

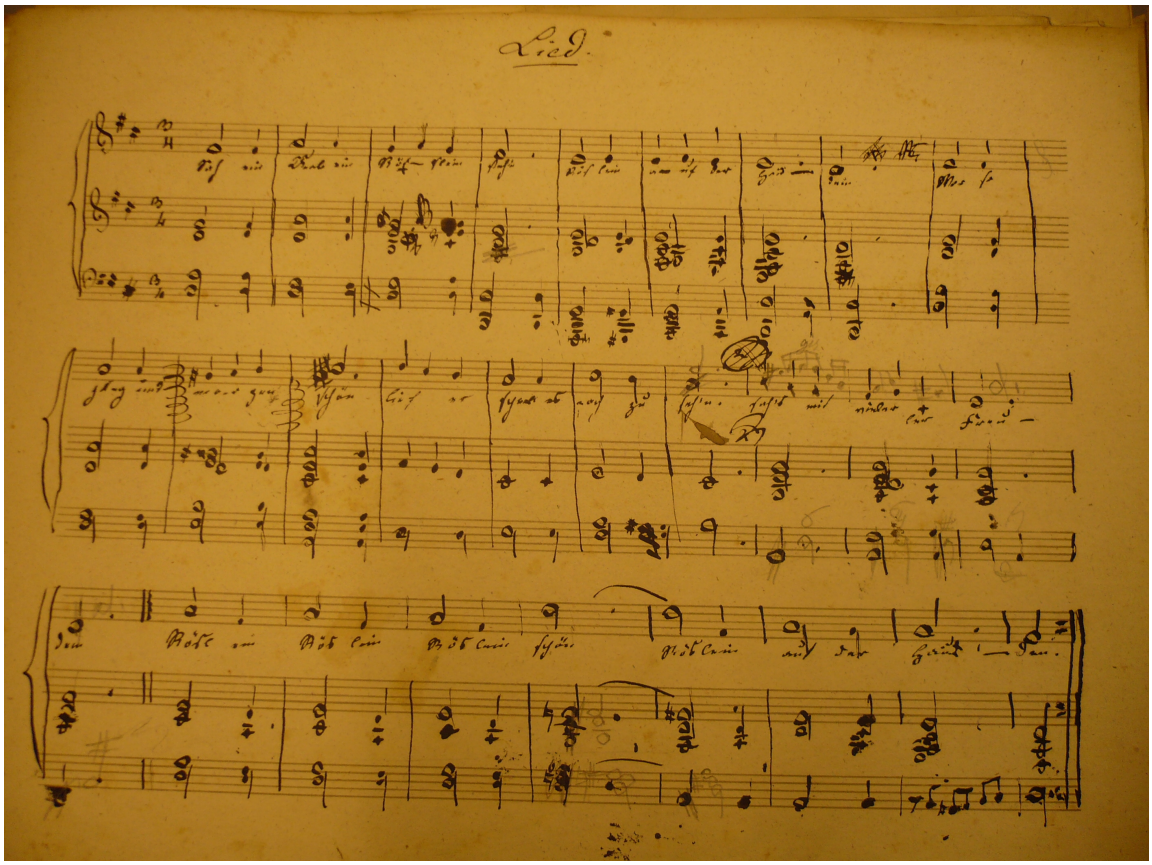
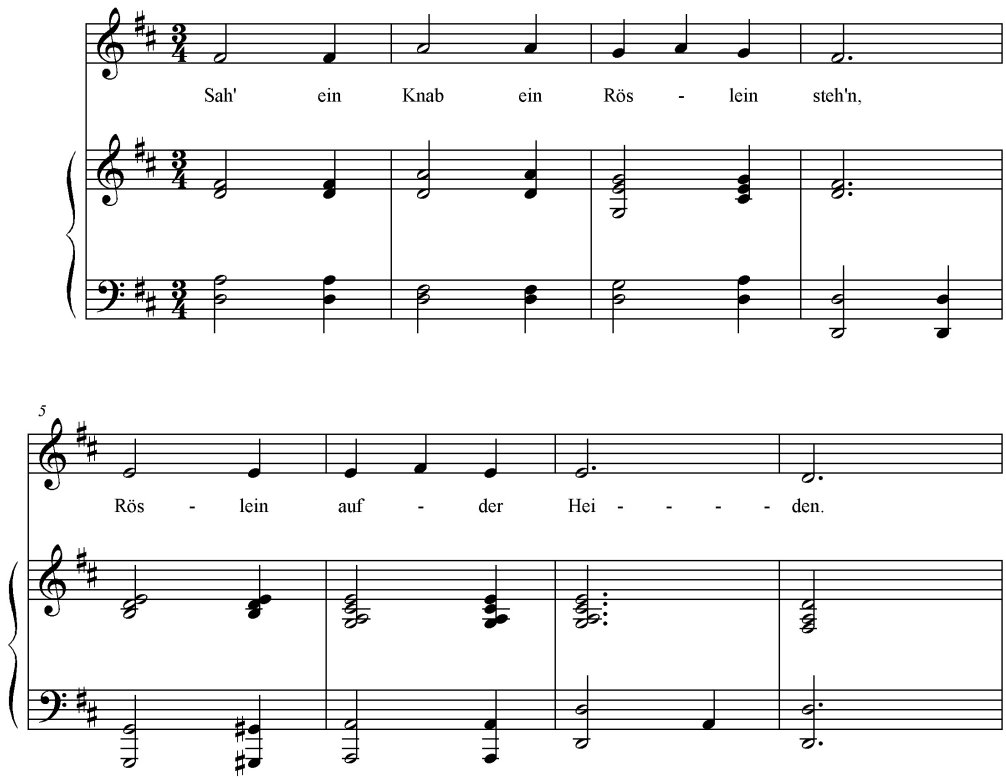


Figure 6.3: 'Heidenröslein', (WLB, MS Lang, Cod.Mus. fol. zu 53-57, p. 48^{v}). Reproduced with permission.

Lang opts for a very simple setting of the text in 3/4, obviously striving to capture the folk-like element of Goethe's poem through her use of harmony in the song. As in Schubert's famous setting, the piano accompaniment is reduced to a subordinate supportive role. Despite the unpretentiousness of the setting, we can identify some key characteristics of her musical style. Interestingly Lang includes some figured bass on the middle system of her sketch, visible in Figure 6.3, possibly indicative of the time she studied with Felix Mendelssohn. It is interesting that, in bars 16 to 19 (also on the middle system), we see that Lang deviates slightly from the given form and instead of returning to a dotted minim A in bar 16, the vocal melody ascends to a high E with the addition of three extra bars that digress slightly from the

foursquare nature of the song. This extension of the hypermeter is typical of Lang.[197] Two more points to note are the unexpected diminished seventh chord at bar 24 and the pattern of quavers in the left hand of the piano in the penultimate bar which is found in many of Lang's settings and which she uses to bring a sense of closure to the Lied.

Example 6.22: Josephine Lang, 'Heidenröslein', bars 1–8 (WLB, MS Lang, Cod.Mus. fol. zu 53-57, p. 48[v])



The simplicity and ultimate banality of this setting illustrate that Lang's Goethe settings were not all first-rate. The central question we must ask ourselves is: did Lang intend this song for publication, and if so would she have revised it further? Given the standard of most of the published songs, the answer would probably be yes. Lang's 'Heidenröslein' to my mind, is merely a sketch or a work in progress but the simple folk-like character of her setting suggests to me that she was in tune with trends of settings this poem.

[197] H. Krebs, 'Hypermeter and Hypermetric Irregularity in the songs of Josephine Lang', pp . 13–29.

6.3.12 Lang's sketch of Goethe's 'Kennst du das Land'

Among Lang's manuscripts is a sketch of another of Goethe's most famous poems, 'Kennst du das Land, which was composed in 1783.[198]

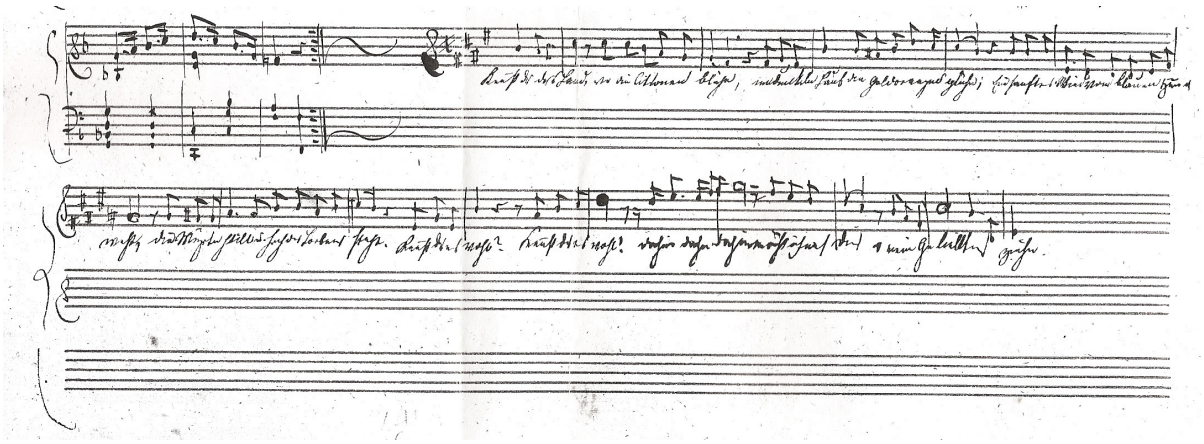


Figure 6.4: 'Kennst du das Land?', sketch of vocal line (WLB MS Lang, Cod.Mus. fol. zu 53-57 p. 3[r]).
Reproduced with permission.

Lang's manuscript contains a melody line only—apparently in G sharp minor. It contains some curious turns in the melody such as the C natural in bar 9.[199] Immediately one can see that musical rhymes occur between phrases. The rising dotted quaver/semiquaver idea in Lang's sketch on 'Dahin, Dahin!' (and Lang adds a third 'Dahin' here) captures the impetuosity of Mignon's plea. Although it is only a sketch, curious movement in the melody such as the C natural in bar 8, and the intensification through a gradual heightening of the melodic register suggests that Lang was striving to capture Mignon's sense of nostalgia. It is unfortunate that Lang did not set the poem in its entirety as the sketch reveals some unfulfilled promise.

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[198] WLB, MS Lang, Cod. Mus. fol. zu 53–57, p. 3[v]. Harald and Sharon and Krebs suggest that this may not be an
autograph. See <http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/~lang/lang_volltitel.php?id=8921>
[accessed 1 December 2009].

[199] Interestingly, the opening vocal statement is an exact replica of Robert Schumann's vocal entry in his setting of the text in 1849, although it is likely that this manuscript pre-dates Schumann's setting. It is possible that this sketch is a copy of something Lang heard but this cannot be confirmed.

6.4 Conclusion: Lang's Unique Engagement with Goethe's Poetry

In the nineteenth century, there was a craze for setting Goethe, resulting in many mediocre as well as some inspired compositions. Continually, Lang's Goethe settings reveal that she was in tune with contemporary trends of setting his poetry and her encounter with his poetry reveals the burgeoning artist. Through the Goethe settings, we see a development not only in her musical language but also in her response to poetry. From the 'classical' setting of 'An die Entfernte' to the emotionally charged setting of 'Sie liebt mich', Lang's Goethe settings display her developing musico-poetic language. They also reveal her willingness to experiment with norms of the genre.

The musical depth that Lang was able to attain in many of the Goethe settings is admirable. The dynamic nature of her Goethe Lieder reveal that Lang was a composer with much more to give had she received an adequate musical training. Goethe's poetry inspired Lang, like many other nineteenth-century composers, to compose some of her finest songs. Lang's ability to interpret Goethe's poetry was a crucial factor in achieving this. Lang's innate ability to create something new and fresh out of Goethe's poetry repeatedly shines through these settings.

Lang's settings constitute a small percentage of Lieder based on poetry by Goethe but they are an interesting contribution to that mass of songs according to men's and women's musical traditions in the nineteenth century. Lang's settings of Goethe's poetry are similar to Schubert's in that the musical creativity is deeply inspired by the poetry and yet they truly constitute something new. From the sublime 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt' to other fine settings like 'Lebet wohl geliebte

Bäume', and 'Nähe des Geliebten'. Lang's Goethe settings owe much to Goethe's poetry but also to her own sense of musical creativity. Harald and Sharon Krebs testify to the refinement of Lang's settings from her early years.[200] Many of Lang's finest Goethe Lieder originate from this early period. Although Lang set only fourteen of his poems, the musical variety and expressive range she achieves in the Goethe settings are remarkable.

Technically and harmonically, the Goethe Lieder are among the most challenging of Lang's songs. The extensive emotional range of Lang's Goethe settings is one of the captivating aspects of her Lieder. These songs not only illustrate that she had a gift for interpreting Goethe's text but also that she had a desire to bring something new to the Lied in her unique musical interpretations of Goethe's poems.

In his introduction to *Goethe Selected Verse,* David Luke claims that Goethe is no 'brooding-tormentor', no 'shrill self-mocker', and no *poète maudit*[201] and while Roberta Werner gives a sentimental description of Lang throughout her PhD thesis, it can be noted that Lang's positive outlook on life subconsciously materialized in her Goethe settings. Lang's affinity with Goethe shines through in her settings of his poetry, so much so that her Goethe Lieder may be deemed as fragments of her own confession.

[200] Krebs & Krebs, *Josephine Lang*, p. 35.
[201] Luke, *Goethe Selected Verse*, p. xxxv.