

**“MY SONGS ARE MY DIARY”:  
An Investigation of Biographical Content  
in the Köstlin Settings of Josephine Lang**


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## **ABSTRACT**

The German *Lied* composer Josephine Lang (1815-1880) is frequently quoted as having said that her songs are her diary. Although this statement has coloured virtually all analytical work on her songs, it has not been subjected to a critical and thorough evaluation. Focusing on Lang's settings of her husband's poems, this thesis investigates the following: 1) Lang's verbal notes on the song manuscripts as a diary in the literal sense; 2) Lang's choice of texts for her songs; 3) the significance of Lang's textual modifications of the poems she set; and, 4) the biographical inferences that may be drawn from the music of Lang's songs. Lang's entries in her "song diary" range from straightforward to veiled. By examining four possibilities for making entries in a "song diary" and by synthesizing information from a number of previously unexplored primary sources, a number of new insights into Lang's life and work are gained. The thesis fills gaps in her biography; corrects errors in earlier writings about Lang; demonstrates the complexity of her text selection; presents groups of songs with particular biographical significance; and uncovers information about Lang's critical stance, her convictions and her perceptions. Lang's famous statement is shown to be true on a number of levels.

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## Introduction

The 19<sup>th</sup> century has been referred to as “das Zeitalter des Tagebuchs” (von der Heyden-Rynsch 17). The development and blossoming of this genre gave rise to diaries of many different sorts, including *Werkstattjournale*, political journals, travel diaries, *journaux intimes*, religious diaries, war diaries, diaries of illness, etc. (Wuthenow 1-14; Niemeyer 8-9). In spite of this plethora of "Tagebücher," scholars have so far been unable arrive at a viable definition of the genre. In the literature about the diary genre, one finds remarks like the following: “definiern läßt sich das Tagebuch nur annähernd” (von der Heyden-Rynsch 11, my emphasis). It is indeed difficult to come up with a definition that encompasses all the different possibilities of a diary. Boerner speaks of “[die] verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen des Tagebuchs” (2), of “die Möglichkeiten des Tagebuchs” (3), and concludes that for a diary “gibt es keinerlei Maß und Regel, weder in bezug auf den Inhalt noch auf den Umfang oder die äußere Form” (11). As one author puts it, “jeder, der versuch[t] in das Gebiet des Tagebuchs einzudringen, [begibt] sich auf schwankenden Boden” (Klaus Günther Just cited in Boerner 15). Given this situation, one can either allow oneself to be frightened away from the “precarious ground” of the diary, or one can select a definition or way of looking at diaries that could be profitably applied to the diary one wishes to study. The definition that I have found useful, and which I will use in this thesis is to view a diaries as “Urkunden persönlichen und

geschichtlichen Lebens” (Boerner 5-7).

As indicated above, diaries can come in many forms. Among the more unusual fruits of the 19<sup>th</sup> century “Zeitalter des Tagebuchs” are the *Lieder* of the German composer Josephine Lang (1815-1880). It was during this era that Lang made her famous statement that her songs were her diary:<sup>1</sup>

Die schöpferische Phantasie [war] unaufhörlich thätig, jeder tiefergehende Eindruck regte sie zu musikalischem Gestalten und Bilden an, so daß [Josephine Lang] mit Recht sagen konnte: „meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch“. (H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 57-58)

These five words have captured the attention of almost all scholars conducting research on Lang and have influenced how Lang’s work is viewed. In 1905, Elsbeth Friedrichs published an article about Josephine Lang; while not directly citing the statement, Friedrichs justifies the biographical portion of her article with the words: “darum sei hier ein kurzer Lebensabriß gegeben, zumal [Lang’s] Werke so eng mit ihren Freuden und den ihr überreich zuerteilten Leiden zusammenhängen” (220). In 1929, Hermann Rosenwald uses Lang’s statement to demonstrate how her reason for choosing texts was unique in the history of the German *Lied*: “Dieses in der Geschichte des Worttonproblems durchaus eigenartige ... Textwahlprinzip, [gestattet uns,] ihr Wort:

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<sup>1</sup> Lang most likely first made this statement (or a variation thereof) in a set of autobiographical notes that she wrote for the prominent Köln pianist, conductor and composer, Ferdinand Hiller. In Hiller’s biography of Lang, published in 1867, he states that “jedes frohe, jedes trübe Ereigniß wurde zum Embryo eines Liedes [für die Komponistin]” (123). From Lang’s letters to Hiller, housed in the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, it appears that he offered to write the biography as early as 1860 or 1861. Lang’s letter of September 20, 1861 (following a 15-month silence on her part) speaks of a “liebevolltes Anerbieten” on Hiller’s part and states that she has begun to write some notes about her life (Hiller papers, 30, 737). Lang did not manage to complete the autobiographical notes until much later; Hiller did not receive them until March 23, 1867 (Hiller papers, 36, 185).

‘Meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch’ wörtlich aufzufassen” (62). Numerous other scholars have followed suit. Roberta Werner, whose choice of title—“The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang: The Expression of a Life”—clearly indicates the direction of her thinking, bases her whole dissertation on how Lang’s songs reflect events in her life: “in an effort to follow Josephine’s dictum that her songs are her diary, an attempt will be made to discuss her compositions in dated, sequential order” (437). Werner’s discussion of Lang’s songs as her diary focuses primarily on how “Josephine could relate to [a given text] at this time of her life” (452) or how she “identified with the poetic content” (456). The emphasis is on the choice of poetry, as spurred by a biographic event or situation. This emphasis is found throughout the literature on Lang’s music. Reinhold Sietz, in his article on Lang for *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, also refers to her “oft ganz persönliche[ ] Textdeutung” (180). Diane Peacock Jezic states that Lang “frequently chose texts that held an autobiographical significance for her” (85). Judith Tick rightly points out that “one of the most quoted of Lang’s remarks is her avowal that ‘my songs are my diary’” ([n.pag.]). Perhaps the appeal of such a statement is that it provides a convenient and justifiable starting point for tackling Lang’s songs. Most scholars, however, have used this statement only in a very limited sense in their discussions of Lang’s music.

A critical and thorough examination of the various facets of the statement “my songs are my diary” does not exist in Lang scholarship to date. The purpose of this thesis is to explore this statement with respect to one segment of the composer’s life, namely her meeting with and subsequent marriage to the law professor and poet, Christian Reinhold Köstlin (1813-1856), and with respect to one portion of her creative output,

namely her settings of her husband's poems.

There are several reasons for choosing this particular point in Lang's life. First, it is essential to narrow the scope of the project to something that can be accomplished with a measure of success. Previous work on Lang's music has demonstrated the necessity of defining limits.<sup>2</sup> Another reason for choosing this period in Lang's life is the wealth of hitherto unexplored primary sources from this time. The musical manuscripts housed in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, Germany, are a valuable resource, as is the extensive collection of poetry manuscripts of Lang's husband. Most of the poetry manuscripts are held in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach, Germany, although a smaller portion – those which he had sent or given to Lang during their courtship and marriage – are found in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart. To date, most Lang scholars have not been aware of the significance of these literary manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

#### Background Information on Josephine Lang and Christian Reinhold Köstlin

Before beginning the investigation of the statement "meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch," some background information about Lang and Köstlin must be presented. Josephine Lang was among the best known women composers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; she

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<sup>2</sup> Roberta Werner's dissertation attempts to address Lang's entire oeuvre and her entire life. As might be expected, the dissertation is enormous. Owing to the large repertoire with which Werner was dealing, she was simply unable to conduct the detailed research necessary for a thorough investigation of the statement "meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch." The dissertation is padded with a plethora of speculations about the possible biographical significance of some of the songs, but data to support these speculations are lacking.

<sup>3</sup> Köstlin's poetry manuscripts are particularly valuable for dating the songs. Lang usually dated only the manuscript representing the first draft or initial copy of the song. If this first copy was lost, the composition information was often lost as well. In such cases, the dates on the poetry manuscripts provide at least "not before" margins. For example, the error of assigning "Der Herbst" (op. 12/5) to the year 1840 (H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 70; Werner 589) can be avoided if one knows that the poem was not written until 1841.

was ranked with Fanny Hensel (née Mendelssohn) and Clara Schumann,<sup>4</sup> although her works, like those of many other women of her time, only regained some recognition in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. She was also one of the most prolific woman composers of her century, writing over 300 *Lieder*, as well as a number of piano pieces and a few choral and chamber works.<sup>5</sup> She was highly regarded by Felix Mendelssohn, who, after meeting the young Lang, wrote to his family:

Sie ist mir eine der liebsten Erscheinungen, die ich je gesehn. Denkt Euch ein zartes, kleines, blasses Mädchen mit edeln, aber nicht schönen Zügen, so interessant und seltsam, daß schwer von ihr wegzusehen ist, und all' ihre Bewegungen und jedes Wort voll Genialität. Die hat nun die Gabe, Lieder zu componiren und sie zu singen, wie ich nie Etwas gehört habe; es ist die vollkommenste musikalische Freude, die mir bis jetzt wohl zu Theil geworden ist. (214)

Robert Schumann not only reviewed several of her compositions in his *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, but also published one song in a supplement to his journal (*Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* 333-334). Ferdinand Hiller also greatly admired Lang, stating that as a productive *Künstlerin* she had few, if any, rivals (116).<sup>6</sup>

Admittedly, Lang's husband, Christian Reinhold Köstlin – at least as a poet – has considerably less claim to fame. In a footnote to the new edition of the correspondence between Otilie Wildermuth and Justinus Kerner, Rosemarie Wildermuth summarizes the

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<sup>4</sup> The publisher Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig told Ethel Smyth (a British woman composer) that “no composeress had ever succeeded, barring Frau Schumann and Fraulein [sic] Mendelssohn, whose songs had been published together with those of their husband and brother respectively ... and that a certain Frau Lang had written some really very good songs but they had no sale” (Smyth, cited in Tick [n.pag.]).

<sup>5</sup> *Lieder* form by far the bulk of her output. Only about 172 (i.e., just over one-half of them) are published.

<sup>6</sup> After her husband's death, it was mainly because of Hiller's efforts that Lang was able to reenter the musical world and resume publishing her compositions. In 1861, Hiller published a review of Mendelssohn's letters and cited the above quotation. The biography of Josephine Lang that he published in 1867 resulted in a significant change in her fortunes.

identity of Köstlin with the following words: “*Köstlin* Jurist und (erfolgloser) Dichter; verheiratet mit der Sängerin und Komponistin Josephine Lang” (337).<sup>7</sup> Köstlin was, unfortunately, not only an “(erfolgloser) Dichter,” he was also an “erfolgloser” dramatist and an “erfolgloser” writer of novellas, novels and stories. Only two of his plays were ever performed and only a few were published; the vast majority exists solely in manuscript form. The prose works that he managed to publish made very little impact on the literary world. Hermann Fischer, one of the few scholars to have delved into Köstlin’s output, is critical of the plays and prose works. His evaluation of Köstlin’s poetry is more favourable. He finds that “die Selbstkritik ist, wie es scheint, hier wacher gewesen, als gegenüber den Dramen und Novellen” (*Reinhold Köstlin* 37). His evaluation reads as follows:

Den rein lyrischen Sachen ist ein lebhafter Ton eigen, wie der ganzen Dichtergeneration, der Köstlin angehört; bewegte, springende Form ist gerne gebraucht. Dabei aber auch viel herzlicher Gemütston, eine milde Wärme, in der Glück und Schmerz harmonisch in einander klingen, auch wohl ein sanfter Ton der Todesahnung .... Es hiesse etwas viel verlangt, wollte man eine ganz eigene, individuelle Physiognomie erwarten. Genug, wenn wir öfters an die Besten erinnert werden .... Man hat diesem und jenem Andern Beifall gezollt, der nicht mehr und nicht origineller war; man wird nicht enttäuscht werden, wenn man den bescheidenen Band zur Hand nimmt. (*Reinhold Köstlin* 38)

In a footnote to his comment about being reminded of “die Besten,” he cites specific poems that call the following poets to mind: Goethe, Mörike, Hölderlin, Novalis, Kerner,

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<sup>7</sup> Notice that Rosemarie Wildermuth does not label Lang as “erfolglos”!

Uhland, Eichendorff, Wilhelm Müller, and Lenau (*Reinhold Köstlin* 38). But whatever its literary merit, Köstlin's poetry was Lang's primary source of song texts for a number of years,<sup>8</sup> and Lang was also not the only composer to be inspired by it.<sup>9</sup> The Lang/Köstlin songs (i.e., her settings of his texts) span a number of years. The first such song may actually pre-date their meeting,<sup>10</sup> and the last were written by Lang after Köstlin's death.

There are approximately 46 Lang/Köstlin songs, the majority of which (at least 21 and possibly as many as 24) originated during their courtship. Musical manuscripts are extant for almost all of the settings of texts for which Köstlin's authorship has been confirmed. Four of the songs, unfortunately, are only fragments.<sup>11</sup> One Lang/Köstlin song that H.A. Köstlin mentions in his biography is not extant, namely a setting of the poem "Zieh, o Schifflein, leise" (*Lebensabriß* 70). The poem exists (dated August 2, [1840] in Z 2704), but to date no musical manuscript of this unpublished song has been found. Poetry manuscripts are also extant for all but six of the songs; two of these six

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<sup>8</sup> The dated musical manuscripts show that during the courtship Josephine Lang composed only three songs with a text by someone other than Köstlin: op. 23/2 (Wenn du wärest mein eigen: "Ach wenn du wärest mein eigen"), text by Gräfin Ida von Hahn-Hahn, composed on August 16, 1840; an unpublished, incomplete song (Die Wacht am Rhein: "Es braust ein Ruf"), text by Max Schneckenburger, composed on January 12, 1841; and another unpublished song (Geständniß: "Ich liebe dich so inniglich"), text by Franz Danzi, composed on January 10, 1841. Her preoccupation with Köstlin's poetry continued throughout most of their marriage. Again, the dated manuscripts indicate that from 1842 to 1853 the majority of the poems were by Köstlin; one "Dichter unbekannt" song exists, as do three songs with texts by other poets (Heine, Schlude, Börkle; the latter two poets are not yet confirmed). Given the large number of undated manuscripts, however, it is possible that there are further settings of texts by other poets from this time.

<sup>9</sup> Many years after Köstlin's death, his daughter Maria Fellingner introduced Johannes Brahms to her father's poetry, and Brahms set four of the poems: op. 97/1 (Nachtigall: "O Nachtigall, dein süßer Schall"), op. 97/2 (Auf dem Schiffe: "Ein Vögelein fliegt über den Rhein"), op. 106/2 (Auf dem See: "An dies Schifflein schmiege") and op. 106/5 (Ein Wanderer: "Hier, wo sich die Straßen scheiden").

<sup>10</sup> It is the song "Den Abschied schnell genommen" (op. 15/1). There is no attribution of the poem to Köstlin on the musical manuscript nor on the first publication of this song (opus 15 was published during the marriage in 1848). Rather, Köstlin's name appears for the first time on the song when, two years after Lang's death, it was reissued by Breitkopf & Härtel in a collection of 40 songs.

<sup>11</sup> These fragments are unpublished settings of the confirmed Köstlin poem "So soll es wieder sein geschieden," of the not yet confirmed Köstlin poem "Mir ist's, als kenn' ich dich seit Jahren," and of the confirmed Köstlin poems "Alpenglühnen" and "Es regt sich im Kyffhäuser."

“clues” to facts. Before an investigation of Lang’s songs as a *Tagebuch* can be undertaken on any other level, it is important to have the most accurate picture possible of the events in her life, and the non-musical information on the manuscripts contributes significantly to the achievement of this end. This interpretation of Lang’s *Tagebuch* statement is the focus of Chapter 1.

The second interpretation of Lang’s *Tagebuch* statement – namely, viewing her choice of poetry as a reflection of events in her life or of her responses to these events – is the one most commonly found in the literature. The question of poetry selection in the specific songs chosen for this investigation – the Lang/Köstlin collaborations – has generally been considered sufficiently addressed by the statement that Lang chose Köstlin’s poems because she was in love with him and because his poetry was about their relationship. There is, however, a great deal more to be said about Lang’s text selection. In Chapter 2 a number of Lang’s criteria for selecting a text to set to music are explored; both biographically motivated text selection and other criteria influencing Lang’s choice of poetry are investigated.

Lang frequently made modifications to the texts that she set to music. Particularly in songs with biographically relevant texts, Lang’s textual manipulations shed further light on what drew her to the poem, on what she found important in the text, and even on her state of mind at the time of composition – all new and illuminating insights into how Lang’s songs function as her diary. In Lang scholarship to date, investigation of Lang’s textual manipulations has been limited to a discussion of repetition, most likely because it is the most readily discernable change to the text. Because of the large number of extant primary poetry manuscripts, however, the Lang/Köstlin collaborations provide a unique

opportunity for identifying and studying other changes to the texts, including editing of the poem, reordering of poetic stanzas,<sup>12</sup> and textual omission. These textual modifications are described and investigated in Chapter 3.

The focus of the final chapter is Lang's music as her diary. A great deal of thorough scholarly work has been devoted to how Lang's music supports and/or enhances the meaning of the text. While such analyses are valuable and fascinating, they do not generally result in new insights into the songs as Lang's diary. In a few cases, however, Lang makes a musical entry in her diary – her *Liedertagebuch*, as one might call it – that is independent of the text. Chapter 4 investigates songs that contain such unique and independent entries in Lang's *Liedertagebuch*.

As we shall see, Lang's songs function as her diary on a number of levels and in a variety of ways, the entries in her *Liedertagebuch* ranging from straightforward to veiled. Her settings of Köstlin's texts provide a particularly rich source of data for a critical and thorough examination of the many facets of the statement: "meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch."

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<sup>12</sup> Throughout this thesis the word "stanza" refers to the grouping of the lines of poetic text by Köstlin, and the word "strophe" refers to the (often different) groupings of the lines in Lang's musical settings.

## Chapter 1. The Song Manuscripts as a Diary in the Literal Sense

Lang's song manuscripts – indeed, all of her musical manuscripts, as well as the title pages of the manuscript booklets – functioned to some extent as a diary in the literal sense of the word, namely as a dated written record of events, frame of mind, state of health, location, etc. According to her son, she also kept a diary apart from her musical manuscripts: “Nur mit tiefer Ergriffenheit kann man die vergilbten Blätter des Tagebuchs lesen, in welchem sie, die Niemand hatte, sich aussprach” (H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 71). The existence of this more conventional diary did not, however, prevent her from making diary-like entries in her musical manuscript booklets. It is not surprising that these non-musical, autobiographical components of the manuscripts have not received much attention in Lang scholarship. H.A. Köstlin's *Lebensabriß* does not mention how much information can be gleaned from the manuscripts, although he clearly used this information himself when constructing his list of works and composition dates at the end of his biography (97-103). Within the biography itself, he only once cites a non-musical entry from the manuscripts (“ob dies das letzte Heft meiner Lieder sein wird?” 68). Thus, there is little to alert scholars to the fascinating and revealing diary entries found in these primary documents.

### Lang's Biography According to the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Secondary Sources

Before examining the song manuscripts as a literal diary, it will be profitable to summarize the events of 1840 to 1842 as they are given in the two 19<sup>th</sup>-century biographies of Lang. The first biography, that of Ferdinand Hiller, was originally published as a "Musikalischer Brief" in the *Kölner Zeitung* in May of 1867 and was reprinted a year later in the second volume of the collection of Hiller's "Musikalische Briefe," entitled *Aus dem Tonleben unsrer Zeit*. The second, longer biography was written by Lang's son, Heinrich Adolf Köstlin, one year after her death. The German originals of the relevant portions of these biographies are given in Appendix B. The Hiller and Köstlin biographies are completely congruent and are frequently cited in support of each other in the secondary literature. This congruence, however, most likely stems from their being based on the same primary source. Letters in the Hiller *Nachlaß* held in the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln make clear that Hiller's biography was written from notes that Lang sent him in 1867.<sup>13</sup> Since these notes are not to be found in the Hiller *Nachlaß*, it is reasonable to assume that they were returned to Lang after Hiller had completed his article.<sup>14</sup> If this were the case, they would also have formed the

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<sup>13</sup> See Josephine Lang, letter to Ferdinand Hiller, March 23, 1867 (Hiller papers 36, 185 Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln).

<sup>14</sup> Access to the Hiller side of the correspondence would, of course, immediately clear up the fate of Lang's autobiographical notes. To date, however, it has not been possible to locate these letters. According to the one surviving descendant of Josephine Lang, all letters to Lang had been burned by the family after her death. However, an auction catalogue in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin) indicates that the Hiller letters (as well as others to Lang) were put up for auction in 1926. Efforts to determine who purchased these letters have remained unsuccessful.

skeleton of the H.A. Köstlin biography.<sup>15</sup>

The following brief summary, then, is a synthesis of the information in Hiller's and H.A. Köstlin's biographies. Josephine Lang and Christian Reinhold Köstlin met on July 1, 1840 in the *Kurort* Kreuth, a small town southwest of München.<sup>16</sup> Lang had been in Kreuth since June 13, recuperating from pleurisy. Köstlin arrived on the evening of June 30, hoping to recover from an illness and from an unhappy love affair with a singer. That night Köstlin heard Lang singing in an adjoining room and asked on the following day to be introduced to her. The two apparently fell in love almost immediately, but were supposedly "long" unaware or unconscious of this "deep and passionate" love (H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 69-70). Hiller words it as follows: "es entstand aber auch eine gegenseitige Neigung, leidenschaftlich, stark und tief, echt und offen und – stumm!" (128). From July 5 on, Köstlin presented Lang with poems, which she set to music. H.A. Köstlin states that 41 songs were written in this manner between July 6 and August 12, 1840. After finishing her *Molkenkur*, Lang left Kreuth to undergo a *Nachkur* at Tegernsee (Hiller 129). Köstlin followed her, and their relationship continued.

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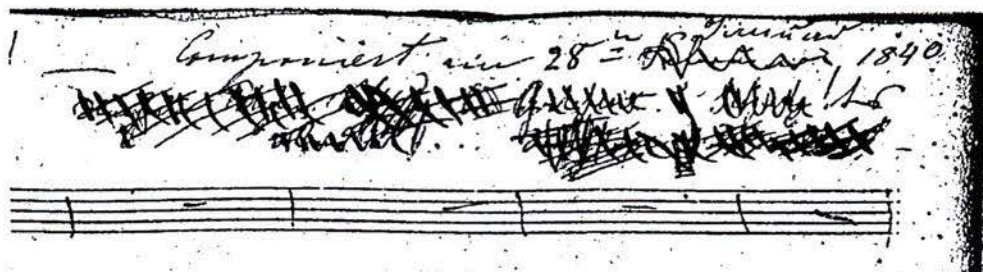
<sup>15</sup> There is support for the notion of Lang's notes having been used by H.A. Köstlin in writing his biography. He often quotes his mother directly, as shown, for example, by the words "doch lassen wir Josefine selbst erzählen" (*Lebensabriß* 58). His reference to "die vergilbten Blätter des Tagebuchs" (*Lebensabriß* 71), could at first lead one to believe that these quotes stem from her diaries. But when one reads the passages where he lets his mother speak for herself, it soon becomes clear that they were written by an adult looking back on her life (for example, "So habe ich ... wenn ich zurückschaue, eine reich gesegnete Jugend gehabt; Geist und Gemüth sogen überall Gutes ein, von reicher Liebe war ich getragen" (*Lebensabriß* 57)). Given how busy Lang was with raising her six children after her husband's death, it is highly unlikely that she would have had time to write two sets of biographical notes.

<sup>16</sup> In H.A. Köstlin's first sentence about his parents' meeting (*Lebensabriß* 68) we already find an error. He states that the two met on the birthday of Lang's father, July 1. This statement is, however, contradicted by the musical manuscript Mus.fol. 53r (20) which contains the words: "den 24<sup>ten</sup> Novembre [sic] 1838. Geburtstag des Vaters (55 Jahre)." H.A. Köstlin later quotes his mother directly about the date of the meeting; it is significant that Lang does not use the word "Geburtstag," but rather "Jahrestag" (*Lebensabriß* 73). H.A. Köstlin, being Protestant, would have assumed that the birthday was meant, when Lang (a Catholic) in fact meant the *Namenstag* or name day. Reference to an ordinary calendar from a predominantly Catholic country like Austria (e.g., that put out by the Raiffeisen Bank in 1989) reveals that July 1 is indeed the name day for Theobald (Lang's father).

According to H.A. Köstlin, the two finally openly declared their love on August 13, 1840 (*Lebensabriß* 70-71); it was Lang's performance of her setting of Goethe's "Sie liebt mich" that triggered the declaration. Early the next morning, however, Köstlin left town. He did not take farewell from Lang, nor did he leave a word of explanation for his behaviour. Later – his son says "soon" (*Lebensabriß* 71) – he sent letters to Lang and to her godfather (Joseph Stieler, who was also her host in Tegernsee), stating that although he had recognized his ideal in Lang, he was involved with another woman and first had to extricate himself from that entanglement. His formal offer of marriage did not reach Lang until April 16, 1841. Their marriage took place in Stuttgart on March 29, 1842.

#### Biographical Evidence on Lang's Manuscripts

Let us now turn to the manuscripts to determine if and how they support the information in these secondary sources. The year 1840 appears to have been a stormy one for Lang even before she met and fell in love with Köstlin. The manuscript booklet covering the period from 1839 to 1840 (Mus.fol.53u) begins to show traces of upheavals on the earliest pages dated 1840. For example, on page 11v – the manuscript of the song "Sie liebt mich" – there are a number of heavily crossed-out words after the composition date.



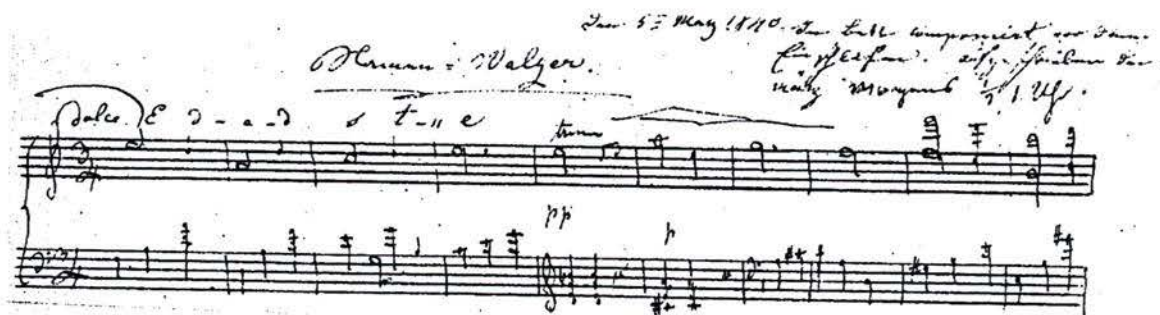
**Fig. 1. Composition Information on Lang's Manuscript of "Sie liebt mich."**  
Reproduced by permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Handschriften Abteilung.

On the manuscript of the song “Scheideblick” (13r), there are also two words crossed out after the composition date. The following song, “Mein Stern” (14r), has the composition data and any related material cut away – the entire top right-hand corner is missing. The few remaining stray marks suggest that the writing was crossed out before the corner was cut off. It is possible that the crossing out on the first two of these songs is connected to Lang’s relationship with Köstlin. According to the above biographical summary, “Sie liebt mich” was certainly a significant song for Lang and Köstlin, while “Scheideblick” was the song Lang was singing when Köstlin heard her through the wall the night of his arrival (H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 69).

But there could have been another man in Lang’s life just before Köstlin. There exists an unpublished *Namenwalzer* written on March 5, 1840 (Mus.fol.56a, 21r) that could be relevant here. Lang was fond of writing waltzes in which she tried to spell names with musical notes.<sup>17</sup> The composition information on this *Namenwalzer* reads: “den 5. März 1840 Im Bett componirt vor dem Einschlafen. Aufgeschrieben den 6<sup>ten</sup> März Morgens ½ 1 Uhr” (21r). The name she was trying to spell seems to have been “Eduard” followed by a surname; the letters “E d-a-d” and “s t-ne” can be deciphered. It is possible that it was something that happened with regard to this Eduard caused Lang to do the vigorous crossing out on the early 1840 manuscripts.

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<sup>17</sup> Other examples are found in Mus.fol.56a: “Engelbert’s Valzer” (18r); a group of three waltzes attempting to spell the names Ernst Gillmeister, Franz Baumgarten and Eichthal, entitled “Namen-Valzer zum Spaß im Carneval” (20v); “Valzer” (35r); and “Walz burlesk” (40v). None of these waltzes is dated, nor can one guess intelligently at the exact dates. Mus.fol.56a is a collection of manuscripts that is in no particular order, consisting mostly of piano pieces, a few songs and a few canons for three voices. The dates range from 1828 to 1841.



**Fig. 2. Lang's "Namen-Walzer" Manuscript.** Reproduced by permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Handschriften Abteilung.

Lang's manuscripts confirm July 1, 1840 as the date of the first meeting with Köstlin. A song fragment entitled "Erstes Begegnen" contains the following composition information: "Kreuth den 1<sup>ten</sup> July 1840 Mittwoch-Nachmittags 1/2 4 Uhr am Clavier — — — componiert am 10<sup>ten</sup> July Nachts" (Mus.fol.53u, 17v). This manuscript led to some confusion on the part of H.A. Köstlin, who stated that the song was written on July 1, 1840 (*Lebensabriß* 70). "July 1", however, refers not to the composition date, but to the date of the first meeting (the "Erstes Begegnen"), which took place at 3:30 PM at the piano. On the previous page of his biography H.A. Köstlin stated that the first Lang/Köstlin song was "Wenn das Herz dir ist beklommen" from July 5; his error with regard to the dating of "Erstes Begegnen" is therefore rather puzzling. Even his dating of "Wenn das Herz dir ist beklommen" is not quite accurate. The poem was certainly written on July 5 (Z 2704), but Lang's first musical setting of it is dated July 9 (Mus.fol.53x, 3r).

Lang's relocation from Kreuth to Tegernsee is also substantiated by the musical manuscripts. Neither Hiller's nor H.A. Köstlin's biography specifies exactly when Lang left Kreuth, but it must have been between July 10 – the last date on which a song

manuscript is labelled “Kreuth” (Mus.fol.53u, 18v), and July 15 – the first date on which a song manuscript is labelled “Tegernsee” (Mus.fol.53v, 4v). Information on Köstlin’s poetry manuscripts suggests that the exact date of Lang’s departure was July 13. On this day he gave her a signed and dated copy of the poem “Gedenke mein! Die lieben Augenlenke” (first poem in Cod.hist. 4° 437 Fasz. 10a, “Gedichte aus dem Brautstand”), and his poem of July 14 begins with the words: “Dorthinaus, wo du verschwunden, / Seh’ ich ohne Unterlaß” (Z 2704). It is unclear exactly when Köstlin followed Lang to Tegernsee (i.e., took up residence in there). From his poetry manuscripts, it seems that he did not do so until August 5, although the contents of the poems from July 16 to August 2 suggests that he was already travelling to Tegernsee to see Lang during that time.

The description in the secondary sources of the nature of the relationship between Lang and Köstlin before August 13, 1840 is difficult to reconcile with information on the song and poetry manuscripts. On July 9, Lang was already writing sentences such as: “Rein und hold wie deine Seele muß auch dein Lieben sein” on her song manuscripts (Mus.fol.53u, 17v and 18v). And Köstlin, also on July 9, was writing a poem beginning: “So brenn’ auf meinem Munde, / Süßbitterster Genuß, / So brenn’ als ew’ge Wunde, / Du letzter tiefer Kuß!” Moreover, Köstlin gave Lang a copy of this poem (fourth poem in Cod.hist. 4° 437 Fasz. 10a, “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”). Their love may have been “mute,” but there appears to have been plenty of action! In view of the poems and songs, it is almost impossible to believe that they were unaware or unconscious of their love for each other.

Finally we come to the question of what exactly happened on August 13, 1840, the date on which the two of them supposedly made their open declaration of love to each other. It is unfortunate that there is a gap in the dated song manuscripts from August 4<sup>18</sup> to August 16, 1840. Neither the August 4 nor the August 16 song manuscripts contains any information beyond the date and place of composition. The August 16 manuscript merely states: “componiert in Tegernsee den 16[.] August 1840 / aufgeschrieben den 25. Sept. 1840” (Mus.fol.54a, 54r). The only dated setting of a Köstlin text that Lang composed in the fall of 1840 is the song “Nach dem Abschied” (op. 9/3) on September 14 (Mus.fol.53x, 22r); that manuscript, too, contains only the most basic information: “componiert 14<sup>ten</sup> Sept. 1840 Montag Abends.” In setting this text exactly one month after Köstlin’s departure, Lang may have been trying to follow the advice of a little poem she had copied onto the title page of one of her manuscript booklets from this time: “Kannst du den Schmerz in Gesang erheben, / Brauchst du vor keinem Geschick zu erbeben” (Mus.fol.53w, 1r).<sup>19</sup>

Thus there are, unfortunately, no direct references on the song manuscripts about how Lang felt when Köstlin deserted her. There are, in fact, very few song manuscripts at all from late summer and fall of 1840. This decrease in productivity could be explained by a serious illness. H.A. Köstlin states: “Abermals fiel Josefine in eine

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<sup>18</sup> There are three song manuscripts simply dated “August 1840,” which might fall between August 4 and August 16. In the case of two of the manuscripts a portion of the composition information is cut off; in the other case the date is missing.

<sup>19</sup> At first glance it might seem that any information on the pages of Mus.fol.53w could not reasonably be connected with the summer or fall of 1840. The dates on the songs in Mus.fol.53w begin with December 18, 1840 and end with 1851. If one, however, extracts the original title of the booklet from the mass of other verbiage on the title page (1r), one finds that it reads: “‘Schöne Worte’ in schlechten [sic] Melodien übersetzt. Im Jahr 1840 vom July angefangene Lieder. componiert in Tegernsee Aufzuschreiben angefangen am 14<sup>ten</sup> Sept. 1840.” Thus, writing on the back and front pages of the booklet could be from the fall of 1840.

schwere Krankheit, welche sie an den Rand des Grabes brachte” (*Lebensabriß* 73). He does not say exactly when this illness struck, but the paucity of dated manuscripts from August 14 to December 18, 1840 suggests that it was during that period. Also, Köstlin wrote to Mendelssohn in February 1841 that Lang had been ill all winter (February 15, 1841, Mendelssohn papers MS M.D.M. d.39 no.68, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

Some indirect allusions to Lang’s state of mind after Köstlin’s departure may be found on the manuscripts. As mentioned above, the heavily crossed out words on “Sie liebt mich” and “Scheideblick” may be relevant. Of more significance, however, is the song fragment “Erstes Begegnen” (Mus.fol.53u, 17v), given in Example 1.

The image shows a handwritten manuscript page. At the top, the title "Erstes Begegnen" is written in cursive and is heavily crossed out with multiple horizontal lines. Above the title, there are several lines of crossed-out text, including "Rein und hold..." and "wie deine Seele... muß auch dein Lieben sein." Below the title, there is a musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is written in a simple, lyrical style. Below the staff, the lyrics are written in cursive: "Mir ist's, als hast du dich seit Jahren - so freundlich fast".

**Ex. 1. Lang’s Manuscript of the Song Fragment “Erstes Begegnen.”**

The crossed-out words above the title are those mentioned earlier: “Rein und hold . . . wie deine Seele . . . muß auch dein Lieben sein.” Another song fragment, entitled “Abschied,” contains a portion of what appears to be the same sentence – “Seele muß auch dein Lieben sein” – and it too is crossed out (Mus.fol.53u, 18v). It is very likely that Lang was moved to scratch out such sentiments after Köstlin’s departure. In addition

the top left-hand corner of the “Abschied” manuscript is torn out; just a few tantalizing scraps of words remain, all of which are crossed out.

It is tempting to interpret two poems in Lang’s hand on the last page of one of her musical manuscripts as revealing her feelings toward Köstlin. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine exactly when she wrote or, more likely, copied them into her manuscript booklet. One of them reads: “Vor meiner Rache kannst Du ruhig schlafen / Der Eckel [sic] hindert mich, dich zu bestrafen” (Mus.fol.53w, 30v). The other expresses similar ideas: “Zum Scherz bist Du zu frech / Zum Ernst bist Du zu seicht: / Dich zu bestrafen ist zu widrig [?] und zu leicht.” If these two poems do refer to Köstlin, it is refreshing to think that Lang was human enough to harbour some resentment instead of merely accepting everything he did to her with “selflessness and nobility coupled with a profound goodness, strength and courage” (Werner 189).

The next dated setting of a text by Köstlin – in fact, the next dated manuscript – is from December 18, 1840, namely the song “An den See” (op. 14/4). The composition information on this manuscript is noteworthy: “Componiert am 18<sup>ten</sup> Dezember 1840. Von den ‘beiden Briefen’ begeistert. Aufgeschrieben am 19<sup>ten</sup> Dezember 1840 nach dem Hanno es hörte, und nicht schlecht fand” (Mus.fol.53w, 1v). These “beiden Briefe[ ]” must surely be Köstlin’s letters to Lang and her godfather explaining his sudden departure and stating that “[i]n Josephinens reinem, unberührtem<sup>20</sup> Wesen hatte er das Ideal edler Weiblichkeit erkannt – sie zu erringen, dieses Ziel stand klar vor seiner Seele”

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<sup>20</sup> This quotation is H.A. Köstlin’s paraphrasing of his father’s statements in the letters. It may not be completely accurate. Reinhold Köstlin does not seem to have been sure of Lang’s *Unberührtheit*. In a poem from August 8, 1840 he asks: “Holde Rose, sag’ mir doch, / Wie du jetzo vor mir glühest, / Ob im ersten Schmucke noch, / Himmelskind, du vor mir blühest? // Oder ob dich einmal hat / Schon ein Schmetterling umgaukelt, / Liebeschmelzend, wonnematt / Sich im zarten Kelch geschaukelt?” (Z 2704 and Lang’s copy entitled “Frage” (poem [31] in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a, “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”).

(H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 71). He considered himself, however, bound to another woman and, until he was free, unable to proceed with his relationship with Lang. These letters of explanation seem to have arrived more than four months after he left, which hardly qualifies as “soon” (*Lebensabriß* 71).

Information from Köstlin’s poetry manuscripts supports the notion of the late arrival of these letters. Here, too, is a gap in the dated manuscripts, in his case from August 12 to August 18. Once Köstlin resumed writing poems, the place names indicate that after leaving Tegernsee he made a headlong rush southward, finally ending up in Italy. The contents of Köstlin’s poems of August 18 to September 28 do not give any indication that his reason for leaving Lang had to do with the “other woman.” Nor is there any reference in these post-departure poems to the religious differences<sup>21</sup> between the two of them – Lang was a devout Catholic, while Köstlin was a member of a decidedly Protestant Württemberg clan.<sup>22</sup> Rather, it seems that Köstlin was simply feeling trapped by the relationship. There are indications of this problem in the pre-departure poems as well, notably in an August 9 sonnet – a poem that he did not give to Lang – which ends with the words: “Kennst du das Lied von der gebrochnen Treue? / Zu lösen glaubtest du nur Blumenschlingen; – / Hab’ nur Geduld! Sie fassen dich auf’s

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<sup>21</sup> A pre-departure poem from August 9 is the only one to address the topic of religious differences; it describes how Köstlin watched Lang go into her church and pray: “Still von draussen seh ich’s an, / Mich ergreift der Wehmuth Schauer, / Daß ich dir nicht folgen kann.”

<sup>22</sup> The question of religious difference might seem to be a convincing reason for Köstlin’s departure. His family had, however, had ample time to come to terms with the possibility of Köstlin’s marrying a Catholic; he had been in love with another Catholic woman for three years before he met Lang (Kazmaier 147).

Neue, / Und fest geschmiedet bist in Eisenringen.”<sup>23</sup> The theme of freedom continues in Köstlin’s post-departure poems: “Ja, in den süßesten Banden gefangen, / Gewiegt auf der Liebe Schooß, vernahm ich / Endlich der Freiheit Alp[h]ornruf; / Und trotzig sprengt’ ich die süße Fessel” (poem dated August 19 in Z 2704). Köstlin does not appear to have remained happy with his decision for long. By August 24 he was writing as follows:

Aus meinem Himmel fortgegangen  
 Bin ich, ein trotzig wilder Thor;  
 Ich weiß nicht, welche Stimmen sangen  
 Von Leben mir und Freiheit vor.  
 ...  
 Ja, wenn’s so wär’, wenn Alles wieder  
 So werden könnte, wie es war!  
 Zum Abgrund seh’ ich schaudernd nieder;  
 Zurück! Es sträubt sich mir das Haar.  
 ...  
 Umsonst, du Thor! Was träumst noch immer?  
 Für dich sind jene Pforten zu.  
 ...  
 Du hast’s gewollt, so lern’s ertragen!  
 Und nur nicht rückwärts mußt du schau’n. (Z 2704)

The above poem makes clear that Köstlin felt that he had burned his bridges. However sorry he may have been, he did not feel that he could go back and make things right. It is therefore unlikely that he would have written the two letters “soon” after leaving. As the following letter from Emma von Suckow to Justinus Kerner shows, it was Lang’s “friends” – probably her godfather, Joseph Stieler<sup>24</sup> – who prodded Köstlin into justifying himself:

<sup>23</sup> Other pre-departure examples exist. The poem of July 31 states: “Manchmal im Herzen / Klopft noch der alte Wanderdrang.” The August 7 poem, contains the lines: “Möcht’ ich so schon landen an?” and “Manches hab’ ich hier bereut” (Z 2704).

<sup>24</sup> It would certainly not have been the first time Stieler took an active part in promoting Lang’s matrimonial chances (see the letter from Wilhelm Eichthal to Mendelssohn, May 15, 1833, Mendelssohn papers, MS M.D.M. d.28, no. 91, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

Einmal war davon die Rede, daß Reinhold Köstlin die Schebest<sup>25</sup> heirathen würde. Als er die Lang in Kreuth kennen lernte, sagte er ihren Freunden, die bei ihm anfragten u. ihm auf den Zahn fühlten: Er sey bereits gebunden. Erst nach Monaten schrieb er wieder mit dem Zusatze, jene Bande hätten sich gelöst und er sey jezt frei. (von Suckow to Justinus Kerner, [May 13, 1842], KN 6561, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach)

It is possible that Köstlin might never have tried to resume his relationship with Lang without the intercession of her “friends.” The “auf den Zahn [fühlen]” mentioned by von Suckow could have been a letter from Stieler. Such a letter would explain how Köstlin knew that Lang had been ill for most of the fall and winter when she did not write to him until after his formal proposal of marriage in April of 1841 (“sie [schrieb] ihm während eines ganzen Jahres kein Wort, keine Zeile”; H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 72). Although the above letter might at first sound like idle gossip, von Suckow would have been able to speak with some authority. Her sister, Agnes von Calatin, was Lang’s best friend in München, and von Calatin was certainly aware of the Lang/Köstlin relationship.<sup>26</sup> When Lang’s “friends” wrote to Köstlin, he probably had to scramble to find a reason for his action that he could reconcile with his self-esteem. According to his son, he came up with the following:

<sup>25</sup> The “other woman,” Agnese Schebest (1813-1869) – a very successful mezzosoprano in the Stuttgart area and throughout southern Germany. She later married David Friedrich Strauß (Kazmaier 145).

<sup>26</sup> It was Agnes von Calatin who set Lang a riddle based on Köstlin’s first name:

Was ist das Gegentheil v. Schmutzig?	Rein
----- Scheuslich?	hold
„Räthsel, das mir Agnes in der Gesellschaft bey Frau [indecipherable name] auf gab. (Mus.fol.53w, 30v)	

Er war sich klar geworden, nach langem, inneren Kampf, welcher Weg vor ihm liege, wenn er der Stimme seines Gewissens, wie der seines Herzens wollte gerecht werden. . . . Aber noch stand ein Schatten zwischen seinem und ihrem Glück: die nahen Beziehungen, in welchen er zu jener gestanden war, an deren Besitz er dereinst sein Lebensglück hatte ketten wollen. Wohl bestand kein förmliches Band, vor Menschen war er nicht gebunden: aber vor seinem zarten Gewissen und Herzen. Schroff, unvermittelt, ohne nähere Erklärung abzubauen, wo er wußte, daß er für einen leidenschaftlichen Liebenden gehalten werde, das erschien ihm herzlos und unlauter; brieflich eine so zarte Angelegenheit abzumachen, den Stürmen, welche eine persönliche, offene und ehrliche Auseinandersetzung vielleicht hervorrief, auszuweichen, erschien ihm unmännlich; sie, die andre, war eine große Seele, eine hochherzige Natur – sie sollte nicht klein von ihm denken, das war er sich und ihr schuldig; Aug' in Auge wollte eine solche Sache ausgetragen und gelöst sein. (H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 71-72).

If this explanation is an accurate representation of the contents of Köstlin's letter, that letter was a masterpiece of hypocrisy. If it is an attempt by H.A. Köstlin to make his father's behaviour look better, it fails miserably. It clearly emerges from the above quotation that there are very different standards for the two women; Schebest is to receive all the consideration that Lang did not. Lang was abandoned without a word ("schroff, unvermittelt, ohne nähere Erklärung"). In Lang's case, it was apparently not "herzlos und unlauter" to deal with "eine so zarte Angelegenheit" via a letter; she did not seem to warrant the "persönliche, offene und ehrliche" explanation that Schebest was to have. Unfortunately, unless Köstlin's two letters surface, we will never know exactly how

much of this “explanation” is unedited Köstlin and how much is his son’s whitewashing.<sup>27</sup> All one can state with certainty is that Köstlin did indeed use his liaison with Agnese Schebest – at least officially<sup>28</sup> – as the excuse for his behaviour. This fact emerges both from the von Suckow letter quoted above and from one of Köstlin’s letters to Mendelssohn, in which he states:

Der arme Freund hatte das Unglück, halb und halb gebunden zu seyn, so daß er sich nicht entscheidend erklären durfte, sondern das Schicksal von Dreien [Josephine Lang, Agnese Schebest und Reinhold Köstlin] auf sich nehmen mußte und mit der dämonischen Macht in einen langen Kampf gehen mußte, das erst nach einem halben Jahre sich zum Heile entschied. (December 8, 1841, Mendelssohn papers MS.M.D.M. d.40 no.214, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

No matter how Köstlin’s explanatory letter to Lang was worded, her *Begeisterung* of December 18, 1840 did not last long. She had already waited four months for a letter from Köstlin, and when it arrived, it told her little more than that he was working on the

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<sup>27</sup> Perhaps H.A. Köstlin received some feedback about this “explanation” from the readers of his *Lebensabriß*, and as a result decided to write the following very condensed account of the courtship for his *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* article, published sometime after 1905: “Als sie von einander scheiden mußten, wußten beide, daß sie einander für das Leben angehören mußten, ohne daß sie sich eigentlich ausgesprochen hatten. Erst im Jahre darauf folgte die Verlobung” (347).

<sup>28</sup> In H.A. Köstlin’s *Lebensabriß*, the reason for the separation and delay in the formal engagement changes almost imperceptibly from the “Schatten zwischen seinem und ihrem Glück”, namely, Agnese Schebest (71), to the somewhat ambiguous statement: “Aber sie sollte keinen Fuß in das Haus setzen, ehe er ihr die Wege völlig geebnet hätte; nicht die leiseste Spur von ernsten Auseinandersetzungen oder irgendwelchen Kämpfen sollte sie antreffen” (73). The latter barrier suggests some problem with Lang herself and could be a reference to her Catholicism. With the exception of the pre-departure poem quoted earlier, and a handwritten document entitled “Gemischte Ehen” – a summary of meticulous research about interfaith marriages undertaken by Köstlin’s father (Cod.hist. 4° 437 Fasz. 6a., Nr. 4), there is no mention of the religious question on any other primary documents from the courtship. As well, as stated previously, Köstlin had been in love with another Catholic (Agnese Schebest) for three years before meeting Lang, so his father’s “Gemischte Ehen” research could well stem from that relationship. According to a letter from Lang to Clara Schumann (August 26 [or 16], 1859, *Musikalischer Nachlaß K. Schumann* 5, 216, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin), Lang’s children were all Protestant, so it seems that she was at some point required to agree to allow her children to be raised in a religion different from her own.

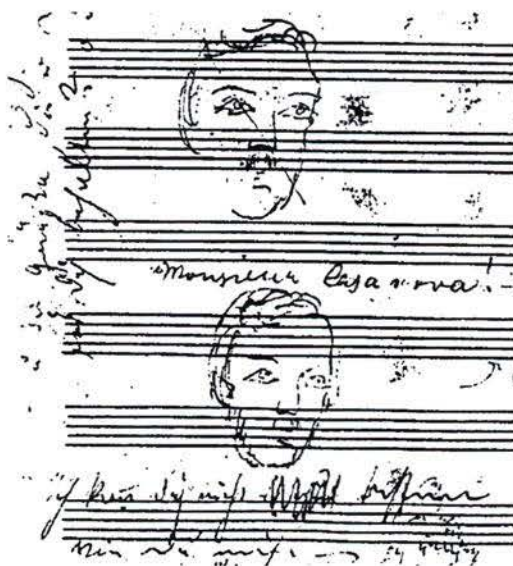
problem. Her impatience begins to surface in her manuscripts. On January 6, 1841 she composed a *Lied ohne Worte* entitled “Ungedult [sic].” At the end of this piano piece she writes: “Ungedultig [sic], stets voll Zweifel, ängstlich, suchend, keinen Ausweg—kein Ziel erreichend!—” (Mus.fol.56a, 23r-24r).

Her illness seems to have continued as well, for there are very few dated manuscripts from early 1841. One manuscript substantiates H.A. Köstlin’s statement (*Lebensabriß* 73) that Lang went to Augsburg in the early spring (Mus.fol.53w, 18r). At the beginning of April she set two Köstlin poems. The song from April 5, 1841 has part of the composition information crossed out; it is almost impossible to read, but the words “Componiert ...mit einer [illegible] Ahnung und zugleich aufgeschrieben” can be deciphered (Mus.fol.53w, 7r). On another manuscript she wrote: “Componiert am 6<sup>ten</sup> April 1841 Nachmittags 3 Uhr in ew’ger Erwartung auch aufgeschrieben” (Mus.fol.53w, 10r). At this point it had been almost eight months since Köstlin’s departure. Frustration with such “eternal anticipation” is reflected in a little poem from the title page of Mus.fol.53w. It is written in darker ink than most of the other words on the page, and specific words are heavily underlined: “Beßer ein rascher Urtheils-Spruch – als eine langsam tödtende Folter” (1r).

And what of Köstlin in the meantime? It seems that his way of going about the business of disentangling himself from Schebest was to initiate a flirtation with another actress/singer, Cathinka Evers. The first poem to her is from the end of December 1840 (dated December 31 in Z 2704; Evers’s copy in 874 is dated December 30, 1840) – that is, after he sent the two letters to München. There are poems (four in Z 4131, and Evers’s copies in 875) and letters (45964/1-3, dated February 4, 15 and 25, respectively)

that indicate that this flirtation was still continuing in February 1841. As well, on February 15, 1841 – the birthday of Schebest – Köstlin wrote a gloomy 12-line poem beginning: “Du werther Tag, der Sie geboren, / Wie traurig steigst du heut herauf!” And all the time he was “storming” Lang with countless letters and entreaties to write to him (H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 72).

In view of the above, it is again tempting to read a great deal of significance into another Lang manuscript. The last page of Lang’s 1840 collection of Köstlin poems (Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a, “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”) contains references to Köstlin as a Casanova. At the conclusion of the last poem in Köstlin’s hand, Lang wrote “Spatziengang [sic] des Casanova / Vormittag’s 12 Uhr. den 13<sup>ten</sup> August 1840.” Exactly what she meant is not clear. She could not have been referring to Köstlin’s abrupt departure, which took place a day later and, according to secondary and primary sources, early in the morning, not at noon. But that she was referring to Köstlin is clear on the basis of two sketches found in the back of one of her manuscript booklets (Mus.fol.53w, 30v). Comparing the sketches to a photograph of Köstlin (Maria Köstlin unnumbered page between 16 and 17) reveals a strong similarity between him and the above “Monsieur Casanova!”, particularly in the bearded sketch – the one that is not crossed out. Again, unfortunately, it is impossible to determine when these sketches were made, but Lang’s labelling of Köstlin as a Casanova is particularly appropriate when one considers his methods for sorting out his complicated relationships with women. The words “ich kann dich nicht treffen wie du mich” are also written below these sketches, but it is unclear whether they refer to the Casanova sketches or not.



**Fig. 3. Sketches from one of Lang's Manuscript Booklets (Mus.fol.53w, 30v).**  
Reproduced by permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Handschriften Abteilung.

Despite labelling Köstlin as a Casanova, Lang did accept his proposal of marriage. The first dated manuscript after the betrothal letter of April 16, 1841 (H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 73) is that of the song “Frühling ist gekommen” (op. 27/4). It reads: “Componiert am 19 April 1841 in seeligster Stimmung auch gleich aufgeschrieben” (Mus.fol.53w, 10v). This time, Lang's happiness was of greater duration. On May 8, 1841 she set another Köstlin poem: “Componiert ... Voll jubelnder Empfindungen” (Mus.fol.53w, 14r).

Lang seems to have forgiven Köstlin everything. In early June she wrote a song without words for him. At the end of the manuscript one finds the words: “Da!!!—”; and at the bottom of the page: “Gefällt's Dir? Ist's recht? Mein Engel! Leb' wohl! Laß bald von Dir hören! 'Deine' Josephine sehnt sich! — den 3. Juny 1841” (Mus.fol.56d, 5r). Considering what she had suffered at his hands, referring to him as “my angel!” shows considerable forbearance.

One would expect Lang's productivity to have increased after her engagement. Köstlin was certainly keeping her well supplied with poems, but the dated manuscripts show that between April 16 and December 31, 1841, she actually wrote no more pieces than between January 1 and April 15, 1841. This lack of dated manuscripts could reflect H.A. Köstlin's assertion that at this time she was learning how to run a household and how to cook: "Rührend ist es, ...mit welcher Energie die ideale Künstlerin daran ging, sich zur Hausfrau und Hausmutter auszubilden" (*Lebensabriß* 74). These pursuits seem to have left her little time for music. In 1842 the situation deteriorated. There is only one dated manuscript from this year, namely the song "Vögelein" (op. 14/5), "componiert in Tübingen 1842. aufgeschrieben 4 Decembre [sic] 1842. Abends" (Mus.fol.53w, 20v). It is a setting of a poem written by Köstlin during their honeymoon in April. This reduction in productivity is an only too accurate reflection of what was to come: there are only 18<sup>29</sup> song manuscripts (four of which are fragments) that can be conclusively dated as stemming from Lang's and Köstlin's 14-year marriage. There is also less detailed composition information on these later manuscripts. The title pages completely covered in writing and sketches, which are so common in the earlier manuscript booklets (Mus.fol.53k-o, 53q-u, and 53w), disappear completely during the marriage years (and thereafter).

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<sup>29</sup> Fifteen of these songs have texts by Köstlin; three have texts by other poets.

Lang's Manuscripts and H.A. Köstlin's *Lebensabriß* –

Discrepancies in the Number of Songs

The lack of dated manuscripts from the courtship period has been repeatedly mentioned in the preceding sections. This lack illustrates the most significant contradiction between the manuscripts and H.A. Köstlin's biography. H.A. Köstlin asserts that 41 songs were written during the period from July 6 to August 12, 1840 – “in der seligen Zeit des Liebesfrühlings” (*Lebensabriß* 69). His statement is widely accepted as true.<sup>30</sup> Werner, for example, goes so far as to state that “one must not forget the fact that between July 6 and August 12, 1840, Josephine wrote forty-one songs” (594, my emphasis). As shown in the table below, this “fact” is by no means established. The total number of songs from the courtship could at best be 24, and these 24 songs originate in the period between July 9, 1840 and March 28, 1842 (i.e., the entire courtship rather than its first six weeks). A detailed list of all of the Lang/Köstlin songs and their manuscript sources is given in Appendix A. The following table is a summary of the material in Appendix A.

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<sup>30</sup> It is no doubt this statement that led Rosenwald to call the Lang/Köstlin collaboration “[einen] ähnliche[n] Liederfrühling wie diejenige Schumanns zu Klara Wieck und die Marschners zu Therese Janda” (62). At least in the case of Schumann, who wrote 125 songs during 1840 (Abraham 633-635), this comparison is not really justified.

**Table 1.****Summary of the Lang/Köstlin Collaborations.**

Period	Confirmed Number of Songs in each Period	Maximum Songs Possible <sup>a</sup>
Questionable Songs <sup>b</sup>	3	not applicable
Songs from the Courtship	21	24
Songs of the Married Years	15	20
Songs from Lang's Widowhood	2	7
Period Uncertain	6	not applicable
Total	46 (but 3 questionable)	not applicable

Source: Appendix A.

<sup>a</sup> The maximum number of songs possible is obtained by moving songs from the category "Period Uncertain" to the categories (Courtship, Marriage and Widowhood) into which they could conceivably fall.

<sup>b</sup> Songs for which the text is attributed to Köstlin in one of the published musical sources or by H.A. Köstlin, but for which I have not been able to confirm the attribution from poetic publications or manuscripts.

H.A. Köstlin's assertion that 41 songs originated during the initial six weeks of the courtship is based on the manuscript "Gedichte im Jahr 1840" (Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a), which concludes with the words (in Lang's hand): "Vom 6<sup>ten</sup> Julÿ an bis zum 12<sup>ten</sup> August! wurden „41 Gedichte,, gemacht!– Mit denen im Album und Stammbblatt gerechnet!–" However, unless a substantial number of musical manuscripts was lost, the poems were either not all set to music, or Lang composed songs that were never recorded on paper.

Arguments may be made for both the possibility of lost manuscripts and the possibility of songs that had not been written out. Holdings in other libraries and

archives in Germany show that Lang made presents of her songs to friends and acquaintances. These gifts are, however, not usually the first-draft manuscripts but neater copies. A great many of these manuscripts were doubtless lost upon the death of the recipient.<sup>31</sup>

The second possibility (songs that were never recorded on paper) is more likely. Lang's musical manuscripts frequently contain statements like "componiert den 16<sup>ten</sup> Februar 1839 abends 1/2 11 Uhr, aufgeschrieben am 18 Maÿ [18]39" (Mus.fol.53t, 9r-11r). In fact, as shown in the following example, songs were sometimes copied out (or possibly written down from memory) over a year after their composition: "componiert den 14<sup>ten</sup> Februar 1835 Morgens 1/2 8 Uhr Aufgeschrieben in Tegernsee am 23 September 1836" (Mus.fol.53o, 11r-11v). There is evidence that this trend of delayed writing out of compositions continued during the courtship. For the song "Gedenke mein" (op. 14/3) the composition data reads: "Componiert am 15. Julÿ 1840 Abend's 8 Uhr aufgeschrieben am 28. Julÿ-" (Mus.fol.53x, 9r-10v). For "Ach ich denke," the manuscript reads: "Componiert in Tegernsee den 3<sup>ten</sup> August! Aufgeschrieben den 12<sup>ten</sup> Octobr. 1840" (Mus.fol.53x, 16r-17v).<sup>32</sup> Given the pain that Köstlin's leaving caused Lang, it is quite possible that she might have failed to copy out some of her compositions of his texts. The original title on the first page of Mus.fol.53w suggests that she only began a serious attempt at writing out the songs from the summer of 1840 in September: "Im Jahr 1840 vom Julÿ angefangene Lieder. componiert in Tegernsee[.]

<sup>31</sup> In at least one case, only the last page of the manuscript is preserved, as it contains the dedication from Lang to the recipient (Kasten 22, Zu Reinhold Köstlin: Familie, 21827, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach).

<sup>32</sup> Lang had started copying out this song in September, but she did not manage to write down more than the title and some composition data (Mus.fol.56a, 25r).

Aufzuschreiben angefangen am 14<sup>ten</sup> Sept. 1840” (1r). The discrepancy between H.A. Köstlin’s figures and the manuscript evidence is, however, still substantial. According to the manuscripts only eight songs are definitely from the period July 6 to August 12, one additional song is most likely from that period and a further song is possibly from that period. That still leaves 31 songs out of H.A. Köstlin’s 41 unaccounted for. Furthermore, only five of the eight “definite” songs are settings of poems written by Köstlin in 1840; three of them are settings of poems written in 1837 and published in Köstlin’s novella *Die Mathildenhöhle* in 1839. Information in Lang’s *Liedertagebuch* suggests that H.A. Köstlin was misled by the statement about the genesis of 41 poems, and incorrectly extrapolated it to mean 41 songs.



It is apparent that even when the song manuscripts are interpreted at the most literal level as a diary, they can contribute a great deal of new information to our knowledge about Lang – information about a possible romantic relationship in early 1840, about the nature of her relationship with Köstlin, about the late arrival of Köstlin’s letters of explanation, and so on. Most importantly, exploring this apparently simplistic view of the songs as Lang’s diary demonstrates that caution must be exercised with regard to H.A. Köstlin’s biography that has been the foundation of almost every subsequent biographical study. Although he is the composer’s son, he is by no means infallible and his statements should always be examined critically in light of the available primary sources. Given the wealth of material on the manuscripts not included in the present study, continued investigation of the manuscripts as a diary in the literal sense is likely to be very rewarding to scholars dealing with Lang’s compositions.

## Chapter 2. Lang's Selection of the Poetic Texts for her Songs

Almost all scholars who have investigated Lang's statement, "my songs are my diary," have focused on her choice of poetry. Specifically, they regard Lang's choice of texts as being determined by events in her life, the content of the chosen poems somehow reflecting either the events themselves or her emotional responses to these events: "für ihre jeweilige psychische Verfassung findet sie mit geradezu schlafwandlerischer Sicherheit das adäquate Gedicht" (Rosenwald 62). This interpretation of the songs as Lang's *Tagebuch* is valid for some, but not for all of her output. There are a number of other reasons for Lang's selection of certain texts that have no direct connection to biographical events in her life. These other reasons are apparent even among her settings of Köstlin's poems. The challenge in investigating the statement "my songs are my diary" lies in determining when a biographical event was the primary motivation for the choice of a particular poem and when other factors played a greater role. In order to meet this challenge successfully, it is necessary first, to be aware of other influences on Lang's text selection, and second, to have the most accurate picture possible of the events of her life in order to determine when text selection was biographically motivated.

### Past Research into Lang's Text Selection

Let us briefly examine some problems with past research in the area of Lang's choice of texts. The most extensive investigation of Lang's text selection to date is

Roberta Werner's lengthy dissertation, "The Songs of Josephine Caroline Lang: The Expression of a Life" (1992). It contains, however, two flaws. First, it suffers from too great a dependence on H.A. Köstlin's *Lebensabriß* – both on his biographical information, and on the dates of composition given in the list of works at the end of his monograph (97-103). Second, Werner's strategy is to use the songs to provide "clues regarding [Lang's] psychological-emotional state and her life experience around the given date of composition" (630). The assumption underlying this approach is that every song Lang wrote was biographically motivated. While all of Lang's songs may tell us something about her, not all of the poems that she set necessarily reflect a particular event in her life. But Werner often attempts to deduce life events on the basis of song texts. Given that she was sometimes working with incorrect composition data, the results can be unfortunate. About op. 9/3 ("Nach dem Abschied"), for example, Werner states: "This Lied is another of those composed at Bad Kreuth in 1840. It sings of serene joy" (595). According to the manuscript, this song was not composed at Kreuth, but exactly one month after Köstlin's departure (Mus.fol.53x, 22r) when Lang was either still in Tegernsee or already back in München.<sup>33</sup> If Werner had known that it was written at that time, she would have had to find some explanation for the "serene joy," for joy was certainly not what Lang was feeling.<sup>34</sup> About op. 14/1 ("O sehntest du dich so nach mir") Werner writes:

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<sup>33</sup> There are two manuscripts of this song. The composition information on Mus.fol.53v (26v-27r) was cut off when the manuscript booklet was bound because the page was too large; only the year 1840 remains. Mus.fol.53x (22r-22v) contains no information about where the song was composed; only the date and day of the week are given.

<sup>34</sup> Werner's comment on the song's serenity is correct. This primarily musical aspect of op. 9/3 is addressed in Chapter 4 (pp. 100-101).

It must have been some time in 1840, after Reinhold left her to settle the matter with Agnes [sic] Schebest, that Lang composed [this Lied], whose words are taken from Reinhold's novelette [sic]. The words leave little doubt as to the motivation for Lang's selection of text and the emotional state which she chose to express. (599)

Again, the manuscript reveals that this song was written before Köstlin's departure, when Lang was not yet in the "emotional state" caused by that event (Mus.fol.53v, 9v).

Werner simply did not have enough accurate information for her study, and her approach to the songs as Lang's diary was too narrow.

The work of Walther Dürr, while on a much smaller scale than Werner's, also exhibits problems with the application of the statement "my songs are my diary." Dürr begins his "Musikanalytische Beobachtungen" with the statement: "Josephine Langs Lieder lassen sich – entsprechend ihrer Biographie – in drei Perioden gruppieren" (136); he then goes on to analyse one song from each period. While his "drei Perioden" are perfectly logical, there are some problems with his selection of songs. For example, the song he chose as a representative composition from the first period (i.e., before 1840) is actually from 1869 (see Lang's manuscript Mus.fol.53dd, 17v), and the song from the last period (1857-1880) is actually from 1839 (see Lang's manuscript Mus.fol.53u, 9r). In the case of the latter song, one of the pitfalls of applying Lang's *Tagebuch* statement without due care can be seen. Dürr places this song from 1839 (posthumously published under the title "Erinnerung") into the years 1857 to 1880, because he found that Lang's biographical situation in those years would explain her choice of text. He argues that the reason for Lang's identification with the lamentation in this song is the death of her

husband—“für die Komponistin sicherlich der Tod ihres Gatten” (141). Given that the song was written before she even met her husband, his supposition is wrong. The incorrect dating of the song in Dürr’s article does not, as was the case in Werner’s work, result from too great a trust in H.A. Köstlin, but from Dürr’s failure to read carefully the secondary literature cited in his bibliography (155). The song is dated correctly in two of the sources given there, namely, H.A. Köstlin (*Lebensabriß* 68) and Werner (572).

### Lang’s Text Selection Re-examined

Despite the problems with past work in this area, it would not be valid completely to discard the notion that Lang’s text selection can reflect events in her life. The errors that have occurred do not diminish the validity of interpreting Lang’s *Tagebuch* statement in this way (and we will return to this interpretation later in this chapter). A well-rounded understanding of Lang’s choice of poetic text can only be achieved when such an interpretation is supplemented by an investigation of instances in which Lang approached text selection in a manner not directly related to events in her life. Even in the case of her Köstlin settings, where biographical significance is of undeniable importance, other reasons also played a role in the choice of text. Examples of three non-biographical criteria for text selection may be found in Lang’s Köstlin songs: first, she chose the poem because it contained a theme to which she was drawn throughout her life; second, she experienced an immediate, spontaneous response to the poem – a response apart from a reaction to its content alone; and third, she chose the poem because of the importance of its author to her.

*Themes in Lang's Texts*

It is possible to discern several recurring themes in the texts of Lang's songs – themes to which she returned throughout her composing career. When one examines her settings of Köstlin's texts, one finds that some of these themes are also present there. Themes such as beauty of nature and seeking comfort and healing from nature or correspondence between nature and love could be expected to attract a composer of the Romantic era. That Lang was drawn to political texts as well is perhaps more surprising, yet she composed several political songs, including a now lost “für Bismark bestimmte ... ‘Preis-Hymmne’ [sic]” mentioned in a letter to Ferdinand Hiller in 1874 (July 20, 1874, Hiller Papers **43**, 521, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln). Table 2 summarizes the themes to which Lang was attracted and gives examples of songs in which they occur. As shown in the table, most of the given themes are first found in songs Lang composed before she met Köstlin and continue in songs she composed after his death. Furthermore, the themes occur in songs with texts by Köstlin, as well as in songs with texts by other poets. Thus, one could argue that Lang chose to set some of the Köstlin poems not because he wrote them, nor because they reflected particular events in her life, but simply because they contained a thought or theme to which she had always been drawn.

**Table 2.****Themes in Lang's Songs – the Köstlin Texts Compared to Texts by Other Poets.**

<b>Theme (year of earliest occurrence–year of latest occurrence<sup>a</sup>)</b>	<b>Examples in Song with Texts by Köstlin</b>	<b>Examples in Songs with Texts by Other Poets<sup>b</sup></b>
Beauty of nature/seeking comfort and healing from nature (1833-1858)	op. 27/2, op. 27/5, op. 38[39]/6, and the two unpublished settings of the text of op. 27/2	op. 7/3, op. 7/5, op. 7/6, op. 9/1, op. 9/2, op. 11/5, op. 25/1, op. 36[38]/2, op. 40/2, and op. 43/3
Correspondence between nature and love (1835-1865)	op. 9/4, op. 12/1, op. 12/2, op. 12/6, op. 14/2, op. 14/4, op. 14/6, op. 20 and one unpublished song	op. 9/2, op. 10/3, op. 13/4, op. 15/5, op. 26/4, op. 26/6 and op. 40/1
Happiness in love (1834-1865)	op. 12/3, op. 12/4, op. 12/5, op. 14/6, op. 20, op. 27/1, op. 27/4 and op. 27/6	[op. 5]/2, [op. 6]/1, [op. 6]/2, [op. 6]/3, op. 7/2, op. 7/4, op. 8/3, op. 9/2, op. 9/6, op. 13/2, op. 22, op. 28/1, op. 33[34]/4 and op. 40/6
Farewell and separation, and/or the pain associated with it <sup>c</sup> (1835-1878)	op. 9/3, op. 13/1, op. 14/1, op. 14/3, op. 26/2, op. 43/4, and four unpublished songs	op. 9/5, op. 10/5, op. 10/6, op. 11/4, op. 13/5, op. 15/3, op. 15/4, op. 26/6, op. 33[34]/2, op. 33[34]/6, op. 34[35]/1, op. 36[38]/1, op. 38[39]/3, op. 38[39]/4, op. 45/1 and two WoO
Patriotic/political songs (cannot be determined)	two unpublished songs from 1848	five unpublished songs, one from 1841, the remainder undated

Source: This table is distillation of a larger table of poetic themes in the process of preparation by Harald Krebs.

<sup>a</sup> The years given are taken from the dated manuscripts. Since many songs are undated, the year range may actually be broader.

<sup>b</sup> The examples given in this column are drawn primarily from the published songs. Unpublished songs are only given if no published songs exist for the category.

<sup>c</sup> The song "Den Abschied schnell genommen" (op. 15/1) also fits into this category, but as its text attribution is not yet certain, it is not included in the table.

*Lang's Immediate Response to a Poem*

Another factor that may have affected Lang's choices of Köstlin's texts is an immediate, spontaneous response to particular poems. She discusses such a response in a letter she wrote (after she was widowed) to a man whose poem she had set to music:

[Mein Lied verdankt] ... seine schlichte Melodie u. seine Entstehung dem moment[an]en Eindrücke Ihrer lieblichen Poesie ganz allein ... Das Gedicht ist an u. für sich schon Melodie!– Daß ich wirklich gestehen muß, daß es schon während dem Durchlesen sich zum Liede gestaltete ohne all' mein Zuthun! Es ist dies halt ein wucherndes Unkraut, das sich bei mir, (selbst im Herbst des Lebens) nicht mehr ausrotten läßt, und mit meiner Natur u. m. Leben so verwoben ist, daß es zu meinen Lebensbedürfnissen gehört! (Lang to Eduard Eyth, no date, A: Eyth 28801, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach)

Although it could be argued that Lang might never have read the poem if its author had not been important in her life (he was to be her son's professor at Schönthal), she did not set the poem because its contents had any biographical significance, but simply because it transformed itself into music as she read it. There is evidence that a similar immediate response to the text occurred in a number of Lang's settings of Köstlin's poems. Since Köstlin usually dated his poems, and Lang dated most of her songs, comparison of these dates in some cases allows us to determine the length of time between Köstlin's completion of the poem and its transformation into a song by Lang. Table 3 lists the songs for which Lang's response to the poem seems to have been as immediate as that described in the letter quoted above.

**Table 3.****Lang/Köstlin Songs that Suggest Lang's Immediate Response to the Text.**<sup>35</sup>

Song (incipit)	Date of Poem <sup>a</sup>	Date of Song	Time Difference
unpublished courtship song ("Wenn das Herz dir ist beklommen")	July 5, 1840	July 9, 1840	4 days
unpublished courtship song ("Wer es wüßte, wer es dächte")	July 6, 1840	July 9, 1840	3 days
unpublished courtship song ("So soll es wieder sein geschieden")	July 9, 1840	July 10, 1840	1 day
op. 14/3 ("Gedenke mein! Die lieben Augen lenke")	July 13, 1841	July 15, 1841	2 days
op. 14/2 ("Eilende Wellen spielend im Licht")	August 11, 1841	August 14, 1841	3 days
op. 12/4 ("Die Sonne kam im reinsten Glanze")	November 14, 1841	November 16, [1841]	2 days
op. 12/6 ("Auf langer Haide wallt")	September 11, 1843	September 20, 1843	9 days
unpublished marriage song ("Leise sinkt der Abend nieder")	July 1, 1844	July 6, 1844	5 days

Source: Appendix A.

<sup>a</sup> If there are two dated copies of a poem, the date on the one belonging to Lang is used.

In addition to the songs in the table, there may be others that Lang composed shortly after receiving the poem from Köstlin; there exist six songs for which the poem is undated, five for which the song manuscript is undated, and four where one cannot

<sup>35</sup> It should be noted that in many cases the number of days given in the table is a generous estimate. Köstlin may have written a poem on a specific day, but may not have given it to Lang until several days later. Furthermore, for a number of songs in the table (specifically the last four), the poems had to come to Lang by mail, thereby definitely being subject to a time delay. This is also true of those songs listed in the table which were written during Lang's marriage; these poems originated during trips that Köstlin took while Lang stayed at home with the children.

determine the date on which Lang first saw the poem. Thus, Lang may have selected particular texts by Köstlin not because they were of biographical significance, but simply because they “became songs” for her as she read them.

### *The Importance of the Author of the Text*

Yet another factor influencing Lang’s text selection is the importance of the author in her life. Lang often chose texts by people who were important to her,<sup>36</sup> and, indeed, such a choice can be seen as one facet of the statement “my songs are my diary.” Reinhold Köstlin certainly fits into the category of people who were important to Lang; after their meeting, one could go so far as to say he was of primary importance in her life. This importance is reflected in the fact that his poems dominate in her compositions during the courtship and marriage years.

The Lang/Köstlin collaborations include songs where the primary reason for setting the text seems to have been that the poem was by Köstlin. Among these songs are the three settings of texts from Köstlin’s novella, *Die Mathildenhöhle*. Reinhold Köstlin has been described as having a “reizbare[s], unaufhörlich planende[s] Temperament” (Fischer, *Reinhold Köstlin* 7). Given his “incessantly planning character,” the possibility of a publication of “*Lieder aus der Mathildenhöhle*” would have struck Köstlin as desirable publicity. When he met Lang, she already had eight published song collections to her credit, making her a good candidate for setting a selection of *Mathildenhöhle* texts. That a publication of *Mathildenhöhle* songs was planned can be deduced from a letter of Cathinka Evers to Köstlin wherein she states: “Wenn ich nur die componierten Lieder

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<sup>36</sup> The texts of some of her songs are unpublished poems by her friends or acquaintances (e.g., her best friend, Agnes von Calatin, and the wife of her godfather, Josephine Stieler).

aus der Mathildenhöhle bekommen könnte; ich habe mich schon danach erkundigt[,] doch müßten sie noch nicht gestochen sein” (Evers to Köstlin, February 15, 1841, 45964/2, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach). This collection of “*Lieder aus der Mathildenhöhle*” never materialized; only one of Lang’s three settings ever appeared in print (op. 14/1, “O sehntest du dich so nach mir” – published in 1848). On the original publication of op. 14/1, the song title was simply “Aus der Novelle: ‘Die Mathildenhöhle,’” suggesting that even in 1848 the song was intended to generate publicity for the novella. In the case of these three songs, then, Lang’s poetry selection was most likely a response to the ambition of her lover.

Another song for which the choice of the text seems to have been primarily determined by the fact that Köstlin was the author is op. 10/1 (“Gedenkst du mein?”).<sup>37</sup> Köstlin must have sent the poem to Lang with the “beiden Briefe[ ]” about which she was so ecstatic (“begeistert”) on December 18, 1840 (Mus.fol.53w, 1v). The poem was written on December 11/12, 1840 (Z 2704) and Lang set it on January 4, 1841 (Mus.fol.53w, 4r-5r). Since Lang and Köstlin did not meet between those two dates, the only way Lang could have received the poem is by mail. Upon first reading this poem, one asks why she set the text at all. Even if Joseph Stieler in his “auf den Zahn [fühlen]” had given Köstlin assurances of Lang’s continued devotion, this poem radiates an extraordinary confidence on the part of a man whose furtive departure had been followed by four months of silence! Lang’s *Begeisterung* with the letter did not extend to the enclosed poem; the text of the song she set upon receiving Köstlin’s letter of explanation

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<sup>37</sup> Neither H.A. Köstlin nor Werner was aware that Köstlin was the author of this poem. H.A. Köstlin gives no author in his list of works (*Lebensabriß* 98) and Werner seems to assume it was written by a “poetess” (741).

dates from the summer of 1840. In early January, however, she returned to Köstlin's December poem and set it to music. If Lang had immediately been drawn to the text, she would have set it as soon as she received it. It seems, rather, that Lang felt she ought to set this poem – almost as if she were forcing herself to live up to the dictum “my songs are my diary.” This poem was significant because it was the first one she had received from Köstlin in months and therefore she “had to” set it to music. Again, the identity of the author seems to have been more important than other criteria of text selection.

### Biographically Motivated Text Selection

It is evident that reasons besides biographical relevance did indeed influence Lang's text selection. Nevertheless, there exist numerous examples among the Lang/Köstlin collaborations where the choice of poem was primarily determined by an event in Lang's life, or by the feelings evoked by such an event. Although the bulk of Lang scholarship has focused on this interpretation, further work remains to be done in this area. For example, the unpublished songs have never been included in previous studies.<sup>38</sup> Also, the primary sources have provided so much new information that revisiting the notion of biographically motivated text selection is both justified and necessary.

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<sup>38</sup> Roberta Werner does discuss two unpublished songs: a piece written for Louise Bossert Gärtner's *Stammbuch* (638), and “Schlummerlied an mein Herz” (729). Neither of these, however, are settings of a text by Köstlin. Werner also mistakenly states that two further songs are unpublished, namely “Osterlied” (728) and “Abschied vom See” (786); the latter song was actually published twice (once in the back of the book in which the poem first appeared (Lechner's *Die Landparthie* 7-15) and once in a song collection (*Lieder-Kranz* 6-9)).

Let us first turn to two short examples of biographically relevant texts. The song fragment entitled “Erstes Begegnen” from July 9 or 10, 1840 includes only the following two lines of text: “Mir ist’s, als kennt’ ich dich seit Jahren, so heimisch fühl ich mich bei dir” (Mus.fol.53u, 17v). To date, I have not been able to confirm that the text is by Köstlin, although there is evidence that these words are an accurate depiction of how he viewed his relationship with Lang in early July 1840.<sup>39</sup> Lang, doubtless, felt the same way and chose to set this text for that reason.<sup>40</sup>

A portion of the text of op. 27/3 (“Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke?”) – one of the most beautiful of the Lang/Köstlin collaborations – also reflects life events, namely: “Du, seitdem wir uns gefunden, bist allein, was aus mir spricht.” There is much more to the text than this sentence, but considering how Köstlin’s poems dominated Lang’s settings since they “found each other,” it is certainly accurate to say that this sentence has biographical significance for Lang.

Aside from such individual examples, however, there also exist entire groups of songs that can be interpreted as Lang’s diary on the basis that the texts reflect biographical events. I have chosen three such groups of songs for this investigation. These groupings are not Lang’s; the songs from each group are scattered throughout her publications and did not appear in print together (in fact, some of them were never printed). The first is a group that I have labelled *Seelieder*. The second consists of

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<sup>39</sup> Köstlin wrote to Mendelssohn on December 8, 1841 as follows: “Sie erinnern sich vielleicht, daß ich Ihnen erzählt habe, wie ich als ein vom halben Tode Genesender im dem reizenden Alpenwinkel von Kreuth die Bekanntschaft von Josephine Lang machte. Die Liebe ist ein wunderbarlich Ding. Am dritten Tag schon verstanden sich Sängerin und Poet so gut zusammen, als hätten sie sich seit Ewigkeit gekannt” (Mendelssohn papers MS.M.D.M. d.40 no.214, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

<sup>40</sup> H.A. Köstlin speaks of this setting as a complete song (*Lebensabriß* 70), but if there ever was a manuscript copy that was more than a fragment, it is lost. Since the poetry manuscript is not extant, we have no way of knowing how the text continued.

*Abschiedslieder*. The texts of the third group of songs come from what I have called “quote poems.” Gathering the songs into groups allows one to focus and bring clarity to the discussion of how their texts function as Lang’s diary.

### *The Seelieder*

The following works form the *Seelieder* group: op. 12/3 (“Abermals am See”), op. 14/4 (“An den See”), op. 14/6 (“Auf dem See in tausend Sterne”), op. 27/4 (“Frühling ist gekommen”) and op. 38[39]/6 (“Seelied”). With the exception of op. 27/4, Köstlin later (in 1853) published these texts in a group of twelve poems entitled “Seelieder” (*Gedichte* 32-43) – hence my title for the group. I have included op. 27/4 as a *Seelied* because of its content. One other setting of one of Köstlin’s published *Seelieder* may fall into this category, namely the unpublished song “Zieh, o Schifflein, leise” mentioned by H.A. Köstlin in his *Lebensabriß* (70). No such song manuscript exists in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, nor has one been discovered elsewhere. If this song was ever written, it is lost.

As we have seen, the greater part of those idyllic first six weeks of the Lang/Köstlin courtship took place at Tegernsee. Judging by Köstlin’s *Seelieder*, the lake played an important part in their relationship. In his *Seelieder*, Köstlin describes events from the courtship that took place around the lake (as in the text of Lang’s op. 12/3 (“Abermals am See”)). We also learn that Lang and Köstlin used the lake as a refuge from prying eyes; in the text of op. 14/4 (“An den See”) their boat is referred to as a “schwimmend Eden” and the lake is implored to carry them “fern von Menschenreden und von Menschensinn.” Köstlin even turned the lake into a metaphor for their love; in op. 14/6 (“Auf dem See in tausend Sterne”) he states that as the sun splinters into a

thousand stars on the lake, causing it to glitter and shiver like a sea of fire, so has Lang's image penetrated into his life. Thus the Köstlin *Seelieder* texts all have a very personal relevance for Lang.

What is unusual about Lang's *Seelieder* is that, with the possible exception of the lost song "Zieh, o Schifflein, leise," she composed none of them in Tegernsee; all of them were written later, and look back to the events of the summer of 1840. The retrospective quality of these songs is not apparent unless one consults the manuscripts, for H.A. Köstlin states that op. 12/3, op. 14/4 and op. 14/6 originated in the first six weeks of the courtship (*Lebensabriß* 69) – a statement contradicted by the primary sources. The songs' retrospective quality does not, however, diminish their validity as diary entries; it merely represents another dimension of Lang's statement. Reminiscence is certainly possible and permissible in a diary.

The first *Seelied*, op. 14/4, is the song that Lang composed after receiving Köstlin's letters of explanation in December 1840. She went back to her little silk-ribbon-bound booklet of Köstlin's poems (Cod. hist.4<sup>o</sup> 437, Fasz. 10a, "Gedichte im Jahr 1840") and chose this text with its images of blissful isolation on the lake. It seems that once she received the assurance that Köstlin still loved her, she was for the first time able to allow herself to remember those idyllic days at Tegernsee.

Lang's manuscript of the next *Seelied*, op. 12/3, is dated April 5, 1841. The text describes the approach of Köstlin to the Tegernsee shore on one of his visits to Lang, a description that would have brought back many memories for her. In addition to the reminiscent aspect of this text, there may also be an element of immediate biographical relevance. The manuscript contains a crossed-out reference to the song being composed

with a “premonition” (Mus.fol.53w, 7r). The whole poem is an exhortation to the boatman to row quickly and courageously in order to hasten the reunion of the lovers. Perhaps it was the thought – or even the “premonition” – of such a reunion that drew Lang to the text in April 1841. Haste would have been what she wanted, for she had been waiting a long time for Köstlin to sort out his entanglements; the manuscript from the following day refers to her “eternal anticipation” (Mus.fol.53w, 10r).

The first song that Lang composed after receiving Köstlin’s letter proposing marriage, dated April 16, 1841, was also a *Seelied*, namely op. 27/4 (“Frühling ist gekommen”).<sup>41</sup> The text of this song is very personal; it specifically asks Lang if she recalls the time she and Köstlin spent together on the lake:

... Wandelst in Gedanken  
Wieder du am See,  
Siehst den Nachen schwanken  
Voller Lust und Weh?

Siehst den Dichter fahren  
Und die Sängerin,  
Rosen in den Haaren,  
Fragen nicht, wohin? ... (poem dated March 14 in Z 4131)

This *Seelied* ends with the words “und das Traumesfädchen wird zum starken Band.” These words had finally “come true” with Köstlin’s formal offer of marriage. Although Lang likely received the poem earlier (Köstlin wrote it on her birthday, March 14, 1841), she may have put it aside and not set it to music until the “starke[s] Band” became a reality. As in the first *Seelied* (op. 14/4), Lang may have found it too painful to “wander in thought beside the lake” before she had received something concrete from Köstlin.

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<sup>41</sup> Köstlin did not include this poem in his published *Seelieder*, possibly because it was written in March of 1841, while all twelve of the *Seelieder* in his *Gedichte* volume are from the summer of 1840.

Lang's last *Seelied*, op. 38[39]/6, was written much later – almost five years after Köstlin's death. This poem, too, stems from the summer of 1840. It does not, however, form part of Lang's poetry collection from 1840, so she may not have seen it that summer. The text is a rapturous description of the beauty of the lake, the sunshine, the waterfalls, the fish, etc.<sup>42</sup> A clue as to why Lang chose this *Seelied* in 1861 may be found in the last stanza: "Singt, Holde, und wecket das Echo, und weckt uns die alte Jugend im Herzen!" Those days at Tegernsee had been a very significant part of the courtship, and no doubt this poem awakened echoes of her "alte Jugend" for Lang in 1861. In selecting the text of this last *Seelied*, the widowed Lang was able to revel in many memories: the description of the lake, the fact that the poem was written by her lover the summer they met, and all of her "alte Jugend," for, as her musical manuscripts and other documents show, she had already spent a great deal of time in Tegernsee in the years before she met Köstlin:

Ich träumte davon, und fuhr unter anderm mit Stielers wieder wie früher nach  
Tegernsee, wo sie mich alle so herzlich empfangen, u. wo es mir wieder so  
sorgenfrey um's Herz war, wie damals wo ich noch ein Kind war! -- o sel'ge  
Zeit!!! – (Lang to Köstlin, no date, A: Köstlin, 45965, Deutsches Literaturarchiv,  
Marbach, Germany)

Lang's choice of this song text "im Herbst des Lebens" is one of the most poignant examples of reminiscence found in all the *Seelieder*.

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<sup>42</sup> The last stanza might explain why Köstlin did not give the poem to Lang in 1840: "Hier liegt sich's so lieblich, im Schiffe gestreckt, umgaukelt von flüchtigen Scherzen, von Rosen umduftet, von Mädchen geneckt." The plurality of teasing girls was not likely to be acceptable to someone who thought she was the only woman in his life.

*The Abschiedslieder*

Another group of Lang/Köstlin songs of undeniable biographical significance is that consisting of texts about farewell and separation. Although this theme occurs throughout Lang's work, it is also prominent in her settings of Köstlin's poems. The texts of ten songs deal primarily with this topic, and it is a component of the texts of seven additional songs. Indeed, it is at first puzzling to find so many songs about farewell and separation among the Lang/Köstlin collaborations. This theme surfaces ten days after their first meeting, and continues even after their marriage. The *Abschiedslieder* clearly require investigation.

From the primary sources, we can determine that farewells and separations occurred frequently during the Lang/Köstlin courtship. The first one took place when Lang left Kreuth to go to Tegernsee. Judging by Köstlin's poems, this farewell was perceived as final by both Lang and Köstlin. On July 9, we find the following words in one of his poems: "So schnell ist's, ach, geschieden / Für nun so langen Schmerz" (Z 2704). On July 9 he also wrote the poem that Lang began to set to music the next day (an unpublished song fragment entitled "Abschied" in Mus.fol.53u, 18v):

So soll es wieder seÿn geschieden,  
Da kaum dein Auge mir gelacht?  
So leicht erschüttert ist ein Frieden,  
Und ach, so schwer zurückgebracht.

Und muß denn, wenn verwandte Seelen  
Sich endlich einmal treffen an,  
Muß gleich sich eins vom andern stehlen?  
Giebt's gar kein Glück, das dauern kann? ... (Z 2704)

On July 10, Köstlin wrote a poem about how Lang was always surrounded by other people; it too speaks of an imminent farewell. The last stanza begins:

O Menschenschwarm, so bleib zurück  
 Bis zum Ade voll Pein!  
 Dann über mein zertrümmert Glück  
 Stürm' immer roh herein! (Z 2704, my emphasis)

On July 13, Lang received a copy of the poem she set as her op. 14/3 (“Gedenke mein!”). It contains the words: “Dir weint mein ganzes Leben nach. / So rasch gegeben, rascher noch genommen,— / Und Lust und Leid ein einzig Ach!” (dated July 12 in Z 2704). But despite all of these indications, that farewell did not prove to be final. Köstlin apparently could not stay away from Lang and followed her to Tegernsee. Nevertheless, the fact that this first farewell was perceived as final explains why *Abschiedslieder* occur so early in the courtship, and the *Lieder* arising from this farewell (op. 14/3 and the unpublished “So soll es wieder sein geschieden”) are obviously biographically relevant.

The next separation was the result of Köstlin’s abrupt departure on August 14, 1840. It was this event that probably caused the attribution of the text of op. 15/1 (“Den Abschied schnell genommen”) to Köstlin.<sup>43</sup> If ever there was an *Abschied* that was “schnell genommen,” Köstlin’s August 14 departure was such a one. This farewell, too, seems to have been perceived, at least by Köstlin, as final. Without Stieler’s intervention, Köstlin might never have contacted Lang again. As we have seen, his post-departure poems certainly show evidence of such a state of mind. This farewell, no doubt because of the harrowing effect it had on Lang, has received considerable attention in the

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<sup>43</sup> It was most likely H.A. Köstlin who was responsible for this posthumous attribution (*Lebensabriß* 100), which may well be the earliest example of a faulty application of the statement “meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch.” H.A. Köstlin seems to have deduced the poem’s authorship on the basis of what appeared to be the very convincing biographical relevance of its content: “Nur den Abschied schnell genommen, nicht gezaudert, nicht geklagt, schneller als die Thränen kommen, losgerissen unverzagt” (op. 15/1). No matter how applicable the poem may be to Köstlin’s Tegernsee departure, such applicability does not prove that he wrote the poem. To date, I have not been able to find any evidence that this poem is by Köstlin. It is not among his poetry manuscripts in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach, nor have I been able to find it published under Köstlin’s name. Lang was, unfortunately, the only composer to set this poem as a *Lied*, so no help in determining the author can be gained from the *Lieder* of other composers.

secondary literature. Yet there is only one *Abschiedslied* that can with certainty be identified as resulting from it, namely op. 9/3 (“Nach dem Abschied”); this song was composed on September 14, 1840, exactly one month after Köstlin’s departure. The biographical significance of this *Abschiedslied* cannot be disputed.<sup>44</sup>

One might expect that songs with the theme of farewell and separation would cease after Lang and Köstlin were married. After all, what could keep them apart now? The theme continues, however, for Köstlin frequently left to go on solitary trips.<sup>45</sup> It is unclear why so many journeys were necessary; it is possible that they were health cures. His farewell and separation poems from these trips are tinged with guilt about leaving Lang behind. Lang set a number of these poems to music. Two are published: op. 13/1 (“Abschied”), beginning with the words “Sie hat mich still zum Abschied angeblickt,” and op. 26/2, beginning with the words “Bei Nacht und Nebel fahr ich fort, / frag’ nicht, wohin es geht! / denn ach, was Liebes liess ich dort, / das noch am Fenster steht.” There are also two unpublished songs from this group: “Die Blumen grüßen mich am Wege” (Mus.fol.54f, 38r-40v) and “Da liegst du endlich still vor mir” (Mus.fol.53y, 1r-2v). In addition to the guilt about leaving Lang behind, the texts of these songs also mention the “ganzen Schmerz des Abschieds” (op. 13/1) and Köstlin’s “tiefe[s] Heimweh” (Mus.fol.54f, 38r-40v). They lament his solitude (“denn ach, ich bin allein,” Mus.fol.53y, 1r-2v), and state that Lang’s “treue[s] Aug’ bleibt immerfort der Stern, der mit mir geht” (op. 26/2). Whatever Köstlin’s reasons for these journeys may have been,

<sup>44</sup> As mentioned previously, this unusual *Abschiedslied* is discussed in depth in Chapter 4 (pp. 100-101).

<sup>45</sup> Köstlin’s poetry manuscripts provide the evidence for this statement. In Z 2722/3 there is a group of poems labelled “1842. Oktober. Schwarzwaldreise.” In Z 2717 there are groups of poems labelled “Týroler Reise Herbst 1843,” “Schweitzer Reise Herbst 1844,” “Rhein Baiern. Pfingsten 1845,” and “Bair. Gebirg u. München. Okt. 1845.” In 2727/79 there is an unlabelled group of poems from a trip that included the destination München in the fall of 1846. In 2722/4 there is one group of poems labelled “1847 Peterthal” and another labelled “Týrol, Schweiz, Sept. 1847.”

Lang's settings of these texts demonstrate that parting and separation remained significant components of their relationship even after they were married.

Lang's last *Abschiedslied*, like her last *Seelied*, was composed during her widowhood – op. 43/4 (“Scheiden”), beginning with the words “Warum muß ach das Scheiden sein?” It is also the only text in which death is mentioned as the cause of separation. Unlike the two farewells of the early weeks of the courtship, which were only perceived as final, a farewell made necessary by impending death cannot be anything but final. By 1878 Lang had had to bear three deaths – her husband's; that of her first-born son, Felix; and that of her second son, Theobald. The death that motivated her to set the text of this *Abschiedslied*, however, seems to be that of her husband. Although there are no direct parallels between this text and that of the final song of Schumann's *Frauenliebe und Leben* (op. 42), Lang's song text does awaken echoes of Schumann's. Lang's settings of Köstlin's texts dealing with *Abschied* span her entire life with him and could be viewed as the diary of her personal *Liebe und Leben*.

#### *The “Quote Poem” Songs*

The last group of songs to be discussed consists of three of Lang's compositions in which the statement “meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch” takes on a greater significance than in any other of her songs: op. 12/4 (“O wärest du da”), op. 12/5 (“Der Herbst”) and op. 27/6 (“Zu Tod möcht ich mich lieben”). In reviewing Köstlin's poetry manuscript books, one finds a number of poems that are enclosed in quotation marks, all with a feminine voice. It is not immediately clear whether these poems represent wishful thinking on Köstlin's part. Is he putting words into the mouth of his beloved – words he

wants to hear?<sup>46</sup> The novella, *Die Mathildenhöhle*, provides a possible explanation of the nature of these poems:

Das Lied ... erkannte [Eduard] bei der deutlichen und energischen Aussprache der Sängerin sogleich für eines seiner früheren Gedichte an Mathilden. Es rührte ihn umsomehr, da der Gedanke eigentlich nicht ihm, sondern Mathilden gehörte, die ihn in einem Billette hingeworfen hatte[.] (93)

The protagonist of the novella wrote a poem to his beloved, but the thoughts expressed in this poem came from a letter the beloved had written to him.

Fortunately, the primary sources make it possible to determine whether the Josephine Lang “quote poems” match the description in the novella. During their engagement, Köstlin often sent Lang copies of the poems that he had written – both love poems addressed to her and other poetry. When Köstlin copied the poems out for Lang, he frequently gave them titles that are not present in his own poetry manuscript books. In the case of the “quote poems,” these titles explain the source of the poems’ contents. Three of these poems are entitled “Aus Deinen Briefen,” five are simply called “Josephine,” one is entitled “Aus Josephinens Briefen,” and several have titles specific to their content (e.g., “Jos. an die Alpen,” “Josephine am 29. August,” and “Josephine am 1. November”).<sup>47</sup> The poem corresponding to the text of op. 27/6 (“Zu Tod möcht ich mich

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<sup>46</sup> The practice of writing such poems did not originate during Köstlin’s relationship with Lang, for his earlier poetry books (1836 to 1839) also contained “quote poems” with a feminine voice.

<sup>47</sup> In the order mentioned, see poems [74], [75], [77], [79], [80], [81], [83], [86], [78], [84], [85] and [89] in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a, “Gedichte aus dem Brautstand.” There are four further quote poems with a feminine voice in Lang’s “Gedichte aus dem Brautstand” collection. The contents of three of them (poems [9], [32] and [39]) are also most likely derived from Lang’s letters, as they were written by Köstlin during times when he and Lang were not together. The fourth quote poem (poem [87]) is entitled “16 Sept.” and is about Lang’s reaction to Köstlin’s arrival in München in the fall of 1841. At first glance, poem [62] might also appear to be a “quote poem;” however, only the first stanza is in quotation marks, the remaining stanzas being an answer to the first. It is not clear who is speaking in this first stanza; it could be Lang, but it could also be the “Götter” addressed later in the poem.

lieben”) is entitled “Weiberle singt” and has a note in the top left corner: “Da hab’ ich eben geschwind noch ein Motiv aus deinem Brief aufgegriffen” (poem [76] in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a, “Gedichte aus dem Brautstand”). Just like the protagonist of his novella, Köstlin takes ideas from the letters of his beloved and reworks them into “quote poems.”

I am discussing the three songs as a group only because they are all “quote poems;” neither in their poetic content nor in their musical settings are they at all similar to each other. Op. 12/4 (“O wärest du da”) is a chorale-like, serious song of five strophes in which the absence of the beloved is lamented (“bis ich dich hör’ und seh’ lebending nah’ ... wird mir doch alles fehlen”); every strophe ends with a variation of the cry “O wärest du da.” Op. 12/5 (“Der Herbst”) is a rollicking, exuberant song that looks ahead to Köstlin’s proposed visit in the fall of 1841. Lang’s letter, the source of this “quote poem,” must have talked about how she usually dreaded the coming of fall (most likely because her health was worse in the colder weather), but this year she can hardly wait and asks every morning “Herbst, ob du’s schon bist.” Op. 27/6 (“Zu Tod möcht ich mich lieben”) is a passionate song about the infinite magnitude of Lang’s love for Köstlin. Like the letter from which its content came, this poem begins with a salutation:

„Liebster Freund! Und kann’s denn seyn?  
Wächst noch immer diese Liebe?  
Längst war ihr das Herz zu klein,  
Quillt noch stets von neuem Triebe! ... (poem [76] in Cod.hist. 4°  
437 Fasz. 10a, “Gedichte aus dem Brautstand”)

These three songs, therefore, are a special case of the statement, “my songs are my diary,” for they provide a record of the contents of Lang’s correspondence with Köstlin. In each case, Köstlin transformed Lang’s own words into poetry, sent the resulting poem

back to her, whereupon she set it to music. Such genesis of a song is rare, if not unique, in the history of the German *Lied*. In a sense, despite the intermediate step of prose to poetry carried out by Köstlin, Lang wrote her own texts for these songs. It is therefore not surprising that Walther Dürr observes about op. 27/6: “Der Dichter versetzt sich in die Geliebte[;]<sup>48</sup> möglicherweise ist das Gedicht eigens für Josephine geschrieben, im Hinblick auf eine eventuelle Vertonung” (145). Dürr’s supposition that the poem was written expressly for Lang is correct. There was, however, no need for Köstlin to put himself into Lang’s place; he had merely to use her ideas, as found in the letter she had written to him. These songs are doubly Lang’s – she is responsible both for the content of the text and the resulting music. The biographical relevance of these “quote poem” songs is unassailable.

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<sup>48</sup> Dürr, being German, does not miss the obvious feminine voice in this poem. Werner, unfortunately, does not realize that the beloved who is being addressed in every one of these “quote poems” is male. About op. 12/4 (containing the words “nach dir **Geliebter** schmerzlich schweift das Ganze”), Werner writes that “in the poem Reinhold shares how he seeks her presence and yearns for the time ...” (622). Similarly, for op. 27/2 (which opens with the words “**Liebster Freund**, und kann’s denn sein”), Werner states that “in this love-poem Reinhold assures the beloved that his love is still growing; that he will continue to love her until death” (625). Werner’s remarks about op. 12/5 show some confusion. Despite her correct translation of “wann die Blätter fallen, kommt **er, der** von Allen mir **der** Liebste ist” as “when the leaves fall he is coming who above all others is the beloved” (598, my emphases), she finds in the song “a sense of eager anticipation that in this season the beloved and he will meet” (597, my emphasis).



During the above discussion of factors motivating Lang's text selection, it will have become apparent that despite my separation of the songs into various categories, some overlapping of categories was unavoidable. The *Mathildenhöhle* songs are a good illustration of how tangled the issue of text selection can become. I am still convinced that these songs arose primarily as a response to Köstlin's prompting, but it could be argued that biographical significance may also have played a role. For example, the one published *Mathildenhöhle* song, op. 14/1, was written on July 25, 1840 – a time when it seems that Köstlin was travelling from Kreuth to Tegernsee to see Lang. The words “O sehntest du dich so nach mir, wie ich nach dir, du kämst zu mir ... O sehntest du dich so nach mir, wie ich nach dir, du wärst schon hier!” could be seen as relevant to Lang's situation at that time. Furthermore, all of the *Mathildenhöhle* songs contain one of Lang's favourite themes – that of separation from the beloved – a factor that might also have influenced her decision to set them. In the case of one of the unpublished settings of a *Mathildenhöhle* text (“Und wieder ist ein Tag dahin”), determining whether or not there was a biographical component to Lang's selection is impossible, because the song is only very imprecisely dated as “August 1840” (Mus.fol.53x, 14r). If Lang set the text before Köstlin's August 14 departure, then it is not biographically relevant. If, however, she set it after Köstlin's departure, then certain elements of the text take on a biographical significance:

Und wieder ist ein Tag dahin,  
 Und noch von Dir kein Wort  
 ...  
 So steh' ich hier denn einsam nun,  
 Vom Einz'gen in der Welt

Verlassen, d'rauf mein ganzes Thun  
Und Sinnen war gestellt.

...

Zerrissen unsrer Liebe Band  
Hinflattert in die Nacht. (*Die Mathildenhöhle*, 74)

This work could even be an example of a song in which the text was not biographically relevant at the time of composition, but had become biographically relevant by the time the song was notated.<sup>49</sup> The *Mathildenhöhle* songs, which exhibit an extraordinary degree of overlap of the various reasons for Lang's choice of a poem, serve as a warning against a facile explanations for Lang's text selection.

Further examples of overlap among categories of text selection can be found in other Lang/Köstlin collaborations. The unpublished courtship song "Wenn das Herz dir ist beklommen" contains a theme to which Lang was often drawn, but also shows evidence of an immediate response to the text. The "quote poem" song, op. 12/4, demonstrates an immediate response to the text, as well as being of undeniable biographical significance. Op. 14/3 not only shows an immediate response to the text, but also contains a theme to which Lang was drawn throughout her career, and can be shown to reflect biographical events. Furthermore, the importance of Köstlin as the author of the poem is present to a greater or lesser extent in all of Lang's settings of his texts.

While the separation of Lang's criteria of text selection into categories is a valuable exercise, allowing us to isolate and study these criteria more easily, the existence of overlap among the categories serves to illustrate the complexity of the issue of text selection. For any of Lang's songs, there may be any number and any

combination of reasons why she selected the given text. Even when the text is undeniably of biographical significance, other factors may play a role as well. Ultimately, no one – not even the composer herself – can completely penetrate the mystery of why certain texts became songs and others did not. It is a continuing challenge to unravel the intertwining factors that, for example, made Lang select three *Mathildenhöhle* poems out of the thirteen in the novella, or made her choose three “quote poems” from the seventeen that Köstlin wrote using her ideas. By making the statement “my songs are my diary,” Lang to some extent provided the impetus for the oversimplified view of text selection that prevails in discussions of her music. A *Lied* composer’s response to a text, however, is complex, and Lang’s responses are no exception.

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<sup>49</sup> Recall that, according to the manuscript book Mus.fol.53w, Lang did not begin writing out many of her summer 1840 compositions until September.

### Chapter 3. Lang's Textual Manipulations

Like many other *Lieder* composers, Josephine Lang did not always set a text exactly as the poet wrote it. Werner discusses Lang's changes to the text, but focuses exclusively on Lang's repetition of lines or stanzas of the poem. Werner sees repetition as Lang's way of making the poem "her own creation" (827); Lang uses repetition "to develop or intensify the meaning of the text" (833), and this technique "helped to firmly establish her understanding and internalization of [the poem's] meaning" (847).<sup>50</sup> In addition to repetition, however, there are at least three other possibilities for textual manipulations. First, a composer may actually change individual words or punctuation marks within the text. Second, a composer may rearrange the order of the stanzas of the poem. Third, a composer may omit certain lines or entire stanzas of poetry. Examples of all four of these kinds of changes to the text are found in Lang's music, including her settings of Köstlin's texts. While in some cases these textual manipulations may be errors that occurred in her haste to write down her compositions, there are other cases in which Lang's changes to the text turn the poem into a more accurate representation of her

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<sup>50</sup> According to Werner, Lang's practices in the area of textual repetition are similar to those of Schumann: "It is perhaps from Schumann that Josephine also received affirmation as far as repeating words, lines or altering the original poem goes, so that it (the poem) is almost a new creation in the sense of being nearest her own mood or personal feelings" (884-885); and "In her use of poetic text repetition in such a way as to place her own stamp upon a poem and convey her own meaning, she was much like Schumann" (847). Lang's textual manipulations, particularly repetitions, are, however, much more frequent than Schumann's. In fact, when one hears Schumann's music after a period of intensive involvement with Lang's music, one is struck by how little textual repetition is present in the former.

life or state of mind. With respect to the Köstlin settings, a study of Lang's manipulations of the text reveals how she viewed her relationship with Köstlin and how she responded to the events of their courtship and marriage.

The issue of textual manipulation in Lang's songs can be a difficult one to tackle. For her settings of texts by other poets it is sometimes impossible to locate the poem that served as her source, particularly if it was an unpublished work by a close friend. Furthermore, one could easily be beguiled into developing a long explanation about why Lang set only the second stanza of a given poem, only to find that her source was an *Almanach* or a women's magazine that published only the second stanza. Also, Lang sometimes drew her texts from the settings of other composers; in such cases, what seem to be Lang's changes to the text (as compared to the original poem) could actually be those of the other composer. Fortunately, the issue is relatively easy to address in the Köstlin songs. The primary sources, particularly Lang's personal copies of Köstlin's poems, allow us to determine exactly how the original poem looked. Any modifications to the text are therefore readily apparent.

### Repetition of Text

As mentioned above, Werner's recognition of textual manipulation by Lang was restricted primarily to repetition of part of the poem. Indeed, repetition is the most frequent way in which Lang manipulates a text. Among the Köstlin settings there exist only four songs without textual repetition. Three of these songs are fragments where one cannot determine whether or not any text in the final complete songs would have been repeated.<sup>51</sup> The only complete song without any textual repetition at all is op. 27/4 ("Frühling ist gekommen"), the first Köstlin poem Lang set after their engagement.

An investigation of textual repetition with a view to finding biographical clues calls for some caution, for in some cases repetition may also have been influenced by musical concerns. One such example is found in the song "An einer Quelle" (op. 27/2). Here Lang is working with a poem of six stanzas. She groups the stanzas in pairs to form the strophes of her settings. The first stanza of the pair is set in the tonic, while the second stanza is in the submediant and ends with a prolonged dominant. At the conclusion of her third strophe Lang has "run out" of text; she is stranded on the dominant harmony – a harmony on which she cannot end the song. She extricates herself from her predicament by resorting to textual repetition; she repeats Köstlin's last stanza to create a new half-strophe in the tonic. Thus, some scholars might argue that the repetition of this final stanza is not significant to an investigation of how Lang's songs function as her diary. Lang was, however, free to choose any one of the six stanzas of the original poem to make up the text of the required half-strophe. Her choice of the final

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<sup>51</sup> In the unpublished marriage song fragment "Alpenglühén" only one word of text is present. In the unpublished courtship song fragment "Erstes Begegnen" only one sentence has been set. In another unpublished courtship song fragment "Abschied" (beginning with the words "So soll es wieder sein geschieden") only the first four lines of poetry have been set.

stanza – “fort mit sich führt sie die Schmerzen / neuen Lebens frisch im Herzen, / fühlst dir einen Trunk geschenkt!” – highlights the healing power of the *Quelle*. This choice also recalls Werner’s statement about “[this song from 1853] around the time of the onset of the illness from which Reinhold would eventually die” (592). The year is significant, for “by 1853, how much both of them needed the hope promised in this song” (Werner 592).

It might appear that caution in investigating textual repetition in Lang’s Köstlin settings would also be in order because the vast majority of them are strophic (15 of the songs) or modified strophic (12 of the songs) in structure. Therefore, if the repetition was motivated by the desire to highlight an important portion of the text, logic might suggest that that text is more likely to be found in the first strophe than in any other. It might be argued that the repetition of the corresponding parts of other strophes would then be an incidental result of the strophic structure rather than deliberate repetition.

Lang, however, seems to have been very much in control of her texts even in her strophic settings. In addition to using a modified strophic structure to give individual treatment to the texts of other strophes, Lang made use of a number of other strategies for repeating exactly the text that she wanted repeated. In the unpublished setting of “Am Morgen” (see Table 4), for example, Lang lengthens the first strophe by four lines through repetition of an entire stanza, while her second strophe is lengthened by four lines through selective repetition of words from only the third and fourth lines of the corresponding stanza.

Table 4.

## Repetition at the end of each Strophe in the Unpublished Setting of “Am Morgen”.

Köstlin’s Poem	Lang’s Song Text
<p>...O liebliches Flüstern!  O seliger Hauch!  Ihr Augen, ihr düstern,  So perlet nun auch!</p>	<p><i>First Strophe:</i>  ...o liebliches Flüstern  o seliger Hauch,  ihr Augen ihr düstern  So perlet nun auch,  o liebliches Flüstern  o seliger Hauch!  ihr Augen ihr düstern  So perlet nun auch!–</p>
<p>... Von saftigem Tiebe  Quillt mächtig das Herz,  Und springet vor Liebe,  Und jauchzet vor Schmerz.</p>	<p><i>Second Strophe:</i>  ... Von saftigem Tiebe  quillt mächtig das Herz,  und springet vor Liebe,  und jauchzet vor Schmerz,  und jauchzet vor Schmerz–  und springet vor Liebe  und jauchzet vor Schmerz!–</p>

Source: Texts taken from the song manuscript (Mus.fol.53v, 20v-22r) and the copy of Köstlin’s poem that he wrote out for Lang (poem [21] in Cod.hist. 4° 437 Fasz. 10a, “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”).

Similar deliberate textual repetition is found in op. 27/1 (“Traumleben”). Köstlin’s poem and Lang’s text are given in Table 5 below. In each of the song’s modified strophes, the repeated text consists of a different portion of Köstlin’s stanza. In the first strophe, Lang highlights the image of the beloved’s likeness walking beside the lover by repeating the last line of the stanza twice, with additional repetition of the words “Dein Bild.” In the second strophe, Lang repeats the last two lines of the stanza, with an extra reiteration of the word “seliges.” If the repetition pattern of the first strophe had been maintained, the repeated text would read: “schleicht hier, schleicht hier dem Wanderer nach / schleicht hier, schleicht hier dem Wanderer nach!” Lang does not leave her listeners

wondering what is following the wanderer; by her repetition she reminds us that it is “ein seliges Ermatten,” and emphasizes the word “seliges.” In the third strophe, material from both the third and fourth lines of the stanza is repeated. Lang gives special emphasis, by a threefold repetition, to the words “auf Dich” – an emphasis that suggests her pride in having inspired so many of Köstlin’s poems in the summer of 1840.<sup>52</sup>

**Table 5.**

**Comparison of Köstlin’s Poem and Lang’s Song Text for op. 27/1 (“Traumleben”).**

Köstlin’s Poem	Lang’s Song Text <sup>a</sup>
<p>Noch kaum erwacht von Träumen, –  Das Träumen kam von dir,–  Geh’ ich hier unter Bäumen;  Dein Bild geht neben mir.</p>	<p>Noch kaum erwacht vom Träumen,  das Träumen kam von Dir  geh’ ich hier unter Bäumen,  Dein Bild geht neben mir!  Dein Bild, Dein Bild geht neben mir  Dein Bild, dein Bild geht neben mir!</p>
<p>Die Bäume dunkel schatten  Und wölben sich zum Dach;  Ein seliges Ermatten  Schleicht hier dem Wandler nach.</p>	<p>Die Bäume dunkel schatten,  und wölben sich zum Dach!  ein seliges Ermatten,  schleicht hier dem Wanderer nach!  Ein seliges seliges Ermatten  schleicht hier dem Wanderer nach!</p>
<p>Wie neue Traumesdecke  Zieht’s nun sich sanft um mich;  Und, wenn ich leis erschrecke,  So sprang ein Lied auf dich.</p>	<p>Wie neue Traumesdecke  zieht’s nun sich sanft um mich  und wenn ich leis’ erschrecke,  so sprang ein Lied auf Dich!  Auf Dich, so sprang ein Lied auf Dich  wenn ich leis’ erschrecke  so sprang ein Lied auf Dich!</p>

Source: Texts taken from Lang’s op. 27/1 and Köstlin’s poem manuscript (dated June 17 in Z 2704).

<sup>a</sup> The dotted line in this column represents the break between the song’s modified strophes.

<sup>52</sup> It is ironic that Lang chose to highlight the words “auf Dich” in her composition, for she is not the “Dich” who inspired this particular Köstlin poem. It was written on June 17, 1840, two weeks before Lang and Köstlin met. The “Dich” to whom it was addressed is Agnese Schebest. Köstlin recycled this poem and copied it out for Lang’s collection (poem [32] in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a, “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”). Lang, however, believed she was the “Dich” in the poem; the note at the end of the “Gedichte in Jahr 1840” booklet indicates that she thought it had been written between July 6 and August 12, 1840.

Thus, Lang appears to have a very clear idea of how she wishes to make a given poem “her own creation” (Werner 827). The above examples<sup>53</sup> suggest that in strophic songs where Lang lets textual repetition conform to the dictates of the strophic structure, one should not necessarily view such repetition as an incidental result. If Lang did not manipulate textual repetition in a strophic or modified strophic song, then perhaps she wanted the repetition to take place exactly as determined by the strophic structure.

Let us now turn to some examples of textual repetition in those of Lang’s Köstlin songs in which there is a strong element of biographical motivation in her selection of the text. In these biographically relevant songs one would expect the repetition to highlight what drew Lang to the text in the first place. This expectation is indeed fulfilled in the Lang/Köstlin collaborations.

In my discussion of the strophic song “Abermals am See” (op. 12/3) in the previous chapter (pp. 47-48), I indicated that, in addition to the retrospective quality of this setting, Lang was possibly motivated to choose this *Seelied* text because it contained an appeal for haste in reuniting two lovers. Lang’s treatment of the text in her final strophe supports this interpretation, for it results in a three-fold repetition of the word “Eile!”

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<sup>53</sup> Yet another example of textual repetition controlled by the composer and not by the song’s strophic structure is found in Lang’s op. 38[39]/6 (“Seelied”). Köstlin’s poem consists of three stanzas of five lines each. In this (very slightly) modified strophic song, Lang repeats the second and third lines in the first strophe, the fourth and fifth lines in the second strophe, and part of line 4 and all of line 5 in the last strophe.

Musical score for "Abermals am See" (Op. 12/3) by Franz Schubert. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The tempo is marked "a Tempo." The lyrics are: "schau - - kelnd und gau - - kelnd um mich, schau - - Ei - - - le! schon schenkt sie ihn ein! Ei - - le! Ei - - -". The piano part has a "Cres." marking. The score is divided into two systems, with the second system starting at measure 115.

**Ex. 2. Measures 115 to 128 of op. 12/3 ("Abermals am See").**

As is evident from Example 2, in order for Lang to fit in one of the repetitions of "Eile!" she set the word to notes that were part of a melisma in the first strophe.

Op. 14/6 ("Auf dem See in tausend Sterne") is the most passionate of Lang's *Seelieder*. In this through-composed song, Lang's textual repetition is limited to the final stanza of Köstlin's poem and concentrates on the invitation: "Komm, o komm!" Both in her music and in her repetition of text, the newly betrothed Lang seems to abandon herself to Köstlin's invitation to submerge herself in the shimmering, fiery lake of his love.

Table 6.

**Comparison of Köstlin's Poem and Lang's Song Text for op. 14/6 ("Auf dem See in tausend Sterne").**

Köstlin's Poem	Lang's Song Text
<p>Auf dem See in tausend Sterne            Hat die Sonne sich zersplittert,            Daß er blitzend nah und ferne            Wie ein Meer von Feuer zittert.</p> <p>So in meines Lebens Wellen            Sank dein holdes Bild hernieder,            Und aus tausend Wonnequellen            Springen immer neue Lieder.</p> <p>Willst du in dies Meer von Schimmer,            Holde Schifferin, dich wagen?            Komm, o komm! Und lass' es immer            Glüh'nd um dich zusammenschlagen!</p>	<p>Auf dem See in tausend Sterne            hat die Sonne sich zersplittert,            dass er blitzend nah und ferne            wie ein Meer von Feuer zittert.</p> <p>So in meines Lebens Wellen            sank dein liebes Bild hernieder            und aus tausend Wonnequellen            springen immer neue Lieder.</p> <p>Willst du in dies Meer von Schimmer,            holde Schifferin, dich wagen?            Komm, o komm! o komm!            Komm, o komm,            und lass es immer            glüh'nd um dich zusammen schlagen;            komm! o komm, und lass es immer            glüh'nd um dich zusammen schlagen!            Komm! o komm! Komm!</p>

Source: Texts taken from Lang's op. 14/6 and Köstlin's published poem (*Gedichte* 41).

In the songs "Abschied" (op. 13/1) and "Bei Nacht und Nebel" (op. 26/2), two of the *Abschiedslieder* written during Lang's marriage, textual repetition gives insight into her reaction to Köstlin's departures on his solitary journeys. Neither of these songs is strophic, so Lang's textual repetition was completely at her discretion. In op. 13/1, the image of the moon being sent along after the departed is highlighted by repetition ("dann hat sie gleich den Mond mir nachgeschickt, den ganzen Schmerz des Abschied's [sic] nachzutragen"). In op. 26/2, the image of the beloved's eye, walking beside the departed like a star, is highlighted; Lang repeats the words "das treue Aug' bleibt immerfort der

Stern, der Stern der mit mir geht.” Lang’s repetitions serve to highlight an element of “watching over the wanderer” in the songs. During Köstlin’s absences, Lang could have been trying to reassure herself that two celestial bodies of the night – moon and star – were keeping an eye on him.

Textual repetition in Lang’s “quote poem” songs deserves special mention. In op. 12/4 (“O wärest du da”), a strophic song, the only text that is repeated is the refrain-like conclusion of each stanza of the poem: “o wärest du da,” “o wärest du hier,” “o wärest schon da,” “bist tief in mir,” and “o wärest du da.” Each of these cries is stated three times, the repetition highlighting the yearning for the beloved.

Similar highlighting of the main idea of the poem occurs in Lang’s op. 12/5 (“Der Herbst”). Lang repeats the line “und die Thräne rann” from the stanza in which her usual reaction to the coming of fall is described. She also repeats lines demonstrating her very different reaction to the coming of fall this year: first, the eager questions: “kommt der Herbst schon an?” and “Herbst, ob du’s schon bist?”; then the unusual command to the flowers: “Blumen, sinkt in Staub!” and Lang’s jubilant offer to help fall spread its bright net of colour. Lang’s textual repetition is most prominent at the end of each strophe, in the lines that explain why her reaction to fall is so different this year.

Table 7.

**Repetition at the end of each Strophe in op. 12/5 (“Der Herbst”).**

Köstlin’s Poem	Lang’s Song Text
... Wenn die Blätter fallen, Kommt er, der von Allen Mir der Liebste ist.	<i>First Strophe:</i> ... wann die Blätter fallen, kommt er, der von Allen mir der Liebste ist– wann die Blätter fallen, kommt er der von Allen kommt er, der von Allen mir der Liebste ist!!
... Raub’ dann nach Verlangen, Bringst du nur gefangen Meinen Vogel mir!“	<i>Second Strophe:</i> ... raub’ dann nach Verlangen, bringst du nur gefangen meinen Vogel mir, raub’ dann nach Verlangen, bringst du nur gefangen, bringst du nur gefangen meinen Vogel mir!!!

Source: Texts taken from Lang’s manuscript (Mus.fol.53x, 33r-34r) and Köstlin’s poem manuscript (dated August 15 in Z 4131).

Lang’s op. 27/6 (“Zu Tod möcht’ ich mich lieben”) is not only her most passionate song, but it is structurally the most complicated of her compositions; both Walther Dürr (146) and Roberta Werner (626) found it necessary to provide a detailed diagram of the song’s structure. Dürr even appears to suggest some link between the “komplizierte Architektur” of the song and Lang’s response to the text: “[der Bauplan] lässt zugleich ahnen, dass die Komponistin sich den Versen des ihr so nahestehenden Dichters gegenüber nicht anders verhält als denen Byrons und Brentanos” [the authors of the texts of the other two pieces he discusses in his article (145)]. But Lang’s response to this text is not only influenced by her close relationship with the poet; this text is a “quote

poem” and surely elicited an especially powerful response. Dürr should have been alerted by the fact that he did not find it necessary to provide a diagram of the structure of the other two songs – those with texts by Byron and Brentano – in his article. If, as he seems to suggest, there is a connection between the complexity of a song’s structure and the intensity of Lang’s response to the text, then op. 27/6 (“Zu Tod möcht ich mich lieben”) is an example of a very intense response indeed. Lang’s textual repetitions support this notion of an overwhelming response to the text. In op. 27/6 she does not dwell on the part of the text referring to separation from the beloved (“der mich liebt, ist ach, so weit und das Herz ist mir zerrissen”). Rather, her repetitions highlight the passionate lines of the poem. The first repetition occurs at the point where the text expresses her wonder at the continued growth of her love for Köstlin; “quillt noch stets von neuem Triebe!” is repeated once. The next repetition occurs when the text refers to the flames [of love] not being deadly; the words “sie tödten nicht” are repeated three times. Lang also changes what is a question in Köstlin’s “quote poem” (“Und sie tödten nicht, die Flammen?”) to a statement of fact (“sie tödten nicht!”). Textual repetition is particularly noticeable in Lang’s treatment of the last stanza of the poem. The single statement “O, zu Tod möcht’ ich mich lieben” (poem [76] in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a, “Gedichte aus dem Brautstand”) provides the text for the passionate finale of the song. The line is repeated only once in its entirety, but the words “zu todt” are repeated five times (the text of the last stanza of this song is given on p. 74 in Table 8 below). In addition to highlighting those aspects of the content of the poem that were important to her, Lang’s escalation of textual repetition – from one to three to five repetitions – mirrors the escalation of passion in the music. Walther Dürr does not seem to take

Lang's textual repetition in this song seriously, referring to it as "beliebige[ ] Wortwiederholung[ ]" (145). "Arbitrary" is, however, an unfair assessment. As we have seen, both in this song and in other examples, Lang has her treatment of the text well in hand. For the most part, textual repetition in Lang's songs is deliberate and thoughtful.

### Revisions to the Text

An analysis of Lang's textual revisions is not possible for all of her settings of Köstlin's texts. During their courtship Lang did not have access to Köstlin's personal poetry manuscripts; she was dependent on the poems he copied out for and sent to her by mail. In some cases, Köstlin did make wording changes in Lang's copy of the poem.<sup>54</sup> Thus, for the courtship poems where Lang seems to have lost her copy (namely, the texts for op. 10/1, op. 12/1, op. 12/2, op. 14/2, op. 27/3 and op. 27/4), it is in most cases not possible to determine whether or not any wording changes were of Lang's doing.<sup>55</sup>

The majority of the Lang/Köstlin collaborations do, however, lend themselves to a study of textual revision. Lang's songs occasionally contain words different from those of the original poem. In many cases these modifications are merely errors on Lang's part. In op. 9/4 ("Am Morgen"), for example, Köstlin's "Stürz' nieder in Thränen, / Du quälende Lust" (*Gedichte* 91) becomes "stürzt nieder ihr Thränen" in Lang's first manuscript (Mus.fol.53x, 20v, my emphasis) and remains so in all further manuscripts and the published song. In some cases, for example in op. 12/1 ("Am Wasserfall"), it

<sup>54</sup> For example, in the text for op. 9/4 ("Am Morgen") Köstlin replaced "Und jubelt vor Schmerz" (poem dated July 21 in Z 2704, my emphasis) with "Und jauchzet vor Schmerz" in Lang's copy (poem [21] in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a, "Gedichte im Jahr 1840," my emphasis). In the text for op. 14/3 ("Gedenke mein") Köstlin replaced "Denk' nur, daß er auch mich verzehrt" (poem dated July 12 in Z 2704, my emphasis) with "Und denk', daß er auch mich verzehrt" in Lang's copy (poem [1] in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a, "Gedichte aus dem Brautstand," my emphasis).

<sup>55</sup> One exception is op. 27/3 ("Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke"), where the change in wording interferes with the rhyme pattern. One can safely assume that Köstlin would not have made such a change himself.

seems that the error was caught before publication; Köstlin's "Springt auf an den Steinen" became "Springt auf nach den Steinen" in Lang's manuscript (Mus.fol.53x, 25v-26r, my emphasis), but is corrected to the original version in the published score. One can even trace the evolution of some errors through the various manuscript copies. In op. 14/3 ("Gedenke mein!"), one finds the word "vergebens" near the end of the second strophe instead of Köstlin's "gespalten" (which would rhyme with "halten"). In her first manuscript, Lang began the word "gespalten" on the bottom of one page as "ge-", but continued it incorrectly on the next page as "-gebens" (Mus.fol.53v, 7r-7v). The copyist thought she meant "vergebens" and replaced Lang's hybrid with that word (Mus.fol.53v, 8v). Lang later corrected it to "gespalten," but the correction must have been made after publication of the song, for "vergebens" is what appeared in print.

Someone familiar with Brahms's songs might identify an apparent change to the text in Lang's op. 14/4 ("An den See"). Brahms's setting and Köstlin's poem (both in his manuscript, poem dated August 5, Tegernsee in Z 2740, and in the published poem, *Gedichte* 41) begin with the words "An dies Schifflein schmiege," whereas Lang's song begins "Um dies Schifflein schmiege." Lang, however, was not responsible for this revision. For some reason Köstlin changed the word from "an" to "um" when he wrote out the poem for Lang, and she used her own copy for the text of her composition. Brahms was working with Köstlin's published text.

Another change to the text for which Lang may not have been responsible herself is found in op. 27/6 ("Zu Tod möcht' ich mich lieben"). There is only one manuscript of this song. Textual modification occurs in the final stanza of the "quote poem." As shown in Table 8 Lang did make a number of changes herself (for example, she changed



Let us now turn to some songs in which Lang was unquestionably responsible for the revisions to the text. Lang's own changes to Köstlin's texts do not always result in a change in meaning. On one manuscript of op. 12/6 ("Die wandernde Wolke"), for example, she replaces "hinab in raschem Schwung" with "hinab mit raschem Schwung" and "o, wer da drunten schlief" with "o, wer da [ ]unten schlief"; neither change significantly alters the poem. In op. 26/5 ("Zusammen") a change from "und deinem [Auge] dort begegenen soll" to "und deinen [Augen] dort begegnen soll" also has little effect on the meaning of the poem.

Some of Lang's textual revisions, however, are more significant. On one of the manuscripts for op. 13/1 ("Abschied") Lang replaces Köstlin's "den ganzen Schmerz des Abschieds" with "den tiefen Schmerz des Abschieds" (Mus.fol.53w, 24r-24v). This replacement suggests that Köstlin's absence on journeys after his marriage caused Lang deep pain. This change in the text was not carried over into the published song; both the original opus 13 publication and the posthumous re-issue of the song have the "correct" text.

In op. 27/3 ("Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke"), Lang makes a textual substitution that destroys Köstlin's rhyme pattern and alters the meaning of the poem. In the last stanza of the poem she replaces the word "schweben" with the word "schwanken."

Table 9.

**Last Stanza of Köstlin's Poem and Conclusion of Lang's op. 27/3 ("Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke").**

Köstlin's Poem	Lang's Song Text
<p>...</p> <p>Alles andre seh' ich schweben Um mich her wie Traum und Schein. Dein zu denken ist mein Leben, Dich zu lieben ist mein Seÿn.</p>	<p>...</p> <p>Alles Andre seh' ich schwanken um mich her wie Traum und Schein, Dein gedenken – ist mein Leben! Dich zu lieben ist mein Seÿn! Dich zu lieben ist ist [sic] mein Seÿn!</p>

Source: Texts taken from Z 4131 (poem dated March 9) and from Lang's manuscript (Mus.fol.53w, 10r-10v).

This substitution gives a different character to the text. The word "schwanken" conjures up a much more negative image of what was happening to "alles andre" around Lang. Unlike in Köstlin's poem, "alles andre" was not merely floating, wafting and hovering around her, it was tottering precariously. There was only one steady thing in her life – "Dich zu lieben ist mein Seÿn!" – and she highlights her anchor in all this uncertainty by textual repetition.

Lang's song texts also frequently have punctuation marks different from the original Köstlin poems. Again, not all of these changes are significant. Omission of a comma, running two sentences together into one, replacing a semi-colon with a dash – changes such as these do not affect the poem, nor do they have significant implications for the performance of the song. When Lang changes a question to a statement, however, the text is altered. In the "quote poem" song op. 27/6 ("Zu Tod möcht' ich mich lieben"), the opening question of the poem is rendered without any question marks in the text of the song: "Liebster Freund, und kann's denn sein, wächst noch immer diese Liebe." For Lang, then, there was no question but that her love was growing. Similarly, as mentioned

earlier, the question “Und sie tödten nicht, die Flammen?” (poem dated November 16 in Z 4131) becomes a statement of fact – “sie tödten nicht!” – in the song.

Lang’s changes in punctuation most frequently involve the exclamation mark. Lang appears not to have known that exclamation marks are required for the imperative mood in German, for she often omits such exclamation marks. On the other hand, she frequently adds exclamation marks to other parts of the song text. In some cases the extra exclamation marks seem to be a reflection of her state of mind at the time of composition or notation of the song. For example, Lang writes on the manuscript of op. 12/1 (“Am Wasserfall”): “componiert am —Jüly 1841 Kreuth aufgeschrieben Tegernsee d. 9 August 1841. Nach dem der Ladro<sup>58</sup> Etwas anzeigte [sic] – u. ich dennoch im Garten aufschreiben konnte!” After the end of the song one finds the words, “Da ist er! (Wind! Wetter! Sturme! [sic])” (Mus.fol.53w, 15v).



**Fig. 4. Conclusion of Lang’s Manuscript of op. 12/1 (“Am Wasserfall”).** Reproduced by permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Handschriften Abteilung.

<sup>58</sup> The identity of Ladro and the nature of his relationship to Lang are unknown.

The words found after the conclusion of the song with their four exclamation marks reflect the excitement present in the entire manuscript. The title of the piece – “Am Wasserfall!” – is followed by an exclamation mark. Lang added no fewer than nine exclamation marks to the poem as well. There are no exclamation marks in Köstlin’s manuscript copy (poem dated August 23, Trasay-Mels [?] in Z 2704) or in the published version of his poem (*Gedichte* 18-19).<sup>59</sup> The excitement suggested by the added exclamation marks could be attributable to Ladro and whatever mischief he had been brewing. It could also, however, be a passionate response to the text, with the words “Da ist er!” referring to the image of her *Jüngling* dreaming beside a waterfall. The excitement in this manuscript trickled down into the final published score as well. The copyist responsible for Mus.fol.53x (24v-27r) faithfully transcribed all nine exclamation marks in the text, as well as the one in the title. While the publisher (Fr. Kistner, Leipzig) eliminated the one in the title and one of the nine in the text, eight additional exclamation marks remain in the final printed song.

In the “quote poem” song “Der Herbst” (op. 12/5), Lang’s added exclamation marks are definitely a reflection of her impassioned reaction to the text. We saw above that Lang already highlights the reason for her excitement about the coming of fall with textual repetition. At the end of the first strophe, Lang also adds two exclamation marks to the end of the sentence: “wann die Blätter fallen, / kommt er der von Allen, / kommt er der von Allen / mir der Liebste ist!!” (Mus.fol.53x, 33r-34r and Mus.fol.53x, 27v-29v).

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<sup>59</sup> It is true that Lang’s copy of this poem is not preserved and we can, therefore, not state with absolute certainty that the additional exclamation marks are her doing. A comparison of the 128 poems for which both Köstlin’s original manuscript and Lang’s copy are extant reveals that Köstlin never added more than two exclamation marks to Lang’s copies of his poems. It is more often the case that exclamation marks are missing from Lang’s copies than that they are added.

The second strophe ends with an exclamation mark in Köstlin's poem (dated August 15 in Z 4131), but Lang was impelled to add two more: "raub' dann nach Verlangen, / bringst du nur gefangen, / bringst du nur gefangen / meinen Vogel mir!!!" (Mus.fol.53x, 33r-34r and Mus.fol.53x, 27v-29v). The copyist responsible for Mus.fol.53x (30r-32v) eliminated these multiple exclamation marks; each strophe of the published song ends with only one exclamation mark.

Lang's textual revision is a much more significant way of making the poem "her own creation" (Werner 827) than is mere repetition. In songs where her choice of the poem was primarily motivated by biographical relevance, her editing of the text – both changes in individual words and in punctuation – could be regarded as a literal entry in her diary.

#### Reordering of Stanzas

Lang frequently changes the groupings of Köstlin's stanzas in setting his texts. She often, for example, merges a number of poetic stanzas into a single strophe of her song. Such regrouping, too, is in a sense a modification of the text, but it is surely the most innocuous and the least perceptible to listeners. Actual reordering of stanzas of a poem is a different matter. This type of modification, however, hardly occurs at all in Lang's settings of Köstlin's texts. There is, in fact, only one example, namely op. 43/4 ("Scheiden").<sup>60</sup> This song, composed on April 27, 1878, is most likely Lang's last setting of a Köstlin text, as well as being her last *Abschiedslied* using a text by Köstlin. A

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<sup>60</sup> It could be argued that the song op. 14/4 ("An den See") could also serve as an example of a reordering of stanzas. In this song, however, the order of the stanzas is not really changed; no stanza appears before its place in the original poem. Apparent reordering occurs because a stanza is repeated. In the song the poem is ordered as follows: Stanza 1, Stanza 2, Stanza 3, Stanza 2 repeated, making up Lang's first strophe; and Stanza 4, Stanza 5, Stanza 6, Stanza 5 repeated, making up Lang's second strophe.

reordering of the stanzas is not the only textual manipulation in this song; Lang also omits parts of the text and repeats other parts. In order to determine possible reasons for these manipulations it is profitable to look at what the manipulations achieve. Table 10 shows both Köstlin's original (published) poem and the text of Lang's song. Köstlin's poem has five stanzas, the fourth being a repetition of the first. Lang sets three of these stanzas, moving Köstlin's fifth stanza to just after the first, and omitting the third. Lang then creates a hybrid consisting of the first line of Köstlin's fourth stanza and a repetition of the last four lines of his fifth. Lang obviously had to undertake some manipulation of the text of this song, given that she was dealing with a five-stanza poem and apparently wanted to write a two-strophe piece. The simplest solution would have been to eliminate Köstlin's repeated stanza, but Lang preferred a different strategy that changes the character of the poem. As a result of the reordering of the stanzas, the word "Tod" occurs much earlier in Lang's version of the text. The word "Tod" is also rendered more prominent by repetition; the stanza in which it occurs is the only one from which text is repeated. Separation as a result of death had caused Lang a great deal of suffering; through reordering of stanzas (and other textual manipulation techniques) she highlights the themes of death, separation and pain in her setting.

Table 10.

## Comparison of Köstlin's Poem and Lang's Song Text for op. 43/4 ("Scheiden").

Köstlin's Published Poem	Lang's Song Text <sup>a</sup>
<p>Warum, ach, muß das Scheiden sein, Das Scheiden, Darum man muß so bittre Pein Erleiden?</p> <p>Halt', was du liebst, fest an der Brust! O scheu' dich! Zusammen trägt sich Leid und Lust So freudig!</p> <p>Wenn dich der Wahn fortriß einmal, Der schlimme, Irrst du, wie ich, durch Berg und Thal Im Grimme.</p> <p>Warum muß, ach, das Scheiden sein, Das Scheiden, Darum man muß so bittre Pein Erleiden?</p> <p>Kein bö's'res Wort in aller Welt; Tod spricht es; Und, wem es recht auf's Herze fällt, Dem bricht es.</p>	<p>Warum muss ach, das Scheiden sein, das Scheiden? darum man muss so bittre Pein erleiden?</p> <p>Kein bö's'res Wort in aller Welt! Tod spricht es! Und wem es recht auf's Herze fällt und wem es recht auf's Herze fällt Auf's Herze fällt dem bricht es!</p> <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> <p>Halt, was du liebst, fest an der Brust! O scheue dich! zusammen trägt sich Leid und Lust so freudig!</p> <p>Warum muss ach, das Scheiden sein!</p> <p>Tod spricht es! Und wem es recht auf's Herze fällt und wem es recht auf's Herze fällt Auf's Herze fällt dem bricht es!</p>

Source: Texts taken from Lang's op. 43/4 and Köstlin's *Gedichte* (53-54).

<sup>a</sup> The dotted line in this column represents the break between the song's strophes.

The one stanza Lang omitted is also of interest: “Wenn dich der Wahn fortriß einmal, / Der schlimme, / Irrst du, wie ich durch Berg und Thal / Im Grimme.” In this stanza it appears that Köstlin is harking back to his departure from Lang at Tegernsee. This supposition is supported by the two original manuscripts of this poem (poem dated September 29 in the “Bair. Gebirg u. München. Okt. 1845” group in Z 2717 and poem dated September 29/30, 1845 in Z 2727/64).<sup>61</sup> Both of these manuscripts contains two further stanzas of poetry that Köstlin cut when he revised this poem for publication. These two stanzas also seem to refer to his Tegernsee departure. It is somehow touching that Lang would leave out this reference to the past in her setting. One could see this omission as a demonstration of her forgiveness of Köstlin’s action.

#### Omission of Text

The number of songs in which Lang omitted a portion of Köstlin’s texts is very small. Perhaps this is a reflection of her being in love with him, and therefore being unwilling to leave out a single line he wrote – yet another sense in which the statement “my songs are my diary” applies to these songs. Some of the poems Köstlin wrote for Lang are very long, but she faithfully sets every stanza, even when the result is a song of mammoth proportions. There are, however, a few examples of omission of text among

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<sup>61</sup> The existence of these manuscripts raises the question of Lang’s source for the text of her song, for there are significant differences between the published poem and the manuscript version. In addition to the excision of the two stanzas mentioned above, Köstlin’s pre-publication revisions also included reordering of the stanzas. In fact, Lang redid precisely what Köstlin undid. Or did she? If one of the manuscripts was Lang’s source of the text, then no reordering on her part took place. Lang was, however, most likely working with the published poem because of the line “Kein bös’res Wort in aller Welt” (my emphasis), which is found in both Lang’s song and the published poem. In one manuscript copy of the poem, this line reads “kein düstrer Wort in aller Welt” (poem dated September 29, [1845] in Z 2717, my emphasis) and in the other it reads “kein traur’ger Wort in aller Welt” (poem dated September 29/30, 1845 in Z 2727/64, my emphasis). It is unlikely that Lang would have had all three copies of the poem in front of her when she composed this song. Köstlin’s poetry manuscripts from after his marriage are in considerable disorder and finding one specific poem manuscript would have been a challenge for Lang.

the Köstlin settings. In addition to op. 43/4 discussed above, omission is found in six further songs: op. 10/1 (“Gedenkst du mein?”), op. 12/2 (“Nachts”), op. 14/1 (“O sehntest du dich so nach mir”), op. 14/5 (“Vögelein”), and the unpublished songs “Wer es wüßte, wer es dächte” and “Leise sinkt der Abend nieder.” The amount of text Lang omits ranges from one word in op 12/2, to one line in op. 14/5, to three stanzas in op. 10/1 and in the two unpublished songs.

There appears to be little reason for the omissions of small fragments of texts in op. 12/2 (one word omitted) and op. 14/5 (one line omitted); in fact, one wonders why these omissions occurred. The situation in op. 12/2 is particularly puzzling. Köstlin’s text begins: “Im Walde weit, / Auf der Haide breit / Kein Hauch! / Nun lege dich ...” (*Gedichte* 67). As shown in Example 3, Lang leaves out the word “nun” in her setting. This omission occurred in the first sketch of this song (Mus.fol.53w, 13r) and remained in effect in the other manuscripts (Mus.fol.53w, 14r-14v; Mus.fol.53x, 35r-36v; Mus.fol.54f, 36r-37v). There is no musical reason for this omission. Lang could easily have mirrored the opening of the first phrase by placing the word “nun” on an upbeat *b*, which would have blended with the harmony. It seems that Lang left out the word in error in her first sketch and then also omitted it in all later copies of the song, including the publication.

# Nachts.

*Sianoforte.*

ALLEGRO.  
molto legato.

*pp*

*legato.*

Im Wal-de weit auf der Hei-de breit kein Hauch, kein Hauch!

le - ge dich mü - der Wan - derer auch jetzt un - ter den Strauch! — ist

## Ex. 3. Opening of op. 12/2 (“Nachts”).

The omission of the line “in goldner Gluth” from the second stanza of the honeymoon poem that became op. 14/5 could also be explained as an error that occurred in Lang’s haste to write down her composition. Köstlin’s poem has the rather unusual rhyme pattern of aaba bccc dede. Lang omitted one of the “c” lines. Given that two “c” lines remained, she probably did not even notice her error. These two songs, then, are most likely examples of *Flüchtigkeitsfehler* that occurred when Lang was notating her compositions.

Lang's textual omissions can, however, not all be explained as errors. Her treatment of the text of "Wer es wüßte, wer es dächte" is worthy of a closer examination. This unpublished song, dated July 9, 1840, is one of Lang's first settings of a poem by Köstlin. The poem is one of Köstlin's less straightforward texts:

Wer es wüßte, wer es dächte,  
Was der Seele Frieden giebt,  
Wer mir's zeigte, wer mir's brächte, –  
Ewig sollt er seÿn geliebt.

Ach, sie kommen und sie gehen,  
Wechselnd fühl' ich Leid und Lust;  
Aber einsam muß ich stehen  
Mit dem Gott in meiner Brust.

Immer hör' ich's vor mir singen,  
Wie ein halbverstandnes Wort;  
Mit den süßen Tönen dringen  
Will die ganze Seele fort.

Wie ein Kind, das heimwärts gehet  
Und den Weg nicht findet aus;  
Doch ein Duft schon lieblich wehet  
Um das Kind vom Vaterhaus.

Und so geh nun heiter immer!  
Bis die volle Sonne steigt,  
Freue dich am bunten Schimmer,  
Sei dem holden Wahn geneigt!

Einer gehet und der Andre  
Mit dir nach dem gleichen Stern;  
Kleine, stille Schaar, – sie wandern<sup>62</sup>  
Süß vertraut, den Menschen fern! (poem dated July 6 in Z 2704)

The poet is consumed by a nameless longing for something only half understood and half perceived. He views himself as belonging to a special class of people – a "kleine, stille Schaar" – who are subject to a "holden Wahn" and who are all following the same star.

<sup>62</sup> When Köstlin published this poem in 1853, he changed this line from a descriptive to an imperative: "Kleine stille Schaar, – so wandre / Süß vertraut, den Menschen fern!" (*Gedichte* 97, my emphasis).

This special class of people refers, no doubt, to the artists in this world. The poem offers us insight into how Köstlin viewed the fate of a creative artist: s/he is condemned to loneliness and to allegiance to a “god in [his/her] breast,” is forced to wander far from the rest of humanity in pursuit of a goal that others would not understand and that even the artist only half understands, but is nevertheless a member of a “kleine, stille Schaar” within which s/he can find sweet companionship. The poem suggests that Köstlin may have felt he had found this sweet companionship with Lang. In her setting of this text, however, Lang leaves out the last three stanzas of the poem. All three manuscript copies of this song end with the line “will die ganze Seele fort.” It is almost as if she could get no further than these words: “will die ganze Seele fort, will die ganze Seele fort, will die ganze Seele, die ganze Seele fort!–” (Mus.fol.53u, 15v-16r). Why would Lang leave out the last three stanzas? Perhaps a clue can be found in her copy of the poem. Here, the fifth stanza begins with the words: “Und so geh denn heiter immer, / Bis die rechte Sonne steigt”; and the last line reads: “Froh vertraut, den Menschen fern!” (first poem in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a, “Gedichte im Jahr 1840,” my emphases). In Lang’s copy of the poem, Köstlin might not have been quite as ready to commit himself. Not only is the nature of the companionship changed from “sweet” to “happy,” but there is a suggestion that whatever sun had risen in her life was not “die rechte Sonne” and that she should go on looking for the “right” sun.<sup>63</sup> If Köstlin was sending a slightly different message in Lang’s copy of the poem, it may have remained for her “ein halb verstandnes Wort.” In fact, she may not have wanted to understand this particular message and dealt with it by

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<sup>63</sup> This interpretation again awakens echoes of Köstlin’s novella, *Die Mathildenhöhle*. In precisely such a fashion does Köstlin deal with his character Emilie; her love for Eduard is represented as something that is merely to prepare her for her “real” love, Arthur (219-222, 240-242).

ignoring the last three stanzas of the poem.

Another song in which a portion of the text was omitted is op. 14/1 (“O sehntest du dich so nach mir”), one of the *Mathildenhöhle* settings. The poem is not one of

Köstlin’s better efforts:

O sehntest Du Dich so nach mir,  
Wie ich nach Dir,  
Du kämst zu mir.

Mein Aug ist nur nach Dir ein Strahl  
Voll süßer Qual;  
O komm’ einmal!

In meinem Ohr an jedem Ort  
Tönt immerfort  
Dein liebes Wort.

Mein Athem ist ein Hauch nach Dir;  
Die Seele mir  
Verschwimmt in Gier.

Von Deinem Kusse träumt mein Mund  
Und seufzt sich wund;  
Mach’ ihn gesund!

O sehntest Du Dich so nach mir,  
Wie ich nach Dir,  
Du wärst schon hier! (*Die Mathildenhöhle* 93-94)

Köstlin sacrifices grammar to meter in the second line of the first stanza (the reflexive pronoun is missing). The line “O komm’ einmal!” at the end of his second stanza is somewhat ambiguous. The fourth and fifth stanzas, with their odd imagery of a soul dissolving in lust and a mouth wounding itself with sighs, are particularly execrable. The latter two stanzas are absent in Lang’s setting of this poem. This omission was deliberate; these stanzas are not present on either manuscript copy (Mus.fol.53x, 11r-11v and Mus.fol.53v, 9v-10r). Their inclusion would not have disrupted Lang’s composition

in any way; together, they could easily have formed another strophe of her song. It seems that her good taste prevailed over her usual reluctance to omit any portion of a text by Köstlin.

Textual omission also occurs in op. 10/1 (“Gedenkst du mein?”), where Lang leaves out three of the six stanzas. This text was discussed in the previous chapter as an example of a poem that was most likely chosen primarily because Köstlin was the poet. In attempting to explain Lang’s textual omissions in this song, it is tempting to ascribe it to a negative reaction to the extraordinary confidence present in the poem. However, as soon as one becomes aware that the poem is a sequel to the one Lang set approximately six months earlier as her op. 14/3 (“Gedenke mein”), its content becomes less offensive. Lang was aware of the parallels between these two poems, for the music in op. 10/1 quotes excerpts from op. 14/3.<sup>64</sup> The two texts are given in Table 11. In setting a Köstlin poem, Lang was in effect returning the poem to her lover with the implication that she echoed the sentiments expressed therein. As Köstlin later wrote:

Ich habe meine Seele  
 Vertraut in Liedern dir;  
 Und du aus süßer Kehle  
 Verwandelt gabst sie mir.

So hab’ ich mich empfangen  
 Verklärt von dir zurück;

...

Du hast darin geschrieben,  
 Daß du mich kennst und liebst. (poem dated April 8 in Z 4131).

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<sup>64</sup> The situation with these two songs illustrates the importance of manuscript research. Without composition dates from the manuscripts, one would assume that a song published as part of op. 14 in 1848 was written later than a song published as part of op. 10 in 1841.

Thus, Lang's omission of three stanzas of the original op. 10/1 poem must be relevant to a investigation of her songs as her *Tagebuch*. Lang set the op. 14/3 text in its entirety, thereby demonstrating that she was able to identify with the content. As shown in Table 11, the op. 10/1 poem essentially mirrors the content of the op. 14/3 poem.

**Table 11.**

**Comparison of Köstlin's Original Texts for Lang's op. 14/3 ("Gedenke mein") and op. 10/1 ("Gedenkst du mein?").**

Köstlin's Poem (Z 2704, July 12, [1840]) – Lang's op. 14/3 (composed July 15, 1840)	Köstlin's Poem (Z 2704, December 12/13, [1840]) – Lang's op. 10/1 (composed January 4, 1841) <sup>a</sup>
<p>Gedenke mein! Die lieben Augen lenke In stillen Nächten oft nach mir! Ich denke dein, wenn ich des Liebsten denke, Und, was ich schaffe, weih' ich dir.</p>	<p>Gedenkst du mein, wenn du mit reinen Blicken Hinausstrebst in die dunkle Nacht? Ich denke dein; und, kann mich was erquicken, So ist's nur, weil ich Dein gedacht.</p>
<p>Gedenke mein, wenn dir die Thränen kommen! Dir weint mein ganzes Leben nach. So rasch gegeben, rascher noch genommen,– Und Lust und Leid ein einzig Ach!</p>	<p>Gedenkst du mein, wenn dir die Thränen kommen? Mein Leben ist ein stilles Ach; Die Freude draus ward mir mit dir genommen, Und nur der Schmerz ist ewig wach.</p>
<p>Gedenke mein im heißen Kampf des Lebens! Denk' nur, daß er auch mich verzehrt! Du weißt es ja: wir ringen nicht vergebens; So werden wir einander werth.</p>	<p>Gedenkst du mein, wenn dir die Pulse stocken Im Kampf des Lebens? Zage nicht! Der Lorbeer grünt so schön um braune Locken, Wenn auch das Herz im Busen bricht.</p>
<p>Gedenke mein, wenn Freude macht dich lächeln, Und sende mir im Traum dein Bild Als einen Engel, mir die Stirn zu fächeln, Wenn mir die Aussicht wird zu wild!</p>	<p>Gedenkst du mein, wenn Freude dir im Herzen Manchmal die alten Saiten rührt? So wunderbar sind, ach, der Liebe Schmerzen, Daß man sie fast wie Freuden spürt.</p>
<p>Gedenke mein! Versprich es, treue Seele! Sieh wie ein schöner Stern mich an, Dem ich darf anvertrauen, was mir fehle, Wenn ich mir selbst nicht helfen kann!</p>	<p>Gedenkst du mein? Du hast es mir versprochen, Und darum lebt' ich bisher fort,– Getrost denn, hättest du dein Wort gebrochen, Wär' mehr gebrochen, als ein Wort.</p>
<p>Gedenke mein! Ich weiß, du wirst es halten. So sind wir nimmer mehr getrennt. Die Flamme eint sich noch, die jetzt gespalten In zwei verwandten Herzen brennt.</p>	<p>Gedenkst du mein? Ich weiß: Du hast's gehalten; Und Seel' um Seele längst sich schlingt Mit Allgewalt, bis auch von den Gestalten Der Eisenreif des Schicksals springt.</p>

Source: See the column headings above.

<sup>a</sup> The shaded text was omitted by Lang in her setting of this poem.

The difference is that each stanza of op. 14/3 is an imperative (“Gedenke mein!”) followed by a description of a situation in which the remembering is to take place, whereas each stanza of op. 10/1 is a question (“Gedenkst du mein?”). Both poems end with certainty: “Ich weiß, du wirst es halten” and “Ich weiß: Du hast’s gehalten” (Z 2704). Certainty, however, was not what Lang was feeling in early 1841; recall her “Lied ohne Worte” from this time, with the words “stets voll Zweifel, ängstlich, suchend, keinen Ausweg—kein Ziel erreichend” on the manuscript. Two of the omitted stanzas express certainty: the third stanza of Köstlin’s poem, with its image of the laurel wreath wound around brown curls, implies victory in the “Kampf des Lebens,” and the sixth stanza, in addition to its inclusion of the affirmative statement “ich weiß,” evokes the time when the “Eisenreif des Schicksals” will release the lovers. Perhaps Lang was not willing to set these stanzas until, as discussed in the previous chapter with reference to op. 27/4 (p. 48), they had “come true.” Lang also omitted the fourth stanza – the one with reference to “Freude ... im Herzen.” With that stanza eliminated as well, the poem is stripped of its more positive elements and turned into a text in keeping with the state of mind reflected by the words: “stets voll Zweifel, ängstlich, suchend.”

Another song in which Lang’s omission of part of the text changes the character of the poem is the unpublished song “Leise sinkt der Abend nieder.” The poem was written on July 1, 1844; the song was composed five days later.

Leise sinkt der Abend nieder,  
 Bringt die Gegenwart zur Ruh;  
 Rausche denn, bewegter Flieder,  
 Sing’ von alter Zeit mir zu!

Bring’ sie all, die goldnen Tage,  
 Holden Nächte wieder vor!  
 Ganz wie fremde Wundersage,

Trifft es mein beraushtes Ohr.

Kehrte heut der Tag nicht wieder,  
Der zuerst mich froh gemacht?  
Sinke drauf, wie damals, nieder,  
Himmlisch friedensvolle Nacht!

Jener Tag hat Wort gehalten.  
Was er leis versprochen dort,  
Ward zur Fülle von Gestalten,  
Und noch immer wirkt es fort.

Und warum denn nun die Klage,  
Daß der Tag nicht wiederkehrt?  
Wurden denn nicht schön're Tage,  
Schön're Nächte dir bescheert?

Ach, der Tag kehrt doch nicht wieder,  
So flieht auch das Heute sacht.  
Rausche denn, bewegter Flieder!  
Thränen liebt die sachte Nacht.

(poem dated July 1, 1844 in Z 2727/67)

As can be gathered from the date, the subject of the poem is the anniversary of Lang's and Köstlin's first meeting in Kreuth. Lang set only the first three stanzas of the poem. The fourth stanza leaves the reminiscing vein and moves back into the present. The last two stanzas with their references to "Klage" and "Thränen" substantially alter the mood of the poem. In an anniversary song, Lang seems not to have wanted any references to lamenting and tears and therefore left out those two stanzas. The words "Himmlisch friedensvolle Nacht" are an appropriate ending to a happy, reminiscent song. The fourth stanza, although it does not contain any direct reference to sadness, is written in the present tense; its inclusion would therefore have interfered with the reminiscent aspect of the song. In keeping with the second line of the first stanza – "Bringt die Gegenwart zur Ruh," Lang's textual omission in this song suggests that she wanted to leave the present in peace and not allow it to intrude in her composition.

As we have seen, Lang's textual omissions occur for a variety of reasons. The omission in op. 10/1 and in the unpublished "Wer es wüßte, wer es dächte" is obviously of biographical relevance, but not all of Lang's textual omissions are related to the biographical significance of the chosen texts. These other omissions, however, can also contribute to our understanding of Lang's songs as her diary. For example, the published *Mathildenhöhle* song (op. 14/1, "O sehntest du dich so nach mir") is one of the few texts in which Lang allowed her own taste to influence what part of the text would be set. It seems that the more she became emotionally involved with Köstlin, the less critical she became of his poetry. The two songs in which Lang omits a significant portion of the text (i.e., more than a word or a single line) are among her earliest settings of Köstlin's texts. Omission of large portions of text is not found in songs from later in the courtship, nor in most of compositions from the marriage. The unpublished setting of "Leise sinkt der Abend nieder," composed during the marriage, is the one song where one could argue that Lang demonstrated criticism of Köstlin's text through her omission of three stanzas.<sup>65</sup> Even the omissions that are most likely mere errors (one word in op.12/2 and one line in op. 14/5) can be seen as reflecting Lang's life. Both of these songs were written during the marriage. As we know, Lang's life became increasingly busy after she married Köstlin and began to have children. *Flüchtigkeitsfehler* – errors resulting from haste – are to be expected from a busy life in which time for composition has to be snatched from myriad other duties.

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<sup>65</sup> As we saw in previous section (p. 82), Lang's omission of one stanza of poetry in her last setting of a text by Köstlin, op. 43/4 ("Scheiden"), occurs not because she is critical of this part of Köstlin's text, but likely because she was demonstrating her forgiveness for his departure in August 1840.



Lang's textual modifications in her settings of Köstlin's texts provide a fascinating topic for investigation. After the vital first step of distinguishing between mere errors and deliberate changes, a number of new insights into Lang's songs may be gained. Textual repetition has been mentioned in the Lang literature, but has not been subjected to a detailed scrutiny. In addition to investigating Lang's use of repetition in detail, I have identified three further types of textual modification that are found in her settings of Köstlin's texts. The results of a close study of Lang's textual manipulations support and, in some cases, strengthen my earlier interpretations of the songs as Lang's diary, particularly in the settings with biographically relevant texts. Through textual modifications such as reordering of the stanzas of a poem and repetition, Lang reveals what she found most important in the poem – what aspect of the text was especially meaningful for her. Lang's textual revisions also offer biographical insights; if the text did not quite express her feelings, or did not express them strongly enough, she edited it accordingly. Lang's omissions of parts of the text are especially fascinating; they provide information about her state of mind at the time of composition, about her sometimes critical stance toward Köstlin's texts, and even about changes in her life after marriage.

No doubt similar textual modifications occurred in Lang's settings of other poets, but without conclusive poetry sources, one cannot analyse them with confidence. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Lang was any less adventurous in her textual modifications in other songs. Owing to the large number of preserved primary sources,

the Lang/Köstlin collaborations represent a unique opportunity for a detailed study of all four kinds of Lang's textual manipulations and for showing how these modifications support Lang's statement, "my songs are my diary."

## Chapter 4. Lang's Music as her Diary

An examination of Lang's music as her diary is the logical next step in the present investigation. Of course, in the vast majority of her songs, Lang's music supports or enhances the text, frequently through obvious wordpainting (for example, musical mimicry of a waterfall or of rippling waves). In her dissertation, Roberta Werner has provided many detailed analyses of songs exhibiting such mimicry.<sup>66</sup> As fascinating as it is to study how Lang's music paints the words of a chosen text, such a study cannot lead to new insights into the function of Lang's songs as her diary; it can only substantiate the insights emerging from a study of her manuscripts, her text selection or her textual manipulation.

In a few cases, however, Lang makes a true musical entry in her *Liedertagebuch* – an entry that is independent of word painting and that reveals something that the text does not. Such entries occur in certain songs that capture our attention because of some unusual characteristic of the music. These unusual and unexpected characteristics manifest themselves in a variety of ways (e.g., in Lang's text emphasis, in the form of a conflict between music and text or between music and life situation, or in Lang's performance instructions). Within the music of these songs one finds unique and

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<sup>66</sup> For example, Werner discusses Lang's musical evocation of a boat rocking on the waves in op. 14/4 ("An den See") (603), and how "the poem's images of the cascading waterfall ... comes through in the music" (615) in Lang's op. 12/1 ("Am Wasserfall").

independent entries in Lang's *Liedertagebuch*.

These more subtle – sometimes even hidden – diary entries may be related to the fact that Lang's *Liedertagebuch* was, in one sense, a public document. In submitting her songs for publication, she allowed them to become public property. By making her diary public, however, Lang faced a dilemma, namely, how to balance the need for privacy with the desire for honesty and accuracy. There are obviously certain things in anyone's life that one is unwilling to communicate to the entire world. In the case of a *Liedertagebuch*, one way around this dilemma is by making entries in the diary that are not immediately apparent to the "reader" (performer or listener). A possible repository for these entries is the music of the songs.

Such examples of how Lang used her songs as her diary appear not to be numerous. In this chapter we will explore four examples of subtle autobiographical revelations in the music of Lang's settings of Köstlin's texts: first, a hint of her view of herself as a creative artist (revealed through unexpected textual emphasis); second, an assertion of personal conviction through her music (revealed through an unexpected conflict between the music and Lang's biographical situation); third, the expression of doubt and uncertainty (revealed through a conflict between the music and the text); and fourth, a revelation of her perception of appropriate male and female reactions to emotional pain (revealed through an unusual performance instruction).

Before addressing these subtle diary entries, a source not mentioned thus far must be introduced. Whereas Lang's written diary is, according to her only living

descendant,<sup>67</sup> no longer extant, her husband's poetry offers occasional glimpses into its contents. During a solitary trip to Kreuth and Tegernsee in 1854, Köstlin wrote 48 poems.<sup>68</sup> These include a number of "quote poems" with the title "Aus dem Tagebuch" (July 20, July 24, July 26, July 31, August 3, August 5) or simply "Tagebuch" (August 7), as well as a "quote poem" dated June 25 with the subtitle "Josephine (14. Juli 1840). 'Ob ich meinen Wanderer begleitete-?'". There are also two poems titled "Tagebuch" (August 19 and August 21), which are not in quotation marks, but clearly have a feminine voice. Given the content of these ten poems and the date and inscription on the poem from June 25, the "Tagebuch" in question must be Lang's diary from 1840. It seems that Lang gave Köstlin her diary to take along on his trip to the site where their meeting and courtship took place. Köstlin's poems written during this trip are a valuable clue to the contents of Lang's lost diary. As we shall see, these glimpses into Lang's written diary support, and correspond to, her musical diary.

#### Lang's View of Herself as a Creative Artist in her *Liedertagebuch*

In the previous chapter, I discussed Lang's unpublished setting of "Wer es wüßte, wer es dächte" with respect to her omission of a part of the text (pp. 85-87). It could be argued that in this song, Lang took a text dealing with the fate of a creative artist and, by omission of part of the text, turned it into a love song. In the text of Lang's song, the need for "Frieden" could just as easily be seen as originating from a "half-understood"

<sup>67</sup> Frau Dr. Imogen Fellinger, München, personal communication.

<sup>68</sup> The manuscripts for these poems are held in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach (Z 2722/7). They are dated with day and month, but not year. The year can, however, be determined with reasonable certainty from their content, in particular from the poem dated July 30, in which Köstlin states that "das Wort ist mir genommen" and asks the addressees of the poem to tolerate him "als stummen Fisch." Köstlin lost his voice in 1853. Furthermore, there exist in Stuttgart a number of letters to his children from Tegernsee dated August 1854 (Cod.hist.437 4<sup>o</sup> Fasz. 10c "Kleine Gedichte zu Geburtstagen, Christtagen" (112-114)).

burgeoning love as from the nameless longing of a creative artist. Lang even revised the text from “mit dem Gott in meiner Brust” (“Gott” being the creative drive in Köstlin’s poem) to “mit dem Schmerz in meiner Brust” in one of the song manuscripts (Mus.fol.53x, 12r-13r, my emphases).

While it might appear that Lang overlooked the reference to creativity in that poem, it would be wrong to conclude that creative work was of secondary importance to her, or that love meant more to her than creative partnership. “Wer es wüßte, wer es dächte,” composed on July 9, 1840, was one of the first Lang/Köstlin collaborations. “Gedenke mein” (op. 14/3), however, written six days later, provides a different picture of the significance of creative activity in her life; by July 15, 1840, Lang’s view of her position as a creative artist in the relationship with Köstlin appears to have changed. She had set at least three other Köstlin poems between those two dates and her artistic collaboration with Köstlin was becoming important to her. This growing importance is evident in Lang’s treatment of the text “Ich denke dein, wenn ich des Liebsten denke, / Und was ich schaffe weih’ ich dir” in her op. 14/3 (“Gedenke mein”), shown in Example 4.

The image shows a musical score for the song "Gedenke mein" (op. 14/3). It consists of two systems of music. The first system covers measures 10 to 14, and the second system covers measures 15 to 17. The vocal line is in the upper staff, and the piano accompaniment is in the lower staff. The lyrics are: "Ich den - ke dein, wenn ich des Liebsten den - ke, und was ich schaf - fe weih' ich dir, und was ich schaffe weih' - ich dir!". The score includes dynamic markings such as *p*, *cresc.*, and *dim.*.

Ex. 4. Measures 10 to 17 of op. 14/3 (“Gedenke mein”).

Lang's setting emphasizes the words "und was ich schaffe weih' ich dir," not only by textual repetition, but also by a dynamic increase. The word "schaffe" receives particular emphasis; the first instance of this word is marked "cresc.," and the second instance has both crescendo and fortissimo markings on the highest note of the melisma that sets the first syllable. The second note of the melisma is also the highest in the phrase. If op. 14/3 were a "mere" love song, one would have expected such emphatic treatment of the words "ich denke dein, wenn ich des Liebsten denke." By emphasizing instead the phrase dealing with *Schaffen*, Lang suggests that she is more than a lover – she is a creative artist who loves.

This view of herself is substantiated by an entry in her written diary from 1840, rendered by Köstlin as "Wie ich früh und spät am Tage / Denk' und schaffe nur für dich" (in the "quote poem," "Tagebuch," dated July 31 in Z 2722/7). The creative partnership of their relationship was obviously important to Josephine Lang. It was not enough for her to think about her lover "früh und spät am Tage"; she was also creating works of art for him. As she wrote much later in life, composing (that is, creative work) was so inextricably woven into the fabric of her very nature that it was a necessity of life for her: "[Lieder zu schaffen ist] mit meiner Natur u. m. Leben so verwoben . . . , daß es zu meinen Lebensbedürfnissen gehört" (Lang to Eduard Eyth no date, A: Eyth 28801, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach). Lang's emphasis of the words "und was ich schaffe weih' ich dir" in her op. 14/3, while it may strike us as unusual in a love song, is consistent with the view of herself as a creative artist that she also expressed in her verbal diary as a young woman and in letters later in her life.

### Lang Expressing Conviction through her Music

One would expect that the songs of a composer who said “meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch” would parallel her life situation at the time of composition, at least in cases where biographical relevance was important in the selection of the text. For the most part, Lang’s settings of Köstlin’s texts do match her biography. In two songs, however, there is a contradiction between some aspect of the musical setting and the known biographical events at the time when the songs were composed, namely, op. 9/3 (“Nach dem Abschied”) and op. 27/3 (“Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke”). There are no conflicts within the songs themselves; the music is completely congruent with the text in both songs. A conflict arises only when one attempts to reconcile the music with the biographical situation.

Op. 9/3 (“Nach dem Abschied”) was written on September 14, 1840. The title certainly fits the biographical situation; as stated earlier, the song was composed exactly one month after Köstlin’s abrupt departure from Tegernsee. The text is undeniably that of an *Abschiedslied*, which also fits the life situation on a certain level. It was this song, however, that Roberta Werner said “sings of serene joy” (595). It seems that even the publisher was aware of the serenity in this song. Lang, as was typical for her when she responded passionately to a poem, had added exclamation marks to Köstlin’s text at the end of each strophe; these exclamation marks are present in both manuscript copies of the song (Mus.fol.53x, 22r-22v and Mus.fol.53v, 26v-27r). The publisher, however, seems to have felt that exclamation marks were not appropriate for such a calm and serene

setting; neither of Lang's added exclamation marks are present in the published score.<sup>69</sup>

Yet how can such serenity come from a woman beset at that particular time of her life by "die schwärzesten Gedanken" (H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 72)? How is one to reconcile serenity with the statement: "Vor Josefine wurde es Nacht, tiefe Nacht, was sollte sie denken, was war ihr angethan worden" (H.A. Köstlin, *Lebensabriß* 71)? In fact, the latter statement is in direct conflict with the text of op. 9/3: "Wo ich denn wandern mag und ruhn auf Erden / kann nimmer Nacht und Trauer in mir werden."

Op. 27/3 ("Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke") poses a similar problem. Werner describes the song as follows: "The tenor/tone of the composition is one of solidity, strength and devotion and as such it faithfully reflects the poem's content" (608). Op. 27/3, like op. 9/3, radiates serenity and surety. Yet, this song was composed on April 6, 1841, more than a week before Köstlin's letter proposing marriage arrived in München. In fact, Lang writes on the manuscript of op. 27/3 that the song was composed "in ew'ger Erwartung" (Mus.fol.53w, 10r). Therefore, the song's serenity and surety is in conflict not only with the biographical situation, but also with Lang's own compositional information on the manuscript; there is no trace of "ew'ger Erwartung" in the music.

The serenity of op. 27/3 ("Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke") is deliberate. The only concession Lang makes to her biographical situation is the substitution of the word "schwanken" for "schweben" in the third stanza of Köstlin's poem (discussed on p. 76 in the previous chapter). The music for the words "Alles Andre seh ich schwanken" is identical to the opening of the piece (cf. Examples 5 and 6) with the exception of the

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<sup>69</sup> The same publisher (Fr. Kistner, Leipzig) let Lang's added exclamation marks stand in op. 9/4, op. 10/1, op. 12/3, op. 12/6, and actually added one for op. 12/2 – and this addition was not an exclamation mark required by the imperative.

crescendo that begins much earlier in the setting of the words “Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke?”

Singsstimme.  
Ob ich manch-mal Dein ge - den - ke? wüsstest  
Du wie schr ich's thu! Dir auch noch die Schatten len - ken träu - men-der Go-dan-ken

Pianoforte.  
p  
cresc.

Ex. 5. Opening of op. 27/3 (“Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke”).

spricht  
Al - les An - dre sch ich schwän - ken um mich  
her wie Traum und Schein! Dein ge - den - ken ist mein Le-ben!

Pianoforte.  
p  
pp  
cresc.

Ex. 6. Measures 16 to 24 of op. 27/3 (“Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke”).

Despite the crescendo and diminuendo markings, which could be seen as resulting in a *schwanken* of the volume on word “schwanken,” the gentle floating upward and

downward in the music on that word is much more in keeping with the word “schweben” than with the word “schwanken.” Lang obviously realized that dramatic word painting on the word “schwanken” would have interfered with the song’s serenity. She had made her statement about her life by replacing the word “schweben”; her music, however, remains serene.

In these two compositions, then, Lang appears to be making a revelation of her state of mind through her music – an entry in her musical diary. However much Köstlin’s departure without a word of farewell may have hurt her, however much his long delay in surmounting the obstacles to their marriage may have struck her as “ewig,” somewhere in the core of Lang’s being there was a firm belief that her relationship with Köstlin was meant to be. All the vicissitudes to which Lang was subjected from mid-August 1840 to mid-April 1841 could not shake this conviction. As the text of op. 9/3 states: “So giengst du zwar; doch deines Wesens Licht / verlässt den Himmel meiner Seele nicht.” Lang’s sureness is documented in the serenity of these two settings – a serenity that contradicts her biographical situation. Köstlin’s text that she set in op. 27/3 seems to have found a complete echo in her heart: “Dein gedenken ist mein Leben! / Dich zu lieben ist mein sein [sic]!”<sup>70</sup>

#### Doubts and Uncertainty in Lang’s *Liedertagebuch*

Lang also used her songs to express doubts and uncertainties. This aspect of her music has been noted by both Harald Krebs (*Irrégularités hypermétriques dans les*

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<sup>70</sup> The publisher of op. 27 (Eduard Ebner, Stuttgart) did not remove the exclamation mark that Lang had added to the statement “Dich zu lieben ist mein Seÿn!” (Mus.fol.53w, 10r-10v). In fact, he may even have added the exclamation mark to the statement “Dein gedenken ist mein Leben!” (op. 27/3), for it is not present in Lang’s manuscript (Mus.fol.53w, 10r-10v).

*Chansons de Josephine Lang*, forthcoming) and Roberta Werner (608 and 611). The attention of these scholars was drawn to such songs because in them, Lang seems to be exhibiting some resistance to the text. Contrary to what one would expect, the music does not quite match, or even subtly undermines the text, resulting in very revealing entries in Lang's musical diary. There are not a great number of songs of this type; a composer does not usually select a text only to work against it in his or her setting. Such rare contradictions, when they do occur, are worthy of notice and investigation.

Let us begin by examining Lang's op. 15/1 ("Den Abschied schnell genommen"). Although the text of this song is most likely not by Köstlin, it has not yet been identified as the work of any other poet. Since the song provides a very clear example of how Lang uses her musical diary, it is worth discussing in detail here. In this text, the speaker (most likely male) is addressing his beloved and instructing her in the art of taking farewell. The beloved is being told that partings must be rapid, unhesitating, and should take place without lamenting; this method is the only way of conquering the pain that comes with leavetaking. Lang's setting is, on the surface, quite in character with this message. The tempo marking is *presto ed agitato*. There is no piano introduction; a *stringendo* marking over the first note of the piece vividly sets the stage for the message of the text: "losgerissen, unverzagt!" There are both assertive and noble features to this song; Harald Krebs refers to "l'atmosphère généralement confident, assurée, même noble" of the music (*Irrégularités hypermétriques*, forthcoming), an atmosphere that suggests some identification with the content of the poem. Werner comments on the relationship between text and music in this *Lied* as follows: "[it] not only sings out the words and encapsulates the concepts but interprets, stretches, comments, highlights, lifts, in an

expressive life of its own” (556). Werner goes on to remark that in this song “Lang shows complete control of her musical materials” (556). Exactly how complete (and cunning) is this control emerges from Krebs’s analysis of hypermeter in op. 15/1. As can be seen in the quote above, Werner noticed a “stretch[ing]” in Lang’s setting, but she did not investigate it further. Recognition of the importance of “stretch[ing],” however, is central to an understanding of this song. Lang’s hypermetric elongations<sup>71</sup> (to substitute Krebs’s theoretical term for the word “stretching”) of precisely those words denoting pain and sadness “suggère un position critique au part de [la compositrice] relativement aux paroles.” Lang responds to the appeal for rapid farewells “avec des expressions d’attardement, et aux exhortations de ne pas céder à la douleur avec une évocation insistente et pénétrante d’une douleur présente” (Krebs, *Irrégularités hypermétriques*, forthcoming). In this setting Lang is working against the text on a hypermetric level to reveal her true feelings about leavetaking. In her music she can be completely honest; she can confess that she does not agree with the benefits of rapid farewells. Pain – “insistent, vivid ... present sorrow” – is an inescapable part of leavetaking for her.

“Frühling ist gekommen” (op. 27/4) is another song in which one can perceive an incongruity between Lang’s music and the text. There are a number of unusual aspects to this song – the first one that Lang wrote after receiving Köstlin’s offer of marriage. In this setting, there are virtually none of the usual indications of Lang’s passionate response to a text. I have already mentioned that it is the only complete Köstlin song in which

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<sup>71</sup> Hypermeter is meter on a level higher than the notated bar. Lang sets up four-bar hypermeasures as the norm in op. 15/1, but frequently expands hypermeasures beyond this length. These expansions are referred to as hypermetric elongations. The theory of hypermeter has been developed primarily by Carl Schachter (“Rhythm and Linear Analysis: Aspects of Meter.” in *The Music Forum, Vol. 6, Part 1*, edited by Felix Salzer, Carl Schachter, and Hedi Siegel. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987, pp. 1-59) and William Rothstein (*Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1989).

there is no textual repetition at all (p. 62). It also appears that two of Köstlin's exclamation marks are missing from Lang's manuscript (Mus.fol.53w, 10v-12r). As well, Lang seems to have added only one exclamation mark, namely after the words "und das Traumesfädchen, / wird zum starken Band!"<sup>72</sup> The addition of this single exclamation mark is the only instance of text emphasis in the entire song.<sup>73</sup> She does not abandon herself to the text as she does in her next song, op. 14/6 ("Auf dem See in tausend Sterne"), written two and a half weeks later. It almost seems as if Lang is not quite ready to believe that her relationship with Köstlin has changed from a "Traumesfädchen" to a "starkes Band." "Frühling ist gekommen" (op. 27/4) is, according to Werner, a song of "controlled emotion" – "the response of a woman whose love has been tried through a year of faith, doubt, and extreme emotional drain" (611). Werner goes on to say that "the music is optimistic and positive but it does not bubble" (611); her response to the obvious, but unasked question of why the music does not "bubble" appears to be that "it remembers, and awaits an earned happiness in strength and security" (611).<sup>74</sup> This lack of "bubbl[ing]" more likely reflects Lang's inability to trust her new-found happiness. The music of op. 27/4 simply does not match the note on the manuscript: "Componiert am 19 April 1841 in seeligster Stimmung auch gleich aufgeschrieben" (Mus.fol.53x, 41r). The subdued quality of parts of the song does not suggest a composer "in seeligster Stimmung." As shown in Example 7, the music for the

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<sup>72</sup> Lang's copy of the poem is missing. It is therefore impossible to state with certainty that any changes in the exclamation marks are her work.

<sup>73</sup> It should be noted that the situation with respect to the exclamation marks in the published version of this song is quite different. Not only have two of Köstlin's exclamation marks been restored, but a further four exclamation marks have been added, three of which should actually be question marks. These changes in the exclamation marks could be Lang's "updating" of the song after she was sure of the durability of the "starke[s] Band." This song was not published until 1872.

<sup>74</sup> It is noteworthy that Werner states that the music "remembers." Recall that this song is a *Seelied*, and that all of Lang's *Seelieder* are reminiscent entries in her diary (p. 47).

text “Wachen alte Lieder Dir im Herzen auf” is, somewhat surprisingly, a descending line of almost two octaves. This descent would appear to be better suited to the words “Schlafen alte Lieder Dir im Herzen ein”; it does not evoke an awakening. The music for the words “Gold’ne Tage wieder steigen sie herauf,” also given in Example 7, is unusual as well. The tessitura is very low and the idea of *steigen* is halfheartedly conveyed by the rise of a mere sixth over the whole musical phrase (from the b on the second syllable of “Tage” to the g# on the second syllable of “herauf”); the music would have to continue up another octave to regain the starting point of the aforementioned descent – the g# on the word “Wachen.”

**Ex. 7. Measures 27 to 47 of op. 27/4 (“Frühling ist gekommen”).**

About the end of the song, Werner remarks: “the last chord of the piece ends on the less definitive third of the chord. As such it imparts the sense of ongoingness and future that a tonic soprano would not” (613). The idea of looking toward the future that is, according to Werner, suggested by the last chord, is an appropriate reflection of Lang’s reluctance to trust her happiness. The first song she wrote in December 1840

after receiving Köstlin's letter explaining his Tegernsee departure – the letter about which she was so “begeistert” (Mus.fol.53w, 1v) – is “happy end” music. But Lang had allowed herself to be happy too soon; four more months of uncertainty lay ahead. By April 1841, the date of op. 27/4 (“Frühling ist gekommen”), she had learned her lesson and was more cautious. The tempo marking for this song, “nicht zu schnell,” could just as well be applied to Lang's state of mind; she was looking toward the future and waiting to see exactly how strong this “starke[ ] Band” would prove to be.<sup>75</sup>

The subdued quality of op. 27/4 (“Frühling ist gekommen”) comes through especially clearly when one examines it beside a song composed later, namely the “quote poem” setting, op. 12/5 (“Der Herbst”). The manuscript for this latter song is undated, but it was most likely composed shortly after Lang received the poem from Köstlin in August 1841. These two songs are the only Köstlin settings associated with a season – namely, spring and fall of 1841. They are both written in the key of E major and in 2/4 time. Furthermore, the rhythm of the opening three bars is identical (see Examples 8 and 9). One would, of course, expect op. 12/5 (“Der Herbst”) to show a stronger response to the text than op. 27/4 (“Frühling ist gekommen”), given that the text of the former is a “quote poem;” Lang could be expected to react more strongly to a text that she had, in a sense, written herself. The differences between the two songs, however, stem from more than the fact that one of them is a “quote poem” and the other is not. “Der Herbst” could not have been composed in the spring of 1841. “Frühling ist gekommen” appears to be

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<sup>75</sup> Lang may have had reason for concern about the formal engagement. There exists a letter from Nikolaus Lenau to Emilie von Reinbeck, dated “Ischl. 19. Juni 1841” in which he writes: “Nach Tisch sang mir Agnes mehre [sic] Lieder mit der gewohnten hinreißenden Empfindung. Auch Fräulein von Lang [sic], die Komponistin, Reinhold Köstlins Braut (was jedoch noch geheim gehalten werden zu müssen scheint), kam, spielte und sang” (57). Provided Lenau was not misinformed, all of the obstacles to the engagement were not yet overcome in June 1841 if it was still to be kept secret.

„Frühling ist gekommen.“  
Gedicht v. C. Reinhold.

Nicht zu schnell und zierlich. Josephine Lang, Op. 27.

Singstimme.

Pianoforte.

*dimin.*

*leggiere*

*dim.*

*a tempo*

Frühling ist ge - kommen, wie so lieb und hold! siehst Du auch be - kommen, in sein junges Gold?

*a tempo*

Ex. 8. Opening of op. 27/4 (“Frühling ist gekommen”).

DER HERBST.

**PRESTO.**

Singstimme.

Pianoforte.

Raschelt's schon im Lau - be, rü - thet sich die Trau - be,  
Lass die zar - ten Hül - len euch mit Thrä - nen fül - len.

Ex. 9. Opening of op. 12/5 (“Der Herbst”).

an attempt on Lang’s part to produce a song like “Der Herbst”; hence the similarities in key, time signature and opening rhythm. In those first few days after the arrival of Köstlin’s letter proposing marriage in spring of 1841, however, Lang was not yet sure enough of Köstlin’s pledges to compose something as light-hearted and unabashedly happy as “Der Herbst.” The difference between the two songs is the difference between

her states of mind in spring and in fall of 1841. The tempo markings highlight this difference: “nicht zu schnell” for the *Frühling* song, and “presto” for *Herbst*.

The uncertainty in the *Frühling* song, however, does not relate to the rightness of this new relationship – the “starke[s] Band” resulting from Lang’s and Köstlin’s formal engagement. We have already seen from our discussion of op. 27/3 (“Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke”) that Lang was sure about loving Köstlin. The uncertainty in op. 27/4 (“Frühling ist gekommen”), written almost two weeks later, has to do with whether the barriers separating her from Köstlin were truly set aside, or whether some new obstacle would surface. Lang’s doubts were about believing in the engagement, not about whether the engagement was right.

Roberta Werner finds that Lang also expresses “doubt” in op. 12/3 (“Abermals am See”):

As it [the postlude] nears its end and begins repeating the tonic B major, Lang inserts a G<sup>9</sup> between the tonic chords, a gesture which at once creates dissonance, color, motion and more somberness in what is basically a bright Lied. Perhaps it is a slight acknowledgement of her small nagging doubt about Reinhold’s coming decision. (Werner 608).

In the case of this song, however, I find it difficult to agree with Werner’s interpretation of the biographical relevance of this musical effect. The addition of a G<sup>9</sup> certainly makes the song more interesting, but I am not convinced that it makes it more somber. Rather, the G<sup>9</sup> upper neighbour functions as an indication of restlessness. The tonic triad is not allowed to remain static; rather it is embellished by a dissonant note that

departs from and returns to it.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, the G♯ does not, as Werner seems to imply, appear for the first time in the postlude; a G♯ is already present in the very first chord of the song. Throughout Werner's interpretation of the song (606-608), she focuses on the following imagery from the text: the waves, the boat riding the waves, the storm being weathered, and the cry from the poet to the boatman ("Muthig!"). Werner does not mention those elements indicating the poet's desire for haste – the word "drängen" and the commands "Frisch!", "Rudre nur schneller!" and "Eile!" – that formed the basis of my interpretation of this text (see pp. 48 and 66). Viewing the G♯ as an indication of restlessness dovetails very well with the desire for haste. The music of "Abermals am See" (op. 12/3) functions as Lang's diary, but the music expresses restlessness rather than doubt.

#### Lang's Perception of Male and Female Reactions to Emotional Pain

With the exception of tempo and expression markings at the beginning of her songs, Josephine Lang does not generally provide further performance instructions in her music. The one notable exception is the song "Scheiden" (op. 43/4). This song contains the following instructions for the final vocal notes: "Dieser Schlusstakt ist von weiblicher Stimme im feinsten Piano zu singen, von männlicher Stimme mit voller Kraft und Erbitterung vorzutragen." These instructions were not added by the publisher (Eduard Ebner, Stuttgart); they are present, albeit with slightly different wording, on the manuscript as well: "N.B.\* Ist dieser Takt von einer weiblichen Stimme im feinsten

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<sup>76</sup> This use of neighbour notes to evoke restlessness occurs in other songs as well; further examples include "Erinnerung" (WoO), op. 8/3 ("Ewige Nähe"), op. 10/1 ("Gedenkst du mein?") and op. 14/3 ("Gedenke mein"). I would like to acknowledge Harald Krebs for drawing my attention to this feature of Lang's music.

Piano vorzutragen. Eine Männerstimme jedoch, dürfte diesen Schlußtakt mit voller Kraft (mit Erbittertem [sic] Tone) singen und hat auch die Begleitung sich darnach zu richten” (Mus.fol.53ee, 10r-11v).<sup>77</sup> Werner does not touch on this performance instruction in her discussion of this song (721-723), yet its uniqueness certainly merits attention. I am aware of no other instance of a composer differentiating between male and female singers in a performance instruction.

This song gives us insight into Lang’s perception of male and female reactions to emotional pain. The text in question is the line: “Und, wem es [das böse Wort, Scheiden] recht auf’s Herze fällt, / dem bricht es.” As can be seen in Example 10, the performance instruction applies to the last two words, “bricht es.”

\*) Dieser Schlußtakt ist von weiblicher Stimme im feinsten Piano zu singen, von männlicher Stimme mit voller Kraft und Erbitterung vorzutragen.  
H. 434f H. Stich und Druck von Egeimann & Mithner in Leipzig.

**Ex. 10. Measures 18 to 24 in op. 43/4 (“Scheiden”).**

Although both male and female singers are performing the same text, they are to sing it differently according to their gender. This performance instruction suggests that Lang feels that women are to bear the pain of a breaking heart quietly – “im feinsten Piano.”

<sup>77</sup> These performance instructions are not present on the unpublished setting of this poem (Cod.Mus.fol. zu 53-57, 47r-47v). Given that op. 43/4 was written only two years before Lang’s death, it is likely that the unpublished version is an earlier one.

Loud and bitter ranting against one's fate seems, in her view, to be reserved for the males.

These two different reactions to the pain of parting are an accurate description of how Lang and Köstlin responded to their parting in August 1840. Lang's reaction to Köstlin's departure is captured in the following *Tagebuch* "quote poem" written during Köstlin's 1854 journey to Kreuth and based on Lang's diary from 1840:

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

Es war zu viel, zu viel zum Klagen!  
Ich hab' mein Glück verscharrt,  
Geduldig still mein Weh getragen  
Und auf den Tod geharrt. ...” (poem dated August 7 in Z 2722/7)

There is no bitterness in Lang's diary; she did not complain about her fate. For her there was only quiet, patient acceptance of her pain. Köstlin's poems from the weeks following August 14, 1840 contain no trace of quiet patience. He mentions his “heiße, klopfende Brust” and “immer noch grollender Thränen Spur” (poem from August 19, 1840, Z 2704). On August 24, he writes of “bittrem Schmerz” in one poem, and, in another poem from the same date, of how he stamps his feet in anger and of his “Trotz” (Z 2704). On September 4 he states that: “Ein blut'ger Strom quillt auf vom Herzen, / Und bricht mit Macht in Thränen aus” (Z 2704). His reactions are very different from Lang's “geduldig still” response. Both reactions are mirrored in the performance instruction for op. 43/4.

It might at first seem that Lang had more insight into their different reactions to the pain of parting than did Köstlin, especially when one reads his suggestion that their

reactions were similar (“mir ist’s wie dir, du Arme” – poem from August 19, [1840], Z 2704). Approximately three weeks later, however, Köstlin speculates about Lang as follows: “So standst du wohl, als du mich sahest gehen,– / Und fühltest’s leise, leis im Busen brechen” (poem dated September 5, [1840] in Z 2704).<sup>78</sup> This later poem describes the feminine response also reflected in Lang’s performance instruction; a woman’s heart breaks “leise, leis.” Thus, Köstlin on some level, too, seems to be aware of a difference between himself and Lang.

This view of males and females responding differently to emotional pain was one to which Lang seems to have subscribed all her life. “Scheiden” (op. 43/4), with its unusual performance instruction, was written in 1878 and is completely in accord with Lang’s and Köstlin’s emotional responses in 1840, as depicted in her verbal diary and his poetry manuscripts. The intervening 38 years did not appear to change this perception. As well, because Lang requests the same gender-specific response from all singers of her song, the view of male and female reactions to emotional pain expressed by her performance instruction is more than a reflection of Lang’s and Köstlin’s different personalities. Lang is using her musical diary to reveal something about 19<sup>th</sup>-century society – about her environment and its expectations of men and women.

Lang’s *Abschiedslieder* were already compared above (p. 53) to Schumann’s *Frauenliebe und Leben*. There is a further parallel between this last *Abschiedslied* of Lang’s (op. 43/4) and the last song in Schumann’s cycle. The poem (by Adelbert von Chamisso) that Schumann set as the concluding song of *Frauenliebe und Leben* (op. 42) also suggests that quiet withdrawal in the face of emotional pain was expected of a

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<sup>78</sup> Köstlin is indulging in some poetic license here, for Lang clearly did not see him depart.

woman: “ich zieh’ mich in mein Inn’res still zurück” (Schumann op. 42/8, my emphasis). The emotional pain in both songs is death: “Du schläfst ... den Todesschlaf” (Schumann op. 42/8) and “Tod spricht es” (Lang op. 43/4). It seems, therefore, that Lang’s performance instruction could be viewed as more than a documentation of her and Köstlin’s different personalities; it may be seen a reflection of the time in which she lived.

\* \* \*

We have seen above how varied Lang’s musical diary can be. These specifically musical entries in her diary, independent of the text, represent a very clever strategy for balancing privacy and openness in what is, after all, a very public *Liedertagebuch*. Although Lang veiled these entries in her music, she did essentially issue a challenge to scholars by making the statement “meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch.” With this statement she gives us leave to view all aspects of the songs as her diary and to interpret what is contained in them. Although identifying and extracting these musical revelations involves more effort than a study of the poetic texts, the results amply repay the labour, for they provide us with additional information about Lang as an artist, as a person and as a woman.

## Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated the validity of Lang's statement: "meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch." The songs studied – namely, Lang's settings of her husband's poems – have proven to be a good choice in this investigation. Because of the large number of extant primary documents, a study of this group of songs yields insights into many facets of Lang's statement – insights that would be more difficult, if not impossible to achieve with the rest of her output.

The application of Lang's statement exclusively to her selection of poetic texts, as has occurred in the bulk of the secondary literature thus far, has revealed itself to be much too narrow. The statement "meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch" is more complex than previously thought. Lang's settings of Köstlin's texts function as her diary on a variety of levels, ranging from verbal comments (and drawings) on her song manuscripts, through her selection of poetry and her modifications of the selected texts, to more subtle, veiled musical entries in her *Liedertagebuch*.

Although Lang's statement has been proven to be true, a number of fascinating avenues remain to be explored in future research. Lang's songs are her diary, but how, for example, does this musical diary conform to recent work on the diary genre in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – the "Zeitalter des Tagebuchs" (von der Heyden-Rynsch 17)? Applying theoretical writings about conventional diaries to a *Liedertagebuch* might at first seem inappropriate. The problems associated with extrapolating from a literary to a musical

genre – from what one author has called “Literatur im Rohzustand” (Wuthenow ix) to polished songs written with publication in mind cannot be denied. Nevertheless, given that “Tagebuchformen gibt es so viele wie Tagebuchschreiber” (von der Heyden-Rynsch 13), then an investigation of Lang’s *Liedertagebuch* in the light of theoretical works focusing on the phenomenon of the diary will no doubt yield valuable insights.

Another issue for future research is the private/public dichotomy in Lang’s *Liedertagebuch*. Gannett has written that the terms “public” and “private” do not “account very well for the complex possible relations among diarists, their subjects, and their audiences” (129). Such a blurring of the boundaries between private and public is also present in Lang’s musical diary. The autobiographical entries on the manuscripts allow us to look into Lang’s more private *Liedertagebuch*. These entries were never meant to be made public (at least by Lang), although her son, H.A. Köstlin, did include two of them in his *Lebensabriß* (68, 100). For whom then, were these “private” diary entries on the manuscripts intended? Verena von der Heyden-Rynsch has stated: “Kein Ich kann letztlich ohne ein Du existieren” (10). The identity of the intended “Du” in the case of the song manuscripts is worthy of further probing.

With respect to the songs themselves, the issue of relative privacy at first seems straightforward. Lang generally wrote her music with publication in mind. With the exception of a few manuscripts with specific instructions forbidding publication,<sup>79</sup> one can safely assume that Lang meant to publish as many of her songs as she could. While there appears to be no discernable difference between the published and unpublished

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<sup>79</sup> See for example, the manuscript of the song, “Der Holdseeligste, wonnebang,” that contains the statement: “dürfte nie gedruckt werden. (ist nur ein toller Jux gewesen)” (Mus.fol.54d, 50r), or the manuscript of the song, “Du meine Galline,” containing the words: “darf nie gedruckt werden” (Mus.fol.55b, 3r).

songs, one could possibly make a case for Lang keeping back some of the more personal songs for a number of years. Of her song collections consisting entirely of settings of Köstlin's poems, namely opp. 12, 14 and 27, only the first two were published during her marriage (in 1845 and 1848, respectively). Op. 27 did not appear until 1872; this opus contains such intensely personal songs as "Ob ich manchmal Dein gedenke" (op. 27/3), "Frühling ist gekommen" (op. 27/4) and the extremely passionate "Zu Tod möcht ich mich lieben" (op. 27/6). We cannot know for certain that Lang did not send these op. 27 songs to publishers much earlier,<sup>80</sup> but the 24-year gap between op. 14 and op. 27 could suggest that Lang found them too private for immediate release. More work on the private versus public aspects of Lang's songs would no doubt be worthwhile.

Another question for future study is that of the uniqueness of Lang's relationship with her *oeuvre*. Her statement "meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch" is true, but is Lang's relationship to her songs as unusual as scholars have generally assumed? Is Rosenwald correct in referring to Lang's text selection as "durchaus eigenartig" (62)? Particularly with regard to this latter interpretation of Lang's statement, there is ample evidence that other composers also chose to set texts that reflected their lives, including Franz Schubert and Robert Schumann, who are cited as contrasts to Josephine Lang by Rosenwald (61). Schubert's friends suggested that he "saw ... parallels to his own wintry condition" in the texts of the *Winterreise* cycle (Youens 72). Parallels between Schumann's life and his songs are also evident; for example, when he distills aspects of his difficult courtship into the *Dichterliebe* (op. 48) cycle (Komar 4), or when he makes his bride's father the

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<sup>80</sup> In H.A. Köstlin's list of Lang's works, he mentions two groups of songs (op. 21 and op. 24) that he describes as "ein ausgesandtes nicht angenommenes Opus" (*Lebensabriß* 100). It is not known which songs were included in op. 21 and op. 24.

“zentrale[r] Bösewicht” in the song “Es leuchtet meine Liebe” (op. 127/3), while he and his bride figure as the bleeding knight and the virgin, respectively (Fischer-Dieskau 133). Even in the case of Beethoven it has been said that “many of [his] vocal works were written because of some deep personal significance in the subject-matter” (Cooper 215). Detailed analyses of the works of other composers would also likely yield examples of contradictions between the poem and the music, such as are seen in some of Lang’s songs and that serve as examples of musical entries in her diary.<sup>81</sup> The difference between Lang and these other composers, however, is that she was the only one who directly stated: “meine Lieder sind mein Tagebuch.”

The obvious question, then, is why Lang made the statement at all. In view of some of the literature about the diary (particularly Gannett’s book), scholars could be misled into interpreting Lang’s statement as a trivializing of her songs, in the sense “my songs are [‘only’] my diary.” In this context, Lang’s works would be perceived by the male establishment as non-threatening, despite the fact that a woman was daring to step out of her salon into the world of music publication. Careful reading of Gannett, however, reveals that the connotations “feminine” and “trivial” associated with the word “diary” arose during the 20<sup>th</sup> century and are therefore not applicable to Lang’s songs (105-107, 120).

Rather than a trivialization of the songs, Lang’s association of her compositions with the diary genre suggests that she was recognizing a particular function that composing had for her. Statements like “[Lieder schaffen ist] mit meiner Natur u. m.

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<sup>81</sup> For example, in Brahms’s setting of Köstlin’s “An dies Schiffelein schmiege” (op. 106/2), the music accompanying the reference to the “schwimmend Eden” suggests that Brahms did not believe in the possibility of a floating Eden.

Leben so verwoben [ ], daß es zu meinen Lebensbedürfnissen gehört!” (Lang to Eduard Eyth, no date, A: Eyth 28801, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach) show what an important part of her life her songs were. Three years after the death of her husband, Lang wrote to Ferdinand Hiller that:

Nur der Anblick meiner theuren Kinder und die göttliche Musik waren allein im Stande, mich über das Schwerste was mich treffen konnte – hinüber zu tragen, und Letztere allein ist es, die mich im Drange so vielfacher Sorge u. Arbeit noch aufrecht erhält, und mir wie ein schützender Engel zur Seite steht – wo das harte Leben an Abgründe führt! . . . . Mit wenigen Worten: – Auch ich habe nicht aufgehört, trotz aller Hemmnissen und trüben Geschicken das “wuchernde Unkraut” in mir fortwuchern zu lassen – und so liegt nun ein großer Vorrath von kleinen Lieder-Compositionen vor mir aufgethürmt[.] (Lang to Hiller, October 22, 1859, Hiller papers, **28**, 709, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Köln)

This letter reveals why writing music was so important to Lang. For her, as for many other creative artists, writing in her diary – in Lang’s case, composing – was a healing action. This therapeutic function of the diary has been well documented (von der Heyden-Rynsch 12; Gannett 145-148; Niemeyer 47). Lang’s creative musical output was both a comfort and a necessity to her.

If Lang indeed made her famous statement (or a variation thereof) for the first time in 1867 when she was writing autobiographical notes for Hiller, it could have been a significant insight on her part. In looking back on her life she may well have consciously realized for the first time exactly what her songs were to her. In 1867 Lang also made the first list of her compositions, including titles, incipits, opus numbers, dates of

composition, dedicatees, etc. (located in the box containing the manuscript booklets Mus.fol.54a to 57b).<sup>82</sup> In order to make this list Lang would have had to undertake a complete inventory of her output. It was perhaps the combination of the two activities – writing the autobiographical notes and making the list of compositions – that acted as a catalyst, allowing her to come to the realization that her songs were her diary. The many fascinating implications contained in Lang’s unusual statement will no doubt continue to entice scholars into exploring her life and her music through the filter of her declaration: “my songs are my diary.”

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<sup>82</sup> I would like to acknowledge Harald Krebs for drawing my attention to the significance of Lang’s *Werkverzeichnis* of 1867.

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**APPENDIX A.**

**SUMMARY OF THE LANG/KÖSTLIN SONGS**

## APPENDIX A. SUMMARY OF THE LANG/KÖSTLIN SONGS

This appendix contains a summary of all of Josephine Lang's settings of Christian Reinhold Köstlin's texts located to date. By synthesizing information from the musical manuscripts, the poetry manuscripts and the composer's biography, the songs have been divided into the following five groups:

- (1) Questionable Songs. These are songs for which the text is attributed to Köstlin in one of the published musical sources or in the Lang biography of 1881, but for which I have not been able to confirm the attribution from poetic publications or manuscripts.
- (2) Songs from the Courtship. These are songs that were composed during the period from July 1, 1840 (date of first meeting) to March 29, 1842 (date of marriage). The texts for the courtship songs stem primarily from courtship poems, but also include poetry that pre-dates the meeting of the two artists. This is the largest group of songs.
- (3) Songs of the Married Years. These are songs composed during the period from March 29, 1842 (date of marriage) to September 14, 1856 (date of Köstlin's death). The majority of the texts were written during the marriage. Two texts cannot be dated. Two are courtship poems.
- (4) Songs from Lang's Widowhood. The period covered here is September 14, 1856 (date of Köstlin's death) to December 2, 1880 (date of Lang's death). There are only two confirmed settings of Köstlin poems stemming from this period.
- (5) Songs for which the Composition Date cannot be Precisely Determined. Three of the songs in this group could be from either the courtship, marriage or widowhood years. For the remaining three songs one of the groups can be ruled out, but two possibilities remain.

One of the goals of future research is, of course, to eliminate, or at least substantially reduce, the first and last of the above groups.

Publication dates for the songs with opus numbers are taken from Hofmeister (either his *Monatsberichte*, *Handbücher der musikalischen Literatur*, or *Kurze Verzeichnisse*) as given on the Josephine Lang website of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Germany

(<http://www.wlb.stuttgart.de/%7Ewww/referate/musik/lang.html>).

The following abbreviations have been used below: JL=Josephine Lang; CRK=Christian Reinhold Köstlin; HAK=Heinrich Adolf Köstlin (their son, and JL's biographer); ms.=manuscript. The word "manuscript" should not be taken to mean "autograph"; the poetry manuscripts are all autographs, but the musical manuscripts consist of both autographs and songs in the hand of a copyist (some corrections in JL's hand).

**QUESTIONABLE SONGS (Köstlin authorship of the text is in question):**

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
op. 15/1 [1848]	"Nur den Abschied schnell genommen"  (manuscript title is "Rückblick in das Jahr 1832 Abschied")	August 18, 1838 (two mss.) Mus.fol.53r (17-20) "Gewidmet den wilden brausenden Fluthen componiert Samstag Nachts ½ 12 Uhr den 18 <sup>ten</sup> August 1838" Cod.mus.II Reihe 2° 84 ([15r-18r])	none extant As well, I have found no published version of this poem to date; song pre-dates the meeting of JL and CRK by two years.	The attribution to CRK first occurs in the posthumous reissue of 1884. It does not occur on the original opus 15 publication which came out during the marriage.
op. 25/5 [1860]	"Rasch wie die Pfeile"	none extant	none extant The published song gives CRK as the poet.	HAK, however, says that the poem is by Felix Köstlin written "vom Irrenhause aus!" ( <i>Lebensabriß</i> 100).
unpublished	"Mir ist's, als kennt' ich dich seit Jahren"	July 10, 1840 (one ms. – a fragment) Mus.fol.53u (17v) "Kreuth den 1 Julÿ 1840. Mittwoch Nachmittags ½ 4 Uhr am Clavier --- componiert am 10 Julÿ Nachts."	none extant HAK gives Köstlin as the poet ( <i>Lebensabriß</i> 70).	The song is entitled "Erstes Begegnen." The musical manuscript also contains (crossed out but still legible): "Rein und hold . . . wie deine Seele wird auch dein Lieben sein."

### SONGS FROM THE COURTSHIP:

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
op. 9/3 [1841]	“Die Sonne senkt sich in des Meeres Schoos”	September 14, 1840 (two mss., one dated; the other has date cut off except for the year 1840) Mus.fol.53x (22r-22v) “componiert 14 <sup>ten</sup> Sept. 1840 Montag Abends” Mus.fol.53v (26v-27r) – year only	Z 2704 June 20, 1840 (therefore pre- JL meeting) Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”; poem is entitled “Nach dem Abschied.” Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 93), entitled “Verwandlung 5.”  “RECYCLED POEM”
op. 9/4 [1841]	“Die Bäume sie tropfen vom Regen”	some Friday (likely 7th) in August 1840 (two mss., one undated) Mus.fol.53x (20r-21r) Mus.fol.53v (23v-25v) “Tegernsee [cut off] August 1840 Freitag morg”	Z 2704 July 21, 1840 Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”; poem is entitled “Am Morgen.” Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 90-91), entitled “Verwandlung 2.”  Cf. unpublished version below.
op. 10/1 [1841]	“Gedenkst du mein?”	January 4, 1841 (one ms.) Mus.fol.53w (4r-5r) “Componiert am 4 Jänner 1841 aufgeschrieben am 7 <sup>ten</sup> Jänner Morgens”	Z 2704 December 12/13, 1840	
op. 12/1 [1845]	“Dein Jüngling träumt am Wasserfall”	July 1841 (two mss., one dated) Mus.fol.53w (14v-15v) “componiert am —Jüly 1841 Kreuth aufgeschrieben Tegernsee d. 9 August 1841. Nach dem der Ladro Etwas erzeugte u. ich dennoch im Garten aufschreiben konnte!” Mus.fol.53x (24v-27r)	Z 2704 August 23, 1840 in Trasey- Mels [?] Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 18-19), entitled “Der Wasserfall.”  On musical ms. after the end of the song are the words “Da ist er! (Wind! Wetter! Sturme [sic]!).”

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
op. 12/2 [1845]	“Im Walde weit auf der Haide breit”	May 8, 1841 (four mss., two with this date) Mus.fol.53w (13r-13v) “Componiert am 8 Maÿ 1841 Nachmittags 3 Uhr” Mus.fol.53w (14r-14v) “Componiert am 8 Maÿ 1841. Voll jubelnder Empfindungen.” Mus.fol.53x (35r-36v) Mus.fol.54f (36r-37v)	Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 67), entitled “Spät.”
op. 12/3 [1845]	“Drüben schon von dem Altane”	April 5, 1841 (one ms.) Mus.fol.53w (7r-9v) “Componiert am 5 <sup>ten</sup> April Nachmittags 2 Uhr [crossed out words] mit einer [illegible] Ahnung und zugleich aufgeschrieben”	Z 2704 July 21, 1840 Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”; poem is entitled: “Abermals am See.” Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 34-35), entitled “Seelieder 3.”
op. 12/4 [1845]	“Die Sonne kam im reinsten Glanze”	November 16, [1841, because of location] (one ms.) Mus.fol.53w (20r) “München den 16 Nov Abends componirt und aufgeschrieben”	Z 4131 November 14, 1841 Cod.hist. 4° 437. Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte aus dem Brautstand”; poem is entitled: “Ach wärest du da!”	The Z 4131 poem begins: “Die Sonne stieg im reinsten ...” “QUOTE POEM”
op. 14/1 [1848]	“O sehntest du dich so nach mir”	two mss. one dated July 25, 1840, the other August 1840 Mus.fol.53x (11r-11v) – August Mus.fol.53v (9v-10r) “Tegernsee componiert d. 25 July 1840” (Date is written over an original illegible date in August)	Z 2701 November 18, 1837	The poem is published in CRK’s novella <i>Die Mathildenhöhle</i> (93-94).

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
op. 14/2 [1848]	“Eilende Wellen spielend im Licht”	August 14, 1841 (two mss., one dated) Mus.fol.53w (16r-17v) “Abends Tegernsee den 14 <sup>ten</sup> August componiert Morgens um 8 Uhr 1841 nach dem die 2 Briefe kamen: [in the margin] aufgeschrieben am Sonntag Morg 15 <sup>ten</sup> August nach der Kirche” Cod.mus.II Reihe 2° 84 ([50v-52r])	Z 4131 August 11, 1841	
op. 14/3 [1848]	“Gedenke mein! Die lieben Augen lenke”	July 15, 1840 (three mss., two dated) Mus.fol.53y (9v) [fragment] Mus.fol.53x (9r-10v) & Mus.fol.53v (7r-7v) “Componiert am 15. Julÿ 1840 Abend's 8 Uhr aufgeschrieben am 28. Julÿ—” Mus.fol.53v (4v-6v, 8r-9r) “Gedichtet v. C. Reinhold, Tegernsee componiert am 15 July 1840”	Z 2704 July 12, 1840 Cod.hist. 4° 437. Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte aus dem Brautstand”; poem is entitled: “An Josephine”, dated July 13, 1840 and signed “C. Reinhold.” Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK's poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 94-95), entitled “Verwandlung 7.”
op. 14/4 [1848]	“Um dies Schifflein schmiege”	December 18, 1840 (two mss., one dated) Mus.fol.53w (1v-4r) “Componiert am 18 <sup>ten</sup> Dezember 1840 Von den 'beiden Briefen' begeistert Aufgeschrieben am 19 <sup>ten</sup> Dezember 1840 nach dem Hanno es hörte, und nicht schlecht fand.” Cod.mus.II Reihe 2° 84 ([52r-54v])	Z 2704 August 5, 1840 Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”; poem is entitled: “An den See.” Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK's poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 41-42). entitled “Seelieder 11.” This text was also set by Brahms. In the Z 2704 poem, in the published poem, and in Brahms's song the text begins “ <u>An</u> dies Schifflein ...”

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
op. 14/6 [1848]	“Auf dem See in tausend Sterne”	May 2, 1841 (two mss., one dated) Mus.fol.53w (12r-13r) “Componiert den 2 Maÿ 1841 Sonntag Nachmittag’s als ich allein zu Hause war Aufgeschrieben Montag den 3 Maÿ 1841” Cod.mus.II Reihe 2° 84 ([57r-58v])	Z 2704 August 10, 1840 Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”; poem is entitled: “Und nocheinmal.” Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 41), Seelieder 10.”
op. 27/1 [1872]	“Noch kaum erwacht von Träumen”	March 15, 1841 (one ms.) Mus.fol.53w (6r-7r) “In München componiert am 15 März 1841 Montag Abends 8 Uhr Nach [sic]”	Z 2704 June 17, 1840 (therefore before meeting JL!) Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”; poem is entitled: “Traumleben.”	The song was composed the day after her birthday.  “RECYCLED POEM”
op. 27/3 [1872]	“Ob ich manchmal dein gedenke?”	April 6, 1841 (one ms.) Mus.fol.53w (10r-10v) “Componiert am 6 <sup>ten</sup> April 1841 Nachmittags 3 Uhr in ew’ger Erwartung auch aufgeschrieben.”	Z 4131 March 9, 1841	
op. 27/4 [1872]	“Frühling ist gekommen”	April 19, 1841 (one ms.) Mus.fol.53w (10v-12r) “Componiert am 19 April 1841 in seeligster Stimmung auch gleich aufgeschrieben.”	Z 4131 March 14, 1841 [JL’s birthday]	
unpublished	“Ach, ich denke, ach ich senke”	August 3, 1840 (two mss. one with date cut off) Mus.fol.53x (16r-17v) “Componiert in Tegernsee den 3 <sup>ten</sup> August! Aufgeschrieben den 12 <sup>ten</sup> Octobr. 1840” Mus.fol.53v (14v-17v)	Z 2701 March 1, 1837	The poem is published in CRK’s novella <i>Die Mathildenhöhle</i> (73). JL started writing out this song on September 16, 1840, but she only got as far as writing the title and the composition information (Mus.fol.56a, 25r).

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
unpublished	“Die Bäume sie tropfen vom Regen”	August 4, 1840 (two mss., one only partially dated) Mus.fol.53x (18r-19r) “Tegernsee Dienstag am 4ten August 1840” Mus.fol.53v (20v-22r) “August 1840 Morgens”	Z 2704 July 21, 1840 Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”; poem is entitled: “Am Morgen.” Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 90-91), entitled “Verwandlung 2.”  Cf. published version above.
unpublished	“So soll es wieder sein gescheiden”	July 10, 1840 (one ms. – a dated fragment) Mus.fol.53u (18v) [fragment] “Kreuth den 10 <sup>ten</sup> Julÿ Nachts 1 Uhr 1840” The corner of the musical manuscript is ripped off.	Z 2704 July 9, 1840 Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume) Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”; poem is entitled: “Abschied.”	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 93-94), entitled “Verwandlung 6.” The published poem begins “ <u>Und</u> soll es wieder...”  JL’s copy of the poem (“Gedichte im Jahr 1840”) has a lot of underlining of words; this underlining was most likely done by her.
unpublished	“Und wieder ist ein Tag dahin”	August 1840 (two mss., one with date cut off) Mus.fol.53x (14r-15r) “componiert in Tegernsee am [blank] August 1840” Mus.fol. 53v (11v-13r)	Z 2701 June 3, 1837	The poem is published in CRK’s novella <i>Die Mathildenhöhle</i> (74).
unpublished	“Wenn das Herz dir ist beklommen”	July 9, 1840 (one ms.) Mus.fol. 53x (3r) “gedichtet R. componiert J. Nachmittags 4 Uhr–Donnerstag den 9. Julÿ 1840 [words crossed out] meines lieben [in right margin:] aufgeschrieben den 10. Julÿ 1840 Freitag—Morgens 1/2 5 Uhr.–”	Z 2704 July 5, 1840 Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume) Last two stanzas (“O dann in den Wald ...”) are found as separate poem in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”, with the title “zu 2.”	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 20), entitled “An einer Quelle.”  Cf. published and unpublished versions in “Songs of the Married Years.”

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
unpublished	“Wer es wüßte, wer es dächte was der Seele Frieden gibt”	July 9, 1840 (three mss., two undated) Mus.fol.53u (15v-16r) “ged. v C. Reinhold. componiert von E. Josephine den 9 July 1840. Kreuth. 9 Uhr Morgens nach dem Spatziergang [sic]” Mus.fol.53x (12r-13r) Mus.fol.53v (1v-4r)	Z 2704 July 6, 1840 Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume) Stanzas 2 to 5 (“Ach, sie kommen ...”) are found as separate poem in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”, with the title “zu 1.”	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 96-97), entitled “Wer es wüßte.”

### SONGS OF THE MARRIED YEARS:

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
op. 12/6 [1845]	“Auf langer Haide wallt”	September 12, 1843 (two mss., only one dated) Mus.fol.53w (21v-22v) “Componiert am 12 <sup>ten</sup> Sept. 1843 Aufgeschrieben am 24 <sup>ten</sup> Sept. 43” Mus.fol.53x (37r-39r)	Z 2717 September 11, 1843 27466 Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 68), entitled “Die Wolke.”
op. 13/1 [1847]	“Sie hat mich still zum Abschied angeblickt”	two mss., both undated Mus.fol.54f (42r-43r) Mus.fol.53w (24r-24v)	Z 2717 September 24, 1844	This must be a marriage song because of the publication date.
op. 14/5 [1848]	“Ein Vögelein fliegt über’n Rhein”	1842 (two mss., one with year) Mus.fol.53w (20v-21r) – year given Title: “‘Lied’ v Reinhold auf der Rheinreise gemacht” “Componiert in Tübingen 1842 aufgeschrieben 4 Decembre [sic] 1842. Abends.” Cod.mus.II Reihe 2° 84 ([59r-59v])	Z 2722/8 April 17/18, [1842] Mannheim Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	This poem is from the honeymoon. The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 65-66), entitled “Auf dem Schiffe.” This text was also set by Brahms.

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
op. 20 [between 1852 and 1859]	“Am Bache sitz’ ich lange Zeit”	April 5, 1850 (two mss., one dated) Mus.fol.53x (49r-49v) “componiert am 5. April 1850” Mus.fol. 53s (4r-4v)	Z 2728/8 “Riggoldsau” [no date] N.B. This manuscript is in JL’s hand, not CRK’s	N.B. poetry manuscript is in JL’s hand (but among CRK’s papers in Marbach); no copy in CRK’s hand is extant.
op. 23/1 [1859]	“Hier unter wälschen Bäumen”	October 4, 1849 (five mss. only one dated) Mus.fol.53y (2v-3r) “componiert den 4 Okt. 1849” Mus.fol.53s (2r-3v) Mus.fol.53x (50r-51v) Mus.fol.53x (60r-61v) Mus.fol.53x (54r-56r)	Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume) Z 2727/15 September 1/2, [no year]	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 85), entitled “In Welschland.”
op. 26/2 [1860]	“Bei Nacht und Nebel fahr ich fort”	September 18, 1847 (two mss. only one dated) Mus.fol.53w (25v-26r) “componiert am 18 Sept 1847” Mus.fol.53x (43r-43v)	Z 2722/4 September 1, 1847 Petersthal Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 50), entitled “Reiselieder 1.”
op. 27/2 [1872]	“Wenn das Herz dir ist beklommen”	October 17, 1853 (only one ms. for published version, but there are two earlier different settings) Mus.fol.53x (5v-7r) “von C. Reinhold, componiert den 17. Oktober 1853”	Z 2704 July 5, 1840 Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume) Last two stanzas (“O dann in den Wald ...”) found as separate poem in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”, with the title “zu 2.”	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 20), entitled “An einer Quelle.”  Cf. unpublished version below and also unpublished version in “Songs from the Courtship”.
unpublished	“Alpenglühlen, selige Pracht!”	July 14, 1845 (one ms. – a fragment) Mus.fol.53w (26v) “componiert den 14 <sup>ten</sup> July 45 mit Felix [JL’s eldest son; Mendelssohn’s godson].”	Z 2717 September 20, 1843 Meran	

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
unpublished	“Die Blumen grüßen mich am Wege”	September 20, 1843 (two mss. both dated) Mus.fol.53w (23r) – incomplete “Componiert am 20 <sup>ten</sup> Sept. Abends 43.” Mus.fol.54f (38r-40v) “Friedrichs-hafen den 11 <sup>ten</sup> Sept. 1843.”	Z 2717 September 11, 1843	The dates on the musical mss. may appear to be in conflict with one another, but it is likely that on the second manuscript JL wrote the <u>poem’s</u> date rather than the date of composition.
unpublished	“Es regt sich im Kyffhäuser”	two mss., both undated, both incomplete sketches Cod.mus.fol.zu 53-57 (25v) Mus.fol.53x (53r-53v)  also possibly Mus.fol.53x (46v) [no incipit, but dated March 1848]	none extant Anonymously published in 1848 (just a <i>Heft</i> containing this poem), but the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and the university library in Tübingen ascribe it to CRK	The song may be dated 1848 because it is musically almost identical to “Flieg’ auf o deutscher Adler” (see below).
unpublished	“Flieg’ auf o deutscher Adler”	three mss. extant; one says 1848, others undated Mus.fol.53x (45r-46r) “componiert v. J. Köstlin 1848” Mus.fol.55a (9v-10r) Mus.fol.55a (11r-11v)  possibly Mus.fol.53x (46v) [no incipit, but dated March 1848]	none extant Although this song was never published, a <i>Liedertafel</i> concert program from Tübingen dated August 4, 1848 indicates that it was performed. The program reads: “Dichtung von C. Reinhold, komp. von Josephine Lang.”	For <i>Männerchor</i> ; this setting is musically almost identical to “Es regt sich im Kyffhäuser” (see above) therefore this poem is likely from 1848 as well, especially given the nationalistic content.
unpublished	“Leise sinkt der Abend nieder”	July 6, 1844 (one ms) Mus.fol.53w (23v-24r)	Z 2727/67 July 1, 1844 Lustnau	Poem was written on (and about) the anniversary of JL’s and CRK’s first meeting.
unpublished	“O Himmel sieh vor Dir zwey Herzen”	three mss., one dated 1848 Mus.fol.53w (26v-27v) Mus.fol.55a (12r-12v) Mus.fol.53x (47r-48v) – year	none extant	For <i>Frauenchor</i> , written for the wedding of CRK’s sister, Adelheid in February 1848.
unpublished	“O Himmel sieh vor Dir zwey Herzen”	one ms. fragment, undated Mus.fol.54b (7v)	none extant	different setting from above

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
unpublished	“Wenn das Herz dir ist beklommen”	October 16, 1853 (one ms.) Mus.fol. 53x (7v) “von C. Reinhold, komponiert den 16. Okt. 1853. – aufgeschrieben am 18. Oktob”	Z 2704 July 5, 1840 Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume) Last two stanzas (“O dann in den Wald ...”) found as separate poem in Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”, with the title “zu 2.”	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 20), entitled “An einer Quelle.”  Cf. unpublished setting in Songs from the Courtship and published setting above. This setting is different from either.

### SONGS FROM LANG’S WIDOWHOOD:

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
op. 38[39]/6 [1867]	“Wie spiegelt der See”	April 1861 (one ms.) Mus.fol.53z (12v-14v) “komponiert im April 1861”	Z 2704 July 16, 1840 Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 34), entitled “Seelieder 2.”
op. 43/4 [1879]	“Warum muß, ach, das Scheiden sein”	April 27, 1878 (one ms.) Mus.fol.53ee (10r-11v) “komponiert zum 27. April 1878 von Josefine [sic] Lang”  JL song text begins: “Warum muß, ach, das Scheiden sein?”	Z 2717 September 29, 1845 Z2727/64 September 29/30, 1845 Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)  CRK’s poem begins: “Warum, ach, muß das Scheiden sein”	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 53-54), entitled “Scheiden.” The poem is also copied out (in lieu of a title) on a piano piece in Mus.fol.56b (5r-6v); this piano piece is musically unrelated to either setting of the text.

**SONGS FOR WHICH COMPOSITION DATE CANNOT BE PRECISELY DETERMINED:**

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
op. 12/5 [1845]	“Raschelt’s schon im Laube”	three mss. – all undated Mus.fol.53x (33r-34r) Mus.fol.53x (27v-29v) Mus.fol.53x (30r-32v)	Z 4131 August 15, 1841 Cod.hist. 4° 437. Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte aus dem Brautstand”; poem is entitled: “Josephine am 30. August [1841]”	This song could be from the courtship (likely August 1841) or the marriage, but, given the publication date, definitely not from JL’s widowhood. “QUOTE POEM”
op. 26/5 [1860]	“Nach jenen blauen Bergen”	one ms. – undated Mus.fol.53x (62v-63r)	Z 2704 July 16, 1840 Cod.hist.4° 437 Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte im Jahr 1840”; poem is entitled “Zusammen.”	This song was published after CRK’s death, so it could be from the courtship, marriage or widowhood periods.
op. 27/5 [1872]	“Lebt wohl! ihr Berge”	one ms. – undated Mus.fol.53y (5r-5v)	Z 2727/41 June 6 [no year] Tüb.-Stuttg.	The other poems in the Z 2727/41 group indicate that this group is post-marriage—therefore this is a song from JL’s marriage or widowhood.
op. 27/6 [1872]	“Liebster Freund, und kann’s denn seÿn”	one ms. – undated Mus.fol.53x (41r-42r)	Z 4131 November 16, 1841 Cod.hist. 4° 437. Fasz. 10a: “Gedichte aus dem Brautstand”; poem is entitled “Weiberle singt”, with a note by CRK: “Da hab’ ich eben geschwind noch ein Motiv aus deinem Brief aufgegriffen.”	The opening of this poem is published in CRK’s novella <i>Real und Ideal</i> (302). This song was published after CRK’s death, so it could be from the courtship (likely November 1841), marriage or widowhood periods. In the Z 4131 poem, the beginning is: “ <u>Herz, mein Herz</u> , und kann’s denn seÿn.”  “QUOTE POEM”

Publication information:	Incipit:	Date from Musical Manuscript:	Date from Poetry Manuscript:	Other:
unpublished	“Da liegst du endlich still vor mir”	one ms. – undated Mus.fol.53y (1r-2v) “gedichtet von C.R. Gockele!, Componiert von J. Gockele gewidmet dem treuen Gockele!!!!” The ms. also says “Tegernsee.”	Z 2727/6 September 21, [no year]; poem is entitled “Weg nach Kreuth”  The poem manuscript is all by itself in a little folder, so nothing can be deduced about its date from other poems in the same collection.	The locations (“Weg nach Kreuth” for the poem, “Tegernsee” for the song) and the reference to “Gockele” suggest that this lone poem belongs with the “Tyroler Reise Herbst 1843” group in Z 2717, and the song might possibly be an 1843 composition.
unpublished	“Warum muß ach das Scheiden sein”	one ms. – undated Cod.Mus.fol. zu 53-57 (47r-47v)	Z 2717 September 29, 1845 Z2727/64 September 29/30, 1845 Z 2716 ( <i>Druckvorlage</i> for 1853 poetry volume)	The poem is published in CRK’s poetry volume of 1853 ( <i>Gedichte</i> 53-54), entitled “Scheiden.” This is a song from JL’s marriage or widowhood.

**APPENDIX B.**

**EXCERPTS FROM THE 19<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY  
BIOGRAPHIES OF LANG**

## Appendix B. Excerpts from the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Biographies of Lang

Am 1. Juli war des Vaters Geburtstag, der erste seit seinem Tode; schmerzliche Bewegung ging durch das junge Gemüth, das die Einsamkeit wieder aufs Neue tief empfand und in dem die alten Wunden wieder zu bluten anfangen wollten. Der treuen Heimgegangenen in feiernder Wemuth [sic] und in langen, heißen Gebeten in der Kapelle gedenkend hatte sie den Tag zugebracht. Still saß sie Abends bei der Tafel. Da wurden ihr zwei Freunde vorgestellt, die den Tag vorher aus Stuttgart angekommen waren, man musicirte; auch der Fremde ließ sich zum Spielen bewegen. Eigen berührte sein Spiel die feinfühligte Künstlerin, unwillkürlich wendete sie dem jungen Manne ihre Theilnahme zu. Diese wurde noch erhöht durch Mittheilungen, welche ihre Freundin ihr in der Stille über den Fremden zuraunte. Er sei ein „Dichter“, der schon als Obergymnasist habe Gedichte im Morgenblatt erschienen lassen, von dem sogar ein Drama schon über die Bretter gegangen sei. Erschütternde Erlebnisse haben ihn aufs Krankenlager geworfen, ja an den Rand des Grabes gebracht; denn seine leidenschaftliche Liebe zu einer gefeierten Sängerin sei von dieser entweder nicht erwidert oder verrathen worden. Nun such er hier in Gesellschaft seiner Freunde Schmidlin<sup>1)</sup> und Moritz<sup>2)</sup>, Erholung und Ruhe.

Der Fremde war Christian Reinhold Köstlin (geb. 29. Januar 1813 zu Tübingen, erzogen in Stuttgart, wo sein Vater als Prälat lebte).

Den Abend vorher war er in Kreuth angekommen, hatte vom Nebenzimmer aus Josefine ein einfaches Lied (das Lenau'sche „Scheideblick“ [Op.10, Nr. 5]: „Als ein unergründlich Wonnemeer strahlte mir dein sellenvoller Blick“) singen hören, und alsbald befreundete Gäste gebeten, ihm mit der Sängerin bekannt zu machen. Sein Herz war getroffen und seine Seele gefangen; mit magnetischer Gewalt zog es ihn zu dem seltsamen Mädchen hin. Die Gesellschaft in dem kleinen Badeorte hielt eng zusammen, so hatte es ja gar nichts Auffälliges, weder für die Gesellschaft, noch für sie selbst, wenn die beiden jungen Leute viel zusammen waren. Reinhold spielte der jungen Künstlerin Gedichte, darunter zuerst am 5. Juli „Wenn das Herz dir ist beklommen“, in die Hände und diese verlieh den Worten alsbald seelenvolle Weisen und sang sie des Abends zur Freude der Badegesellschaft dem Dichter vor. Der Letztere wußte in der Musik Bescheid: spielte er doch alle Sonaten Beethoven's [sic], der sein Liebling war, auswendig.

Es entstand allmählich zwischen den Beiden, die sich so gut verstanden, eine tiefe leidenschaftliche beiden lange unbewußte Liebe. Er machte seine schönsten Gedichte, sie machte

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<sup>1)</sup> gest. als Präsident des evangelischen Konsistoriums 1869.

<sup>2)</sup> gest. als k. Hofchauspieler und Regisseur in Stuttgart.

daraus ihre besten Lieder. Denn in der seligen Zeit des Liebesfrühlings entstanden mit vielen anderen die Lieder: „Sie liebt mich“ von Goethe [Op. 33[34], Nr. 4]; dann von C. Reinhold: „Wer es wüßte, wer es dächte“ [unveröffentlicht], „Mir ist’s, als kennt’ ich dich seit Jahren“ (1. Juli 1840) [unveröffentlicht, nur als Fragment vorhanden], „So soll es wieder sein geschieden“ (10. Juli) [nicht als Lied vorhanden], „Wenn das Herz dir ist beklommen“ (5. und 6. Juli 1840) [zwei unveröffentlichte Fassungen und Op. 27, Nr. 2], „Raschelt’s schon im Laube“ [Op. 12, Nr. 5], „Die Sonne kam im reinsten Glanze“ [Op. 12, Nr. 4], „Gedenke mein, die lieben Augen lenke“ [Op. 14, Nr. 3] -- „Die Bäume, sie tropfen“ [eine unveröffentlichte Fassung und Op. 9, Nr. 4], „Zieh, o Schifflein, leise“ [nicht als Lied vorhanden], „An dies Schifflein schmiege, holder See dich sacht“ [Op. 14, Nr. 4], „Drüben schon von dem Altane“ [Op. 12, Nr. 3], „Auf dem See in tausend Sterne“ [Op. 14, Nr. 6], „Noch kaum erwacht’ vom Traume“ [Op. 27, Nr. 1], „Die Sonne senkt sich in des Meeres Schoß“ [Op. 9, Nr. 3] -- --

41 Gedichte und Lieder entstanden so zwischen dem 6. Juli und 12. August. Wie reizend singt über diesen Briefwechsel von einziger Art der Dichter:

Ich habe meine Seele  
Vertraut in Liedern Dir –  
Und Du aus süßer Kehle  
Verwandeltst, gabst sie mir.

So hab’ ich mich empfangen  
Verklärt von Dir zurück.  
Die Scham aus meinen Wangen,  
Sie streitet mit dem Glück.

Mich selber muß ich lieben  
So, wie du [sic] mich mir giebst  
Du hast darein geschrieben,  
Das Du mich kennst und liebst.

So ist’s kein Überheben,  
Nur heil’ge Lust an Dir;  
Nicht mich, Du liebstes Leben,  
Lieb’ ich, - nur Dich in mir

Josefine bezog zur Nachkur das liebe Stielerhäusl’ am Tegernsee. Auch der Dichter miethete sich an dem schönen Gestade ein, ließ sich in die Stieler’sche Familie einführen und war in derselben alsbald ein lieber, fast täglicher Gast.

Am 13. August hatten sich die Liebenden, von denen jedes längst wußte, wie es in des Andern Herz aussah, ausgesprochen. Josefine hatte, wohl feuriger und inniger als je, ihr herrliches Lied „Sie liebt mich“ von Goethe gesungen [Op. 33[34], Nr. 4] — da war’s gekommen.

Ihr Herz hatte aufgejubelt, ihre Seele die Ruhe und den Frieden gefunden in der Liebe zu dem, von welchem sie sich im Innersten verstanden fühlte. Eine reiche, volle Seligkeit kam über sie, wie sie nie noch sie empfunden hatte, und doch quälte sie, als sie die Ruhe aufsuchte, eine heftige, räthselfhafte Unruhe — als der Tag kam und die beängstigenden Schatten verscheuchte, als ihr Herz sehnsüchtig dem entgegenschlug, dem sie nun angehören sollte und wollte — da war Er fort. Ohne Abschied, ohne ein Wort zu sagen, war er stille am frühen Morgen weggereist.

Vor Josefine wurde es Nacht, tiefe Nacht, was sollte sie denken, was war ihr angethan worden?

Nur mit tiefer Ergriffenheit kann man die vergilbten Blätter des Tagebuchs lesen, in welchem sie, die Niemand hatte, sich aussprach, der Todesangst, den Zweifeln, dem Schmerze freien Lauf ließ — denn das fühlte sie, wenn sie getäuscht worden wäre, so könnte sie es nicht überwinden.

Wohl gaben ihr Briefe Reinhold's [sic] an Vater Stieler und sie selbst bald genug Aufschluß über sein räthselfhaftes Beginnen.

Er war sich klar geworden, nach langem, inneren Kampf, welcher Weg vor ihm liege, wenn er der Stimme seines Gewissens, wie der seines Herzens wollte gerecht werden. In Josefinens reinem, unberührtem Wesen hatte er das Ideal edler Weiblichkeit erkannt – sie zu erringen, dieses Ziel stand klar vor seiner Seele.

Aber noch stand ein Schatten zwischen seinem und ihrem Glück: die nahen Beziehungen, in welchen er zu jener gestanden war, an deren Besitz er dereinst sein Lebensglück hatte ketten wollen. Wohl bestand kein förmliches Band, vor Menschen war er nicht gebunden: aber vor seinem zarten Gewissen und Herzen. Schroff, unvermittelt, ohne nähere Erklärung abzubrechen, wo er wußte, daß er für einen leidenschaftlichen Liebenden gehalten werde, das erschien ihm herzlos und unlauter; brieflich eine so zarte Angelegenheit abzumachen, den Stürmen, welche eine persönliche, offene und ehrliche Auseinandersetzung vielleicht hervorrief, auszuweichen, erschien ihm unmännlich; sie, die andre, war eine große Seele, eine hochherzige Natur—sie sollte nicht klein von ihm denken, das war er sich und ihr schuldig; Aug' in Auge wollte eine solche Sache ausgetragen und gelöst sein, damit er klaren, offenen Blicks könnte „seiner Josefine“ gegenüber treten, Haus und Herz ihr als ihre Heimath anzubieten. Vorerst aber wollte nur Er sich selbst für gebunden halten – sie also sollte sich für frei halten dürfen, bis alles klar und hell wäre. Das alles schrieb er ihr ehrlich, offen, gerade in einem von tiefem Schmerz der Entsagung getragenen Schreiben. Auch versicherte sie Brief um Brief seiner Treue, der Festigkeit und Aufrichtigkeit seiner Liebe. Aber was ist ein Mädchenherz? Das eine Mal jubelte es auf in seligem Glauben, das andre Mal verzehrte es sich in hoffnungslosen Zweifeln.

Und was that das edle, gute, gewissenhafte Wesen? „Wenn er ihr, die vielleicht ja schwer an ihm gefehlt haben mag, wieder gegenübertritt, erwacht nicht die alte Liebe?“ Sie will nicht an der Unbekannten, die er einst so leidenschaftlich geliebt, zur „Mörderin“ werden, dadurch daß sie ihr des Geliebten Herz abwendig macht. Nein, er soll sich durch keinen Gedanken an sie, durch keine Rücksicht auf sie leiten lassen, er soll *nur* sein Herz und sein Gewissen fragen – darum schreibt sie ihm während eines ganzen Jahres kein Wort, keine Zeile, so zahlreich die Briefe sind, die er ihr sendet, in denen er sie bestürmt nur um Ein Wort, nur um Eine Versicherung – sie will kalt, ruhig scheinen, ob auch ihr Herz blutet, damit er nicht in blinder Liebe zu ihr sein und jener Lebensglück zerstöre!

Mit tiefer Rührung nur kann man den Adel der Gesinnung, die Seelenstärke und die Kraft der Selbstverleugnung und Opferwilligkeit bewundern, welche in dieser zarten Mädchengestalt wohnten. Wo sie schon damals die Kraft geholt hat, solch' fast übermenschliche Aufgaben zu vollbringen, davon geben uns die Worte eine Ahnung, mit denen sie in jenem denkwürdigen Tagebuch ihre Seelenkämpfe zur Ruhe bringt:

Am 14. August (nachdem die schwärzesten Gedanken vor ihr aufgestiegen waren) „doch ich will nicht von mir klagen; o, auch Du hast gelitten! Als Du mir gestern mit lachendem Munde Gute Nacht gewünscht hast, hat Dein Herz gezuckt und geweint – unter Thränen bist Du gewiß am letzten Haus vorbeigegangen! So will ich mich rüsten zu dem schweren Kampf, der vor mir liegt, damit ich in meinem Unglück nicht verzweifle. Ich muß an Deine Liebe glauben, es gehe, wie es gehe. Es lebt ein Gott und der lebt auch für uns, denn wir sind seine Kinder, die er liebt und kennt. Er hat uns zusammengeführt am Jahrestag meines unvergeßlichen Vaters, der Dich gewiß bei ihm erbeten hat! O der Glaube ist so süß, die seligen Geister der Unsrigen, sollten sie uns nicht umschweben?

Vertrau auch Du Ihm – er wird Alles zum Besten lenken. Wir wollen zu ihm beten, ihm unsre heißen Wünsche vorlegen – sollte er, der ja in jedem Blümlein seine grenzenlose Güte zeigt, nicht auch mit uns Erbarmen haben? Sollte er uns das versagen können, was Er uns in's Herz gelegt hat? Nein, er wird uns Kraft und Vernunft geben, daß wir das Rechte erwählen“.

Den schweren Seelenkämpfen war freilich der zarte Körper nicht gewachsen. Abermals fiel Josephine in eine schwere Krankheit, welche sie an den Rand des Grabes bachte. Gerne würde sie das Opfer der Entsagung gebracht haben, wenn sie gewußt hätte, „daß es Gottes Wille und dem Geliebten zum Heil wäre“; immer von neuem legte sie ihrem Herzen die prüfende Frage vor.

Nocheinmal siegte die Kraft der Jugend und die Elasticität des Genius, der aus den bitteren Schmerzen der kämpfenden und ringenden Liebe herrliche Lieder schuf.

Als das Frühjahr kam, suchte sie in Augsburg in dem liebvertrauten Freundeskreise geistige und leibliche Erholung.

Auch Reinhold hatte indeß schwere Zeiten gehabt, Zeiten inneren und äußeren Kampfes. Klar stand das Ziel vor ihm: die Eine zu erringen, die ihm als der gute Engel seines Lebens erschienen war. Aber sie sollte keinen Fuß in das Haus setzen, ehe er ihr die Wege völlig geebnet hätte; nicht die leiseste Spur von ernsten Auseinandersetzungen oder irgendwelchen Kämpfen sollte sie antreffen, dann erst wollte er vor sie hintreten, um sie heimzuholen, wenn er ihr jubelnd verkünden konnte: „Du bist willkommen als meine Braut – willkommen als Tochter dem erwürdigen Vater, willkommen dem Geschwisterkreis und der ganzen hochansehnlichen Familie“.

Und es kam der ersehnte Tag: am 16. April langte in München ein Brief an, der Josefine „Zur glücklichsten aller Bräute“ machte, vor Gott und Menschen, vor ihrem Herzen und Gewissen durfte sie ihren Reinhold den Ihrigen nennen. Es war „ein Übermaß von Seligkeit, sie fühlte sich des nicht würdig“; sie wußte, wem sie ihr Glück dankte: „vor dem Schlafengehen Gott heiß gedankt! O er ist unser Vater, er hat alles gelenkt – wie ist er so gut und treu!“ So heißt's im Tagebuch.

Aus jubelndem Herzen sprang das Lied auf: „Frühling ist gekommen“ (17. April 1841)  
[Op. 27, Nr.4].

H.A. Köstlin *Josefine Lang (Lebensabriß)* 68-74

Von der herrlichen Alpenluft bald gestärkt, sang Josephine eines Tages eines ihrer Lieder. Ein junger Mann, der das Nebenzimmer bewohnte, wurde eigenthümlich davon ergriffen. Er zog Erkundigungen ein, hörte, es sei eine „fremde Münchener Sängerin“, und ließ sich ihr vorstellen. Sein Name war Christian Reinhold Köstlin. Meine Leser errathen das Weitere.

Köstlin, bekanntlich einer der ausgezeichnetsten deutschen Juristen, war zugleich im eminentesten Grade poetisch und musikalisch begabt. Unter seinem Vornamen Reinhold hat er eine große Anzahl lyrischer Stücke, Fragmente dramatischer Dichtungen, Erzählungen und Novellen veröffentlicht, welche in den weitesten Kreisen Anerkennung fanden. Dabei spielte er seinen Beethoven auswendig und hatte den tiefsten Einblick in die Kunst und Wissenschaft der Töne. Nach wenigen Tagen entstand zwischen dem jungen Paare, das sich hier so zufällig und so providentiell zusammengefunden, ein poetisch-musikalischen Briefwechsel, wie er vielleicht in den unendlichen Geschichten verliebter Seelen einzig dasteht. Täglich schickte Reinhold der Sängerin ein neues Lied, welches er am folgenden Tage componirt und zierlich aufgeschrieben zurück erhielt und es dann gemeinschaftlich aufgeführt wurde. So entstand nach und nach ein ganzer Cyklus neuer Gesänge; es entstand aber auch eine gegenseitige Neigung, leidenschaftlich, stark und tief, echt und offen und – stumm! Nach vollendeter Molkenkur zog Josephine nach Tegernsee zu ihren Freunden Stieler, Reinhold folgte ihr dahin und gehörte bald zu den Lieblingen des schönen Kreises. Aber es nahte die Zeit der Trennung – ist Alles nur ein Traum gewesen? fragte sich das Mädchen während eines langen, kranken, traurigen Jahres. Die Antwort enthielt ein Brief Reinhold's [sic], in welchem er sie als seine liebe Braut begrüßte. Und da kam neues Glück und neuer Jubel, und da kamen auch neue Lieder und Gesänge ohne Ende.

Ferdinand Hiller “Josephine Lang, die Lieder-Komponistin”

*Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit 127-129*

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