# Josephine Lang

*Her Life and Songs*

Harald Krebs & Sharon Krebs

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Printed in the United States of America
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To our dear friend
Brigitte Berenbruch

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Working at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach, Germany, and living in the adjacent idyllic *Collegienhaus* have also been highlights for us. The staff members

of the DLA always made us feel at home and provided an ideal research environment. We are especially grateful that they allowed us to practice in the Humboldt-Saal when we were in residence. We look forward to returning often to our second home in Marbach.

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

Aside from librarians and archivists, we met numerous individuals who assisted us with our research. We fondly remember our conversations with Imogen Fellinger, the last descendant of Josephine Lang (d. 2001). We thank R. Larry Todd for sending us a copy and transcription of an important Mendelssohn letter. We gratefully acknowledge the enthusiastic support of Andreas Vogt of the Schwäbischer Heimatbund. We were delighted and honored that he asked us to be the first musicians to perform in Lang's house in Tübingen since her death. Both through this performance and through further efforts on his part, we came into contact with various members of the Köstlin family, who supplied us with unpublished, private materials relevant to our research. Among these are Stefan J. Dietrich of Neu-Ulm and Tilman Krause of Berlin, both of whom we hereby sincerely thank.

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

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# Contents

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# Abbreviations

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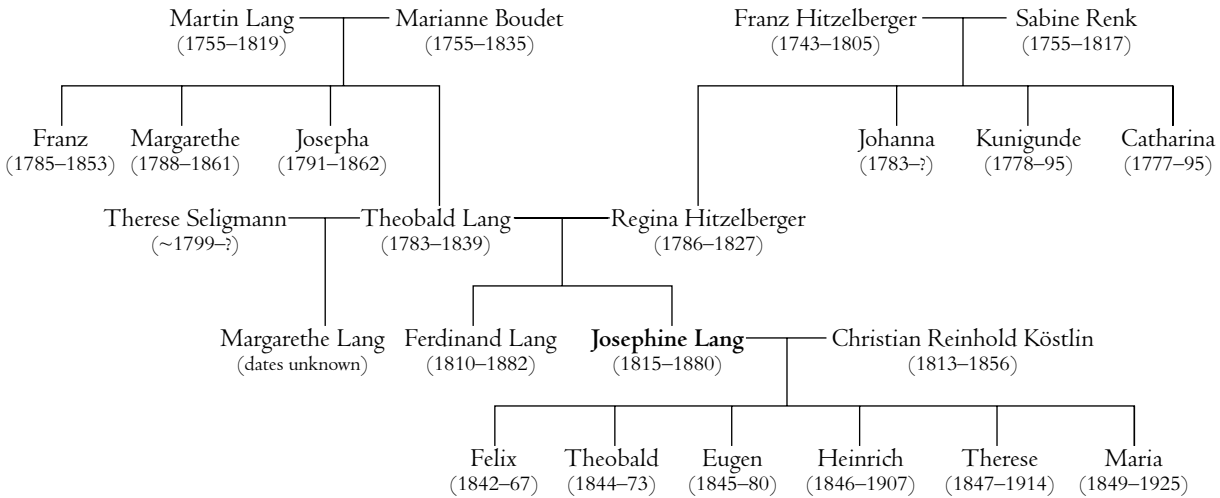
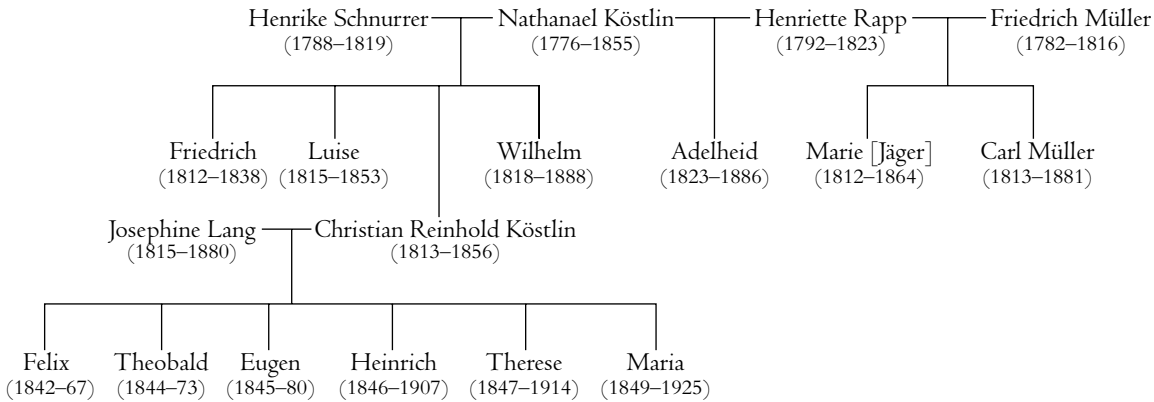
| BL | Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK |
| DLA | Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach, Germany |
| GdMf | Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, Austria |
| HASK | Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Cologne, Germany |
| SAL | Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, Germany |
| SAS | Stadtarchiv Stuttgart, Germany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




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




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

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# *Josephine Lang*

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# Introduction

> Unsere Sängerin heißt Josefine. Wer sie nicht gehört hat, kennt nicht die Macht des Gesanges. Es gibt niemanden, den ihr Gesang nicht fortreißt . . . [1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# One

## The Beginning of Josephine Lang's Compositional Career

### Family and Earliest Years

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Education and Significant Early Impressions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

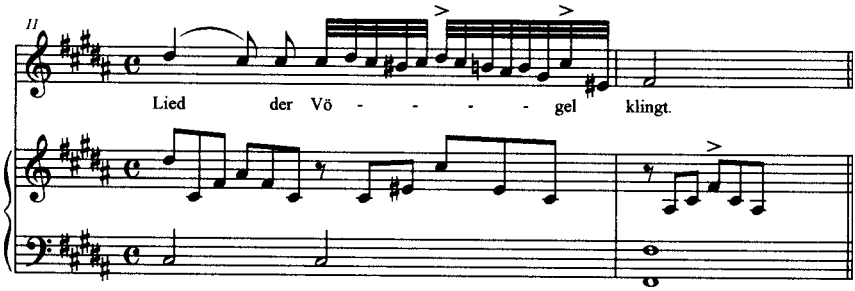
Lang's musical education does not seem to have undergone extensive changes after her father's second marriage. Her piano lessons continued. There is no evidence of any theoretical training before 1830.[36] A bound autograph volume entitled "Liedersammlung von J. Lang 1828" (Mus. fol. 53a), containing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

## Lang's Earliest Songs

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

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

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




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

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

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