



Johanna Kinkel's Lieder Compositions as a
Socio-Political and Cultural Mirror of Her
Time:
A Reflective Interpretation

(2 Volumes)

Volume 1

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For those who make me smile

ABSTRACT:
JOHANNA KINKEL'S LIEDER COMPOSITIONS AS A
SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL MIRROR OF HER
TIME:
A REFLECTIVE INTERPRETATION

Johanna Kinkel's (1810–1858, née Mockel, then Mathieux, then Kinkel) biography combines both an unusually strong cultural and socio-political engagement on the one hand and the self-perception of a typical nineteenth-century mother on the other. This dissertation seeks to examine the relationship between Johanna Kinkel's artistic and theoretical oeuvre and her unconventional personality, her biography as a wife to the German revolutionary Gottfried Kinkel (1815–1882), and her strong socio-political engagement.

By focusing on Kinkel's seventy-eight Lieder publications, this dissertation examines Kinkel's published musical output under the consideration of her unconventional biography on the one hand and her ambition to enrich, and yet conform to nineteenth-century thematic and compositional aesthetics on the other. Major findings are the following: Johanna Kinkel's love songs can be considered autobiographically anchored and thus provide valuable insight into Kinkel's emotional states of mind. Kinkel's political settings reflect the socio-political climate of the time; however, they also took an active role in shaping the cultural identity of the *Maikäferbund* and, more generally, the democratic movement of the 1840s. Besides political and love songs, Kinkel also set a number of songs in praise of nature, all of which reflect different aspects of nineteenth-century Romanticism. Comparing Kinkel's compositional aesthetics with those of her contemporaries, it is striking that Kinkel's compositional style is diverse and cannot easily be pigeonholed, an aspect which points to the blurring of such dichotomies as the public and the private domain, professionalism and amateurism, and 'masculine' and 'feminine' styles. These dichotomies are research tools, but they do not fully reflect the nineteenth-century reality. Finally, in accordance with Nicholas Cook's concept of musical scores as social scripts, Kinkel's multifarious biography is reflected in her Lieder, but both her biography and her Lieder are also a significant part of nineteenth-century history and thus shape this part of history rather than only passively reflecting it.

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The list of colleagues, fellow researchers, and like-minded scholars whose support has been exceptional seems endless, but a few people must be acknowledged individually: Monica Klaus, whose incredible generosity is hard to convey – in terms of knowledge, hospitality and time; Dr Ingrid Bodsch, whose indefatigable enthusiasm for Bonn, Kinkel and Schumann is a pleasure to be around; Prof. Bodo Bischoff and Prof. Franz Michael Maier, whose interests in my research have been both reassuring and inspiring even once I left Freie Universität Berlin after my MA; Dr Petra Dollinger, whose many energetic and knowledgeable e-mails were (and are!) both encouraging and fun; all scholars who were involved in the Maynooth salon conference in 2015, whose input into my own research proved hugely rewarding and continues to do so. In a similar way, I thank the Council and members of the Society for Musicology in Ireland for making me feel at home within Ireland's musicological landscape. I thank Dr Patrick Devine for helping me proofread my musical examples, and for pointing me to some unusual aspects of Kinkel's compositions both during conferences and in private discussions.

I thank my family for their support and understanding from afar, and my non-academic friends for challenging me in different areas of life, most notably my canoe clubs in Peitz and Dublin, as well as the few but loyal non-canoeists whose honest, patient and rewarding friendships I do not want to miss. Finally, I thank Francis for sharing with me parts of his life and so much more. I dedicate this dissertation to those who make me smile.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Abbreviations in the body of the text, footnotes, bibliography, and discography

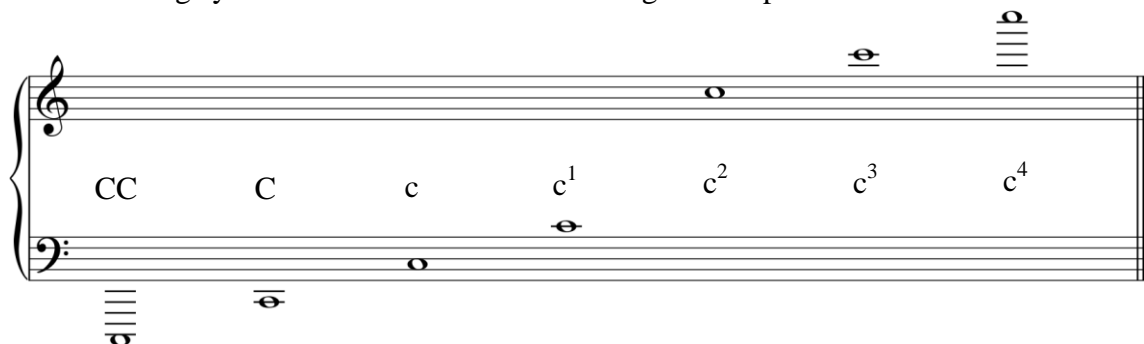
All. fer.	Allegro feroce
D major	D major chord
D major⁷	dominant seventh chord with the note D in the root
D minor	D minor chord
ex.	example
n. d.	no date
n. p.	no pagination
n. publ.	no publisher
ULB	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn

B. Abbreviations in tables, figures and musical examples

D	D major	It6	Italian augmented sixth chord
d	D minor	LH	Piano left hand
D b	D-flat major	postl.	postlude
D#	D-sharp major	prel.	prelude
D⁷	dominant seventh chord with the note D as the root	rep.	repetition
d^{dim7}	diminished seventh chord with the note D as the root	RH	Piano right hand
Dm (in ex.)	D minor	/2	upbeat to bar 2
Ger6	German augmented sixth chord		

C. Pitch notation abbreviations

The following system of notation is used when register is specified



INTRODUCTION

1 Background

The title of this dissertation suggests a number of presuppositions. Firstly, the significance of Johanna Kinkel as a nineteenth-century female composer, pianist, poet, music pedagogue, writer, journalist, mother to four children, and wife of the German revolutionary, poet, and professor, Gottfried Kinkel, deserves special attention. Johanna Kinkel published seventy-eight Lieder during a period of thirteen years from 1838 to 1851. Her unusual socio-political standing was elaborated impressively by Kinkel's most recent biographer, Monica Klaus.¹ Although this thesis suggests a focus on Kinkel's Lieder, the context within which those Lieder were composed, performed, reviewed and received is an important avenue through which those compositions shall be examined. Katharine Ellis, in her unpublished lecture 'Music Criticism, Generic Contracts, and Speech Acts', interprets genre as a 'generic contract', which 'develops a predictive capacity' and establishes a code of social behaviour and expectations by the audience.² Considering Kinkel's socio-cultural frame of mind, it should be insightful to examine the generic contract between her Lieder and their audience.

The second presupposition of this dissertation, to borrow Nicholas Cook's words, is that 'music is both a reflection and generator of social meaning', and therefore 'music becomes a resource for understanding society'.³ In a similar way to Cook, Susan McClary states that:

¹ Monica Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel: Romantik und Revolution* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2008). Hereafter referred to as Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*.

² Katharine Ellis, 'Music Criticism, Generic Contracts, and Speech Acts' (unpublished paper, conference *Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism*, Lucca, 10–12 November 2015).

³ Nicholas Cook, 'Between Process and Product: Music and/ as Performance', *The Online Journal of the Society for Music Theory: Music Theory Online*, 7.2 (2001), 1–31 (p. 31) <<http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.01.7.2/mto.01.7.2.cook.html>> [accessed 12 June 2016]. Hereafter referred to as Cook, 'Between Process and Product'.

Music does not just passively reflect society; it also serves as a public forum within which various models of gender organisation (along with many other aspects of social life) are asserted, adopted, contested, and negotiated.⁴

Benjamin Binder suggests that, while a score-based interpretation offers great insight, the frame of reference should be opened, as the performance context can be as important as the score.⁵ Cook defines scores as ‘choreographing a series of real-time, social interactions between players’ and argues that ‘performance is not the reproduction of texts but a cultural practice prompted by scripts’.⁶ He concludes that ‘to call music a performing art, then, is not just to say that we perform it; it is to say that music performs meaning’.⁷ If there are no actual recordings or performances available for examination, Cook encourages an analysis of music through the lens of a performer.⁸ In a similar way, Barthes bemoans that music history is mostly based on pheno-song, i.e. ‘everything which, in the performance, is at the service of communication, of representation, of expression’, rather than geno-song, i.e. the *diction* of a language, to which he refers as the ‘grain of the voice’.⁹ Like Cook, he advocates an approach geared to the listener’s and performer’s experiences rather than a composer- or author-based examination of music. Johanna Kinkel’s music was performed among her friends and her more distant acquaintances and contemporaries, an aspect which increases both the significance of Kinkel’s oeuvre and the questionability of her underrepresentation within the musical and musicological research and performance canons.

⁴ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), p. 8. Hereafter referred to as McClary, *Feminine Endings*.

⁵ Benjamin Binder, ‘The Lied from the Inside Out’, in ‘Colloquy: Studying the Lied: Hermeneutic Traditions and the Challenge of Performance’, convened by Jennifer Ronyak, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 67.2 (2014), 543–82 (pp. 553–55). The entire colloquy is hereafter referred to as Ronyak, ‘Colloquy’.

⁶ Cook, ‘Between Process and Product’, pp. 15–16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁹ Roland Barthes, ‘The Grain of the Voice’, in *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, ed. by Roland Barthes, transl. by Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985), pp. 267–77 (pp. 270–73). Italics in original. The volume *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation* is hereafter referred to as *The Responsibility of Forms*.

A third presupposition is that the term ‘mirror’ as suggested in my title calls for clarification. The potential of music to ‘reflect and generate’ social meaning as stated by Cook stresses the interpretative perspective in the sense of both performance and musical historiography. At the same time, Cook’s idea of the script implies a reciprocal relationship between music and society. If music is strongly influenced by societal factors, those societal paradigms may also be shaped by the music which performs social meaning. In his monograph *The Lied: Mirror of Late Romanticism*, Edward F. Kravitt explains that ‘the Lied clearly mirrors the influence of dominant trends of the fin de siècle through its music and texts’ and also ‘reflects the social aspirations that unified fin-de-siècle Germany’¹⁰. I propose that Johanna Kinkel’s Lieder serve as a mirror of their own time and that I, as their interpreter, draw on their reflections in relation to their potential as a social script to exhibit, evoke, and contribute to the creation of nineteenth-century socio-political and cultural paradigms. Thus, the term ‘mirror’ suggests that my study is an interpretative examination of Kinkel’s Lieder and her time, and that the relationship between the nineteenth-century Lied and its time is a reciprocal one.

2 Aims

This study pursues three general aims. Firstly, this dissertation aims to introduce Johanna Kinkel and her Lieder to an international audience. Johanna Kinkel’s biography includes many aspects which are unknown to the international musicological and socio-cultural research community. Her middle-class social standing in combination with her strong will to further develop her chance to be accepted within her social stratum, her marriages, her engagement with politics, her musical activities in Berlin and Bonn, her involvement as a journalist, her emigration to London, and the constant balancing of family on the one hand and publicity on the other hand bear witness to a diverse

¹⁰ Edward F. Kravitt, *The Lied: Mirror of Late Romanticism* (New Haven/ London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. vii.

lifestyle and point to a rather untypical allocation of gender roles, an aspect which calls for consideration also in relation to Kinkel's songs. Secondly, a close reading of Johanna Kinkel's Lieder promises a deeper understanding of her life and her socio-political and cultural circumstances. I consider Johanna Kinkel's compositions an important resource of her own and her contemporaries' ideas, because her Lieder may carry autobiographical information that is linked to Kinkel's social environment. Thirdly, a contextualisation through a comparative analysis of a selection of Kinkel's Lieder with other composers' settings of the same words will assert more clearly Kinkel's compositional and music-biographical personality within the larger context. Examining Kinkel's Lieder and biography in isolation may be fascinating, as her biography boasts many unusual facets and her Lieder are aesthetically diverse. However, a contextualisation of Kinkel's songs within her own time promises to reveal compositional-aesthetic insight which would otherwise remain unconsidered.

3 Research questions

Kinkel's rather progressive biography along with the autobiographical note of her works lead to the central research question of this thesis: can Johanna Kinkel's Lieder be considered a socio-political and cultural mirror of her time? By focusing on different thematic and aesthetic aspects, I ask the following sub-questions. In terms of Kinkel's biographical background, in how far can Kinkel be considered a woman of her own time? Which poets did Kinkel set, who performed her music and in what kind of venues and socio-cultural contexts were Kinkel's songs performed? Are Kinkel's songs autobiographical and if so, on which levels? Do Kinkel's political songs carry political information and to what extent can this content be considered influential in relation to the formation of cultural identity? Furthermore, I ask in what way Kinkel's nature settings reflect typical Romanticist thought. Moreover, I consider the question as to how

far Kinkel's compositional style set itself apart from her contemporaries' styles, and whether the differences between Kinkel's and her contemporaries' musical languages can be explained by means of both Kinkel's biography, and the socio-political and cultural circumstances of the time. Finally, I ask to what extent Kinkel's reception is and/ or was typical within the nineteenth- and twenty-first-century reception contexts and what we may learn from this observation.

4 Rationale for the study

Although there is some literature dealing with Johanna Kinkel as a revolutionary available in the German language, there are only a few English publications about Kinkel and there is no English monograph on her at all. In the preface to Monica Klaus's Kinkel biography *Johanna Kinkel: Romantik und Revolution*, Annette Kreutziger-Herr calls for a consideration of female composers' biographies within musical historiography.¹¹ This task has been completed by Monica Klaus. As a next step, I suggest an in-depth examination of Kinkel's Lieder and a contextualisation of her Lieder oeuvre within the nineteenth-century socio-cultural discourse, an approach which will contribute to Kinkel studies, Lieder research, and, more generally, the study of nineteenth-century socio-cultural history.

5 Delimitations of the study

This study does not take into account Kinkel's unpublished Lieder and duets, Scottish songs, and Singspiele. There is a box of sixty-seven sheets of manuscript scores archived in the Stadtarchiv Bonn. The manuscripts include twelve Scottish songs, six

¹¹ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. x.

duets without piano accompaniment, and parts of the Singspiel *Die Assassinen*.¹² I also found parts of an unpublished Lied ('Vineta' by Wilhelm Müller) on an autograph archived in Berlin, which proves that Kinkel must have composed more Lieder than she published.¹³ Furthermore, there is a fragment of a Lieder collection archived at ULB, which includes a few transcriptions of other composers' songs and some of Kinkel's compositions; it originates from Kinkel's own hand and is dated 1856/57.¹⁴ Some of the Lieder included in Kinkel's Singspiele were published as part of Lieder opus numbers and these individual songs are included in this study. Moreover, the selection of composers (and settings) in Chapter II.5 is rather arbitrary; it reflects the current archive situation in Berlin. Many of the compositions planned to be taken into account initially were impossible to access due to war damage, a hurdle with which many scholars in German studies will be familiar. Finally, I approach Kinkel's Lieder from the perspective of a musicologist, enriched by such other disciplines as literary studies, cultural and gender studies, media studies, and history. While it would be highly interesting to conduct a study of song and meaning through the lens of psychoanalysis, I echo Jonathan Dunsby's regret that:

Psychoanalysis has barely touched it [song] in the past hundred years, although 'song', say, is such an obvious candidate for the psychoanalytical mill in the sense that some supposedly structured entity (music) can be accessed via drives and meanings evident in narratives (poems, for example, not unlike life stories and, of course, especially recollected dreams); one may be impressed by psychoanalysis as a discipline for having largely stayed away from this elusive territory'.¹⁵

This dissertation does not consider possible psychoanalytical aspects in the sense of scientific psychoanalysis, although it touches on the potential of both poetry and song to

¹² Bonn, Stadtarchiv, SN 098

<http://www.archive.nrw.de/LAV_NRW/jsp/findbuch.jsp?archivNr=20&klassId=20&tektId=115&id=296&expandId=18> [accessed 26 November 2015].

¹³ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus.ms.autogr. Kinkel, J. 1 M.

¹⁴ Johanna Kinkel, Fragment eines Liederbuchs, ULB E 4' 756/6 Rara:15.

¹⁵ Jonathan Dunsby, *Making Words Sing: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 26. Hereafter referred to as Dunsby, *Making Words Sing*.

express, record, and evoke feelings and emotions;¹⁶ the relationship between meaning and interpretation of poetry;¹⁷ and Darryl Jones and Stephen Matterson's idea that the 'purpose of art is to impart the sensation of things as they are *perceived* and not as they are *known*'.¹⁸

6 Methodology

6.1 Author's position

Peter J. Rabinowitz states that 'what you hear and experience is largely dependent upon the presuppositions with which you approach it'.¹⁹ According to Rabinowitz, there are two levels of reading/ listening: the technical level, and the attributive level, both of which 'allow the listener to turn the raw material of sound into a musical experience'.²⁰

Therefore, Rabinowitz explains that:

[H]istorical reconstruction has less to do with determining the number, pitch, and type of instruments that produced the sounds at the premiere, or even with determining the practices that governed their performance, than with discovering the attributive screens through which they were processed by their intended listeners.²¹

In line with Rabinowitz, I endeavour to explore the context within which Kinkel's Lieder were received during her lifetime. At the same time, however, I am aware of my own biases. Firstly, I examine Kinkel's life and work in retrospect with a huge pool of both primary and secondary sources available to me. Secondly, I am aware that my own gender and nationality will inevitably influence my thinking about Kinkel. Thirdly, my

¹⁶ T. S. Eliot, *On Poetry and Poets* (London: Faber & Faber, 1956), p. 19; Tom Furniss and Michael Bath, *Reading Poetry: An Introduction*, 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007), p. 6.

¹⁷ Edward Cone, 'Words into Music: The Composer's Approach to the Text', in *Sound and Poetry: English Institute Essays 1956*, ed. by Northrop Frye (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), pp. 3–15 (p. 9). The entire volume is hereafter referred to as Frye, *English Institute Essays 1956*.

¹⁸ Darryl Jones and Stephen Matterson, *Studying Poetry* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), p.38. Italics in original.

¹⁹ Peter J. Rabinowitz, 'Chord and Discourse: Listening through the Written Word', in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. by Paul Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 38–56 (p. 39). The entire volume is hereafter referred to as Scher, *Music and Text*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

academic background as a musicologist and media researcher will surface in this work as my perspective on media, journalism, and newspaper reviews has clearly been shaped by such concepts as agenda setting (McCombs/ Shaw); the uses and gratifications approach (Blumler/ McQuail; Blumler/ Gurevitch/ Haas/ McQuail/ Katz); Siegfried Weischenberg's theory of influences on the journalist; and Winfried Schulz's concept of news factors and news value. Fourthly, my writing for a musicological audience might have influenced my approach and my selection of information (*Erwartungserwartungen*, Luhmann).²² Fifthly, such linguistic phenomena as the lack of expressive simultaneousness and the dichotomy between thought concepts and written language are worth noting.²³ I value Lann Hornscheidt's call for a more politically correct approach to language geared to gender differentiation. However, my work, although it demonstrates gender awareness, addresses a target group which is not primarily anchored within the field of gender studies and therefore does not explore language to the extent of new word formations or other non-standard linguistic means.

6.2 Song analysis and musical meaning

In his essay 'Theory and Practice in the Analysis of the Nineteenth-Century Lied', Kofi Agawu depicts four models of song analysis: firstly, the 'assimilation model', which constitutes that 'music swallows the words'; secondly, a model based on the assumption that words and music are in an irreducible relationship, whose analytical applicability is questionable as it does not identify the nature of the relationship; thirdly, the 'pyramid model', according to which the words provide the meaning and the music (only) supports the significance of the text; and fourthly, a model which I will call the 'circle

²² A good overview of media usage and media effect theories is given in Michael Kunczik and Astrid Zipfel, *Publizistik: Ein Studienhandbuch*, 2nd edn (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005).

²³ See Lann Hornscheidt, *feministische w_orte: ein lern-, denk- und handlungsbuch zu sprache und diskriminierung, gender studies und feministischer linguistik* (Frankfurt/ Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2012); Lann Hornscheidt, *Was tun? Sprachhandeln – aber wie? W_Ortungen statt Tatenlosigkeit: Anregungen zum antidiskriminierenden Sprachhandeln*, 2nd edn (Berlin: AG Feministisch Sprachhandeln, 2015).

model'. This model shows that there is an essence of song different to its ingredients, but which, like the second model, does not identify this essence (Fig. 1a).²⁴ Agawu criticises all four models for their dependency on *ad hoc* reasoning and their text-to-music approach, which assumes that the text was there first and the music was composed accordingly.²⁵ As a solution Agawu suggests a taxonomy in which the music comes first, but Lawrence Kramer holds against this point that 'at least since the Renaissance, solo song has defined itself as a means of expression tied to the words it enunciates'.²⁶ I agree with Kramer, but I also see Agawu's concern of ignoring the music when taking a text-to-music approach. In a similar way to Agawu, Jürgen Thym and Ann C. Fehn bemoan that many analyses interpret the music on the basis of the words' content.²⁷ They advocate an analysis of song geared to structural features (e.g. metric, rhythmic, and formal dimensions) in order to 'extend the traditional analysis of relations between poetic imagery and musical form to a more differentiated investigation of poetic and musical structure as they relate to ideas and images' rather than musical form and poetic content alone.²⁸ This idea is supported by Northrop Frye in his 1956 essay 'Lexis and Melos', in which he points to the structural parallels of music and poetry, and, more recently, Rufus Hallmark, who calls for an analysis of structural commonalities of music and poetry.²⁹ Like Fehn and Thym, Frye, and,

²⁴ Kofi Agawu, 'Theory and Practice in the Analysis of the Nineteenth-Century "Lied"', *Music Analysis*, 11.1 (1992), 3–36 (pp. 5–7). Hereafter referred to as Agawu, 'Theory and Practice'.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 8–10.

²⁶ Lawrence Kramer, 'Beyond Words and Music: An Essay on Songfulness', in *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History*, ed. by Lawrence Kramer (Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ London: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 51–67 (p. 63). Hereafter referred to as Kramer, 'Beyond Words and Music'. The volume *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* is hereafter referred to as *Musical Meaning*.

²⁷ Ann C. Fehn and Jürgen Thym, 'Repetition as Structure in the German Lied: The Ghazal', *Comparative Literature*, 41.1 (Winter 1989), 35–52 (p. 33).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁹ Northrop Frye, 'Introduction: Lexis and Melos', in Frye, *Sound and Poetry: English Institute Essays 1956*, pp. ix–xxvii (pp. x–xi); Rufus Hallmark, 'On Schubert Reading Poetry: A Primer in the Rhythm of Poetry and Music', in *Of Poetry and Song: Approaches to the Nineteenth-Century Lied*, ed. by Jürgen Thym (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010), pp. 3–36 (p. 7).

Hallmark, literary critic Terry Eagleton stresses that poetic content and poetic form are inseparable.³⁰

In terms of methodology, Agawu points out that ‘song analysis is a boundless activity’ and therefore ‘we need to isolate certain dimensions’ in the end.³¹ In light of this, it is my aim to apply a combination of both Agawu’s fourth model, enriched by a fourth circle (‘context’) (Fig. 1b), and a music-to-text approach (e.g. in relation to the lengthy Heine ballad ‘Don Ramiro’ and the comparative musical analysis in Chapter II.5). Where possible, I take on board Agawu’s suggestion that ‘the connections drawn between words and music are *ad hoc* and provisional, and should ideally be set against other connections’.³²

Fig. 1a: ‘Circle model’ of song analysis³³

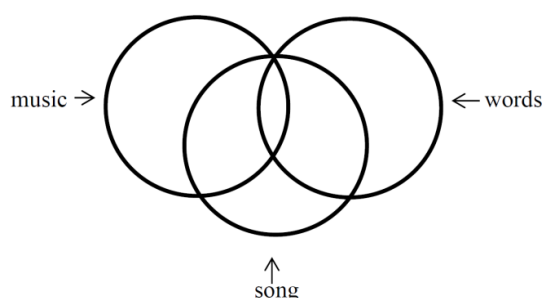
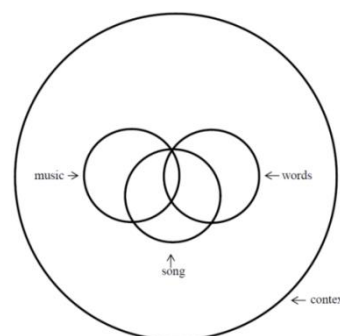


Fig. 1b: Modified ‘circle model’



Thus, I refer to song as an individual artwork (rather than a ‘text with music’ or a ‘music with text’), but what is my understanding of musical meaning? Lawrence Kramer explains that:

Musical meaning is understood as communicative action and therefore as embedded in a continuous texture of psychological, social, and cultural relations. [...] The form taken by musical meaning is the construction of modes of subjectivity implicating and ‘condensing’ larger dramas of social and cultural identity.³⁴

I portrayed this aspect in my modified circle model with the large circle labelled ‘context’. However, how does music signify meaning? Based on the concepts of

³⁰ Terry Eagleton, *How to Read a Poem* (Malden: Blackwell, 2007), p. 66.

³¹ Agawu, ‘Theory and Practice’, p. 13.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁴ Lawrence Kramer, ‘Introduction’, in *Musical Meaning*, pp. 1–10 (p. 7).

semantics ('the order of discourse no unit of which signifies in itself') and semiotics ('the order of articulated signs each of which has a meaning'), Roland Barthes explains that music has both a semantic and syntactical dimension but no semiotics.³⁵ Lawrence Kramer takes this idea further and asserts that the linguistic concepts of syntax and semantics correspond with the 'duality of purely formal patterns [combinatory features] and external meaning [connotative features]'.³⁶ In light of this, Kramer depicts that 'song is a form of meaningful utterance that varies between two modes of presentation', namely the 'vernacular mode' and the 'cultivated mode', which implies that music responds to the meaning of an 'independent, usually pre-existent text'.³⁷ Kramer therefore sees in such phenomena as 'songfulness' and 'overvocalisation' a 'purposeful effacement of text by voice' associated with 'emotional and metaphysical extremes, blurrings of ego boundaries, and [instability] of identity', in short, a loss of meaning.³⁸ Contrary to Kramer and in line with Agawu, however, I argue that such musical representations of 'emotional and metaphysical extremes, blurrings of ego boundaries, and [instability] of identity' have the potential to generate rather than lose meaning, so I regard those features as especially interesting within song studies. In line with Agawu's ascertainment of music's potential for *ad hoc* reasoning, Kramer argues that:

The music of a song is a composition before it is a setting, and it never ceases to radiate a tacit richness of implication, to insist on the paradoxical blend of particularity and indefiniteness that belongs to music alone.³⁹

Therefore, Kramer proposes that 'voice is what matters, not the poem'.⁴⁰ Based on this observation, Kramer defines song as a 'transmemberment of speech', a compound derived from 'transformation' and 'dismemberment', from which he concludes that the 'rhetorical mode of music is an extreme metonymy, and that the language of song

³⁵ Roland Barthes, "'Rasch'", in *The Responsibility of Forms*, pp. 299–312.

³⁶ Lawrence Kramer, *Music and Poetry: The Nineteenth Century and After* (Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ London: University of California Press, 1984), p. 5. Hereafter referred to as Kramer, *Music and Poetry*.

³⁷ Kramer, 'Beyond Words and Music', p. 63.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

³⁹ Kramer, *Music and Poetry*, pp. 169–70.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

constantly tries to reinstate the imagery that the music of the song displaces and elides'.⁴¹ Referring to the potential of poetry to record, express, and evoke emotions and feelings, Lawrence Kramer poses the question whether 'song [is] so intensely [...] expressive because it comes exquisitely close to intoning all those things that we forbid ourselves to say'.⁴² There is no room for further elaborations on psychoanalysis and psychology here, but Kramer's observation that song has the potential to bypass or overcome self-censorship encourages an examination of Kinkel's songs in so far that, considering Kinkel's socio-cultural background, Kinkel's songs might reveal aspects of her psychobiography which do not surface to the same extent in her non-musical output.

Methodologically, Jonathan Dunsby voices doubts whether song can be analysed as an individual entity or an 'idealised fourth language'; he advocates a music-analytical approach to hermeneutics.⁴³ While I concur respectfully with Dunsby that it is practically impossible to analyse song as a 'fourth language' without breaking it up into its ingredients, poetry, music, and context, as I suggested in the modified circle model (Fig. 1b), I propose that a combination of musical, literary, and contextual analysis might do song more justice than a purely music-analytical approach which only considers musical form, i.e. harmony, melody, structure, and rhythm. Furthermore, Dunsby argues that if we were to examine the vocality of the Lied, 'it will be important to continue to explore it as a performed experience'.⁴⁴ Thus, I suggest that, in order to scrutinise whether Kinkel's Lieder can be considered a mirror of Kinkel's time, I shall take into consideration music- and literary-analytical features as well as nineteenth-century reviews of Kinkel's compositions and performances.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 125 and 169–70.

⁴² Ibid., p. 170. Italics in original.

⁴³ Dunsby, *Making Words Sing*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ Jonathan Dunsby, 'The Lied Itself', in Ronyak, 'Colloquy', p. 575.

6.3 Thesis Structure

My thesis is divided into two volumes. Volume one includes the introduction, part I, and the first two chapters of part II of my dissertation; volume two includes the final three chapters of part II, the conclusion, appendices, and the bibliography. Part I contextualises Johanna Kinkel's biography, her music-pedagogical work and writings, and her private and public reception. Part II is devoted to a close reading of Kinkel's Lieder and is divided into five chapters. Following a brief overview of Kinkel's productivity, the poets she set, and performers/ performance venues (II.1, Volume I), there are four analytical chapters, divided by means of thematic categories of Kinkel's Lieder. This division is a methodological step and should not be understood as an attempt to pigeonhole Kinkel's Lieder into certain thematic classifications without allowing the merge of these categories. Firstly, I explore the autobiographical scope of Kinkel's love songs (II.2, Volume I). Secondly, I elaborate on the possibility of Kinkel's political songs having contributed to the cultural identity of the *Maikäferbund*, and more generally the democratic movement of the 1840s (II.3, Volume II). Thirdly, I examine in what way Kinkel's nature songs reflect Romanticism and how these phenomena relate to the aspects of autobiography and socio-political meaning (II.4, Volume II). Fourthly, by way of comparative analysis, I contextualise Kinkel's compositional style among her contemporaries (II.5, Volume II).

7 Literature Overview

Most of the primary sources related to Johanna Kinkel are archived at the ULB, an aspect which made my research far easier than expected initially. An important tool for the uncovering of archival material is Ulrike Brandt-Schwarze's *Findbuch*, which lists

all documents related to Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel archived at the ULB.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Ulrike Brandt-Schwarze and her colleagues' edition of all *Maikäfer* journals is an excellent source as it records Kinkel's literary activities with the *Maikäferbund*.⁴⁶ As regards Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel's correspondence, Monica Klaus and Norbert Schloßmacher's three-volume edition of letters is an incredibly valuable publication, which includes many meticulously researched annotations and explanations.⁴⁷ In 2015, the inventory of the Bonn Stadtarchiv was reviewed and updated, a step through which more manuscripts and documents related to Kinkel emerged.⁴⁸ Further useful primary sources include letter editions of Kinkel's contemporaries; Kinkel's memoirs, published by Kinkel's son Gottfried Kinkel (junior); as well as the Lieder, novellas, poems, and short stories published by Johanna Kinkel during her lifetime and posthumously. Finally, I examined a number of nineteenth-century newspapers and music journals during two research trips to Berlin in August 2014 and March 2015.

In terms of secondary sources, Johanna Kinkel has been considered an important figure of nineteenth-century German politics for a long time. Anna Blos included Kinkel in her selection of ten outstanding women of the 1848 German revolution as early as 1928; J. F. Schulte wrote a short Kinkel biography using her letters and personal legacy in 1908.⁴⁹ Johanna Kinkel's daughter Adelheid von Asten-Kinkel also contributed to the literary canon on Kinkel as she published several articles in the

⁴⁵ Ulrike Brandt-Schwarze, *Nachlass Gottfried und Johanna Kinkel: Findbuch* (Bonn: n. pub., 2001) <<https://www.ulb.uni-bonn.de/die-ulb/publikationen/findbuecher-inhaltslisten/kinkel>> [accessed 25 November 2015].

⁴⁶ *Der Maikäfer: Zeitschrift für Nichtphilister*, ed. by Ulrike Brandt-Schwarze and others, 4 vols (Bonn: Stadtarchiv, 1982–85). Hereafter referred to as Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*.

⁴⁷ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!: Der Briefwechsel zwischen Gottfried und Johanna Kinkel: 1840–1858*, ed. by Norbert Schloßmacher, compiled by Monica Klaus, 3 vols (Bonn: Stadtarchiv und Stadthistorische Bibliothek, 2008). Hereafter referred to as Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*.

⁴⁸ Among the materials archived at the Stadtarchiv Bonn are Paul Kaufmann's legacy and the Kinkel-Sammlung. I am grateful to the Bonn City Archive for sending me a pdf file of Paul Kaufmann's *Findbuch* which I was unable to find online.

⁴⁹ Anna Blos, *Frauen der deutschen Revolution 1948: Zehn Lebensbilder* (Dresden: Kaden, 1928); J. F. Schulte, *Johanna Kinkel: Nach ihren Briefen und Erinnerungsblättern* (Münster: Schöningh, 1908).

Deutsche Revue in 1901 and 1902.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the early endeavor to make Kinkel known to the public is represented by Marie Goslich, Max Pahncke, and Paul Kaufmann, all of whom published selected parts of Kinkel's correspondence in the *Preußische Jahrbücher*.⁵¹ It needs to be noted that Paul Kaufmann's, Marie Goslich's and Adelheid von Asten-Kinkel's accounts may have been subject to bias due to family relations.⁵² Moreover, the tone of some of the annotations in these early publications does not conform to twenty-first-century research standards. The same observation is true for Else Thalheimer's 1922 account of 'Johanna Kinkel als Musikerin' (Johanna Kinkel as a Musician), a PhD dissertation which undertakes a musical analysis of selected Lieder and offers a flavour of early twentieth-century music-analytical and historical practices.⁵³

In the second half of the twentieth century, we are presented with a number of survey publications which, following early feminist attempts to write women into history, include essays mostly dealing with the revolutionary aspects of Kinkel's life.⁵⁴ The latest contribution of such a kind is Marion Freund's examination of female authors

⁵⁰ Adelheid von Asten-Kinkel, 'Johanna Kinkel in London', *Deutsche Revue*, 26.1 (1901), 65–80 and 178–91; Adelheid von Asten-Kinkel, 'Johanna Kinkels Glaubensbekenntnis', *Deutsche Revue*, 27.4 (1902), 45–66.

⁵¹ Marie Goslich, 'Biefe von Johanna Kinkel', *Preußische Jahrbücher*, 97 (1899), 185–222, hereafter referred to as Goslich, 'Briefe von Johanna Kinkel'; Marie Goslich, 'Briefe von Johanna Kinkel: Schluß', *Preußische Jahrbücher*, 97 (1899), 398–433, hereafter referred to as Goslich, 'Schluß'; Max Pahncke, 'Briefe von Johanna Kinkel an Willibald Beyschlag', *Preußische Jahrbücher*, 122 (1905), 77–112; Paul Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild', *Preußische Jahrbücher*, 221 (1930), 290–304, hereafter referred to as Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild'; Paul Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild: Schluß', *Preußische Jahrbücher*, 222 (1930), 48–67, hereafter referred to as Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Schluß'; Paul Kaufmann, 'Noch einmal auf Johanna Kinkels Spuren', *Preußische Jahrbücher*, 229 (1932), 263–68.

⁵² Adelheid von Asten-Kinkel was Kinkel's daughter; Paul Kaufmann was related to Kinkel's friends Leopold and Alexander Kaufmann. Marie Goslich received the letters from Kinkel's friend Emilie von Henning's daughter Laura von Henning; it is likely that they were friendly with each other.

⁵³ Else Thalheimer, 'Johanna Kinkel als Musikerin' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Bonn, 1922). Hereafter referred to as Thalheimer, 'Johanna Kinkel als Musikerin'.

⁵⁴ Carola Lipp, ed., *Schimpfende Weiber und patriotische Jungfrauen: Frauen im Vormärz und in der Berliner Revolution 1848/49* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1998); Hilde Kathrein and Rita Herbig, *Meine Seele will Freiheit: Frauen setzen sich durch* (Heilbronn: Eugen Salzer Verlag, 1992); Rachel McNicholl and Kerstin Wilhelms, 'Liebe, Kunst und Politik: Zur 1848er Revolution in Texten deutscher Schriftstellerinnen im 19. Jahrhundert', in *Die Marsellaise der Weiber*, ed. by Inge Stephan and Sigrid Weigel (Hamburg: Argument, 1989), pp. 104–27.

during 1848 and 1849, published in 2004.⁵⁵ Further early feminist studies on Kinkel include Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres's and Carrol Diethe's insightful works on Kinkel as a political writer and publisher, and more recently, Ruth Whittle and Debbie Pinfold's study on political writing by women.⁵⁶ In his double biography *Gerechtigkeit – das Brot des Volkes: Johanna und Gottfried Kinkel*, Klaus Schmidt scrutinises Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel's political views within their socio-political context.⁵⁷ Being the first Kinkel monograph of the second half of the twentieth century, this book deserves attention in so far as it recognises the Kinkels' socio-political significance within the nineteenth-century discourse. However, the balance between Gottfried and Johanna leans slightly towards Gottfried's political biography and calls for a more in-depth consideration of Johanna Kinkel's influence on both her husband and the socio-political circumstances of her time.

Whereas there have been several attempts at placing Johanna Kinkel into her literary and socio-cultural context, only very few publications focus on her musical personality. The inclusion of Kinkel in the second editions of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* are important milestones; furthermore, Bettina Brand's and Ann Willison Lemke's elaborations of Kinkel as a composer are valuable surveys of Kinkel's compositional biography.⁵⁸ Eva

⁵⁵ Marion Freund, *Mag der Thron in Flammen glühn!': Schriftstellerinnen und die Revolution von 1848/49* (Königstein: Helmer, 2004).

⁵⁶ Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres, 'German Women in Text and Context of the 18th and 19th Centuries: A Review Essay of Feminist Criticism', *Internationales Archiv*, 11 (1986), 232–63; Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres, *Respectability and Deviance: Nineteenth-Century German Women Writers and the Ambiguity of Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Carol Diethe, *Towards Emancipation: German Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Berghahn, 1998); Ruth Whittle and Debbie Pinfold, *Voices of Rebellion: Political Writings by Malwida von Meysenbug, Fanny Lewald, Johanna Kinkel and Louise Aston* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), hereafter referred to as Whittle and Pinfold, *Voices of Rebellion*.

⁵⁷ Klaus Schmidt, *Gerechtigkeit – das Brot des Volkes: Johanna und Gottfried Kinkel* (Stuttgart: Radius, 1996).

⁵⁸ Bettina Brand, 'Johanna Kinkel (1810–1858)', in *Komponistinnen in Berlin*, ed. by Bettina Brand and others (Berlin: Bender Schnelldruck GmbH, 1987), pp. 74–95, this volume is hereafter referred to as Brand and others, *Komponistinnen in Berlin*; Ann Willison Lemke, "'Alles Schaffen ist wohl eine Wechselwirkung von Inspiration und Willen": Johanna Kinkel als Komponistin', in *Annäherung IX – an sieben Komponistinnen: Mit Berichten, Interviews und Selbstdarstellungen*, ed. by Clara Mayer (Kassel:

Weissweiler takes an inspiring music-analytical approach to Kinkel's Heine settings and depicts certain parallels between Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) and Johanna Kinkel.⁵⁹ However, Weissweiler's claim that Kinkel published her work under pseudonyms, most notably the pseudonym 'Julius Stern', is questionable, as there are no hints of such pseudonyms in any of Kinkel's legacy.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, it was Eva Weissweiler who first referred to Kinkel's compositional activity during the 1980s.

There are a few studies dealing with Johanna Kinkel's music-pedagogical writings, most notably Marianne Bröcker's and Linda Siegel's journal articles and Barbara J. Tritten's and Melanie Ayaydin's unpublished MA dissertations.⁶¹ Apart from my own journal articles dealing with a small selection of Kinkel's Lieder as well as an MA dissertation by Marie Sophie Catherine Groß from Kunstuniversität Graz, Kinkel's Lieder have been underrepresented so far.⁶² Linda Siegel includes close readings of

Furore, 1998), pp. 53–70, hereafter referred to as Willison Lemke, “‘Alles Schaffen ist wohl eine Wechselwirkung von Inspiration und Willen’”.

⁵⁹ Eva Weissweiler, 'Die stille Opposition: Heine-Vertonungen von Frauen – Am Beispiel von Johanna Kinkel und Clara Schumann', in Brand and others, *Komponistinnen in Berlin*, pp. 96–106, hereafter referred to as Weissweiler, 'Die stille Opposition'. Sanna Iitti, in her book *The Feminine in German Song*, also includes a very brief section on Kinkel's Lied 'Die Lorelei', see Chapter II.3.

⁶⁰ Eva Weissweiler, *Ausgemerzt!: Das Lexikon der Juden in der Musik und seine mörderischen Folgen* (Cologne: Dittrich, 1999), p. 109; for further details see my own article 'Johanna Kinkel's *Trinklied für Männerchor*: A Reactive Response to Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism', *The Musicology Review*, 9 (forthcoming).

⁶¹ Marianne Bröcker, 'Johanna Kinkels schriftstellerische und musikpädagogische Tätigkeit', *Bonner Geschichtsblätter*, 29 (1977), 37–48, hereafter referred to as Bröcker, 'Johanna Kinkels schriftstellerische und musikpädagogische Tätigkeit'; Linda Siegel, 'Johanna Kinkel's "Chopin als Komponist" and Other Musical Writings: Untapped Source Readings in the History of Romantic Music Author(s)', *College Music Symposium*, 43 (2003), 105–25, hereafter referred to as Siegel, 'Johanna Kinkel's "Chopin als Komponist" and Other Musical Writings'; Melanie Ayaydin, 'Johanna Kinkel: Reflexionen zum Musikleben ihrer Zeit' (unpublished Diplomarbeit, University of Vienna, 2013) <<http://othes.univie.ac.at/26218/>> [accessed 25 November 2015]; Barbara J. Tritten, 'The Teaching Method of Johanna Kinkel as Reflected in Anleitung zum Singen' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Alaska, 1992). See also my own article 'Johanna Kinkel's Pedagogical Approaches as a Socio-Political Mirror of her Time', *Musicological Explorations*, 14 (2014), 27–58, hereafter referred to as Bunzel, 'Johanna Kinkel's Pedagogical Approaches'.

⁶² Marie Sophie Catherine Groß's MA dissertation is listed on the website of Kunstuniversität Graz and is titled 'Frauen komponieren Lieder: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Johanna Kinkel (1810–1858): Komponistin, Pädagogin, Hausfrau, Revolutionärin' (unpublished MA dissertation, Kunstuniversität Graz, 2015). My own articles in which I analyse Kinkel's Lieder are: Anja Bunzel, 'Johanna Kinkel's *Thurm und Fluth* (Opus 19, No. 6): Revolutionary Ideas and Political Optimism in a 19th-Century Art Song', in *The National Element in Music: Conference Proceedings: Athens, 18–20 January 2013*, ed. by Nikos Maliaras (Athens: Athens University, 2014), pp. 18–25 <<http://www.mmb.org.gr/page/default.asp?la=1&id=6844>> [accessed 16 May 2016], hereafter referred to as Bunzel, 'Johanna Kinkel's *Thurm und Fluth*'; Anja Bunzel, 'Johanna Kinkel's Political Art Songs as a Contribution to the Socio-Cultural Identity of the German Democratic Movement during the Late 1840s', *Focus on German Studies*, 22 (2015), 1–20, hereafter referred to as Bunzel, 'Johanna Kinkel's Political

selected Lieder in the programme notes to her two edited volumes of a selection of Kinkel's Lieder.⁶³ The most notable current contributors to Kinkel research are Monica Klaus and Daniela Glahn. Besides Klaus's letter edition, her edition of selected literary works of Kinkel's (published together with Ingrid Bodsch) and her essay on Kinkel's first published opus, *Die Vogelkantate*, Monica Klaus's first and only Johanna Kinkel biography is a significant resource.⁶⁴ Based on a multitude of personal letters, manuscripts, and nineteenth-century print media, this monograph refers to Kinkel's life within the three geographical domains of Bonn, Berlin, and London, and offers a concise perspective on Kinkel's (psycho)biography. Furthermore, Klaus places some of Kinkel's compositions in context, an approach which sheds light on the socio-cultural circumstances under which Kinkel's works were composed, performed, published, and reviewed.

Daniela Glahn's 2015 doctoral thesis, 'Johanna Kinkel – Bilder einer Autorschaft', in which Johanna Kinkel's oeuvre is scrutinised through the lens of authorship, includes analyses of selected music-pedagogical publications, a few of Kinkel's love songs and politically motivated Lieder, and the *Vogelkantate*.⁶⁵ In her dissertation, Glahn portrays Kinkel as an aesthetically diverse composer who was concerned with the fashionability and marketability of her artistic output, and she concludes that it would be up to readers to dismiss her work, regard it as an 'objective' examination, or consider it an inspiration for their own research and the establishment

Art Songs as a Contribution to the Socio-Cultural Identity'; Anja Bunzel and Barbora Kubečková, 'Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850): A Versatile Lieder Composer?: A Comparative Analysis of Selected Goethe Settings by Carl Friedrich Zelter, Václav Jan Tomášek and Johanna Kinkel', *Musicologica Olomucensia*, 20 (2014), 15–36. Linda Siegel presented a paper on harmony in Kinkel's Lieder at the *College Music Symposium's* National Conference in 2004; attempts to find her contact details have been unsuccessful.

⁶³ Linda Siegel, ed., programme notes to *Johanna Kinkel: Lieder*, 2 vols (Mount Airy: Hildegard Publishing, 2002–03). Hereafter referred to as Siegel, *Johanna Kinkel*.

⁶⁴ Monica Klaus and Ingrid Bodsch, eds, *Johanna Kinkel: Eine Auswahl aus ihrem literarischen Werk* (Bonn: Verlag StadtMuseum, 2010), hereafter referred to as Klaus and Bodsch, *Auswahl*; Monica Klaus, "'Die Nachtigall hat etwas detoniert!': Johanna Kinkels Vogelkantate – eine Komposition und ihre Geschichte', *Bonner Geschichtsblätter*, 53/54 (2004), 289–300; Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*.

⁶⁵ Daniela Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel – Bilder einer Autorschaft' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Paderborn, 2015). Hereafter referred to as Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel'.

of slightly different or even contrary constructs of authorship.⁶⁶ I place myself in the third category, a step which reaffirms my impression of both Kinkel as an extremely diverse, perhaps even ambiguous figure, and Kinkel scholarship as an exciting, friendly and exceptionally collegial research field. I gratefully acknowledge Glahn's generosity in sharing with me her unpublished thesis in July 2016, during my own final steps of writing up my dissertation.

Klaus's study serves as an excellent starting point for this dissertation. Primarily taking the perspective of a musicologist rather than a historian or biographer, it is the aim of this study to add to the existing Kinkel research canon an exhaustive close reading of Kinkel's published Lieder. At this point, I also wish to acknowledge the great enthusiasm with which Kinkel's music is being performed and recorded all over the world. A discography is included at the end of my dissertation; Monica Klaus and Sibylle Wagner continue to revive Kinkel's music by way of concerts and recitals in the Bonn area; it should also be noted that Kinkel's Lieder form part of performance repertoires overseas, encouraged by such scholars and musicians as Harald and Sharon Krebs (Victoria, Canada), Tammy Hensrud and Korliss Uecker (New York, USA), and the US-based project *Sophie: A Digital Library of Works by German-Speaking Women*, to name but a few.

8 Difficulties

Despite the concentration of *Kinkeliana* in Bonn, the archive and library landscape in Germany is diverse. Some of Kinkel's scores and some parts of her correspondence are spread all over Germany and beyond. Therefore, I acquired some of the relevant materials from abroad through digitalisation and photocopying services provided by the

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 306. 'Letztlich bleibt es jedoch in den Händen meiner RezipientInnen, wie sie mit dieser Arbeit umgehen: Ob sie sie ablehnen, ob sie sie als »objektive« Darstellung betrachten oder ob sie sie tatsächlich als Anstoß für die eigene Forschung und die Erstellung von eigenen, vielleicht abweichenden oder gar konträren (Autor-)Konstrukten annehmen?'

corresponding archives, a rather pricy and time-consuming undertaking. Another difficulty was the problem of war damage/ loss at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin so that my selection of works for my comparative analysis was affected by accessibility issues. Furthermore, I encountered the issue of readability of some of the primary sources. Depending on individual cases, nineteenth-century German handwriting can be rather hard to decipher. While Johanna Kinkel's handwriting is quite neat, Gottfried Kinkel's handwriting is characterised by a very small size. Monica Klaus's edition of the Kinkels' correspondence in its entirety proved extremely helpful and time-saving for my own research.

9 Future Research

This dissertation may inspire examinations of Kinkel's unpublished Singspiele and Scottish songs, none of which have been analysed in any published work so far. In addition to this, the interdisciplinary approach encouraged in this dissertation might inspire future investigations based on cross-references and conclusions between different areas of the humanities, notably musicology, literary studies, cultural studies, and media studies. Furthermore, other composers whose selected Lieder are examined in chapter II.5 may attract further interest. Compositions by such composers as Julius Becker (1811–1859), Charlotte von Bülow (1817–1908), Joachim Raff (1822–1882), Elise Schmezer (1810–1856), or Friedrich Hieronymus Truhn (1811–1886) might provide further insight into their own time and the rather arbitrary canonisation of nineteenth-century Lieder. To this effect, this dissertation encourages a re-consideration of the current performance repertoire and academic curriculum in favour of a broader variety of nineteenth-century Lieder, a side effect which ties in with current discussions of the composers and music pedagogues currently taught in both secondary school education and the academy.

10 Note to the reader

Johanna Kinkel's surname changed three times over the course of her life. She was born as Johanna Mockel and got married to Johann Mathieux in 1832. After her divorce in 1840, she adopted her maiden name again. It was not until 1843, when she got married to Gottfried Kinkel, that her name changed to Johanna Kinkel. I refer to her as Johanna Kinkel throughout this dissertation, although her earlier works were published (and reviewed) under the name Johanna Mathieux. Secondly, all primary sources are quoted in the original language. I chose not to adapt these nineteenth-century sources to the orthographic and grammatical corpus of the twenty-first century in order to keep my quotations as authentic as possible. While I kept also the original spelling in the music examples, I followed modern editorial practices for the scores as I hope to encourage the performance of Kinkel's Lieder and yet give an impression of their original appearance. If significant changes to the nineteenth-century original publications have been made based on common compositional and aesthetic practice, those changes are footnoted. This dissertation includes both the original as well as the translated versions of each quoted source, as I did not want to unfold my argument in English at the expense of the German originals. For the same reason, this dissertation also provides translations of all poems discussed. As a result of the numerousness of translations the overall word count of my dissertation exceeds the recommended word count of 80,000–100,000 words suggested by the Maynooth University and Music Department's Postgraduate Handbooks, although the English-language content, considered in isolation, would not exceed this recommended word count. Finally, this dissertation is formatted according to the Modern Humanities Research Association style guide.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ *MHRA Style Guide*, ed. by Modern Humanities Research Association, 3rd edn (London: MHRA, 2013).

–PART I–

**JOHANNA KINKEL:
BIOGRAPHY AND RECEPTION**

CHAPTER 1: JOHANNA KINKEL'S PRIVATE LIFE

The political and cultural paradigms of nineteenth-century Germany influenced Johanna Kinkel's life, works and thinking to a great extent. Being born into a Catholic middle-class family, Kinkel's objectives, traditionally, would not have exceeded a basic artistic education including needlework and music, and an upbringing mainly concerned with the maintenance of the home and the care of a hard-working husband, and numerous children.¹ In contrast to other middle-class girls of her time, however, Kinkel was granted the opportunity to satisfy her hunger for knowledge by reading the books of her father, who was a teacher and whose library included literature on music, history, literature, theology, and philosophy. Raised in the Rhineland, Kinkel was also fluent in French, which surfaces in many of her novellas, and had some knowledge of the English language, which she picked up from English tourists and her English piano students. Kinkel's education, however, was not planned and organised. Rather, it was rather random and the result of her own eagerness to learn.

1.1 First marriage: 1832

Kinkel faced the peculiarities of German convention when, in order to satisfy her mother's expectations, she defected from musical composition and teaching and took up an apprenticeship as a chef before she got married in 1832.² In exchange for the time and effort expected by her parents, Johanna was allowed to continue playing the piano and even teach others at the Mockels' (Kinkel's) house.³ The friendly get-togethers with

¹ See Donald J. Grout, J. Peter Burkholder and Claude Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 7th edn (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), pp. 597–98, hereafter referred to as Grout and others, *A History of Western Music*; Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 5.

² Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

like-minded people initiated the foundation of a musical circle, led by Kinkel's piano teacher Franz Ries (1755–1846), which was the incubator of the *Bonner Gesangverein*. Kinkel's first composition, *Vogelkantate* (Birds' Cantata, op. 1), was performed by the musical circle in 1829; it was received with great enthusiasm by both performers and audience.⁴ As Monica Klaus points out, Kinkel would have been a happy person, had her 'unfeminine behaviour' not caused many disputes at home.⁵ In 1832, as a compromising response to numerous arguments, Kinkel married Johann Paul Mathieux, an educated Catholic book seller and music dealer. The marriage, however, emerged as a psychological nightmare for Johanna, as Mathieux expected Johanna to look after the household, to attend church three times a day and to get involved in voluntary work in the community.⁶ Although the Mathieuxs attended Peter Mülhens's regular musical circles, Mathieux forbid Johanna to play the piano, which caused a 'fierce illness' and prompted Johanna's parents to take her back to their house.⁷ Johanna Kinkel decided to fight for a divorce, which was subject to both the man's and woman's agreements at the time, and she resumed her musical activities with the Bonn musical circle.⁸ When Mathieux still had not agreed to a divorce by 1836, Johanna followed the invitation of a friend of the family, Mrs. Goulet, to Frankfurt/ Main where she met Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847) and Georg Brentano (1775–1851). Equipped with references from Brentano and Mendelssohn, Johanna travelled to Berlin.⁹ Bearing in mind the Catholic opposition to mixed marriages in the Rhineland provinces, Kinkel's visit to Berlin offered various opportunities. As Berlin was traditionally a Protestant region, Kinkel's social environment was more open-minded than in Bonn; she also

⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

improved her artistic education as she was introduced to a great number of musical and literary luminaries of Berlin's rich cultural life.¹⁰

1.2 Berlin: 1836–39

Shortly after she had moved to Berlin, Kinkel met and lived with Bettina von Arnim (1785–1859). Von Arnim introduced Kinkel to the house of Friedrich Carl von Savigny (1779–1861), where she played the piano at regular gatherings of upper-class society.¹¹ Johanna had re-arranged her *Vogelkantate* on the occasion of Savigny's birthday, which was published by the Berlin publisher Trautwein in 1838 as Kinkel's op. 1.¹² It was received positively by the reviewers of the time, who especially praised the piece for its humour and its folk-like tone.¹³ The Vienna music journal *Allgemeiner Musikalischer Anzeiger* begins a review with an appraisal reflecting the strong gender biases of the time. Nonetheless, its positive criticism of Kinkel's work is noteworthy:

The Vogel-Kantate was not produced by a [male] composer, but, as was reported previously if we are not mistaken, by a [female] composer, who employs in this delicious domestic amusement a kind of humour and a very effective tone painting, the former of which is usually found rather rarely among this sentimental [feminine] sex.¹⁴

The domestic atmosphere mentioned in this review points to the small-scale performance context of the *Vogelkantate*, in which the boundaries between the private and the public were merged and which places Kinkel and her oeuvre within typical

¹⁰ Gottfried Kinkel (jun.), ed., 'Aus Johanna Kinkels Memoiren', *Internationales Jahrbuch der Bettina von Arnim-Gesellschaft*, 8/9 (1996/97), 239–71 (p. 241). Hereafter referred to as Kinkel (jun.), ed., 'Aus Johanna Kinkels Memoiren'.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 242.

¹² Monica Klaus (*Johanna Kinkel*, p. 50) depicts the publication date as 1838; Hofmeister announces the publication in January 1839 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001839&teil=0203&seite=00000010&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 June 2016].

¹³ Kinkel (jun.), ed., 'Aus Johanna Kinkels Memoiren', pp. 262–63.

¹⁴ [Anon.], review of Johanna Mathieux, *Die Vogelkantate* (1838), *Allgemeiner Musikalischer Anzeiger*, 17 September 1840, pp. 149–50. 'Die Vogel-Kantate stammt eigentlich von keinem Verfasser, sondern, wie schon früher, wenn wir nicht irren, berichtet wurde, von einer Verfasserin, welche hier, in diesem ergötzlichen Hausspaß, einen bey dem zarten Geschlechte in der Regel meist etwas selten sich vorfindenden Humor, und die Gabe einer drastisch wirksamen Tonmalerey entwickelt'. This work was also reviewed by Ludwig Rellstab in *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst* on 4 January 1839 (pp. 2–3) and in the Leipzig journal *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* on 1 May 1839 (pp. 346–47).

nineteenth-century salon culture. Besides the musical enjoyments Kinkel experienced at Sayigny's, Savigny, being a renowned jurist, also showed understanding for Kinkel's desire to get divorced and promised to help her as much as possible.¹⁵ However, he was not able to push a prompt divorce, so Kinkel stayed in Berlin until Mathieux agreed to get divorced in 1839. Besides Bettina von Arnim and Savigny, Kinkel met many other musicians, such as Fanny Hensel (1805–1847), whose *Sonntagsmusiken* she attended with great enthusiasm. She was taught by Wilhelm Taubert (1811–1891) and Karl Böhmer (1799–1884), and she befriended Emilie von Henning (1805–1853), a neighbour of Johanna's friend Nanny Müller (1800–?) and former singer of Zelter's *Singakademie*. Emanuel Geibel (1815–1884) became a close friend of Kinkel's, and Adelbert von Chamisso (1781–1838), whose emigrant biography fascinated Johanna, also crossed her Berlin path.¹⁶ In 1837, Kinkel left von Arnim's house and moved into her own residence, a decision which increased Kinkel's independence and compositional productivity. Having gained a reputation as a pianist at Fanny Hensel's *Sonntagsmusiken* and at Savigny's weekly gatherings Kinkel was able to make a living from teaching.¹⁷ Lorraine Byrne Bodley points to the blurring of private and public in Fanny Hensel's *Sonntagsmusiken* and Hensel's 'ideal synthesis of art and life'.¹⁸ This aspect raises the question whether all of the Sunday musicales and other gatherings at Hensel's house were recorded precisely, especially as some of them were of a rather spontaneous nature. According to Kinkel herself, she visited Fanny Hensel regularly; however, there is no other evidence as to exactly how often she performed there. Kinkel's friendship with the Mendelssohns proved to be of great help, as it was Fanny's

¹⁵ Kinkel (jun.), ed., 'Aus Johanna Kinkels Memoiren', pp. 242–43.

¹⁶ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 49.

¹⁷ Theodor Anton Henseler, *Das musikalische Bonn im 19. Jahrhundert* (= *Bonner Geschichtsblätter*, 13) (Bonn: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1959), p. 143. Hereafter referred to as Henseler, *Das musikalische Bonn im 19. Jahrhundert*.

¹⁸ Lorraine Byrne Bodley, 'In Pursuit of a Single Flame: Fanny Hensel's "Musical Salon"', in *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied*, ed. by Aisling Kenny and Susan Wollenberg (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 45–59 (p. 59). The whole volume is hereafter referred to as Kenny and Wollenberg, *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied*.

sister Rebecka (1811–1858, later Rebecka Dirichlet), who lodged the money for Gottfried Kinkel's escape from prison in 1850.¹⁹ The real nature of Fanny Hensel and Johanna Kinkel's friendship, however, remains obscure, as Fanny Hensel's correspondence and diary entries do not confirm Kinkel's enthusiastic appraisals of their acquaintanceship.

Kinkel's compositions were reviewed positively by such renowned music journals as the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst* and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, which attracted public interest and caused follow-up orders from the music publisher Trautwein.²⁰ In relation to Kinkel's Berlin years, Monica Klaus summarises that 'while Johanna found her intellectual challenge at Bettina von Arnim's and Savigny's, she found her musical home at the Mendelssohns and her human refuge at the Hennings'.²¹ Kinkel's life in Berlin seemed happy and complete, which is also reflected in numerous exuberant letters to her Bonn friend Angela Oppenhoff.²² In a letter to Angela Oppenhoff on 10 December 1837, Kinkel enthuses about 'c. thirty societies which I visit, almost every house of which has a different circle of visitors'.²³ On 10 November 1838, Kinkel writes to Oppenhoff that 'the circles, which I usually visit here [in Berlin] are a conglomerate of all social ranks and nations'.²⁴ Although these accounts seem exaggerated, Kinkel's letters bear witness to her own impression of Berlin as a vibrant and welcoming cultural centre. Nevertheless, Kinkel must have been overwhelmed when her parents informed her about Mathieux's acceptance of a divorce in 1839. Kinkel left Berlin in the springtime of 1839, being sure

¹⁹ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 234.

²⁰ See all of Johanna Kinkel's letters to her friend Angela Oppenhoff, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild'.

²¹ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 51.

²² Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild', the full article.

²³ Kinkel cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Schluß', p. 52. 'Ich zähle ungefähr 30 Häuser, die ich besuche, jedes hat fast einen anderen Kreis von Gästen'.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57. 'Die Zirkel, die ich meist hier besuche, sind das bunteste Gemisch aller Stände und Nationen'.

to return soon after her successful divorce.²⁵ The official divorce, however, took longer than expected, as did Kinkel's return to Berlin.

1.3 Return to Bonn

Back in Bonn, Kinkel was confronted with the desperateness she had faced three years before: her divorce had not progressed as far as she would have wished, her parents had become remarkably old, and Kinkel had to get used to the Bonn bourgeoisie, which differed from the Berlin societies of which she had become part.²⁶ Due to its huge population, Berlin was much more anonymous than Bonn, where Johanna felt that her lifestyle did not please the provincial public. Furthermore, Berlin's cultural life was more diverse with a great number of literary and musical societies as well as such cultural institutions as museums and concert venues. Kinkel engaged in social activities as much as possible, through which she met Gottfried Kinkel (1815–1882) on 4 May 1839. A former student of Johanna's father, Gottfried had been known to Johanna as a child, as he lived at the Mockels' house for a little while; however, as a result of the difference of age, their relationship at that time was characterised by childlike curiosity and uncertainty.²⁷ Referring to Richard Sander's edition of Gottfried Kinkel's autobiography, Monica Klaus believes that Johanna must have made quite an impression on Gottfried, as he remembered how 'for the first time I found a woman who was not only familiar with all areas of education, but who was also a virtuoso and a creator within an area of human knowledge and capability, namely music'.²⁸ From the first meeting on, Gottfried and Johanna met regularly at mutual friends' societies and literary circles. Returning from Berlin, Johanna's reputation as a teacher was excellent;

²⁵ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 55.

²⁶ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 56.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

²⁸ Sander's edition of Kinkel's autobiography, cited in Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, pp. 57–58. 'Zum ersten Mal fand ich ein Weib, das nicht allein in allen Reichen der Bildung einheimisch, sondern in Einem Gebiet des menschlichen Wissens und Vermögens, der Musik, virtuos und schöpferisch war'.

many upper-class families sent their sons and daughters to her.²⁹ Despite her success as a teacher and her positive prospects with Gottfried Kinkel, the slow proceedings of the divorce and her longing for the metropolitan societies in Berlin took its toll on her emotional well-being. When Johanna shared her desperate situation with Gottfried Kinkel, he adopted the mission of rescuing her, thinking that ‘he could treat her with unselfconsciousness, nourish [her] with friendship and intellectual understanding’, as he was engaged to Sophie Boegehold (dates unknown) and Johanna was still married.³⁰ The successful completion of Johanna’s divorce on 22 May 1840 along with Gottfried’s increasing distance to Sophie Boegehold paved the way for a more passionate relationship between Gottfried and Johanna, which was finally settled by a tragic accident on the river Rhine in the summer of 1840.³¹ A big steam boat had overrun Johanna, Gottfried, and their friend Andreas Simons (1823–1900), who had been rowing in a small punt on the river Rhine at night time. When the ship hit the punt, Gottfried grabbed Johanna and dove underneath the ship until the danger was over.³² In 1841, Gottfried dissolved his engagement with Sophie Boegehold and decided to devote himself fully to Johanna.³³ This decision cost him his job as a teacher at the Thormann’sche Institute and his position as an assistant sermoniser in Cologne. It caused the loss of many friends who disapproved of Johanna and Gottfried’s courtship.³⁴ The Kinkels’ struggle to keep friends of different religious views mirrors Hugh McLeod’s and René Rémond’s observations that religion played a crucial part in the formation of socio-cultural identity during the first half of the nineteenth century

²⁹ Ibid., p. 61.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 69. ‘Deshalb glaubte er, unbefangen mit Johanna umgehen zu können, frei von Zwängen, beseelt nur von Freundschaft, geistigem Verstehen und der Mission, sie zu retten und zum Christentum zurückzuführen’.

³¹ Ibid., p. 71.

³² See letter from Johanna Kinkel to Leopold von Henning dated 11 October 1842, cited in Goslich, ‘Briefe von Johanna Kinkel’, pp. 212–15.

³³ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 127.

³⁴ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, pp. 87–97.

and therefore influenced people's individual judgements to a great extent.³⁵ As Frank Eyck points out, religious education was more widespread than political education.³⁶ In line with the formation of different political movements, McLeod identifies three – rather than two – kinds of religion in nineteenth-century Western Europe: Catholicism, Protestantism, and the 'religion of humanity' or the 'religion of liberty'.³⁷ All three paradigms play a significant role in the Kinkels' joint biography. Johanna's conversion to the Protestant faith in 1842 enabled her and Gottfried to get married on 22 May 1843.³⁸ Although Johanna and Gottfried had faced disappointments in faithless friends and professional burdens, the following years encouraged a diverse cultural life with a remarkable artistic output by both Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel and an increasing engagement with politics, which finally overshadowed all cultural activities.

1.4 Kinkel's political involvement

In 1840, when Johanna's morning concerts at the Mockels' house had become a popular platform for the exchange of recent poetic and prosaic works, Johanna and Gottfried decided to establish the literary association *Maikäferbund* (May Beetle Association), which, according to Monica Klaus, was also 'a first political, but still humorous critique of the situation in the country and at the university'.³⁹ This critical approach is supported by Johanna's add-on to the title of the *Maikäfer's* journal *Maikäfer: Zeitschrift für Nichtphilister* (Journal for Non-Philistines). The first volume of the

³⁵ René Rémond, *Religion and Society in Modern Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 35 and 84; Hugh McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe: 1789–1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 36, hereafter referred to as McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe*; David G. Williamson, *Germany since 1815: A Nation Forged and Renewed* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 32, hereafter referred to as Williamson, *Germany since 1815*.

³⁶ Frank Eyck, *The Revolutions of 1848–49* (Edinburgh: Longman, 1972), p. 6

³⁷ McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe*, p. 36; Benedetto Croce, *History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. by Henry Furst (New York: Harcourt Press, 1933; repr. 1963), p. 18; James C. Kennedy, 'Religion, Nation and European Representations of the Past', in *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion, and Gender in National Histories*, ed. by Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 104–34 (p. 105); Alexander Dru, *The Church in the Nineteenth Century: Germany 1800–1918* (London: Burns & Oates, 1963).

³⁸ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, pp. 123–24.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 100. 'Es war eine erste politische, aber humorvolle Kritik an den Zuständen im Land und an der Universität'.

journal was issued on 25 June 1840. The members were predominantly male; indeed, Johanna was the only female member throughout the group's history, although Emilie von Binzer (1801–1891) visited the *Maikäfer* occasionally without joining the association officially.⁴⁰ The popularity of the *Maikäfer* is reflected especially by the foundation of the *Filialmau* in 1842 in Berlin, established by the former *Maikäfer* members Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897), Albrecht Wolters (1822–1878), and Willibald Beyschlag (1823–1900), who moved to Berlin in order to complete their studies. At an artistic level, both Johanna (referred to as 'Directrix' or 'Königin', Queen, by the other members) and Gottfried (referred to as 'Minister' or 'Urmaikäfer'/'Urmäu', Primary May Beetle) increased their productivity with the *Maikäfer*, as the regular meetings motivated the members to create new works and enabled a vivid exchange of thoughts. In light of this, it is not surprising that, during the 1840s, Johanna set a great number of poems originating from *Maikäfer* members. Willibald Beyschlag's account of his *Maikäfer* experience reveals that Johanna Kinkel also performed her Lieder to the *Maikäfer* audience:

When she sang her Lieder, the most beautiful, harmonious songs of Geibel or Kinkel, – not with an outstanding voice, but presented in a most thoughtful and soulful performance, then, surrounded by the twilight of the intimate room, she looked youthful and beautiful.⁴¹

Besides a great deal of Lieder, Johanna Kinkel also produced many of her novellas, which were published alongside some of Gottfried's narratives with Cotta in 1849, as well as her first theoretical writings on contemporary music with the *Maikäfer*.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 105. Kinkel's friendship to Emilie von Binzer is reflected in a letter from Johanna to Gottfried on 8 April 1841, in which Johanna talks about visiting von Binzer in Cologne. Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 169.

⁴¹ Willibald Beyschlag, *Aus meinem Leben: Erinnerungen und Erfahrungen der jüngeren Jahre* (Halle/Saale: Strien, 1896), pp. 114–15. 'Wenn sie ihre Lieder sang, die in Wohlklang verklärten schönsten Lieder von Geibel oder von Kinkel, – nicht mit bedeutender Stimme, aber im durchgebildetsten seelenvollen Vortrag, dann im Dämmerlichte des traulichen Zimmers wurde sie jung und schön'.

⁴² Among them were *Dä Hond on dat Eechhorn*, a story for children, written in Bonn dialect (Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, pp. 51–53, 62–64, 69–71); *Lebenslauf des Johannisfünkchens, von ihm selbst verfaßt*, a short biography of a glow worm which is used as an allegory for the political tension between the aristocracy (the spider) and the people (the small beetles including the glow worm) (Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, pp. 493–99), *Der Musikant*, a short story about a bourgeois musician who is annoyed by his neighbours who, being of aristocratic origin, play their instrument very

At a political level, the explosiveness of the *Maikäfer* association is reflected especially in the yearbook *Vom Rhein: Leben, Kunst und Dichtung* (About the Rhine: Life, Arts and Poetry), edited by Gottfried Kinkel and published in 1847. *Vom Rhein* is a compilation of the most remarkable works originating from (former) *Maikäfer* members and was concluded with Gottfried Kinkel's 'Männerlied', with which, according to Monica Klaus, he pointed into a revolutionary direction: 'the contemplative Romantic era was now over, and so were intimate friendships and bourgeois peace'.⁴³ The political situation of the late 1840s divided the *Maikäfer* group into two parties and finally led to the closing of the community; some members' works became politically controversial, other members did not want to be associated with democratic, or even republican, mind sets.⁴⁴ The yearbook, however, not only marked the end of the *Maikäfer*, but it also alludes to the general political direction of the Kinkels. Gottfried Kinkel's 'Männerlied' put off many friends and bondsmen, who were indignant over Kinkel's renunciation of Protestantism.⁴⁵ Table I.1.1 shows Kinkel's various involvements with politics.

badly and thereby distract the musician from his compositional activity (Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, IV, pp. 46–48, 82–83, 89, 115–16, 122–23, 143–53); *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, a novella dealing with musical gender conventions, teaching and the superficiality of the aristocracy (Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, III, pp. 459–76, IV, pp. 416–52); 'Über die modernen Liederkomponisten' (About the Modern Lieder Composers, Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, III, pp. 28–37, hereafter referred to as Kinkel, 'Über die modernen Liederkomponisten'); 'Das moderne Klavierspiel' ('The Modern Piano Playing', Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, III, pp. 249–50, 271–72, 283–85, 305–08).

⁴³ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 115. 'Es war nun vorbei mit der beschaulichen Romantik, den innigen Freundschaften und der Bürgerruhe'.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 115. The first decades of the nineteenth century brought forward a number of political movements: the liberal branch, which advocated such goals as equality before the law, tax laws, freedom of thought and worship, civil marriage, easier divorce laws, and universal state education; the closely-related nationalist movements, which mainly developed among students; left-wing socialist or radical democratic movements, which aimed for a revolution and a new regime of equality and which was taken over and further developed by Karl Marx during the 1840s; and, as a counterpart, the conservative branch, which aimed for a monarchical constitution, and the stabilisation of the Catholic Church. David G. Williamson, *Germany since 1815*, pp. 29–30; Ernest John Knapton and Thomas Kingston Derry, *Europe 1815–1914* (Norwich: Jarrold & Sons, 1965), pp. 40–45; Brian E. Vick, *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 205; Jerrold Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life: Society, Politics, and Culture in England, France, and Germany since 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 114, hereafter referred to as Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life*.

⁴⁵ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, pp. 144 and 148.

Table I.1.1: Chronology of Gottfried Kinkel's political activities

Date	Event
1848	
February	In a presentation on the history of arts, Kinkel advocates a 'state in which the people's will is respected and rules everyone's everyday life'. ⁴⁶
20 March	Kinkel's first democratic speech at Bonn City Hall
27 March	Establishment of a <i>Central-Bürgerversammlung</i> (Central Assembly of the Citizens), including three political branches: Rhine Catholics, Constitutionals, and Democrats, among which Gottfried Kinkel takes leadership
19 April	Kinkel's petition for craftsmen
28 May	Kinkel establishes the <i>Handwerkerbildungsverein</i> (Craftsmen's Educational Association)
31 May	Kinkel establishes the <i>Demokratischen Verein</i> (Democratic Association)
August	Kinkel publishes his work <i>Handwerk, errette dich!</i> (Trade, Rescue Yourself!)
6 August	Kinkel becomes editor of the <i>Bonner Zeitung</i>
15 November	Kinkel's public appeal for tax refusal
November	Interruption of Johanna Kinkel's piano lessons by soldier Rosenkranz; he is relocated
6 December	Johanna Kinkel publishes her 'Demokratenlied' in the <i>Bonner Zeitung</i>
16 December	Johanna Kinkel's 'Demokratenlied' is published by Sulzbach
1849	
22 January–5 February	Elections for Second Chamber of Prussian Diet; Kinkel is elected
1849	
24 February	Kinkel leaves Bonn in order to join the Prussian Diet in Berlin
February	Carl Schurz, alongside Johanna Kinkel, becomes the leading editor of the <i>Bonner Zeitung</i>
8 March	Kinkel's first Parliament speech which is published by the <i>Bonner Zeitung</i> on 15 March 1849
18 March	First Anniversary of Berlin March Revolution: <i>Bonner Zeitung</i> publishes Kinkel's article describing a journey to the graves of the dead soldiers of the March revolution
30 March	Kinkel's suspension from Bonn University
12 April	Johanna Kinkel and the children follow their husband and father to Berlin
3 May	Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel, and the four children move back to Bonn
May	Prussian Diet (Berlin) and German National Assembly (Frankfurt) are dissolved
10 May	<i>Siegburger Zeughaussturm</i> , Gottfried Kinkel escapes from military
20 May	Johanna Kinkel takes editorship of the <i>Bonner Zeitung</i>
12 July	Kinkel is unseated as a professor
20 June	Kinkel joins the <i>Companie Besançon</i> and joins the revolutionaries on the battlefield in Baden
2 July	Kinkel is injured during a battle in Küppenheim, near Rastatt, and is arrested
3 July	Johanna Kinkel visits Kinkel in Rastatt; she writes the Lied 'Der gefangene Freischärler'
July	several appeals for clemencies in favour of Kinkel
4 August	Kinkel's trial at court; sentence is declared invalid on 12 August 1849
12 August	Johanna meets Gottfried in order to discuss guardianship of children; Johanna is appointed the sole guardian; Johanna's father and the friends Hermann Schauenburg and Carl Fresenius, or Hermann Velten, should the non-Prussian Carl Fresenius not be eligible, are appointed guardians, too
30 September	Official sentence: lifelong imprisonment in a penitentiary, not in a civil prison
8 October	Kinkel arrives in Naugard penitentiary
1850	
12 April 1850	Kinkel is brought to Cologne for a trial on <i>Siegburger Zeughaussturm</i>
29 April–2 May	Kinkel's trial; sentence: acquittal for <i>Siegburger Zeughaussturm</i> , on the way back Gottfried Kinkel tries to escape, but is caught and relocated to Spandau
6 November	Kinkel's escape from Spandau to London
1851	
23 January	Johanna Kinkel and the children arrive in London
1851	

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 152. 'Eine Staatsform, in welcher der Wille des Volkes zur Geltung kommt und zum lebensbeherrschenden Gesetze wird'.

As Kinkel mainly gathered craftsmen, traders and students around him in the *Demokratischen Verein* (Democratic Society, founded on 31 May 1848), the social distance between him and his original class grew. Kinkel's public advocacy for the lower class caused new social challenges with former friends who did not approve of the Kinkels' socialist turn.⁴⁷ Along with Carl Schurz (1829–1906), a republican student, Kinkel joined the radical left-wing democrats. Kinkel's political career took further shape when he appealed publically for tax refusal on 15 November 1848 in Bonn. The Bonn mayor Oppenhoff, who had joined Gottfried Kinkel in an enthusiastic speech favouring a united Germany on 20 March 1848 shortly after the Berlin March Revolution and whose daughter Angela Oppenhoff had been one of Johanna's closest friends until she got married to Gottfried, made a report to the prosecution and wanted to arrest Kinkel. Kinkel's political significance attracted the officials' attention. The academic senate and rector asked for Kinkel's punishment based on his fanatical instigation of the lower class. The report, which was sent to the *Königliche Ministerium für Unterricht* (Royal Ministry for Education) on 9 December 1848, also stated that the *Bonner Zeitung*, under Kinkel's editorship since 6 August 1848, was:

an inexhaustible storehouse of attacks on the government, of aspersions, derisive misrepresentations, and encomia of the red republic, as the highest aim of the human race, of more or less hidden incitements to disobedience, resistance and rebellion against the official forces.⁴⁸

So far Johanna Kinkel had supported the revolution only passively by looking after the household and the four children, born on 11 July 1844 (Gottfried), 8 August 1845 (Johanna), 12 August 1846 (Adelheid), and 29 July 1848 (Hermann). When Johanna gave birth to her fourth child, Hermann, Gottfried Kinkel was supposed to attend a discussion with the craftsmen and traders. His absence from this discussion was

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 158.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 165. 'Es ist ein unerschöpfliches Magazin von Angriffen auf die Regierung, von Verleumdungen, hämischen Verdrehungen und Entstellungen von Lobpreisungen der rothen Republik, als des höchsten Ziels der Menschheit, von bald mehr, bald weniger versteckten Aufforderungen zu Ungehorsam, zur Widersetzlichkeit, zur Empörung gegen die gesetzlichen Gewalten'.

received with understanding. However, only a few days later, he left his wife and attended the *Demokratenkongress für Rheinland und Westfalen* (Democrats' Congress of the Rhineland and Westphalia), at which he met Karl Marx (1818–1883) for the first time; a disappointing encounter for both Kinkel and Schurz as they disliked Marx's arrogance and unwillingness to compromise.⁴⁹ Johanna had stepped back in favour of her husband's educational and political travels, although she mentioned her longing for more intellectual activity in numerous letters to her friends.⁵⁰ The political tone of the time also sounded in the Kinkels' home. Hermann Hüffer (1830–1905), Johanna Kinkel's friend Julie Hüffer's (1809–1879) son, who visited Bonn in 1848 and received piano and singing lessons from Johanna, recalled that Kinkel's children sang the Marseillaise at home. According to Monica Klaus, Johanna Kinkel's composition 'Von der Bürgerwache' (About the Vigilance Committee) was not only sung by her own children, but became a popular tune of the Bonn middle class.⁵¹ Johanna Kinkel's involvement with politics, however, assumed new dimensions when numerous intrigues and aspersions had caused the loss of all her piano students.⁵² On 6 December 1848 she published her 'Demokratenlied' (Democrats' Song), which advocates the fight for a republic, in the *Bonner Zeitung*; shortly after, on 16 December 1848, her song was published by Sulzbach, ready for prompt distribution. At the beginning of 1849, Gottfried Kinkel was elected as a representative to join the *Zweite Kammer* of the *Preußischen Landtag* (Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet). He left Bonn on 24 February 1849, as a result of which Johanna Kinkel expanded her journalistic activity

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 160–61.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 134.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 164. Johanna Kinkel, 'Von der Bürgerwache' is included in *Anleitung zum Singen* (Mainz: Schott, 1849), hereafter referred to as Kinkel, *Anleitung zum Singen*. It tells the story of a man going out to war from his son's point of view. The son, who still likes sitting on the mother's knee, promises to himself that, 'once he is grown-up, he will fly the flag in black, gold and red and die for the sake of freedom'. 'Jetzt sitz' ich gern noch auf dem Schoß, doch das wird anders bin ich einmal groß, dann schwing' ich hoch die Fahne schwarzgoldroth und für die Freiheit geh ich in den Tod'.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 165–66.

with the *Bonner Zeitung*.⁵³ Johanna acted as a correspondent between Berlin and Bonn and published many of Gottfried's writings in the *Bonner Zeitung*. In April 1849, Johanna, along with the four children and the two housemaids, followed her husband to Berlin.⁵⁴ However, the Kinkels moved back to Bonn when the Prussian Diet was closed on 3 May 1849 following a gunfight. Out of disappointment about the failure of the left wing in both Frankfurt National Assembly and Prussian Diet, the democrats, including Gottfried Kinkel and Carl Schurz, met on 9 May 1849 and prepared the *Siegburger Zeughaussturm*, which took place on 10 May 1849 and failed due to a bad strategy of the revolutionaries. Gottfried Kinkel escaped from the Prussian troops and never returned home. In a letter from 11 May 1849, Gottfried begged Johanna for her love and her respect.⁵⁵ Johanna, who, on 20 May 1849 had taken over the editorship of the *Bonner Zeitung* since Carl Schurz's departure on 9 May, tried to make a living by writing for different newspapers such as the Cologne paper *Wächter am Rhein*, and by publishing some of her own and Gottfried's novellas and poems as well as her singing school for children.⁵⁶ Despite the increasing disapproval of her parents, Johanna engaged in politics very actively and used the *Bonner Zeitung* as her vehicle in order to respond to public aspersions, in which she was described as a 'spectre' contaminating her husband.⁵⁷ Johanna's increasing courage in taking a public political position is also reflected by numerous critical articles in which she suggested a new dictionary of political terms as well as two paragraphs of the new constitution, namely '§ 1. The king

⁵³ This was not Johanna Kinkel's first journalistic endeavour as she, according to Paul Kaufmann (Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild', p. 292), created the *Endenicher Wochenblatt*, a weekly magazine including short literary works, as early as 1830. She also wrote two *Endenicher Modejournale* (Stadtarchiv Bonn, SN 94/253); journals containing small pencil drawings and humorous literary works, in July 1835 and 1839, respectively. Like the *Maikäfer* journals, those journals are handwritten and should therefore be considered semi-public as they were not circulated among the public.

⁵⁴ See Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 495.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 503. 'Daß du mir deine Liebe nicht entziehst, weiß ich, aber laß auch deine Achtung nicht sinken: mein Fehler war, daß ich meinem Volk einen Funken von Ehrgefühl zutraute, und dieser Fehler ist, [...] vergebenswürdig'.

⁵⁶ See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 183. In 1849, Cotta published the novellas in *Erzählungen von Gottfried und Johanna Kinkel* and the poems in *Gedichte von Gottfried Kinkel*; Sulzbach published Johanna's children's story *Dä Hond on dat Eechhorn – ü Verzellcher für Blahge*.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

orders. § 2. The people obey'.⁵⁸ As the revolutionary movement was about to get stopped by the military, Gottfried Kinkel joined the militia, *Companie Besançon*, on 20 June 1849 in order to fight on the battlefield, a decision which brought a prompt end to Kinkel's escape from the Prussian troops.⁵⁹ On 2 July 1849, Kinkel was injured and caught in a fight in Küppenheim near Rastatt, where he had fought alongside Friedrich Engels (1829–1895).⁶⁰ On 3 July Johanna visited Gottfried Kinkel in prison in Karlsruhe, after which she composed her Lied 'Der gefangene Freischärler' (The Imprisoned Voluntary Soldier).⁶¹ When Kinkel's imprisonment was discussed publicly in various newspapers, numerous friends and associations advocated an appeal for clemency, to be signed and sent to the Prince of Prussia.⁶² Also Johanna wrote a petition in which she reminded the Princess of Prussia of their first encounter ten years earlier, when Kinkel had entertained the young princess with piano music while her portrait was being painted.⁶³ On 4 August 1849 Gottfried Kinkel's trial was opened. On 11 August 1849, he was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment and was transferred to a different prison building which granted him better living conditions. In a letter to Johanna dated 12 August 1849, Gottfried expressed his happiness about his transfer to 'a bright room in the Bastion 30', and the 'pleasure to sleep in linen and to sit on a chair at a table'.⁶⁴ On the same day, Johanna was allowed to visit Gottfried in order to arrange the children's guardianship. As the sentence from 12 August was declared not valid once it was approved by the officials in Berlin, a new sentence was voiced by the Berlin

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 186.

⁵⁹ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 552.

⁶⁰ See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 192.

⁶¹ Johanna Kinkel shared this poem with Gottfried in a letter dated 7 July 1849. Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, pp. 264–65. A score manuscript is not included in Kinkel's legacy.

⁶² See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, pp. 192–93.

⁶³ Johanna Kinkel, *Gesuch an die Prinzessin von Preußen*, 4 July 1849, ULB 2407.

⁶⁴ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, p. 584. 'Mein gestriger Geburtstag brachte mir drei Freuden auf einmal. Erstlich wurde ich [...] in ein helles Zimmer auf der Bastion 30 versetzt, und hatte [...] den Genuß, in Leintüchern zu schlafen und auf einem Stuhl an einem Tisch zu sitzen'.

authorities on 30 September 1849.⁶⁵ It scheduled life imprisonment in a penitentiary rather than in a civil jail, which meant Gottfried Kinkel's transfer to Naugard in Pomerania, where he arrived on 8 October 1849.⁶⁶ The Kinkels' fate had evoked a great deal of sympathy among the Bonn public including the *Handwerkerbildungsverein* (Craftsmen's Educational Association), which helped Johanna, and, more importantly, her children.⁶⁷ As Monica Klaus points out, Johanna Kinkel's friendships with emancipated women such as Kathinka Zitz (1801–1877) and Malwida von Meysenbug (1816–1903) were of great moral value for Johanna.⁶⁸ In an important step towards a return to every-day life, Johanna Kinkel started teaching again in November 1849, which enabled her to make a living less dependent on donations and funds. On 6 November 1849, Johanna wrote to Gottfried that 'besides the childcare, the return to my profession as a teacher has brightened up my days'. When Johanna took on teaching hours in Cologne, her methods gained popularity, which brought back many of her old Bonn pupils.⁶⁹ At the same time, Johanna developed plans to free her husband. These plans surfaced already in her first letter to Gottfried, in which she used a secret codified language. She used nicknames and included hints at dramatic performances which covered hidden messages:

According to my calculations, the Millenbim'sche matter should be fine; now that I have received Cotta's honorarium, I should be able to get the loan. I am currently undertaking research in order to make sure that the money will be beneficial to the old man himself rather

⁶⁵ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 199.

⁶⁶ On 11 October 1849, Gottfried stressed that he is now in a penitentiary rather than a jail, which meant a much harder treatment. Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, pp. 612–13. 'Ich schreibe dir nicht aus dem Gefängnisse, sondern aus dem Zuchthause. [...] Demnoch wurde mir [...] Haar und Bart geschoren, meine Kleidung genommen, und die Züchtlingskleidung angelegt. [...] Man nahm mir alle meine Sachen, das Härteste war die Wegnahme deines Traurings, den ich noch durch alle Chancen mir gerettet hatte'. Underline in original.

⁶⁷ See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 206. In a letter dated 7 July 1849, Johanna informed Gottfried that '[their] children are now being showered with caresses'. Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, p. 564. 'Jetzt gar überschüttet man unsere Kinder mit Liebkosungen. Vor ein paar Tagen schickte der Klempner H. (dein Vertrauensmann) ihnen viel schöne Spielsachen zum Geschenk'.

⁶⁸ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 205.

⁶⁹ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, p. 642 'Außer der Kinderpflege ist mir eine tröstliche Tageszeit dadurch geworden, daß ich wieder zu meinem Lehrerberuf zurückgekehrt bin. Seit es ruckbar wurde, daß ich nach Cöln berufen war, um Stunden zu geben, beeilten sich in Bonn wieder viele Leute, um mich hier zu halten'.

than his greedy creditors. [...] Recently I was at Wohlstadt's beneficiary concert: "Moliere, oder das Leben eines Schauspielers." [...] Muuz played the rejected petitioner [...]. Muuz has my full support. It is also smart of him to adapt to any role. That's the best way of disarming the direction, if they try to victimise him.⁷⁰

Millenbim was the nickname of Gottfried and Johanna's son; Muuz was Gottfried's nickname. Johanna tried to tell Gottfried in this message that she had saved enough money for the escape and that he should not offer resistance to the officials in order not to arouse suspicion. Johanna also made contact with Carl Schurz, who had managed to escape to Switzerland in July 1849 and who agreed to help her free Gottfried.⁷¹ Johanna was sent a sketch of the prison so that she knew about possible escapes, but she had also planned to visit Gottfried in Naugard in April 1850.⁷² This visit, however, did not happen as Gottfried was called to the Cologne Court in relation to his involvement with the *Siegburger Zeughaussturm*.⁷³ He arrived in Cologne on 13 April 1850 and met Johanna on 19 April, ten days before the trial was opened, which concluded with an acquittal for all participants at the rebellion.⁷⁴ When Gottfried was transferred back to Naugard, he tried to escape, but the attempt failed because, unexpectedly, he was brought to a prison in Spandau rather than back to Naugard.⁷⁵ Johanna's attempt to visit Spandau also failed, because the prison director Jeserich did not grant her permission to see Gottfried.⁷⁶ Upon a second request, Johanna's Berlin friend Leopold von Henning sent a letter to the Minister Otto Theodor Freiherr von Manteuffel (1805–1882), in

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 785–88. 'Meiner Berechnung nach, muß jetzt, wo das Cotta'sche Honorar in meinen Händen ist, durch ein leicht zu beschaffendes Darlehen die Summe sich herstellen lassen, die mir nöthig scheint, um die Millenbim'sche Sache zu ordnen. Um sicher zu sein, daß es dem Alten selber zu Gute kommt, und nicht seinen wuchersüchtigen Gläubigern in die Hände fällt, bin ich eben im Begriffe die nöthigen Erkundigungen einzuziehn. [...] Neulich war ich in Wohlstadt's Benefiz: 'Moliere, oder das Leben eines Schauspielers.' [...] Muuz spielte den abgewiesenen Bittsteller [...] Muuz hat sehr meinen Beifall. Auch ist es klug von ihm, daß er sich in jede Rolle schickt. Er entwaffnet damit am besten die Regie, wenn sie ihn zu chikaniren denkt.'

⁷¹ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 214.

⁷² Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, pp. 903–05.

⁷³ See Gottfried's letters to Johanna dated 12 April 1850, and 14 April 1850, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, pp. 980 and 984.

⁷⁴ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 218.

⁷⁵ See Gottfried's letter to Johanna dated 20 May 1850, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, p. 997.

⁷⁶ See Johanna's letter to Gottfried dated 4 June 1850, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, p. 1002.

which Kinkel's bad treatment was outlined.⁷⁷ Manteuffel's urge to give an account of Kinkel's current situation resulted in even worse treatment, as Jeserich emphasised Johanna's evil influence on her husband and Gottfried's unregenerate and unrepentant attitude.⁷⁸ During the following months, Johanna suffered a great deal from the disgraceful treatment of her husband, although he tried to appease her in his letters.⁷⁹ Many friends visited Johanna in order to support her psychologically and financially. Marie von Bruiningk (1818–1853), who met Gottfried Kinkel in 1847 and had since been fascinated by his political involvement, helped out financially; Kathinka Zitz, Adolf Strodtmann (1829–1879) and Friedrich Althaus (1829–1897) visited in order to help with the household and the children and to give Johanna moral support.⁸⁰ In August 1850, Carl Schurz, equipped with money from Johanna, was sent off to Berlin in order to free Gottfried. Schurz arrived in Berlin on 11 August 1850 and got in touch with Johanna's confederates. This is how he met the Spandau Gastwirth Krüger, in whose tavern some of the prison guards used to socialise.⁸¹ At the end of September 1850, Schurz met the Spandau prison guard Georg Brune, who agreed to help Schurz to free Kinkel.⁸² Schurz collected the money which Johanna had sent to Rebecka Dirichlet and on 6 November Carl Schurz, aka Heribert Jüssen, along with Georg Brune, freed Gottfried Kinkel.⁸³ The escape was conducted via Strelitz and Warnemünde to Rostock, from where Kinkel and Schurz took Moritz Wiggers's ship, 'Kleine Anna' (Small Anna) for Scotland on 17 November 1850. On 9 November 1850 Kinkel informed Johanna about the good news: 'Don't be afraid. We are loaded with money'.⁸⁴ Shortly after, Johanna, who had spread the rumour that Gottfried had escaped to America, met

⁷⁷ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 223.

⁷⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 225–27.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

⁸¹ Carl Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen bis zum Jahre 1852* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906/11), pp. 192–229. Hereafter referred to as Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen*.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁸⁴ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, III, p. 1079. 'Bes net bang. habemus geld wie heu', Bonn dialect for 'Sei nicht bange. Wir haben Geld wie Heu'.

Schurz and Gottfried in Paris, where she could finally ‘feel like a wife’. She complained that ‘here I have been the only man in the household’.⁸⁵ Back in Bonn on 21 December 1850, Johanna was confronted with four sick children and a mother who reproached her for acting carelessly. Gottfried returned to London on 12 January 1851. Johanna conducted a police questioning on 11 January 1851 without any inconvenient consequence. She followed Gottfried on 19 January 1851, along with her four children and Carl Schurz’s younger sister Toni Schurz.⁸⁶ In a letter from 19 January 1851, Gottfried Kinkel’s oldest son, Gottfried (jun.), writes: ‘Today we are coming. Your son Gottfried’.⁸⁷ The sailing took four days and Gottfried Kinkel greeted his happy but exhausted family on 23 January at the London harbour.⁸⁸

Whereas Johanna looked after the household, the four children and the visitors, Gottfried turned toward politics again. On 13 March 1851, when a number of French and German exiles, the *European Democrats’ Central Committee*, met in order to discuss mutual revolutionary interests in London, Gottfried Kinkel, along with some others, was disappointed at the French predominance at the gathering and founded the *Ausschuss für deutsche Angelegenheiten* (Committee for German Affairs).⁸⁹ This committee discussed the possibility of a national loan, which set the ball rolling for Gottfried Kinkel’s travels to the USA. Kinkel left London on 2 September 1851, leaving behind Johanna with the household, which, according to Johanna ‘nearly turned to a commission office for refugees seeking work’.⁹⁰ Furthermore, she was ‘so busy dealing with others’ affairs that my own issues are being left completely unconsidered’.⁹¹ Besides Kinkel’s voluntary work for friends, mutual friends or like-minded people sent

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 1090. ‘Ach, aber das Mäuschen wird im Himmel sein, wenn es sich an Deinem festen Herzen wieder Weib fühlen darf. Hier war ich längst der einzige Mann im Hause’.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 1132.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 1134. ‘Heute kommen wir. Dein Sohn Gottfried’.

⁸⁸ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 247.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 254–55.

⁹⁰ Kinkel cited after *ibid.*, p. 259. ‘Dazu ist mein Haus fast zum Commissionsbureau arbeitssuchender Flüchtlinge geworden’.

⁹¹ Kinkel cited after *ibid.*, p. 259. ‘Und ich bin so sehr mit fremden Angelegenheiten beschäftigt, daß die eigenen dabei ganz unberücksichtigt bleiben müssen’.

by the party, she also gave singing classes and piano lessons in order to make a living, which further restricted her spare time and thereby did not allow for any high-level artistic activity.⁹² In a letter from 30 July 1851, Kinkel complained to Fanny Lewald (1811–1889) that several visits ‘distract me from work and absorb all my energy’.⁹³ In a letter to Lewald dated 25 November 1851, Kinkel expressed her gratitude for being sick, as that allowed her to stay in bed and write the letter rather than looking after the household. She then regretted that she was ‘buried alive with all my talents, just like a duty machine’.⁹⁴ While Gottfried was in America, trying to collect money for the party and the revolution in Germany, Johanna struggled with money issues, caused by the exuberant lifestyle of her friends and the people passing through her house.⁹⁵ Her friendship with Carl Schurz broke down completely when he played her Erard piano without asking for permission.⁹⁶ Carl and his sister Toni preferred the wealthy genteel Marie von Bruiningk’s salon life, in which financial issues were unknown and which was open for daily and nightly entertainment. Johanna’s social seclusion was received with disappointment.⁹⁷ Hoping to concentrate on the children’s education, Johanna asked her husband to leave the political stage in favour of a more private life:

When you come home, is our house going to be like a marketplace again? Am I supposed to be a clothes rail, to represent the Kinkel family on the couch, to entertain visitors on tenterhooks, while *such* children are being neglected?⁹⁸

Furthermore, she reminded Gottfried several times of their children’s talents and encouraged him to ‘ask your heart if it is allowed to distance itself from these children

⁹² Ibid., p. 260.

⁹³ Fanny Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder nach dem Leben, Erinnerungen von Fanny Lewald* (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1888), p. 12. ‘Die einzige Schattenseite sind die unzähligen Besuche, die uns an der Arbeit hindern und die Kräfte verzehren’. Hereafter referred to as Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder*.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 13. ‘Ich bin mit allen meinen Talenten lebendig begraben, nur noch eine Pflichtmaschine’.

⁹⁵ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 272.

⁹⁶ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, III, p. 1234.

⁹⁷ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 276.

⁹⁸ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Gottfried Kinkel dated 10 January 1850, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, III, p. 1245, Italics in original. ‘Wenn du wiederkehrst, soll dann wieder unser Haus einem Marktplatz gleichen? Muß ich wieder als Haubenstock dienen, auf dem Sofa repräsentieren, auf glühenden Kohlen Visiten unterhalten, während *solche* Kinder verwahrlosen?’.

again'.⁹⁹ It must have pleased Johanna that, when Gottfried returned to London on 8 March 1852, the party was quarrelling and many of her friends were about to emigrate or had already emigrated to the USA as they feared a brutal ending of the revolutionary plans after the defeat of the French revolutionaries on 2 December 1851.¹⁰⁰ As Monica Klaus puts it, Johanna's problem seemed to solve itself when Carl Schurz got married on 7 July 1852 and moved to the USA shortly after, along with his sister and parents.¹⁰¹ Now Johanna and Gottfried were able to enjoy family life. Gottfried taught the children and, in April 1853, he was assigned six presentations on the history of art at the university, which, besides the increasing number of Johanna's piano and singing students, also eased the Kinkels' financial situation.¹⁰² Johanna was now able to turn toward London musical life, on which she commented in several of her writings, such as *Erziehungswesen in London*, *Musikalisches aus London*, *Briefe aus London* and *Musikalische Zustände und deutsche Musiker in London*, the latter of which summarised the previous three essays and was published in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* in June 1853.¹⁰³ She also published the English version of her *Anleitung zum Singen* (op. 22) in 1852.¹⁰⁴

1.5 London: 1851–58

Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810–1876) included the following verse in his burial poem for Johanna Kinkel:

We lower you down to the grave
Like a comrade in arms;
You are lying on the strangers' baulk,

⁹⁹ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Gottfried Kinkel dated 10 January 1850, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, III, p. 1245. 'Und frage dann dein Herz, ob es sich von diesen Kindern nochmals lösen darf'.

¹⁰⁰ See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 278.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 284–85.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

¹⁰⁴ The year 1852 is stated on the original publication, Johanna Kinkel, *Songs for Little Children: English Words Adapted to Madame Kinkel's German "Kindergesangsschule"* (London: n. publ., 1852).

As if shot by the enemy;
Exile, too, is a battlefield;
You have been killed in action.¹⁰⁵

What did Freiligrath mean when he spoke of exile as a ‘battlefield’? In addition to Johanna Kinkel’s decline in health as a result of both physical and mental exhaustion, the early London years were full of moral disappointments. The ever-lasting financial issues, worries about piano students and increasing numbers of refugees seeking help wore down Johanna’s nerves, a development which is also reflected in the Kinkels’ correspondence. Each summer, the Kinkels spent a few weeks’ holiday by the sea, during which Johanna’s health improved and which were also used for literary activities. The winters, however, and the general conditions of her life, turned Johanna into a sick and desperate woman. Both physical weakness, caused by an increasingly bad heart condition and heavy bronchitis, and mental distraction, effected by Johanna’s sensitiveness to fatigue and neuritis from which she had never recovered after her first marriage, robbed her of energy. In a letter to Gottfried dated 1 January 1852, Johanna complained about adynamia, constant flus and fevers which resulted from financial household issues. Despite the wet climate Johanna did not use the heating in order to save money. She also abstained from a glass of red wine in the evenings, although the doctor had recommended red wine for her recovery.¹⁰⁶ While Johanna only looked after herself and the family in the summertime, numerous visitors stole her time and leisure during the winters, her disapproval of which she mentioned in a letter to Gottfried on 5 February 1854:

¹⁰⁵ Ferdinand Freiligrath cited after Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder*, p. 32. ‘Wir senken in die Gruft dich ein | wie einen Kampfgenossen | Du liegst auf diesem fremden Rain | wie jäh vor’m Feind erschossen | Ein Schlachtfeld auch ist das Exil | auf dem bist du gefallen’.

¹⁰⁶ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, III, p. 1232.

If I only had time to tarry a while to focus on myself! But now everything is urgent, everybody who needs me is in a great rush. I speed up and force myself to please the other people, and this only makes things worse.¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, Gottfried's numerous lecture tours to Manchester and Edinburgh, during which he was admired and approached by young women, caused doubt and distrust within the Kinkels' relationship. Johanna Kinkel, however, remained silent about her disappointment in her husband, which she voiced privately in some letters to Gottfried.¹⁰⁸ When, on 15 November 1858, Johanna Kinkel was found dead under the widely-opened window of her bedroom, investigators concluded in haste that Johanna must have committed suicide.¹⁰⁹ This assumption, however, was revised by the doctor, who stated that Johanna Kinkel did not suffer from any kind of insanity or depression. The post-mortem showed that Johanna Kinkel's heart was twice the normal size and the official conclusion was that Kinkel was 'killed by an accidental fall from a window forty-eight feet high'.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, some of Gottfried Kinkel's political counterparts, such as Friedrich Engels or Karl Marx, tried to connect Johanna Kinkel's death with her husband's excessive lifestyle during the 1850s.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 1334. 'Hätte ich nur Zeit, einen Moment abzuwarten, mich zu sammeln! Aber nun drängt Alles, jeder Mensch hat die größte Eile, der mich eben braucht. Ich sporne, zwinge mich, es den Leuten recht zu machen, und es wird nur schlimmer dadurch'.

¹⁰⁸ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, pp. 296–99.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 324.

¹¹⁰ Certificate of Death of the General Register Office, England, cited after Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 325.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 326.

CHAPTER 2: JOHANNA KINKEL'S MUSIC-PEDAGOGICAL ACTIVITIES

2.1 Kinkel and the *Bonner Gesangverein*

Following on from Johanna Kinkel's family life, her willingness to step back in favour of her husband's political activity deserves special attention. However, Kinkel did not completely give up her desire to engage in arts, particularly music. Her love of music is reflected not only during the Berlin years, but also in her pursuit of a musical career in Bonn, where she attended salon gatherings and the meetings of the *Maikäferbund*. The most remarkable musical engagement in Bonn, however, is Kinkel's activity as a conductor of the *Bonner Gesangverein*, the diary of which Kinkel wrote down from memory when she lived in London during the winter of 1851/52 – at least four years after the singing association had been closed.¹ According to Kinkel, there is no evidence of an official foundation of the *Bonner Gesangverein*.² At the beginning, only a few people met for musical practice on an irregular basis. In 1827, the first initiative was taken by Kinkel's teacher Franz Ries, who invited some of his students, namely Johanna Kinkel, Auguste Haskarl, and Valeria Schram, to his house in order to have them perform pieces recently learned. Some families whose daughters were students of Ries's formed musical circles during which light ensemble pieces and operatic extracts were performed. Ries was responsible for the selection and practice of the piano works, whereas Johanna chose and rehearsed the vocal repertoire. After a while, Ries participated only as an audience member, passing on criticism and remarks after each performance. Kinkel became the leading director of the choir. The choir then met on

¹ See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, pp. 285–86.

² Johanna Kinkel, *Notizen den Gesangverein betreffend*, n. d., ULB S2400, p. 22. Hereafter referred to as Kinkel, *Notizen den Gesangverein betreffend*.

Sunday mornings at Kinkel's house. For a long time, it had been regretted that visiting artists were rarely able to perform a decent concert as the support from local artists was too small.³ Kinkel aimed for a learned repertoire of operatic pieces for the *Gesangverein* in order to have something to perform on occasional summer concerts. Whereas this project did not really work because of differences of opinion between Kinkel and the students' parents, some other concerts supporting the *Frauenverein* (Women's Society) were performed with great enthusiasm by the *Gesangverein*. During Kinkel's time in Berlin (1836–39), the *Verein* held the meetings under the guidance of randomly selected directors. When Kinkel returned from Berlin in 1839 she again took over the leadership. In her notes on the *Gesangverein*, Kinkel complained that in 1848/49, 'the revolutionary conversations overshadowed all musical interests', which finally led to the disbanding of the choral association.⁴ In her writings, Kinkel recalls that at the end of March 1848, 'there has been more politicising than singing for some Saturdays'.⁵ The last piece that was planned to be performed was Louis Spohr's opera *Der Berggeist*. Rehearsals started on 2 October 1847, and the piano reduction was distributed in mid-February 1848. The performance was scheduled for mid-February, too. It never took place. After the final rehearsal of *Der Berggeist*, Kinkel decided to close down the choir:

In the last rehearsal of *Der Berggeist* the result of many members being absent led to fatally insecure vocal entries and to a very shoddy performance in general. Most of the members thought they would not need so many rehearsals, others hoped that the members who had practiced ambitiously would carry them. [...] I issued a circular to soloists informing them that the opportunity to perform depended upon punctual attendance at the final (private) solo rehearsals. I asked them if they would be willing to show up at a certain time. All of them pledged to do so. Nevertheless the first soprano cancelled shortly before the rehearsal because she had just received an invitation for tea at 7pm. (Our rehearsal took place, however, between 3–5pm). This is only one example of the unreliability and indifference with which the majority of the members have tried my patience. This is why I decided not only to abandon this

³ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴ Ibid., p. 77. 'Später überwucherten die Revolutionsgespräche alle musikalischen Interessen'.

⁵ Ibid., p. 77. 'Es wird mehr politisiert als gesungen seit einigen Samstagen'.

performance, but to give up the whole choir as the results counterbalance the effort which I put into keeping it together.⁶

The choir reached a total of 136 members over the course of twenty years. A remarkable number of people joined in 1834, which could be related to an increasing social relevance of the choir. However, while Kinkel was in Berlin the attendance shrank from 1836 to 1839 and the *Verein* was nearly decimated by the time Kinkel returned to Bonn. In the choir's notes, she complains that she could not even 'form a vocal quartet as every voice had already been engaged somewhere else'.⁷ From then on, the choir expanded more and more. One reason for this growth could be Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel's extra-musical activities with the *Maikäfer*. Some of the *Maikäfer* members, such as Carl Fresenius (1818–1897), who joined the choir in 1839, or Jacob Burckhardt, who was accepted in 1843, seemed to feel attracted by Johanna's musical ambitions. In 1846, the choir consisted of thirty-three to thirty-four members, depending on which piece was being performed.⁸ A full list of members of the *Bonner Gesangverein*, as well as each individual's membership years can be found in appendix A at the end of volume two of this thesis.

As appendix A shows, Valeria Schram, an alto singer, is the only founding member who stayed to the very end; she also hosted a concert on 9 February 1836. Despite her outstanding faith and reliability, she never performed a solo with the *Verein*.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 79–81. Underline in original. 'In der letzten Probe des *Berggeist* stellten sich die Folgen des häufigen Ausbleibens vieler Mitglieder durch eine fatale Unsicherheit im Einfallen, wie durch einen überaus plumpen Vortrag heraus. Die meisten hatten sich eingebildet, sie bedürften nicht so viele Proben, andre hofften, von denjenigen mit durchgeschleppt zu werden, die fleißiger geübt hatten als sie. [...] Ich hatte ein Zirkular zu allen Solisten gesandt, darin mitgetheilt daß von dem pünktlichen Besuch der letzten (Privat-)probstunden die Möglichkeit der Aufführung abhinge, und angefragt ob sie bereit seyen zur bestimmten Stunde zu erscheinen. Alle verpflichteten sich durch ihre Unterschrift. Trotz dem ließ kurz vor der Probe die erste Sopranistin wieder absagen, weil sie eben eine Einladung auf 7 Uhr zum Thee erhalten hätte. (Unsere Probe aber fand von 3 bis 5 Uhr statt.) Dies ist nur ein Beispiel von der Unzuverlässigkeit und Gleichgültigkeit, mit der die Mehrzahl der Mitglieder seit längerer Zeit meine Geduld ermüdet hatten. Ich beschloß also, nicht blos diese eine Aufführung, sondern den Verein überhaupt dran zu geben, da die Resultate desselben ferner in gar keinem Verhältnis mehr zu den Opfern stehn, mit denen ich ihn bisher zu erhalten strebte'.

⁷ Ibid., p. 34. 'Nicht einmal ein Gesangsquartett konnte ich im Sommer 1839 mehr zu Stande bringen, da jede Stimme schon anderswo engagirt war'.

⁸ Gottfried Kinkel, *An die Mitglieder des Gesangvereins unter Leitung der Frau Kinkel*, 1846, ULB S2374, p. 2. Hereafter referred to as Kinkel, *An die Mitglieder des Gesangvereins*.

A very good singer, who, at that time, was also one of Kinkel's closest friends, was Angela Oppenhoff, an alto singer who joined the choir in 1834 and did not leave until the *Verein* was closed. No other singer was assigned as many solo roles as Angela Oppenhoff. Perhaps as a proof of Kinkel's affection for her, she referred to her by her first name in the choir's notes, and dedicated to her the *Lieder* op. 6 (published in 1839). The Oppenhoffs also hosted two concerts in 1835 and 1836. When Johanna converted to the Protestant faith and became engaged to Gottfried Kinkel, the relationship between Johanna Kinkel and Angela Oppenhoff cooled down, as Oppenhoff did not show much understanding for Kinkel.⁹

The male singers did not have as much stamina as the women. The longest membership is assigned to the bass Karl Wilhelm Lucas who joined in 1829 and stayed eleven years; he too occasionally hosted concerts and rehearsals. Later on Carl Fresenius (bass) and Letellier (bass) appeared to have the most stamina. While Fresenius never performed a solo, it seems that Letellier was a high-quality singer, as he sang numerous soli and performed in small vocal ensembles. Finally, Kinkel herself performed piano sonatas quite regularly, mostly by Beethoven. However, apart from the first performances of the circle under Ries's leadership, Kinkel performed very rarely as a singer. She joined the choir as an alto singer for former member Luise Nörner's funeral on 10 July 1847, which shows both Kinkel's close relationship to the members and her decency. Although Gottfried Kinkel never officially joined the choir as a singer or a pianist, he read the dialogues of the *Singspiel Otto der Schütz* in March 1842 and he also played the piano reduction of Weber's *Oberon* on 9 March 1845. However, there is no record of him being an extraordinarily good pianist, and his lack of musicality was mentioned by Johanna Kinkel on various occasions.¹⁰

⁹ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 120.

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 107.

At the beginning, performances were held in different venues, rotating among a group of families who invited the choir to their houses. Besides the Mockels' (Kinkel's) house, Auguste Haskarl, Valeria Schram and the Breuers offered their houses for these occasions. In 1843, there were ten such family venues available for small performances of the *Verein*.¹¹ When Johanna married Gottfried in 1843, she moved to the *Poppelsdorfer Schloss*, where Gottfried had been resident. This new residence, including the concert room of the Botanical Gardens behind the manor house, was much bigger and enabled an expansion of both choir and audience. It was used for regular performances of the *Bonner Gesangverein* until 10 October 1846. As the choir had grown to a considerable number of members, big venues had to be used for the last two public performances in 1847. Marschner's opera *Hans Heiling* was performed in the *Oberer Rathaussaal* and Händel's *Israel in Egypt* was carried out in the *Lesegesellschaftssaal*.

The repertoire of the *Gesangverein* changed along with Johanna Kinkel's personal development. Appendix B provides an overview of the repertoire performed by the *Bonner Gesangverein*.¹² As can be seen in appendix B, the first couple of years were filled with rather light music composed by Hummel, Ries, Auber, Boieldieu and Paer; Kinkel refers to the performances of the latter three of these as 'sins'.¹³ Furthermore, the operas and oratorios of Beethoven, Mozart, Händel, and Carl Maria von Weber were performed frequently throughout the choir's history. Beethoven's piano sonatas were revived by Johanna Kinkel whenever there was an interval to be covered or when rehearsals were attended too badly to enable a full choir rehearsal. In Kinkel's novel *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, the main protagonist Ida discovers a passion for Gluck, whom

¹¹ The ten venues are: Mockel, Schram, Breuer, Haskarl, Freitag, Frowein, Lucas, Müller, Quadt, and Oppenhoff. Furthermore, there were such special concerts as the concerts supporting the *Frauenverein* in 1835 and 1836, for which such special venues as the *Lesegesellschaftssaal* or the *Ermekeilsche Saal* were used.

¹² Appendix B can be found at the end of volume two of this thesis.

¹³ Kinkel, *Notizen den Gesangverein betreffend*, p. 25. 'Versündigt haben wir uns ferner, indem wir Compositionen von Auber, Boieldieu, Paer und andern dieses Gelichters einstudirten'.

she tries to introduce to the musically uneducated Earl Selvar.¹⁴ This affection for Gluck seems to be one of many aspects of the novel relating to Kinkel's own biography, as Gluck's operas were an established part of the *Bonner Gesangverein's* repertoire. Another composer even more often performed was Kinkel's contemporary Louis Spohr (1784–1859). After the performance of Spohr's *Jessonda* in 1844, Kinkel recalls in her choir memoirs: 'judgement of the majority with which I agree: in text and composition the opera is one of the best operas that has ever been written'.¹⁵ Spohr's operas mark both the beginning and the end of the choir's history. The first operatic extracts which were ever performed were the second finale from Spohr's *Jessonda* and the quintet from *Zemire und Azor* – and Kinkel decided to close down the choir when the members lacked discipline for rehearsals of Spohr's *Berggeist*. Apart from Spohr, Kinkel did not seem to support contemporary composers through the choir's activities, as Mendelssohn was only performed twice – on 13 November 1847, in 'commemoration of Felix Mendelssohn', as it reads in Kinkel's notes, and on 27 November 1847 when a rehearsal was attended poorly.¹⁶ The reasons for bad attendance are diverse, as is proven by the list of people who did not attend or arrived late at the final rehearsal of *Israel in Egypt* on 30 July 1847 (Fig. I.2.1). However, one day in particular, on 27 November 1847 many of the members stayed at home because they feared contracting scarlet fever. That day only twelve members were present, and some Lieder by Franz Schubert (1797–1828) and Fanny Hensel were sung.¹⁷ The performed vocal miniatures were Schubert's 'Gondelfahrer' (private rehearsal on 27 November 1847), Hensel's *Gartenlieder* (performed twice within private rehearsals on 27 November and 11 December 1847),

¹⁴ Johanna Kinkel, 'Musikalische Orthodoxie', in *Erzählungen*, ed. by Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1849), pp.303–70 (p. 322). This volume is hereafter referred to as Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel, *Erzählungen*.

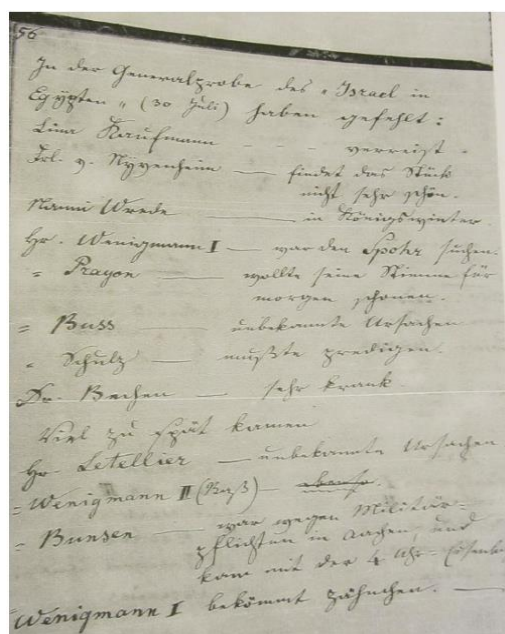
¹⁵ Kinkel, *Notizen den Gesangverein betreffend*, p. 45. 'Urtheil der Mehrzahl, dem ich mich anschließe: Die Oper ist in Text und Composition eine der besten, die je geschrieben wurden'.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

and one of Mendelssohn's hymns.¹⁸ Kinkel did not mention Fanny Hensel's death in her notes on the *Gesangverein*; however, her *Lecture on Mendelssohn*, in which Kinkel devotes a long paragraph to Fanny Hensel, 'the greatest female musician [she] met in all [her] life', reveals Kinkel's deep appreciation of Fanny Hensel as a person, musician, and composer. In this lecture, Kinkel also elaborates on the close relationship between Fanny Hensel and her brother Felix Mendelssohn, and on the tragic deaths of both musicians.¹⁹ It is not surprising, therefore, that Kinkel chose to rehearse some of Fanny Hensel's choral compositions shortly after Felix Mendelssohn's death.

Fig. I.2.1: List of people being absent or late for choir rehearsal on 30 July 1847²⁰



Rehearsal of *Israel in Egypt*: missing

Lina Kaufmann – travelling

Frl. v. Nyvenheim – does not like the piece very much

Nanni Wrede – in Königswinter

Hr. Wenigmann I – looking for Spohr/ visiting Spohr

Hr. Prayon – wanted to preserve his voice for tomorrow

Hr. Buss – unknown reason

Hr. Schulz – had to sermonise

Dr. Bechen – very sick

Arrived way too late:

Hr. Letellier – reason unknown

Hr. Wenigmann (II. bass) – ditto

Hr. Bunsen – had to go to Aachen for military reasons and came with the 4 o'clock train

Wenigmann I [sic.] – is getting teeth

The *Gesangverein* performed *Die drei Wünsche* by Carl Loewe (1796–1869) in the very early years of its history and never repeated this opera. Wagner's *Der fliegende Holländer* was discussed as potential material for performance in 1847, but it was never practised as Kinkel could not get the score and some members had, according to Kinkel,

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 75. Kinkel does not say which hymn was practised, but she speaks very well of the 'Hymns for Female Voices' in her *Lecture on Mendelssohn*. It is possible that she practised one of the hymns for female voices, possibly op. 96, with the *Gesangverein* during the summer when the basses and tenors traditionally did not regularly attend rehearsals. Johanna Kinkel, *Lecture on Mendelssohn*, n. d., ULB S2398, p. 36. Hereafter referred to as Kinkel, *Lecture on Mendelssohn*.

¹⁹ Kinkel, *Lecture on Mendelssohn*, p. 20.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 56.

remarked that the piece was ‘ineffective’.²¹ Franz Lachner’s (1803–1890) *Catharina Cornaro* had also been proposed, but Kinkel protested against it as the choral voices were all set in unison.²² In 1842 and 1843, Kinkel performed her two *Singspiele* *Otto der Schütz* and *Die Assassinen* with the choir. In her notes she expresses her deep gratitude for the *Gesangverein*’s kindness, willingness and courtesy, which shows that Kinkel did not take the typical role of a leader who made all decisions by herself. The repertoire was discussed with the choir and if the majority was not in favour of a certain work, they did not perform it.

Kinkel’s ambition to practise democracy is also recognisable through the way in which she introduced new members to the choir. Kinkel seemed to fear disagreement and personal discrepancies as she emphasised the carefulness with which new members were selected several times in her writings. If someone new was suggested and a member of the *Verein* considered this person pretentious or battlesome, the choir would not accept him or her. Furthermore, Kinkel also shared the responsibility of selecting the repertoire. She wanted to ‘emancipate the *Verein*’ as she considered the members to possess a ‘remarkably high level of musical discernment, considering that they are dilettantes’.²³ From 1844, new pieces were suggested and discussed in regular meetings and the choir held a vote deciding upon their performances. Kinkel’s notes on the performance of *Jessonda* in 1844, in which she emphasises the pleasure with which everybody sang this piece and the fact that ‘not a single member disliked this choice’, support this observation.²⁴ Kinkel gave the members the chance to be more responsible for their own repertoire, which reflects the high level of fairness and trust within the *Verein*. Also the decision to ‘raffle off’ the piano scores confirms a fairly democratic

²¹ Kinkel, *Notizen den Gesangverein betreffend*, p. 70. ‘War nicht zu haben. Einige Mitglieder die das Stück kennen, rathen davon ab, weil es wirkungslos sey’.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71. ‘Hat zwei Tenorsoloparthien, und Chöre im unisono. Gegen das Letztere habe ich ein für allemal protestirt’. Underline in original.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 43–44. ‘Von nun an dünkte es mir besser, einen Verein mehr zu emanzipieren, dessen Mitglieder größtentheils auf einer für Dilettanten bedeutenden Höhe musikalischen Urtheils sich befinden’.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45. ‘Nicht ein Mitglied, welches die Wahl des Stücks misbilligte’.

approach. The selection of the pianist by drawing lots in this way enabled Kinkel to make sure that the accompaniment was played by people randomly selected rather than prioritising the very few excellent pianists among the members. This method arranged for as great an alternation and equality of opportunity as possible among all members who wanted to play the score. Although Kinkel tried to be as democratic as possible and to educate the singers to be responsible individuals, she also demanded discipline. After the performance of Händel's *Israel in Egypt* on 31 July 1847 Kinkel noted:

The piece was too long for the stamina of the singers, who asked for something new before the difficulties of the current job were tackled. As long as the members are so impatient, we should not select a piece of such volume and difficulty.²⁵

Kinkel was unhappy with poor or inaccurate performances which she attributed to the members' unwillingness to attend rehearsals. Her worries about the lack of discipline are reflected by a list of rules and a constitution included in her notes.²⁶ Musically, the choir was at an amateur level throughout its existence – Kinkel's complaint about the lack of stamina refers to a performance which took place in 1847, the same year in which the choir was closed. On the other hand, the lack of stamina might also be attributed to the increasing presence of political discussion during the late 1840s. In general, Kinkel never referred explicitly to the artistic development of the choir and/ or the musical quality of its performances. Perhaps artistic quality was not Kinkel's first priority, although she did not want to spoil the choir's reputation through bad public performances. Despite her focus on democracy, trust, and the choral experience as a whole, Kinkel seemingly aimed to transfer her own discipline and personal ambition onto the entire *Verein*.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 57–58. 'Das Stück ist zu lang im Verhältnis der geringen Ausdauer welche viele der Sänger zeigten, die früher nach etwas Neuem verlangten, als die Schwierigkeiten der gegenwärtigen Aufgabe überwunden waren. Solange diese Ungeduld unter den Mitgliedern herrscht, darf kein Stück von so großer Ausdehnung und Schwierigkeit mehr gewählt werden'.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 60–69.

Kinkel's emphasis on discipline and the observance of rules is similar to Karl Friedrich Zelter's (1758–1832) attempt to increase order and seriousness when he took over the leadership of the *Singakademie zu Berlin* from Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736–1800) in 1800.²⁷ Zelter disliked the fashionable family circles of his time, in which the sociable component was granted priority and music was considered a side effect. Kinkel voiced similar disfavour in numerous writings, most clearly in her *Acht Briefe an eine Freundin über Clavier-Unterricht* (Eight Letters to a Friend on Piano Teaching, published by Cotta in 1852). Here she criticised those salon visitors who considered music 'as a means to cover the pauses which can occur in conversation'.²⁸ Kinkel's emphasis on musical teamwork experiences rather than single performances reflects another similarity to the *Singakademie*, which also focused on choir performances.²⁹ With his *Singakademie*, Zelter pursued such liberal aims as the 'moral education of the masses', 'bridging the gap between art and *Volk*', and the proclamation of class equality rather than individual special performances.³⁰ However, James Garratt argues that 'the active self-realisation enjoyed by members of the *Singakademie* remained the preserve of a select few' as entry to the society was socially exclusive to those 'who possess the required level of moral and artistic cultivation'.³¹ An alternative model was introduced by Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836) in 1805. Nägeli, with his *Singinstitut* in Zürich, prioritised a universal pedagogical purpose over an artistic purpose when he founded the *Singinstitut*.³² Contrary to Zelter, who prioritised the

²⁷ See Gottfried Eberle, 'Den feinsten Sinn bildsamer Menschen ergötzen', in *Der Singemeister Karl Friedrich Zelter*, ed. by Christian Filips (Mainz: Schott 2009), pp. 104–11 (p. 104). Hereafter referred to as Eberle, 'Den feinsten Sinn bildsamer Menschen ergötzen'.

²⁸ Johanna Kinkel, *Acht Briefe an eine Freundin über Clavier-Unterricht* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1852), p. 10. Hereafter referred to as Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*. 'Diejenigen, die noch eine Stufe tiefer stehen, schwatzen zwischen der Musik Allotria, und betrachten sie in unbegreiflicher Rohheit nur als ein Mittel, um die Pausen zu verdecken, die etwa im Gespräch entstehen könnten'.

²⁹ Eberle, 'Den feinsten Sinn bildsamer Menschen ergötzen', pp. 106–07.

³⁰ See James Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform in the Age of Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 35. Hereafter referred to as Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform in the Age of Wagner*.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

performance of a group above individual performances, Nägeli, according to Garratt, ‘hints at a more radical form of equality and collective existence’ as he notes that ‘individual self-realisation and communal perfectibility fuse to create a unitary subject’.³³ One could get the impression that Kinkel tried to found a musical society using as a model both the *Singakademie zu Berlin* and the *Singinstitut* in Zürich. Kinkel never mentioned an active participation with the *Singakademie*, but she was friendly with Fanny Hensel, who, having been taught by Zelter and also having sung in the *Singakademie*, might have used principles similar to Zelter’s. During her time in Berlin, Kinkel also met Emilie von Henning, who was a renowned alto singer of the *Singakademie* and became a true friend of the Kinkels’.³⁴ Some of the Berlin salons visited by Kinkel gave talented people of all different societal backgrounds the chance to perform their music, a concept which she seemed to adapt to the *Bonner Gesangverein*. This concept is also similar to Nägeli’s approach to open access and universal musical education. Contrary to Zelter, who aimed to train his singers professionally, Kinkel highlighted the ‘dilettante level’ of the *Verein* in her writings.³⁵ Furthermore, Kinkel and Zelter’s self-conception seemed to differ to a great extent. As a symbol of Zelter’s loyalty towards the Prussian emperor, he founded the *Liedertafel*, a musical organisation featuring twenty-four men and the Prussian King, in 1809, to which Peter Nitsche refers as a ‘site of worship for the royal dynasty’.³⁶ By no means would Johanna Kinkel have aimed to worship the royal dynasty, as this did not conform to the political convictions which she voiced during the 1840s. It seems that Kinkel, with the *Bonner Gesangverein*, created a new concept of musical organisation by combining Nägeli’s pedagogical approach, namely the dilettante level and open-access

³³ Ibid., p. 40.

³⁴ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 30.

³⁵ Eberle, ‘Den feinsten Sinn bildsamer Menschen ergötzen’, p. 106.

³⁶ Peter Nitsche, ‘Die Liedertafel im System der Zelterschen Gründungen’, in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1980), pp. 11–26 (p. 15). ‘Dem Königshaus eine Stätte der Verehrung zu schaffen’.

policy on the one hand, and Zelter's discipline and the size of audience on the other. According to Gottfried Kinkel, the audience of the *Bonner Gesangverein's* concerts sometimes comprised of 140 members.³⁷ Furthermore, the *Gesangverein's* repertoire was very similar to Zelter's, as Kinkel included great choral artworks and operas rather than folk-like genres such as the unaccompanied strophic songs, rounds, and simple two-part pieces preferred by Nägeli.³⁸ This aspect not only points to Kinkel's musical ambition with the *Verein*, but also reiterates her attempt not to engage her singers with political issues. When the members of the *Verein* started discussing politics, Kinkel complained about the music stepping into the background in favour of politics. Although Kinkel performed her own Exoticist Singspiele *Otto der Schütz* and *Die Assassinen* with the choir, she did not comment on them politically in her choir records. Leopold Kaufmann's account of *Die Assassinen* reveals some political connotations, as he used stereotypes in order to describe the Orient, and referred to the assassins as pagans.³⁹ However, there is no record of any political discussions which might have taken place within the choir in relation to this Singspiel. As soon as Kinkel sensed a strong political flavour during the choir's meetings, she closed down the *Verein*.

2.2 Kinkel as a piano and singing teacher⁴⁰

In contrast to this, Kinkel's pedagogical approach outside of the *Gesangverein* is marked with many political connotations, as is reflected in her pedagogical writings and music-pedagogical opus numbers, most notably in her instructive exercises *Anleitung zum Singen* (op. 20, published in 1849; the English version, *Songs for little children* was

³⁷ Kinkel, *An die Mitglieder des Gesangvereins*, p. 2.

³⁸ Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform in the Age of Wagner*, p. 40.

³⁹ See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 127.

⁴⁰ Parts of this chapter were published as an article in Bunzel, 'Johanna Kinkel's Pedagogical Approaches'.

published in 1852).⁴¹ Her *Tonleitern und Solfeggien* (op. 22, published in 1852) do not carry any political impact.⁴² Op. 20, published in 1849, was composed during 1848 and includes twenty-six little pieces for children from three to seven years. As I state in my article ‘Johanna Kinkel’s Pedagogical Approaches as a Socio-Political Mirror of her Time’, Kinkel’s op. 20 ‘could be considered a cycle leading the young singers through an entire calendar year, and covering such major festivities as Easter, Christmas, seasonal specialities, and important dates in the Kinkels’ calendar such as relations’ birthdays’.⁴³ This opus is a musical record of typical political activities during the summer of 1848, as is reflected by the Lied ‘Von der Bürgerwache’ (About the Vigilance Committee, op. 20, no. 10). Kinkel seemingly wanted to help the children of the revolutionary middle class to process psychologically the political circumstances of the time. In her preface, she suggests adjusting the names and places mentioned in the songs in accordance with the personal circumstances of the student.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Kinkel wanted to impart general knowledge about the seasons, nature and good manners,⁴⁵ and she aimed to teach virtues, highlighting children’s willingness to respect such superiors as parents, grandparents, and the doctor. Such didactic aspects seemed to be more significant to Kinkel than the professional training of the voice, possibly because this exercise book was recommended for very young children. Daniela Glahn’s examination of this opus through the lens of authorship and the narrator’s point of view

⁴¹ The publication date for the English version, 1852, is printed on the original. The date January 1849 is noted in the original German publication; Hofmeister announced the German version for September/October 1849 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001849&teil=0203&seite=00000113&zoom=1>> [accessed 1 December 2015].

⁴² The publication date, 1852, is printed on the original; Hofmeister announced this opus in August 1853 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001853&teil=0203&seite=00000396&zoom=1>> [accessed 1 December 2015].

⁴³ Bunzel, ‘Johanna Kinkel’s Pedagogical Approaches’, pp. 30–31.

⁴⁴ Kinkel, *Anleitung zum Singen*, p. 1.

⁴⁵ A good example of Kinkel’s aim to advise the children to behave themselves is the song ‘Vom Brummstälchen’ (About the Grumblers’ Barn). Here, all bad children are kept separated from their mothers until they stop mumbling.

confirms the orientation of this opus towards the mother's role within the context of children's education.⁴⁶

When the work was published in 1849, shortly after Gottfried Kinkel's imprisonment, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* recommended the purchase and practice of Kinkel's method. The review stressed that 'the widow of the unfortunate poet [...] will now have to feed her family on her own' and highlighted the suitable range of no more than a sixth in any one song as well as the tasteful piano accompaniment.⁴⁷ While the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* mentions the songs dealing with the father, the mother, Santa Claus, the hazelnuts, granddad, the pug, and the poodle, it does not refer to the tune about the Vigilance Committee or the song 'Vom Spektakel' (About the Racket, op. 20, no. 11), which encourages children to be loud and confident. The reviewer of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* notes that 'the melodies of these songs are, to a large extent, derived from well-known operas or folk songs, among which Mozart and Weber predominate'.⁴⁸ Although Otto Lange, in the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*, criticises the high standards of the exercises included before each song, he praises the opus for its suitable vocal range. He asks the reader 'not to be scared off by the melodies by Mozart, Fr. Schubert, Donizetti, and others, as they are chosen felicitously'.⁴⁹ Perhaps Kinkel used passages from famous operas for her songs in order to teach children at a high level of classical music education from an early age. Vera Lampert, in her essay on Béla Bartók's folk songs, suggests that Bartók set folk tunes in children's songs in order to

⁴⁶ Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel', p. 192.

⁴⁷ C. G., 'Gesangschulen', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 30 September 1849, p. 141. Hereafter referred to as C. G., 'Gesangschulen', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. 'Die Witwe des unglücklichen Dichters, denn so darf man sie nennen, wird nun die alleinige Ernährung ihrer Familie bleiben, welches schon allein ein hinreichender Grund wäre, dieses Werk zu empfehlen'.

⁴⁸ C. G., 'Gesangschulen', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, p. 141. 'Die Melodien dieser Liedchen sind größtentheils bekannten Opern und Volksliedern entlehnt wobei Mozart und Weber hervorstechen'.

⁴⁹ Otto Lange, review of Johanna Kinkel, *Anleitung zum Singen* (1849), *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*, 21 November 1849, p. 372. 'Man erschrecke nicht, wenn wir sagen, dass hier Melodien von Mozart, Fr. Schubert, Donizetti u.a. vorkommen, sie sind sehr hübsch gewählt und die allerliebsten Kindertexte werden mit Lust und Liebe gesungen werden. Die Studien nach den italienischen Notennamen scheinen mir hier und da etwas zu viel zu verlangen und selbst über den von uns angenommenen Standpunkt weit hinaus zu gehen'.

teach children at an early age to learn (about) their own ‘native musical tongue’.⁵⁰ Daniela Glahn identifies in Kinkel’s op. 20 both adaptations of German folk tunes and borrowed compositional material from Mozart’s, Donizetti’s, and Weber’s oeuvre.⁵¹ Referring to Miriam Noa’s study *Volkstümlichkeit und Nationbuilding*, Glahn posits that Kinkel used melodies which relate to the function of nation building.⁵² Thus, Glahn suggests the possibility that Kinkel chose these melodies because of their political significance even though Kinkel herself never explicitly mentioned this intention.⁵³ Kinkel might have aimed to use the children’s early motivation and good memory in order to impart music-historical knowledge playfully, and in order to raise awareness of significant composers and important music-aesthetic features of the time.

Kinkel’s op. 22 does not allude to any moral aspects but focuses on vocal training through scales and solfeggios. In the preface to op. 22, Kinkel criticises overly ambitious attempts, which might overstrain the singers’ voices and patience, and favours a pedagogical approach aiming for slow progression:

There are many talented musical students, who, being very fond of Singing [sic.], though not gifted with a strong voice, would be happy to commence vocal practise [sic.], if most Solfeggios published till now, did not require too great an extension of voice.⁵⁴

This statement mirrors Kinkel’s business perspective as she was trying to make a living from teaching when she published this singing school, during which time she resided in London. According to her own notes, London was home to many unemployed teachers and untalented but eager students.⁵⁵ The structure of the book is clearly comprehensible (Table I.2.1); each exercise consists of two parts: a scale and a solfeggio.

⁵⁰ Vera Lampert, ‘Nationalism, Exoticism, or Concessions to the Audience?: Motivations behind Bartók’s Folksong Settings’, *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47 (=Proceedings of the *International Conference Held by the Bartók Archives*, Budapest, 22–24 March 2006), 337–43 (p. 340). Hereafter referred to as Lampert, ‘Nationalism, Exoticism, or Concessions to the Audience?’.

⁵¹ Glahn, ‘Johanna Kinkel’, p. 202.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁵⁴ Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 22: Tonleitern und Solfeggien für die Altstimme/ Solfeggios for Contralto-Voice* (London: Schott, 1852), p. 1. English quotation in original.

⁵⁵ Johanna Kinkel, *Musikalisches aus London*, n. d., ULB S 2391, pp. 6 and 17.

Table I.2.1: Overview of Johanna Kinkel's op. 22

	Title	Melody	Key	Metre	Didactic purpose	Tempo	
Introduction	Ex.[ercise] I	Scale	A	4/4	counterpoint, basso continuo	Sehr langsam/ Very slow	
	Solf.[eggio] I	Scales and triads with their inversions	F	2/4	singing triads and their inversions	Allegretto	
Separate intervals	Ex. II	Seconds	Bb	4/4	dynamics, inversions		
	Solf. II	Seconds & Octaves	d	3/4	dynamics, trills	Adagio	
	Ex. III	Thirds	B	4/4	dynamics		
	Solf. III	Thirds	e	2/4	dotted rhythms, pace	Allegretto	
	Ex. IV	Fourths	C	4/4	basso continuo		
	Solf. IV	Fourths, Octaves	C	3/4	dotted rhythms, trills, piano accompaniment (Alberti-bass)	Andante	
	Ex. V	Fifths	Ab	4/4	dynamics		
	Solf. V	Fifths and scales	f	3/4	dynamics, trills, quintuplets	Moderato	
	Ex. VI	Sixths	F	4/4	broken triads		
	Solf. VI	Cambiata	F	6/8	syncopation, trills	Allegretto	
	Ex. VII	Sevenths	A	4/4	pedal in piano	Adagio	
	Solf. VII	chromatic scales	e	4/4	slow, dynamics, triads, cresc., pace	Larghetto	
	All intervals	Ex. VIII	all intervals (ascending)	C	4/4	basso continuo	
		Solf. VIII	scales, broken triads	F	4/4	dynamics, accentuation	Moderato
Ex. IX		all intervals (descending)	A	4/4	dynamics		
Solf. IX		all intervals	Bb	6/8	range: minor 7, dynamics, trills	Allegretto	
Synthesis	Solf. X	development of a motive	Eb	3/4	triads, distinct development of motif	Allegro	
	Solf. XI	all intervals	f	3/8	triads, dynamics, rhythm, long notes (bars 37–40)	Andante	
	Solf. XII	development of a motive	C	2/4	rhythm, pace, stacc., trills, dynamics, tempo	Scherzando	

Firstly, the singer is introduced to the major scale. The following section gets the singer to practise all major intervals, each covered in a separate exercise and a corresponding solfeggio. In a next step, all intervals are mixed, including both ascending and descending melodic figures. This structure, which is organised around a gradual increase of pedagogic complexity, could be interpreted as being based on a notion of musical organicism as introduced by Adolf Bernhard Marx (1795–1866). However, I agree with Scott Burnham that a morphological development of analytical and practical thoughts, as applied by both Marx and Kinkel, might result from a systematic pedagogical approach rather than the attempt to employ a complex philosophical system.⁵⁶ Because of its systematics, this singing treatise enables a very broad training of musicality, focusing on correct pitching and introducing the student to different types of melodic ornamentation, metres and rhythms, dynamics, accents, tempi, and pacing. The exercises also enable the teacher to introduce the singer to different styles of piano accompaniment and simple contrapuntal constructions, and to draw attention to several harmonic characteristics.

Leon Botstein states that, in order to understand the socio-cultural context of a certain period of time, it may prove helpful to elaborate on the (musical) literacy during the era in question, because musical literacy would have influenced the approaches taken by composers, listeners, and performers.⁵⁷ In relation to the nineteenth century, he points to the expansion of the audience and the spread of musical education, which brought forward an ‘explosive growth in writing about music’.⁵⁸ While, according to Botstein, the late eighteenth century is characterised by an increase of criticism, aesthetic theory, and fiction centred on music, the nineteenth century, in addition, marks

⁵⁶ See Scott Burnham, ‘The Role of Sonata Form in A. B. Marx’s Theory of Form’, *Journal of Music Theory*, 33.2 (1989), 247–71 (p. 260). Hereafter referred to as Burnham, ‘The Role of Sonata Form in A. B. Marx’s Theory of Form’.

⁵⁷ Leon Botstein, ‘Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience’, *19th-Century Music*, 16.2 (1992), 129–45 (p. 130).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

the increasing popularity of guidebooks on concert repertoire, music-pedagogical self-help, general histories and programme notes.⁵⁹ Botstein argues that:

[In the nineteenth century,] to be able to listen and then talk intelligently about music became sufficient for the use of music as a cultural good, either as an instrument of self-cultivation and education or as a vehicle for the public display of social status.⁶⁰

A similar observation is made by Roland Barthes in his essay 'Musica Practica', in which he states that the perception (and consumption) of music changed from 'performance' (amateurism, piano playing etc.) to 'interpretation' (the 'Romantic voice') to 'technology' (recordings, and passive music consumption).⁶¹ Although many of Kinkel's works focus on descriptive journeys through specific musical works and take the shape of narrative guidebooks of repertoire and music-pedagogical self-help, Kinkel also advocated music-theoretical education and smaller composition exercises in her music treatises. Thus, Kinkel seemed to combine an approach anchored in eighteenth-century music-pedagogical practice, which interpreted musical literacy as the ability to understand music through writing with a nineteenth-century perspective on music education, which aimed to nurture the ability to talk about music. In her *Acht Briefe an eine Freundin über Clavier-Unterricht*, she advises the teacher to 'analyse an excellent composition in front of the students from time to time in order to raise their awareness of the inner structure of the composition'.⁶² Although the theoretical view on composition is highlighted as an important step towards a general musical understanding, Kinkel, in her teaching instructions, reminds the teacher to include some practical basso continuo exercises to be carried out at the piano. It is interesting that Kinkel herself notated her ideas in general bass first before she completed the score, as is evident in some of her unpublished Scottish Lieder.⁶³ In her unpublished *Notizen zum*

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 131.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 139.

⁶¹ See Roland Barthes, 'Musica Practica', in *The Responsibility of Forms*, pp. 261–66 (p. 262).

⁶² Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, p. 9. 'Du mußt von Zeit zu Zeit eine ganz vorzügliche Composition vor solchen Schülern analysiren und sie nöthigen, ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf deren innern Bau zu richten.'

⁶³ Bonn Stadtarchiv SN 98/ 95.

Klavier- und Gesangsunterricht sowie zur Ästhetik der Musik (Notes on Piano and Vocal Teaching and Musical Aesthetics), Kinkel provides a list of suitable piano and singing schools, which might be aimed at compensating for the lack of practical examples in her own writings.⁶⁴ Akin to such contemporaries as Robert Schumann (1810–1856), Kinkel had a rather negative opinion on virtuosity, as she states that ‘it is more important to educate the student to become a really musical person rather than to increase the number of piano virtuosos, because these are, after bravura singers, the least musical people in the world’.⁶⁵

Therefore, she dedicated a whole chapter to the necessity of teaching music history and theory rather than focusing purely on technical advice. Given Kinkel’s anti-virtuosic attitude, it is not surprising that she expressed her disfavour of the teaching methods introduced by Carl Czerny (1791–1857). James Deaville points out that Czerny ‘believed that virtuosity could be attained through industry and practice, when methodically pursued’, but Kinkel prioritised musical understanding and theoretical knowledge over technical skills.⁶⁶ In her novel *Hans Ibeles in London*, Czerny is criticised for his automatism, as ‘his so-called “Dexterity of the Fingers” drives all musical sense out of a player’s soul, and leaves only swift fingers’.⁶⁷ This conforms to

⁶⁴ Johanna Kinkel, *Notizen zum Klavier- und Gesangsunterricht sowie zur Ästhetik der Musik*, n. d., ULB S 2394, p. 1. Hereafter referred to as Kinkel, *Notizen zum Klavier- und Gesangsunterricht*.

⁶⁵ See Leon Plantinga, ‘The Piano and the Nineteenth Century’, in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, ed. by Larry Todd, 2nd edn (New York/ London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 1–15 (p. 9), hereafter referred to as Plantinga, ‘The Piano and the Nineteenth Century’; Johanna Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, p. 12. ‘Indeß bedenke, daß es wichtiger ist, den Schüler zu einem wirklich musikalischen Menschen zu bilden, als die Zahl der Claviervirtuosen zu vermehren, denn diese sind nächst den Bravoursängern die unmusikalischsten Personen auf der Welt’.

⁶⁶ James Deaville, ‘A Star is Born?: Czerny, Liszt, and the Pedagogy of Virtuosity’, in *Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity: Reassessing Carl Czerny*, ed. by David Gramit (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008), pp. 52–66 (p. 58). Hereafter referred to as Deaville, ‘A Star is Born?’. The entire volume is hereafter referred to as Gramit, *Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity*.

⁶⁷ Johanna Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles in London*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1860), I, p. 364. ‘Seine sogenannte “Schule der Geläufigkeit” treibt alles an musikalischem Gefühl aus der Seele einer Spielerin, und lässt nur geschwinde Finger übrig’. This novel carries various autobiographical hints also in relation to such issues as family, household, and gender roles; women’s involvement in politics; and cultural life in London. Studies dealing with *Hans Ibeles* and its autobiographical implications were conducted by Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres, ‘The Triumph of Women: Johanna Kinkel’s *Hans Ibeles in London*’, in *Euphorion*, 70 (1976), 187–97; Helen Chambers, ‘Johanna Kinkel’s novel *Hans Ibeles in London*, a German view of England’, in *Exilanten und andere Deutsche in Fontanes London*, ed. by Peter Alter and Rudolf Muhs (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag, 1996), pp. 159–73; Clara G. Ervedosa, ‘Johanna Kinkel

James Deaville's observation that, in the 1840s, the expectations of a virtuoso were subject to 'fundamental transformation of the virtuoso from a technician to an interpreter, [...], from a set of fingers to a personality'.⁶⁸ Like Hans Ibeles, the main protagonist in the novel, Johanna Kinkel recommends the study of basso continuo exercises as an 'antivenom' to technical over-eagerness. Kinkel's reminder of the importance of discussing harmonic relationships within music with the student reveals a typical nineteenth-century naturalist perspective on gender. In so doing, she stressed that 'everything mathematical naturally constitutes a special difficulty for women', which demanded extraordinary patience.⁶⁹ Another interesting point raised by Kinkel is that 'the teacher must not disregard the incision that marriage makes in all women's learning'.⁷⁰ Therefore, according to Kinkel, it seems necessary 'to arrange certain educational steps that enable dilettantes to consolidate their basic musical knowledge so that they will never forget what they have learned in the course of their lives'.⁷¹ This aspect was highlighted by the reviewer of the *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, who did not give any critical account of the teaching instructions, but only cited two passages from the original work.⁷² Kinkel's awareness of nineteenth-century gender roles is also reflected in her explanation of the basic harmonic components in a sonata, in which she uses the household as an allegory in order to illustrate humorously the role of the tonic (i.e. the husband), dominant (i.e. housewife), subdominant (i.e. the son), the mediant

(1810–1858): Dorothea oder das Lob der Bürgerlichkeit: Die Frauenfrage im Roman "Hans Ibeles in London"', in *Vom Salon zur Barrikade: Frauen der Heinezeit*, ed. by Irina Hundt (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002), pp. 323–35, hereafter referred to as Ervedosa, 'Johanna Kinkel (1810–1858): Dorothea oder das Lob der Bürgerlichkeit'. Irina Hundt's volume is hereafter referred to as Hundt, *Vom Salon zur Barrikade*.

⁶⁸ Deaville, 'A Star is Born?', p. 54.

⁶⁹ Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, p. 13. 'Alles Mathematische ist für die weibliche Natur mit einer besonderen Schwierigkeit verknüpft'.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15. 'Aber der Lehrer darf nicht außer Acht lassen, welchen Schnitt in alles Lernen der Frauen die Heirath macht'.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15. 'Diese Rücksicht schon alleine macht es nöthig, für Dilettantinnen bestimmte Stufen anzuordnen, auf denen es möglich ist, sich so festzustellen, daß sie im Laufe des Lebens das Erlernete nicht mehr verlieren können.'

⁷² [Anon.], review of Johanna Kinkel, *Acht Briefe* (1852), *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, 28 August 1856, p. 152.

(i.e. the daughters), and the seventh chords (i.e. the neighbours).⁷³ The socio-cultural relevance of Kinkel's *Acht Briefe* is also revealed when she warns the teacher not to 'sacrifice a portion of the child's lifetime for the sake of the mother's addiction to fashion, if the child has neither natural talent nor a great [musical] affinity'.⁷⁴ Here, Kinkel referred to the fashion of music in the supposedly educated social forum, the salon. In Kinkel's opinion, musically untalented girls 'turn us piano teachers into martyrs of patience'.⁷⁵ Contrary to Czerny, who, according to Deanna C. Davis, in his *Letters on the Art of Playing the Pianoforte* reminds his female readers of their role as a female part of society, and who asks the young ladies not to neglect their duties in the household for the sake of music, Kinkel seemed to criticise the gendered division of male and female activities, and made fun of gender conventions.⁷⁶ She expressed her disapproval of such conventions on many occasions, especially after the successful divorce of her first marriage.⁷⁷ On a technical level, Kinkel stressed the importance of patience with regard to physical training of the fingers and the voice, emotional, and intellectual maturity. This is why Kinkel allowed a fair amount of time for the acquisition of mechanical piano skills, namely correct finger position and the understanding of the correct grammatical accent.⁷⁸ As regards accentuation and the classification of musical accents, Kinkel refers to Johann Philipp Kirnberger's (1721–1783) *Akzenttheorie* by dividing accents into three categories, namely the grammatical, oratorical and expressive accent.⁷⁹ Kinkel deliberately used eighteenth-century theories

⁷³ Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, p. 15.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11. 'Und ich möchte jede Mutter warnen, aus bloßer Modesucht einen Theil der Lebenszeit ihres Kindes dem Erlernen derselben aufzuopfern, wenn es nicht natürliches Talent oder große Vorliebe dafür äußert'.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷⁶ Deanna C. Davis, 'The Veil of Fiction: Pedagogy and Rhetorical Strategies in Carl Czerny's *Letters on the Art of Playing the Pianoforte*', in Gramit, *Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity*, pp. 67–81 (p. 75).

⁷⁷ Marianne Bröcker points to many comments in relation to gender issues and the role of women in nineteenth-century Europe in Kinkel's novel *Hans Ibeles in London*. Bröcker, 'Johanna Kinkels schriftstellerische und musikpädagogische Tätigkeit', pp. 40–41.

⁷⁸ Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, p. 5.

⁷⁹ See William E. Caplin, 'Theories of musical rhythm in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. by Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 657–94 (p. 670).

of rhythmic structure, and criticised the expanded *Akzenttheorie* incorporating the Hegelian concept of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, as introduced by Kinkel's contemporary Moritz Hauptmann (1792–1862), as a 'ridiculous confusion of terminology'.⁸⁰

Once a certain degree of emotional maturity has been acquired after a few years of practice, the pianist will, according to Kinkel, be able to play contemporary music, the majority of which 'requires a subtle and soulful interpretation; the mechanical challenges have for the most part been pushed into the background'.⁸¹ Kinkel concludes her *Acht Briefe* with a short excursion into music history, and praises Mendelssohn, Chopin, Adolf Henselt (1814–1889) and Sigismond Thalberg (1812–1871) for their reformation of piano music towards an embrace of emotional expression. This awareness, according to Linda Siegel, possibly turns the *Acht Briefe* into 'the first piece of musical literature to understand the importance of Mendelssohn's *Songs without Words* to the history of piano music'.⁸² Even more than Mendelssohn, Chopin seemed to impress Kinkel with his attempt to question the division of the tonal corpus by semitones, with regard to which Kinkel remarks:

We, who have become accustomed to the established division in semitones, sense this innovation as eerie and as mere noise; but the next or third generation, once it has ingested the strange sounds with their mothers' milk, might appreciate in it a fresh and doubly-rich art.⁸³

⁸⁰ Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, p. 7. 'lächerliche Wort- und Begriffsconfusion'. Moritz Hauptmann (1792–1868) was a German composer and music theorist. He studied composition and violin with Louis Spohr, who influenced Hauptmann's professional career to a great extent. During his professional travels, he met such famous contemporaries as Giacomo Meyerbeer, Carl Maria von Weber, Felix Mendelssohn, and Robert Schumann. In 1843, he took up a teaching position for composition and music theory at Mendelssohn's conservatory in Leipzig. Among his students were Norbert Burgmüller, Karl Friedrich Curschmann, Otto Kade, and Wilhelm Joseph von Wasiliewski. Besides his excellent pedagogical and theoretical reputation, Hauptmann was best known for his choral compositions and Lieder, which, according to Peter Rummenhüller, were an inherent part of bourgeois musical life. Rummenhüller observes in Hauptmann's compositions the orientation on Mendelssohn's style, which 'was never really achieved'. Peter Rummenhüller, 'Hauptmann, Moritz', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher and others, 2nd edn, 29 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2008), VIII, Personenteil, pp. 872–75. This encyclopaedia is hereafter referred to as *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn.

⁸¹ Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, p. 16. 'Die Mehrzahl der neuesten Claviercompositionen erfordert vor Allem einen feinen und seelenvollen Vortrag; die mechanischen Schwierigkeiten sind so ziemlich in den Hintergrund gedrängt worden'.

⁸² Siegel, 'Johanna Kinkel's "Chopin als Komponist" and Other Musical Writings', p. 110.

⁸³ Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, p. 18. 'Aber uns, die wir an die längst bestandene Einteilung in halbe Töne gewöhnt sind, wird die Neuerung schauerlich und wie ein bloßes Geräusch klingen: doch vielleicht schon

During the 1850s, Kinkel gave several public lectures on such composers as Mendelssohn, Beethoven, Mozart and Chopin, on the latter of whom, according to Marianne Bröcker, she wrote the ‘most substantial and meaningful’ monograph.⁸⁴ Compared to her lecture on Beethoven’s early piano sonatas, which contains forty pages, her lecture on Mendelssohn, which includes thirty-seven pages, and her lecture on Mozart, which spans thirty-two pages, the work on Chopin, which contains 195 pages, is much more complex. It is structured by means of different musical genres in Chopin’s oeuvre. The section on etudes reflects Kinkel’s personal musical development. Whereas Kinkel recommends Herz’s exercises in her draft *Notizen zum Klavier- und Gesangsunterricht*, she refers to the vacuity of this composer’s exercises in her lecture on Chopin:

An etude, which we learn for the sake of its difficulty, should train the intellect to the same extent as the fingers. It is insufferable to have to repeat unsubstantial scales and leaps more than 100 times, because the finger did not clearly hit a few of the notes. Czerny’s and Herz’s treatises have supplied the most monstrous examples, and I believe that they must make those musicians dull who devote their ears to the study of these and similar composers.⁸⁵

With regard to Chopin’s etudes, Kinkel compliments the ingenious melodic and harmonic constitution, as ‘even when our fingers have technically mastered the most difficult etude, our intellectual interest in the compositional structure will not be exhausted for a long time yet’.⁸⁶ Marianne Bröcker highlights Kinkel’s practical approach to music in her lecture on Chopin, which shows Kinkel’s experience as both a

begrüßt die nächst- oder drittfolgende Generation, wenn sie erst mit der Muttermilch die fremden Klänge eingesogen hat, in ihnen eine frischerstandene, doppelt so reiche Kunst’.

⁸⁴ Bröcker, ‘Johanna Kinkels schriftstellerische und musikpädagogische Tätigkeit’, p. 42. Johanna Kinkel, *Lecture on Beethoven’s earliest Sonatas, incl. Opus 10*, n. d., ULB 2397, n. p., hereafter referred to as Kinkel, *Lecture on Beethoven’s earliest Sonatas*; Johanna Kinkel, *Lecture on Mozart*, n.d., ULB S 2396; Johanna Kinkel, *Friedrich Chopin als Komponist*, 1855, ULB S 2399, p. 119. Hereafter referred to as Kinkel, *Friedrich Chopin als Komponist*.

⁸⁵ Kinkel, *Notizen zum Klavier- und Gesangsunterricht*, p. 1; Kinkel, *Friedrich Chopin als Komponist*, p. 119. ‘Eine Etüde, die wir um der Schwierigkeit willen erlernen, sollte vor allem den Verstand in gleichem Verhältnis wie die Finger beschäftigen. Es ist unerträglich, ganz inhaltlose Läufe und Sprünge mehr als hundertmal wiederholen zu müssen, weil der Finger ein paar Noten nicht rein trifft. Das Monströseste auf diesem Felde hat die Schule von Czerny und Herz getan, und ich glaube, daß Musiker, welche ihre Ohren zum Studium dieser und ähnlicher Komponisten hergeben, daran verdummen müssen’.

⁸⁶ Kinkel, *Friedrich Chopin als Komponist*, p. 126. ‘Selbst wenn unsre Finger die mühsamste Etüde technisch bezwungen haben, so ist das Interesse des Verstandes an ihrem Tonbau noch lange nicht erschöpft’.

pianist and a pedagogue.⁸⁷ Kinkel's lectures on Mendelssohn and Mozart do not include as much practical insight, but examine the music from a contemporary perspective, geared to the history of compositional thought. This reflects Kinkel's strong tendency to try to examine critically compositional features and categorisations, an approach which demands a complex understanding of compositional developments and specialities of several musical epochs. Kinkel's English-language draft lecture *On Musical History* features a comprehensive examination of music history, including Egyptian and Greek music, and such ancient figures as Pythagoras, Guido, Plinius, Boethius, Gregor the Great, Carolus Magnus, Joannes de Fulda, Hucbaldus, and Franco of Cologne.⁸⁸ Kinkel's critical thinking surfaces in both her *Lecture on Musical History* and her *Lecture on Harmony*. In both lectures, Kinkel challenges the role of Palestrina within the historical discourse of composition, which could be interpreted as revealing her courage to question fashions of her time. The nineteenth-century 'Palestrina Renaissance' and Bainsi and von Winterfeld's first monographs on Palestrina, which were published in 1828 and 1832, respectively, reflect an increased interest in Palestrina.⁸⁹ Yet Kinkel downgraded Palestrina, remarking that:

He wisely used his excellent position at the pontifical chapel to blaze the trail for the true church style; but some of his lesser-known contemporaries produced works that are of equal, if not superior, beauty to his own compositions.⁹⁰

Kinkel's observations, although ahead of her time, remained un-researched and un-acknowledged. Jerome Roche opens his monograph on Palestrina, published in 1971,

⁸⁷ Bröcker, 'Johanna Kinkels schriftstellerische und musikpädagogische Tätigkeit', p. 43.

⁸⁸ Johanna Kinkel, *Musical History*, n. d., ULB S 2393, no pagination. The cover of the notebook is dated 25 May 1853 by Johanna Kinkel.

⁸⁹ See Peter Ackermann, 'Palestrina', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XIII, Personenteil, pp. 7–46 (p. 41); Giuseppe Bainsi, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di G. P. da Palestrina*, 2 vols (Rome: Societa Tipografica, 1828); Carl von Winterfeld, *Johannes Pierluigi von Palestrina. Seine Werke und deren Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Tonkunst: Mit Bezug auf Bainsi's neueste Forschungen* (Wroclaw: Adelholz, 1832).

⁹⁰ Johanna Kinkel, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, n. d., ULB S 2393, p. 3. Hereafter referred to as Kinkel, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*. 'Er hat gewiß die hervorragende Stellung die er an der päpstlichen [sic.] Capelle besaß, mit weiser Einsicht benützt, um dem wahren Kirchenstyl die Bahn zu brechen; aber manche seiner minder bekannten Zeitgenossen haben Werke geschaffen die den seinen in Schönheit gleich, wenn nicht überlegen sind'.

with the statement that ‘until recently, Palestrina was seen to stand alone in musical history as the great culmination of the age of polyphony’.⁹¹ Roche also states that ‘even the appearance of the Lassus and Victoria editions early in this [twentieth] century failed to substitute a comparative historical approach for the isolated detachment of the Palestrina revival’.⁹² Interestingly, Kinkel mentioned Orlando di Lasso as one of Palestrina’s contemporaries whose compositions might have exceeded the beauty of Palestrina’s works.⁹³ Another example of Kinkel’s courage in contributing new ideas to contemporary approaches is the way in which she organised musical history chronologically by using the emancipation of dissonance as a determining parameter. In contrast to Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773–1850), who organises history by means of musical genres and styles in his 1832 *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen, oder unsrer heutigen Musik*, Kinkel added the evolution of the dissonance as an aspect determining musical history.⁹⁴ Chronologically, Kinkel’s periodisation is the same as Kiesewetter’s, but Kinkel’s approach is based on wider-ranging arguments, as is reflected in the chapter on Monteverdi. Whereas Kiesewetter based his periodisation solely on Monteverdi’s influence on the dramatic opera, Kinkel explained the inclusion of Monteverdi as a historical landmark also by means of his perception that ‘the free entry of dissonances is compatible with melodic beauty’.⁹⁵

On a different note, it should also be remarked that, despite Kinkel’s progressive approach to Palestrina’s reception and the periodisation of music history, her writings reflect analytical, aesthetic and socio-political aspects typical of nineteenth-century scholarship. In her analyses of Beethoven sonatas, Kinkel, like her contemporary

⁹¹ Jerome Roche, *Palestrina*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 7.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹³ Kinkel, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, p. 3.

⁹⁴ See Thomas Hochradner, ‘Probleme der Periodisierung von Musikgeschichte’, *Acta Musicologica*, 67.1 (January–June 1995), 55–70 (p. 60); Herfried Kier, ‘Kiesewetter’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, x, Personenteil, pp. 87–91 (p. 90).

⁹⁵ Kinkel, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, p. 4. Underline in original. ‘Der nächste Reformator der den Muth hatte einen Schritt weiter als alle Vorgänger zu gehen, war Montverde, der das freie Eintreten von Dissonanzen mit der melodischen Schönheit für vereinbar hielt’.

Wilhelm von Lenz (1809–1883), not only uses romanticised metaphors as a means of musical characterisation, but employs the notion of a ‘general musical idea’ (Idee), which, according to Scott Burnham, is also evident in Adolf Bernhard Marx’s critical oeuvre.⁹⁶ In the introduction to her analysis of Beethoven’s op. 10, no. 2, Kinkel explains that ‘its motives are like the discourse of living beings, to whom we might ascribe the manners of older or younger people, with either serious or playful predictions’, which corresponds to Burnham’s interpretation of Marx’s notion that ‘Beethoven’s music represented [...] concrete external events’ and his theory of a characteristic art.⁹⁷ However, a close reading of Wilhelm von Lenz’s and Kinkel’s analyses of Beethoven’s piano sonata op. 10, no. 2 confirms von Lenz’s conclusion that:

Music has achieved its purpose so long as it has kindled a poetic idea in its performer, in its listener. The same music can quite easily arouse thoughts of sadness in one, thoughts of gaiety in another; it is a matter of secondary circumstances, external to art, and this very vagueness is one of the qualities by which music aspires to the infinite which is its soul.⁹⁸

Unlike Lenz, Kinkel’s interpretation includes connotations of family life and the household in Beethoven’s sonata rather than allusions to nature or myths, an aspect which shows how much Kinkel was preoccupied with household and family when she wrote her Beethoven analysis. As regards socio-political awareness, Kinkel’s national thinking surfaces in her lecture *Zur Geschichte der Musik* (About the History of Music, which differs from Kinkel’s English-language *Lecture on Musical History*), in which she praised the influence of the ‘fresh temperament of the national character’ on composers.⁹⁹ Furthermore, Kinkel’s fondness for Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826) supports this argument, as, according to Carl Dahlhaus, Weber is considered the first

⁹⁶ Kinkel, *Lecture on Beethoven’s earliest Sonatas*; Scott Burnham, ‘The Role of Sonata Form in A. B. Marx’s Theory of Form’, p. 260.

⁹⁷ Kinkel, *Lecture on Beethoven’s earliest Sonatas*. Original citation in English; Burnham, ‘The Role of Sonata Form in A. B. Marx’s Theory of Form’, p. 260.

⁹⁸ Lenz, cited after Ian Bent, *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 73.

⁹⁹ Kinkel, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, p. 1. ‘Durch die Erfindung des Notendrucks zu Anfang des 16ten Jahrhunderts, hörte die Musik auf, ein exclusives Eigenthum der Gelehrten zu sein, und der erfrischende Sturm des Volksgeistes trat mit den Componisten in Wechselwirkung’.

composer to have established a German *Nationaloper*.¹⁰⁰ Kinkel praised Weber for his ‘imaginative melodies’, which explains why she chose melodies from Weber’s operas for her *Anleitung zum Singen*.¹⁰¹ Excerpts from Weber’s operas were also an established part of the *Bonner Gesangverein*’s repertoire.

Despite Kinkel’s diverse way of thinking and the recommendations of her singing treatises in contemporary print media, she struggled to find students at several points during her life, especially when her teaching was supposed to make up for Gottfried Kinkel’s lost jobs due to his political activities. Linda Siegel argues that Kinkel faced difficulties finding students because her pedagogical writings have merely been published.¹⁰² However, Kinkel did publish her most comprehensive writing, *Acht Briefe an eine Freundin über Clavier-Unterricht* in 1852, as well as her two singing treatises in 1849, and 1852, respectively, in German and English; and she gave public lectures in London. Nevertheless, these works did not enter the nineteenth- or twenty-first-century music-pedagogical or -historical canon. Furthermore, Siegel argues that ‘Kinkel’s artistic reputation was not large enough to warrant an interest in her thoughts about music, as was that of, say, Clara Schumann’.¹⁰³ Siegel’s comparison refers to the overall artistic reputation of Kinkel and Schumann, and her suggestion of linking this artistic reputation with Kinkel’s pedagogical and music-historical ideas seems problematic, because Clara Schumann did not produce any comparable theoretical writings. Nevertheless, this comparison points to the interesting implication that the general public was led primarily by Kinkel’s artistic reputation rather than by her ideas. While it is certainly true that Kinkel’s pianistic skills were not as highly regarded as those of Schumann, Carl Schurz and Malwida von Meysenbug praised Kinkel’s piano

¹⁰⁰ See Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (=Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft, VI) (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1996), p.52.

¹⁰¹ Kinkel, *Notizen zum Klavier- und Gesangsunterricht*, p. 16.

¹⁰² Siegel, ‘Johanna Kinkel’s “Chopin als Komponist” and Other Musical Writings’, p. 105.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

playing.¹⁰⁴ Kinkel performed publicly only once, namely on 26 November 1838, in a concert alongside Clara Novello (1818–1908) at the *Königliches Schauspielhaus Berlin*. According to the concert announcement, Kinkel played ‘several pieces by Chopin for the piano’.¹⁰⁵ The reviewer of the *Vossische Zeitung* missed the second part of the concert and regretted to have missed Kinkel’s performance, who ‘had distinguished herself in private circles as an excellent pianist but who has not yet shown her talent in public’.¹⁰⁶ The reviewer of *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst* remarks that ‘at the same time, the respectful piano virtuoso Mad. Mathieux (whose compositions have also been mentioned by *Iris* several times) performed for the first time’, but does not comment in greater depth on Kinkel’s playing. Kinkel did not perform publicly a second time.¹⁰⁷ Thus, Kinkel seems to have had a fairly positive artistic reputation during her time in Berlin, even though she performed mainly in private circles. Besides this aspect, it might have been Kinkel’s reputation as a politically oriented pedagogue which prevented her from a more long-term (and posthumous) professional career as a teacher, especially in Germany. The variety of socio-cultural phenomena covered in her writings and in her op. 20 might have put off contemporary teachers, students, and parents. Kinkel did not separate her personal view of the world from her profession as a teacher, which is evident in her inclusion of humorous comments on gender roles and on the preferred separation of the state and the church, as voiced in her *Acht Briefe*, as well as

¹⁰⁴ Carl Schurz cited in Kaufmann, ‘Johanna Kinkel: Schluß’, p. 48. ‘Ich habe Beethovensche und Chopinsche Kompositionen selten so vollendet wiedergegeben gehört wie von ihr’; Malwida von Meysenbug, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by Berta Schleicher, 5 vols (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1922), II, p. 88. Hereafter referred to as von Meysenbug, *Gesammelte Werke*. ‘Kinkels verbrachten einen Abend im Hause von Madame Schwabe, wo Johannes Spiel alle Welt entzückte’.

¹⁰⁵ [Anon.], concert announcement, *Vossische Zeitung*, 24 November 1838, pp. 7–8. ‘verschiedene Musikstücke von Chopin [sic] für das Pianoforte’. This concert was also announced in the *Vossische Zeitung*, 26 November 1838, p. 7.

¹⁰⁶ [Anon.], concert review of a concert at Berlin Königliches Schauspielhaus (26 November 1838), *Vossische Zeitung*, 28 November 1838, p. 9. ‘die sich in Privatkreisen als ausgezeichnete Spielerin vielfältige Anerkennung erworben, jedoch ihr Talent noch nicht öffentlich geltend gemacht hat’.

¹⁰⁷ [Anon.], concert review of a concert at Berlin Königliches Schauspielhaus (26 November 1838), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 30 November 1838, p. 192. ‘Zugleich ließ sich zum erstenmal hier öffentlich die sehr achtungswerthe Virtuosin auf dem Pianoforte (deren auch als Componistin in der *Iris* mehrfältig gedacht ist) Mad. Mathieux hören’.

her critical approach to contemporary fashions.¹⁰⁸ This, along with a number of such intervening variables as competition and a disadvantageous address might have been one of the main reasons why Kinkel's pedagogical approach was received with suspicion during some parts of her lifetime, especially when her reputation was coloured by her husband's and her own political activities.

2.3 Conclusion: Johanna Kinkel and Her World

Johanna Kinkel's writings, both fictional and non-fictional, uncover her open and honest Rhineland personality and her rather unbalanced emotional frame of mind, which seemed to result in both overwhelming positivity and anxious desperation. All of her writings are full of witty puns, humorous similes and inventive imagery. Reading her letters to Gottfried and her friends, however, one is struck by Johanna Kinkel's seriousness and her uncertainty, especially as regards Gottfried's many educational and political travels, during which he left behind his wife and the four children. Johanna reminded her husband several times of his responsibilities for his children, but her reminders mostly remained unheard. Nevertheless, she granted him her full moral, psychological and financial support for his political undertakings. She bore with all the financial challenges in London while Gottfried travelled abroad, and, as an *Emigrantenmutter* (Emigrés' Mother), she supported more Germans who came over to England, hoping for a better life. Johanna Kinkel's practise of revolutionary ideas surfaces in her support of her husband's political activities, her own involvement with politics as a journalist, as editor of the *Bonner Zeitung*, and as the co-founder of the literary and political association *Maikäferbund*, in her pedagogical and fictional writings, and in her own ethos as a conductor of the *Bonner Gesangverein*. Democracy, fairness, equality and universal education were general doctrines advocated by the

¹⁰⁸ Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, p. 10. 'Gesellschaft und Musik stehen jetzt wie Staat und Kirche; mit beiden kann es nur besser werden, wenn sie scharf gesondert bleiben'.

Kinkels, who themselves had experienced a great deal of unfairness from the public. Kinkel's divorce from her abusive first husband and her conversion to the Protestant faith, and Gottfried Kinkel's marriage to a divorced and converted woman caused major issues, especially in relation to Gottfried Kinkel's professional career. Nevertheless, the couple challenged conventions, which created many restrictions for both of them. While Gottfried gave up the chance to pursue a professional career as a theologian, Johanna agreed to devote herself to the household and the children rather than to musical teaching and composing alone. Whereas Johanna's time in Berlin and the first years with Gottfried were fruitful in terms of compositional productivity, the birth of the children in 1844, 1845, 1846 and 1848, as well as the political excitement from 1848 on, did not allow much time for compositional activity. During the late 1830s and the early 1840s, Kinkel was able to use her Lieder publications as a source of income, but she focused on the publication of Gottfried's writing and of her own literary works as well as of her singing schools in the late 1840s.¹⁰⁹ During her Berlin residency, Kinkel's compositions improved her musical reputation, which gained her more music students and thereby had a great impact on her financial security. Later, however, Johanna Kinkel's artistic extraordinariness was clouded by her own and her husband's rather extreme political reputation. At that stage, financially, Kinkel's compositions seemed to be of minor importance. But they must have helped her psychologically, as she did not stop composing although she was not able to make much money with her Lieder. This development is also reflected in the themes and compositional features of Kinkel's later works. Both her early and her late Lieder, in which she showed her natural talent to combine a musical and literary affinity with a critical and witty personality, may give an account not only of nineteenth-century socio-cultural paradigms, but also of nineteenth-

¹⁰⁹ Johanna and Gottfried had numerous debates about which literary works should be included in publications and whether or not Johanna should change politically controversial passages in specific works before sending them to the publisher. See for example Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gott!*, II, pp. 566–67.

century stylistic and aesthetic tendencies. Thus, Kinkel can be considered a woman of her own time, although her biography also reflects her rather progressive mindset in terms of gender roles, political participation, and musical education.

CHAPTER 3: RECEPTION HISTORY: FROM THE DEMONIC WIFE TO THE ALL-ROUND ARTIST

3.1 Second half of the nineteenth century

3.1.1 Early dictionary entries

Considering the editorial circumstances of the time, it is noteworthy that Johanna Kinkel was mentioned in encyclopaedias even during her lifetime. In the spirit of time, infrastructure, and space, nineteenth-century encyclopaedias were often authored by a single person or a small group of individuals.¹ Thus, their scope was reliant on these few people's areas of expertise and interest. While an exhaustive comparative content analysis of selected nineteenth-century encyclopaedias with a view to song studies is something which still needs to be undertaken by modern scholarship, it shall suffice for this chapter to contextualise the four biggest German-language nineteenth-century encyclopaedias, *Herders Conversations-Lexikon*, *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, and *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*. By way of comparison, the single-gender *Lexikon deutscher Frauen der Feder* (Encyclopaedia of German Women Writers) will also be considered. Created by Bartholomäus Herder (1774-1839), *Herders Conversations-Lexikon* was designed to provide an encyclopaedia from a Catholic viewpoint. Besides this general encyclopaedia, Herder's publishing house brought out special-interest books dealing with such subjects as theology, politics, history, music, literature, philosophy, and sciences. His catalogue included encyclopaedias, monographs, and textbooks, and his attempt at highlighting Catholic works and mindsets was taken note of by himself and

¹ For further details on the fragmentary nature of knowledge presented in encyclopaedias and dictionaries, see Daniele Besomi, 'Introduction', in *Crises and Cycles in Economic Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias*, ed. by Daniele Besomi (London/New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 3-26 (pp. 6-8).

his contemporaries alike. According to Rudolf Schmidt, a reviewer of Herder's catalogue once remarked that:

Herder's publishing house is a curious appearance of our cultural life. It is only the exhibition [of the works published by Herder] at which one notices how elegantly, systematically, and magnificently the Catholic Freiburg publisher manages to replace by way of surrogates all works of non-Catholic scholarship, including encyclopaedia and textbook, as well as scholarly representations of history and sciences.²

Herder confirms this view by stating that:

The only way through which the clergy or someone else may influence the indifferent and non-Catholics is through publishing, and we can only make an impact through the press if our publications are of such a high intellectual, scholarly, literary, and moral value that the non-Catholics either read them, or drop behind this most advanced education of the time.³

The socio-political conviction underpinned in *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon* is less obvious, although its founder, Joseph Meyer (1796-1856), placed himself clearly among the opposition of the *Vormärz*. In his periodical, *Der Volksfreund* (The People's Friend), he advocated political education as well as freedom of opinion and press. *Der Volksfreund* was banned in 1832, only two years after its foundation.⁴ However, the sixth edition of *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, which I cite here, is prefaced by way of a plea for objectivity, especially:

when it is about matters, which elude exact research, or which are in any way arguable. This objectivity must be maintained especially in the most difficult of all relevant areas, politics. The question of a conservative or liberal line must not come into consideration for a trustworthy

² Rudolf Schmidt, *Deutsche Buchhändler: Deutsche Buchdrucker*, 3rd edn (Berlin/Eberswalde: Weber, 1905), pp. 420-425 (p. 423). 'Der Herdersche Verlag ist eine merkwürdige Erscheinung unseres Kulturlebens. Erst hier [...] erkennt man, wie geschickt, planmäßig, großartig der katholische Freiburger Verleger alle Werke der nicht spezifisch katholischen Wissenschaft, Konversationslexikon und Schulbuch ebenso wie die gelehrte Darstellung der Geschichte und Naturwissenschaft, durch entsprechende Surrogate zu verdrängen weiß'.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 423. 'Der einzige Weg, auf welchem der Klerus oder sonst jemand auf die Masse der Indifferenten und Akatholiken einwirken kann, ist jener der Presse, und wir können eben durch die Presse nur dann einwirken, wenn unsere Veröffentlichungen von einem so hohen geistigen, wissenschaftlichen, litterarischen und sittlichen Werte sind, daß die Akatholiken sie entweder lesen oder hinter der fortgeschrittensten Bildung der Zeit zurückbleiben müssen'.

⁴ Werner Greiling, 'Presse und Öffentlichkeit in Sachsen-Meiningen als Vehikel der Moderne?', in *Herzog Georg II. von Sachsen-Meiningen (1826-1914): Kultur als Behauptungsstrategie?*, ed. by Maren Goltz, Werner Greiling and Johannes Mötsch (Cologne: Böhlau, 2015), pp. 203-222 (p. 209).

encyclopaedia for a politically largely divided people, and the *Konversations-Lexikon* must refrain from taking any political side and must focus on the national interest only.⁵

While the question whether or not the editors of an encyclopaedia can be trusted when they promise political objectivity in their own work remains unanswered, it is noteworthy that the sixth edition of this compilation was put together by a large number of contributors. Furthermore, the later years of publication, 1902-09, might point to a slightly more neutral approach to the distribution of knowledge than the approach taken in nineteenth-century encyclopaedias.

The eleventh edition of *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*, which I use here, was published in 1911. It was initiated by Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus (1772-1823) and was continued by his sons, Friedrich (1800-1865) and Heinrich (1804-1874), and later by Heinrich's sons Eduard (1829-1914) and Rudolf (1838-1898), the latter of whom was a national liberal member of the *Deutscher Reichstag* from 1871 to 1878. Eduard and Rudolf Brockhaus resigned in 1895, followed by their sons Albert (1855-1901) and Rudolf jun. (1864-?) and, in 1905, by Albert's brother Fritz (1874-?).⁶ It is unknown whether much of Rudolf's national liberalism surfaced in his own and subsequent editions of the encyclopaedia, and there is no preface included in this edition which might point to possible biases.

By contrast, the preface to the fourth edition of *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon* offers valuable insight into the editor's political awareness. The editor states that he was afraid that a new, fully revised version of the whole work might be a risky undertaking

⁵ *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, 20 vols, 6th edn (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1902-09), I, pp. 4-5. Hereafter referred to as *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*. 'wenn es sich um Dinge handelt, die sich der exakten Forschung entziehen, oder die noch in irgend einer Beziehung streitig sind. Diese Objektivität muß sich besonders dem schwierigsten aller in den Bereich des Konversations-Lexikons fallenden Wissensgebiete, der Politik, gegenüber bewähren. [...] [Die] Frage, ob konservativ oder liberal, [kann] für den Vertrauensmann eines politisch vielfach gespaltenen Volkes nicht in Betracht kommen, [und] das Konversations-Lexikon [hat] sich vielmehr jeder politischen Parteinahme zu entschlagen und als obersten Gesichtspunkt nur das nationale Interesse im Auge zu behalten'.

⁶ *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*, 12 vols, 5th edn (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1911), I, p. 270. Hereafter referred to as *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*, 5th edn.

during the unsteady times which ruled from March 1848 onwards.⁷ Nevertheless, the third edition of *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon* appeared in 1852, followed by the fourth edition between 1857 and 1865. In the preface of this fourth edition, the 'scholarly seriousness', the 'unbiased joy about the achievements in all areas of research', and the 'ambition to increase the standard of general education' are emphasised as the basic principles on which this encyclopaedia was initiated.⁸ However, it is a difficult task to judge whether the editor's objectivity in the spirit of serious scholarship were preserved throughout the encyclopaedia and excluded any possible biases.

In the light of Herder's interest in Catholic matters, it is not surprising that the earliest mention of Johanna Kinkel in a general German-language encyclopaedia appeared in *Herders Conversations-Lexikon*. It dates back to 1855. In the article on Gottfried Kinkel, the encyclopaedia speaks of Johanna as Gottfried Kinkel's wife, 'who influenced his mindset to a great extent' and who published *Erzählungen* (1849) as well as *Acht Briefe über Clavier-Unterricht* (1852).⁹ Although Johanna Kinkel is not granted a separate article, the entry on Gottfried Kinkel even includes the side note that Johanna is 'the divorced wife of a Catholic book seller', which shows the extraordinariness of a divorce within nineteenth-century discourse. By way of comparison, Josephine Lang and Clara Schumann are not mentioned in this encyclopaedia at all. Fanny Hensel is

⁷ *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, ed. by Heinrich August Pierer, 19 vols, 4th edn (Altenburg: Pierer-Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1857–65), I, p. v. Hereafter referred to as *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, 4th edn. 'So fürchtete der Begründer des Unternehmens doch, dass bei den schwankenden Zeitverhältnissen, die nach dem März des Jahres 1848 eintraten, eine neue, vollständige Umarbeitung des Ganzen ein gewagtes Beginnen sein würde'.

⁸ *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, ed. by Heinrich August Pierer, 19 vols, 4th edn (Altenburg: Pierer-Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1857–65), I, p. v. 'wissenschaftlicher Ernst', 'unintessirte Freude an den Resultaten der Forschung auf allen Gebieten des Wissens', 'Streben, die allgemeine Bildung zu heben und zu fördern'.

⁹ *Herders Conversations-Lexikon*, ed. by Bartholomä Herder, 5 vols (Freiburg: Herder, 1854–57), III, p. 591. Hereafter referred to as *Herders Conversations-Lexikon*. 'Kinkel, geb. 1815 zu Oberkassel, Docent und 1846 Professor zu Bonn, Aesthetiker u. Dichter. seit 1845 [sic] mit Johanna Mockel, der geschiedenen Frau eines kath. Buchhändlers, vermählt, die auf seine Geisteshaltung großen Einfluß übte. [...] Von seinem Weibe erschienen: "Erzählungen", Stuttg. 1849; "Acht Briefe über Klavierunterricht", Stuttg. 1852'.

given a very brief mention in her husband's entry, which states that 'Hensel was known on account of her musical education and numerous compositions'.¹⁰

Only five years later, in 1860, *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon* acknowledged, in a separate article dedicated to Johanna, her *Erzählungen*, her *Acht Briefe*, as well as her novel *Hans Ibeles in London*. The main part of the entry deals with Johanna's marriage to the bookseller Mathieux and her subsequent divorce, but the article also briefly mentions Johanna's musical talent.¹¹ Unfortunately, Kinkel's date of birth is wrong in this article, which calls into question the diligence with which this entry was put together. However, the fact that the 1860 publication *Hans Ibeles* was mentioned in this article of the same year indicates timeliness. Fanny Hensel received a slightly more detailed entry here than in *Herders Conversations-Lexikon*, which states that she 'enjoyed an excellent musical education under Zelter and Berger, composed several works, some of which were first published under her husband's name and were only published in collections under her own name shortly before her death'.¹² Clara Schumann is mentioned here primarily on account of her engagement as a performer and teacher – her compositional activities are only granted an aside.¹³ Josephine Lang is not given her own entry. She is only mentioned as Christian Reinhold Köstlin's wife and is referred to as a singer.¹⁴

In 1898, Kinkel, like her contemporaries Bettina von Arnim, Fanny Lewald, Louise Aston (1814–1871), Caroline de la Motte Fouqué (1773–1831), Henriette

¹⁰ *Herders Conversations-Lexikon*, III, p. 275. 'Fanny H.[ensel] [...] machte sich ebenfalls durch ihre musikalische Bildung u. durch mehre Compositionen bekannt'.

¹¹ *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, 4th edn, IX, p. 494. Hereafter referred to as *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, 4th edn. 'Kinkel, Johanna, geb. 8 Juli 1807 in Bonn, Tochter des dortigen Gymnasiallehrers Mockel, zeigte früh großes musikalisches Talent, heirathete 1823 den Buchhändler Mathieux, trennte sich jedoch nach einem halben Jahre wieder von ihm u. wurde 1840 rechtskräftig geschieden, worauf sie 1843 den Vorigen heirathete. 1851 folgte sie demselben nach London u. st. daselbst, 17 Nov. 1858 in Folge eines Sturzes aus dem Fenster; sie schr. außer den Erzählungen mit dem Vorigen: Acht Briefe über Clavierunterricht Stuttgart 1852; in ihrem Nachlasse fand sich der Roman Hans Ibeles in London'.

¹² *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, 4th edn, VIII, p. 245. 'Fanny [...] genoß eine ausgezeichnete musikalische Bildung unter Zelter u. Berger, componirte mehreres, das Anfangs einzeln unter ihres Gatten Namen u. erst kurz vor ihrem Tode in Heften gesammelt unter ihrem eignen erschien'.

¹³ *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, 4th edn, XV, p. 473.

¹⁴ *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, 4th edn, IX, p. 744.

Frölich (1768–1833), and Rahel Varnhagen, is mentioned as a female author in *Lexikon deutscher Frauen der Feder*, which confirms her public reception as a writer rather than as a composer.¹⁵

In 1907, *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon* mentions Johanna Kinkel as the founder of the *Maikäferbund* and characterises her as ‘having a clear and still fanciful intellect’ with a great influence on her husband.¹⁶ Here, Johanna Kinkel is also given a separate entry, which names her a ‘writer’ and which provides details on her first marriage and divorce. More interestingly, however, this article is the first to acknowledge her as a composer, mentioning that ‘among her musical compositions, the *Vogelkantate* became popular’. It also refers to Kinkel’s musical activities with the *Bonner Gesangverein*. Although Kinkel’s musicality is mentioned briefly, her writing skills are granted priority. The article states that:

Johanna Kinkel’s nature was a rare mixture of lyrical sentiment and prosaic intellect, which also surfaces in her *Erzählungen* (Stuttg. 1849, 3rd edition 1883), published together with G. [Kinkel]. Her posthumously published novel *Hans Ibeles in London* (Stuttg. 1860, 2 volumes) includes sharp satirical images of the German revolutionary refugees in London.¹⁷

Despite Meyer’s relatively detailed entry on Johanna Kinkel, the encyclopaedia does not refer to her stage works or her art songs, which form the main part of her compositional oeuvre. Wilhelm Hensel’s entry includes an aside about his wife Fanny, and states that she was an ‘excellent pianist and a talented composer’, and even mentions her *Lieder ohne Worte*, Lieder, as well as a piano trio.¹⁸ In Köstlin’s entry, Josephine Lang is

¹⁵ *Lexikon deutscher Frauen der Feder*, ed. by Sophie Pataky, 2 vols (Berlin: Pataky, 1898), I, pp. 426–27.

¹⁶ *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, XI, pp. 24–25. ‘Kinkel, 1) Gottfried, [...] Nach seiner Rückkehr 1838 kam er mit Simrock, Freilighrath, Matzerath und Wolfgang Müller in nähere Verbindung und lernte um dieselbe Zeit seine nachherige Gattin Johanna, geborne Mockel [...], kennen, die mit ihrem klaren und doch phantasiereichen Geist einen großen Einfluß auf ihn gewann’.

¹⁷ *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, XI, pp. 24–25. ‘Johanna K. war eine aus schwärmerischer Empfindung und nüchternem Verstand selten gemischte Natur, die sich auch in ihren gemeinsam mit G. herausgegebenen “Erzählungen” (Stuttg. 1849, 3. Aufl. 1883) offenbarte. Ihr hinterlassener Roman “Hans Ibeles in London” (Stuttg. 1860, 2 Bde.) enthält scharf satirische Bilder der deutschen revolutionären Flüchtlinge in London [...]’.

¹⁸ *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, IX, p. 176. ‘eine ausgezeichnete Klavierspielerin und begabte Komponistin (Lieder ohne Worte, Lieder und ein Klaviertrio)’.

mentioned as a Lieder composer.¹⁹ Clara Schumann is not mentioned in this encyclopaedia at all.

The first time Kinkel's Lieder were mentioned in a general encyclopaedia was in 1911 in *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*, in which Johanna is included in the entry dealing with Gottfried Kinkel.²⁰ Like in the example above, Josephine Lang is mentioned as a Lieder composer in her husband's article.²¹ Clara Schumann is not mentioned, and Fanny Hensel only receives an aside in her husband's entry, in which she is referred to as composer.²² This encyclopaedia only includes two volumes, so it is not surprising that its entries are kept rather concise.

Compared to her contemporaries Josephine Lang, Fanny Hensel, and Clara Schumann, Johanna Kinkel seemed to be especially worth mentioning, and, consequently, well-known for her private life, i.e. her first marriage followed by a divorce, her second marriage, and her strong personality. While Hensel and Lang were usually mentioned very briefly on account of their husbands, Clara Schumann received even less recognition by most encyclopaedias. Kinkel, on the other hand, was given separate entries in most encyclopaedias, and she distinguished herself from her contemporary female composers by way of her multi-faceted artistic talent. Neither Hensel nor Lang nor Schumann published prose, and most early encyclopaedia entries seemed to focus on Kinkel's writing rather than her compositional and music-pedagogical activities. Although all of Kinkel's Lieder publications came out during her lifetime (rather than posthumously), they were not mentioned in an encyclopaedia until 1911, while her novel *Hans Ibeles in London*, published in 1860, was mentioned in an article as early as 1860, an aspect which reflects Kinkel's public image as a writer rather than a composer during the second half of the nineteenth century. Perhaps reception

¹⁹ *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, XI, p. 535.

²⁰ *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*, 5th edn, I, p. 965. 'K.s erste Gattin, Johanna K., [...] durch Liederkompositionen und Erzählungen (1849) bekannt'.

²¹ *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*, 5th edn, I, p. 1012.

²² *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*, 5th edn, I, p. 789.

history acknowledged Kinkel's fictional and pedagogical writings first because these genres were associated with the feminine (reproducing) domain, whereas the (creative) areas of composition and scholarly writings were believed to be strongly dominated by men.²³ This aspect, besides her extraordinary biography, might explain why Kinkel was generally given more room in these early encyclopaedias than Hensel, Lang, and Schumann.

3.1.2 Memoirs of Johanna Kinkel's friends and family members

When Eduard Hanslick (1825–1904) visited Gottfried Kinkel in London in 1862, he was struck by a big portrait of Johanna Kinkel which was placed above the piano in their living room. In his memoirs, Hanslick regrets that he was not able to thank the 'musical martyr' for the 'excellent book "Hans Ibeles", in which she describes the difficult time of her emigration to London and into which she weaves so many brilliant remarks about music'.²⁴ Also Louise Büchner (1821–1877) also acknowledged 'the famous Johanna Kinkel' as both a writer and a composer. However, she mentioned Johanna Kinkel primarily in a political context alongside Gottfried Kinkel. In her account of German history from 1815 to 1870, Büchner characterises Johanna as the woman 'who blazes her trail through the enemy troops to the headquarters; she pled for her husband's life'.²⁵ Neither Hanslick nor Büchner ever befriended Johanna Kinkel during her lifetime, yet their perception of her seems authentic. One of Kinkel's best friends, Malwida von Meysenbug, gives a similar account of Kinkel as Gottfried's

²³ James Deaville, 'This Is (Y)our Life: (Re)Writing Women's Autobiographies in Music in Nineteenth-Century Germany', in *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms*, ed. by Jolanta T. Pekacz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 135–58 (p. 136). Hereafter referred to as Deaville, 'This Is (Y)our Life'. The entire volume is hereafter referred to as Pekacz, *Musical Biography*.

²⁴ Eduard Hanslick, *Aus meinem Leben*, ed. by Peter Wapnewski (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), pp. 204–05. 'Die arme Johanna Kinkel! Wie oft hatte ich mir gewünscht, ihr für das vortreffliche Buch "Hans Ibeles" danken zu können, in welchem sie die erste schwere Zeit ihrer Londoner Ansiedlung schildert und sovieler geistvolle Bemerkungen über Musik einflicht'.

²⁵ Louise Büchner, *Deutsche Geschichte von 1815 bis 1870* (Leipzig: Theodor Thomas, 1875), pp. 542–43. 'Auch über Kinkels Haupt schwebte das düstre Verhängniß; seine Frau, die berühmte Johanna Kinkel, Schriftstellerin und Komponistin, bahnte sich den Weg durch die feindlichen Truppen nach dem Hauptquartier; sie flehte um das Leben ihres Gatten'.

rescuer in life, who supported her husband throughout their joint life. In her memoirs she writes: ‘The general deepest sympathy supported the desperate rescue efforts of Johanna, who, heroically, had not tried to restrain him in order to save his life when he left for the bloody battle’.²⁶ Malwida von Meysenbug was also deeply fascinated by Johanna’s completed novel *Hans Ibeles* and other literary works, and she regretted that ‘she was not able to practise her literary talent to a greater extent, which was certainly equal to her musical talent’.²⁷ Besides Kinkel’s rescue of her husband and her great literary talent, the memories of her close friends reveal further insight into Kinkel’s personality. Ferdinand Freiligrath’s poem ‘Nach Johanna Kinkels Begräbniß’ (After Johanna Kinkel’s Burial), which he read at Kinkel’s funeral, points to Kinkel’s contemporary reception. The last verse reads:

What gave your life support and direction,–
Here they are, at your grave: freedom, love, and poetry!²⁸

Malwida von Meysenbug states that Kinkel was:

A bright example that a woman can also be a brave fighter for truth and right; that she can be a tireless creator at the highest realms of intellectual work while carrying out in the most noble manner her household duties as a wife and a mother and even contributing to the material maintenance of the family.²⁹

Another friend, Fanny Lewald, stressed Kinkel’s ‘willingness to forget herself in order to save others from bad impressions’ by pretending happiness and carefreeness.³⁰ The image of a sacrificing housewife is also given by Johanna Kinkel’s daughter, Adelheid von Asten-Kinkel (1846–1928), whose childhood memories are included in Joseph

²⁶ von Meysenbug, *Gesammelte Werke*, II, p. 384. ‘Die allgemeine tiefste Teilnahme unterstützte die verzweifelten Anstrengungen Johannas, die ihn heldenmütig nicht zurückgehalten, als er zum blutigen Kampf auszog, ihn zu retten’.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 119. ‘Und es hatte mich immer bedauern lassen, daß sie nicht in größerem Maße zur Ausübung ihrer schriftstellerischen Begabung kam, die ihrer musikalischen gewiß gleich war’.

²⁸ Freiligrath, cited after Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder*, p. 33. ‘Die deinem Leben stets den Halt gegeben und die Richtung, – | Hier steh’n sie, wo dein Hügel wallt: Freiheit, und Lieb’, und Dichtung!’.

²⁹ von Meysenbug, *Gesammelte Werke*, II, p. 127. ‘Ein leuchtendes Beispiel, daß auch das Weib eine unerschrockene Kämpferin für Wahrheit und Recht und unermüdlich tätig sein kann auf den höchsten Gebieten geistigen Schaffens, dabei aber nicht nur jede Pflicht des häuslichen Lebens als Gattin und Mutter in edelster Weise erfüllen, sondern sogar für den materiellen Unterhalt der Familie mitsorgen kann’.

³⁰ Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder*, p. 5. ‘Sie war unbeschreiblich rührend in dem Bestreben, sich selbst zu vergessen, um Andern einen trüben Eindruck zu sparen’.

Joesten's *Kulturbilder aus dem Rheinland* (Cultural Images from the Rhineland). Joesten remarks that Johanna 'carried out all duties of a housewife and was friendly and generous' when friends visited the house in the evening, although she had given three or four singing lessons in the morning.³¹ Lewald praises Johanna Kinkel as a woman and housewife and admits that 'one forgot that she was a remarkable poet and a great musician, because one was only able to think about what kind of a woman and what kind of a character she was'.³² Lewald's observation is interesting in two ways. Firstly, she acknowledged Kinkel's great musical and literary talent; and secondly, she made a strong point regarding Kinkel's extraordinary personality, which was also noted by Malwida von Meysenbug, who followed Johanna to London in 1852. Von Meysenbug characterised her 'refugee friend' Johanna as a 'highly-talented, very distinctive woman' full of genius, but very unlucky.³³ Furthermore, in her memoirs, von Meysenbug remembers Kinkel's appearance as:

Nothing which one would usually call beautiful or graceful when talking about women; her traits were strong, almost masculine, her complexion was remarkably dark, her stature was compact, but above all of this sat her incredible dark eyes, which attested to a world of intellect and sentiment. And a wealth of emotion resounded in the rich modulations of her deep full voice so that, at first glance, one had to say 'What a remarkable woman!' rather than 'How ugly this woman is'.³⁴

This impression was shared by Fanny Lewald, who describes Kinkel's traits as 'unbeautiful' when she first met her: 'I was always told that Johanna would be ugly; but

³¹ Joseph Joesten, *Kulturbilder aus dem Rheinland: Beiträge zur Geschichte der geistigen und sozialen Bewegungen des achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhunderts am Rhein* (Bonn: Universitäts-Verlag, 1902), p. 84. Hereafter referred to as Joesten, *Kulturbilder aus dem Rheinland*. 'Wenn sie am Vormittage drei bis vier Gesangstunden und damit zum Unterhalt des Hausstandes den Hauptteil beigetragen hatte, erfüllte sie noch in musterhafter Weise die nächsten Hausfrauenpflichten und war am Abend gegen die Freunde des Hauses unermüdlich ausgiebig und freundlich'.

³² Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder*, p. 3. 'Man vergaß es, daß sie eine bedeutende Dichterin, daß sie eine große Musikerin war, weil man immer nur daran zu denken hatte, welch eine Frau und welch ein Charakter sie sei'.

³³ von Meysenbug, *Gesammelte Werke*, I, p. 260 'Flüchtlingsfreunde'; and p. 262 'hochbegabte, sehr eigentümliche Frau'.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 265–66. 'Johanna Kinkel hatte nichts in ihrem Äußeren, was man gewöhnlich bei Frauen schön oder anmutig nennt; ihre Züge waren stark, fast männlich, ihr Teint auffallend dunkel, ihre Gestalt massiv, aber über dem allem thronten ein paar wunderbare dunkle Augen, die von einer Welt von Geist und Empfindung zeugten, und in den reichen Modulationen ihrer tiefen, vollen Stimme tönte eine Fülle des Gefühls, so daß man unmöglich beim ersten Eindruck sagen könnte: "Wie hässlich ist diese Frau!" sondern sagen mußte: "Welch eine bedeutende Frau!"'.

I saw this only for a short moment, as the whole beauty of this woman surfaced when she directed her big soulful eyes at me'.³⁵ Joesten admits that Johanna Kinkel was not blessed with beauty, but he points out that her 'almost masculine education' made up for her missing feminine grace.³⁶ Jacob Burckhardt's letters to Johanna Kinkel, in which he always refers to Johanna as 'Directrix', a nickname which she was given during the *Maikäfer* gatherings, confirm that Johanna must have been respected as a well-educated woman, because he discusses philosophical aspects with her in his letters.³⁷ Paul Kaufmann, who was related to Kinkel's friends Alexander and Leopold Kaufmann, described Kinkel as a 'strong-willed, almost masculine' character who intellectually outclassed and led Gottfried Kinkel.³⁸ Kinkel's sharp intellect and her decisiveness, along with her 'great humour' and her 'plain and cheerful straightforwardness' were also evident to her students and the members of the *Bonner Gesangverein*.³⁹ These traits also surfaced in Kinkel's teaching methods. Malwida von Meysenbug recalls a holiday with the Kinkels outside of London and praises Kinkel's approach as a teacher:

[In the morning] the children worked under their father's supervision so that Johanna was able to live for her art, i.e. music; a leisure, which was a rare privilege in London. In the afternoon, she looked after the children's musical education, which she carried out with exceptional talent so that the small quartet was already capable of lovely performances.⁴⁰

Furthermore, von Meysenbug describes the education of her own children:

³⁵ Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder*, p. 2. 'Die Formen desselben [Geschöpfes: Johanna Kinkel] [...] fielen mir als unschön auf, man hatte mir auch immer gesagt, daß Johanna häßlich sei; aber ich sah das nur für einen Moment, denn als sie die großen seelenvollen Augen auf mich richtete, leuchtete mir die ganze Schönheit dieser Frau entgegen'.

³⁶ Joesten, *Kulturbilder aus dem Rheinland*, p. 84. 'fast männliche Bildung'.

³⁷ Jacob Burckhardt, *Briefe Jacob Burckhardts an Gottfried (und Johanna) Kinkel*, ed. by Rudolf Meyer-Kraemer (Basel: Schwabe, 1921), pp. 73 and 90.

³⁸ Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild', p. 290. 'Johanna besaß einen entschiedenen, fast männlichen Willen. [...] Den als gottbegnadeten Genius angebeteten Kinkel, einen im Grunde lenksamen Idealisten, hat Johanna geistig überschaut und geführt'.

³⁹ von Meysenbug, *Gesammelte Werke*, II, pp. 12–13. 'Ganz besonders schön waren die Abende, an denen uns Johanna ihre begonnenen Memoiren vorlas, die sie leider nie vollendet hat. Es war bei dieser Lesung, bei dem köstlichen Humor, mit dem sie die Anekdoten aus dem Leben ihrer Großeltern und Eltern erzählte, daß ich zum erstenmal wieder herzlich lachte'. Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder*, p. 1. 'schlichte und heitere Einfachheit'.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12. 'Die Kinder arbeiteten nach des Vaters Aufgabe, und so blieb Johanna der Morgen frei, um in Muße, die ihr in London selten zuteil wurde, ihrer Kunst, d. h. der Musik zu leben. Am Nachmittag übernahm die sie den Musikunterricht der Kinder, den sie mit seltener Begabung leitete, so daß das kleine Quartett bereits zu lieblichen Leistungen fähig war'.

The education of the children was highly-organised, and I was especially relieved to be able to put Johanna Kinkel in charge of their musical education; who, although she was a first-class musician herself, had completely devoted herself to direct the initial musical instruction of children.⁴¹

Von Meysenbug also speaks very well of Kinkel's singing classes:

through which she trained the musical ear and the singing of correct intervals. [...] Charming musical performances evolved under Johanna's careful supervision, which, by means of healthy exercise, strengthened and improved the child's voice rather than damaging it.⁴²

Wilhelm Lübke (1826–1893), a student of Gottfried Kinkel's and a regular visitor at the Kinkels' house, recalls his memories of the *Bonner Gesangverein*, which was led by the 'musically highly talented Johanna Kinkel' and at whose rehearsals he participated with great pleasure. Lübke praises Kinkel's technical understanding of music, but also adds that she was able to introduce the singers to the 'inner structures of the works with brilliant comments'.⁴³ Lübke also mentions his friend Andreas Simons, who used to live with the Kinkels and whose bass voice was trained by Johanna Kinkel. Simons, according to Lübke, liked to sing Kinkel's compositions 'with which she glorified primarily her husband's poems'.⁴⁴ Lübke mentions as examples the two Lieder 'Es ist so still geworden' (op. 18, no. 1) and 'Auf einsam hohen Thurme' (op. 17, no. 6). As regards Kinkel's Lieder, Malwida von Meysenbug recalls Gottfried Kinkel's self-consoling words that Johanna 'would live on in her Lieder' when he took leave of his

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 457. 'Der Unterricht der Kinder wurde auf das reichlichste organisiert, und ganz besonders gereichte es mir zur Beruhigung, seine musikalische Seite in die Hände Johanna Kinkels legen zu können, die, obgleich selbst Musikerin ersten Ranges, es sich doch ganz zur Aufgabe gemacht hatte, den ersten Musikunterricht von Kindern zu leiten'.

⁴² Ibid., p. 457. 'Namentlich legte sie Gewicht auf eine Singklasse, durch die sie das musikalische Gehör und die Fertigkeit im Treffen der Intervalle entwickelte. [...] Unter der vorsichtigen Leitung Johannas entstanden hier reizende musikalische Wirkungen, die das kindliche Organ nicht nur nicht beschädigten, sondern im Gegenteil es durch gesunde Übung kräftigten und verschönten'.

⁴³ Wilhelm Lübke, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin: Fontane, 1891), p. 106. Hereafter referred to as Lübke, *Lebenserinnerungen*. 'Die edle kunstbegabte Frau wußte nicht bloß das Technische völlig zu beherrschen, sondern sie verstand es, uns durch geistvolle Bemerkungen in das innere Verständnis der Tonschöpfungen einzuführen'.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 105. 'Am liebsten sang er [Andreas Simons] ihre Compositionen, mit denen sie vorzugsweise die Gedichte ihres Mannes verherrlichte'.

wife at her funeral.⁴⁵ Although Wilhelm Lübke's perception that Johanna mainly set her husband's words seems rather uninformed, his observation and Gottfried Kinkel's remark enable two conclusions. Firstly, in contrast to the public perception of Kinkel as a strong influence on her husband and as a writer, Kinkel was especially respected for her strong-willed, self-sacrificing personality, her great organisational talent, her sharp intellect and her witty humour among her friends, who also praised her as a brilliant pianist and Lieder composer. Secondly, among all her Lieder compositions, her settings of Gottfried Kinkel's words must have been performed frequently during the 1840s, which suggests Johanna's strong attachment to her husband. At a more general level, it is noteworthy that, in contrast to the late nineteenth-century public reception, Johanna Kinkel's friends and family give a much more diverse account of her life and works, referring to her musical, literary and pedagogical talent in a more evenly-balanced way. Naturally, Kinkel's friends describe her personality at greater detail than general encyclopaedias. However, the late nineteenth-century/early twentieth-century encyclopaedia entries, unlike Kinkel's friends, perceived her with a great deal of suspicion, which could be attributed to the general socio-political tenor of the time and Kinkel's relatively progressive way of life.

3.2 Twentieth century to the present

3.2.1 Twentieth-century encyclopaedias and essays

Whereas Johanna Kinkel has a place in most of the literary twentieth-century encyclopaedias, her acknowledgement within the field of musicology is a relatively recent phenomenon. Neither the first edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (published in 1949-86) nor that of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*

⁴⁵ von Meysenbug, *Gesammelte Werke*, II, p. 127. 'Er sprach von ihrem Mut, wie der Feind nie eine Träne in ihrem Auge gesehen, wie sie ihr Vaterland geliebt habe, wie sie fortlebe in ihren Liedern, und ihr Glaube und ihr Streben in ihren Kindern und in braven Herzen, in denen sie das heilige Feuer angefacht'.

(published in 1879-90) includes an entry on Johanna Kinkel.⁴⁶ While the editorial process of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* took a considerable amount of time – there is no edition between the first and the most recent one, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* appeared in six editions between its first and most recent versions.⁴⁷ Clara Schumann, Fanny Hensel, and Josephine Lang are mentioned in all these editions, but, despite John Alexander Fuller Maitland's and Henry Cope Colles's particular interests in song and nineteenth-century Germany, Johanna Kinkel is not mentioned in any of these earlier editions.⁴⁸

In English-language literary dictionaries, Johanna Kinkel seems to be considered a remarkable female writer, but she is granted only little prominence within the gender-neutral literary canon. The *Bloomsbury Guide to Women's Literature* (published in 1992) acknowledges Johanna Kinkel in a separate article as:

A pianist and composer [who] moved in the progressive circles in Berlin and Bonn [...] [and who] wrote beautifully-crafted stories on musical themes, and a novel *Hans Ibeles* (1860), about life in exile.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume and others, 17 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–86); *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by George Grove, 4 vols (London: Macmillan, 1879-90).

⁴⁷ The chronology of all editions is as follows: *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by J. A. Fuller Maitland, 2nd edn, 5 vols (London: Macmillan, 1904-1910); *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by H. C. Colles, 3rd edn, 5 vols (London: Macmillan, 1927); *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by H. C. Colles, 4th edn, 5 vols, with supplementary vol (London: Macmillan, 1940); *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Eric Blom, 5th edn, 9 vols (London: Macmillan, 1954); *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Sadie Stanley, 6th edn, 9 vols (London: Macmillan, 1970); *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980); *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 2nd edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001).

⁴⁸ Fuller Maitland (1856-1936) published on English folk song as well as the chamber and piano music by Joseph Joachim, Robert Schumann and Johannes Brahms. See Colles's article on Fuller Maitland in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4th edn, II, pp. 327-28 and Frank Howes/SL, 'Fuller Maitland, John Alexander', in *MGG Online*, ed. by Laurenz Lütteken (Kassel, Stuttgart, New York: Bärenreiter, 2016ff.), first published in 2002, published online 2016 <<https://mgg-online-com.jproxy.nuim.ie/article?id=mgg04950&v=1.0&rs=mgg04950>> [19 January 2017]. Colles had a particular interest in church music, and also published a monograph on Brahms (1908) and on voice and verse in English song (1928). See Eric Blom's entry on Colles in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th edn, II, pp. 376-77 and Arthur Dennis Walker/Redlich, Hans F., 'Colles, Henry Cope', in *MGG Online*, ed. by Laurenz Lütteken (Kassel, Stuttgart, New York: Bärenreiter, 2016ff.), first published 2000, published online 2016 <<https://mgg-online-com.jproxy.nuim.ie/article?id=mgg03012&v=1.0&rs=mgg03012>> [17 January 2017].

⁴⁹ *Bloomsbury Guide to Women's Literature*, ed. by Claire Buck (London: Bloomsbury, 1992), p. 700.

The *Larousse Dictionary of Writers* mentions Kinkel only in conjunction with her husband as a ‘distinguished musician’ and as the author of *Hans Ibeles in London* and *Erzählungen*.⁵⁰ The German-language *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, published in 1981, does not refer to Kinkel’s literary works, but mentions Kinkel in an individual entry and stresses her socio-political background:

[Kinkel is a] musical pedagogue in Berlin [who] converted to the Protestant faith, married Gottfried K. in 1843; established the *Maikäferbund* and followed her husband to London in 1850, [...]. Relationship to Bettina von Arnim; story teller, composer.⁵¹

On the other hand, however, the musical aspect of Kinkel’s biography surfaces in this article, a novel aspect in comparison to nineteenth-century public reception. Did Kinkel’s reception experience a shift towards a greater acknowledgement of her musical achievements in the middle of the twentieth century? Kinkel is included in both the second edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (published in 2003) and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (published in 2001), a fact which supports this observation. Both entries cover Kinkel’s most important biographical steps. Regarding Kinkel’s musical and literary oeuvre, Sigrid Nieberle, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, provides a little more detail on the socio-political content of Kinkel’s *Acht Briefe über Clavier-Unterricht*, *Hans Ibeles in London*, and *Musikalische Orthodoxie*. Nieberle refers to Kinkel as ‘one of the protagonists of the 1848 revolution, [who] criticised the common gender roles all her life and reflected the issue of “female composition” and of female musical education’.⁵² Furthermore, Nieberle includes a

⁵⁰ *Larousse Dictionary of Writers*, ed. by Rosemary Goring (Edinburgh: Larousse, 1994), p. 531.

⁵¹ *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, ed. by Heinz Rupp and Carl Ludwig Lang, 3rd edn, 35 vols (Bern: Francke/ Munich: Saur/ Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966–), VIII, p. 1179. This encyclopaedia is hereafter referred to as *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, 3rd edn. ‘Kinkel, Johanna [...]; nach kurzer unglücklicher Ehe mit dem Kölner Buchhändler Mathieux lebte sie als Musiklehrerin in Berlin, trat zum protestantischen Glauben über, um 1843 Gottfried Kinkel zu heiraten; gründete den “Maikäferbund” und folgte ihrem Gatten 1850 ins Exil nach London, wo sie infolge eines Fenstersturzes starb. Verbindung mit Bettina von Arnim. Erzählerin, Komponistin’.

⁵² Sigrid Nieberle, ‘Kinkel, Johanna’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, x, Personenteil, pp. 131–34 (p. 132). Hereafter referred to as Nieberle, ‘Kinkel, Johanna’. ‘Zudem gilt sie mit ihrem realpolitischen Engagement als eine der Protagonistinnen der 1848er Revolution. Zeitlebens kritisierte sie die gängigen Geschlechterrollen und reflektierte die Problematik der “Damenkomposition“ und der weiblichen Musikerziehung’.

great deal of reception history in her entry and states that her ‘music-theoretically prospective essays on Chopin and Beethoven have been granted the deserved attention since the 1980s and 1990s’.⁵³ Finally, Nieberle acknowledges the way in which Kinkel professionalised her teaching skills at a commercial level and encouraged her environment to participate at musical lessons and dilettante performances. Thus, Nieberle focuses on Kinkel’s musical and literary achievements within her social context, an approach which differs from the one taken by Ann Willison Lemke in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Willison Lemke’s article is much shorter than the German-language equivalent in the *MGG*, referring to Kinkel’s political involvement only very briefly and naming fewer literary and musical works. However, one aspect deserves special attention, namely Willison Lemke’s relatively detailed approach to Kinkel’s Lieder. Firstly, Willison Lemke mentions that ‘unique among women of her day, Johanna wrote and set texts promoting revolutionary ideals’.⁵⁴ Secondly, she includes some compositional features of Kinkel’s Lieder and holds that ‘her songs are characterised by lyrical melodies, rich harmonies, the prominence of the piano, expressive piano introductions and independent vocal lines’.⁵⁵ Although Willison Lemke does not refer to any song in particular, her observations reflect that she examined some of Kinkel’s Lieder in greater depth. However, her perception of Kinkel as a political composer seems slightly one-sided – possibly provoked by Kinkel’s extraordinary socio-political standing and involvement. Besides the political settings, Kinkel composed many songs about love and nature. Nevertheless, Willison Lemke’s approach deserves to be acknowledged in so far that she stresses Kinkel’s uniqueness regarding the themes she addressed. Finally, Willison Lemke remarks that Kinkel’s

⁵³ Ibid., p. 132. ‘Mit der jüngeren Forschung der 1980er und 1990er Jahre erhalten auch ihre musiktheoretisch weitsichtigen Essays zu Chopin und Beethoven die verdiente Aufmerksamkeit’.

⁵⁴ Ann Willison Lemke, ‘Kinkel, Johanna’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 2nd edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), XIII, p. 611. This encyclopaedia is hereafter referred to as *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 611.

‘compositions and other works are deserving of wider acclaim’,⁵⁶ while Sigrid Nieberle gives the impression that modern scholarship has caught up with Johanna Kinkel. According to her, ‘since the 1980s, the scholarship managed to unhinge the artist from the pattern of the “wife to Gottfried Kinkel” and to acknowledge her oeuvre within her historical context’.⁵⁷ Considering that Kinkel’s Lieder and her unpublished stage works have not been given attention by the musicological scholarship up until this day, Willison Lemke’s evaluation is still valid. Both entries include a bibliography, but Willison Lemke’s bibliography seems rather incomplete, which might be attributed to her musical and compositional focus in this article. She only refers to seven secondary sources, three of which were published before or in 1930. By contrast, Sigrid Nieberle refers to many essays published during the 1980s and 1990s. Most of them, however, deal with Kinkel as a writer rather than a musical personality. Whereas twentieth-century encyclopaedia articles seemed to devote room to Kinkel’s career as a musician and a composer, individual essays and articles in more specific books still focused on her literary and socio-political background. From the 1980s on, Johanna Kinkel was researched with greater interest. Ulrike Brandt-Schwarze and her colleagues’ 1982 edition of the *Maikäfer* journals and Monica Klaus and Ingrid Bodsch’s 2010 selection of Kinkel’s writings bear witness to this tendency.⁵⁸ Numerous essays elaborate on Kinkel as a progressive woman and/or as a female writer, mostly acknowledging her large-scale novel *Hans Ibeles in London* within the context of her London exile.⁵⁹ Her

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 611.

⁵⁷ Nieberle, ‘Kinkel, Johanna’, p. 132. ‘Erst seit den 1980er Jahren vermochte es die Forschung, die Künstlerin aus dem Schema der “Frau von Gottfried Kinkel” herauszulösen und ihr Œuvre im historischen Kontext zu würdigen’.

⁵⁸ Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*; Klaus and Bodsch, *Auswahl*.

⁵⁹ Hermann Rösch-Sondermann, ‘Johanna Kinkel: Emanzipation und Revolution einer Bonnerin’, in *Bonn: 54 Kapitel Stadtgeschichte*, ed. by Joseph Matzerath (Bonn: Bouvier, 1989), pp. 179–88; Hundt, *Vom Salon zur Barrikade: Frauen der Heinezeit*; Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres’s and Helen Chambers’s aforementioned works on *Hans Ibeles*; Sigrid Nieberle, *FrauenMusikLiteratur: Deutschsprachige Schriftstellerinnen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Herbolzheim: Centaurus, 2002); Carol Diethe’s and Ruth Whittle and Debbie Pinfold’s aforementioned work on revolutionary women of the nineteenth century; Ruth Whittle, ‘Modes of Exile: Revisiting Johanna Kinkel’, *Colloquia Germanica*, 34.2 (2001), 97–119; Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany: Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

music-pedagogical activities were also being researched.⁶⁰ There are some publications dealing with Kinkel as a composer, which, however, focus on Kinkel's personality and her biographical background rather than analysing her music.⁶¹ Monica Klaus, the first and sole Johanna Kinkel biographer, admits in her preface that it was hard to classify Kinkel as a composer. Klaus states that she finally found access to Kinkel's music when Ingrid Schmithüsen produced a CD including thirty-two Kinkel songs.⁶² In spite of Klaus's indefatigable projects to bring Kinkel's music to life in and around Bonn, her statement reflects the lack of musical productions and interpretations of Kinkel's *Lieder*.

3.2.2 Towards an acknowledgement of Johanna Kinkel's compositions

Whereas Kinkel's friends and contemporaries mainly valued her pedagogic sensitiveness and her musicality, the nineteenth-century public focused on her literary works and her extraordinary mindset regarding gender roles and other socio-political issues. This progressive frame of mind also seemed to attract the attention of twentieth-century scholarship, which displays an increased interest in Kinkel's writings, most notably her novel *Hans Ibeles in London*. Kinkel's shorter literary works such as *Lebenslauf eines Johannsfünkchens* (Biography of a Glowworm) seem virtually forgotten.⁶³ Furthermore, Kinkel's less political writings such as *Ein Reiseabenteuer* (A Travel Adventure) are not included in the research canon.⁶⁴ Thus, it seems that a certain

⁶⁰ Eva Weissweiler, 'Zu Johanna Kinkel und ihrem Chopin-Aufsatz', *dissonanz*, 8 (1986), 4–7; Bettina Brand, "'... wie die Stimme, die aus ihrer innersten Seele spricht': Johanna Kinkels "Vortrag über Beethovens früheste Sonaten inkl. op.10"', in *Maßstab Beethoven?: Komponistinnen im Schatten des Geniekults*, ed. by Bettina Brand and Martina Helmig (Munich: TextUndKritik, 2001), pp. 159–74; Siegel, 'Johanna Kinkel's "Chopin als Komponist"'

⁶¹ Brunhilde Sonntag, *Annäherung an sieben Komponistinnen* (Kassel: Furore, 1997); Ute Büchter-Römer, "'Ein rheinisches Musikfest muß man erlebt haben": Johanna Kinkel, Clara Schumann, Fanny Hensel und die Rheinromantik', in *Romantik, Reisen, Realitäten: Frauenleben am Rhein*, ed. by Bettina Bab and Helga Arend (Bonn: Ed. Lempertz, 2002); Ann Willison Lemke, 'Robert Schumann und Johanna Kinkel: Musikalische Stimmen der Revolution von 1848/49', *Internationales Jahrbuch der Bettina-von-Arnim-Gesellschaft*, 11/12 (1999/2000), 179–206; Brand and others, *Komponistinnen in Berlin*.

⁶² Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. xii. 'Schwieriger war es, Johanna Kinkel als Komponistin einzuordnen. Es gab nur wenige Lieder von ihr auf CD. Als die Sängerin Ingrid Schmithüsen 2004 die CD mit 32 Liedern von Johanna Kinkel produzierte [...], fand ich endlich einen Zugang zu ihrem musikalischen Werk'.

⁶³ Johanna Kinkel, 'Lebenslauf eines Johannsfünkchens', in Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Erzählungen*, pp. 65–76.

⁶⁴ Johanna Kinkel, 'Ein Reiseabenteuer', in Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Erzählungen*, pp. 291–300.

political overweight within the reception of Johanna Kinkel has survived from its very beginning – also in relation to her compositions. Kinkel’s numerous love songs, for example, seemed to step into the background, although these form a large part of her Lieder oeuvre. In 2008, Kinkel research reached a new level when Monica Klaus edited the correspondence between Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel.⁶⁵ This invaluable insight into the Kinkels’ relationship sheds light on Kinkel’s personality and everyday emotions, which do, indeed, include socio-political matters, but also deal with a wide range of other problems related to health, love, or finances. Klaus’s letter edition heralds a new era of Kinkel scholarship, tending towards a broader, more personal reception. It might also create space for a more in-depth scrutiny of Kinkel’s compositional oeuvre, as it encourages an examination of Kinkel as a Lieder composer who produced some political settings rather than as a revolutionary who composed some songs.

3.2.3 Kinkel reception within the context of gender studies

Diane Richardson explains that up until the middle of the twentieth century ‘naturalist approaches dominated understandings of gender (sex) and sexuality’.⁶⁶ As ‘the relationship between the two was understood as an expression of something natural’,⁶⁷ it is not surprising that nineteenth-century encyclopaedias focused on the rather unusual aspects of Kinkel’s biography. As a woman, Kinkel would have been examined within feminine categories, i.e. the private rather than the public domain, amateurism rather than professionalism, and ‘low’ art rather than ‘high’ art. However, Aisling Kenny points to the blurring of such gendered dichotomies during the nineteenth century, as such women composers as Josephine Lang (1815–1880) ‘occupied an unstable space in

⁶⁵ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gott!*, 3 vols.

⁶⁶ Diane Richardson, ‘Conceptualizing Gender’, in *Introducing Gender and Women’s Studies*, ed. by Diane Richardson and Victoria Robinson, 3rd edn (New York: Palgrave, 2008), pp. 3–19 (p. 13). Hereafter referred to as Richardson, ‘Conceptualizing Gender’. The overall volume is hereafter referred to as Richardson and Robinson, *Introducing Gender and Women’s Studies*.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

between these binaries, not sitting altogether comfortably on either side'.⁶⁸ By examining Josephine Lang's composition practice, her publications, performance contexts, and reception history, Kenny shows that Lang constantly moved between the private and the public domain and that a consideration of Lang's music through the lens of amateurism and 'low' art does not do Lang full justice. In a similar way, Johanna Kinkel occupied different levels of society. Therefore, her life and works should be considered in the light of blurred gendered dichotomies as depicted by Aisling Kenny, an aspect which was not taken into account during the nineteenth century. Because Johanna Kinkel's biography could not be used as a role model of a nineteenth-century middle-class woman, her strong will appeared in a rather suspicious, if not negative, light. However, keeping her extraordinary personality in perspective, it might have increased the news value of Kinkel as a person and therefore might have encouraged nineteenth-century editors to include her in their encyclopaedias at all, an aspect which many other female personalities were missing.⁶⁹ Had Kinkel not lived such an unusual private life, she might not have been included in encyclopaedias, as her artistic output was considered a side issue.

The first half of the twentieth century saw only a few publications dealing with Johanna Kinkel, mainly following the nineteenth-century representation of Johanna as the extraordinary wife of Gottfried Kinkel. It was not until the 1970s that the interest in Johanna Kinkel's artistic works increased remarkably, a development which is embedded in the general increase of feminist theories. Sally Hines defines the goal of women's studies, which were established by feminist movements in the 1970s, as 'rectifying the marginalisation of women's experiences and interests within

⁶⁸ Aisling Kenny, 'Blurring the Gendered Dichotomies: Issues of Gender and Creativity for the Female Lied Composer', in Kenny and Wollenberg, *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied*, pp. 11–27 (p. 27). Hereafter referred to as Kenny, 'Blurring the Gendered Dichotomies'.

⁶⁹ For theories on news selection and news value see Winfried Schulz, cited after Michael Kunczik and Astrid Zipfel, *Publizistik: Ein Studienhandbuch*, 2nd edn (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), p. 250. Hereafter referred to as Kunczik and Zipfel, *Publizistik*.

academia'.⁷⁰ As a result of this, in the field of musicology 'courageous women began to excavate the history of women composers and musicians'.⁷¹ I refer to this level of feminist musicological research as the first phase of modern feminist musicology, or as the phase of a biographical reaction to feminist theories.⁷² At this level, the major aim was to raise awareness of the lives of women of the past.⁷³ In 1991, Susan McClary bemoaned the late arrival of feminist studies within the area of musicology: 'Musicology managed miraculously to pass directly from pre- to post-feminism without ever having to change – or even examine – its ways'.⁷⁴ McClary is right in so far that many of these compilations mentioned above were published in the 1990s, a decade during which feminist theories were already considered out-dated in other fields. Published in 2008, Monica Klaus's Kinkel biography represents this early stage of feminist musicology. In their preface to Klaus's monograph, Annette Kreutziger-Herr and Melanie Unseld state that:

According to historical judgement, wives of famous men are to be outshined by the illuminated geniuses. But [...] the active work of such historians, archivists, and librarians as Monica Klaus helps reconsider history and revive forgotten documents of the past.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Sally Hines, 'Feminist Theories', in Richardson and Robinson, *Introducing Gender and Women's Studies*, pp. 20–34 (p. 20).

⁷¹ McClary, *Feminine Endings*, p. 5.

⁷² The phases of feminist musicology I identify in this chapter do not conform to the division of feminist studies into first-, second- and third-wave feminism. This general division refers to the first half of the twentieth century as 'first-wave feminism', which covers the emergence of women's movements and the attempt at achieving women's socio-political equality and women's rights to vote. Second-wave feminism, emerging during the 1960s, included other social issues, e.g. discrimination. Third-wave feminism, emerging in the 1990s, focuses on intersectional relationships between different social categories, e.g. gender and ethnic background, gender and religion, or gender and educational background. The phases of feminist musicology I present here, although they reflect similar purposes, do not conform to the chronology of feminism in general as, compared to other disciplines, musicological scholarship took up the idea of feminism much more slowly.

⁷³ Examples of such publications are numerous compilations of female composers: Brand and others, *Komponistinnen in Berlin*; Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950* (London: Macmillan, 1986); Mary Booker, *The Work of Women Composers from 1150–1995* (Devon: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1996); Roswitha Sperber, ed., *Women Composers in Germany* (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1996), in which Johanna Kinkel is mentioned briefly in Beatrix Borchard's entry 'Between Private and Public', pp. 23–38, hereafter referred to as Borchard, 'Between Private and Public'.

⁷⁴ McClary, *Feminine Endings*, p. 5.

⁷⁵ Annette Kreutziger-Herr and Melanie Unseld, 'Vorwort', in Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. x. 'Frauen berühmter Männer gehören, so das historische Urteil, in den Schatten, den das beleuchtete Genie auf seine Umgebung wirft. Aber [...] durch den aktiven Einsatz von Historikerinnen und Historikern, von Archivaren und Bibliothekarinnen wie Monica Klaus kann das Gelöschte wieder hervorgeholt, aus den Tiefen von Archiven wieder zum Leben erweckt [werden]'.

In Annette Kreutziger-Herr and Katrin Losleben's recent volume *History/Herstory*, Stefan Horlacher refers to the early feminist approach in literary studies and regrets that:

Femaleness is usually defined biologically and is used as a means of identification for women, a perspective through which the literary quality of the writings is often overshadowed by a strong focus on the biological sex and the writer's biography.⁷⁶

Horlacher's observation also applies to Johanna Kinkel. While she was mentioned as a composer and writer many times, the aesthetics of her compositions have rarely been researched up until now. The dangers of a purely narrative review of women's biographies were also addressed by Marcia J. Citron. In 1993, she stated that 'feminism [...] need not focus solely on documentary recuperation but can utilise more critical approaches as well'.⁷⁷ In her publication *Gender and the Musical Canon*, Citron applies feminist analysis of musical canonicity and examines why certain people are being included in musical canons. I will call this level of feminist musicological research the second phase of modern feminist musicology, or the phase of a critical employment of feminist theories.⁷⁸ This era features numerous journal articles dealing with Johanna Kinkel's emancipatory personality and her position as a female artist and a revolutionary. Whereas, in 1991, Susan McClary heralded the 'beginning of a feminist criticism of music', Judith Butler, in 1990, challenged such feminist theories that separate from each other 'sex', i.e. the biological body, and 'gender', i.e. the socio-political construct resulting from a person's sex.⁷⁹ Richardson explains that Butler 'rejects the idea of stable and unified gender and sexual categorisations', i.e. 'the

⁷⁶ Stefan Horlacher, 'Kulturwissenschaftliche Geschlechterforschung und ihre Notwendigkeit: Historische Entwicklungen und aktuelle Perspektiven', in *History/Herstory*, ed. by Annette Kreutziger-Herr and Katrin Losleben (Cologne:Böhlau, 2009), pp. 53–83 (p. 70). 'Weiblichkeit wird in der Regel biologisch definiert und als Identifikationspunkt für Frauen funktionalisiert, wobei die Betonung des biologischen Geschlechts und der häufig biographischen Perspektive die literarische Qualität der Texte nicht selten in den Hintergrund treten lässt'.

⁷⁷ Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 4.

⁷⁸ Examples of this meta-level are McClary, *Feminine Endings*; Jill Halstead, *The Woman Composer: Creativity and the Gendered Politics of Musical Composition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997); Sally MacArthur, *Feminist Aesthetics in Music* (London: Greenwood, 2002).

⁷⁹ McClary, *Feminine Endings*, p. 31.

relationship between sexuality and gender is not seen as fixed and static'.⁸⁰ Butler considers gender a performative phenomenon, which means that 'gender identities are momentary and need to be re-performed'.⁸¹ More recently, researchers have started to draw attention to inter-relationships between gender, sexuality and such other identity categories as social class or religion. Yvette Taylor argues that 'the concept of intersectionality now allows for exploration of the relations between various social categories and experiences'.⁸² This third phase, which I call the phase of post-feminist musicological research, has put forth numerous new theories and perspectives on the sexuality of composers, performers, listeners, and musical characters.⁸³ But what does this new aspect mean in relation to the reception of Johanna Kinkel? Apart from a few exceptions (Sanna Iitti and Eva Weissweiler), Kinkel's Lieder have not been read through the lens of feminist studies to date. Neither have they been considered under the perspective of intersectionality, although Kinkel's later Lieder were reviewed in the light of her socio-political background rather than her compositional aesthetics by the nineteenth-century print media. Kinkel's biography was impressively portrayed by Monica Klaus and has attracted recent attention by such scholars as Melanie Ayaydin, Marie Sophie Catherine Groß and Daniela Glahn, the latter two of whom also analysed a small selection of Kinkel's Lieder.⁸⁴ Kinkel's diverse socio-political background, however, calls for a more in-depth examination of her Lieder.

⁸⁰ See Richardson, 'Conceptualizing Gender', p. 15.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁸² Yvette Taylor, 'Sexuality', in Richardson and Robinson, *Introducing Gender and Women's Studies*, pp. 106–22 (p. 120).

⁸³ For example Sophie Fuller and Lloyd Whitesell, eds, *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002); Lawrence Kramer, *Franz Schubert: Sexuality, Subjectivity, Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood and Gary C. Thomas, *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

⁸⁴ Melanie Ayaydin's and Marie Sophie Catherine Groß's aforementioned unpublished theses, 'Johanna Kinkel: Reflexionen zum Musikleben ihrer Zeit', and 'Frauen komponieren Lieder: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Johanna Kinkel (1810–1858): Komponistin, Pädagogin, Hausfrau, Revolutionärin', respectively; Daniela Glahn's doctoral thesis 'Johanna Kinkel – Bilder einer Autorschaft'.

Most of the research that has been done on Kinkel characterises her as an outstanding female character of the nineteenth century, and some biographical features may have proven useful in order to include her in the canon of ‘great women of the Vormärz’.⁸⁵ Regarding the literary scope of women in nineteenth-century Germany, James Deaville remarks that ‘while women could and did write poetry and fiction such as novels and short stories [...], they were largely excluded from critical and scholarly writing’, an observation which places Kinkel as a writer and journalist in an interesting light.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres states that, in the nineteenth century, ‘the assumption is that women, when writing political fiction, have strayed beyond their capabilities’, which stresses another extraordinary aspect of both Kinkel’s literary oeuvre and her nineteenth-century reception.⁸⁷ Indeed, Johanna Kinkel moved within domains traditionally defined as ‘masculine’, and her biography, therefore, encourages a feminist-driven examination of Kinkel’s works within her socio-political context. In addition, as Clara G. Ervedosa argues, some of Kinkel’s writings reflect her own awareness of gender and discrimination issues.⁸⁸ The main concern of this dissertation, however, is not a feminist reading of Kinkel’s life and works but an exhaustive examination of Kinkel’s published Lieder under the consideration of such different paradigms as socio-politics, the blurred boundaries between ‘popular’ and ‘high’ culture, cultural identity, and Romanticism, in short, a consideration of her songs as a contribution to nineteenth-century cultural practice.

⁸⁵ Whittle and Pinfold, *Voices of Rebellion*, p. 103.

⁸⁶ Deaville, ‘This is (Y)our Life’, p. 136.

⁸⁷ Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres, ‘1848 From a Distance: German Women Writers on the Revolution’, *Modern Language Notes*, 97.2 (1982), 2, 590–614 (p. 595).

⁸⁸ Ervedosa, ‘Johanna Kinkel (1810–1858): Dorothea oder das Lob der Bürgerlichkeit’, p. 325.

-PART II-

JOHANNA KINKEL'S LIEDER

CHAPTER 4: JOHANNA KINKEL'S LIEDER – AN OVERVIEW

4.1 The nineteenth-century German Lied: themes and background

Kinkel's Lieder cover a wide range of themes ranging from love, longing, and searching for the truth of life; political themes including Exoticist plots, mythology, the German and foreign past, and such contemporary issues as appraisals of democracy; and such Romantic topoi as landscape, night scenes, especially on the water, and mystified observations of the world by rather self-centred and desperate lyrical protagonists. The cultural and political diversity of nineteenth-century Germany is also reflected in its prose and poetry. As Karin Friedrich summarises, such writers as Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) or Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769–1860) and such poets as Heinrich Kleist (1777–1811) and Theodor Körner (1791–1813) broached the issue of 'patriotic myths of the Germanic past' and thereby suggested a strong aversion to France, whereas others stepped into the political field of activity in person.¹ For example, Friedrich points to Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829), who supported Metternich's conservative policies; Joseph von Eichendorff (1788–1857), who was involved with the Prussian education ministry; and Joseph von Görres (1776–1848), who stood up for the Catholics in Bavaria. Furthermore, she states that the 'rebellious and highly politicised literary movement' *Junges Deutschland* (Young Germany), which gathered such influential writers as Georg Büchner (1813–1837), Karl Gutzkow (1811–1871), Heinrich Laube (1806–1884), Ludwig Börne (1786–1837), and Nikolaus Lenau (1802–1850), would not have been established without the influence of idealism and Romanticism.² Friedrich

¹ Karin Friedrich, 'Cultural and intellectual trends', in *Nineteenth-Century Germany: Politics, Culture and Society: 1780–1918*, ed. by John Breuilly (London: Arnold, 2001), pp. 96–116 (p. 106). Hereafter referred to as Friedrich, 'Cultural and intellectual trends'.

² *Ibid.*, p. 106.

sees a further catalyst of politicised literature in the ‘critical journalists and writers who in the early decades of the nineteenth century gathered in the literary salons of Bettina von Arnim, Henriette Herz (1764–1847), Rahel Varnhagen von Ense (1771–1831) and Fanny Hensel’.³ Her observation is based on Ingeborg Drewitz’s assumption that it was the Berlin salons that ‘preserve[d] the ideas of the Enlightenment into the industrial era’.⁴

The increasing interest in literary and musical salons resulted from the development of the *Biedermeier*, during which ‘literature and arts left the ivory tower of its classic and Romantic predecessors by adopting a more popular tone’, as libraries, museums, concert halls, opera houses and theatres ‘opened their doors to a wider public’.⁵ Salon culture, according to Andreas Ballstaedt, influenced the political, artistic and intellectual life in nineteenth-century Europe to a great extent.⁶ Ballstaedt points to the broad cultural, artistic and political opportunities for salon attendees, which developed as a result of the social interaction between intellectuals of different societal strata, regardless of their own hierarchical backgrounds.⁷ However, in her essay on Rahel Levin’s sociability, ‘Der Mythos vom Salon: “Rahels Dachstube” als historische Fiktion’, Barbara Hahn takes an opposing view, positing that the exceptional social constellation of the salon may be a delusion, because entry to salons was granted on the basis of invitation or recommendation and only very few salons were fully open to the public.⁸ Even though the purposes, structures, and cultural focuses of social gatherings were diverse, Ballstaedt depicts as a central aim of each salon the conversation about a random or a specific topic, such as politics, literature or music. Composers used the

³ Ibid., p. 107.

⁴ Ingeborg Drewitz, *Berliner Salons: Gesellschaft und Literatur zwischen Aufklärung und Industriezeitalter* (Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1965), p. 102.

⁵ Friedrich, ‘Cultural and intellectual trends’, p. 110.

⁶ Andreas Ballstaedt, ‘Salonmusik’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XIII, Sachteil, pp. 854–67 (p. 855). Hereafter referred to as Ballstaedt, ‘Salonmusik’.

⁷ Ibid., p. 856.

⁸ Barbara Hahn, ‘Der Mythos vom Salon’, in *Salons der Romantik: Beiträge eines Wiepersdorfer Kolloquiums zu Theorie und Geschichte des Salons*, ed. by Hartwig Schulz (Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 213–34 (p. 229).

musical salon as a platform to discuss and experiment with unpublished works. The musical salon, however, also served as a forum for unknown musicians who wanted to demonstrate their skills; the Lied, alongside other miniature compositions, formed a vivid part of the musical salon repertoire.⁹ Besides its social function as a cultural, artistic and political place of interaction, the salon also gained general popularity within the societal stratum of the bourgeoisie, as the educated and propertied bourgeois households were able to demonstrate their wealth and their eagerness for education to friends, neighbours and random visitors.¹⁰ In line with the *Biedermeier*, music turned into a means of entertainment, which caused a big demand for so-called salon music, defined by the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1847, as music ‘during which one can talk, play and drink tea’.¹¹ As a result, Ballstaedt and Charles Rosen agree that salon music was considered ‘superficial, brilliant and sentimental’, although Rosen argues that these characteristics do not distinguish salon music from music played in the ‘public concert, in the homes or in the opera houses’.¹² Although much salon music was criticised for its light and superficial character, two positive aspects that resulted from salon life are worth noting. Firstly, salons enabled young artists to get to know and to introduce themselves to circles which otherwise would have remained closed to them. Secondly, even though many salons were criticised for their superficial aesthetic view, these salons must have furthered the course of aesthetic discussion. Moreover, some of the more specific salons such as musical, political or literary salons were the birthplaces of many high-quality musical and literary pieces as well as of paradigms which influenced the entire nineteenth century and its cultural output.

⁹ Ballstaedt, ‘Salonmusik’, p. 858.

¹⁰ See Verena von der Heyden-Rynsch, *Europäische Salons: Höhepunkte einer versunkenen weiblichen Kultur* (Munich: Artemis & Winkler, 1992), p. 19. ‘Nobilisierung des Bürgertums’ and ‘Verbourgeoisierung des Adels’.

¹¹ [Anon.], review of Silphin vom Walde, *Drei Salon-Trio für Pianoforte, Violine und Violoncello* (1847), *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 1 December 1847, p. 834. ‘Salonstücke sind solche, wobei man reden, spielen und Thee trinken kann’.

¹² Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, paperback edn (London: Fontana Press, 1999), pp. 383–84. Hereafter referred to as Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*. Rosen admits, however, that salon music is a ‘useful term’ as long as ‘we do not [...] attach too limited a meaning’ or judge its audience too strictly.

Another important aspect of nineteenth-century cultural practice is the shift of the artist's self-perception from an employee of the gentry to an 'autonomous self-conscious individual'. This shift gained the arts a more autonomous nature and the 'function of a substitute religion, to be worshipped together with the genius who produced it and the nation which gave birth to such greatness, the German *Kulturnation* (Nation of Culture)'.¹³ Although the representatives of the *Biedermeier* were condescendingly despised as a 'culture of Philistines' by politically-oriented movements, the national notion of Germany as a *Kulturnation* is also evident in revolutionary movements. George S. Williamson argues that, as a result of a growing national sentiment after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, 'an increasing number of scholars and writers insisted on a mythology that would be unmistakably "national"', a notion which is also reflected in many German Lieder during this time.¹⁴ Here Williamson refers to a new wave of interest in medieval epics, folk songs, pagan burial mounds and the re-interpretation of Nordic gods. Simultaneously, a strong emphasis on the tradition of the knights and crusaders is noticeable, as 'the spirit of knighthood fused with that of monasticism, giving rise to a Christian mythology that centred on brave saints, bold quests, and crusading wars of religion'.¹⁵ Rey M. Longyear argues that the return to tradition and the medieval past indicates a conservative direction rather than the 'rebellious and revolutionary nature' of the Romantic branch. He bases his argument on the careers of such composers as Liszt and Wagner, whose political aspirations changed from revolutionary enthusiasm to a favouring of the established order.¹⁶

¹³ Friedrich, 'Cultural and intellectual trends', p. 110. For further details on the *Biedermeier* and Germany as a *Kulturnation* see my own article 'Johanna Kinkel's Political Art Songs as a Contribution to the Socio-Cultural Identity'.

¹⁴ George S. Williamson, *The Longing for Myth in Germany: Religion and Aesthetic Culture from Romanticism to Nietzsche* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 73. Hereafter referred to as Williamson, *The Longing for Myth in Germany*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁶ Rey M. Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*, 3rd edn (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1988), pp. 10–11. Hereafter referred to as Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*.

On the other hand, medieval and Exoticist plots gained popularity among the revolutionaries as Exoticism served as a disguise of the current political situation in Western Europe. In the light of Norman Manea's idea of censorship as 'the mother of metaphor', it was less risky to publish music and literature dealing with a plot set in a remote place.¹⁷ Established in the *Karlsbad Decrees* in 1819, censorship was not abolished until the Berlin March Revolution in 1848. According to Williamson, the national mythology, which had widely been established in the 1830s, also included themes dealing with the *Kaiser* (Emperor) and geared to German geography, especially the Rhine and the North Sea, which were involved in wars over Prussian or foreign hegemony.¹⁸

Besides a strong emphasis of patriotism and nationalism, partly in the disguise of oriental plots, Karin Friedrich points out that Western European nineteenth-century literature and music also incorporated other Romantic themes such as 'the search for the infinite [...], the "blue flower" of Romantic love, [...] the enchantment with deep, dark forests and sunny landscapes [and] the urge to travel the world'.¹⁹ Longyear points to a second motivation for the emphasis of deep nature, namely the 'love of an unspoiled pre-industrial nature' as a response to the industrialisation which influenced large parts of Western Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁰

4.2 Johanna Kinkel's productivity: a chronological outline

Kinkel's compositions are not meticulously dated and there is no record of her opus numbers two, three, four, and five. Appendix C provides an overview of all traceable compositions, as well as some works the manuscripts of which I have been unable to locate.²¹ While the manuscripts of Kinkel's theoretical and music-historical writings are

¹⁷ Norman Manea, *On Clowns: The Dictator and the Artist* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1992), p. 30.

¹⁸ Williamson, *The Longing for Myth in Germany*, p. 112.

¹⁹ Friedrich, 'Cultural and intellectual trends', pp. 105–06.

²⁰ Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*, p. 12.

²¹ Appendix C is included at the end of volume two of this thesis.

archived in the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, most of her musical manuscripts are lost, so that we are left with her published opus numbers, which do not reveal dates for the individual Lieder they include.²² As Kinkel's legacy does not contain a diary, we are reliant on her correspondence to provide chronological hints as to the origin of certain songs. Because some of the poetry Kinkel set was produced within the context of the *Maikäferbund*, Ulrike Brandt-Schwarze and her colleagues' edition of the *Maikäfer* journals is another fruitful source for the chronological contextualisation of some of Kinkel's Lieder.

4.2.1 Berlin: 1836–39

Kinkel's letters to Angela Oppenhoff reveal a great deal of musical and compositional activity in Berlin. In December 1837, Kinkel told her friend that 'yesterday was the ceremonious day, at which Trautwein, my publisher, collected the first manuscript; and six Lieder for mezzo-soprano (not alto) will be published around January'.²³ Kinkel then explains that she only used two of the compositions Oppenhoff knew already, as 'the others seemed much too immature to be published', and that she included four new compositions, which she 'chose out of many', a statement which supports the impression of Kinkel's Berlin time as a productive phase in her life.²⁴ Kinkel published her first Lieder opus (op. 7) in 1838; it was dedicated to Bettina von Arnim. It was not

²² There is a folder of manuscripts in the Bonn Stadtarchiv (SN 98/ 95), which contains the Lieder, a few sketches, and the orchestra part of the overture of *Die Assassinen*; twelve Scottish songs, partly notated in general bass; six duets for two female voices, without piano accompaniment; a few composition exercises; and a few transcriptions of Charles Glover's compositions. I am grateful to the Stadtarchiv Bonn for granting me access to these manuscripts. Furthermore, there is a fragment of a manuscript book at ULB (E 4' 756/6 Rara:15), which includes some transcriptions of other composers' Lieder as well as some compositions by Kinkel.

²³ Kinkel in a letter to Angela Oppenhoff dated 10 December 1837, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Schluß', p. 51. 'Gestern war der feierliche Tag, wo Trautwein, mein Verleger, das erste Manuskript bei mir abholt, und ohngefähr im Neujahr erscheinen 6 Lieder für Mezzo-Sopran (nicht Alt)'.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 51. 'Von denen, die Sie schon kennen, konnte ich nur zwei brauchen. (...) Die anderen dünken mir viel zu unreif für die Publikation. [...] Die neuen, die ich aus vielen ausgewählt'.

until 1839 that Kinkel published her op. 6 dedicated to Angela Oppenhoff with the Leipzig publisher Kistner.²⁵

Also in 1838, Trautwein published Kinkel's op. 8, which was announced by Gottfried Wilhelm Fink in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in August 1838 as follows: 'One should buy [the Lieder] and sing them. The eighth album has just been published, and the author is supposed to be a woman'.²⁶ I refer to public reviews of Kinkel's Lieder throughout this thesis; a full overview of those reviews is included in appendix D at the end of volume two of this thesis. Kinkel herself refers to Fink's review and to her own compositional eagerness in a letter to her friend Nanny Müller, an old friend from Bonn who had moved to Berlin in 1830. When she got back from a holiday in Gosen, on the outskirts of Berlin, Kinkel wrote to Müller on 30 August 1838:

Since I'm back, after the Gosen musical famine, I've been composing a lot, mostly Goethe Lieder. I have the correction of the Runenstein before me; another review has been published in the Allg[emeine] Musikalische Zeitung as well, in which I am constantly maltreated as *the male composer*.²⁷

After her op. 8, Kinkel experimented with different genres. In a letter to Oppenhoff in December 1837, she announced that 'the composition of Lieder will be resting for a long time now as I am completing a different plan. [...] The prank is half-finished! – A comical opera'.²⁸ In the same letter, Kinkel praises an unforgettable evening in Fanny

²⁵ The work was reviewed in 1840 and Felix Mendelssohn referred to it in a letter dated 2 March 1839, in which he stated that he 'talked Kistner into it'. *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Sämtliche Briefe*, ed. by Helmut Loos and Wilhelm Seidel, 12 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008–), VI, pp. 332–33. 'Dann wollte sie [Johanna Kinkel] gern ein neues Liederheft verkaufen, und ich hab's Kistner aufgeschwatzt'; Hofmeister announced this opus in July 1839 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001839&teil=0203&seite=00000092&zoom=1>> [accessed 27 November 2015].

²⁶ G. W. Fink, review of Johanna Mathieux, *6 Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Op. 7* (1838), *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 8 August 1838, pp. 524–25 (p. 525). 'Man kaufe und singe sie. Eben ist das achte Heft erschienen, und der Verfasser soll eine Verfasserin sein'. Kinkel's opus 8 was announced by the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on 13 July 1838 (p. 18).

²⁷ Kinkel in a letter to Nanny Müller dated 30 August 1838, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild', pp. 303–04. Italics in original. 'Seit ich wieder hier bin, nach der Gosener musikalischen Hungersnoth, habe ich viel komponiert, meist Göthesche Lieder. Der Runenstein liegt eben in Korrektur vor mir, auch ist wieder eine Rezension angelangt aus der Allgem. Musikalischen Zeitung, wo ich immer als der *Herr Verfasser* traktiert werde'.

²⁸ Kinkel in a letter to Angela Oppenhoff dated 10 December 1837, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Schluß', p. 51. 'Jetzt ruht das Lieders Schreiben auf lange Zeit, denn ich vollende einen anderen Plan. [...] Nämlich der Narrenstreich ist schon halb fertig! – Eine komische Oper'.

Hensel's salon and tells her friend that 'my five senses were idealised throughout the entire week, so I put aside the crazy opera and tried to set for female choir the Singing of the Sirens, Faust II, by Göthe'.²⁹ Paul Kaufmann suspects that the comical opera Kinkel mentions might be the *Verrückte Komödien aus Berlin* (Crazy Comedies from Berlin), a work which is not included in Kinkel's current legacy. Unfortunately, there is no sign of Kinkel's Faust setting in either her published or her unpublished works. Thus, despite Kinkel's eagerness for compositional experiment, she mainly placed herself as a Lieder composer in the public, because only one of her incidental works (*Vogelkantate*, op. 1) was published.

The great number of Lieder publications was most likely attributed to Trautwein's specialisation in Lieder settings and the huge public demand for Lieder compositions. This increased demand resulted from the increased popularity of Lieder performances in salons and semi-public social gatherings. Kinkel's Lieder productivity towards the end of the 1830s and the beginning of the 1840s corresponds with the general interest in Lieder compositions among composers of the Romantic period. For example, approximately half of Schumann's Lieder were created between 1840 and the first few weeks of 1841, which is why 1840 is often referred to as Schumann's *Liederjahr* (Year of Songs).³⁰ In 1839, Trautwein published Kinkel's duet op. 11,³¹ followed by the second duet opus (op. 12) in 1840, also published by Trautwein.³² Also Kinkel's setting of Adelbert von Chamisso's 'Das Schloss Boncourt' (The Castle of

²⁹ Ibid., p. 52. 'Die ganze Woche durch war mir noch so idealisch um die 5 Sinne herum, und da habe ich dann die verrückte Oper solange liegen lassen, und den Gesang der Sirenen – Faust 2ter Teil, v. Göthe – für Frauenchor zu schreiben versucht'.

³⁰ See Joachim Draheim, 'Schumann, Robert', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, xv, Personenteil, pp. 257–98 (p. 267).

³¹ See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duetten für Sopran und Alt mit Pianoforte: Opus 11* (1839), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 7 (July 1839), 89 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001839&teil=0203&seite=00000089&zoom=1>> [accessed 26 November 2015].

³² See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duetten für weibliche Stimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 12* (1849), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 9 (September 1840), 122 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001840&teil=0203&seite=00000122&zoom=1>> [accessed 26 November 2015].

Boncourt) for voice and piano accompaniment (op. 9, 1838), and her op. 10 (1839) were published by Trautwein.³³ The first volume of the album *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder* (Rhine-Myths and Songs), published in December 1838 by Dunst in Bonn, includes Kinkel's two Heine settings 'Köln' and 'Der Rheinstrom'.³⁴ The third volume of the same edition includes Kinkel's Heine setting 'Die beiden Brüder' and was published in 1839.³⁵ Kinkel's Heine setting 'Der Runenstein' was published singularly in 1838.³⁶

4.2.2 Bonn: 1839–50

In 1840, Kinkel also published the Heine ballad 'Don Ramiro' (op. 13), dedicated to Sophie Schloß, whom R. Larry Todd describes as a famous singer who often performed at concerts conducted by Felix Mendelssohn in both Leipzig and England.³⁷ Kinkel's setting of Nikolaus Becker's 'Der deutsche Rhein', which, as Williamson states, 'was sung to over two hundred different tunes throughout Germany', was also published in 1840.³⁸ When Kinkel returned to Bonn in 1839, she focused on her work as a conductor

³³ See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, 'Das Schloß Boncourt: Op. 9' (1838), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 11 (November 1838), 157 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001838&teil=0203&seite=00000157&zoom=1>> [accessed 26 November 2015], and Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, *6 Lieder: Opus 10* (1839), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 5 (May 1839), 64 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001839&teil=0203&seite=00000064&zoom=1>> [accessed 26 November 2015].

³⁴ See [Anon.], announcement of Dunst, *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder* (1838), supplement of *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16 December 1838, p. 2668, and Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, 'Der Rheinstrom' (1838), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 7 (July 1839), 92 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001839&teil=0203&seite=00000092&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 June 2016].

³⁵ See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, 'Die beiden Brüder' (1839), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 5 (May 1839), 64 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001839&teil=0203&seite=00000064&zoom=1>> [accessed 5 June 2016].

³⁶ See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, 'Gedicht von Heine (Es ragt ins Meer der Runenstein)' (1838), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 11 (November 1838), 157 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001838&teil=0203&seite=00000157&zoom=1>> [accessed 6 June 2016].

³⁷ Larry Todd, 'Mozart according to Mendelssohn: A contribution to Rezeptionsgeschichte', in *Perspectives on Mozart performance*, ed. by Larry Todd and Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 158–203 (p. 175).

³⁸ Williamson, *Germany since 1815*, p. 31. See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, 'Der deutsche Rhein' (1840), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 12 (December 1840), 173 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001840&teil=0203&seite=00000173&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 June 2016].

and leader of the *Bonner Gesangverein*, an activity which might have encouraged her to compose the choral work *Hymnus in Coena Domini*, published as op. 14 in 1843, and dedicated to her first teacher, the founder of the *Bonner Gesangverein*, Franz Ries.³⁹ According to Monica Klaus, this work was performed by the *Bonner Gesangverein* in 1842, and Kinkel composed it in 1840.⁴⁰

Besides Kinkel's patriotic love for the Rhineland, her compositions between 1841 and 1851 also reflect her strong attachment to Gottfried Kinkel and her involvement in socio-political activities. In 1841, Kinkel published her op. 15, which includes settings of both Johanna and Gottfried's poetry, and the second edition of which was published in 1846.⁴¹ Johanna's setting of Gottfried Kinkel's translation of the Greek song 'Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris' was published by Eisen (Cologne) in 1843, and by Sulzbach (Bonn) in 1849.⁴² Sulzbach also published Kinkel's single publication 'Demokratenlied' in 1849, the same year in which her singing treatise

buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001840&teil=0203&seite=00000173&zoom=1> [accessed 27 November 2015], and Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, 'Don Ramiro' (1840), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 9 (September 1840), 125 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001840&teil=0203&seite=00000125&zoom=1>> [accessed 27 November 2015], and Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, 'Don Ramiro', 2nd edn (1846), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 6 (June 1846) <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001846&teil=0203&seite=00000099&zoom=1> [accessed 6 June 2016].

³⁹ *Hymnus in Coena Domini* was announced by Hofmeister in May 1843 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001843&teil=0203&seite=00000075&zoom=1>> [accessed 26 November 2015].

⁴⁰ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 117.

⁴¹ See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für Alt oder Bariton: Opus 15* (1841), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 9 (September 1841), 140 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001841&teil=0203&seite=00000140&zoom=1>> [accessed 18 April 2016], and Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für Alt oder Bariton: Opus 15*, 2nd edn (1846), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 3 (March 1846), 50 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001846&teil=0203&seite=00000050&zoom=1>> [accessed 27 November 2015].

⁴² See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, 'Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris' (1843), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 6 (June 1843), 92 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001843&teil=0203&seite=00000092&zoom=1>> [accessed 27 November 2015].

Anleitung zum Singen was also brought out by Schott (Mainz).⁴³ In accordance with Kinkel's social environment during the 1840s, most of her Lieder opus numbers after 1840 were dedicated to such Rhineland friends and acquaintances as Emilie von Binzer (op. 16, 1841),⁴⁴ Adele and Emily Thormann (op. 12, 1840), Josephine Hubar (op. 17, 1847),⁴⁵ and Bertha Forstheim (op. 18, 1843),⁴⁶ the latter four of whom were members of the *Bonner Gesangverein*, and Heinrich Dorn (op. 21, 1851);⁴⁷ op. 19 (1848) does not carry a dedication.⁴⁸

4.2.3 London: 1851–58

After the Kinkels' escape to London in 1850/51, Johanna's compositional activity stepped into the background in favour of teaching, general household duties, and her literary activity. In a letter to her husband from 2 October 1851, she regrets that 'I might have to bury my dreams of a higher artistic activity as long as I do not have a single

⁴³ Kinkel's opus 20 was announced by the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* on 29 August 1849 (p. 280), and 5 September 1849 (p. 287); as well as by *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on 9 September 1849 (p. 111).

⁴⁴ See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder: Opus 16* (1841), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 12 (December 1841), 190 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001841&teil=0203&seite=00000190&zoom=1>> [accessed 27 November 2015].

⁴⁵ See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für eine tiefe Stimme: Opus 17* (1847), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 12 (December 1847), 204 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001847&teil=0203&seite=00000204&zoom=1>> [accessed 27 November 2015]. Kinkel's opus 17 was announced in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on 2 December 1847 (p. 270), and by Jul. Weiss. of *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* on 29 March 1848 (p. 97). It was reviewed by the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on 19 February 1848 (pp. 87–88), but none of the six included songs are discussed individually.

⁴⁶ See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder: Opus 18* (1843), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 5 (May 1843), 78 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001843&teil=0203&seite=00000078&zoom=1>> [accessed 27 November 2015] and Johanna Kinkel's letter to Emilie von Henning dated 6 May 1843, cited in Goslich, 'Schluß', p. 406. 'Ein neues Liederheft, op. 18, ist vor ein paar Tagen bei Schlesinger in Berlin erschienen'.

⁴⁷ See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Sechs Lieder für tiefe Stimme: Opus 21* (1851), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 3 (March 1851), 52 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001851&teil=0203&seite=00000052&zoom=1>> [accessed 27 November 2015].

⁴⁸ See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Kinkel, *Sechs Lieder für Alt oder Bariton: Opus 19* (1848), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 8 (August 1848), 130 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001848&teil=0203&seite=00000130&zoom=1>> [accessed 27 November 2015]. Kinkel's opus 19 was announced by the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on 23 September 1848 (p. 144).

minute to myself'.⁴⁹ In a letter to her friend Gretchen Biesing from 26 October 1854, Kinkel apologised for her delay in replying:

The challenges of life increase day by day, and, despite all time management, I barely have time for half of my duties. [...] Compared to our home country, teaching in London does not mean a quiet exchange of thoughts and interaction with a few students, but the teacher's house seems like the head office of a huge trade institution, where people keep coming and going.⁵⁰

Kinkel's op. 21 (published by Schott) was announced in March 1851, followed by her *Acht Briefe über Klavierunterricht* in 1852 (Cotta),⁵¹ and her *Tonleitern und Solfeggien* (op. 22, Schott) in 1853. A hand-written fragment of a Lieder collection archived at ULB includes a few transcriptions of other composers' Lieder and further compositions in Kinkel's hand: slightly varied copies of 'Kathleen Mavourneen' by Frederick Nicholls Crouch (1808–1896);⁵² Franz Schubert's 'Der Musensohn' (set in B-flat major rather than A-flat major or G major, the two keys Schubert chose for his two versions of this Lied) and 'Der Pilgrim' (set in A major rather than E major); Friedrich Silcher's 'Französische Melodie' and 'Matrosenlied';⁵³ the two Scottish songs 'Mein Herz ist im Hochland' (My Heart Is in the Highlands) and 'The Highland Watch', the latter of which is very similar to Beethoven's setting of the same words but is set in F major rather than B-flat major and includes a shortened piano postlude; a song by Bernhard

⁴⁹ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gott!*, III, p. 1161. '[Ich] muß wol meine Träume von einer höhern künstlerischen Tätigkeit begraben, solange ich keine Minute mein eigen nenne'.

⁵⁰ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Gretchen Biesing dated 26 October 1854, unpublished, ULB S2424. '[A]ber die Anforderungen des Lebens werden täglich mannigfaltiger, und ich finde mit aller Zeitökonomie kaum noch Zeit für die Hälfte meiner Pflichten. [...] Das Unterrichten hat in London nicht wie bei uns in der Heimath den Anstrich eines stillen Gedankenlebens und Wirkens auf ein paar Schüler, sondern eines Lehrers Haus ist wie das Comptoir eines großen Handelsinstituts, wo immer Menschen aus und eingehen'.

⁵¹ See Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Kinkel, *Acht Briefe* (1852), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 11 (November 1852), 202 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001852&teil=0203&seite=00000202&zoom=1>> [accessed 18 April 2016].

⁵² Frederick Nicholls Crouch (1808–1896) was a London-born cellist, singer and composer. He composed his most famous tune *Kathleen Mavourneen* between 1835 and 1838. He also gave lectures on songs and legends of Ireland. See Bruce Carr, 'Crouch, Frederick Nicholls', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, xxiii, pp. 733–34 (p. 733).

⁵³ Philipp Friedrich Silcher (1789–1860) was a German composer, who, like Hans Georg Nägeli, considered the folk song the most suitable performance genre for the general public. He composed approximately 250 songs, but he also collected and arranged folk songs from Germany and other countries. See Luise Marretta-Schär, 'Silcher, Philipp Friedrich', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, vi, p. 386.

Klein; Kinkel's own settings of Gottfried's 'Du gabst dem Mann des Schwertes' (from Gottfried's Singspiel *Friedrich in Suza*, set in 1842), which Monica Klaus describes as Johanna's favourite song from this Singspiel, and 'Geistliches Abendlied'.⁵⁴ The fragment of this collection is dated 1856/57; some of the Lieder are dated by Kinkel herself: 'Französische Melodie' (March 1856), 'Matrosenlied' (June 1856), 'Mein Herz ist im Hochland' (5 July 1856), 'The Highland Watch' (24 December 1856), 'Lied aus Friedr[ich] in Suza' (1 May 1857), Lied von Bernhard Klein (6 July 1857), 'Geistliches Abendlied' (21 August 1857), which corresponds with Kinkel's earlier published version of this Lied but is set in B-flat major rather than E-flat major. The publication date of Kinkel's single publication 'Ritters Abschied' is uncertain; Hofmeister announced this setting arranged for four-part male choir several times during the 1880s.⁵⁵ However, Kinkel's Sololied with the same title was not announced by Hofmeister.

4.3 Johanna Kinkel's publishers

Kinkel used a number of publishers throughout her career. Her first opus was published by the Berlin publisher Trautwein. Trautwein was one of the most successful German Lieder publishers and his range includes Lieder and other genres by both male and female composers. This working relationship is likely to have evolved through personal contacts Kinkel made during her Berlin residency. It was the most fruitful and long-lasting cooperation of all of Kinkel's publishing contacts. Its intensity is reflected by the large number of opus numbers Kinkel published with him, as well as in her correspondence with Trautwein's partner Ferdinand Mendheim. Not only did Trautwein publish Kinkel's song 'Der Runenstein', her *Vogelkantate* op. 1, and her Lieder

⁵⁴ Johanna Kinkel, Fragment eines Liederbuchs, ULB E 4' 756/6 Rara:15; Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 310.

⁵⁵ For example Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Kinkel, 'Ritters Abschied' (1882), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 3 (March 1882), 86 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001882&teil=0203&seite=00000086&zoom=1>> [accessed 18 April 2016].

collections op. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12. But Kinkel also shared quite personal details with Mendheim. For example, on 9 June 1840 she updated him on her personal situation in Bonn, and stated that: ‘It was not until May that my court case [the divorce], with many difficulties, was completed (as desired), and I am now enjoying complete freedom again’.⁵⁶

Despite (or because of) their closeness, Kinkel did not mention any monetary figures in her letters to Mendheim, so it is unknown how much money she turned over with her Lieder, but her orders of *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst* and of other scores in exchange for her honorarium reveal that the income of her Lieder must have been sufficed in order to nourish her intellectual curiosity. On 10 November 1842, Kinkel asked Mendheim to tell her:

whether and how much money you will give me for this work [the *Vogelkantate*], which I had produced upon your own request. As I rely on the earnings of my musical talent in order to meet my small demands, I prefer abstaining from any advantages, rather than overestimating my work and making immodest demands.⁵⁷

Kinkel was determined to make money with her compositions, and she was concerned whether her works would sell. On 16 May 1839, for example, she wrote to Mendheim: ‘I have also written quartets for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass without piano accompaniment. Do the dilettantes ever ask about something like that?’⁵⁸

Despite her financial dependency on publishing, Kinkel displayed modesty and uncertainty. In relation to her correspondence with Mendheim, she wrote to her friend Emilie von Henning on 8 December 1839 that:

⁵⁶ Johanna Kinkel to Ferdinand Mendheim, 9 June 1840, Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Mus.ex. Johanna Kinkel 8. ‘Erst zu Ende Mai ist nach vielen Schwierigkeiten hier mein Prozeß (nach Wunsch) beendet worden, und ich erfreue mich wieder vollkommener Freiheit’.

⁵⁷ Johanna Kinkel to Ferdinand Mendheim on 10 November 1842, Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Mus.ex. Johanna Kinkel 10. ‘ob und wie viel Honorar Sie mir für diese Arbeit, welcher ich mich auf Ihre Bestellung unterzogen hatte, geben können. Wenn ich schon darauf angewiesen bin, von dem Ertrage meines musikalischen Talents meine kleinen Bedürfnisse zu bestreiten, so möchte ich doch immerhin lieber auf irgend einen Vortheil verzichten, als eine unbescheidene Forderung machen und den Werth meines Geleisteten überschätzen’.

⁵⁸ Johanna Kinkel to Ferdinand Mendheim, 16 May 1839, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Mus.ex. Johanna Kinkel 5. ‘Quartetten für Sopran, Alt, Tenor, Bass ohne Begeltung habe ich auch gemacht; Fragen die Dilettanten wohl zuweilen nach dergeichen?’.

Recently I offered Trautwein some new compositions. They responded that they would publish them in the new year, but they prefaced the letter in the following way: They would still have a large stock of manuscripts, but they would ... publish my music out of special consideration...my works are no longer selling as well as my first works, etc. etc. Now I do not want to publish anything with them anymore, as I do not want to harm my publisher. I am not certain what to think about this. Either Trautwein wants to lower my demands, or my friends are commending me too much when they tell me that my Lieder are being performed with enthusiasm. I would give so much if I could only achieve clarity on that matter; Trautwein's letter has paralysed me more than all the flattering messages from you, Arnims, and others have encouraged me. I have to write; but I do not want to publish too much.⁵⁹

In 1840, Kinkel published her last opus with Trautwein, her duets op. 12, to which Trautwein had committed in 1839. Although Kinkel did not publish with Trautwein anymore, she still kept in contact with Mendheim until 1842, and asked for advice occasionally. On 23 September 1840, for example, she explained that she has been dealing with church compositions recently, and asked for Mendheim's and Rellstab's opinions, by writing that:

It is needless to say that you should not accept it, risking that it might not sell at all, which is indeed quite likely, as I am a complete beginner in this genre, and because one cannot generally trust women to write counterpoint.⁶⁰

We do not know whether and in what way Mendheim responded to Kinkel, but Trautwein never published these genres by Kinkel. Considering Kinkel's aversion to gender conventions, her humility and slight cynicism in this letter might point to her business concept and her attempt at humouring the publishers' prejudices of the time.

⁵⁹ Johanna Kinkel to Emilie von Henning, 8 December 1839, cited after Goslich, 'Briefe von Johanna Kinkel', p. 192. 'Ich hatte Trautweins neulich einige neue Kompositionen angeboten; sie schrieben zwar zurück, daß sie sie im nächsten Jahre verlegen wollten, machten aber eine lange Vorrede folgenden Inhalts: Sie hätten noch großen Vorrath von Manuskripten, aber aus besonderer Rücksicht... wollten sie dennoch... und meine Sachen gingen nicht mehr so gut, wie die ersten Werke usw. usw. Nun will ich lieber nichts mehr bei ihnen herausgeben, den ich möchte doch meinem Verleger keinen Schaden zufügen.. Ich weiß nicht recht, was ich davon halten soll. Entweder Trautweins wollen nur meine Ansprüche herunterstimmen oder meine Freunde schmeicheln mir zu viel, wenn sie mir sagen, daß meine Lieder mit Beifall gesungen werden. Ich gäbe etwas darum, wenn ich nur in diesem Punkt zur Klarheit kommen könnte; es hat der Trautweinsche Brief mehr meinen Muth gelähmt als alle schmeichelhaften Nachrichten von Euch, Arnims und anderen mich angespornt hatten. Indeß schreiben muß ich einmal; ich will nur nicht zu viel herausgeben'. Elisons in original.

⁶⁰ Johanna Kinkel to Ferdinand Mendheim, 23 September 1840, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Mus.ex. Johanna Kinkel 9. 'Es versteht sich von selbst, dass Sie es nicht auf die Gefahr hin übernehmen sollen, daß es vielleicht durchaus keinen Absatz findet, welches sogar sehr wahrscheinlich ist, da ich in diesem Styl noch völlig Anfängerin bin, und man überhaupt den Damen wenig Contrapunkt zuzutrauen Ursache hat'.

Although she had not published any church music, her *Vogelkantate* reflects contrapuntal considerations, and she commented on her contrapuntal endeavours in this piece in a letter to her friend Oppenhoff as early as 1837.⁶¹

The reasons, why Kinkel switched publishers relatively often after her return to Bonn, are manifold. On the one hand, she did not want to beg Trautwein to publish further works of hers once she noticed that his interest might have faded. On the other hand, Kinkel might have preferred a mix of publishers, as she was concerned with the marketability and promotion of her works, and she tried her hand at different genres and thematic areas. Her ambition to reach as large an audience as possible is revealed in her letter to Felix Mendelssohn from 25 February 1843, in which she asks him to bring one of her church composition to performance and perhaps achieve a review. It is likely that this composition is her *Hymnus in Coena Domini*, perhaps the work which she introduced to Mendheim in 1840, and which was published by Arnold in Elberfeld in 1843. The letter reads:

Please accept indulgently the small, light, very modest church piece, which I am enclosing. I would be honoured and very grateful if you were occasionally able to get it performed and reviewed.⁶²

A similar attitude is revealed in her letter to Schott, with whom she published her op.

20. On 13 February 1849, Kinkel wrote to Schott that:

I want to abstain from the agio and only demand 50 silver Thaler, even if you insist on lowering the number of [12] free copies, but please consider the following: I would never think of selling those free copies, but these are used in your own interest. I have friends and acquaintances in different regions. I give them each opus I publish as a present with the request to achieve a review and distribute it within their circles.⁶³

⁶¹ Kinkel to Angela Oppenhoff on 10 December 1837, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensild', p. 51.

⁶² Letter from Johanna Kinkel to Felix Mendelssohn, 25 February 1843, Oxford Bodleian Library, GB-Ob, M.D.M.d.43/100–101. 'Die kleine, leichte, sehr anspruchslose Kirchenmusik die ich beilege, nehmen Sie nachsichtig auf. Können Sie es gelegentlich veranlassen, daß sie irgendwo gesungen oder rezensirt werde, so werden Sie mich sehr ehren und zum Dank verpflichten'.

⁶³ Johanna Kinkel to Schott, 13 February 1849, cited after Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel', p. 211. 'Ich will das Agio ablassen, und nur 50 Thl. Silber ausbedingen, auch, wenn Sie darauf bestehen, auf eine geringere

Kinkel first offered her op. 20 to Schloß, with whom she had previously published her op. 19. However, Schloß never published this opus. Glahn, who examines Kinkel's correspondence with Schott and Schloß at depth, explains that Kinkel's demands to Schloß might have been too ambitious. She concludes that Kinkel's market-orientation must have been very high, especially as she revised her own demands several times, as aspect, which is reflected in her negotiations with Schott.⁶⁴

On a different note, it is imaginable that Kinkel chose different publishers in response to geographical location and recommendation. Her two political songs, 'Demokratenlied' and 'Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris', for example, appeared with the Bonn publisher Sulzbach. Some of Kinkel's Heine settings were published by the Bonn publisher Dunst as part of his Lieder collection. In this case, like in Robert Schumann's supplement to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, the publication was most likely brought forward by way of invitation by the editor, although there is no correspondence between Dunst and Kinkel known to date.

Kinkel's op. 6 was published by Kistner in Leipzig as a result of Mendelssohn's help, as Mendelssohn had been approached by Kinkel in relation to this opus and Mendelssohn admitted to his mother that he 'talked Kistner into [Kinkel's opus]'.⁶⁵ Her op. 17 was published by Berlin publishers Bote & Bock. This cooperation might have evolved much earlier than the year of this opus's publication, 1847. On 2 January 1839, Bote & Bock received a letter from Kinkel in which she thanked them for their enquiry, but rejected their offer, as 'the manuscript about which you ask, has been given to Mr Trautwein already, with whom I have no reason to break, as I have been very happy

Zahl [12] Frei=Exemplare herunter zu gehn, doch gebe ich Ihnen Eines zu bedenken: Es fällt mir nicht ein diese Freixempl: zu verkaufen, sondern dieselben dienen vielmehr Ihrem Interesse. Ich habe Freunde u. Bekannte in den verschiedensten Gegenden. Diesen sende ich jedes Opus das von mir erscheint zum Geschenk, mit der Bitte für Rezension und Verbreitung in ihren Kreisen zu wirken'.

⁶⁴ For further details on Kinkel's proposals to Schloß and Schott, see Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel', pp. 208-12.

⁶⁵ Felix Mendelssohn in a letter to his mother on 2 March 1839, cited after Kadja Grönke and Alexander Staub, eds., *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Sämtliche Briefe*, 11 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008-), VI, pp. 332-33. 'ich habs Kistner aufgeschwatzt'.

with him so far'.⁶⁶ While she was happy with Trautwein at that time, she might have refreshed her contacts with Bote & Bock once Trautwein lost interest in her music. As appendix C shows, other publishers of Kinkel's include Schlesinger (Berlin), Eck & Lefebvre (Cologne), Eisen (Cologne), and Hofmeister (Leipzig), but, as there is no correspondence between Kinkel and these publishers, we do not know anything about the backgrounds of these collaborations.

4.4 Johanna Kinkel's poets

4.4.1 Popular nineteenth-century poets

As a bourgeois daughter of a teacher of German, Latin and sciences, Johanna Kinkel must have come across the most popular German writers through her early education. Goethe's poems were an inherent part of nineteenth-century song composition, so that Kinkel might have been inspired by the fashion of the time. Additionally, Kinkel's social environment in Berlin featured some personal connections with Goethe, which might have added to her fondness for his poetry. Kinkel's association with Bettina von Arnim must have increased her interest in Goethe. In her memoirs, Kinkel describes her first meeting with Bettina von Arnim, during which she 'thoroughly studied [Bettina's] outward appearance and compared it with the picture [she] had in mind after reading the correspondence with Goethe'.⁶⁷ Here, Kinkel alludes to von Arnim's *Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*, published in 1835. Also Kinkel's lively correspondence with Felix and Fanny Mendelssohn, who were both taught by Goethe's friend Carl Friedrich Zelter, might have added to her fascination for the famous poet. It was Felix Mendelssohn in particular who gained great benefit from Zelter's friendly relationship

⁶⁶ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Bote and Bock, 2 January 1839, Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Mus.ex.Johanna Kinkel 2. 'Das Manuskript, nach welchem Sie sich erkundigen, ist schon Herrn Trautwein übergeben, mit dem ich keine Ursache habe zu brechen, da ich bisher sehr zufrieden mit ihm war'.

⁶⁷ See Kinkel (jun.), ed., 'Aus Johanna Kinkels Memoiren', p. 240. 'Dabei studierte ich ihre äußere Erscheinung auf das Genaueste und verglich sie mit dem Bilde, das ich mir nach dem Briefwechsel mit Goethe von ihr entworfen hatte'.

to Goethe as Zelter introduced Mendelssohn to the poet, who, according to Lorraine Byrne Bodley, became ‘one of the most generous presences of Mendelssohn’s early years’.⁶⁸ Interestingly, five of Kinkel’s seven Goethe Lieder are settings of words that were hardly set by any of Kinkel’s contemporaries.⁶⁹ It seems that Kinkel decided deliberately not to set the more popular works of Goethe’s, her familiarity with which is reflected in a letter to Oppenhoff from November 1838. In the letter Kinkel expressed her suspicion about the effects on the sentimental audience of the Lied ‘Wer nie sein Brot mit Thränen aß’ from Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister*:

Recently, a sentimental woman sighed over the lovely song ‘He, who never ate his bread with tears, he, who never sat on his bed crying’ and she wanted to transfer it to her own silly fates. [...] Please do not believe that I have forgotten what tragic moods are like, but I agree with Chamisso, who replied to Mrs Quandt when she wanted to discuss Schleiermacher’s philosophy over tea that it is better to have biscuits with tea.⁷⁰

Besides Goethe, Kinkel also set words by three other poets whom she never met in person. She set Friedrich Rückert’s (1788–1866) poem ‘So wahr die Sonne scheint’ (op. 10, no. 3),⁷¹ August von Platen-Hallermünde’s (1796–1835) ‘Die Stimme der

⁶⁸Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues* (Farnham/ Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), p. 21. For details on the friendship between Kinkel and the Mendelssohns see Johanna Kinkel’s *Lecture on Mendelssohn* and Adeline Rittershaus, ‘Felix Mendelssohn und Johanna Kinkel: Ungedruckte Tagebuchblätter und Briefe’, *Neue Freie Presse: Morgenblatt*, 19 April 1900, pp. 1–4, hereafter referred to as Rittershaus, ‘Felix Mendelssohn und Johanna Kinkel: Ungedruckte Tagebuchblätter und Briefe’.

⁶⁹Kinkel’s Goethe settings are: ‘Lust und Qual’ (op. 15, no. 4), set by Carl Eberwein (1786–1868, c. 1823); ‘Traumdeutung’ (op. 10, no. 5), only set by Johanna Kinkel; ‘Nachgefühl’ (op. 10, no. 1), set by Moritz Graf von Dietrichstein (1775–1864, c. 1813), Elise Müller (1782–1849, c. 1819), Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814, 1809), Louis Spohr (1819), Václav Jan Krtitel Tomásek (1774–1850, 1819), Karl Friedrich Zelter (1798), Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg (1760–1802, 1805); ‘Nachtgesang’ (op. 12, no. 3), set by many nineteenth-century composers, such as Franz Schubert (1814), Carl Loewe (1796–1869, 1836), Louis Ehlert (1825–1884, 1847), Moritz Hauptmann (1792–1868, 1844); ‘An Luna’ (op. 6, no. 4), set by Bernhard Theodor Breilkopf (1749–1820, 1770), Bettina von Arnim (date unknown); ‘An den Mond’ (op. 7, no. 5), set by numerous nineteenth-century composers such as Franz Schubert (1815, and c. 1819), Václav Jan Krtitel Tomásek (c. 1815), Gottfried Emil Fischer (1791–1841, 1821); ‘Gegenwart’ (op. 16, no. 4), set by Fanny Hensel (1833), August Heinrich von Weyrauch (1788–1865, date unknown).

⁷⁰Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Angela Oppenhoff dated 10 November 1838, cited in Kaufmann, ‘Johanna Kinkel: Schluß’, p. 58. Italics in original. ‘Eine Sentimentale seufzte neulich über das schöne Lied “Wer nie sein Brod [sic.] mit Thränen aß, wer nie – auf seinem Bette weinend saß” und wollte das auf ihre eigenen dummen Schicksale beziehen. [...] Glauben Sie nicht, daß ich indessen tragische Stimmungen verlernte, aber ich denke mit Chamisso, den Frau Quandt beim Thee über Schleiermachers Dogmatik ausfragen wollte, und der entgegnete: Zwieback *beim Thee* ist besser’.

⁷¹Kinkel mentions him in a letter to Gottfried, in which Johanna tells Gottfried that she ‘read Rückert’. See Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 200. ‘Wir stiegen über die Steinbrüche hinauf, brachen durchs Gestrüpp und kamen auf einer Klippe über Rehfües Gut zum Vorschein, wo wir Nebel umgezogenes Gebirg anschauten, Rückert vorlasen, Bröddchen knibbelten’.

Geliebten' (op. 17, no. 4), and a number of poems by Heinrich Heine. Eva Weissweiler ascertains that Kinkel sympathised with Heine because of his biographical parallels to her own background.⁷² Like Kinkel, the Jewish-born Heine was from the Rhineland and converted to the Protestant faith. Having said this, it is not surprising that Kinkel set many patriotic poems by Heine. Furthermore, Weissweiler argues that Kinkel must have acknowledged the musical structure of Heine's poetry and his fascination for Chopin as Kinkel adored Chopin as 'one of the most noble composers ever to have lived'.⁷³

4.4.2 Berlin acquaintances

Kinkel's stay in Berlin enabled her to get to know many talented poets from all over Germany and even beyond. The French poet Adelbert von Chamisso, who, along with his parents, moved to Berlin in 1796, was a frequent visitor of the Berlin salons attended by Kinkel.⁷⁴ Monica Klaus explains the reasons for Kinkel's affection for him with regard to his immigrant background.⁷⁵ In addition to Adelbert von Chamisso, Kinkel also met August Kopisch (1799–1853) and Emanuel Geibel in Berlin, both of whom attended the same Berlin social circles as she did. According to Petra Wilhelmy, Kopisch attended Fanny Hensel's salon regularly.⁷⁶ When Gottfried Kinkel visited Berlin in 1847, he met Kopisch and assured Johanna that she had not been forgotten in Berlin.⁷⁷ In terms of compositional inspiration, Emanuel Geibel must have been the most influential poet among Kinkel's Berlin acquaintances. In a letter to his mother, Geibel wrote on 12 February 1838 that '[I have] been visiting Bettina for about four weeks. She invites me several times a week and has introduced me to her entire

⁷² Weissweiler, 'Die stille Opposition', p. 97.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 100; Kinkel, *Friedrich Chopin als Komponist*, p. 6. 'einer der edelsten Meister, die je gelebt'.

⁷⁴ See Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Schluß', p. 53. Johanna Kinkel might have appreciated in him an ambassador of such young writers as Simrock and Freilighrath, whose writings he published in his *Musenalmanach*. See *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, 3rd edn, II, p. 565.

⁷⁵ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 49.

⁷⁶ Petra Wilhelmy, *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780–1914)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), p. 678. Hereafter referred to as Wilhelmy, *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert*.

⁷⁷ Gottfried Kinkel in a letter to Johanna dated 13 June 1847, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 413. 'Endlich traf ich noch spät Abends mit Burckhardt, Gruppe, Kopisch (man denkt deiner noch überall) in einem Café bis 12 Uhr zusammen'.

family'.⁷⁸ Kinkel published ten settings of Geibel's poems, but the aforementioned letter from Geibel reveals that Kinkel must have set many more but did not publish them. In the same letter, Geibel criticises the prominence of the piano in Kinkel's *Lieder*:

She inexhaustibly composes *Lieder*, and she has taken a liking to my poems. I think she has already set about twenty of my poems, and yet there are very few that I *really* like. For my taste, there is usually too little melody and too much accompaniment; and I do not agree at all with her principle that the *accompaniment* should define the mood of the poem.⁷⁹

Kinkel, on the contrary, praised Geibel and his talent in one of her letters to her friend Oppenhoff:

I am surprised that we never got to know Geibel in Bonn as he was studying there when I was there; he is one of the most brilliant and ingenious people that I have ever met. It would be a shame if he were employed at some point as such a valuable visionary is a rarity and should never become a philistine. There are enough philistines (I cannot find a suitable epithet), but very few real poets. When I talk about poets, I do not mean people who write verses (who does not write verses nowadays?), but I mean such people who absorb the sounds with the eyes of a painter and the ears of a singer.⁸⁰

4.4.3 *Maikäfer* acquaintances

Back in Bonn, Johanna Kinkel's social contacts centred on the *Bonner Gesangverein* and the *Maikäfer*. Some of Kinkel's own works were performed by the *Bonner Gesangverein*, and the *Maikäfer* served as a springboard for new compositions. Kinkel set poems by such *Maikäfer* members as Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter (1816–

⁷⁸ *Emanuel Geibels Jugendbriefe: Bonn – Berlin – Griechenland*, ed. by Karl Curtius (Berlin: Curtius, 1909), p. 92. 'Auch bei Bettina bin ich seit etwa vier Wochen sehr häufig; sie ladet mich wöchentlich mehrmals ein und hat mich ganz in ihre Familie eingeführt'.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116. Italics in original. '(Auch) im Liedercomponieren ist sie unerschöpflich, und namentlich hat sie meine Verse in Affektion genommen. Ich glaube, sie hat schon gegen zwanzig meiner Sachen in Musik gesetzt und doch sind wenige darunter, die mir *recht* gefallen. Für meinen Geschmack ist gewöhnlich zu wenig Melodie und zu viel *Accompagnement* dabei aufgewandt, wie ich denn überhaupt ihren Grundsatz, daß die *Begleitung* eigentlich die Stimmung des Gedichts angeben solle, nicht theilen kann'.

⁸⁰ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Angela Oppenhoff dated 10 December 1837, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Schluß', p. 52. 'Es wundert mich, daß wir in Bonn nie Geibel kennen lernten, der doch noch zu meiner Zeit da studierte; das ist einer der geistvollsten genialsten Leute, die mir je begegnet sind. Es wäre jammerschade, wenn er je eine Anstellung bekäme, denn ein solcher kostbarer Phantast ist eine Rarität und sollte sich nie einphilistern, denn der Philister (ich finde kein schickliches Beiwort) gibts schon genug, aber wenig ächte Dichter. Auch meine ich unter Dichtern nicht Leute, die Verse machen (denn wer macht heutzutage keine?), sondern so Leute, die mit Augen eines Malers und Ohren eines Sängers alle Töne in sich aufnehmen'.

1873), Wilhelm Seibt (1823–1891/ 1904), Sebastian Longard (1817–1892), Alexander Kaufmann (1817–1893), and Nikolaus Becker (1809–1845). However, Kinkel only published one Kaufmann setting, ‘In der Bucht’ (op. 17, no. 5); three of Longard’s, ‘Rheinfahrt’ (op. 16, no. 5); ‘Schwarze Augen’ (op. 17, no. 2); and ‘Klage’ (op. 16, no. 6); one of Wilhelm Seibt’s, ‘Die Mandoline’ (op. 19, no. 1); and two of Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter’s, ‘Die Fischerkinder’ (op. 12, no. 1) and ‘Der Sommerabend’ (op. 12, no. 2). One of Kaufmann’s poems served as the *Maikäfer* ‘national’ anthem, which is known to us through the Kinkels’ correspondence and which is archived in the Bonn Stradtarchiv, but which was never published.⁸¹

4.4.4 Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel

Although Johanna Kinkel set the words of many different *Maikäfer* acquaintances, she only chose very few of each member’s poems. However, the *Maikäfer* era (1840–47), besides the Berlin years (1836–39), was Kinkel’s most creative phase throughout her life. Many of the Lieder composed during this era are settings of Johanna’s and Gottfried’s own poems. As these compositions unveil many autobiographical nuances, it is not surprising that most of Kinkel’s political Lieder are settings of her husband’s words. In fact, only six of Gottfried Kinkel’s poems are concerned with love and, among these, four focus on the rather negative themes of parting and longing.

4.5 Performances and occasions

Despite Donald J. Grout’s sparing allusions to nineteenth-century female composers and musicians, he ascertains that the Lied, ‘offering a wide expressive range with minimal forces’, formed an essential part of cultural life.⁸² This could be attributed to the great

⁸¹ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Gottfried on 25 May 1841, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 192. ‘Ein Maikäfer Nationallied, welches uns noch fehlte, habe ich heute Mittag nach dem letzten Gedicht des Kaufmannschen komponiert’.

⁸² Grout and others, *A History of Western Music*, p. 605.

popularity of the piano, which, according to Leon Plantinga, became the ‘instrument of the century’.⁸³ The piano also played a significant role in the salon, because it enabled performances of both short piano works and Lieder, which were the most popular genres among salon attendees. Both Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel were able to use the salon-like *Maikäfer* gatherings as a semi-public platform for the performance and discussion of their works. As conversation within the *Maikäfer* association was geared to literary criticism and politics, it is not surprising that Johanna Kinkel’s Bonn friends mainly remember her political settings, as is reflected in Wilhelm Lübke’s memoirs.⁸⁴ Carl Schurz’s memories confirm that Kinkel must have performed Lieder in Bonn:

She composed just as delightfully as she played the piano. Although her voice was not very strong and she only seemed to whisper when singing, her singing, indeed, had a touching effect. She really understood how to sing without a voice.⁸⁵

Unfortunately, the spontaneous *Maikäfer* performances were not documented by Johanna Kinkel, who looked after the handwritten *Maikäfer* journal, so it is impossible to conclude which of Kinkel’s Lieder were performed and when.

In terms of performance, Kinkel was aware that she was not a very good singer, so that it is questionable if and how frequently she performed her songs before an audience.⁸⁶ In her autobiographical novel *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, Kinkel characterises the main protagonist Ida as an alto singer (like Kinkel herself) and as a brilliant pianist who prefers playing the piano to singing. When Ida is asked to perform a song, she doubts if she is able to sing:

Singing is not my thing. But I like singing songs whose texts express my mood; I can only perform them well if I am on my own though. I feel that I am revealing too much of my inner feelings when I sing expressively in front of an audience.⁸⁷

⁸³ Plantinga, ‘The Piano and the Nineteenth Century’, p. 1.

⁸⁴ Lübke, *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 105.

⁸⁵ Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 106. ‘Sie komponierte ebenso reizend, wie sie spielte. Obgleich ihre Stimme kein Klangmetall besaß und sie im Singen die Töne scheinbar nur andeuten konnte, sang sie doch mit ergreifender Wirkung. Sie verstand wirklich die Kunst, ohne Stimme zu singen’.

⁸⁶ See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 209.

⁸⁷ Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, pp. 312–13. ‘Der Gesang ist mein Fach nicht, doch ich singe gern Lieder, deren Text meiner Stimmung entspricht; aber die kann ich nur gut vortragen, wenn ich allein bin; vor Zuhörern glaube ich mein Innerstes zu verraten, wenn ich ausdrucksvoll singe’.

Several documents bear witness to Kinkel's artistic activities in Berlin and tell of her virtuosic piano playing, whereas she is hardly ever mentioned as a singer. In her memoirs, Kinkel describes her first public piano playing in Berlin at an exhibition:

Although I was used to playing in front of an audience if the occasion was right, I did not enjoy playing here as I did not want to impose my music [upon the other visitors of the exhibition].⁸⁸

That Kinkel must have been used to playing the piano for an audience becomes evident in her Berlin letters to Oppenhoff, in one of which she raves about an unforgettable evening at Fanny Hensel's salon where Vieuxtemps, Hensel and Gans performed a Beethoven trio:

I was supposed to play something by Chopin afterwards, but I was not able to play as I was too keyed up, so I asked Hensel to postpone it to the next concert. I thought I would put the audience into a state of shock if I played a brilliant Chopin piece after the holy, coruscant, solemnly-paced Beethoven.⁸⁹

Kinkel seemed to prefer playing the piano to singing. This is also revealed in a different letter to Oppenhoff, in which she explains that:

The Lieder [op. 7] are, of course, beginner's attempts, and as I assumed that nobody would like to sing them except for myself, I turned the piano accompaniment into the main thing, and, so to speak, allowed the alto voice merely to explain the mood that the piece called for through the text.⁹⁰

This quote implies that Kinkel must have performed Lieder in Berlin, although there is no record of which compositions were performed and where. In her introduction to the correspondence between Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel, Monica Klaus stresses Kinkel's excellent reputation as a pianist and states that:

⁸⁸ Kinkel (jun.), ed., 'Aus Johanna Kinkels Memoiren', p. 242. 'Zwar daran gewöhnt, vor dem Publikum zu spielen, wenn die Gelegenheit mich dazu berechtigte, war ich dem Aufdringen meiner Musik zu abhold, um mich hier wohl zu fühlen'.

⁸⁹ Kinkel in a letter to Angela Oppenhoff dated 16 June 1837, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Schluß', p. 52. 'Danach sollte ich von Chopin etwas spielen, war aber vor Enthusiasmus nicht im Stande dazu und bat die Hensel, es bis zum nächsten Konzert aufzuschieben. Ich dachte, die Zuhörer müßten wie mit kalt Wasser begossen werden, wenn ich mit einem brillanten Chopin-Stück nach dem heiligen, sternbekränzten, feierlich schreitenden Beethoven hinterher getanzt hätte'.

⁹⁰ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Angela Oppenhoff dated 31 July 1837, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Schluß', p. 50. 'Die Lieder sind, versteht sich, Anfängerversuche, und da ich voraussetzte, es werde sie doch niemand singen mögen als ich, so habe ich die Klavierbegleitung zur Hauptsache gemacht, und die Altstimme nur so zu sagen die Empfindung, die das Stück verlangt, durch den Text erklären lassen'.

In this [Berlin] environment, her [Kinkel's] piano playing was acknowledged as much as her piano and singing lessons. Her first Lieder publications were sung in many salons and were highly praised even by the music reviewer Rellstab, who was especially sceptical about female composers.⁹¹

Klaus' statement indicates that Kinkel's Lieder, like Johanna Kinkel herself, were a coherent part of Berlin salon life. In her memoirs, Kinkel recalls several performances at Savigny's salon, at which she mostly acted as the conductor. Only for Savigny's birthday celebrations, at which Kinkel's *Vogelkantate* was performed, she took on the role of the magpie.⁹² In general, however, Kinkel seemed to prefer conducting and playing the piano, which raises the question of who might have performed Kinkel's Lieder and where.

In Bonn, Kinkel's young friends Andreas Simons and Angela Oppenhoff, to the latter of whom Kinkel sent new compositions at a regular basis, were interested in her Lieder from a performative perspective. Furthermore, Kinkel's dedications point to a few more singers who must have appreciated (and performed) Kinkel's Lieder: Sophie Schloß, Bertha Forstheim, and Josephine Hubar. As regards Kinkel's time in Berlin, we know that Bettina von Arnim's daughters and singers from their circle of friends participated at singing events in smaller gatherings. Kinkel also visited the painter Carl Begas's circle and Fanny Hensel's salon, as well as a number of smaller, lesser-known gatherings.⁹³

Regarding Kinkel's musical activities in London, Kinkel performed piano works as confirmed by her London acquaintance Malwida von Meysenbug.⁹⁴ This, however,

⁹¹ Introduction by Monica Klaus, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gott!*, I, p. 5. 'In diesen Kreisen war ihr Klavierspiel ebenso hoch geschätzt wie ihr Unterricht in Klavier und Gesang. Ihre ersten veröffentlichten Liedkompositionen wurden in vielen Salons gespielt und fanden selbst bei dem Komponistinnen gegenüber besonders distanziert eingestellten Musikkritiker Ludwig Rellstab höchstes Lob'.

⁹² See Kinkel (jun.), ed., 'Aus Johanna Kinkels Memoiren', p. 261.

⁹³ See Carl Begas to Johanna Kinkel on 2 June 1838 (Stadtarchiv Bonn, SN 98/165); Fanny Hensel to Johanna Kinkel on 2 December 1838 (Stadtarchiv Bonn, SN 98/163); and Kinkel to Fräulein A. Dorn on 31 March 1838 (Stadtarchiv Bonn, SN 98/77); Kinkel to Philipp von Nathusius on 26 February 1841 (UB Kassel, 4^o Ms. hist. litt. 15[151]).

⁹⁴ von Meysenbug, *Gesammelte Werke*, II, p. 88.

does not mean that Kinkel did not perform Lieder in London at all. Her papers, archived at the Stadtarchiv Bonn, include many Scottish songs, none of which were published – perhaps she also performed those and other English-language settings when she was resident in London. Furthermore, all songs included in the aforementioned collection of hand-written transcripts are notated in lower keys, an observation which may point to the possibility that Kinkel, being an alto singer, might have arranged those songs with her own performance in mind. This collection also alludes to the Kinkels' encounters with the international musical world during their residence in London. Crouch's tune 'Kathleen Mavourneen' was often sung by the Irish singer Catherine Hayes (1825–1861). Johanna Kinkel came across Hayes either through concerts she attended in London, or through her husband. Gottfried met Hayes as an entertainment singer when he travelled by ship to America in 1851, about which he reported in a letter on 16 September 1851:

The [ship's] sociability is livened up by the presence of Miss Catharina Hayes, a celebrated Irish singer, whom I know from Miss Bassano's concert in London. [...] Imagine, here, offshore, close to the polar ice, we will be listening to Italian and German arias, performed by famous voices of the London theatres!⁹⁵

In the same letter, he resumed his impression of Hayes:

Here one can see real crap. Hayes is a good, but not a first-class singer, ginger, and tolerably pretty. People said she was a miracle of beauty, they call her the 'fright of Erin', and they invent welcome celebrations, of all of which I have noticed nothing. That is how it goes here: all moneymaking.⁹⁶

A similar observation was also made by Johanna Kinkel herself. In her unpublished *Briefe aus London* (Letters from London), she describes how she walked into a music

⁹⁵ Gottfried Kinkel in a letter to Johanna on 10 September 1851, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, III, p. 1144. 'Ein belebendes Element giebt der Gesellschaft die Anwesenheit der Catharina Hayes, einer gefeierten irischen Sangerin, die ich aus Mi Bassanos Concert von London her kenne. [...] Denk dir das einmal zusammen: hier nahe dem Polareis auf weiter Meeresbahn, werden wir von beruhmten Stimmen der Londoner Theater deutsche und italienische Arien horen!'

⁹⁶ Gottfried Kinkel in a letter to Johanna on 16 September 1851, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, III, p. 1150. 'Hier kann man so recht den Humbug sehen. Die Hayes ist eine gute, aber gar nicht ersten Ranges Sangerin, rothhaarig, und passabel hubsch. Die Spekulation macht aus ihr ein Wunder von Schonheit, nennen sie den "Schrecken von Erie" und erdichten Empfangsfeierlichkeiten, von denen ich gar nichts bemerken konnte. So geht's hier: alles moneymaking'.

shop and flicked through an album entitled *Juwelen deutscher Melodien* (Gems of German Melody):

I was flattered to find among them some of my earliest compositions, to which, to my surprise, English words and the initials of an unknown name had been added; and which had also been dedicated to a complete stranger. When I expressed my surprise at this, the publisher replied: ‘Well, as you know, melodies are as free as a bird. We have been selling yours for ten years at great profit’.⁹⁷

It is uncertain to which English-language publication Kinkel refers in her anecdote, because the volume *Gems of German Song* gives Kinkel’s name as the composer as J. Mathieux. According to Melanie Ayaydin, who is the most recent author of the Kinkel article in MUGI, Kinkel’s ‘Nachtlied’ was published in 1843 as ‘Evening Song’ in vol. 6, no. 3 of *Gems of German Song*.⁹⁸ Perhaps Kinkel was referring to an edition which is currently unknown, or she created this anecdote in order to indicate her general suspicion towards the commercialisation of music. Daniela Glahn offers another possibility and asks whether the edition of *Gems of German Song* which is currently known might have been edited after Kinkel’s complaint by way of adding her name to it at a later stage.⁹⁹ On a positive note, and referring to Melanie Unseld’s theory that anecdotes are not committed to historical truth, but provide valuable insight into the contexts and conditions under which certain events are remembered, Kinkel’s re-narration of this event suggests two conclusions.¹⁰⁰ Firstly, Kinkel promoted herself as an exploited but fashionable and marketable composer, an aspect which points to her self-perception and her public standing. Secondly, Kinkel’s Lieder compositions,

⁹⁷ Johanna Kinkel, *Briefe aus London*, n. d., ULB 2390, n. p. ‘Ich war nicht wenig geschmeichelt darunter auch einige meiner eignen frühesten Compositionen wiederzufinden, die aber zu meiner Verwunderung mit einem englischen Text, und mit den Anfangsbuchstaben eines mir fremden Namens versehen, und einer ebenfalls wildfremden Person gewidmet waren. Als ich meine Befremdung darüber ausdrückte, sagte der Verleger: “Nun, Sie wissen, Melodien sind vogelfrei. Wir verkaufen die Ihrigen schon seit 10 Jahren mit großem Vortheil”.

⁹⁸ Melanie Ayaydin, ‘Kinkel, Johanna’, *Musik und Gender im Internet*, ed. by Beatrix Borchard <http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/artikel/Johanna_Kinkel.pdf> [accessed 18 April 2016]. Hereafter referred to as Ayaydin, ‘Kinkel, Johanna’.

⁹⁹ Glahn, ‘Johanna Kinkel’, p. 118.

¹⁰⁰ Melanie Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte: Wandlungen biographischer Konzepte in Musikkultur und Musikhistoriographie* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014), p. 119. Hereafter referred to as Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte*.

whether incognito or not, and unfortunately to someone else's advantage, made their way across the German border long before the Kinkels themselves arrived in London.

CHAPTER 5: JOHANNA KINKEL'S LOVE SONGS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL TREASURE?

5.1 Music and biography: a controversial pairing

The issue of supposed autobiographical links between a composer's life and music has been raised numerous times. Gregor Herzfeld warns of the difficulty of determining 'whether or not music reveals information about its creator's biography or whether it can be understood only under consideration of it'.¹ Similarly, Maynard Solomon asserts that:

[In the later twentieth century], the dispute about the value of biography appears to centre on the vexed question of how – or whether – the pathways between life and art can be mapped, whether a 'personal' factor in creativity can be identified.²

Gregor Herzfeld devotes an entire chapter to the interdependencies between biography and art in his book *Poe in der Musik: Eine versatile Allianz*. Referring to stage works dealing with Edgar Allan Poe's biography, he explains that 'biography, as a narration of life (as a written or orally-transmitted biography), is closely related to the aesthetic sphere'.³ In a next step, Herzfeld draws the conclusion that:

Biographic reconstruction means construction, a fact recognised as a general trait of historiography by some theorists, who then propagated the fictional and narrative character of all facts. Thus, historiography carries literary, aesthetic traits. In this light, it would only be a question of style whether an author writes a scholarly biography or a stage work about Poe.⁴

¹ Gregor Herzfeld, *Poe in der Musik: Eine versatile Allianz* (Münster: Waxmann, 2013), p. 94. Hereafter referred to as Herzfeld, *Poe in der Musik*. 'Es geht in diesem Kapitel nicht darum, zu entscheiden, ob Musik selbst etwas von der Biografie ihres Urhebers offenbart oder gar nur im Zusammenhang mit ihr zu verstehen ist'.

² Maynard Solomon, 'Biography,' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, III, pp. 598–601 (p. 600).

³ Herzfeld, *Poe in der Musik*, p. 92. 'Biografie als Narration von Leben (als geschriebene, aber auch als mündlich wiedergegebene Biografie) steht der ästhetischen Sphäre nahe'.

⁴ Ibid., p. 94. 'Dies gilt insbesondere für die Tatsache, dass biografische Rekonstruktion vor allem Konstruktion ist; eine Tatsache, die manche Theoretiker als Wesen von Geschichtsschreibung insgesamt erkannten und zum Anlass für die Propagierung der Fiktionalität und Narrativität alles Faktischen nahmen. Geschichtswissenschaft hätte demnach literarische, ästhetische Grundzüge. Es wäre so gesehen

Although Herzfeld, in his book, refers to biography rather than autobiography, Herzfeld's conclusion is interesting in so far as it encourages a combined biographical approach to an artist's life and work. Blurring the boundaries between a scholarly biography and an artistic work tracing someone's biography, Herzfeld suggests that both genres may be equally successful at (re)constructing the life of the corresponding person, an aspect which is also stressed by Melanie Unseld when she points to constructiveness as a commonality between historiography and biography.⁵ In a similar way, Ursula Brandstätter argues that the boundaries between fictional and scholarly biographies merge, even though the target groups of the two genres differ, because:

A literary biography can indeed be based on a meticulous examination of primary and secondary sources. [...] Furthermore, [in literary works,] the author's critical reflection of his or her own approach can evoke a scholarly character, a feature which would normally be associated with scholarly publications. On the other hand, scholarly biographies always carry a certain amount of subjectivity and fiction. [...] Every era has its own history, or its own histories. There is no such thing as an objective approach to the past, and there is no such thing as an objective approach to reality.⁶

Based on observations in relation to the montage as both an artistic means and a scholarly method, Beatrix Borchard advocates a musical historiography using the montage as a methodological model. Like Borchard, Melanie Unseld, by referring to theories of remembrance and recollection studies, interprets music as a form of 'cultural practice, whose manifold representations can be understood as part of the cultural

nur eine Frage des Stils, ob ein Autor eine wissenschaftliche Biografie oder ein Bühnenstück über Poe verfasst'.

⁵ Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte*, p. 439.

⁶ Ursula Brandstätter, 'Musikerbiographien zwischen Fiktion und Wirklichkeit: Schubert im Spiegel literarischer Biographien: Rudolf Hans Bartsch *Schwammerl* und Peter Härtling *Schubert*', in *Musik und Biographie: Festschrift für Rainer Cadenbach*, ed. by Codula Heymann-Wentzel and Johannes Laas (Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann, 2004), pp. 82–105 (p. 105). This entire volume is hereafter referred to as Heymann-Wentzel and Laas, *Musik und Biographie*. 'Literarische Biographie [kann] durchaus auf der genauen Beschäftigung mit den Primärquellen und der Sekundärliteratur beruhen. [...] Wissenschaftlichen Charakter vermittelt darüber hinaus auch die Reflexion des eigenen methodischen Ansatzes und Vorgehens, wie sie normalerweise für wissenschaftliche Publikationen typisch sind. Andererseits kommen wissenschaftliche Biographien nicht ohne Subjektivität und Fiktion aus. [...] Jede Zeit hat ihre eigene Geschichte, bzw. ihre eigenen Geschichten. Es gibt keinen objektiven Zugang zur Vergangenheit, ebensowenig wie es einen objektiven Zugang zur Wirklichkeit gibt'.

memory'.⁷ Therefore, the examination of autobiographical works and their public reception allows interesting conclusions in relation to canonisation processes and social, political, and economic constellations of power, even though the particular work might raise questions and uncertainties.⁸ Referring to historical uncertainties and biases, Borchard, along with Klaus Füßmann, argues that the montage takes into account aspects which are essential for a timely documentary portrayal of history:

The *retrospective* view incorporated in each portrayal of history, its *perspectivity*, its *selectivity*, its *sequentiality* – the ‘force of the inner entanglement of the selected events’, its *communicative* element – the fact that every portrayal of history is addressed to a certain audience, and finally its *particularity* – an aspect which reminds us of the “patchwork” character of historical portrayals as well as their general revisability.⁹

In this respect, Borchard suggests a montage of such different documents as letters, diaries, legal documents, and pedagogical writings in order to create a broader picture of history and in order to uncover unforeseen links. Unseld argues that such autobiographical documents as listed by Borchard may be particularly prone to (mis)readings as historical sources, even though their authenticity and objectivity are questionable because of the aspects of self-staging and self-promotion.¹⁰ In light of this, David Gramit points to the subjectivity of autobiographies and states that ‘we are dealing with texts that are carefully constructed to control the image they present of their subjects’.¹¹ Nevertheless, Unseld, like Beatrix Borchard, sees in such documents valuable biographical and historical sources, as long as research gaps and uncertainties, as well as such influences as the target group, publishers, and the socio-cultural context

⁷ Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte*, p. 41.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁹ Beatrix Borchard, ‘Mit Schere und Klebstoff: Montage als wissenschaftliches Verfahren in der Biographik’, in Heymann-Wentzel and Laas *Musik und Biographie*, pp. 30–45 (pp. 40–41). Italics in original. ‘die *Retrospektivität* jeder Geschichtsdarstellung, ihre *Perspektivität*, ihre *Selektivität*, ihre *Sequenzialität* – das “Moment der inneren Verknüpfung der selektierten Geschichtsmomente”, ihre *Kommunikativität* – die Tatsache, dass sich jede Form von Geschichtsdarstellung an Adressaten wendet, und schließlich ihre *Partikularität* – ein Aspekt, der den “Stückwerk”-Charakter historischer Darstellungen, aber auch die grundsätzliche Revidierbarkeit zur Sprache bringt’. Those characteristics of historiography were also alluded to in my own introduction in which I contextualised my own position.

¹⁰ Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte*, pp. 50 and 62.

¹¹ David Gramit, ‘Unremarkable Musical Lives: Autobiographical Narratives, Music, and the Shaping of the Self’, in Pekacz, *Musical Biography*, pp. 159–78 (p. 163).

are pointed out explicitly rather than answered by way of speculations.¹² Thus, this chapter, by taking the shape of a montage of Kinkel's correspondence and memoirs, but also of her fictional and non-fictional writings and of her compositions, will provide a different perspective on Kinkel as a person as well as on her socio-political and cultural context, especially as Kinkel's Lieder were mainly performed in private and semi-public circles.¹³

Maynard Solomon, by emphasising the interconnectedness of life, experience, and art, states that:

The 'biographical' element cannot be disengaged from the network of art's origins without undermining the entire structure or, at least, leading to an impoverishment of meaning. The strictly 'biographical' is inseparable from all other modes of experience that contribute to art's formation because art is a form of human activity and not the operation of any abstract principle, either spiritual or material. Thus the simplest biographical fact – the commission, opportunity, or psychic 'event' which brings about the compositional decision – meshes with underlying universes of experience. And such a biographical fact – apparently so superficial, and apparently belonging solely to the surface of the creative process – properly explored, permits entrance to the multi-dimensionality of art's causal nexus.¹⁴

The correspondence between Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel reveals different musical facets of the Kinkels' relationship, an aspect which confirms Solomon's concept of interconnected aspects of life and art. For example, on 20 April 1840, in one of her first letters to Gottfried Kinkel, Johanna uses musical terms as qualifiers of emotions:

After our latest conversation, I am assuming you expect quite sad news; but I am not giving you bad news as it would be a sin to intervene in your (certainly bright mood) with a diminished seventh chord.¹⁵

¹² Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte*, pp. 355 and 436.

¹³ For further details on the Lied and its development within the marketplace see James Deaville, 'A multitude of voices: the Lied at mid century', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. by James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 142–67 (p. 167), hereafter referred to as Deaville, 'A multitude of voices'; and Laura Tunbridge, 'Reading Lieder Recordings', in Ronyak, 'Colloquy', 543–82, hereafter referred to as Tunbridge, 'Reading Lieder Recordings'. Parsons's volume is hereafter referred to as Parsons, *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*.

¹⁴ Maynard Solomon, 'Thoughts on Biography', *19th-Century Music*, 5.3 (Spring 1982), 268–76 (p. 272).

¹⁵ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 37. 'Nach unserer letzten Unterredung erwarten Sie wohl von diesem Blatt recht graue Nachrichten; die bringt es aber nicht denn es wäre ja Sünde, in Ihre (jetzt gewiß sonnenhelle Stimmung) mit einem verminderten Septimenakkord einzufallen?'

Approximately two months later, on 17 June 1840, Johanna expresses regret that Gottfried did not attend a concert; in the same letter, she tells him what she had been doing all day and refers to Gottfried's poems:

Today, you have aroused the suspicion of being an enemy of music. How could you run away from a Trio by Mozart? [...] At 9am, we (some choir members) walked to Kessenich, where we sang in the countryside until 12:30pm, we also sang your Lieder, of which I have also composed a new one again.¹⁶

On the one hand, the Kinkels use music as a means of self-expression; secondly, musical performances are considered as a means of relaxation; and thirdly, music is used as an inspirational mediator between Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel.

However, does the interconnectedness between (narrated) life and music work the other way around as well? In her essay 'Can Music Function as a Metaphor of Emotional Life?', Jenefer Robinson argues that 'expressive music refers to or signifies not just predicates or musical *qualities*, but other phenomena – events, actions, “plots” – in realms of human experience “beyond” the music'.¹⁷ However, Robinson warns that music can express different aspects by the same compositional features (e.g. high mountains and low valleys, or bright and rather gloomy moods) and we can only determine meaning by way of verbal clues or context.¹⁸ One could argue that, in song, the poetry might provide useful clues; however, bearing in mind Agawu's and Barthes's appraisals of musical (not purely textual) meaning in song and Lawrence Kramer's concept of transmemberment, I follow Jenefer Robinson, whose argumentation is based on the assumption that music is a metaphorical conversation. According to Robinson, 'we are invited [...] to hear [music] as an interchange of voices' and to 'experience the

¹⁶ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gott!*, I, p. 45. Underline in original. 'Heute haben Sie einen schweren Verdacht auf sich geladen, nämlich ein Musikfeind zu sein. Wie konnten Sie vor einem Trio von Mozart davonlaufen? [...] Um 9 wanderten wir (einige Singvögel) nach Kessenich, wo wir bis halb 1 Uhr im Freien sangen, auch von Ihren Liedern, deren ich auch wieder ein neues komponiert habe'.

¹⁷ Jenefer Robinson, 'Can Music Function as a Metaphor of Emotional Life?', in *Philosophers on Music: Experience, Meaning, and Work*, ed. by Kathleen Stock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 149–77 (p. 153). Italics in original.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

same feelings and attitudes to the music that we experience towards conversation'.¹⁹

Therefore, Robinson continues:

If music is conceived of as metaphorically a conversation, then it refers to voices in a conversation [...] [and] voices are expressive and they can express particular thoughts, emotions, feelings, and attitudes.²⁰

Musical personas, as represented by musical characters (keys, themes, sets of instruments), according to Robinson, express something as if they participated in a conversation or drama, and therefore metaphorical descriptions of the 'musical surface' play an important part in examining music in order to recognise certain emotions and attitudes.²¹ In the light of Robinson's concept of music as a metaphor of conversation, and considering Johanna Kinkel's smaller performance settings; her autobiographical allusions to her art in her correspondence; the contextual parallels between her biography and the poetry she set during different periods of her life; and Lawrence Kramer's idea of song being able to express something that we otherwise 'forbid ourselves to say', Kinkel's Lieder might provide insight into her biography.²² It should be borne in mind, however, that 'there is no such thing as a biographical truth' and that, referring to Unsel and Carola Hilmes, (auto)biographical works bear a dialogical balance of the 'inventarisches Ich' (inventory self) and 'inventorisches Ich' (inventive self), an observation which will also surface in this chapter.²³

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 166 and 170–71.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 173.

²¹ Ibid., p. 174.

²² Laura Tunbridge suggests that in the mid-nineteenth century 'lieder were frequently presented on public stages, in large halls' and that 'their roots in domestic music making, in other words, were overemphasised, perhaps for nostalgic purposes; for the most part, lieder were sung by professionals (or at least the trained) to a passive, if not always silent audience'. Tunbridge, 'Reading Lieder Recordings', p. 556. This may be true for some composers, but not for all. Only one Lied of Kinkel's was evidently performed onstage by Mary Shaw at the Leipzig Gewandhaus on 28 January 1839. See Alfred Dörrfel, *Die Gewandhauskonzerte zu Leipzig* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1884, repr. 1980), p. 213. Hereafter referred to as Dörrfel, *Die Gewandhauskonzerte zu Leipzig*.

²³ Unsel, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte*, pp. 316 and 437. 'Die biographische Wahrheit ist nicht zu haben'.

5.2 Berlin: Kinkel's attempt to process her first marriage

Johanna Kinkel's unhappy marriage to Johann Mathieux led her to escape to Berlin in 1836. Here, she published her first Lieder collection in 1838, two years prior to the beginning of a serious relationship with Gottfried Kinkel. 'Verlornes Glück' (Lost Happiness, op. 6, no. 5, Table 5.1) seems to reflect Kinkel's emotional state of mind when she left Bonn. In the strophic two-part song, which prioritises the piano accompaniment (Ex. 5.1), the lyrical I returns to their favourite place and bemoans their love being over.²⁴ Although this Lied was not published until 1839, the opus number points to one Kinkel's earlier compositions as the first published opus was op. 7.

Table 5.1: 'Verlornes Glück' (op. 6, no. 5)

Verlornes Glück Johanna Kinkel Published in 1839		Lost Happiness²⁵
Sitze hier an lieber Stelle,	<i>a</i>	I am sitting here at a lovely place,
Wo ich einst nicht saß alleine;	<i>b</i>	Where I used to sit in company;
Damals klang hier süße Rede,	<i>c</i>	Back then, sweet words were voiced,
Wo ich heut' mein Los beweine.	<i>b</i>	Now I am weeping over my destiny.
Schön und hell nennt man die Erde,	<i>d</i>	Beautiful and bright they call the world,
Voller Lust und voller Freuden;	<i>e</i>	Full of happiness and joy;
Doch ist mir sie ewig dunkel,	<i>f</i>	But for me, the world is dark forever
Weil ich soll ihr Schönstes meiden.	<i>e</i>	Because I miss its greatest joy.
Von den vielen duft'gen Kräutern,	<i>g</i>	Of these aromatic herbs
Die in diesem Garten stehen,	<i>h</i>	Which grow in this garden,
Wird kein einz'ges, ach, mich heilen;	<i>i</i>	Not a single one, alas, will cure me,
Ich muss qualvoll untergehen.	<i>h</i>	I will have to cease in pain.

The timing and structure in this Lied are interesting – perhaps one of the reasons why the reviewer of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* considered this song as one of the most beautiful ones.²⁶ The vocal line begins with an up-beat made up of two quavers,

²⁴ Throughout this dissertation, I name the lyrical protagonist's gender where it is obvious, based on the bipolar order of sexes, because this is the interpretation of gender which reflects Kinkel's own mind set. When it is not obvious, I refer to the lyrical I as 'they' or s/he.

²⁵ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

²⁶ [Anon.], review of Johanna Mathieux, *Opus 6* (1839), *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 8 December 1841, p. 1044. 'Auch diese Sammlung enthält Schönes; vorzüglich ist es ihr eigenes Lied, was uns zu den schönsten gehört'.

which correspond with the first two syllables of each strophe ('Sit-ze', 'Schön und', 'Von den'). However, the two quavers are preceded by a cadence-like crotchet progression in the piano accompaniment, which introduce the tonic key of G minor. The cadential character of those two crotchets is confirmed when they re-sound at the last bar as a means of concluding this song.

Ex. 5.1: Final phrase and piano coda of 'Verlornes Glück' (bars 8–16)²⁷

The two parts of the Lied are unequal: while part A includes two two-bar phrases and the cadential opening (bars 1–5), part B is made up of another two-bar phrase borrowed from the A part (bars 6–7), and a prolonged second phrase (8–12). This second phrase of part B features a great number of minims, and, unlike the previous phrases, its beginning corresponds with the beginning of a new bar. The *forte* dynamics at the corresponding line support the change of atmosphere evoked by the rhythmic prolongation and the metric shift. Harmonically, the song centres on its tonic key and its

²⁷ All scores were typeset by myself; I used as a basis the scores listed in appendix C, volume two of this thesis.

mediants with the harmonic rhythm being quite regular. The only harmonic specialty is the German augmented sixth chord in bar 10, the augmented sixth of which is placed in both the vocal and the right hand piano lines. While it is resolved correctly in the right hand piano, it is not resolved according to traditional voice leading rules in the voice, a procedure which stresses the lyrical protagonist's 'Los' (fate, first verse). Kinkel married Mathieux out of obedience to her parents rather than love; nevertheless the sweet memories of the beloved might be credited to Johann Mathieux, who, as Monica Klaus ascertains, 'knew how to pretend while wooing'.²⁸ Although it is not quite clear whether there is a direct connection between Kinkel's first husband and this Lied, there is no doubt that Kinkel must have felt desperate about her situation, which is also reflected in her farewell letter to Angela Oppenhoff:

My ineluctable fate makes me leave Bonn, and God knows when I will be back; [...] I am sending my love to all my singing acquaintances and I apologise for disappearing secretly overnight. I agonised a lot over my decision, and it was the reason for my strange mood, which has confused you since.²⁹

Also Kinkel's Geibel-Lied 'Abreise' (Departure, op. 8, no. 6, Table 5.2) was not published as part of her first Lieder opus, but it seems to be one of her first Lieder compositions.³⁰ In this Lied, the lyrical protagonist enters a boat departing from his home place. Harmonically a simple piece in B-flat major, the extraordinary form stresses the words rather than the music. The formal sketch of the Lied (Fig. 5.1) shows that Kinkel does not, as usual, divide the Lied into phrases of four bars each. In accordance with the unusual rhyme scheme, she inserts two individual two-bar phrases

²⁸ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 15. 'Er wusste sich in der Zeit seiner Brautwerbung gut zu verstellen'.

²⁹ Johanna Kinkel to Angela Oppenhoff on 11 November 1836, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild', pp. 293–94. 'Mein unvermeidliches Schicksal heißt mich Bonn verlassen, wann ich wiederkomme wissen die Götter; [...] Meine übrigen Kränzchengenossen und Genossinnen grüßen Sie doch herzlichst in meinem Namen, und entschuldigen mich bei Allen über mein heimliches Davongehen zu mitternächtiger Stunde. Der Entschluß hat mir viel Kopfzerbrechens gemacht und war ein Hauptgrund jener sonderbaren Stimmung, die Ihnen seither so unerklärlich war'.

³⁰ As Kinkel published her opus numbers 7 and 8 in the same year, 1838, it is impossible to reconstruct whether the Lieder in her opus 8 were composed after those ones published in the previous opus number. Kinkel published in her opus 8 only settings of Emanuel Geibel, which might explain why 'Abreise' was included in opus 8 rather than opus 7.

(‘B’, bars 5–6; and ‘B_{prolongation}’, bars 11–12), which embrace the expected four-bar phrase B (here: B_{mirror+prolongation}). Based on the melodic, harmonic and poetic features, an alternative formal interpretation would be a tripartite structure (4+4+4+chorus rather than 4+2+4+2+chorus).

Table 5.2: ‘Abreise’ (op. 8, no. 6)

Abreise Emanuel Geibel Published in 1838	Departure
Es kommt ein Schiff gezogen, Rot glühen die Segel im Abendschein, Der Wind kommt kosend geflogen, Und leise plätschern die Wogen, Und Hörnerton schallt drein, Trarah, Und Hörnerton schallt drein. Trarah, trarah, trarah, trarah!	<i>a</i> A ship is approaching, <i>b</i> The sails glow red in the sunset, <i>a</i> The wind blows fondly, <i>a</i> And the waves dabble softly, <i>b</i> And the horns sound, Trarah, <i>b</i> And the horns sound. Trarah, trarah, trarah, trarah!
Und an des Schiffleins Rande Steht hoch der Knab' und er schwingt das Pokal; Ihr Vöglein, ihr flieget zum Strande, O grüßt im heimischen Lande Die Lieben viel tausend mal. Trarah, Die Lieben viel tausend mal. Trarah, trarah, trarah, trarah!	<i>c</i> And at the ship's railing <i>d</i> There stands tall the boy and swings the cup, <i>c</i> Birds, fly to the beach, <i>c</i> O greet loved ones at home <i>d</i> A thousand times. Trarah, <i>d</i> A thousand times. Trarah, trarah, trarah, trarah!

Fig. 5.1: Formal sketch of ‘Abreise’ (op. 8, no. 6)³¹

Bar	1–2	3–4	5–6	7–8	9–10	11–12	13–16	17–18
Line	a	b	a	a	b	b	Refrain	
Melodic Phrase		A	B	B _{mirror+prolongation}		B _{prolongation}	Chorus	Piano Coda
Harmony	B \flat	B \flat ⁷ /e \flat /C ⁷ /F	F ⁷ /B \flat	G/c ^{dim} /F	B \flat /F/B \flat	g/C ⁷ /F/B \flat	F/B \flat /G/c ^{dim} /F ⁷ /B \flat	B \flat

The formal irregularity in bars 5 to 12 and the dynamic change from *pp* to *f* in bar 9 might allude to Kinkel’s personal associations evoked by the corresponding verses;

³¹ Kinkel’s opus numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 21 are available through the ULB online digitalisation project HANS: <<http://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/ulbbnhans/content/titleinfo/2148925>> [5 January 2017]. Thus, this thesis only includes specific excerpts rather than all scores in full.

namely the lyrical I's departure from his home place and his imagining of the sea gulls carrying a thousand wishes to the loved ones in the home place left behind.

That Kinkel might have processed psychological burdens in her songs is also reflected in the two-part Lied 'Vorüberfahrt' (Passing Journey, op. 7, no. 3, Table 5.3), in which the female lyrical I is reminded of the pain and torture caused by an unhappy love while passing her home place.

Table 5.3: 'Vorüberfahrt' (op. 7, no. 3)

Vorüberfahrt Johanna Kinkel Published in 1838		Passing Journey
Ihr Liebe flüsternden Linden!	<i>a</i>	You linden trees whispering of love!
Am Wege rechter Hand,	<i>b</i>	At the right hand side of the street
Ihr streckt herüber die Zweige	<i>c</i>	Your overhanging branches
Und grüßt mich so wohl bekannt!	<i>b</i>	Are greeting me as ever!
Ihr zeigt mir rosig beleuchtet	<i>d</i>	Rose-lit, you are showing me
Die Türme der freien Stadt,	<i>e</i>	The towers of the free town,
Die meine glühendste Liebe	<i>f</i>	Which gave birth to my glowing love
Und Qual geboren hat.	<i>e</i>	And to my torture.
Es zieht zum gothischen Thore	<i>h</i>	Violently, I am pulled into the town
Mich wie mit Gewalt herein,	<i>i</i>	Through the Gothic gates,
Vielleicht begeg' ich dem Liebsten,	<i>k</i>	Perhaps I will meet my [male] beloved,
Doch ach! Das darf ja nicht sein!	<i>i</i>	But alas! It must not happen!
Ich möchte weilen so gerne	<i>l</i>	I would love to stay
An dem geliebten Ort;	<i>m</i>	At this beloved place;
Doch Alles hat sich verschworen	<i>n</i>	But everything has conspired against me
Und reißt mich grausam fort.	<i>m</i>	And, cruelly, I am taken away.
Ihr unerbittlichen Räder,	<i>o</i>	You adamant wheels,
So steht denn euer Sinn	<i>p</i>	Why do you keep rolling,
Zu rollen, immer zu rollen,	<i>q</i>	Rolling all the time,
In's ferne Blaue dahin.	<i>p</i>	Out into the far unknown.
Die flücht'gen Rosse verstehen	<i>r</i>	The escaping horses do not
Mein innres Flehen nicht,	<i>s</i>	Understand my inner pleading,
Sie jagen brausend vorüber,	<i>t</i>	They continue their rushing journey,
Ob auch das Herz mir bricht.	<i>s</i>	No matter whether my heart is breaking.

Here, Kinkel sets her own words, and her personal touch is stressed by means of a lengthy piano introduction and postlude and a fairly complex harmonic concept (Ex. 5.2). Voice and form are secondary. This compositional approach is also reflected in Kinkel's writings about Chopin. In her chapter on Chopin's waltzes, Kinkel regrets the harmonic negligibility and monotony in some of the most famous works:

As a matter of fact, first-class performers perform pieces of total nonentity, in which, over several pages, tonic and dominant rotate every four bars. Such music, which absolves the listener from thinking, kills the spirit, exhausts the nerves, and abases art!³²

Whereas Kinkel maintains the division of the musical text into phrases of four bars each, the harmonic design is diverse. Set in C minor, the song employs the mediants E-flat major and A-flat major besides the commonly used dominant and subdominant. In addition, a German augmented sixth chord (bar 11) and an F minor chord (bar 20) increase the effect of the lyrical I's pain which is reflected in the last line of each verse 'und Qual geboren hat' (and to my torture, first verse), 'und reisst mich grausam fort' (and, cruelly, I am taken away, second verse), and 'ob auch das Herz mir bricht' (no matter whether my heart is breaking, third verse). In part B of each verse (bars 13–20), a brightening passage in C major seems to allude to the lyrical I's hopes and happiness in the past. However, the return to the original key of C minor in bar 20, followed by an eight-bar piano coda in C minor, restores the desperate mood introduced initially.

Ex. 5.2: Harmonic symbolism in 'Vorüberfahrt' (bars 11–21)

11

molto ritard.

Zwei - ge und grüsst mich so wohl be - kannt. Ihr *p* zeigt mir ro - sig be -
 Lieb - sten, doch ach! das darf ja nicht sein. Ich möch - te wei - len so
 rol - len in's fer - ne Blau - e da - hin. Die flücht - gen Ros - se ver -

molto ritard.

p

E \flat Ger6 F G G7

³² Kinkel, *Friedrich Chopin als Komponist*, pp. 15–16. 'Es ist Thatsache, daß ausübende Künstler ersten Ranges mit Compositionen von totaler Nullität auftreten, in denen durch Seiten hindurch von 4 Takten zu 4 Takten nur Tonika und Dominante einander ablösen. Jede Musik die in solcher Weise den Hörer des Denkens überhebt, ist geisttödtend, nervenerschlaffend und erniedrigt die Kunst!'

Ex. 5.2 continued

15 *a tempo*
 leuch - tet die Thür-me der frei - en Stadt, *f* die mei - ne glü-hends-te
 ger - ne an dem ge - lieb - ten Ort; doch Al - les hat sich ver -
 ste - hen mein inn - res Fle - hen nicht, sie ja - gen brau-send vor -

19 *più lento*
 Lie - be und Qual ge - bo - ren hat.
 schwö - ren und reisst mich grau - sam fort.
 ü - ber, ob auch das Herz mir bricht.

a tempo
f

C G C C Fm G7 Cm

Considering the pain resultant from Kinkel's first marriage, 'Vorüberfahrt' could be interpreted as a mirror of Johanna Kinkel's psychological state. On the other hand, Monica Klaus points to this Lied's possible link with Kinkel's short but intense imaginary association with Georg Brentano, whom she met during her stay in Frankfurt in 1836, shortly after her escape from Johann Mathieux and before her move to Berlin. According to Monica Klaus, Kinkel felt attracted to Brentano, but she knew that 'she was not allowed to love anymore as she was bound to Mathieux'.³³

In the Heine setting 'Die Sprache der Sterne' (The Language of the Stars, also known as 'For Many Thousand Ages', op. 6, no. 6, Table 5.4), nature, more particularly the stars, are used as an allegory for two lovers whose affection for each other cannot be understood by anyone else. The varied two-part Lied is set in 3/4 metre with no major compositional complexities, although the piano accompaniment is inscribed 'Allegretto

³³ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 26.

Grazioso’, an instruction which shows Kinkel’s own fondness for the piano. The slight metric variation in the third musical stanza – here, the upbeat is omitted and the word ‘Ich’ (I) sounds on the first beat of bar 1 – confirms the lyrical protagonist’s Romantic egotism. The poetic plot, which exposes two remote subjects whose means of communication is love based on the ‘the grammar of my heart’s own darling’s face’, supports the assumption that Kinkel might have been in love with someone other than her husband when she set this poem.

Table 5.4: ‘Die Sprache der Sterne’ (op. 6, no. 6)

Die Sprache der Sterne Heinrich Heine Published in 1839		For Many Thousand Ages ³⁴ Translation by James Thomson
Es stehen unbeweglich	<i>a</i>	For many thousand ages
Die Sterne in ihrer Höh’, ³⁵	<i>b</i>	The steadfast stars above
Viel tausend Jahr, und schauen	<i>c</i>	Have gazed upon each other
Sich an mit Liebesweh.	<i>b</i>	With ever mournful love.
Sie sprechen eine Sprache,	<i>d</i>	They speak a certain language,
Die ist so reich, so schön;	<i>e</i>	So beautiful, so grand,
Doch keiner der Philologen	<i>f</i>	Which none of the philologists
Kann diese Sprache verstehn.	<i>e</i>	Could ever understand.
Ich aber hab sie gelernet,	<i>g</i>	But I have learned it, learned it
Und ich vergesse sie nicht;	<i>h</i>	For ever, by the grace
Mir diente als Grammatik	<i>i</i>	Of studying the grammar of
Der Herzallerliebsten Gesicht.	<i>h</i>	My heart’s own darling’s face.

The deep-rooted desire to spend time with the beloved is also expressed in August Kopisch’s ‘Wunsch’ (Desire, op. 7, no. 2, Table 5.5), in which the lyrical I expresses his/ her desire to be stranded with his/ her beloved on a lonely island.

³⁴ Translation by James Thomson (1834–1882), James Thomson, translation of Heinrich Heine, ‘Die Sprache der Sterne’, *The LiederNet Archive*, hosted by Emily Ezust <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=27076> [accessed 3 May 2016]. Translations accessed at *The LiederNet Archive* are hereafter referenced by way of URL only. The full references are included in the bibliography.

³⁵ Heine’s original reads ‘in der Höh’ rather than ‘in ihrer Höh’. This change does not affect the translation. Heinrich Heine, ‘Es stehen unbeweglich’, in *Buch der Lieder von Heinrich Heine* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), p. 116, cited after *Heinrich Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Manfred Winfuhr <<http://hhp.uni-trier.de/Projekte/HHP/Projekte/HHP/searchengine/werke/baende/D01/enterdha?pageid=D01S0138&bookid=D01&lineref=Z25&mode=2&textpattern=es%20stehen%20unbeweglich&firsttid=0&widthgiven=30>> [accessed 3 May 2016]. This critical edition is hereafter referred to as *Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe*.

Table 5.5: ‘Wunsch’ (op. 7, no. 2)

Wunsch August Kopisch Published in 1838		Desire
Im Meere möchte' ich fahren	<i>a</i>	I want to travel on the sea
Mit dir, mit dir allein,	<i>b</i>	With you, with you alone.
Möcht auf einsamem Eiland	<i>c</i>	I want to be stranded
Mit dir verschlagen sein.	<i>b</i>	With you on a lonely island.
Da wären nicht Muhmen und Basen,	<i>d</i>	There would be no relations,
Nur du und ich allein,	<i>e</i>	Just you and me alone,
Da würdest du nicht so spröde,	<i>f</i>	You would not be so tough,
Nicht hart und grausam sein.	<i>e</i>	So hard and cruel.
Da schlingst du die Lilienarme	<i>g</i>	Lovingly, you would put your lily arms
Mir liebend um Hals und Brust,	<i>h</i>	Around my neck and chest,
Und ich, ich dürfte dich küssen	<i>i</i>	And I, I would be able to kiss you
Nach meines Herzens Lust.	<i>h</i>	To my heart's content.
Wir säßen und strickten uns Netze	<i>k</i>	We would sit there and knit nets,
Und fingen uns Fische im Meer,	<i>l</i>	We would catch the fish in the sea.
Und Gast wär allein die Liebe	<i>m</i>	Our only visitor would be love
Und weiter niemand mehr.	<i>l</i>	And nobody else.
Im Meere möchte ich fahren,	<i>a</i>	I want to travel on the sea
Mit dir, mit dir allein,	<i>b</i>	With you, with you alone.
Möcht auf einsamem Eiland	<i>c</i>	I want to be stranded
Mit dir verschlagen sein.	<i>b</i>	With you on a lonely island.

In a similar way to ‘Vorüberfahrt’ and ‘Die Sprache der Sterne’, the piano in ‘Wunsch’, which creates a distinct rhythm imitating the moving sea, is given priority. The lengthy piano prelude and postlude support this observation. Harmonically, the tonic key of F-sharp minor is strikingly unusual, and the harmonic design is diverse, as it includes the tonic's mediant and parallel major key.

The Geibel setting ‘Gondellied’ (Gondola Song, op. 8, no. 3, Table 5.6) sketches a similar setting on the water, where the lyrical I imagines being outside under a clear sky with his/ her beloved. ‘Gondellied’ is structured as a three-part Lied (ABA), followed by a piano coda which loops up the distinct piano accompaniment in 6/8 metre, characterising the gondola moves on the water. The poem, whose words originate from Geibel's translation of Thomas Moore's ‘When Daylight Sets’, was set

by numerous nineteenth-century composers.³⁶ The longing for love and the lyrical I's hopeful imagination of a loving couple might have inspired Kinkel as she regretted her own emotional misfortune.

Table 5.6: 'Gondellied' (op. 8, no. 3)

Gondellied Emanuel Geibel Published in 1838		When Daylight Sets ³⁷ Original poem by Thomas Moore
O komm zu mir, wenn durch die Nacht Wandelt das Sternenheer, Dann schwebt mit uns in Mondespracht Die Gondel übers Meer. Die Lieb erwacht, der Scherz beginnt ³⁸ Im gold'nen Zauberlicht. Die Zither lockt so sanft, so lind, Du widerstehst ihr nicht. O komm zu mir, wenn durch die Nacht Wandelt das Sternenheer, Dann schwebt mit uns in Mondespracht Die Gondel übers Meer.	<i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i>	Oh, come to me when daylight sets; Sweet! then come to me, When smoothly go our gondolets O'er the moonlight sea. When Mirth's awake, and Love begins, Beneath that glancing ray, With sound of lutes and mandolins, To steal young hearts away. Then, come to me when daylight sets; Sweet! then come to me, When smoothly go our gondolets O'er the moonlight sea.
Das ist für Liebende die Stund', Liebchen, wie ich und du; So friedlich blaut des Himmels Rund, Es schläft das Meer in Ruh. Die Mädchen singen Liebeslust, ³⁹ Das Echo hallt von fern, Da drängt sich klopfend Brust an Brust, Schliesst Mund an Mund sich gern. O komm zu mir, wenn durch die Nacht Wandelt das Sternenheer, Dann schwebt mit uns in Mondespracht Die Gondel übers Meer.	<i>e</i> <i>f</i> <i>e</i> <i>f</i> <i>g</i> <i>h</i> <i>g</i> <i>h</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i>	Oh, then's the hour for those who love, Sweet, like thee and me; When all's so calm below, above, In Heaven and o'er the sea. When maiden's sing sweet barcarolles, And Echo sings again So sweet, that all with ears and souls Should love and listen then. So, come to me when daylight sets; Sweet! then come to me, When smoothly go our gondolets O'er the moonlight sea.

A similar psychological motivation might have driven Kinkel to set Geibel's 'Trennung' (Separation, op. 8, no. 5, Table 5.7).

³⁶ Other nineteenth-century composers who set this Lied include Clara Schumann, née Wieck, Fanny Hensel, Friedrich Kücken (1810–1882), Karl Heinrich Carsten Reinecke (1824–1910), Sophie Bohrer (1828–1849), Joseph Joachim Raff (1822–1882), Johann Wenzeslaus Kalliwoda (1801–1866), Karl Collan (1828–1871), Julius Otto Grimm (1827–1903), and Henry Hugo Pierson (1816–1873).

³⁷ The English original is by Thomas Moore <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=22989> [accessed 3 May 2016].

³⁸ Geibel's original publication reads: 'Die Luft ist weich wie Liebesscherz | Sanft spielt der goldne Schein | Die Zither klingt und zieht dein Herz | Mit in die Lust hinein' (The air is as soft as lovely jest | The golden glow shines gently | The zither sounds and ropes your heart | Into the desire). It is uncertain whether Kinkel changed the verse or whether she used one of Geibel's previous unpublished versions. Emanuel Geibel, 'Gondoliera', in *Gedichte*, ed. by Emanuel Geibel, 39th edn (Berlin: Duncker, 1855), p. 89. This volume is hereafter referred to as Geibel, *Gedichte*.

³⁹ Geibel's original publication reads: 'Und wie es schläft, da sagt der Blick | Was keine Zunge spricht | Die Lippe zieht sich nicht zurück | Und wehrt dem Kusse nicht'.

Table 5.7: ‘Trennung’ (op. 8, no. 5)

Trennung Emanuel Geibel Published in 1838	Separation ⁴⁰ Translation adapted from Linda Godry
In meinem Garten die Nelken	<i>a</i> The carnations in my garden
Mit ihrem Purpurstern	<i>b</i> With their crimson centre-star
Müssen nun alle verwelken,	<i>a</i> They all must wilt away now,
Denn du bist fern.	<i>b</i> Because you are afar.
Auf meinem Herde die Flammen	<i>c</i> The flames in my hearth
Die ich bewacht so gern,	<i>b</i> Which I so loved to watch,
Sanken in Asche zusammen,	<i>c</i> Crumbled to ashes,
Denn du bist fern.	<i>b</i> Because you are afar.
Die Welt ist mir verdorben,	<i>d</i> The world went sour,
Mich grüßt nicht Blume nicht Stern,	<i>b</i> With neither flower greeting me nor star,
Mein Herz ist lange gestorben,	<i>d</i> My heart died away long ago,
Denn du bist fern.	<i>b</i> Because you are afar.

In ‘Trennung’, a heart-broken lyrical I bemoans that their beloved has left them. Like ‘Gondellied’, this poem was set by many nineteenth-century composers, but Kinkel’s setting was one of the first.⁴¹ Kinkel’s two-part Lied is characterised by dense harmonic progressions and an elaborate piano part, which stresses the line ‘denn du bist fern’ (because you are afar, bars 8 ff., Ex. 5.3), whereby the lyrical I’s longing for the beloved is emphasised.

Ex. 5.3: Harmonic progression in ‘Trennung’ (bars 7–13)

The musical score for Ex. 5.3 shows the harmonic progression in 'Trennung' (bars 7–13). It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'denn Du bist fern. / denn Du bist fern. / denn Du bist fern.' The piano part features a complex harmonic progression with chords: Fm, C, Bbm, Bbm7, Fm, C7, Fm, Eb7, Ab, Bbm. The piano part also includes dynamic markings like *mf* and accents.

⁴⁰ Translation by Linda Godry <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=24997> [accessed 4 May 2016].

⁴¹ Other nineteenth-century composers setting this Lied include Wilhelm Baumgartner (1820–1867), Franz Commer (1813–1887), Robert Franz (1815–1892), Wilhelm Bernhard Molique (1802–1869), Karl Heinrich Carsten Reinecke, Ernst Friedrich Eduard Richter (1808–1879), Jakob Rosenhain (1813–1894), Maria Heinrich Schmidt (1809–1870), Robert Schumann, and Otto Tiehsen (1817–1849).

Ex. 5.3 continued

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a common time signature. The middle and bottom staves are a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The piano part features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Dynamics include *dim.* and *smorz. pp*. Chords are indicated below the bass staff: Eb7, Ab/Fm, C7, Fm, Fm, Bbm, Fm, C7, Fm. There are also markings like 'Ped.' and '*' above the bass staff.

The same compositional features apply to the Heine setting ‘Die Geister haben’s vernommen’ (The Ghosts Have Heard My Desire, op. 6, no. 3, Table 5.8), in which the lyrical I wishes to see the beloved in order to kiss her just once as otherwise his life would not be worth living.

Table 5.8: ‘Die Geister haben’s vernommen’ (op. 6, no. 3)

Die Geister haben’s vernommen Heinrich Heine Published in 1839	The Ghosts Have Heard My Desire
Da hab ich viel blasse Leichen	<i>a</i> I have charmed many pale corpses
Beschworen mit Wortesmacht;	<i>b</i> With the power of my words;
Die wollen nun nicht mehr weichen	<i>a</i> Now they do not want to disappear
Zurück in die alte Nacht.	<i>b</i> Back into the old night.
Das zähmende Sprüchlein vom Meister	<i>c</i> The magician’s taming verse
Vergaß ich vor Schauer und Graus;	<i>d</i> I forgot out of fear and terror,
Nun ziehn die eignen Geister	<i>c</i> Now, my own ghosts
Mich selber ins neblichte Haus.	<i>d</i> Pull me into the foggy house.
Laßt ab, ihr finstern Dämonen!	<i>e</i> Let go, you dark demons!
Laßt ab, und drängt mich nicht!	<i>f</i> Let go, and do not push me!
Noch manche Freude mag wohnen	<i>e</i> Some pleasure may still live
Hier oben im Rosenlicht.	<i>f</i> Up here in the rosy light.
Ich muß ja immer streben	<i>g</i> I always have to strive
Nach der Blume wunderhold;	<i>h</i> For the lovely flower;
Was bedeutet’ mein ganzes Leben,	<i>g</i> What is my whole life worth,
Wenn ich dich nicht lieben sollt? ⁴²	<i>h</i> If I am not allowed to love you?

⁴² Heine’s original reads ‘wenn ich sie nicht lieben sollt’ (If I am not allowed to love her) rather than ‘wenn ich dich nicht lieben sollt’ (If I am not allowed to love you). Heinrich Heine, ‘Das Erwachen’, in *Buch der Lieder von Heinrich Heine* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), p. 36, cited after *Heinrich Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe* <<http://hhp.uni-trier.de/Projekte/HHP/Projekte/HHP/searchengine/werke/baende/D01/enterdha?pageid=D01S0052&bookid=D01&lineref=Z18&mode=2&textpattern=da%20hab%20ich%20viel%20blasse&firsttid=0&widthgive n=30> [accessed 4 May 2016].

Ich möcht sie nur einmal umfassen
 Und pressen ans glühende Herz!
 Nur einmal die Lippen und Wangen
 Küssen mit seel'gem Schmerz!

i I only want to embrace her once,
k And press her to my glowing heart!
i I only once want to kiss her lips and cheeks
k Kiss her, laced with blessed pain.

Nur einmal aus ihrem Munde
 Möcht ich hören ein liebendes Wort -
 Alsdann wollt ich folgen zur Stunde
 Euch, Geister, zum finsternen Ort.

l I only want to hear a loving word
m Just once out of her mouth,
l Then I would follow you,
m Ghosts, follow you to the dark place.

Die Geister habens vernommen,
 Und nicken schauerlich.
 Feins Liebchen, nun bin ich gekommen;
 Feins Liebchen, liebst du mich?

n The ghosts have heard my desire
o And nodded gruesomely.
n My love, now I have arrived,
o My dearest, do you love me?

Although the two-part form is simple, the Lied can be characterised as one of Kinkel's more challenging compositions as the harmonic progression is very diverse and the piano accompaniment is expansive in places (Ex. 5.4).

Ex. 5.4 Expansive coda in 'Die Geister haben's vernommen' (bars 31–36)

The musical score for the coda (bars 31-36) is presented in two systems. The first system covers bars 31 and 32, and the second system covers bars 33 and 34. The score is in C minor (three flats). The vocal line is in the upper staff, and the piano accompaniment is in the lower staff. The piano accompaniment features a complex harmonic progression with remote harmonies, including C-flat major and a tritone progression (C-flat major–F major). The piano accompaniment is marked with 'Ped.' and '*' symbols. The vocal line includes the lyrics 'licht. Schmerz. mich?' and 'molto rit.'.

Set in C minor, this Lied is striking on account of its harmonic density, as it features such remote harmonies as C-flat major and a tritone progression (C-flat major–F major) at the words 'nicht mehr weichen | Zurück in die alte Nacht' (They do not want to despair | Back into the old night, first musical stanza, bars 10–13). Furthermore, Kinkel uses a German augmented sixth chord as a pre-dominant chord in bar 6, in which the first phrase of part A (second poetic line) is brought to an imperfect cadence, followed by a mediantic connection (G major–B-flat major⁷–E-flat minor, bars 7–9). Despite its

desperate mood, this Lied closes in C major and thereby reflects the lyrical protagonist's hopes to meet his beloved just once. In favour of a balanced structure (two poetic strophes per musical stanza; three musical stanzas) Kinkel did not set the second strophe of Heine's poem (marked in grey) – perhaps she was unable to connect emotionally with the 'magician's taming verse'. Even though this interpretation remains speculative, Kinkel's change of words in the fourth poetic strophe – she replaces the word 'sie' (her) with 'dich' (you) – points to a personal link and encourages a reading of this poem through the lens of autobiography.

All of Kinkel's love songs published during her time in Berlin seem to allude to a desperate search for true love, and the lyrical protagonist's attempt to process psychologically his/her emotional disappointment experienced in the past. Considering Johanna Kinkel's own biography and her motivation to move to Berlin, her choice of negatively connoted love poems is by no means surprising. The two settings 'Nachgefühl' and 'Der Kuss' (both op. 10, published in 1839) tie in with this thematic scope. In both settings, the male lyrical protagonist expresses a sentimental longing to experience love which was felt toward a particular person in the past.

In the Goethe Lied 'Nachgefühl' (Emotional Retrospect, op. 10, no. 1, Table 5.9), the extensive use of the pedal as well as broken triads (bars 5–6, Ex. 5.5) in the piano accompaniment support the melancholic mood evoked by the lyrical I's memories of the love gone by.

Table 5.9: ‘Nachgefühl’ (op. 10, no. 1)

Nachgefühl ⁴³ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe Published in 1839	Emotional Retrospect
Wenn die Reben wieder blühen, Rühret sich der Wein im Fasse, Wenn die Rosen wieder glühen, Weiß ich nicht, wie mir geschieht.	<i>a</i> When the grapes are again in blossom, <i>b</i> The wine is stirring in the barrel, <i>a</i> When the roses glow once more, <i>c</i> Then I do not know what is happening to me.
Tränen rinnen von den Wangen, Was ich tue, was ich lasse, Nur ein unbestimmt Verlangen Fühl ich, das die Brust durchglüht.	<i>d</i> Tears run down my cheeks, <i>b</i> No matter what I do, <i>d</i> I only feel an uncertain desire <i>c</i> Which burns in my heart.
Und zuletzt muß ich mir sagen, Wenn ich mich bedenk und fasse, Daß in solchen schönen Tagen Doris einst für mich geglüht.	<i>e</i> Finally, I remember, <i>b</i> When I take a moment to think, <i>e</i> That on such lovely days, <i>c</i> Doris once loved me.

The simple two-part Lied incorporates two contrary musical motives, each of which form a musical phrase. Whereas motives ‘a’ and ‘a’ include a relatively large vocal range of an octave (motive ‘a’) and an eleventh (motive ‘a’), their counterparts are characterised by a very small melodic range (Ex. 5.5). Not only does this contrast create compositional unity between the two musical phrases, but it also stresses the semantic link and the rhyme scheme expressed in the corresponding poetic lines.

⁴³ Goethe wrote this poem on 24 May 1797 and first entitled it ‘Erinnerung’ (Memory). It was published alongside Zumsteege’s setting of these words in Schiller’s *Musen-Almanach* (1798); its title was changed to ‘Nachgefühl’ in later publications. *Johann Wolfgang Goethe: Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens (Münchner Ausgabe)*, ed. by Karl Richter and others, 33 vols (Munich: Hanser, 1985–1998), IV.1, p. 1230. Hereafter referred to as *Johann Wolfgang Goethe: Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens (Münchner Ausgabe)*.

Ex. 5.5: 'Nachgefühl' (op. 10, no. 1)

Lento ma non troppo

1. Wenn die Re - ben wie - der blü - hen, rüh - ret sich der Wein im Fas - se;
 2. Thrä - nen rin - nen von den Wan - gen; was ich thu - e, was ich las - se,
 3. Und zu - letzt muss ich mir sa - gen wenn ich mich be - denk' und fas - se,

wenn die Ro - sen wie - der glü - hen, weiss ich nicht wie mir ge - schieht.
 nur ein un - be - stimmt Ver - lan - gen fühl' ich, das die Brust durchglüht.
 dass in sol - chen schö - nen Ta - gen, Do - ris einst für mich ge - glüht.

The Heine setting 'Der Kuss' (The Kiss, op. 10, no. 2, Table 5.10) includes a rather small melodic range, namely 'f¹'–'f²'. However, the harmonic progressions in this Lied are more challenging (Ex. 5.6).

Table 5.10: 'Der Kuss' (op. 10, no. 2)

Der Kuss Heinrich Heine Published in 1839	The Kiss ⁴⁴ Translation by Paul Hindemith
Ich will meine Seele tauchen	<i>a</i> I want to delve my soul
In den Kelch der Lilie hinein.	<i>b</i> Into the cup of the lily;
Die Lilie soll klingend hauchen	<i>a</i> The lily should give resoundingly
Ein Lied von der Liebsten mein.	<i>b</i> A song belonging to my beloved.
Das Lied soll schauern und beben	<i>c</i> The song should shudder and tremble
Wie der Kuss von ihrem Mund	<i>d</i> Like the kiss from her lips
Den sie mir einst gegeben	<i>c</i> That she once gave me
In wunderbar süßer Stund.	<i>d</i> In a wonderfully sweet hour.

⁴⁴ Translation by Paul Hindemith <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=7695> [accessed 5 May 2016].

Ex. 5.6: 'Der Kuss' (op. 10, no. 2)⁴⁵

Andante con moto

Ich will mei-ne See - - le tau - - chen in den

5
Kelch der Li - lie hin - ein. Die

9
Li - lie soll klin - gend hau - - - chen ein

13
Lied von der Lieb - sten mein. Das

⁴⁵ The first 'g¹' in bar 6 of the vocal line is originally notated as 'a¹' (first beat, 'Li'); however, considering the harmonic framework and the motivic relationship with bar 30, this is most likely supposed to be 'g¹'.

Ex. 5.6 continued

17
 Lied soll schau - ern und be - - - ben wie der

21
 Kuss von ih - rem Mund, den

25
 sie mir einst ge - ge - - - ben in

29
 wun - der - bar sü - sser Stund.

33
 Ped. rall. *

Optically a through-composed piece, ‘Der Kuss’ strings together four varied musical stanzas, the first motive of which is especially remarkable for its prominence of the note ‘c²’ and its melodic progression in very small steps, mostly minor and major

seconds. Kinkel varies the individual stanzas by lowering single notes in each first phrase, which causes a change of mood through different harmonic contexts (Ex. 5.6).

Whereas ‘Nachgefühl’ and ‘Der Kuss’ express rather negative connotations with love, the third Lied of op. 10, the Rückert setting ‘So wahr die Sonne scheint’ (As Truly as the Sun Shines, op. 10, no. 3, Table 5.11) alludes to emotions much more positive and hopeful.

Table 5.11: ‘So wahr die Sonne scheint’ (op. 10, no. 3)

So wahr die Sonne scheint Friedrich Rückert Published in 1839		As Truly as the Sun Shines ⁴⁶ Translation adapted from Emily Ezust
So wahr die Sonne scheint,	<i>a</i>	As truly as the sun shines,
So wahr die Wolke weinet,	<i>a</i>	As truly as the clouds weep,
So wahr die Flamme sprüht,	<i>b</i>	As truly as the flames spark,
So wahr der Frühling blüht;	<i>b</i>	As truly as Spring blooms,
So wahr hab' ich empfunden,	<i>c</i>	So truly I felt,
Wie ich dich halt' umwunden:	<i>c</i>	As I held you in my embrace:
Du liebst mich, wie ich dich,	<i>d</i>	You love me, as I love you,
Dich lieb' ich, wie du mich.	<i>d</i>	I love you, as you love me.
Die Sonne mag verscheinen,	<i>a'</i>	The sun may stop shining,
Die Wolke nicht mehr weinen,	<i>a'</i>	The clouds may weep no more,
Die Flamme mag versprühn, ⁴⁷	<i>b'</i>	The flames may die down,
Der Frühling nimmer blühn! ⁴⁸	<i>b'</i>	Spring may blossom no more!
Wir wollen uns umwinden	<i>c'</i>	But let us embrace
Und immer so empfinden;	<i>c'</i>	And feel this way forever;
Du liebst mich, wie ich dich,	<i>d</i>	You love me as I love you,
Dich lieb' ich, wie du mich.	<i>d</i>	And I love you as you love me.

A loyalty oath between two lovers, ‘So wahr die Sonne scheint’ might have reminded Kinkel of her own ideals of marriage. Harmonically a simple Lied in G major, the composition seems to prioritise the textual content, as both the piano accompaniment and the formal structure are fairly straightforward. The piano introduction contrasts with

⁴⁶ Translation by Emily Ezust <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=14129> [accessed 6 June 2016].

⁴⁷ Rückert’s original publication reads ‘mag versprühn’ rather than ‘nicht mehr sprühn’. This change does not affect the translation. Friedrich Rückert, ‘So wahr die Sonne scheint’, in *Friedrich Rückert’s gesammelte poetische Werke in zwölf Bänden: neue Ausgabe*, ed. by Heinrich Rückert, 12 vols (Frankfurt: Sauerländer, 1882), I, p. 378.

⁴⁸ Rückert’s original publication reads ‘nicht mehr’ rather than ‘nimmer’. This change does not affect the translation.

the accompaniment - possibly a method by which Kinkel wanted to underline her affinity for the piano.⁴⁹

Contrary to the aforementioned Lieder, Adelbert von Chamisso's 'Der Müllerin Nachbar' (The Mill-Maid's Neighbour, op. 10, no. 6, Table 5.12) takes on a humorous tone. Here, the lyrical I, i.e. the mill-maid's neighbour, fancies the miller's widowed wife. But instead of reciprocating this affection, the mill-maid shows a romantic interest in the servant, a situation which saddens the lyrical protagonist.

Table 5.12: 'Der Müllerin Nachbar' (op. 10, no. 6)

Der Müllerin Nachbar Adelbert von Chamisso Published in 1839	The Mill-Maid's Neighbour
Die Mühle, die dreht ihre Flügel,	<i>a</i> The wind mill turns its blades,
Der Wind, der sauset darin,	<i>b</i> The wind, it roars within.
Ich wollt' ich wäre der Müller,	<i>c</i> I wish I were the miller,
Von wegen der Müllerin.	<i>b</i> Because of the mill-maid.
Der Müller ist gestorben,	<i>d</i> The miller has died,
Gott schenk' ihm die ewige Ruh.	<i>e</i> May he rest in peace.
Ich wollte es holte der Henker	<i>f</i> I wish the executioner took
Den Flegel von Knecht dazu. ⁵⁰	<i>e</i> That lot of a servant as well.
Am Sonntag in der Kirche,	<i>g</i> On Sunday, in the church,
Da glaubt' ich sie schiele nach mir.	<i>h</i> I thought she glanced at me.
Sie schielte an mir nur vorüber,	<i>i</i> But she overlooked me,
Der Knecht der stand an der Thür.	<i>h</i> The servant was at the door.
Und als es ging zum Tanze,	<i>k</i> And when the dance opened,
Da kam sie mir eben recht.	<i>l</i> I luckily bumped into her.
Sie grüsste mich freundlich und fragte,	<i>m</i> She greeted me cordially and asked,
Und fragte mich gar nach dem Knecht.	<i>l</i> And asked about the servant.
Der Knecht, der Knecht, ich wollte...,	<i>n</i> The servant, the servant, I want to...,
Mir kocht in den Adern das Blut,	<i>o</i> The blood is boiling in my veins,
Ich wollte an ihm mich rächen,	<i>p</i> I want to get back at him,
Ich wollt ich hätte den Mut.	<i>o</i> I wish I had the courage.
Ich wollte nun ... was weiss ich,	<i>q</i> I want to... what do I know,
Ich weiss nicht wo ich bin.	<i>b</i> I do not know where I am.
Die Mühle die dreht ihre Flügel,	<i>r</i> The mill turns its blades,
Der Wind der sauset darin.	<i>b</i> The wind, it roars within.

Compositionally, this two-part Lied in G minor does not feature many specialities, which might be attributed to the fast tempo. Instructed as *Allegro vivace*, the right hand

⁴⁹ The piano prelude is included as a music example in chapter II.5 (Ex. 5.21).

⁵⁰ Chamisso's original publication includes the word 'noch' before 'dazu'. This change does not affect the translation. *Gedichte von Adelbert von Chamisso*, ed. by Wilhelm Rauschenbusch (Berlin: Grote, 1874), pp. 128–29.

piano plays semiquavers throughout the piece. This feature stresses the lyrical I's inner disturbance caused by the mill-maid's behaviour in the church and at the dance (second verse). Metaphorically, the fast pace of the Lied also symbolises the tireless moves of the windmill's blades and the 'Wind der sauset darin' (The wind [that] roars within). This, in return, is used as an overall allegory for time passing - the time the mill-maid's neighbour loses in his attempt at winning over the mill-maid.

Kinkel included this Lied in her op. 10, which was published in 1839. That Kinkel decided to set a humorous poem like this while she was rather desperate could be explained by means of two aspects. Firstly, Kinkel was naturally a rather unbalanced, and sometimes quite a cheerful person, which is also reflected in her correspondence with Nanny Müller. In a joint letter from Kinkel [Mathieux] and her friend Emilie von Henning, Emilie von Henning writes about Johanna on 30 August 1838:

At the risk of seeing my letter compared with Mathieux's genius enthusiasm, I dare give you evidence that we are thinking of you quite often. Especially since your penetrating look has not restrained [Johanna] Mathieux anymore, she crosses all borders of etiquette, and even the benches at the Royal Prussian Museum are not safe from her jumps.⁵¹

In the same letter, Kinkel explained humorously that von Henning's description was exaggerated: 'Most of these are shameful aspersions, and the rest is exaggerated. To the dismay of Emilie and Fritz, at the light of day, I jumped over a bench in front of the Lustgarten only once'.⁵² This correspondence confirms that Kinkel by no means sent out desperate signals at all times while she was in Berlin, a feature which can also be traced in her Lieder. At a less emotional level, all poems mentioned above fit into the

⁵¹ Emilie von Henning, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild', pp. 300–01. 'Auf die Gefahr hin, meinen Brief mit dem genialen Schwung der Mathieux verglichen zu sehen, wage ich es dennoch, Ihnen einen Beweis zu geben, daß wir noch recht oft an Sie denken. – Besonders seitdem Ihre durchdringenden Blicke die Mathieux nicht mehr in Schranken halten, überspringt sie alle hergebrachten guten Sitten; und sogar die Bänke beim königlich preußischen Museum sind vor ihren Sprüngen nicht sicher.'

⁵² Kinkel, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild', pp. 300–01. 'Das sind meist schändliche Verläumdungen, und das Übrige übertrieben. Ich bin nur ein einziges Mal im Lustgarten zum Entsetzen Emiliens und Fritzens mit gleichen Füßen am hellen Tag über eine Bank gesprungen'.

nineteenth-century Romantic paradigm of love and strong dramatic emotions as pointed out by Karin Friedrich and Rey M. Longyear. Kinkel's first publications comprise settings of such popular poets as Heinrich Heine, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, August Kopisch, and Emanuel Geibel. Besides her personal affection for her friends Emanuel Geibel and August Kopisch, whom she met in Berlin, she possibly chose the Romantic subjects and poetry in order to increase the market value of her publications. Kinkel's move back to Bonn in 1839 resulted in different emotional experiences, a biographical turn which is also mirrored in Kinkel's Lieder compositions.

5.3 Kinkel's early Bonn years: approaching Gottfried Kinkel and the *Maikäfer*

Although it was not published until 1841, both Monica Klaus and Adolf Strodtmann assign the Lied 'Du nah'st' (You Are Approaching, op. 15, no. 2, Table 5.13) to the very beginning of Johanna and Gottfried's relationship in 1840.⁵³ It is a love song in which the beloved neither realises nor reciprocates the lyrical I's affection for him/ her.

Table 5.13: 'Du nah'st' (op. 15, no. 2)

Du nah'st! Johanna Kinkel Published in 1841		You are approaching!
Du nah'st! Und wie Morgenröthe	<i>a</i>	You are approaching! And my cheeks
Bebt's über die Wangen mein;	<i>b</i>	Become aurora-red;
Du gehst, und ein Thränengewölke	<i>a</i>	You are leaving, and my eyes
Dunkelt des Auges Schein!	<i>b</i>	Fill with tears.
Ich denke an dich,	<i>c</i>	When I am thinking of you,
Da steigen die Flammen hoch und licht	<i>d</i>	The flames climb up, high and bright,
Empor aus Herzens Tiefen,	<i>e</i>	From the depths of my heart,
Aber du siehst es nicht!	<i>d</i>	But you do not see it!
Melodische Seufzer tönen	<i>f</i>	Melodic sighs are sounding,
Herauf, ein voller Chor;	<i>g</i>	A full choir,
Als dir geweihte Lieder	<i>h</i>	My lips are whispering [them]
Haucht sie die Lippe hervor.	<i>g</i>	As if they were songs devoted to you.
Im Herzen, da wohnt eine Stimme	<i>i</i>	In my heart, there is a voice
Die deinen Namen spricht;	<i>k</i>	That calls your name;

⁵³ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, pp. 74–75; Adolf Strodtmann, *Gottfried Kinkel: Wahrheit ohne Dichtung: Biographisches Skizzenbuch*, 2 vols (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1850/51), I, p. 230, hereafter referred to as Strodtmann, *Gottfried Kinkel*. Strodtmann (1829–1879) published the first large-scale biography of Gottfried Kinkel.

Sie ruft ihn so laut, so flehend,	<i>l</i>	It calls it out loudly, pleadingly -
Ach, du vernimmst es nicht.	<i>k</i>	Alas, you do not hear it.
Der stolze Muth ist gebrochen,	<i>m</i>	My proud courage is broken,
Und Hoffnung und Lebenslust;	<i>n</i>	And so are my hope and my joy in life;
Aus tief unheilbarer Wunde	<i>o</i>	In my chest the heart is bleeding
Blutet das Herz in der Brust.	<i>n</i>	From an incurable wound.
Viel Schmerzen noch muss es erdulden,	<i>p</i>	It will have to put up with a great deal of pain
Bis Tod mitleidig es bricht.	<i>q</i>	Until it is mercifully broken by death.
Viel namenlose Schmerzen,	<i>r</i>	Nameless pain,
Wehe, du fühlst es nicht.	<i>q</i>	Woe betide, you do not feel it!

According to Adolf Strodtmann, Gottfried Kinkel, when engaged to a Protestant woman, Sofie Boeghold, heard Johanna sing the song ‘Du nah’st’ and, ‘for the first time, [...] felt the sensation of a new, magnificent love, and [...] left as unnoticed as he had arrived’.⁵⁴ Compositionally a simple two-part Lied in G minor, this song clearly prioritises textual content over musical craft, although the words are arranged with special care in order to relate to the music (Ex. 5.7).

Ex. 5.7: ‘Du nah’st’ (op. 15, no. 2)

1. Du nah'st! und wie Mor - gen - rö - the bebt's
 2. Me - lo - di - sche Seuf - zer tö - nen her -
 3. Der stol - ze Muth ist ge - bro - chen, und

6
 ü - ber die Wan - gen mein; du geh'st, und ein Thrä - nen - ge - wöl - ke dun - kelt des Au - ges
 auf, ein vol - ler Chor; als dir ge - wei - he - te Lie - der haucht sie die Lip - pe her -
 Hoff - nung und Le - bens - lust; aus tief un - heil - ba - rer Wun - de blu - tet das Herz in der

⁵⁴ Strodtmann, *Gottfried Kinkel*, I, p. 231. ‘Gottfried aber empfand zum ersten Mal das Gefühl einer neuen, herrlichen Liebe, und entfernte sich unbemerkt, wie er gekommen war’.

Ex. 5.7 continued

11

Schein. Ich den - ke an dich, da stei - gen die Flam - men hoch und licht em - por aus Her - zens
 vor. Im Her - zen da wohnt ei - ne Stim - me die dei - nen Na - men spricht; sie ruft ihn so laut, so
 Brust. Viel Schmer - zen noch muss es er - dul - den bis Tod mit - lei - dig es bricht. Viel na - men - lo - se

17

Tief - fen, A - ber du siehst es nicht.
 fle - hend, Ach, du ver - nimmst es nicht.
 Schmer - zen, We - he du fühlst es nicht.

Fine.

* Die Fermate gilt nur für die erste Strophe

In her essay ‘Über die modernen Liederkomponisten’ (On the Modern Lieder Composers), Kinkel acknowledged the composer Bernhard Klein (1793–1832), whom she praised for his Lieder in which ‘there is hardly any note that does not match the words’.⁵⁵ As she lists her own name among ‘those contemporary popular Lieder composers who have serious artistic ambitions and who mainly try to follow in Mendelssohn’s and Schubert’s footsteps’,⁵⁶ it is not surprising that most of Kinkel’s own poems perfectly match the music, or vice versa.

⁵⁵ Kinkel, ‘Über die modernen Liederkomponisten’, p. 32. ‘Bei ihm ist kaum eine Note die nicht dem Text analog wäre’. Bernhard Klein (1793–1832) was a German composer and conductor, who first gave amateur concerts at the Cologne Cathedral. In 1818, he went to Berlin aiming to acquire Carl Friedrich Zelter’s pedagogical approach, which he wanted to apply in Cologne. However, he never returned to Cologne but stayed in Berlin as a lecturer and a member of the *Musikalische Bildungsanstalt* (Institute for Musical Education). Although he was widely known for his choral works, which gained him the nickname ‘Palestrina of Berlin’, he was especially well received within the Berlin public for his more than one hundred Lieder compositions. His syllabic compositional style, which Johanna Kinkel seemed to praise as a positive feature, was later criticised by Robert Schumann. See Richard D. Green, ‘Klein, Bernhard’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, XIII, pp. 660–61.

⁵⁶ Kinkel, ‘Über die modernen Liederkomponisten’, p. 37. ‘Unter den in neuester Zeit beliebt gewordenen Liederkomponisten von ernsterem künstlerischen Bestreben, welche meist vorzugsweise in Mendelssohns und Schuberts Fußstapfen einzutreten bemüht sind, wären noch Bank, Dessauer, Hiller, L. Huth, Lachner, J. Mathieux, Speier, Taubert, Truhe zu erwähnen’.

Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel's correspondence begins in March 1840. However, despite an increase of affectionate feelings, the letters reveal a great deal of emotional uncertainty and constant inner contradiction.⁵⁷ Although Johanna completed the divorce from her first husband on 22 May 1840, the difference in religious confession between Johanna and Gottfried as well as Gottfried Kinkel's engagement to Sofie Boegehold put a strain on the Kinkels' relationship. At the beginning of December 1840, Johanna wrote to Gottfried:

Please be gentle, even if I cannot avoid my tears, do not again become angry, you scare me too much if you are. I do not want to complain, I just need to gain new strength from your nearness, so that I can see my parents, who do not understand what is wrong with me. [...] It cannot go on like this; we are bound to sort ourselves out. We have to do something; we are blinding ourselves and we are stumbling more and more every day.⁵⁸

On 10 December 1840, Gottfried responds with a similarly desperate letter:

I have read your dear letter with wistfulness – a feeling which governed my entire day today. O, please stick to your latest decision [the relationship to Gottfried]! And delight my heart! Dark puzzles overshadow all my life; haste and self-governance cannot ever solve the problem anymore. To calm down remains the greatest task.⁵⁹

That Johanna had difficulties enduring the emotional turmoil ruling her life during this period is also reflected in a letter nine days later. On 19 December 1840, she wrote:

See, I am about to collapse. I feel like a deer that is hunted from all directions and has to give up resistance and all attempts to escape. I would like to sink down and patiently give up the ghost. I feel as if I am not meant to fight any longer for an existence that brings nobody joy.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 342.

⁵⁸ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 97. Underline in original. 'Sey sanft, auch wenn all meine Kraft die Thräne nicht zurückhalten könnte, werde nicht wieder zornig, du bist zu schrecklich dann. Ich will nicht klagen, nur aus deiner Nähe Kraft zu gewinnen suchen, damit ich nachher die Eltern wiedersehen kann, die nicht begreifen was mir ist. [...] Es kann nicht so bleiben; wir sind verpflichtet uns klar zu machen. Wir müssen handeln; es wird täglich schlimmer mit diesem Forttaumeln, und sich selbst verblenden'.

⁵⁹ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 99. 'Deinen treuen Brief habe ich mit Wehmut gelesen – eine Empfindung, die mich heute den ganzen Tag im Schach gehalten hat. O möchtest du den letzten Entschluß festhalten! Und so mein Herz erfreuen! Über allem Leben schweben dunkle Rätsel, Hast und Eigenwille finden ihre Losungsworte nimmermehr. Stille werden, das ist und bleibt höchste Aufgabe'.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p. 105. 'Siehe, ich bin dem Unterliegen nahe, ich fühle mich wie ein von allen Seiten gejagtes Reh, das Widerstand und Flucht aufgeben muß. Ich möchte mich auch am liebsten hinfallen lassen, und geduldig den Geist aufgeben. Es ist mir, als sollte ich nicht länger um eine Existenz kämpfen, die niemanden glücklich macht'.

Kinkel had codified such doubts and sorrows about her relationship to Gottfried four months earlier in her Lied ‘Die Gefangenen’ (The Convicts, op. 16, no. 1, Table 5.14), in which she set her own words. ‘Die Gefangenen’ was included in the *Maikäfer* journal dated 25 August 1840.⁶¹

Table 5.14: ‘Die Gefangenen’ (op. 16, no. 1)

Die Gefangenen Johanna Kinkel Published in 1841	The Convicts
Der erste Tagesschimmer	<i>a</i> The first ray of sun light
Hellt unsres Kerkers Raum ⁶²	<i>b</i> Brightens up our prison cell
Und webt um die düstern Stirnen ⁶³	<i>c</i> And weaves around sorrowful foreheads
Lieblichen Morgentraum.	<i>b</i> A morning dream of love.
Ein stiller Garten winket	<i>d</i> A silent garden beckons
Daheim am lieben Rhein;	<i>e</i> At home by the beloved river Rhine,
Die sinkende Sonne grüßt ihn	<i>f</i> The setting sun greets it
Lachend mit rotem Schein. ⁶⁴	<i>e</i> With a smiling red shine.
Und ich, und du, wir wandeln ⁶⁵	<i>g</i> And I, and you, we ramble
Darinnen Hand in Hand,	<i>h</i> Hand in hand in the red sunlight,
Und schau’n von der hohen Terrasse ⁶⁶	<i>i</i> And we look down from the high terrace
Weit in das goldne Land;	<i>h</i> Into the wide golden land,
Und Kinder sind wir wieder,	<i>k</i> And we are like children again,
So schuldlos, glücklich und frei,	<i>l</i> Innocent, happy, and free,
Und wissen noch nicht was Scheiden, ⁶⁷	<i>m</i> As if we had not learnt yet
Ach, und Entsagen sei.	<i>l</i> What parting, alas, what renouncing means.
Die fernen Segel ziehen ⁶⁸	<i>o</i> The sails are moving past
Am blauen Ufersaum;	<i>p</i> The blue river bank,
Wir schauen uns an voll Sehnsucht -	<i>q</i> We look at each other full of longing –
Weh, da zerfließet der Traum.	<i>p</i> Woe – the dream melts away.
Wir sind ja beid’ gefangen, ⁶⁹	<i>r</i> We both are imprisoned,
In Ketten sind wir ja beid’;	<i>s</i> We are both kept in chains;

⁶¹ Johanna Kinkel, ‘Der erste Tagesschimmer’, in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, p. 94.

⁶² Kinkel’s original poem reads ‘erhellt’ rather than ‘hellt’. This change does not affect the translation.

⁶³ Kinkel’s original poem reads ‘und webt um die düstre Stirne’, a grammatical change which does not affect the translation.

⁶⁴ Kinkel’s original poem reads ‘lächelnd’ (smiling) rather than ‘lachend’ (laughing). Perhaps Kinkel felt that the more intensive word ‘lachend’ expressed her feelings more naturally when she set her own poem a few months after she wrote it. I kept the translation ‘smiling’.

⁶⁵ The original poem reads ‘Und Du und ich’ rather than ‘ich und du’. Perhaps Kinkel wanted to change this line in favour of a more ego-centric flavouring.

⁶⁶ The original poem does not include the word ‘hohen’ (high).

⁶⁷ The original poem does not include the word ‘noch’. The original reads ‘Und wissen nicht was Entbehren | Ach, und was Scheiden sei’. Semantically, this is not a major change even though the inclusion of the word ‘noch’ points to the protagonists’ lack of emotional maturity; Kinkel seemingly adjusted this line with the musical setting in mind.

⁶⁸ The original poem reads ‘Es ziehen die fernen Segel’, a stylistic change in correspondence with the musical setting.

⁶⁹ The original poem reads ‘Im fremden Land gefangen | In Ketten sind wir Beid’ (In the strange country | We are kept in chains), a semantic change which might be attributed to Kinkel’s psycho-biographical development during the year 1840.

Und nur im Wechselgesange
Einen wir ewiges Leid.

t And only in our anthem
s We unify our suffering.

In ‘Die Gefangenen’, the lyrical protagonist regrets that s/he cannot be with their beloved due to external circumstances. Johanna tells Gottfried about this song in a letter on 17 December 1840:

[‘Die Gefangenen’] is a nice song. Once, after a Wednesday evening, when I was still awake after midnight, a great riff tore my heart, and the song arose from its flaming wellspring. I stayed by the window on my own until late and did not stop crying.⁷⁰

The phrase ‘Und Kinder sind wir wieder | So schuldlos, glücklich und frei’ (We are like children again | Innocent, happy, and free) might allude to Johanna’s innocent encounter with Gottfried as a child, when Johanna and her parents visited the Kinkels. In a letter to Leopold von Henning from 11 October 1841, Gottfried recalled how he, as a boy, adored Johanna:

I do not know if I had a conversation with her; but just like the light beam that engraves the sensible silver plate within seconds, her steel blue eyes dug themselves into my soft childish soul, in whose deepest grounds the picture of this girl has remained forever.⁷¹

Set in A minor, this two-part Lied uses harmony as a means of semantic expression. The interplay between minor and major keys might be an indicator of the emotional unstableness showing through the Kinkels’ letters; and Kinkel employs an enharmonic reinterpretation before the last phrase, namely at the words ‘Rhein’ (river Rhine, first verse), ‘frei’ (free, second verse) and ‘beid’ (the two of us, third verse). This climax embraces three significant aspects within Johanna Kinkel’s own biography (Ex. 5.8). The soft assonance (‘ei’) in each rhyme supports the soft expressive character of the corresponding line.

⁷⁰ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gott!*, I, p. 61. ‘Es ist auch ein schönes Lied. Einmal nach einem Mittwoch Abend, wo ich um Mitternacht noch wachte, riß ein großer Spalt in mein Herz, und da sprang aus dem heißen Quell das Lied hervor. Ich blieb bis spät allein beim Fenster und weinte ohne Ende’.

⁷¹ Gottfried Kinkel, cited after Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 11. ‘Ob ich mit ihr ein Wort geredet habe, weiß ich nicht; aber wie das Lichtbild sich in kurzer Minute der empfindlichen Silberplatte einprägt, so gruben sich diese blauen Spiegel in meine weiche Knabenseele, in deren unterstem Grunde das Bild dieses Mädchens ruhend blieb’.

Ex. 5.8: Enharmonic reinterpretation in ‘Die Gefangenen’ (bars 10–13)

10

win - ket da - heim am lie - ben Rhein; die sin - ken - de Son - ne
 wie - der, so schuld - los, glück - lich und frei, und wis - sen noch nicht was
 fan - gen, in Ket - ten sind wir ja beid'; und nur im Wech - sel - ge -

B \flat Eb 7 Ab m G $\sharp m$ E Am

p

Daniela Glahn depicts in this Lied an autobiographical anchoring and argues with Carolin Fischer’s concept of the poetic pact (*poetischer Pakt*) in love poetry, in which Fischer differentiates between an implicit and an explicit poetic pact. While the implicit poetic pact refers to text-logical relationships, i.e. the mere occurrence of the word ‘I’, the explicit poetic pact applies to poems in which the lyrical protagonist refers to themselves as a poet and thus draws direct parallels between the empirical poet and the lyrical poet.⁷² Because Kinkel’s ‘Die Gefangenen’ features the personal pronoun ‘I’, and because the word ‘Wechselgesange’ (anthem) alludes to the lyrical protagonists’ own creative process, Glahn concludes that Kinkel, as the empirical poet and composer of this Lied, makes both an implicit and explicit poetic pact with the lyrical protagonist.⁷³ Furthermore, referring to the aspect of narrative identity, Glahn interprets Kinkel’s decision to circulate this Lied as part of a published Lieder collection as a step in order to generate her own identity as a lovesick composer.⁷⁴ This aspect is interesting in so far that Kinkel did not publish this song immediately, but she first circulated it among her closer circle of the *Maikäferbund* in August 1840, before she published it

⁷² Glahn, ‘Johanna Kinkel’, pp. 45–46.

⁷³ Glahn, ‘Johanna Kinkel’, p. 47.

⁷⁴ Glahn, ‘Johanna Kinkel’, p. 49.

openly in 1841, an observation which supports Glahn's idea that Kinkel granted thorough consideration to this Lied and its autobiographical significance.

On a related note, Kinkel's duet 'Die Fischerkinder' (The Fisherman's Children, op. 12, no. 1, Table 5.15) refers to two lyrical protagonists who, as children, drift out to the sea and never return. This duet is a setting of Kinkel's friend Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter's words.

Table 5.15: 'Die Fischerkinder' (op. 12, no. 1)

Die Fischerkinder Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter Published in 1840		The Fisherman's Children ⁷⁵ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Hast du von den Fischerkindern	<i>a</i>	Have you heard the old fairy tale
Das alte Märchen vernommen,	<i>b</i>	About the fisherman's children?
Die auf dem schwanken Kahne	<i>c</i>	The ones who went out to sea
Allein ins Meer geschwommen?	<i>b</i>	Alone in a rickety boat?
Sie pflückten sich Wasserrosen	<i>d</i>	They picked water-lilies for each other,
Sie sangen sich Lieder viele,	<i>e</i>	They sang each other many songs,
Sie herzten und küßten einander	<i>f</i>	They embraced and kissed each other
Im süßen Wechselspiele.	<i>e</i>	In sweet exchange.
Sie hatten den Strand verloren,	<i>g</i>	They had lost sight of the shore
Als sich der Tag entschwungen,	<i>h</i>	When the day departed,
Sie kehrten nimmer wieder,	<i>i</i>	They never returned,
Ihr Name ist verklungen.	<i>h</i>	Their names have been forgotten. --
Und weißt du: wir sind die Kinder,	<i>k</i>	And do you know: we are the children,
Die Maid bin ich, du der Knabe; ⁷⁶	<i>l</i>	I am the maiden, you the lad,
Das Meer ist unsre Liebe,	<i>m</i>	The sea is our love,
Die wird uns wohl zum Grabe!	<i>l</i>	It shall likely become our grave!

Interestingly, Kinkel changed the words in the last verse. While the original poem reads 'die Maid du, ich der Knabe' (You are the maiden, I am the lad), Kinkel changed around the gender constellation and turned this line into 'Die Maid bin ich, du der Knabe' (I am the maiden, you the lad) in the upper voice. Considering that this duet was published within Kinkel's op. 12 in 1840, a turbulent time in the Kinkels' relationship, this change of gender points to an autobiographic element quite significantly.

⁷⁵ Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=108746> [accessed 14 March 2016].

⁷⁶ The original reads 'Die Maid Du, ich der Knabe' (You are the maid, I am the boy). Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter, 'Von den Fischerkindern', in *Dichtungen eines rheinischen Poeten*, ed. by Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter, 4th edn, 6 vols (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1871–76), I, p. 82.

Furthermore, Kinkel refers to this Lied in one of her letters to Gottfried Kinkel. In the same letter from 17 September 1840, in which Kinkel explains how she composed the song ‘Die Gefangenen’, Monica Klaus ascertains that Kinkel recalls how she is reminded of the Lied ‘Die Fischerkinder’:

Who feels this torture, who is able to see into the deep pit of suffering, where songs cover the bottom of the sea, and which reflects our own story. Ach, Die Gefangenen, Die Gefangenen Longard shouted. But I thought of the afternoon in Obercassel, where the other Lied by C. W. Müller ended in tears, and [while improvising] I was looking for suitable harmonies. Finally, my courage was stronger and I dared singing our two favourite songs by Zelter. [...] How powerful is poetry.⁷⁷

This reference supports the assumption that poetry had a great influence on Kinkel’s love life and that she used poetry and singing in order to process emotionally intense events. Musically, this duet is characterised by frequent changes between minor and major chords, a compositional means which the reviewer of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* described as ‘interplay between happiness and pain’.⁷⁸ While this interpretation is plausible under the consideration of the autobiographical potential of this Lied and the inspiration Kinkel mentioned in the letter to Gottfried, the reviewer’s interpretation of this melodic and harmonic interplay as a ‘carefree interplay of the lovers’ hearts’ is questionable.⁷⁹ An alternative interpretation could be that Kinkel wanted to portray musically the swinging boat at sea and the unsettled emotional state of her own and her beloved Gottfried Kinkel’s minds. On the other hand, the reviewer is

⁷⁷ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 61. Based on the text reference, Klaus depicts in her footnotes that Kinkel refers to Wolfgang Müller’s Lied ‘Die Fischerkinder’ in this letter. ‘Wer fühlt diese Qual, wer sieht je in den Abgrund von Leid hinein, wo die Liedesgaben den Grund jenes Meeres bedecken, und das unser Lied ist (Lied von C. M. M.). “Ach die Gefangenen die Gefangenen” rief Longard. Aber ich dachte an den Nachmittag in Obercassel wo das andre bezeichnete Lied von C. W. M. sich in Tränen auflöste, und suchte nach vermittelnden Akkorden. Endlich siegte der Wille, und ich durfte wagen unsre zwei Lieblingslieder von Zelter anzustimmen. [...] Welche Gewalt hat doch die Poesie’.

⁷⁸ [Anon.], review of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duetten für weibliche Stimmen: Opus 12* (1840), *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 28 October 1840, p. 904. ‘Die Fischerkinder, von C. W. Müller aus Düsseldorf, ein sinniges, schönes Gedicht, gut gesungen, zwischen Dur und Moll in mancherlei harmonischen und melodischen Wendungen schwankend, wie zwischen Freud und Leid’.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 904. ‘Schweift dadurch die Akkordgrundlage zuweilen auch etwas lange in die Ferne, so geschieht es doch meist melodisch, mit dem unbesorgten Spiele der Herzen in Verbindung, wodurch natürlich zugleich in etlichen schnellen Uebergängen das beliebt Frappante der Zeit sich einzuweben Gelegenheit gewinnt’.

right in that the strong emotions portrayed by the tonal changeability of this duet respond to ‘the popular compositional characteristics of the time’ (‘beliebt Frappante der Zeit’).

While Kinkel mentions the river Rhine in her Lied ‘Die Gefangenen’, she does not refer to it explicitly in the duet mentioned above. However, she shared her affection for the river Rhine with Gottfried. In fact, the Rhine also served as a refuge and a place of emotional freedom and peace for the couple. In March 1841, Johanna asked Gottfried to accompany her on a walk along the river Rhine; a letter which also confirms Johanna Kinkel’s search for guidance from Gottfried Kinkel:

I want to spend the day alone in the mountains, during which expect to be able to sense the most affectionate feelings again. I dare to ask you a favour [...]. Can you come and meet me, only you, as any third person would cause me the most intense pain in my miserable mood of today. [...] If you cannot make it, I will not be angry. [...] Better do not come at all than come accompanied. Your poor sad child.⁸⁰

Gottfried Kinkel cancelled his engagement with Sofie Boegehold on 19 February 1841, which brightened up the Kinkels’ future prospects to a great extent.⁸¹ However, their relationship was still subject to constant change ranging from extreme happiness to desperate uncertainty. Despite the great deal of self-consciousness revealed in the aforementioned letter, Kinkel’s poems which originate from the same era and which were published in the *Maikäfer* journals show a different side. On 23 March 1841, for example, the journal includes two fairly optimistic poems, both of which tell of the beauty of life, the courage of the lyrical I, and the lyrical I’s strong power of attraction to the beloved.⁸²

⁸⁰ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 161. ‘Ich will einsam den Tag in freier Berggegend zubringen, wo ich am leichtesten die großen stillen Empfindungen wieder erwarte. Ich wage eine Bitte [...]. Nämlich daß du mir entgegenkommst, aber du allein, denn in meiner heutigen schmerzvollen Stimmung ist mir jedes Dritten Gegenwart die höchste Pein. Wenn du nicht kömmst, will ich nicht zürnen. [...] – Komme lieber nicht als mit einem Dritten. Dein armes trauriges Kind’.

⁸¹ See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 342.

⁸² Johanna Kinkel, ‘Ein träumerisch dunkles Schweigen’ and ‘Ich fand schon so viele Schmerzen’, in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, pp. 384–85. Kinkel’s poem ‘Abendruhe’ (‘Evening Rest’, op. 17, no. 3, see Chapter II.4) is included in the same number.

The constant emotional change is also evident in Johanna and Gottfried's joint work 'Am Ufer' (At the River Bank, op. 18, no. 2, Table 5.16). The *Maikäfer* journals reveal that the words were produced only a few weeks after 'Die Gefangenen', on 29 September 1840.⁸³ 'Am Ufer' deals with love in a natural environment, more particularly at a river bank, although the river is not named explicitly. Glahn, who offers a close analysis of this poem through the lens of authorship, reads into the poem a strong reference to the Kinkels' boating accident, an interpretation which makes sense considering the dating and authorship of the poem.⁸⁴ The first verse, which was written by Johanna Kinkel, portrays the lyrical I's memories of a river bank and a tree, under which s/he used to meet his/her beloved. The second verse, written by Gottfried Kinkel, nurtures in the poem a future outlook and foresees a positive influence on future couples because the lovers' silent songs will live on even when the lyrical I and his/her beloved have died. Even though the words were created as a collaborative work by Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel, Glahn argues that the corresponding Lied 'Am Ufer' credits Johanna Kinkel with sole authorship, an aspect which reiterates the question in what way music and text relate to each other, and whether the Lied is an independent form of art, or a conglomeration of music on the one hand, and text on the other.⁸⁵

Table 5.16: 'Am Ufer' (op. 18, no. 2)

Am Ufer Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1843	At the River Bank
Erblick' ich dort am Ufer jene Stelle, So dringt es bis an's Herz mir warm und helle; Ein Liebeshauch weht über allen Lüften, ⁸⁶ Ein Liebesruf hallt wieder aus den Klüften. Mit dir einst stand ich unter jenen Bäumen, ⁸⁷	<i>a</i> When I see that place at the river bank, <i>a</i> My heart feels warm and bright; <i>b</i> The breeze of love is blowing everywhere, <i>b</i> A call of love echoes from the cliffs. <i>c</i> Once I stood with you under those trees,

⁸³ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, 'Erblick ich dort', in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, 1, pp. 137–38.

⁸⁴ Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel', pp. 141–47.

⁸⁵ Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel', p. 149.

⁸⁶ The original poem reads 'schwebt' (is floating) rather than 'weht' (is blowing), perhaps an intended de-romantisation.

In ihre Wipfel auf stieg unser Träumen; Und tönet nun wie Aeolsharfen-Lieder Harmonisch säuselnd aus den Wipfeln wieder. ⁸⁸	<i>c</i> Our dreams rose up to their tree tops; <i>d</i> And now, they sound like Aeolian harp songs <i>d</i> And whisper harmoniously from the tree tops.
Die Bäume werden stolz nach oben streben, ⁸⁹ Wenn längst zu Staub gesunken unser Leben. Mit jedem Lenzgeweckten jungen Triebe, ⁹⁰ Leis' rauschen sie die Botschaft unsrer Liebe. Dass stürmender in weicher Dämmerstunde, Der Mund des Knaben häng' an Liebchens Munde Und heilig Weihend ihre Brust durchfluten Verscholl'nen Sängerpaares verschwieg'ne Glut.	<i>e</i> Proudly, the trees will grow into the air, <i>e</i> When our lives have long turned into dust. <i>f</i> Each sapling awakening in the spring time <i>f</i> Will softly whisper the message of our love. <i>g</i> May the boy and the girl kiss each other <i>g</i> More passionately, in soft dawning hours, <i>h</i> May, in holy consecration, the secret fires of the long forgotten <i>h</i> Singing couple flood through their hearts.

This *vivace* three-part setting expresses a great deal of positive energy through *ff* passages, a lively piano accompaniment, and many arpeggios. The late year of publication, 1843, might be attributed to Kinkel's busy life during the 1840s as she was a reputable piano teacher when she returned from Berlin.⁹¹ Kinkel's profession as a teacher as well as her editorial and literary involvement with the *Maikäfer* allowed her very little time to look after her own musical publications. Additionally, the final positive turn in the Kinkels' relationship in 1843 might have led Kinkel to include this song in a published opus then. Whereas, in 1840, happiness and hopefulness were rather changeable moods, 1843, undoubtedly, must have been perceived as an important cornerstone towards a secure relationship, as Johanna and Gottfried got married on 22 May 1843. In light of this, it is not surprising that op. 18, published in May 1843, only comprises settings of Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel as well as of Emanuel Geibel, who was Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel's best man.

This opus number's second *vivace* setting of Johanna's, 'Seelige Nacht' (Blessed Night, op. 18, no. 4, Table 5.17), also alludes to the promising future of the lyrical I and her beloved. Here, however, a more concrete nocturnal event is portrayed

⁸⁷ The original poem reads 'diesen' (these) rather than 'jenen' (those), a change which points to a slight change of perspective.

⁸⁸ The original poem reads 'Blätter' (leaves) rather than 'Wipfeln' (tree tops).

⁸⁹ The original poem reads 'noch aufwärts' (further up) rather than 'nach oben' (up, i.e. into the air), a slight semantic change.

⁹⁰ The original poem reads 'langgeranckten' (long/ fresh) rather than 'Lenzgeweckten' (awoken by the spring time).

⁹¹ Henseler, *Das musikalische Bonn im 19. Jahrhundert*, p. 143.

over the course of six poetic strophes, in which a loving couple bobs up and down in a boat on the river Rhine. Four of these six verses, which were published in the *Maikäfer* journal from 12 April 1841, were set by Johanna Kinkel (strophes 4 and 5, marked in grey, were not set).⁹² The two-part Lied stands out for its narrative, almost ballad-like words.

Table 5.17: ‘Seelige Nacht’ (op. 18, no. 4) (capitalised letters indicate new rhymes)

Seelige Nacht Johanna Kinkel Published in 1843		Blessed Night
Noch einmal erklingt ihr Gläser, ⁹³	<i>a</i>	Once again, clink the glasses,
Durchglüht von dem purpurnen Wein!	<i>b</i>	Full of glowing red wine!
Ein Lied der Kraft und der Freude	<i>c</i>	A song of strength and happiness
Soll hell noch gesungen sein.	<i>b</i>	Shall be sung brightly.
Da unten vom dunkeln Strande	<i>d</i>	Down there, at the dark bank
Der Schiffer schon ruft: habt Acht,	<i>e</i>	The captain already shouts: Watch out,
Nun auf, aus dem schimmernden Saale ⁹⁴	<i>f</i>	From the gleaming hall
In die hehre, die seelige Nacht.	<i>e</i>	Let us go into the noble, blessed night.
Da liegt, wie im blauen Mantel ⁹⁵	<i>g</i>	There lies the river Rhine,
Ein schlafender König der Rhein;	<i>h</i>	Blue-coated, like a sleeping king;
Vom Himmelsgewölbe giessen	<i>i</i>	From the canopy there sparkle
Die Sterne den milden Schein.	<i>h</i>	The stars with a mild shine.
Wohl schweigen Wort und Gesänge,	<i>k</i>	No words and no singing, all silent,
Doch tief in der Seele erwacht	<i>e</i>	But this great secret of love awakens
Das hohe Geheimniß der Liebe	<i>l</i>	Deep in the soul
In der heiligen, seeligen Nacht.	<i>e</i>	During the sacred, blessed night.
So sanft auf den Spiegelfluthen ⁹⁶	<i>m</i>	The floating punt cradles us gently
Wiegt uns der schwebende Kahn;	<i>n</i>	Over the reflective floods;
Mir war, gelehnet an den Liebsten ⁹⁷	<i>o</i>	I felt, leaning against my beloved,
Als schiffte er uns himmelan. ⁹⁸	<i>n</i>	As if he shipped us skywards.
So nah dem geliebtesten Herzen	<i>p</i>	So close to the beloved’s heart,
Behorcht’ ich, was still es gedacht;	<i>e</i>	I listened to what it contemplated quietly;
Es schlug voll unendlicher Treue	<i>q</i>	A beat full of eternal faith
In der trauten, holdseeligen Nacht.	<i>e</i>	During the intimate, blessed night.
Da hob sich über die Berge	<i>r</i>	The moon arose over the hills
Der Mond, und schaut’ in den Fluß;	<i>s</i>	And looked at the river;
Ihm sandten die tausend Gestirne	<i>t</i>	Thousands of stars sent

⁹² Johanna Mockel, ‘Noch einmal erklinget’, in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, pp. 419–20.

⁹³ The original poem reads ‘erklinget’ rather than ‘erklingt’, a purely metrical change.

⁹⁴ The original does not include the word ‘nun’. This change does not affect the translation.

⁹⁵ The original poem reads ‘in dem blauen Mantel’ (in the blue coat) rather than ‘wie im blauen Mantel’ (like in a blue coat).

⁹⁶ The original poem reads ‘so sanft auf den spiegelnden Fluthen’. This change does not affect the translation.

⁹⁷ The original poem reads ‘Theuren’ (dear) rather than ‘Liebsten’ (beloved). The superlative ‘Liebster’ might be a slight semantic climax.

⁹⁸ The song publication reads ‘schiffte’, which is most likely an editorial error and has been corrected to ‘schiffte’, as is also suggested by Kinkel’s original poem.

Entgegen den Liebesgruß.	<i>s</i>	Towards him the loving message.
Dem nächtlichen Freund erbebten	<i>u</i>	The waves trembled for my nocturnal friend;
Die Wellen, umspielten ihn sacht	<i>e</i>	They gently rippled about,
Wo wiederstrahlte sein Bildniß	<i>v</i>	His image that beamed from the water,
Aus der blauen, der seeligen Nacht.	<i>e</i>	During the blue, blessed night.
Nun hell die Thürme am Ufer	<i>w</i>	The towers at the river bank
Der Mond mit Golde ummalt,	<i>x</i>	Were contoured by the golden moonlight,
Und manche liebliche Stelle	<i>y</i>	And many a lovely place
Von holder Erinn'ung umstrahlt.	<i>x</i>	Was illuminated by graceful memories.
Da wandtest auch du dein Auge	<i>z</i>	Then you too turned your eye
Zum Licht, und in stolzer Macht	<i>e</i>	To the light, and proudly
Erglänzten die edlen Züge	<i>A</i>	Shone your noble traits
In der hohen, der seeligen Nacht.	<i>e</i>	During the great, blessed night.
Fest Hand in Hand geschlossen,	<i>B</i>	Hand in hand,
Tief Seele der Seele vereint! – ⁹⁹	<i>C</i>	Having united our souls! –
Da fallen zwei Sterne vom Himmel, ¹⁰⁰	<i>D</i>	Two stars fall from the sky
Als ob es ein Engel beweint'	<i>C</i>	As if an angel had cried a
Mit leuchtenden Himmelstränen	<i>E</i>	Bright heavenly tear about the fact that
Daß irdischen Glückes Pracht	<i>e</i>	The glory of earthly joy
Ach, immer zu bald uns entschwebet ¹⁰¹	<i>F</i>	Ah, only too soon drifts away from us,
Wie die seelige, seelige Nacht.	<i>e</i>	Like the blessed, blessed night.

A similar event is sung about in the three-part Lied 'Nächtliche Fahrt' (Nocturnal Journey, op. 16, no.2, Table 5.18), in which Kinkel also sets her own words. Here, the female speaker remembers a nocturnal boat journey on the river Rhine. Like Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel on 4 September 1840, the lyrical I and the beloved are fascinated by the silence of the night and the gleaming river bank. According to Monica Klaus, Cologne Cathedral was illuminated on the occasion of the King's visit on 4 September 1840, when Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel spent some time on the river Rhine.¹⁰² While the Kinkels' boat journey ended with a dramatic crash into a ship, which would have resulted in Johanna's death had Gottfried not rescued her, the nocturnal journey in op. 16, no. 2 takes the lovers to a remote, lonely beach. Perhaps it was the Kinkels' boating accident in September 1840 which inspired the romantic reference to the boat as a 'magical punt' in this poem. Set in F major, this three-part

⁹⁹ The original poem reads 'geeint' rather than 'vereint'. This change does not affect the translation.

¹⁰⁰ The original poem reads 'herunter' (down) rather than 'vom Himmel' (from the sky), a change which reflects the Romantic colouring of this poem.

¹⁰¹ The original poem reads 'immer im Flug entschwebet' (always be there on the fly). This change personalises the poem by means of the personal pronoun 'uns' (us).

¹⁰² See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 76.

strophic setting is straightforward in terms of harmony, form, and accompaniment. The vocal line has a rather wide range, stretching from ‘c¹’ to ‘f²’.

Table 5.18: ‘Nächtliche Fahrt’ (op. 16, no. 2)

Nächtliche Fahrt Johanna Kinkel Published in 1841	Nocturnal Journey
Wenn über Wellen und Land	<i>a</i> When the stars shed their light
Sich giesset der Sternenschein,	<i>b</i> Over the water and land
Dann möcht’ ich fliehen zum Strand	<i>a</i> Then I want to escape to the beach
Mit Dir, o Geliebter mein.	<i>b</i> With you, my beloved.
Wir fänden den Nachen dort,	<i>c</i> There, we would find the punt,
Wir stiegen vertrauend hinein;	<i>d</i> We would step into it full of trust;
Er schaukelt uns fort und fort	<i>c</i> It will cradle us away
Hinunter den kühlen Rhein;	<i>d</i> Down the cool river Rhine;
Verhallt der menschliche Laut,	<i>e</i> The human sound would trail off
Und über uns milde Ruh’;	<i>f</i> Gentle silence would settle above us;
An deinem Herzen traut,	<i>e</i> Leaning against your dear chest,
Da schlöss’ ich die Augen zu,	<i>f</i> I would close my eyes,
Da schlöss’ ich die Augen zu.	<i>f</i> Then I would close my eyes.
Bis endlich ich staunend erwacht	<i>g</i> Until I finally wake up astonished
Im funkeln den Morgenlicht;	<i>h</i> In the sparkling morning light;
Vorüber schon manche Nacht,	<i>g</i> Some nights slipped by, so did
Viel Tages, ich merkt’ es nicht.	<i>h</i> Many a day, I did not notice.
Auf blauer Meeresbahn,	<i>l</i> Down the blue water road
Vorüber manch’ schimmerndem Land,	<i>k</i> Past many a gleaming land,
Uns trägt der verzauberte Kahn	<i>i</i> The magical punt carries us
Zum fernsten Inselstrand.	<i>k</i> To the remote island beach.
Da steht ein Purpurgezelt,	<i>l</i> There is a crimson shelter,
Zwei Harfen, zwei Becher Wein,	<i>m</i> Two harps, two glasses of wine,
Verschollen die ganze Welt,	<i>l</i> The whole world is forgotten,
Verschollen auch wir und allein,	<i>m</i> We are lost, and alone,
Verschollen auch wir und allein.	<i>m</i> We are lost, and alone.

A similar account of the mystic Rhineland is given in Kinkel’s setting of Sebastian Longard’s words, ‘Rheinfahrt’ (Rhine Journey, op. 16, no. 5, Table 5.19). An active member of the *Maikäfer* association, Sebastian Longard (1817–1892) might have alluded to his own or the Kinkels’ new love when he, referring to his poem ‘Rheinfahrt’, stated in the *Maikäfer* journal of 18 August 1840:

Who composed this Lied?
A new Maikäfer made it up
For his beloved one night on the river Rhine

When the moon shone brightly.¹⁰³

Kinkel's decision to set this poem shows both her close friendship with Longard and her great interest in settings dealing with the river Rhine. In this light, it is not surprising that 'Rheinfahrt', like 'Nächtliche Fahrt', prioritises the words rather than compositional complexity. Set in F major, the only compositional irregularities occur in bar 11: an Italian sixth chord and a melodic tritone progression in the right hand piano ('f¹' – 'b¹'). This is also the only bar which features the tonic's submediant D-flat major. Perhaps Kinkel wanted to set apart this bar from the others and thereby emphasise the positive associations with the river Rhine in the corresponding line of each verse (line 6 of each poetic strophe).

Table 5.19: 'Rheinfahrt' (op. 16, no. 5)

Rheinfahrt Sebastian Longard Published in 1841		Rhine Journey
Die Nacht kommt still gezogen	<i>a</i>	The night approaches quietly
Mit ihrem dunkeln Haar;	<i>b</i>	With its dark hair;
Es kommt ihr nachgeflogen	<i>a</i>	A host of colourful dreams
Der Träume bunte Schaar.	<i>b</i>	Follows the night.
Ich steure mit meiner Süßen	<i>c</i>	I steer with my beloved,
In die blaue Fluth hinein.	<i>d</i>	Into the blue flood.
Die Abendwinde grüßen	<i>c</i>	The evening breeze greets us
Still flüsternd im blauen Rhein.	<i>d</i>	And whispers calmly on the blue river Rhine.
Die Weidenbäume schwanken	<i>e</i>	The willow trees sway
Am Strand in stiller Ruh'.	<i>f</i>	Peacefully at the beach.
Und raunen duft'ge Gedanken	<i>e</i>	And they murmur sweet thoughts
Der spielenden Woge zu.	<i>f</i>	To the rustling wave.
Am Himmel die Sternlein gaukeln	<i>g</i>	The stars shine in the sky
Wie glänzendes Edelmetall,	<i>d</i>	Like brilliant jewels,
Die träumenden Wellen schaukeln	<i>g</i>	The dreaming waves cause
Den leuchtenden Widerschein.	<i>d</i>	Their luminous reflection to tremble.
Da steigt in seinem Glanze	<i>h</i>	Then, the pale moon rises
Der bleiche Mond herauf,	<i>i</i>	In its lustre,
Hinter dem Bergeskränze	<i>h</i>	Behind the mountains
In heimlich stillem Lauf.	<i>i</i>	Secretly and quietly.
Hui wie er schwelgt und leuchtet	<i>k</i>	Hui, how the moon basks and shines
In seinem Zauberschein	<i>d</i>	In its magical brilliance,

¹⁰³ Sebastian Longard, 'Wer hat denn dieses Lied erdacht?', in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, p. 85. This citation follows the poem entitled 'Die Rheinfahrt vom 24. August 1840' (Rhine Journey on 24 August 1840). 'Wer hat denn dieses Lied erdacht? | Das hat zur Nacht auf dem Rhein | seiner Liebsten ein frischer Maikäfer erdacht | im glänzenden Mondenschein'.

Und glühende Liebe beichtet Dem frischen blauen Rhein.	<i>k</i> <i>d</i>	And glowing love is confessed To the fresh blue river Rhine.
Ein treuer Buhle grüßt er So recht aus vollem Muth, Und sanft erröthend küsst er Die spiegelhelle Fluth. Wir aber im Traum zerfließen, Schaukeln in seeliger Lust Und halten uns liebumschlossen, Und lehnen Brust an Brust.	<i>l</i> <i>m</i> <i>l</i> <i>m</i> <i>n</i> <i>o</i> <i>n</i> <i>o</i>	The loyal mate [the moon] greets [the water] Full of courage, Gently blushing, he kisses The bright reflective water. But we, dissolving in our dreams, Swing happily on the water And we embrace each other with love And we lean against each other.

Although ‘Rheinfahrt’ appears to be a quite positive Lied, the Kinkels’ letters reveal mixed emotions. For example, in November 1840, Johanna Kinkel wrote:

I have told myself everything in order to come to my senses; I recalled the blessed morning when you told me: “I am sure that I will love no girl after you!”. I hold on to these words in order not to collapse. O Gottfried, it is not a dream! Yesterday, you accused me of having been disappointed in you, while you have never been disappointed by me. If I met you and gave you such a look, you would be disappointed as well. [...] I am really desperate; I do not know what to do until I see you again. [...] Can you send me three lines, so that I can get through the night and so that, tomorrow, I don’t appear completely shattered; it would be terrible if your power caused more disaster than blessing.¹⁰⁴

Gottfried answered in a similarly confused manner on 26 November 1840:

I have become gentle and calmer again, and I want to comfort you and rectify my injustice towards you. [...] I meant to ask you something, [...]. Do not blame me too much! Murder by poison or by emotional provocation – it makes no difference. It will be your fault if you kill yourself: but you will brand me with a cicatrice of crime that no active, creative life could heal. Oh, keep away this curse from my as yet innocent head! Activity, aspiration, approbation – I have given up all this, because my powers dissolved in my love to you – I was not sorry for it – but you, Johanna, keep yourself upright!¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ The precise date is unknown. Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 89. Underline in original. ‘Ich habe mir alles gesagt, um mich zur Vernunft zu bringen, jenen geheiligten Morgen, den allerschönsten zurückgerufen, wo du sagtest: “Ich weiß fest, daß ich nach dir keine mehr lieben werde!” An das Wort halte ich mich, um nicht zu versinken. O Gottfried, es ist auch kein Traum! Du warfst mir noch gestern vor, ich sei an dir schon irre geworden, du nie an mir. Wenn ich dir begegnete, und sähe dich mit solchem Auge an, du würdest auch irre. [...] Ich bin ganz verzehrt, und weiß nicht, was ich anfangen soll, bis ich dich wiedergesehen habe. Kannst du mir 3 Zeilen senden, damit ich wenigstens die Nacht rette, und morgen nicht ganz zerstört erscheine’.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 90–92. Underline in original. ‘Ich bin wieder mild geworden und auch ruhiger, und möchte dir Trost geben, ersetzen meine Ungerechtigkeit gegen dich. [...] Ich wollte eine Bitte aussprechen, [...]. Häufe du nicht meine Schuld! Sich mit Gift oder mit Aufreizung des Gefühls morden, es ist gleich. Auch du wirst deine Schuld tragen, wenn du dich tödtest: mir aber eine Narbe des Verbrechens einbrennen, die kein thätiges schöpferkräftiges Leben ausheilen könnte. O halte von meinem bis jetzt schuldlosen Haupte diesen Fluch ferne! Thätigkeit, Vorwärtskommen, Menschengunst – ich habe es alles aufgegeben, weil meine Kraft aufging in der Liebe zu dir – es that mir nicht leid – aber du, Johanna, halte dich aufrecht!’.

This emotional dichotomy between happiness and desperation is also revealed in a number of other Lieder which were produced within the context of the *Maikäferbund*, undoubtedly a remarkable resource of poems for Kinkel and therefore a well of creativity. Remaining with Sebastian Longard, Kinkel also set his poem ‘Klage’ (Lamentation, op. 16, no. 6, Table 5.20), a simple three-part Lied which deals with the lyrical I’s disappointment in his/ her beloved’s unfaithfulness. The poem is published in the *Maikäfer* journal of 21 July 1840.¹⁰⁶ As a means of expressive emphasis, Kinkel uses contrasting dynamics and a rhythmic augmentation. While dotted rhythms are applied throughout the Lied, the second part of the third line of each verse, which is repeated twice, is set in steady and calm slurred minims and crotchets (Ex. 5.9, black box).

Table 5.20: ‘Klage’ (op. 16, no. 6)

Klage Sebastian Longard Published in 1841		Lamentation
Ach dass du doch so ferne bist, Dass ich dich nimmer seh’, Und dass du dort so gerne bist, Tut mir im Herzen weh, Tut mir im Herzen weh.	<i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>b</i>	Alas, that you are so far away, That I cannot see you anymore, And that you like being so far away, That makes my heart ache. That makes my heart ache.
Als du mir gabst dein heilig Wort, Mir ewig treu zu sein, Wohl war es nur ein eilig Wort So bald vorbei zu sein. So bald vorbei zu sein.	<i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>d</i>	When you pledged loyalty to me, When you promised to be with me forever, It must have been a hasty word, It was forgotten so soon, It was forgotten so soon.
Was war ich ein unvorsichtig Kind, Dass ich nicht bei dir blieb! Doch dass auch Schwüre flüchtig sind, Das wusst’ ich nicht, mein Lieb, Das wusst’ ich nicht, mein Lieb.	<i>e</i> <i>f</i> <i>e</i> <i>f</i> <i>f</i>	What a careless child I was, That I did not stay with you! But that oaths are fleeting, That I did not know, my love, That I did not know, my love.

¹⁰⁶ Sebastian Longard, ‘Ach! daß du doch so ferne bist’, in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, 1, p. 44.

Ex. 5.9: Prolonged rhythms in the melodic line of ‘Klage’ (bars 8–23)

8

und dass du dort so ger - ne bist, thut mir im Her - zen weh;
wohl war es nur ein ei - lig Wort, so bald vor - bei zu sein;
doch dass auch Schwü - re flüch - tig sind, das wusst' ich nicht, mein Lieb,

16 *cresc.* *f*

im Her - zen weh, thut mir im Her - zen weh.
so bald vor - bei, so bald vor - bei zu sein.
das wusst' ich nicht, das wusst' ich nicht mein Lieb.

cresc.

Also in the varied strophic Geibel Lied ‘Wolle keiner mich fragen’ (Does Nobody Want to Ask Me, op. 18, no. 5, Table 5.21), the lyrical I regrets his/her own desperate state of mind. Whereas the first verse reveals that the lyrical I is not sure ‘what it is that moves [him/ her]’, the following verses uncover the lyrical I’s inner destruction. His/ her beloved does not share the lyrical I’s romantic affection, so that the lyrical I ‘will cry quietly until [his/ her] heart breaks’.

Table 5.21: ‘Wolle keiner mich fragen’ (op. 18, no. 5)

Wolle keiner mich fragen Emanuel Geibel Published in 1843	Does Nobody Want to Ask Me
Wolle Keiner mich fragen, Warum mein Herz so schlägt, Ich kann's nicht fassen, nicht sagen, Was mich bewegt.	<i>a</i> Does nobody want to ask me, <i>b</i> Why my heart beats so fast, <i>a</i> I cannot believe it, I cannot tell <i>b</i> What it is that moves me.
Als wie im Traume schwanken Trunken die Sinne mir; Alle meine Gedanken Sind nur bei dir.	<i>c</i> Like drunk dreams <i>d</i> My senses spin around; <i>c</i> All my thoughts <i>d</i> Are only concerned with you.
Ich habe die Welt vergessen, Seit ich dein Auge gesehn; Ich möchte dich an mich pressen	<i>e</i> I have forgotten about the world <i>f</i> Since I saw your eyes; <i>e</i> I want to hold you to me

Und still im Kuß vergehn.	<i>f</i>	And die quietly on your kisses.
Mein Leben möcht' ich lassen, Ach, um ein Lächeln vor dir, ¹⁰⁷ Und du – ich kann's nicht fassen – Versagst es mir.	<i>g</i> <i>d</i> <i>g</i> <i>d</i>	I want to die, Alas, for the sake of one smile from you, And you – I cannot believe it – Refuse it [the smile] to me.
Ist's Schicksal, ist's dein Wille? Du siehst mich nicht. Nun wein' ich stille, stille, Bis das Herz mir zerbricht.	<i>h</i> <i>i</i> <i>h</i> <i>i</i>	Is it fate? Is it your will? You do not see me. Now I will cry quietly, quietly, Until my heart breaks.

The two-part Lied is set in A minor and the harmonic progression in part A is rather simple, centring on the minor tonic and its major dominant. An unexpected harmonic turn takes place at the beginning of part B, which temporarily establishes the remote key of B-flat major, introduced via the tonic's submediant F major. In order to conclude the Lied with its original tonic, A minor, the last line of each verse is harmonised with a tritone progression (B-flat major–E major⁷–A minor) following a fermata, which stresses the lyrical I's sorrows (Ex. 5.10). A tritonic leap sounds also in the melody of bar 8 ('b¹'–'f¹'), at the words 'warum' (why, first stanza), 'trunken' (drunk, second stanza), 'seit ich' (since I, third stanza), 'ach' (fourth stanza), and 'Du siehst' (you [do not] see, fifth stanza); this tritonic leap supports the sad mood of the lyrical protagonist.

Ex. 5.10: Harmonic progression in 'Wolle keiner mich fragen' (bars /10–13)

The musical score for Ex. 5.10 consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins at bar 10 with a fermata over the word 'gen,' and continues with 'was mich be-wegt.' The piano accompaniment features chords F, F7, Bb, Bb, Bb, E, E7, and Am. Dynamics include *f* and *p*. The section is marked *ad lib.*

The strophic setting 'Welt, o Welt! Wie liegst du so weit!' (World, o World! You Are so Wide!, op. 17, no. 6, Table 5.22) to words by Gottfried Kinkel deals with a lonesome lyrical I that regrets his magic spirit of love not being reciprocated. Typically

¹⁰⁷ The word 'ach' (alas) is not included in the original poem. Perhaps Kinkel added this word in order to dramatise the lyrics. Emanuel Geibel, 'Wolle keiner mich fragen', in Geibel, *Gedichte*, p. 94.

for a Romantic setting, such themes as magic and nature are combined with the lyrical I's heartache.

Table 5.22: 'Welt, o Welt! Wie liegst du so weit!' (op. 17, no. 6)

Welt! O Welt! Wie liegst du so weit! ¹⁰⁸ Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1847	World, o World! You Are so Wide!
Auf einsam hohen Thurme	<i>a</i> On the lonely high tower
In trüber Nebelnacht,	<i>b</i> In the dark foggy night
Umbraust vom Wintersturme	<i>a</i> Surrounded by blustery winter storms
Halt ich die stille Wacht.	<i>b</i> I keep watch.
Des Lebens Sturm Gebräuse	<i>c</i> The storm of life
Berührt nicht meine Klausel	<i>c</i> Does not touch my cell,
Mit Lust und Sorg' und Leid, ¹⁰⁹	<i>d</i> With happiness, sorrow or pain.
Mit Lust und Sorg' und Leid.	<i>d</i> With happiness, sorrow or pain.
Refrain	Chorus
O sonst in wilden Strudel	<i>e</i> Once, impatience
Riss mich die Ungeduld;	<i>f</i> Drew me into a wild torrent;
Mir quoll des Lebens Sprudel,	<i>e</i> Life's wellspring flowed for me,
Mich lockte Frauenhuld.	<i>f</i> I was attracted by women's charm.
Das alles ist verdorben	<i>g</i> This is all over now
Seit ich vor Liebe gestorben	<i>g</i> Since I have died from heartache
In träumender Einsamkeit,	<i>d</i> In loneliness lost in reverie,
In träumender Einsamkeit.	<i>d</i> In loneliness lost in reverie.
Refrain	Chorus
Merlin ist fest gebunden	<i>h</i> Merlin is bound tightly
Durch graues Zauberwort,	<i>i</i> By an evil spell,
Von Minnespruch umwunden	<i>h</i> Entwined by a spell of love
In Waldes stillstem Ort.	<i>i</i> In the quiet forest.
Es zeugt, dass er noch lebet,	<i>k</i> The only sign of his being alive,
Sein Lied nur das durchschwebet	<i>k</i> Is his song, which soars
Die Forsten weit und breit,	<i>d</i> Through the forests everywhere,
Die Forsten weit und breit.	<i>d</i> Through the forests everywhere.
Refrain: Welt, o Welt!	Chorus: World, o World!
Wie liegst du so weit!	You are so wide!
Welt, o Welt!	World, o World!
Wie liegst du so weit, so weit,	You are so wide, so wide,
Wie liegst du so weit!	You are so wide!

The melodic line supports certain meaningful words. For example, the words 'Sorg' (sorrows, first verse), 'Ein-[samkeit]' (loneliness, second verse), and 'weit' (everywhere, third verse) in bar 30 are set to a melodic semitone with the ninth in the

¹⁰⁸ The original title of Gottfried Kinkel's poem is 'In der Winternacht' (In a Winter's Night). Gottfried Kinkel, *Gedichte* (Stuttgart/ Tübingen: Cotta, 1843), p. 125, hereafter referred to as Kinkel, *Gedichte*. This poem is included in a section titled 'Auf der Wanderschaft' ('On the Tramp'), in the part 'Des Dichters Leben und Betrachtung, in deutschen Weisen' ('The Poet's Life and Views, in German Tunes').

¹⁰⁹ The original poem includes the word 'Angst' (fear) rather than 'Sorg' (sorrow).

vocal line ('a^{b1}'–'g¹'), followed by a descending leap of a perfect fifth ('g¹'–'c¹', Ex. 5.11).

Ex. 5.11: Melodic line in 'Welt, o Welt! Wie liegst du so weit!' (bars 28–34)

28

mit Lust und Sorg' und Leid:
in träu - men der Ein - sam - keit;
die For - sten weit und breit:

sfz *pp* cre - - scen - - do

Although the exact composition date of this Lied remains obscure, its publication was announced in December 1847. However, it must have been performed by Kinkel before December 1846, as Wilhelm Lübke praised in his memoirs Kinkel's performance of this Lied. Lübke left Bonn in 1846 so that his memories of Johanna Kinkel's Lied must date from before.¹¹⁰

Kinkel's setting of her husband's poem 'Abschied von Italien' (Farewell from Italy, op. 16, no. 3, Table 5.23) must also have been written during the inspirational phase of the *Maikäfer* gatherings. The stirring farewell song sets as a central theme the regret of the lyrical I who has to leave Italy. The second line 'Ich weiß, du magst nicht eilen' (I know you do not want to rush) in bar 2 is contrasted with the fast-paced preceding bar, a means which stresses the lyrical protagonist's inner disruption as a result of their farewell. Like Geibel's 'Gondellied' (op. 8, no. 3), this setting stresses the Romantic longing for the South, more specifically Italy, which, in this setting, is emphasised by means of a *forte* melodic climax ('Italien', 'f²', bar 16, Ex. 5.12). Another similarity to 'Gondellied' is the employment of distinct rhythms in the piano

¹¹⁰ See 'Lübke, Wilhelm', in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, 3rd edn, x, p. 61.

accompaniment, which temporarily imitate the moves of the water. Set in 12/8, the lines ‘Aufwinde, Anker, dich an straffen Seilen’ (Hoist the anchor on the ropes, first verse) and ‘Laut rauscht die See, es flammt an Schiffes Borden’ (The sea soughs loudly; on the ship’s hull there flames, second verse) take on a triplet rhythm (bars 9–10, Ex. 5.12).

Table 5.23: ‘Abschied von Italien’ (op. 16, no. 3)

Abschied von Italien Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1841	Farewell from Italy
Fort nun, o Schiff! Ich weiß, du magst nicht eilen, Von diesen Ufern scheidet sich's so schwer. Ihr Segel auf! Ich weiß, ihr wollt noch weilen, Bald schwellt euch ja des Südens Hauch nicht mehr. Aufwinde, Anker, dich an straffen Seilen, Ob lau und blau dich auch umspielt das Meer, Ach, schwerer banger Weh als ihr erleidet Das Herz, das blutend von Italien scheidet.	<i>a</i> Begone, o ship! <i>b</i> I know you do not want to rush, <i>c</i> It is so hard to leave these shores. <i>b</i> Unfurl the sails! I know you would like to stay, <i>c</i> The Southern breeze will fill you no more. <i>b</i> Raise the anchor on the ropes, <i>c</i> Although the mild and blue sea plays with you, <i>d</i> Alas, the heart which has to leave Italy <i>d</i> Suffers badly.
Fort nun, o Schiff! ¹¹¹ Hinauf zum rauhen Norden! Zum letzten Male glänzt des Südens Nacht. Der Mond tritt hoch hervor aus Ostens Pforten, Dem ewig klar die Flut entgegen lacht.	<i>a</i> Begone, o ship! <i>e</i> Northwards to the rough North! <i>f</i> The Southern night gleams for the last time. <i>e</i> The moon rises high from the East <i>f</i> Reflected clearly in the ever-lasting smile of the sea.
Laut rauscht die See, es flammt an Schiffes Borden Des Meeresleuchtens zauberhafte Pracht; Der Morgen hebt sich über Wogenschäume, Vorbei! Ach fern schon liegt das Land der Träume.	<i>e</i> The sea sough loudly; against the ship’s hull <i>f</i> The magical shine of the sea is flaming; <i>g</i> The morning rises over the foam of the waves; <i>g</i> Gone! Alas, already far behind is the land of dreams.

Ex. 5.12: Melodic climax in ‘Abschied von Italien’ (bars /16–17)

The musical score for Ex. 5.12 shows the melodic climax in 'Abschied von Italien' (bars 16–17). The vocal line begins with a triplet of eighth notes (f, f, f) on the word 'Land' and continues with a melodic line. The piano accompaniment features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a steady bass line. Dynamics include *f* and *ff*.

¹¹¹ From here on, Gottfried Kinkel’s published original poem differs to a great extent. The published poem includes a total of eleven eight-line strophes; the final strophe is similar to the second musical stanza. It is uncertain whether Johanna Kinkel wrote this second musical stanza herself, or whether she set an unpublished version of Gottfried Kinkel’s poem. Kinkel, *Gedichte*, pp. 97–100. This poem is included in the same part as ‘In der Winternacht’, in a section titled ‘Aus dem Süden’ (‘From the South’), which also includes the poem ‘Nacht in Rom’ (see Chapter II.3).

Ex. 5.13: Triple rhythm in ‘Abschied von Italien’ (bars 9–10)

9 *f*
 Auf - win - de, An - ker, dich an straf - fen Sei - len
 Laut rauscht die See, es flammt an Schif - fes Bor - den

In comparison to the rather complex songs dealing with heavy emotions, confusion, and desperateness, and exhibiting the constant dualism between Johanna Kinkel’s desperation and happiness, the fast-paced Lied in D major, ‘Allegretto: War hinaus gezogen’ (Allegretto: I Went on a Ramble, op. 15, no. 6, Table 5.24) is rather light-hearted and reveals Kinkel’s unselfconscious and straightforward side. It is a setting of Johanna Kinkel’s own words.

Table 5.24: ‘Allegretto: War hinaus gezogen’ (op. 15, no. 6)

War hinaus gezogen Johanna Kinkel Published in 1841	I Went on a Ramble
War hinaus gezogen, Lustig singend, wälderwärts; Kam ein Pfeil geflogen, Von dem schönst’ gewölbten Bogen, Traf mir in der Brust das Herz. Er spaltet es wohl bis zum tiefsten Grund. Nie, ach, nie mehr wird’s gesund.	<i>a</i> I went on a ramble, <i>b</i> Happily singing, towards the woods; <i>a</i> An arrow came flying <i>a</i> From the most beautifully arched bow, <i>b</i> It hit my heart in my chest. <i>c</i> It split it to its very depths. <i>c</i> Never, alas, never shall it recover.
Wollt’ von dannen fliehen, Doch in Schlingen fiel der Fuß, Die mich rückwärts ziehen. Ach vergebens ist mein Mühen, Ach vergebens mein Entschluss. O Ketten der Liebe, wer reißt euch entzwei! Nie, ach, nie mehr wird ich frei.	<i>d</i> I wanted to escape, <i>e</i> But my foot was caught in snares, <i>d</i> Which pulled me backwards. <i>d</i> Alas, my resolution, all in vain, <i>e</i> Alas, my courage, all in vain. <i>f</i> O chains of love, who would ever tear you apart! <i>f</i> Never, alas, never will I be free.

The playful melody and constant harmonic changes evoke an amusing tone and point to Johanna Kinkel’s humorous and bold side, which, in earlier years, gained her the

nickname ‘die tolle Mockel’ (the mad Mockel).¹¹² In ‘Allegretto’, which is a strophic setting, the lyrical I describes almost ironically how s/he fell in love and cannot escape anymore. The diverse harmonic design is enhanced by means of a remarkable density and a German augmented sixth chord at the word ‘Nie’ (never, bar 19).

Published in September 1841, Kinkel’s op. 15 bears witness to her emotional uncertainty. Besides the two atmospherically contrary settings ‘Du nah’st’ and ‘Allegretto’, this opus also includes two of Gottfried Kinkel’s thoughtful poems, a lullaby and a humorous Goethe setting: ‘Lust und Qual’ (Joy and Agony, op. 15, no. 4, Table 5.25). ‘Lust und Qual’ is about a young fisherman who is unsuccessful in his attempt at winning over a young woman.

Table 5.25: ‘Lust und Qual’ (op. 15, no. 4)

Lust und Qual ¹¹³ Johanna Wolfgang von Goethe Published in 1841	Joy and Agony ¹¹⁴ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Knabe saß ich, Fischerknabe,	<i>a</i> A lad I sat, a fisher lad,
Auf dem schwarzen Fels im Meer,	<i>b</i> Upon the black rock in the sea,
Und, bereited falsche Gabe,	<i>a</i> And, preparing a deceptive gift,
Sang ich lauschend rings umher.	<i>b</i> I sang listening round about me.
Angel schwebte lockend nieder;	<i>c</i> My fishing rod wafted temptingly downward;
Gleich ein Fischlein streift und schnappt,	<i>d</i> Immediately a little fish darted up and snapped,
Schadenfrohe Schelmenlieder –	<i>c</i> Gleeful, roguish songs –
Und das Fischlein war ertappt.	<i>d</i> And the little fish was caught.
Ach! am Ufer, durch die Fluren,	<i>e</i> Ah! upon the shore, through the meadows,
Ins Geklüfte bis zum Hain, ¹¹⁵	<i>f</i> Into the chasms into the grove,
Folgt' ich einer Sohle Spuren,	<i>e</i> I followed the footsteps of a shoe,
Und die Hirtin war allein.	<i>f</i> And the shepherdess was alone.
Blicke sinken, Worte stocken! –	<i>g</i> Gazes fall, words fail! –
Wie ein Taschenmesser schnappt	<i>h</i> As a pocket knife snaps shut,
Faßte sie mich in die Locken	<i>g</i> She grasped my curls
Und das Bübchen war ertappt.	<i>h</i> And the little lad was caught.
Weiß doch Gott mit welchem Hirten	<i>i</i> Only God knows with which shepherd
Sie auf's neue sich ergeht!	<i>k</i> She is sporting anew!
Muß ich in das Meer mich gürtlen,	<i>i</i> I must gird myself with the sea,

¹¹² For details on the occasion on which Johanna was given this nickname because of her natural jolly excitement, see Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 14.

¹¹³ This poem was first published in 1820. See *Johann Wolfgang Goethe: Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens (Münchner Ausgabe)*, XI.1.1, p.478.

¹¹⁴ Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=105850> [accessed 5 May 2016].

¹¹⁵ The original poem reads ‘tief zum Hain’ (deep into the grove) rather than ‘bis zum Hain’ (into the grove). I changed the translation accordingly.

Wie es sauset, wie es weht.	<i>k</i>	No matter how it roars, how it blows.
Wenn mich oft im Netze jammert	<i>l</i>	When often now I feel pity for the seething mass
Das Gewimmel groß und klein,	<i>m</i>	Of creatures, great and small, in my net,
Immer möcht' ich noch umklammert	<i>l</i>	Always I would like to be,
Ach von ihrer Armen sein! ¹¹⁶	<i>m</i>	Ah, clasped in her arms!

The reference to the young fisherman as a ‘Bübchen’ (small boy) and to the fish as a ‘Fischlein’ (small fish) evokes a playful image, but it also symbolises the fisherman’s clumsiness. Despite a few melodic ornaments (grace notes in bars 1, 6, and 18; triplet in bar 7; and trill in bar 24), the musical interpretation of the words seems less jokey. The *Andante con moto* tempo, a skilful piano introduction and coda including a number of arpeggios and dynamic contrasts, as well as the harmonic complexity incorporating a shift from C minor to C major grant the Lied a serious tone.

A much more positive impression is gained in ‘Blaue Augen’ (Blue Eyes, op. 17, no. 1, Table 5.26) and ‘Schwarze Augen’ (Dark Eyes, op. 17, no. 2, Table 5.27). ‘Blaue Augen’ is a setting of Gottfried Kinkel’s words; ‘Schwarze Augen’ is a poem by Sebastian Longard. It seems that both Lieder were inspired by a *Maikäfer* discussion which centred on the question whether blue eyes or dark eyes are more beautiful. In the *Maikäfer* journal dated 1 June 1840, Johanna Kinkel raised the question: ‘Which eyes shine brighter, the blue ones or the dark ones?’¹¹⁷ The following number of the journal includes four poems dealing with differently coloured eyes; among them is Gottfried Kinkel’s ‘Blaue Augen’. Longard’s ‘Schwarze Augen’ is included in the next number.¹¹⁸ Besides the thematic common ground, namely the lyrical I’s enthusiastic praise of the beloved’s eyes, both settings have in common a challenging piano accompaniment with arpeggios and ornamentation.

¹¹⁶ The original poem reads ‘Noch’ (still) rather than ‘Ach’. I changed the translation accordingly. Perhaps Kinkel made this change in order to increase the level of desperateness.

¹¹⁷ See Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, p. 14. ‘Lächeln die blauen Augen schöner, oder die schwarzen?’

¹¹⁸ Sebastian Longard, ‘Schwarze Augen’, in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, pp. 21–23 and Gottfried Kinkel, ‘Blaue Augen’, in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, pp. 30–31.

Table 5.26: ‘Blaue Augen’ (op. 17, no. 1)

Blaue Augen Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1847		Blue Eyes
In ahnungsvollem Glanze	<i>a</i>	Surrounded by ominous brightness
Ruht still Neapels tiefes Meer,	<i>b</i>	Naples’s deep sea rests quietly,
Es ziehn im dunklen Kranze	<i>a</i>	The dark mountain range
Die Berge schweigend rings umher.	<i>b</i>	Embraces the sea silently.
Drin liegt, so sagt die Kunde,	<i>c</i>	According to mythology,
Ein unbekannter Edelstein,	<i>d</i>	An unknown jewel lies in the sea,
Drum bricht aus seinem Grunde	<i>c</i>	That’s why a magic bright light
Ein zauberhafter heller Schein.	<i>d</i>	Is reflected from its ground.
Und wenn du scheidest	<i>e</i>	And if you leave
Von dem süßen Lande,	<i>f</i>	The sweet land,
Bleibt dir das Herz, ach, ¹¹⁹	<i>e</i>	Your heart is caught, o,
Gefesselt dort am Strande.	<i>f</i>	And kept at the beach.
Doch mich riß los vom Wehe	<i>g</i>	But my beloved’s eyes
Der Liebsten Auge wunderbar,	<i>h</i>	Pulled me away from the pain,
Und wenn hinein ich spähe, ¹²⁰	<i>g</i>	And if I look into her eyes,
Wird mir der große Zauber klar:	<i>h</i>	Then I understand the powerful magic.
Es strahlt, als ob drin schliefte,	<i>i</i>	Her eye is as bright as if
Des Zauberdemants Wunderschau,	<i>k</i>	The magic jewel slept in it,
Und wie des Meeres Tiefe,	<i>i</i>	And the graceful woman’s eye is
Blau ist das Aug’ der holden Frau.	<i>k</i>	As blue as the depth of the sea.

Table 5.27: ‘Schwarze Augen’ (op. 17, no. 2)

Schwarze Augen Sebastian Longard Published in 1847		Dark Eyes
Ach, in dem funkelnden,	<i>a</i>	O, in the bright
träumerisch dunkelnden	<i>a</i>	Dreaming dark
Aug’ meiner Holden,	<i>b</i>	Eye of my beloved
Da lacht mir die herzliche	<i>c</i>	Love smiles
Liebe entgegen.	<i>d</i>	At me.
In freudiger Gluht,	<i>e</i>	With a joyous glow
Winkt mir die Sehnsucht,	<i>f</i>	The longing is waving at me,
Die bange, die schmerzliche,	<i>c</i>	Fearful, painful longing,
Und doch in schwellendem, ¹²¹	<i>h</i>	And yet with increasing
Quellendem Muth.	<i>e</i>	Courage.
Und die unsäglichen,	<i>i</i>	And the unspeakable,
Immer beweglichen	<i>i</i>	Always active
Träume der Jugend,	<i>k</i>	Dreams of youth,
Die frischen, die prächtigen	<i>l</i>	The fresh and splendid dreams

¹¹⁹ The original poem does not include the word ‘ach’. Perhaps Kinkel added this word in order to increase the sense of heartache.

¹²⁰ The original poem reads ‘wann’ rather than ‘wenn’. This could be an editorial error or an archaic word for ‘wenn’. It does not affect the translation.

¹²¹ The original poem reads ‘voll’ (full of) rather than ‘in’ (in/ with).

Blühh wie im Maien	<i>m</i>	Blossom like the fragrant meadow
Die duftige Au;	<i>n</i>	In the springtime.
Ach! Und die Thränen,	<i>o</i>	Ah! And the tears,
Die heissen, die mächtigen	<i>l</i>	The hot and powerful tears
Giessen darüber	<i>p</i>	Pour over it
Den glänzenden Thau.	<i>n</i>	The glossy dew.
Und in dem lebenden,	<i>q</i>	And in this lively,
Wonnig erbebenden	<i>q</i>	Richly trembling
Bild ihrer Augen,	<i>r</i>	Image of her eyes,
Dem wundergestaltigen,	<i>s</i>	In those fascinating eyes,
Lern ich den Zauber	<i>t</i>	I learn to understand
Der Liebe versteh'n;	<i>u</i>	The magic of love;
Wie in der Freude,	<i>v</i>	I see both fresh and powerful
Der frischen, gewaltigen,	<i>s</i>	Happiness,
So in dem Schmerz	<i>w</i>	And pain,
Und unendlichen Weh'n.	<i>u</i>	Eternal pain.

However, the major difference between the two songs is that ‘Schwarze Augen’ is a strophic setting with a simple formal structure. Here, it seems that the performability of the Lied was given priority, as it does not include any major challenges to the singer. Nevertheless, the harmonic layout is fairly diverse and features the tonic key of G minor, an Italian augmented sixth chord at the words ‘träumerisch’ (dreaming, first verse), ‘immer’ (always, second verse), and ‘wonnig’ (richly, third verse) in bar 7, and a harmonic state of uncertainty in bars 7–13 (It6–F major–B-flat major–D major⁷–E-flat major⁷–D major⁷–E-flat major–G minor–B-flat major⁷–E-flat major).

The formal structure of ‘Blaue Augen’ is relatively complex. Most of Kinkel’s Lieder are strophic settings, but ‘Blaue Augen’ is a through-composed Lied. Although the Lied can be assigned the overall form ABA’, the individual characteristics of each part are noteworthy. While part A is inscribed *Lento*, Part B is supposed to be played *Adagio*, following a short *Andante* interlude. The vocal line includes a great deal of ornamentation and ranges from ‘c¹’ to ‘f²’ - a range which is unusually wide compared to other Lieder of Kinkel’s. The relatively high technical demands, which are supported by metric changes between the two parts, point to the high standard of the dedicatee Josephine Hubar’s singing.

Kinkel’s Platen setting, ‘Die Stimme der Geliebten’ (Her Voice, op. 17, no. 4, Table 5.28, Ex. 5.14), adds to the assumption that Kinkel’s *Maikäfer* settings included

in op. 17 take on a blissful tone. Like the two aforementioned Lieder, ‘Die Stimme der Geliebten’ deals with the lyrical protagonist’s positive feelings in relation to his beloved.

Table 5.28: ‘Die Stimme der Geliebten’ (op. 17, no. 4)

Die Stimme der Geliebten August von Platen Published in 1847		Her Voice ¹²² Translation by Sharon Krebs
Laß tief in dir mich lesen,	<i>a</i>	Let me read deep within you –
Verhehl’ auch dies mir nicht,	<i>b</i>	Do not conceal this from me either –
Was für ein Zauberwesen	<i>a</i>	What kind of a magical spirit
Aus deiner Stimme spricht!	<i>b</i>	Speaks through your voice.
So viele Worte dringen	<i>c</i>	So many words assail
Ans Ohr uns ohne Plan,	<i>d</i>	Our ears without design
Und während sie verklingen,	<i>c</i>	And when they have died away,
Ist alles abgetan!	<i>d</i>	Nothing remains!
Doch drängt auch nur von ferne	<i>e</i>	But if even from a distance
Dein Ton zu mir sich her,	<i>f</i>	The sound of your voice finds its way to me,
Behorch’ ich ihn so gerne,	<i>e</i>	I listen to it so gladly,
Vergess ich ihn so schwer.	<i>f</i>	I find it so difficult to forget.
Ich bebe dann, entglimme	<i>g</i>	I tremble then, come alight
Von allzu rascher Glut:	<i>h</i>	With all too rapid ardour;
Mein Herz und deine Stimme	<i>g</i>	My heart and your voice
Verstehn sich gar zu gut!	<i>h</i>	Understand each other too well!

The arpeggio piano accompaniment and the tempo marking, *Adagio*, enable a thoughtful emphasis of each single word. The formal structure of this Lied is simple and so is the vocal line. However, the slow-pace piano accompaniment incorporates a dense harmonic organisation of the Lied. Already in the second bar this Lied features an augmented sixth chord; bar 13, which introduces the most meaningful line ‘Mein Herz und deine Stimme | Verstehn sich gar zu gut’ (My heart and your voice | Understand each other too well), includes a German and a French augmented sixth chord. The *rallentando* in the same bar supports the assumption that Kinkel wanted to emphasise this line. Kinkel’s affinity for augmented sixth chords as a means of concluding a song

¹²² Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=42243> [accessed 6 June 2016].

surfaces in bar 18, in which the German augmented sixth chord precedes the perfect cadence.

Ex. 5.14: 'Die Stimme der Geliebten' (op. 17, no. 4)

Adagio

1.Lass tief in dir mich le - sen, ver - hehl' auch dies mir nicht, was
2.Doch drängt auch nur von fer - ne dein Ton zu mir sich her, be -

5 für ein Zau - ber - we - sen aus dei - ner Stim - me spricht. So
horch' ich ihn so ger - ne, ver - gess ich ihn so schwer. Ich

9 vie - le Wor - te drin - gen an's Ohr uns oh - ne Plan, und
be - be dann, ent - glim - me von all - zu ra - scher Gluth. Mein

pp

Ped. *Ped. *simile

più moto

rallentando

Ex. 5.14 continued

13

wäh - rend sie ver - kling - gen ist al - les ab - ge - than.
Herz und dei - ne Stim - me ver - stehn sich gar zu gut. *a Tempo*

17

mf *Ped.* *

5.4 Kinkel's later Bonn years: the 1848/49 revolution

Most of the songs introduced above originate from the early 1840s or even before. Naturally, Kinkel's personal development gained her a great deal of emotional inspiration and the need to process psychologically the events in her life. However, another important aspect for Kinkel's creative output was time, which was also a big issue with regard to housekeeping and budget management. From 1848 on, Gottfried Kinkel's political activities set an end to his secure contribution to the household finances and also initialised a great deal of physical absence from the household. While Johanna had to dispense with her husband for the sake of politics from February 1848 on, Gottfried Kinkel left the household occasionally for the purpose of educational trips from as early as 1847. Johanna Kinkel expressed her longing for Gottfried in numerous letters. On 2 June 1847, she wrote:

I am writing less often than you, and you got worried a few times. My love, more or less the same is happening every day, and I have written about it already. My innermost resources, out of which I should gain fresh thoughts, are distracted too much by the effects of household fatalities. Tired from [music] lessons and the wasted battle against an untidy household, I sit down at my desk and want to devote a free half hour to you. [...] I know, it is inexcusable that I am writing you this, but I am short of breath and I tremble if I think about the exorbitant amounts that we invest in order to create an orderly household and care for our children, and yet in vain.¹²³

In 1848, Johanna Kinkel published her op. 19, which, thematically, seems to sum up the Kinkels' situation. It includes three political settings to Gottfried Kinkel's words; 'Abschied', a farewell song by Heine; 'Die Mandoline', a Lied dealing with loneliness by Wilhelm Seibt (1823–1891); and Kinkel's 'Liebesmacht' (The Power of Love, op. 19, No. 3, Table 5.29), in which the lyrical I broaches the issue of his/ her beloved not being able to love, although, physically, the beloved is able to achieve the most amazing things.¹²⁴

Being one of Kinkel's later works, 'Liebesmacht' reflects her personal development at different levels. Compositionally, the musical form is unusually complex; the vocal line is rather challenging with a great deal of ornamentation; long lamenting passages in the piano accompaniment support the lyrical I's emotional pain; and the poetry, containing a great number of internal assonances, seems further developed than Kinkel's earlier poetry about the Rhineland and her humorous 'Allegretto' about falling in love. Furthermore, both the desperate confusion and playful

¹²³ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 402. 'Ich schreibe seltener, als du, und das hat dich einigemal beunruhigt. Liebster, es geschieht fast täglich das nämliche, was ich dir schon geschrieben habe, und mein Innerstes[,] der eigentliche Quell, aus dem ich frische Gedanken schöpfen sollte, wird allzusehr durch das Einwirken häuslicher Fatalitäten getrübt. Abgemüdet durch die Stunden und den vergeblichen Kampf gegen unordentliche Hausgenößenschaft komme ich an den Schreibtisch, und möchte eine freie, halbe Stunde dir schenken. [...] Ich weiß, es ist unverzeihlich, daß ich dir das so weit schreibe, aber mein Athem ist gepreßt und ich zittre, wenn ich bedenke, welche fast unerschwingliche Opfer für unsre Verhältnisse gebracht werden, um ein ordentliches Hauswesen und eine Aufsicht für die Kinder zu schaffen, und doch vergebens'.

¹²⁴ Wilhelm Seibt (1823–1891) was a teacher at a Frankfurt high school until 1881. He published a large-scale work dealing with the history of arts and culture (*Studien zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte*). In 1843, his prosaic and theoretical writings were published regularly in the *Maikäfer* journal. See *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, 3rd edn, XVII, p.339.

boldness seemingly have been replaced by profound sorrows – perhaps the worries of a mother that is left alone by her husband.

Table 5.29: ‘Liebesmacht’ (op. 19, no. 3)

Liebesmacht Johanna Kinkel Published in 1848		The Power of Love
Das Bächlein magst du dämmen	<i>a</i>	You may dam the stream
Wenn überschwillt die Fluth;	<i>b</i>	If it is flooded;
Gebietend magst du hemmen	<i>a</i>	You may put out
Der Flammen rothe Gluth.	<i>b</i>	The red glow of flames.
Den Falken magst du zähmen,	<i>c</i>	You may tame the falcon,
Des Adlers Schwinge lähmen;	<i>c</i>	You may clip the eagle’s wings,
Doch eigen stilles Denken,	<i>d</i>	But, to lead your own quiet thoughts
Und Herz und Liebe lenken	<i>d</i>	And your heart and love,
Ach, das vermagst du nicht.	<i>e</i>	Alas, that you are not able to do.
Dem fernen Thal vertraust du	<i>f</i>	You do not entrust the remote valley
Kein Samenstäubchen an;	<i>g</i>	With a single grain of seed;
Und doch im Lenze schaust du	<i>f</i>	And yet you will look at the meadow full of flowers
Voll Blumen reich den Plan.	<i>g</i>	In the springtime.
So keimt aus Herzensgrunde	<i>h</i>	Thus, from the depths of your heart,
Die holde Liebeskunde;	<i>h</i>	There springs graceful love;
Der Rosen Fülle wecken,	<i>i</i>	But to waken the wealth of the roses,
Und dann mit Schnee sie decken,	<i>i</i>	And then cover them with snow,
Nein, das vermagst du nicht.	<i>e</i>	No, that you are not able to do.

Kinkel’s strophic setting of the *Maikäfer* member Wilhelm Seibt’s poem ‘Die Mandoline’ (The Mandolin, op. 19, no. 1, Table 5.30) centres on a similar issue. The seemingly female lyrical protagonist feels like an abandoned mandolin with which the resting player would be able to produce beautiful sounds. However, as the player does not pick up the instrument, the mandolin keeps both its magic and its lonesome pain to itself. Broken triads in the piano accompaniment and a lengthy piano postlude symbolise the soft picking of a mandolin player, which creates a dulcet sound.

Table 5.30: ‘Die Mandoline’ (op. 19, no. 1)

Die Mandoline Wilhelm Seibt Published in 1848		The Mandolin
Ich bin der Mandoline gleich,	<i>a</i>	I feel like a mandolin
Die dort im Saal vergessen steht;	<i>b</i>	Which has been left and forgotten in the hall;
An wunderbaren Klänge reich,	<i>a</i>	Rich in wonderful sound
Der tief zu Herzen geht.	<i>b</i>	Which goes straight to the heart.

Doch alles bleibt in ihrer Brust,	<i>c</i>	But all the sounds stay in its body,
Der Lieder reiche Zauberglut,	<i>d</i>	The rich magic of the songs,
Und alles Weh, und alle Lust,	<i>c</i>	And all pain, and all pleasure,
Denn ach, ihr Meister ruht.	<i>d</i>	Because, alas, its player rests.

The Heine setting ‘Abschied’ (Farewell, op. 19, no. 5, Table 5.31) tells the story of a lyrical I who has to leave his home and his beloved (‘Herzenskönigin’, queen of my heart).

Table 5.31: ‘Abschied’ (op. 19, no. 5)

Abschied Heinrich Heine Published in 1848	Farewell ¹²⁵ Adapted from Emily Ezust
Schöne Wiege meiner Leiden, Schönes Grabmal meiner Ruh', Schöne Stadt, wir müssen scheiden, – Lebe wohl! ruf' ich dir zu.	<i>a</i> Lovely cradle of my sorrows, <i>b</i> Lovely tombstone of my rest, <i>a</i> Lovely town, we must part, – <i>b</i> Farewell! I call to you.
Lebe wohl, du heil'ge Schwelle, Wo da wandelt Liebchen traut; Lebe wohl! du heil'ge Stelle, Wo ich sie zuerst geschaut. Hätt' ich dich doch nie gesehen, Schöne Herzenskönigin! Nimmer wär' es dann geschehen, Daß ich jetzt so elend bin.	<i>c</i> Farewell, you holy threshold, <i>d</i> Across which my darling would tread; <i>c</i> Farewell! you sacred spot <i>d</i> Where I first saw her. <i>e</i> I wish I had never seen you, <i>f</i> Lovely queen of my heart! <i>e</i> Never would it then have happened, <i>f</i> That I am now so wretched.
Nie wollt' ich dein Herze rühren, Liebe hab' ich nie erfleht; Nur ein stilles Leben führen Wollt' ich, wo dein Odem weht.	<i>g</i> I never wished to touch your heart, <i>h</i> I never begged for love; <i>g</i> All I wished was to lead a quiet life <i>h</i> Where your breath could stir me.
Doch du drängst mich selbst von hinnen, Bittere Worte spricht dein Mund; Wahnsinn wühlt in meinen Sinnen, Und mein Herz ist krank und wund. ¹²⁶	<i>i</i> Yet you yourself pushed me away from you, <i>k</i> With bitter words at your lips; <i>i</i> Madness fills my senses, <i>k</i> And my heart is sick and wounded.
Und die Glieder matt und träge Schlepp' ich fort am Wanderstab, Bis mein müdes Haupt ich lege Ferne in ein kühles Grab.	<i>l</i> And my limbs are heavy and sluggish; <i>m</i> I'll drag myself forward, leaning on my staff, <i>l</i> Until I can lay my weary head <i>m</i> In a cool and distant grave.

¹²⁵ Translation by Emily Ezust <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=7793> [accessed 1 June 2016].

¹²⁶ Heine's original reads ‘das Herz’ (the heart) rather than ‘mein Herz’ (my heart). Perhaps this change indicates a purposeful personalisation by Kinkel. Heinrich Heine, ‘Lebewohl’, in *Buch der Lieder von Heinrich Heine* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), pp. 42–43, cited after *Heinrich Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe* <<http://hhp.uni-trier.de/Projekte/HHP/Projekte/HHP/searchengine/werke/baende/D01/enterdha?pageid=D01S0058&bookid=D01&lineref=Z17&mode=2&textpattern=lebewohl&firsttid=0&widthgiven=30>> [accessed 5 May 2016].

In this Lied, the bass line supports the mood expressed in the words. While Kinkel sets a chromatic descent to the words ‘Schöne Stadt, wir müssen scheiden’ (Lovely town, we must part, first verse), ‘Nimmer wär es dann geschehen’ (Never would it then have happened, second verse), and ‘Wahnsinn wühlt in meinen Sinnen’ (Madness fills my senses, third verse) (bars 17–21), a pedal point on the note ‘c’ is used to indicate the longing for stability and peace (bars 24–32, Ex. 5.15). In this strophic setting, each musical stanza includes two poetic strophes. The final line of each musical stanza is opened by way of a German augmented sixth chord, which leads into the conclusion to the tonic key of F major. Curiously the reviewer of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* did not mention any of these stylistic means when he bemoaned that ‘Heine’s pain of farewell is not noticeable’.¹²⁷

Johanna Kinkel never left behind her beloved. However, she was left behind by Gottfried when he moved to Berlin in favour of his political career; perhaps this was the impetus that led Johanna Kinkel to set this poem by Heine. Although Kinkel’s letters reveal that she felt abandoned by her husband and despite all her struggles in the household, she supported Gottfried in the best way possible.

¹²⁷ [Anon.], review of Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 19* (1848), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 2 April 1849, p. 146. ‘Vom Abschiedsschmerz eines Heine aber will nichts verlauten’.

Ex. 5.15: Chromatic descent and pedal point in ‘Abschied’ (bars 17–32)¹²⁸

17 *f*

schö - ne Stadt, wir müs - sen schei - den, Le - be - wohl! ruf ich dir zu.
 nim - mer wär es dann ge - sche - hen, dass ich jetzt so e - lend bin.
 Wahn - sinn wühlt in mei - nen Sin - nen, und das Herz ist krank und wund.

25 *p*

Le - be - wohl! du heil' - ge Schwel - le, wo da wan - delt Lieb - chen traut;
 Nie wollt' ich dein Her - ze rüh - ren, Lie - be hab' ich nie er - fleht.
 Und die Glie - der matt und trä - ge, schlepp' ich fort am Wan - der - stab,

This is also echoed in her settings of Gottfried Kinkel’s own words. In fact, Johanna’s last Lieder opus, op. 21, only compiles Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel’s own poems, among which are ‘Lied aus dem “Spessarttraum”’ and ‘Des Lehnsmanns Abschied’ (both by Gottfried Kinkel), and ‘Jugenderinn’rung’ (by Johanna Kinkel). The poem which was set in ‘Lied aus dem “Spessarttraum”’ (Song from the ‘Spessarttraum’, op. 21, no. 1, Table 5.32) originates from Gottfried Kinkel’s tale *Spessarttraum* (Dream from the Spessart), which tells the story of a young boy who is raised by a chaplain in the deep forest after his home has been burned down by burglars. The chaplain teaches the boy how to survive in the wilderness, but he also introduces him to literature, which

¹²⁸ In the original publication, the slur in bars 31–32 in the piano right hand is notated from ‘d¹’ (bar 31) to ‘f¹’ (first note, bar 32). However, the voice leading and melodic flow suggest that this might be an editorial mistake as the slur combining ‘f¹’ (first beat, bar 31) and ‘f¹’ (first beat, bar 32) would make more sense.

attracts the boy's curiosity and evokes a strong longing to experience what is described in the books. The chaplain being the only human being with whom the boy has grown up, he is longing to see a female person, out of which desire he starts singing this Lied:

He heard alternating sounds in the noise of the stream, which he imitated following their different registers; two nightingales sang in matching rotation, which gave him the rhyme; close to him, a pecker hammered evenly, which he used to measure the beat; all this burst out of him like a song finished long ago, and he sang into the echo this Lied.¹²⁹

When the chaplain hears the boy sing, he tells him that he is now mature enough to make his own way. The boy stays with the chaplain one more night and is then released into the wilderness.

Table 5.32: ‘Lied aus dem “Spessarttraum”’ (op. 21, no. 1)

Lied aus dem ‘Spessarttraum’ Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1851	Song from the ‘Spessart Dream’
Welle, darfst du nimmer weilen, Nie zu mir in Liebe glühn? Sprich, was zwingt dich fort zu eilen Aus des Waldes traurem Grün? Lass in Liebe ungemessen An die heiße Brust dich pressen! Fass‘ ich dich, lass‘ ich Dich nimmer von hier. Wehe, du fliehst und ich lodre nach dir.	<i>a</i> Wave, why are you never able to rest, <i>b</i> Why do you never glow with love for me? <i>a</i> Tell me, what it is that forces you to rush <i>b</i> Out of the lovely green forest? <i>c</i> In endless and unmeasurable love <i>c</i> Let me hold you! <i>d</i> If I hold you, I will never let you go. <i>d</i> Alas, if you escape I will long for you.
Hindin, braune, holde, schlanke, Lockt dich so die Waldesnacht? Warum meidest du die Schranke, Drin mein lieber Garten lacht? ¹³⁰ Lass mit holdem Wort dir schmeicheln, Lass dich kosen, lass dich streicheln! Wehe, sie flieht in geflügelter Zier, ¹³¹ Ach, und sie lässt mich, den Einsamen, hier.	<i>e</i> Doe, dark, graceful, slender, <i>f</i> Does the dark forest attract you? <i>e</i> Why do you avoid the gate <i>f</i> Behind which my garden smiles at you? <i>g</i> Let me flatter you with nice words, <i>g</i> Let me love you, let me pet you! <i>d</i> Alas, she escapes gracefully, <i>d</i> Alas, and she leaves me, the lonesome one, behind.
Keine Wellen, keine Hinden ¹³²	<i>h</i> No waves, no does

¹²⁹ Gottfried Kinkel, ‘Spessarttraum’, in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, pp. 649–59, 724–29, 754–71; II, pp. 538–44 (p. 653). ‘Denn im Rauschen des Bachs vernahm er wechselnde Töne, die sang er nach in Höhe und Tiefe: auch schlugen zwei Nachtigallen in gleich endendem Wechselschlag, das gab ihm den Reim; dicht bei ihm aber hämmerte der Specht auf einem harten Stamme seine gleichen Schläge, danach maß er den Wechsel von Hebung und Senkung; das Alles klang aus ihm hervor wie ein längst Fertiges, und er sang in den Widerhall hinein das Lied’.

¹³⁰ The original poem reads ‘die’ (the) rather than ‘drin’ (in which). This might be an editorial error in the *Maikäfer* journal, because ‘drin’ is grammatically correct.

¹³¹ The original poem reads: ‘Wehe Du fliehst in geflügelter Zier | Ach und Du lässtest mich Einsamen hier’. Perhaps Kinkel chose the word ‘sie’ (she) rather than ‘du’ (you) in order change the lyrical I’s perspective.

¹³² In the original poem the singular form of ‘Welle’ (wave) rather than ‘Wellen’ (waves) is used.

Gleichen doch dem holden Bild,
 Das ich nie vermocht zu finden,
 Doch im Herzen steht es mild.
 Oft wohl mein' ich, aus den weiten
 Wäldern müsst es grüßend schreiten.
 Selige Schönheit, enthülle dich mir!
 Weh, du zerrinnst und ich lodre nach dir.

i Match the graceful image,
h Which I have never been able to find,
i But I carry it gently in my heart.
k Often, I think she would walk out of the
k Wide forest, greeting me.
d Blessed beauty, reveal yourself to me!
d Alas, you dissolve and I long for you.

The Lied raises the questions which occupy the young boy: Why does the stream never stop flowing? And why is there no beautiful woman emerging from the forest? In the last verse, the lyrical I states that he has never found the love he sought. In terms of compositional innovation, bars 15–19 stand out for their pianistic prominence (Ex. 5.16).

Ex. 5.16: Expressive freedom in ‘Lied aus dem “Spessarttraum”’ (bars 15–19)

15 *a Tempo*
 pres - sen!
 strei - cheln!
 schrei - ten.
 Fass' ich dich, lass ich dich nim-mer von hier.
 Weh - e, sie flieht in ge - flü - gel - ter Zier,
 Se - li - ge Schön - heit, ent - hül - le dich mir!

18 *Lento*
 Weh - e, du fliehst
 Ach, und sie lässt
 Weh, du zer-rinnst
 und ich lo - dre nach dir.
 mich den Ein - sa - men hier.
 und ich lo - dre nach dir.
Tempo 1

Contrary to the rest of the Lied, in which the piano takes on a purely accompanying function, the relatively large degree of expressive freedom granted by means of numerous fermatas and the instruction *ad libitum* stresses the significance of the corresponding lines in each verse. The fifth line of each musical stanza features a

harmonic excursion to E-flat major; perhaps an intended contrast to the surrounding context of F-sharp major, B major and E minor, as the fifth line of each stanza emphasises the lyrical protagonist’s imagination of his romantic longing being fulfilled.

Contrary to ‘Die Mandoline’, in which the lyrical I is longing to be loved by a particular person, ‘Lied aus dem “Spessarttraum”’ does not refer to a beloved who exists already. Nevertheless, the theme of a lonesome lyrical I’s disappointment at not being able to find the perfect partner might reflect Johanna Kinkel’s own situation, because her partner left her alone for some parts of their joint life.

This disappointment also surfaces in the other two love songs included in Kinkel’s op. 21, ‘Des Lehnsmanns Abschied’, and ‘Jugenderinn’rung’, although here the rather naive disappointment sprung out of the young boy’s heart appears to have made way for profound regretful desperation. Kinkel set ‘Des Lehnsmanns Abschied’ (Soldier’s Farewell, op. 21, no. 6, Table 5.33) twice – once as part of her op. 21 and another time as a single publication by the Mainz publishing house Schott (‘Ritters Abschied’, no opus number).

Table 5.33: ‘Des Lehnsmanns Abschied’ (op. 21, no. 6)

Des Lehnsmanns Abschied [Gottfried Kinkel] Published in 1851		Soldier’s Farewell
Weh, dass wir scheiden müssen,	<i>a</i>	Alas, that we must part!,
Lass dich noch einmal küssen;	<i>a</i>	One more parting kiss I give you;
Ich muss an Kaisers Seiten	<i>b</i>	I must, at the Emperor’s side,
Ins falsche Welschland reiten:	<i>b</i>	Ride into treacherous Italy:
Fahr wohl, fahr wohl, mein armes Lieb!	<i>c</i>	Farewell, farewell, my poor true love!
Ich werd auf Maienauen	<i>d</i>	I will never again
Dich niemals wieder schauen,	<i>d</i>	See you on spring meadows,
Der Feinde grimm‘ge Scharen ¹³³	<i>e</i>	The troops of the ferocious foe
Sind kommen angefahren:	<i>e</i>	Are advancing:
Fahr wohl, fahr wohl, mein armes Lieb!	<i>c</i>	Farewell, farewell, my poor true love!
Ich denk an dich mit Sehnen,	<i>f</i>	I think of you with longing,

¹³³ In both of Kinkel’s Lieder publications, this line reads ‘grimme’ rather than ‘grimm’ge’ Scharen, a grammatical nuance which might be attributed to the unstandardised language at the time. It does not affect the semantics and/ or translation of this song.

Gedenk an mich mit Tränen;	<i>f</i>	Think of me in tears;
Wenn meine Augen brechen,	<i>g</i>	When my eyes shut for the last time
Will ich zuletzt noch sprechen:	<i>g</i>	I shall whisper once more:
Fahr wohl, fahr wohl, mein armes Lieb! ¹³⁴	<i>c</i>	Farewell, farewell, my poor true love!

Considering Kinkel's inscription *Volkslied* (folk song) underneath the title within her op. 21, it is not surprising that she published this Lied individually and thus granted it the chance for wide-spread and rapid distribution.¹³⁵ Indeed, Kinkel's choral version of the same words was wide-spread even decades after Kinkel's death. A popular nineteenth-century folk song, 'Ritters Abschied' entered many songbooks and was for a long time an established part of the repertoire for male choral singing.¹³⁶ Although melody and accompaniment of the two Sololieder differ from each other, both Lieder can be characterised by simplicity at all musical levels. The choruses of both Lieder are similar, and the melodic line in 'Ritters Abschied' seems even more straightforward as it spares the ornamentations included in its counterpart published within op. 21 (Ex. 5.17a and b). Daniela Glahn concludes from these compositional differences that the two versions must have evoked entirely different listeners' impressions.¹³⁷

In his 'Flüchtige Gedanken über den Charakter des Volksliedes' (Fleeting Thoughts on the Characteristics of Folk Song), Kinkel's friend Sebastian Longard outlined that it may take a long time before a song deserves the title 'Volkslied':

If, in an hour of exaltation, an individual artist produces from his jaunty heart a jaunty Lied in order to vent his emotions or in order to glorify an event that happened around them, the Lied may, depending on whether its form and content attract people, be taken up by them and continue to be sung. But this does not suffice in order for the Lied to become a Volkslied. Rather, people have to enrich the Lied with their own spirit, experience, form, and language in

¹³⁴ In the single publication 'Ritters Abschied', the word 'armes' (poor) for 'treues' (faithful). I kept Elson's translation (true).

¹³⁵ Glahn reads this Lied through the lens of nation building and national identity and thus discusses it within the context of Kinkel's political songs. Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel', pp. 270–74.

¹³⁶ This is evident when searching for publications of Johanna Kinkel's 'Ritters Abschied' in the Hofmeister catalogue. Especially the years between 1882 and 1900, during which male choral singing was en vogue, feature a great number of publications of this Lied.

¹³⁷ Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel', p. 277.

order to make it their own. And this nationalisation will occur all the sooner and more easily, the closer the poet has stood to the people, the better he has grasped the spirit of the people.¹³⁸

Taking into account the socio-political circumstances of the time, it is not surprising that Kinkel considered as a suitable subject for a folk song a setting, in which the male lyrical protagonist regrets that he has to leave for the sake of politics. When Gottfried Kinkel left his wife in February 1849 in order to carry out political activities in Berlin, he had in mind the well-being of like-minded people, namely the revolutionaries favouring a democracy.

Ex. 5.17a: Chorus of 'Ritters Abschied'

Maestoso

Fahr wohl, fahr wohl, mein treu - es Lieb, fahr

wohl, fahr wohl, mein treu - - es Lieb!

¹³⁸ Sebastian Longard, 'Flüchtige Gedanken über den Charakter des Volksliedes', in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, pp. 56–57, 61–62 (p. 61). 'Wenn nämlich in begeisterter Stunde ein Einzelner aus frischer Brust ein frisches Lied erklingen läßt, sei es, um dem inneren Drange seines Gemüthes Luft zu machen, sei es, um ein Ereignis seiner Umgebung zu verherrlichen, dann wird es, je nachdem es durch Form oder Inhalt sein Volk ergreift und anspricht, von diesem erfaßt und weiter gesungen werden. Aber damit ist es noch nicht zum Volksliede geworden. Vielmehr muß das Volk erst seinen eigenen Geist, seine eigene Auffassungsweise, Form und Sprache hinein tragen, um es zu dem seinigen zu machen. Und diese Nationalisierung wird umso eher und ungehinderter sich ereignen, je näher der Dichter der Volksauffassung gestanden, je tiefer er den Geist derselben erfaßt hat'.

Ex. 5.17b: Chorus of 'Des Lehnsmanns Abschied' (op. 21, no. 6)

Perhaps Kinkel's attempt at representing the democrats struck his wife, whereupon she might have been inspired to set 'Des Lehnsmanns Abschied', suggesting this Lied may become a *Volkslied*. On a similar note and within the context of this setting's reception history until 1950, Daniela Glahn mentions Melanie Unseld's interpretation of this Lied as a farewell song, mostly sung by male soldiers for their female partners.¹³⁹ According to Kinkel's inscription in op. 21, the words were versified by Gottfried Kinkel and originate from his Liederspiel *Friedrich Barbarossa in Suza*. In the Liederspiel, this poem is also overwritten 'Volkslied', even though Kinkel seemingly wrote it himself.

The origin of the last love song to be discussed in this chapter, 'Jugenderinn' rung', is clear: according to the score, Kinkel set her own words in this Lied. In 'Jugenderinn' rung' (Youthful Memory, op. 21, no. 5, Table 5.34), the lyrical I recalls how he sang forgotten songs with his beloved. Although the lyrical I is clearly

¹³⁹ Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel', pp. 280–81, 286 and 295.

male, the general statement of the poem, namely a mature grown-up remembering his/her happy past with their beloved, might hint at Johanna Kinkel's own biography. Jonathan Dunsby, in his interpretation of Robert Schumann's Lieder in some of which the lyrical I represents a persona different from the composer, raises the important biographical aspect that 'the female voice, clearly expressing a "non-I", allows Schumann to escape from his recurrent melancholia'.¹⁴⁰ A similar phenomenon is also imaginable for Kinkel's Lied. In the last verse, the lyrical protagonist regrets the love being over, as 'barely a breath remains | of the rich sounds of love', whereas a rhythmic change, evoked by a changing piano accompaniment, portrays the lyrical I's changing lifestyle (Ex. 5.18). As Glahn posits interestingly, this Lied originates from Johanna Kinkel's own Liederspiel *Otto, der Schütz*, but Kinkel does not provide this reference in this opus number, an interesting aspect as it might point to Kinkel's own self-perception as a Lieder composer rather than a composer of larger works or a poet.¹⁴¹

Table 5.34: 'Jugenderinn'rung' (op. 21, no. 5)

Jugenderinn'rung Johanna Kinkel Published in 1851	Youthful Memory
Alt verscholl'ne Lieder steigen Mir empor mit frischem Klang; Wieder tönt der muntre Reigen Und der Zecher Rundgesang. Mich fasst es mit Lust und Schmerzensgewalt, Mit Lust und mit Schmerzensgewalt. O goldene Zeit, o goldene Zeit, Wie schwandest du bald, Wie schwandest du bald.	<i>a</i> Forgotten songs come to my mind <i>b</i> With a fresh sound; <i>a</i> Again, the carousers' happy roundelay <i>b</i> Resounds. <i>c</i> Joy and pain grasp me, <i>c</i> Joy and pain. <i>d</i> O golden times, o golden times, <i>c</i> How swiftly you disappeared, <i>c</i> How swiftly you disappeared.
Dort bin ich hinausgezogen Mit der Jäger wildem Schwarm; Damals spannt' den schweren Bogen Noch so leicht mein starker Arm. Des Jagdhorns Ruf umsonst mir erschallt Umsonst, ach umsonst mir erschallt. O goldene Zeit, o goldene Zeit,	<i>e</i> There I went out <i>f</i> With the swarm of the wild hunters; <i>e</i> Back then, my strong arm still <i>f</i> Drew the heavy bow so easily. <i>c</i> Now the hunting call sounds for me, <i>c</i> Ah, in vain it sounds for me. <i>d</i> O golden times, o golden times,

¹⁴⁰ Jonathan Dunsby, 'Why Sing?: Lieder and Song Cycles', in *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, ed. by Beate Perrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 102–22 (p. 119). Hereafter referred to as Dunsby, 'Why Sing?'.

¹⁴¹ Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel', p. 160.

Wie schwandest du bald,
Wie schwandest du bald.

c How swiftly you disappeared,
c How swiftly you disappeared.

Dort die Schwelle meiner Lieben,
Wo ich nächtliche Lieder sang.
Kaum ein Hauch ist mir geblieben
Von dem reichen Liebesklang.
Mich grüßt noch im Träumen die holde Gestalt,
Die holde, die holde Gestalt.
O goldene Zeit, o goldene Zeit,
Wie schwandest du bald,
Wie schwandest du bald.

h There is my beloved's door,
i Where I used to sing nocturnal songs.
h Barely a breath remains
i Of the rich sounds of love.
c My love is greeting me even in my dreams,
c My love, my graceful love.
d O golden times, o golden times,
c How swiftly you disappeared,
c How swiftly you disappeared.

The Lied begins with a flowing left hand in the piano, but, introduced by a linear descent (Ex. 5.18), changes to a rather sedate, almost melancholic musical texture.

Ex. 5.18: Rhythmic change and linear descent in 'Jugenderinn' rung' (bars 23–26)

23

Poco più lento

Rund - - ge - sang. Mich fasst es mit Lust und mit
star - - ker Arm. Des Jagd - horns Ruf nun um -
Lie - - bes - klang. Mich grüsst noch im Trau - me die

Poco più lento

p

Reminding us of Kinkel's earlier works from 1838, the piano accompaniment is granted priority over form and voice, which is supported by the use of the pedal in the chorus. Interpretatively, this compositional flashback might allude to Kinkel's own memories of her time as a young woman. Although the Kinkels' relationship lasted for another eight years, Johanna Kinkel did not publish any further Lieder after op. 21. However, the lonesome predictions adumbrated by the lyrical I in 'Jugenderinn' rung' remained valid for Johanna Kinkel, who had to share her husband's time and love with different strands of the public up until the end of her life.¹⁴²

¹⁴² See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 248.

5.5 Conclusion: Kinkel's love songs as an autobiographical document

Autobiographical elements in Kinkel's love songs can be traced on four levels. Firstly, Kinkel refers directly to particular songs in her letters to Gottfried Kinkel, such as 'Die Gefangenen'; secondly, Gottfried Kinkel's perception of his beloved and her songs ('Du nah'st!') indicates Johanna's deep personal attachment to her own songs; thirdly, the reference to Gottfried and Johanna's key moment on the river Rhine, the boat accident on 4 September 1840, is a central theme in many of Kinkel's Lieder ('Nächtliche Fahrt', 'Am Ufer', 'Seelige Nacht', 'Allegretto', 'Rheinfahrt'); and fourthly, allusions to Kinkel's fears, doubts, and sorrows, which are disclosed in her letters to Gottfried Kinkel and to her friends, recur in her Lieder (for example 'Vorüberfahrt', 'Verlornes Glück', 'Der Kuss', 'Liebesmacht', 'Jugenderinn'ung', 'Des Lehnsmanns Abschied'). Furthermore, Kinkel's progression in compositional style reflects her musical development, a biographical indicator, which is also asserted by Sharon Krebs in her study on Kinkel's contemporary Josephine Lang's Köstlin settings.¹⁴³ Josephine Lang referred to her songs as her diary, an aspect which led Aisling Kenny to conclude that Lang's songs 'were not created for entertainment but because of a deep-rooted need to create'.¹⁴⁴ In a similar way to Lang's Lieder, Kinkel's love songs arose out of a psychologically-driven motivation, although Kinkel included her most intimate settings in publications which were supposed to add to her financial income. This, however, does not question Kinkel as a less serious composer than for

¹⁴³ Sharon Krebs, cited after Aisling Kenny, 'Josephine Lang's Goethe, Heine and Uhland Lieder: Contextualizing her Contribution to Nineteenth-Century German Song' (unpublished doctoral thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2010), p. 196. Hereafter referred to as Kenny, 'Josephine Lang's Goethe, Heine and Uhland Lieder'.

¹⁴⁴ See Harald and Sharon Krebs, *Josephine Lang: Her Life and Songs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 8; and Kenny, 'Josephine Lang's Goethe', p. 196. Josephine Lang (1815–1880) was a German composer. According to Marcia J. Citron, Lang composed c. 150 Lieder, many of which are settings of her later husband Christian Reinhold Köstlin's poetry. After their marriage in 1842, Lang's compositional activity decreased until Köstlin's death fourteen years later. Supported by her friends, Lang then published forty-six opus numbers. Marcia J. Citron, 'Josephine Lang', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, XIV, p. 235.

example Franz Schubert, who, according to Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, ‘writes as he thinks, feels and speaks, and his thoughts, feelings and words are faithfully reflected in the notes of his music’.¹⁴⁵ In a similar way, Jonathan Dunsby ascertains that ‘Schumann’s emotions, like those of most educated, youngish men in love, or indeed people at any age, could well up to a point where only poetry could express them’.¹⁴⁶ Dunsby’s qualifying side note ‘or indeed people at any age’ is interesting in so far that he includes in this observation people of both genders as well as slightly older people. Besides the poetry set by Schumann, Dunsby also relates Schumann’s productivity to his rhythm of life and his psychobiography, an approach which I also took in this chapter. However, this aspect needs to be considered with care because Kinkel’s compositional productivity in the public only spans a short period of thirteen years (1838–51), and because many of Kinkel’s Lieder might have been published much later than they were composed.¹⁴⁷

Contrary to Lang, Kinkel never explicitly referred to her songs as a diary. However, her letter to Gottfried Kinkel dated 17 December 1840, in which Kinkel explains how she wrote the song ‘Die Gefangenen’, reveals strong parallels between her compositions and a diary. In light of this, I argue that Kinkel’s love songs are indeed anchored autobiographically. Many of Kinkel’s Berlin publications tell of an unhappy partnership or a lyrical protagonist who is longing to be loved. Kinkel’s motivation to set (and write) such poems alludes to her own situation at that time. Furthermore, the great number of Lieder dealing with water, boat journeys and the river Rhine, all of which originate from the early 1840s, reflects the significance Johanna Kinkel must have granted to the dramatic boat journey with her later husband Gottfried. Perhaps this aspect of Kinkel’s biography might point to her ‘inventive self’ as much as her

¹⁴⁵ Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *Schubert: A Biographical Study of his Songs*, trans. by Kenneth S. Whitton (London: Cassell, 1976), p. 1.

¹⁴⁶ Dunsby, ‘Why Sing?’, p. 103.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

‘inventory self’ as the anecdote of the boating accident might be slightly dramatized in Kinkel’s writings. Nevertheless it constitutes a momentous life event, which she also processed in her music. Finally, Kinkel’s later love songs, many of which reveal a strong desire to be loved, suggest strong parallels with Kinkel’s own longing for unconditional love. Although, in some of her letters, Johanna reminded Gottfried of her own and their children’s needs for his attention, Johanna mostly encouraged Gottfried to continue his political activities to the disadvantage of his family life.

In her essay ‘Lesbian Fugue: Ethel Smyth’s Contrapuntal Arts’, Elizabeth Wood introduces her methodology by explaining that:

[Composers] may also use music as a sound-form of narrative: as a way to tell truths about life, shape subjectivity, and make audible feelings that are essentially private, whose meanings words may only partially reveal. If we read together works of music and autobiographical texts, we in turn may use musical techniques and allusions to explicate texts, listen to life, and hear secrets.¹⁴⁸

In this respect, Kinkel’s late love songs reveal emotions whose intensity might have otherwise remained unstated. More importantly, however, the immense autobiographical scope of Kinkel’s Lieder, and in addition to this their therapeutic value, means that Kinkel’s compositional activity might have been the reason why she managed to juggle the multi-challenges until her death in 1858 – an aspect which elevates Kinkel’s Lieder compositions onto a remarkably high level of biographical importance even to Kinkel herself during her lifetime.

¹⁴⁸ Elizabeth Wood, ‘Lesbian Fugue: Ethel Smyth’s Contrapuntal Arts’, in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. by Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ London: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 164–83 (p. 164).



Johanna Kinkel's Lieder Compositions as a
Socio-Political and Cultural Mirror of Her
Time:
A Reflective Interpretation

(2 Volumes)

Volume 2

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CHAPTER 6: JOHANNA KINKEL'S POLITICAL LIEDER: A WOMAN'S ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT WITH THE SOCIO- POLITICAL CONTEXT OF HER TIME

6.1 Kinkel's political songs through the lens of popular music studies

Besides love songs, Kinkel's art songs also include such socio-political subjects as Rhineland patriotism, socio-political criticism, and Exoticism. Considering that the nineteenth-century art song was one of the most popular bourgeois art forms of the time, this chapter will ascertain in what way Kinkel's Lieder engaged with, criticized, and escaped the socio-political circumstances of her time. Did Kinkel's Lieder contribute to the cultural identity of the *Maikäferbund*, and more importantly, of the revolutionary movement of the 1840s? Based on the assumption that Kinkel's art songs were considered popular music within their own socio-cultural context, it seems reasonable to enrich traditional approaches originating from classical musicology by considering theories of popular music studies. The reference to popular music in a chapter about nineteenth-century art songs might seem rather experimental at first glance. However, Gaynor Jones and Jay Rahn's criteria determining the popularity of music justify such a combined approach as they prove that Kinkel's music can be seen as popular music within its own time. Jones and Rahn introduce twelve criteria that determine the popularity of music: (1) number of people involved; (2) combined homogeneity and heterogeneity of audience; (3) unpredictability of listeners; (4) size of business which markets the product; (5) efficiency (i.e., breadth and cheapness) of transmission; (6) aural rather than visual transmission; (7) secular or entertainment function; (8) simplicity of the aesthetic object; (9) emphasis on performer rather than composer; (10)

standardisation; (11) range of variability; (12) degree of ephemerality.¹ Kinkel's Lieder fulfil at least nine of these criteria. Bullets (6) and (9) seem questionable as the circumstances of Kinkel's time did not provide the same transmission options as we experience in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Furthermore, bullet point (8) is arguable as Stephen Davies points out that:

Considered at a higher level, an aesthetic interest does not vary from genre to genre. [...] Viewed at an abstract level, we concentrate on the same thing, on the set of variable properties, even if the members of this set vary between genres, periods, or styles.²

In this respect, I agree with Jones and Rahn in that 'if one looks for popular features in music which is usually considered elite or folk (or vice versa), unexpected aspects of the subject matter emerge', and it is the aim of this chapter to outline such unexpected aspects.³

6.2 Rhineland settings: patriotism for Kinkel's home

6.2.1 *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder*: 'a truly national compilation'?

The music publisher J. M. Dunst opens his Lieder collection *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder* (Rhine-Myths and Songs) with a fairly patriotic note to the reader:

Among all German lands, the educated traveller prefers the beautiful Rhineland. The mellow banks of the river Rhine are surrounded by nature's poetic magic. [...] Therefore, the Rhineland has fascinated the greatest poets and singers of all times. Many of these Rhineland myths and song collections [...] have been widely published. However, very little has been done in order to embellish this poetry musically. This publishing company aims to fulfil the desire of many singers by putting together such a Lieder collection. [...] We want to offer to our singers a truly national compilation, which will outlive the flood of novelties and which will be of great value even in the far future. May our collection increase the Rhineland's love of his homeland, and

¹ Gaynor Jones and Jay Rahn, 'Definitions of Popular Music: Recycled', *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 11.4 (October 1977), 79–92 (p. 85). Hereafter referred to as Jones and Rahn, 'Definitions of Popular Music: Recycled'.

² Stephen Davies, 'Rock versus Classical Music', *The American Society for Aesthetics*, 57 (Spring 1999), 193–204 (p. 203).

³ Jones and Rahn, 'Definitions of Popular Music: Recycled', p. 86.

may it remind the distant Rhinelander of his happy moments at the bright river banks of the Rhine.⁴

The title page of the first volume shows a delicate drawing of five characters promoting the extraordinariness of the Rhineland: a wise-looking old man stresses the poetic magic of the area; a harpist illustrates the musical, and more generally, the artistic wealth; a graceful woman characterises the beauty of the Rhineland women; a hunter with his dog reflects the wide landscape and deep forests of the Rhineland; and a proud ruler demonstrates the Rhinelander's political confidence and strength (Fig. 6.1). Vera Lampert stresses that there are several reasons for settings incorporating folk-like elements: national feelings (both by the composer and within the target group); the entertainment factor; commissions for certain purposes and occasions; pedagogical purposes; and personal reasons.⁵ While Kinkel's Rhineland works were not commissioned, her songs which were included in Dunst's album were not published elsewhere and were clearly selected on the basis of their folk themes and folk-like style.

In the first volume of his collection, Dunst published Kinkel's 'Der Rheinstrom' (The River Rhine, Table 6.1) and 'Köln' (Cologne, Table 6.2) alongside such famous nineteenth-century composers as Carl Loewe,⁶ Heinrich Marschner (1795–1861), and Felix Mendelssohn.

⁴ Note to the reader in *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder*, ed. J. M. Dunst (Bonn: Dunst, 1838), p. 1. 'Vor allen deutschen Ländern wallt der gebildete Reisende gern zum prächtigen Rhein. [...] daher auch die Rheingegend die größten Dichter und Sänger aller Zeiten begeisterte. Viele dieser Rheinsagen und Liedersammlungen (die neueste und vollständigste von Simrock) sind weit verbreitet und in aller Händen. Die Musik hat indessen wenig getan, diese Poesien zu verschönern, und will die Verlagshandlung den Wünschen so vieler Freunde des Gesanges gerne entgegen kommen, indem sie sich die Aufgabe stellt, eine solche Sammlung zu gestalten. Der Zusage der vorzüglichsten jetzt lebenden Komponisten [...] bereits gewiss, soll hier den Gesangfreunden ein echt nationales Werk angeboten werden, das, unverdrängt durch die Flut der Neuigkeiten, auch in der fernsten Zeit seinen Wert behält. Es möge unsere Sammlung Rheinsagen- und Lieder die Liebe des Rheinländers zum Heimatlande erhöhen, so wie dem frühen Pilger zum Rhein in der Ferne das Andenken der an seinen blühenden Ufern erlebten glücklichen Momente wieder hervorzaubern'.

⁵ Lampert, 'Nationalism, Exoticism, or Concessions to the Audience?', p. 343.

⁶ Carl Loewe (1796–1869) was a German composer and musician. Among others, his music was inspired by the compositional style of Carl Maria von Weber, Johann Nepomuk Hummel and Carl Friedrich Zelter. In 1820, he met Goethe, whom he admired throughout his life. Loewe was best known for his ballads, in many of which he set Goethe's poems. In Vienna, he was referred to as the 'Schubert of North

Fig. 6.1: Title page of *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder*, first volume



Table 6.1: ‘Der Rheinstrom’

Der Rheinstrom Heinrich Heine Published in 1838	The River Rhine ⁷ Translation by Emily Ezust
Berg und Burgen schau'n herunter In den spiegelhellen Rhein; Und mein Schiffchen segelt munter Rings umglänzt von Sonnenschein.	a Mountains and castles gaze down b Into the mirror-bright Rhine, a And my little boat sails merrily, b The sunshine glistening around it.
Ruhig seh' ich zu dem Spiele Goldner Wellen kraus bewegt; Still erwachen die Gefühle Die ich tief im Busen hegt.	c Calmly I watch the play d Of golden, ruffled waves surging; c Silently, feelings awaken in me d That I have kept deep in my heart.
Freundlich grüßend und verheißend Lockt hinab des Stromes Pracht; Doch ich kenn' ihn, oben gleissend Bringt sein Inn'res Tod und Nacht.	e With friendly greetings and promises, f The river's splendor beckons; e But I know it - gleaming above f It conceals within itself death and night.
Oben Lust, im Busen Tücken,	g Above, pleasure; at heart, malice;

Germany', although some of his contemporaries, such as Robert Schumann and Johannes Brahms, rejected the great enthusiasm for Loewe's compositions. Tenhaef explains Loewe's general public popularity with his vivid performances of his own ballads, the popularity of the genre in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the popular themes he chose, namely Romantic subjects dealing with nature or patriotic themes. Peter Tenhaef, 'Loewe, Carl', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XI, Personenteil, pp. 388–98.

⁷ Translation by Emily Ezust <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=7455> [accessed 20 April 2016].

Strom, du bist der Liebsten Bild!	<i>h</i>	O river, you are the very image of my beloved!
Die kann auch so freundlich nicken,	<i>g</i>	She can nod with just as much friendliness,
Lächelt auch so fromm und mild.	<i>h</i>	Also smiling so devotedly and gently.

Table 6.2: ‘Köln’

Köln Heinrich Heine Published in 1838		Cologne⁸ Translation by Paul Hindemith
Im Rhein, im heiligen ⁹ Strome, Da spiegelt sich in den Well'n, Mit seinem großen Dome Das große heilige Köln.	<i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i>	In the Rhine, in the holy stream Is it mirrored in the waves, With its great cathedral, That great, holy city Cologne.
Im Dom da steht ein Bildnis, Auf goldenem Leder gemalt; In meines Lebens Wildnis Hat's freundlich hinein gestrahlt.	<i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i>	In the Cathedral stands an image, Painted on golden leather; Into the wildness of my life Has it shone, friendly.
Es schweben Blumen und Englein Um unsre liebe Frau; Die Augen, die Lippen, die Wänglein, Die gleichen der Liebsten genau.	<i>e</i> <i>f</i> <i>e</i> <i>f</i>	Flowers and little cherubs hover Around our beloved Lady; The eyes, the lips, the cheeks-- They match my beloved's exactly.

Both Lieder refer to unique Rhineland appearances as an allegory for the lyrical I's beloved. In 'Der Rheinstrom', the lyrical I sees in the river's characteristics his beloved's malice, a tone which points to Heinrich Heine's fondness for ironic turns and the typical bold Rhineland humour for which Johanna Kinkel herself was well known. The lyrical I in 'Köln' associates his beloved with the Cologne Cathedral image of the Virgin Mary, a further indicator of the ironic merge between personal pleasure/ love and such rather serious matters as patriotism and pride in the Rhineland.¹⁰

⁸ Translation by Paul Hindemith <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=7663> [accessed 20 April 2016].

⁹ Like Robert Franz and Robert Schumann, Kinkel used the word 'schönen' (beautiful) rather than 'heiligen' (holy). This corresponds with the Gesamtausgabe, while the Hoffmann & Campe edition reads 'heiligen'. Heinrich Heine, 'Im Rhein, im schönen Strome', in *Buch der Lieder von Heinrich Heine* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), p. 120, cited after *Heinrich Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe* <<http://hhp.uni-trier.de/Projekte/HHP/Projekte/HHP/searchengine/werke/baende/D01/enterdha?pageid=D01S0143&bookid=D01&lineref=Z15&mode=2&textpattern=im%20rhein&firsttid=0&widthgiven=30>> [accessed 21 April 2016].

¹⁰ For further elaborations on irony and the juxtaposition of contradictory themes in Heinrich Heine's poems 'Köln' and 'Rheinstrom' see my own article 'Johanna Kinkel's Political Art Songs as a Contribution to the Socio-Cultural Identity'.

Discussing the socio-cultural impact of selected national and imperialistic songs in nineteenth-century Britain, Derek B. Scott concludes that the consideration of the choice of subject matter is just as important as the content of the words.¹¹ In light of this, Kinkel's two Lieder 'Rheinstrom' and 'Kölln' not only combine the two typical Romantic themes of Rhineland patriotism and love. In fact, they also confirm Dunst's representation of the Rhineland as a friendly, bright and yet mystic region. Thus, Heine's words seem to respond directly to the socio-cultural fashion of the nineteenth century, which may or may not have been intended by Heine. On the other hand, one could argue that the nineteenth-century cultural paradigm of patriotic love for the Rhineland, which is found in many of Heine's and other poets' poems, reflects the fashion of the time.

However, did Johanna Kinkel's compositional style correspond to Dunst's promised memorability and cultural stamina of these Lieder? Oswald Lorenz, in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, stressed in his review of Dunst's *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder* the 'freshness' and 'charm' of Kinkel's two contributions to the first volume and mentions the 'tender feminine hand' in the piano accompaniment of 'Kölln'.¹² Typically for Kinkel, both settings incorporate a distinct rhythm. While the vocal line of 'Der Rheinstrom' is fairly simple, the piano accompaniment is quite challenging and the Lied incorporates complex harmonic progressions. The melodic line spans a minor sixth ('a¹'–'f²') and there are neither difficult intervals nor major ornamentation. Each musical stanza sets two poetic strophes; thus, Kinkel does not respond musically to Heine's textual ironic turn from the patriotic praise of the Rhine to revealing personal

¹¹ Derek B. Scott, 'Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century Popular Song', in *Musical Style and Social Meaning*, ed. by Derek B. Scott (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 255–67 (p. 261). This volume is hereafter referred to as Scott, *Musical Style and Social Meaning*.

¹² Oswald Lorenz, review of *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder* (1840), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 7 February 1840, p. 47. "Der Rheinstrom" und "Köln", welche so wie der im 3ten Hefte befindliche Gesang von dieser Componistin und demselben Dichter, "Die beiden Brüder", durch Frische und Anmuth reizen und von denen namentlich die Begleitung des zweiten die zarte weibliche Hand verräth'.

feelings (stanza 2). Similarly, the greatest musical challenge in ‘Köln’ is the harmonic constitution of the Lied, which is evoked by chromaticism in both the piano and the vocal line.

Unlike ‘Der Rheinstrom’, in which Kinkel did not apply any compositional means in order to stress Heine’s use of irony, the Lied ‘Köln’ features a change of the piano accompaniment at the third musical stanza when the lyrical I announces that the characteristics of the Cologne Cathedral are similar to those of his beloved. The change of density in the accompaniment is supported by a *decrescendo*, perhaps a characteristic Lorenz identified in his review as ‘feminine’. Although the rather complex harmony and the challenging piano accompaniment seemingly disqualify the two Lieder as popular songs, the simple melodic progressions and recognisable rhythms point to an important characteristic of popular music, namely memorability, an aspect which Dunst had in mind when he promised that his collection would be valuable also in the far future.

In his third volume, Dunst includes Kinkel’s varied strophic song ‘Die beiden Brüder’ (The Two Brothers, Table 6.3) - another Heine setting, which is based on the slightly more complex myth of the two adjacent Rhineland castles Sternberg and Liebenstein.¹³ The Lied tells the story of two brothers who fight over a maiden, with whom both are in love. As the maiden cannot decide which of the brothers she would prefer, the two men fight with their swords and the stronger one is supposed to win the

¹³ In his book *Die schönsten Rheinsagen und Geschichten*, published in 1886, Heinrich Pröhle includes both Heine’s poem and the story on which it is based. According to him, the myth arose because of the two castles that were built beside each other. An old knight lived on Castle Sternberg with his two sons and a maiden, who looked after him after his wife had died. The two brothers took a liking to the maiden, who, at first, seemed to prefer the older brother. However, when the younger brother grew up, the maiden turned her attention to him. The older brother decided to leave the castle on a crusade, and so did the younger brother. As the father asked one brother to stay, the older brother stayed. His affection for the maiden, however, was not reciprocated. As the father could not bear the thought of having to witness his younger son and the maiden’s happiness after his younger son’s return from the crusade, he built the castle Liebenstein for the couple. When the younger son came back, he brought with him a young Greek woman, which saddened the maiden who had waited for his return so faithfully. When the two brothers started to fight, the maiden separated the hostile brothers; she moved into the nunnery in Bornhofen. The older brother moved into the monastery in Marienberg. The younger brother lived with his Greek woman in the castle of Liebenstein; however, she proved unfaithful and left him soon after. Heinrich Pröhle, *Rheinlands schönste Sagen und Geschichten* (Berlin: Tonger & Greven, 1886), pp. 115–18.

courtship over the woman. However, during their fight, both men fall down a mountain and die. According to the myth, the brothers fight in the valley at midnight even many centuries later. A tremolo piano accompaniment and a slower tempo (*Andantino*) symbolise the blood-curdling atmosphere circumscribed in the last verse.

Table 6.3: ‘Die beiden Brüder’

Die beiden Brüder Heinrich Heine Published in 1839		The Two Brothers¹⁴ Translation adapted from Emily Ezust
Oben auf der Bergesspitze	<i>a</i>	Up on the summit of the mountain
Liegt das Schloß in Nacht gehüllt;	<i>b</i>	The castle stands shrouded in night;
Doch im Thale leuchten Blitze,	<i>a</i>	But in the valley, lightning blazes
Helle Schwerter klirren wild.	<i>b</i>	And bright swords clash savagely.
Das sind Brüder, die dort fechten	<i>c</i>	It is brothers fencing
Grimmen Zweikampf, wutentbrannt.	<i>d</i>	A grim duel there, enraged with anger.
Sprich, warum die Brüder rechten	<i>c</i>	Tell me, why are brothers fighting
Mit dem Schwerte in der Hand?	<i>d</i>	With sword in hand?
Gräfin Lauras Augenfunken	<i>e</i>	Countess Laura’s sparkling eyes
Zündeten den Bruderstreit. ¹⁵	<i>f</i>	Ignited the brothers’ strife:
Beide glühen liebestrunken	<i>e</i>	Both smoulder, intoxicated with love,
Für die adlig holde Maid.	<i>f</i>	For the noble, lovely maid.
Aber welchem von den beiden	<i>g</i>	But to which of the two
Wendet sich ihr Herze zu?	<i>h</i>	Does her heart lean?
Kein Ergrübeln kann’s entscheiden, ¹⁶	<i>g</i>	No musing can decide it;
Schwert heraus, entscheide du!	<i>h</i>	So out comes the sword - you shall decide!
Und sie fechten kühn verwegen,	<i>i</i>	And they fight on keenly, foolhardily,
Hieb auf Hiebe niederkracht’s.	<i>k</i>	Blow upon blow cracking down.
Hütet euch, ihr wilden Degen.	<i>i</i>	Beware, you savage swordsmen.
Grausig Blendwerk schleicht Nachts.	<i>k</i>	Grisly illusion creeps about in the night.
Wehe! Wehe! blut’ge Brüder!	<i>l</i>	Woe! Woe! Bloody brothers!
Wehe! Wehe! blut’ges Tal!	<i>m</i>	Woe! Woe! Bloody valley!
Beide Kämpfer stürzen nieder,	<i>l</i>	Both fighters fall,
Einer in des andern Stahl. -	<i>m</i>	Each upon the other’s steel.
Viel Jahrhunderte verwehen,	<i>n</i>	Many centuries drift past,
Viel Geschlechter deckt das Grab;	<i>o</i>	Graves cover many generations;
Traurig von des Berges Höhen	<i>n</i>	Mournfully from the heights of the mountain

¹⁴ Translation by Emily Ezust <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=7692> [accessed 6 June 2016].

¹⁵ Heine’s original poem reads ‘Brüderstreit’ rather than Bruderstreit; this may be an editorial error in Kinkel’s version. Heinrich Heine, ‘Zwei Brüder’, in *Buch der Lieder von Heinrich Heine* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), p. 52, cited after *Heinrich Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe* <<http://hhp.uni-trier.de/Projekte/HHP/Projekte/HHP/searchengine/werke/baende/D01/enterdha?pageid=D01S0068&bookid=D01&lineref=Z22&mode=2&textpattern=bergesspitze&firsttid=0&widthgiven=30>> [accessed 5 June 2016].

¹⁶ Kinkel’s version reads ‘Ergrübeln’ rather than ‘Ergrübeln’, which is most likely an editorial error.

Schaut das öde Schloß herab.	<i>o</i>	The deserted castle looks down.
Aber nachts, im Talesgrunde,	<i>p</i>	But at night, in the depths of the valley,
Wandelt's heimlich, wunderbar;	<i>q</i>	Something is moving secretly, wondrously:
Wenn da kommt die zwölfte Stunde,	<i>p</i>	When the twelfth hour strikes,
Kämpfet dort das Brüderpaar.	<i>q</i>	The two brothers fight there.

Harmonically, the first four stanzas seem to form an entity (Fig. 6.2). Set in G minor, the conclusion on the dominant D major in the first stanza leads the second and third stanzas to the major tonic of G major. When the plot turns to its tragic ending in the fifth stanza, the harmony changes to G minor. The fifth verse concludes with an A-flat major chord, which is used to stress the words ‘Wehe! Wehe’ (Woe! Woe!) at the beginning of the sixth stanza. In the seventh and eighth stanzas as well as the postlude, Kinkel leads the harmonic progression back to G minor, the tonic introduced initially. Similarly to ‘Der Rheinstrom’ and ‘Köln’, ‘Die beiden Brüder’ is characterised by a simple melody, which puts emphasis on the tragic and ballad-like plot.

Fig. 6.2: Tonal relations in ‘Die beiden Brüder’

Stanza	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Postlude
Form	A	A	B	B	A'–C	D–C'	E	E	
Tempo	All. feroce	All. fer.	Più lento		All. fer.	Lento-Adagio	Andantino	Andantino	
Key	g–D	g–D	G	G–D	g–A ^b	A ^b –g–G	e–G	e–G	G–g

6.2.2 ‘Der Runenstein’ and ‘Rheinsage’: historical flashbacks as a demonstration of patriotic pride

Another Heine setting of Kinkel’s is ‘Der Runenstein’ (The Runestone, Table 6.4). In ‘Der Runenstein’, the lyrical I sits at the sea and remembers his/ her loved ones who have all disappeared.

Table 6.4: ‘Der Runenstein’

Der Runenstein Heinrich Heine Published in 1838		The Runestone¹⁷ Translation by Emily Ezust
Es ragt ins Meer der Runenstein, Da sitz' ich mit meinen Träumen. Es pfeift der Wind, die Möwen schrein, Die Wellen, die wandern und schäumen.	<i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i>	The runestone juts into the sea, And I sit there with my dreams. The wind whistles and the seagulls shriek; And the waves, they wander and foam.
Ich habe geliebt manch schönes Kind Und manchen guten Gesellen – Wo sind sie hin? Es pfeift der Wind, Es wandern und schäumen die Wellen. ¹⁸	<i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i>	I have loved many a fair girl And made many good friends – Where have they gone? The wind whistles, And the waves wander and foam.

The short Lied is through-composed, although the motives included in the two musical stanzas bear stylistic commonalities (Ex. 6.1).

Melodic variants enable Kinkel to employ a complex harmonic plan, which, at the same time, is the most challenging compositional feature of this Lied. Set in F-sharp minor, this setting touches on its mediant A major and D major, the major tonic F-sharp major, the major and minor subdominants B major and B minor, as well as the dominant and double dominants C-sharp major and G-sharp major. If the note ‘e^{#1}’ in the vocal line and right hand piano in bar 18 were reinterpreted as ‘f¹’, the lyrical I’s question ‘Wo sind sie hin?’ (Where have they gone?) would be stressed by means of a B diminished chord, embedded within the context of C-sharp major, and a tremolo in the piano accompaniment.

¹⁷ Translation by Emily Ezust <https://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=7673> [accessed 6 June 2016].

¹⁸ Heine’s original poem reads ‘Es schäumen und wandern die Wellen’. Heinrich Heine, ‘Es ragt ins Meer der Runenstein’, in *Heinrich Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe* <<http://hhp.uni-trier.de/Projekte/HHP/Projekte/HHP/searchengine/werke/baende/D02/enterdha?pageid=D02S0037&bookid=D02&lineref=Z06&mode=2&textpattern=runenstein&firsttid=0&widthgiven=30>> [accessed 21 April 2016]. Perhaps Kinkel changed the word order here in correspondence with the fourth line of stanza one in order to create unity, because this way the phrase ‘wander and foam’ recurs as parallelism rather than chiasm. The translation (‘wander and foam’ rather than ‘foam and wander’) was adjusted by myself.

Ex. 6.1: 'Der Runenstein',¹⁹

Allegro feroce

f Es ragt in's Meer der Ru - nen - stein, da

sitz ich mit mei - nen Träu - men; es pfeift der Wind die

f

mf

Mö - wen schrei'n, die Wel - len wan - dern und schäu - men.

mf

diminuendo

¹⁹ The score I used for this transcription is a manuscript copy (not in Kinkel's hand) archived at Stadtbibliothek Lübeck (Mus. P 1433 Ex. 1). I am most grateful to the Stadtbibliothek Lübeck for sharing this score with me. In this manuscript copy, the final chord in the piano left hand (f # octave) is notated as a major sixth ('A'-'F#'); considering the concluding character of this chord and the conventions of the time, the final chord seems to be more correct as an octave rather than a major sixth. Furthermore, the final note in the piano right hand in bar 22 is notated in the manuscript copy as 'e', although it was most likely intended to be 'c'. Both editorial mistakes have been corrected in this example.

Ex. 6.1 continued

12

Ich

14

ha - be ge - liebt manch schö - nes Kind, und man - chen gu - ten Ge -

mf

17

sel - len; Wo sind die hin? Es pfeift der Wind, es wan - dern und schäu - men die

p trem. trem.

21

Wel - - - len.

Richard Taruskin, when he refers to Carl Loewe's 'Erlkönig', interprets the tremolos in the piano accompaniment as an expression of timeliness. He remarks that such tremolos are 'an essentially orchestral device (based on a bowing effect) and something of a rarity in piano music'.²⁰ That Johanna Kinkel knew of Loewe's compositional style is reflected in her own essay 'Über die modernen Liederkomponisten' (On the Modern Lieder Composers), in which she praised Loewe's piano accompaniment:

It is admirable how he [Loewe] uses the most inconspicuous means in order to transport the listener into the mood of his ballad. With a few accompanying notes he expresses the whirring of the leaves, the rushing sea, the fluttering of the birds, and the like; e.g. in 'Erlkönig' (by Goethe), the bare tremolo on the third and the fifth throughout a few bars evoke a really spooky shudder.²¹

Although Kinkel wrote this essay in 1843, one can assume that she knew Loewe's compositions when she composed 'Der Runenstein' in 1838, as she familiarised herself with the German Lieder oeuvre while she was living in Berlin between 1836 and 1839. Considering Kinkel's other Lieder compositions, quite a few of which employ tremolos in the accompaniment, the use of this expressive means might not have been as rare as in Loewe's time.

Although Kinkel had never lived by the sea, and despite the general popularity of Heine settings at the time, the lyrical I's loneliness in this poem might have attracted Kinkel on account of her own background. In the broader sense, however, the poem reveals a great deal of pride of one's past, as runestones were mostly erected in order to commemorate a dead hero's feat. Furthermore, the tradition to use runestones as memorials, which originates from the Northern lands, dates back to the fourth till the

²⁰ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music: The Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 158. Hereafter referred to as Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music: The Nineteenth Century*.

²¹ Kinkel, 'Über die modernen Liederkomponisten', p. 30. 'Bewunderswert ist es, wie er mit den unscheinbarsten Mitteln den Hörer in die Szenerie seiner Ballade versetzt. Mit ein paar begleitenden Noten bringt er Blättergesäusel, Wellenrauschen, Vögelgeflatter und dergleichen hervor; z.B. im "Erlkönig" (von Göthe) wo ein blosses Tremuliren auf Terz und Quinte durch ein paar Takte hindurch einen wirklich gespenstigen Schauer hervorruft'.

twelfth centuries. In relation to references to the past during the Romantic era, Martin Wehnert explains that:

Historical awareness was especially emphasised in all territories, where the political aim of one's own nation was not yet achieved; this historical consciousness characterised the bourgeois mentality in general and also affected music and the arts. The purpose was to increase the sense of solidarity among the people through traditional artistic activities and to raise international awareness of the particular country as a *Kulturnation*.²²

In this respect, historical flashbacks were a common theme in nineteenth-century Germany, which is also reflected in Kinkel's Geibel setting 'Rheinsage' (Rhine Legend, op. 8, no. 2, Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: 'Rheinsage' (op. 8, no. 2)

Rheinsage Emanuel Geibel Published in 1838		Rhine Legend
Am Rhein, am grünen Rhein,	<i>a</i>	The night is mild
Da ist so mild die Nacht!	<i>b</i>	By the green river Rhine!
Die Rebenhügel liegen	<i>c</i>	The vineyards lie
In goldner Mondespracht.	<i>b</i>	In the golden glory of the moonlight.
Und an den Hügeln wandelt	<i>d</i>	And a tall shadow wanders
Ein hoher Schatten her	<i>e</i>	Along the hills
Mit Schwert und Purpurmantel,	<i>f</i>	With a sword and red coat,
Die Krone von Golde schwer.	<i>e</i>	And a heavy golden crown.
Das ist der Carl der Kaiser,	<i>g</i>	That is Carl, the Emperor,
Der mit gewalt'ger Hand	<i>h</i>	Who used to rule the
Vor vielen hundert Jahren	<i>i</i>	German lands with his powerful hands
Geherrscht im deutschen Land.	<i>h</i>	Hundreds of years ago.
Er ist herauf gestiegen	<i>k</i>	He left his grave
Zu Aachen aus der Gruft	<i>l</i>	In Aachen,
Und segnet seine Reben	<i>m</i>	He blesses his vine
Und atmet Traubenduft.	<i>l</i>	And he breathes the smell of grapes.
Bei Rüdenheim, da funkelt	<i>n</i>	At Rüdenheim, the moon shines
Der Mond ins Wasser hinein.	<i>a</i>	Into the water.
Und baut eine goldne Brücke	<i>o</i>	It builds a golden bridge
Wohl über den grünen Rhein.	<i>a</i>	Across the green river Rhine.

²² Martin Wehnert, 'Romantik und romantisch', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, VIII, Sachteil, pp. 463–507 (p. 483). Italics in original. Hereafter referred to as Wehnert, 'Romantik'. 'Überall dort, wo ein eigener Nationalstaat als politisches Ziel noch nicht verwirklicht war, lag ein besonders starker, sich auch musikalisch-künstlerisch auswirkender Akzent auf dem Geschichtsbewusstsein, das bürgerliche Geisteshaltung generell auszeichnet. Absicht war, durch gestärkte, traditionsgebundene künstlerische Aktivitäten nach innen das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl zu erhöhen, nach außen internationales Ansehen zu fördern und zumindest als Kulturnation Anerkennung zu finden'.

Der Kaiser geht hinüber	<i>p</i>	The Emperor crosses the river,
Und schreitet langsam fort,	<i>q</i>	He walks slowly,
Und segnet längs dem Strome	<i>r</i>	He blesses the vine
Die Reben an jedem Ort.	<i>q</i>	along the river in each place.
Dann kehrt er heim nach Aachen	<i>s</i>	Then he returns to Aachen
Und schläft in seiner Gruft,	<i>t</i>	And sleeps in his grave,
Bis ihn im neuen Jahre	<i>u</i>	Until the smell of the grapes
Erweckt der Trauben Duft.	<i>t</i>	Wakes him up in the next year.
Wir aber füllen die Römer	<i>v</i>	But we fill the glasses
Und trinken im goldnen Saft	<i>w</i>	And we drink in the golden juice;
Uns deutsches Heldenfeuer	<i>x</i>	Here's to the German heroic fire,
Und deutsche Heldenkraft.	<i>w</i>	And German heroic strength.

This Lied is striking on account of a number of typical nineteenth-century features. Firstly, the tremolo piano occurs throughout the song, which is structured very simply as a two-part strophic setting with a fairly straightforward melody. Secondly, the setting includes such Romantic topoi as the night, the moonlight, and reflections of the water. Thirdly, the poem praises such Rhineland phenomena as the beautiful landscape and the wine. Fourthly, the plot refers to the *Kaiser* (Emperor), whom George S. Williamson considers a typical thematic identifier of nationalism.²³ Finally, Kinkel's 'Rheinsage' is included in her op. 8, which comprises only settings of her close friend, the popular Romantic poet Emanuel Geibel. Ludwig Rellstab considers Geibel as a felicitous imitator of Heinrich Heine, which, if that was the general public perception, explains the popularity of Geibel's poems. With regard to Geibel's poems Rellstab writes that 'among the younger poets, who are mostly imitators of Heyne's forms, Geibel possesses the most peculiar style and energy, and thereby attains the true beauty of ideas and forms'.²⁴ In relation to Kinkel's composition, Rellstab criticises the strophic form of the setting, as the last verse contains a thought different to the rest of the poem. Whereas Rellstab suggests a variation in the last verse, Kinkel keeps it simple and overwrites part

²³ Williamson, *The Longing for Myth in Germany*, p. 112.

²⁴ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Gedichte von Emanuel Geibel für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 8* (1838), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 3 August 1838, pp. 121–22. 'Geibel hat von den Neueren, die meist Nachahmer Heynescher Formen sind, die eigenthümlichste Richtung und Kraft, und erhebt sich eben so zur wahren Schönheit des Gedankens als der Formen'.

B of her Lied with: ‘NB: From here on, the last verse must be sung in a stronger and livelier manner’.²⁵ The last verse includes the lines, ‘Wir aber füllen die Römer | Und trinken im gold’nem Saft | Uns deutsches Heldenfeuer | Und deutsche Heldenkraft’ (But we fill the glasses | And we drink in the golden juice. | Here’s to the German heroic fire, | And to German heroic strength). In this verse, the personal pronoun ‘wir’ (we) consolidates the impression of a coherent German people. Richard Taruskin points to that phenomenon when he mentions the German nineteenth-century interpretation of *Kultur* (culture):

The answer to the question ‘What is German?’ arose most clearly in the Romantic lied, a genre that was inspired, one is tempted to say, by that burning question of national identity. In the light of contemporary philosophy and politics (and the links between them), the mission of the lied to unite the ‘I’ and the ‘We’ takes on a newly clarified sense of purpose.²⁶

Considering the nationalist character of this verse, which is emphasised by the strong and lively manner demanded by Kinkel, it is not surprising that Kinkel wanted to keep the Lied memorable and singable rather than artistically complex, as she may have had in mind that people might want to perform her Lied. Although the reviewer of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* regrets the lack of emotionality of Kinkel’s op. 8, he considers her ‘Rheinsage’, ‘in which the shadows of the old *Kaiser* bless the wine at moonlight and the smell of grapes the best of the opus’, which might be explained by means of the general political tone of the time.²⁷

Jann Pasler, examining the reviews of the first performances of Claude Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande* in 1902, points out clear parallels between the newspapers’ political editorial lines and the critics’ approaches to the performances, which exposed

²⁵ ‘NB: Von hier an muss die letzte Strophe stärker und lebhafter gesungen werden’.

²⁶ Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music: The Nineteenth Century*, p. 124.

²⁷ [Anon.], review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Gedichte von Emanuel Geibel: Opus 8* (1838), *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 26 September 1838, pp. 637–38 (p. 638). ‘Uns gilt die “Rheinsage”, worin der Schatten des alten Kaisers bei Mondglanz und Traubenduft seine Reben segnet, für das Beste dieser Sammlung’.

mixed feelings.²⁸ Besides this, Pasler discovers that the critics responded to three further forces within their reviews: the view on current socio-political events (in Pasler's case study the Dreyfus Affair), the target group and its type of interest, and the critics' own principal occupations and perspectives.²⁹ Pasler then points out that four issues were evident in the reviews within the larger (extra-musical) context. Firstly, opera addressed both the intellectual and social elite of the time and, according to the target group of the respective newspapers, the use and purpose of opera and the function of opera-going was assessed in the reviews. Secondly, the reviewers evaluated the ability of the text, music, and the composer's style to affect the morality of the audience. If the lifestyle of a composer seemed suspicious, this could have been included in a review as a bad influence on the listener. Thirdly, the notion of opera as 'a place of confronting politics' was evident in the reviews. And fourthly, artistic innovation was interpreted as 'a model of individual freedom or anarchy'. A bold compositional style was considered a political statement against set rules and in favour of individuality.³⁰ Although Pasler's study refers to an era about half a century after Kinkel's time and also deals with reviews of opera rather than Lieder, Pasler's findings are worth taking on board also in relation to Kinkel. Kinkel's Lieder were performed mainly in smaller semi-public or private settings: salons in Berlin and Bonn, family gatherings, and the *Maikäferbund*. There is only one piece of evidence of a Kinkel song being performed in a public arena.³¹ Thus, Kinkel's music was mainly addressed to musical amateurs, although some of her dedicatees were well-known singers (for example Sophie Schloss). Musical amateurism, however, could comprise both genteel and middle-class members of the

²⁸ Jann Pasler, *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 185. Hereafter referred to as Pasler, *Writing Through Music*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 191. This observation corresponds with Siegfried Weischenberg's findings in journalism research.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

³¹ According to the records of the Leipzig Gewandhaus, Mary Shaw performed a song by Johanna Kinkel there on 28 January 1839. Dörffel, *Die Gewandhauskonzerte zu Leipzig*, p. 213.

society, an aspect which points to different socio-political backgrounds and attitudes among Kinkel's audience. As regards the question of morality, acquaintanceship with Kinkel meant empathising with her own unconventional views on marriage and divorce, Catholicism, and, later on, the democratic movement, which might explain a change of tone in later reviews of Kinkel's works which were published in or after 1848. Kinkel's singing school, *Anleitung zum Singen* (Songs for Little Children, op. 20, published in 1849), was received positively by the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, but the lengthy review starts with a launch into Kinkel's own social circumstances:

Johanna Kinkel is wife to that martyr for freedom whose regrettable destiny in the Rastatt prison is still undecided. The widow of the unlucky poet – one may call her that – will now remain the sole bread-winner of her family, which would be reason enough to recommend this work. But regardless of these sad circumstances, this singing school is very much to be recommended within the field of musical literature and no one will do wrong who follows his heart and buys it. In order for feeling not to overshadow neutral judgement, we will now examine this work through the most neutral lens.³²

Even though this mention of Kinkel's personal destiny may have been aimed at positive criticism and promotion – and perhaps it did so – its stated neutrality is questionable. Finally, the very short and rather negative review of Kinkel's last Lieder publication, op. 21, reads:

The wife of the unlucky poet whose hard destiny moved all of Germany has published six settings of her husband's words. We regret not to be able to praise the music in this opus; it is too dilettantish, its intellectual content is too slight for us to be able to refrain from criticising the compositional ills out of respect for the misery. No. 2. Wiegenlied (Lullaby), No. 3

³² C. G., review of Johanna Kinkel, *Anleitung zum Singen: Opus 20* (1849), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 30 September 1849, pp. 141–42 (p. 141). 'Johanna Kinkel ist die Gattin jenes Märtyrers für die Freiheit, dessen so viel bedauertes Geschick in den Gefängnissen von Rastatt noch unentschieden ist. Die Wittwe des unglücklichen Dichters, denn so darf man sie nennen, wird nun die alleinige Ernährerin ihrer Familie bleiben, welches schon allein ein hinreichender Grund wäre, dieses Werk zu empfehlen. Doch abgesehen von diesem traurigen Fall, so ist diese Schule an und für sich eine sehr empfehlenswerthe Gabe im Gebiete der musikalischen Literatur, und Niemand wird einen Fehlgriff thun, der seinem Herzen folgend sich dieselbe anschafft. Damit das Gefühl dem Urtheil aber nicht vorgreife, so wollen wir uns das Werk mit den Augen der unparteilichsten Kritik betrachten'.

Jugenderinnerung (Youthful Memory), and No. 4 Provençalisches Lied (Lied from the Provence) strike us as the best songs of this opus.³³

It may be worth noting that the poems of ‘Wiegenlied’ and ‘Jugenderinn’rung’ originate with Johanna Kinkel, not with her husband, a nuance of authorship which escaped the reviewer even though the author’s name is clearly stated at the top of each score.

The two reviews cited above support Pasler’s impression that cultural output is connected to the socio-politics surrounding it and that the intermingling of musical works with politics is identifiable for opera in early-twentieth-century Paris as much as for the Lied during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Lied was an effective avenue to install in the public and distribute political thought, an aspect which will be taken up throughout this chapter. Finally, Kinkel’s own compositional style, although it was not as experimental as Debussy’s, can be considered individual, which is also evident in the reviews of the time. While Kinkel’s critics bemoaned some of Kinkel’s features which seemingly pointed to a rather masculine syntax and mode of thought, Kinkel might have purposely chosen this style in order to question the socio-political conventions of the time. In her analysis, Pasler concludes with a warning that one should not lend too much weight to social and political issues, for some critics simply disliked or liked the musical sides of Debussy’s work. However, Pasler reminds us that the number of extramusical, i.e. social and political, impacts on a critic were enormous and that those influences were able to turn a work into a failure or a success,³⁴ which is an important aspect considering that Kinkel depended financially on her Lied publications.

³³ [Anon.], review of Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 21* (1851), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 4 April 1851, pp. 151–52. ‘Die Gattin des unglücklichen Dichters, an dessen hartem Loos ganz Deutschland Theil nahm, giebt hier sechs Lieder ihres Mannes in Musik gesetzt. Es thut uns leid, daß wir den musikalischen Theil dieser Lieder nicht unbedingt loben können, die tragen zu sehr den Stempel des Dilettantismus, ihr geistiger Inhalt ist zu gering, als daß eine gewissenhafte Kritik diese Mängel aus Ehrfurcht vor dem Unglück verschweigen dürfte. Als die besten Stücke des Werkes erschienen uns Nr. 2 Wiegenlied, Nr. 3 Jugenderinnerung, und Nr. 4 Provençalisches Lied’.

³⁴ Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, p. 212.

6.2.3 ‘Der Deutsche Rhein’: the most popular nationalist *Volkslied* of the 1840s

Having stressed Kinkel’s eagerness to comply with the thematic trends of her time, it is not surprising that Kinkel also set Nikolaus Becker’s (1809–1845) ‘Der deutsche Rhein’ (The German River Rhine, Table 6.6). The poem was set many times during the 1840s, an era which Cecelia Hopkins Porter associates with the Rhinelanders’ increased consciousness of their own identity:

The Rhinelanders themselves had grown acutely conscious of their local identity, which they variously attempted to reconcile with their confusing state of allegiances to France and to the several German states (chiefly Prussia and Bavaria) and with their new loyalties within a swelling pan-German nationalism.³⁵

Furthermore, Hopkins Porter explains that:

By the 1840s the collective movements shaping the course of German nationalism had reached a volatile point: the quest for cultural identity was about to give way to political nationalism, and the poems of the Rhine songs tend to favour a sense either of cultural or of political nationalism. The texts disposed to cultural nationalism simply reflect the longing to preserve and glorify German civilization - its legends, myths, and history associated with the Rhine.³⁶

In accordance with Hopkins Porter’s observation, each stanza repeats the line ‘they shall not have it | The free German Rhine’, followed by a list of different circumstances under which the Rhine will remain German. The poem references such Rhineland features as the cliffs, the boats, the fish, and the cathedrals.

Table 6.6: ‘Der deutsche Rhein’

Der deutsche Rhein Nikolaus Becker Published in 1840	The German Rhine ³⁷ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, Den freien deutschen Rhein, Ob sie wie gierige Raben, Sich heiser danach schrein,	<i>a</i> They shall not have it, <i>b</i> The free German Rhine, <i>a</i> Though they like greedy ravens <i>b</i> Scream themselves hoarse after it,

³⁵ Cecelia Hopkins Porter, ‘The “Rheinlieder Critics”: A Case of Musical Nationalism’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 63.1 (January 1977), 74–98 (p. 75). Hereafter referred to as Hopkins Porter, ‘The “Rheinlieder Critics”’.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83.

³⁷ Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=97755> [accessed 31 March 2016].

So lang er ruhig wallend Sein grünes Kleid noch trägt, So lang ein Ruder schallend In seine Wogen schlägt.	<i>d</i> <i>e</i> <i>d</i> <i>e</i>	As long as, peacefully flowing, It still wears its green garb, As long as even one oar resoundingly Strikes into its waves.
Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, Den freien deutschen Rhein, So lang sich Herzen laben An seinem Feuerwein,	<i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i>	They shall not have it, The free German Rhine, As long as hearts refresh themselves With its fiery wine,
So lang in seinem Strome Noch fest die Felsen stehn, So lang sich hohe Dome In seinem Spiegel sehn.	<i>f</i> <i>g</i> <i>f</i> <i>g</i>	As long as within its current The rocks still stand firmly, As long as lofty cathedrals Can see themselves in its mirror.
Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, Den freien deutschen Rhein, So lang dort kühne Knaben Um sanfte Mädchen frei'n, ³⁸	<i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i>	They shall not have it, The free German Rhine, As long as courageous lads Court gentle girls,
So lang die Flosse hebet Ein Fisch auf seinem Grund, So lang ein Lied noch lebet In seiner Sänger Mund.	<i>h</i> <i>i</i> <i>h</i> <i>i</i>	As long as a fin is lifted By a fish within its depths, As long as a song still lives In the mouths of its singers.
Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, Den freien deutschen Rhein, Bis seine Flut begraben Des letzten Manns Gebein!	<i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i>	They shall not have it, The free German Rhine, Until its floodwaters have buried The bones of the last man.

Cecelia Hopkins Porter accounted for 111 settings of Becker's poem published during the 1840s, whereas David G. Williamson states that the words were sung to over two hundred different tunes in Germany.³⁹ Despite the different numbers of settings given by the two scholars (Williamson might have taken into account all settings which were produced after the 1840s), one can conclude that Becker's poem was popular and well-known. In her essay on the Rhinelander critics, Hopkins Porter asserts that 'the renown of Becker's poem promptly occasioned a rash of poetic parodies and grave commentary from his fellow Germans, as well as multitudinous musical settings of Becker's and others' Rhine poems'.⁴⁰ That the poem was also discussed within the *Maikäferbund* is

³⁸ Becker's original reads 'um schlanke Dirnen frei'n' (court slender maidens). Perhaps Kinkel wanted to change the appraised virtues slightly. While 'schlank' (slender) refers to the outward appearance of a person, 'sanft' (gentle) refers to a character trait. In accordance with this, phonetically, the word 'Mädchen' has a softer sound than 'Dirnen'. It is also less archaic. <<http://www.rheinische-geschichte.lvr.de/persoenlichkeiten/B/Seiten/NikolausBecker.aspx>> [accessed 20 April 2016]. The translation was adjusted accordingly by myself.

³⁹ Hopkins Porter, 'The "Rheinlieder Critics"', p. 82; Williamson, *Germany since 1815*, p. 31.

⁴⁰ Hopkins Porter, 'The "Rheinlieder Critics"', p. 78.

reflected by the association's incorporation of Nikolaus Becker as an honorary member. Additionally, the *Maikäfer* member Sebastian Longard published a poem entitled 'Sie wollen ihn dennoch haben' (They Still Want to Have It, Table 6.7) as a confirmatory response to Becker's poem on 17 November 1840.⁴¹ This poem takes on an even more enthusiastic, almost combative tone.

Table 6.7: 'Sie wollen ihn dennoch haben'

Sie wollen ihn dennoch haben Sebastian Longard		They still want to have it
Ihr wollt ihn dennoch haben?	<i>a</i>	You still want to have it?
Wohlan! Glück auf den Marsch!	<i>b</i>	Now then – good luck on your march!
Nur schreit nicht, wie die Knaben,	<i>a</i>	But do not cry like little boys,
So trotzig keck und barsch.	<i>b</i>	Boldly and cheekily.
Wir wissen noch zu singen	<i>c</i>	We still know how to sing
Den alten Schlachtgesang,	<i>d</i>	The old battle song,
Wir wissen noch zu schwingen	<i>c</i>	We still know how to swing
Den deutschen Schwerter Schwang!	<i>d</i>	The German swords!
Ja, kommt nur, ihn zu nehmen,	<i>e</i>	Yes, just come and try to take it,
Den grünen Rhein, ja kommt,	<i>f</i>	The green Rhine, yes, come,
Wir sollen euch schon zähmen	<i>e</i>	We will tame you
Und lehren, was euch frommt.	<i>f</i>	And teach you what you deserve.
Zerspalten und zerschnitten,	<i>g</i>	We are not split and cut anymore
Wie einst, sind wir nicht mehr,	<i>h</i>	As we were long ago,
Ganz Deutschland kommt geritten,	<i>g</i>	The whole country of Germany will,
Wenn's Noth ist, uns zur Wehr!	<i>h</i>	If needed, come riding to help us!
Wir kennen euer Dürsten, -	<i>i</i>	We know your thirst, -
Das laßt ihr wahrlich sein!	<i>k</i>	You'll leave that!
Ihr denkt uns hier zu bürsten	<i>i</i>	You are planning to take from us
Den frischen, deutschen Wein.	<i>k</i>	The fresh, German wine.
Wir schwingen indeß die Becher	<i>l</i>	In the meantime, we are toasting
Und singen in wilder Lust	<i>m</i>	And we sing happily
Und alle deutschen Zecher	<i>l</i>	And all German toppers
Antworten aus voller Brust.	<i>m</i>	Respond loudly.
Wir kennen euer Schmachten, -	<i>n</i>	We know your longing, -
Ihr seid wahrhaftig klug! –	<i>o</i>	And you are right! –
Einstmals am Rhein, da lachten	<i>n</i>	In days of yore, at the Rhine
Euch frische Mägdlein g'nug.	<i>o</i>	Young girls enough were smiling at you.
Da mögt ihr euch nur wischen	<i>p</i>	You may wipe your
Die brennenden Lippen gleich;	<i>q</i>	Burning lips;
Wir schwingen das Schwert dazwischen:	<i>p</i>	We will swing the sword in between:
Halt! – Wer da? – Nichts für euch!	<i>q</i>	Stop! – Who is there? – Nothing for you!

⁴¹ Sebastian Longard, 'Sie wollen ihn dennoch haben', in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, 1, pp. 209–11.

Wir kennen euer Hoffen:	<i>r</i>	We know your hope:
Wär't ihr am Rhein, am Rhein,	<i>s</i>	If you were at the Rhine,
Da stände die Welt euch offen,	<i>r</i>	The world would lie before you,
Das soll euch nie gedeih'n!	<i>s</i>	You should never succeed in this!
Weithin an unsern Marken,	<i>t</i>	At all our posts,
Bei Tage, wie bei Nacht,	<i>u</i>	By day and night,
Da ragen die trotzigstarken	<i>t</i>	Our defiant strong castles
Burgschlösser und halten Wacht.	<i>u</i>	Are keeping watch.
Wir selber sind die Mauer	<i>v</i>	We ourselves are the wall
Und unser deutsches Schwert,	<i>w</i>	And our German sword,
Der Bürger, wie der Bauer	<i>v</i>	The citizens and peasants
Jauchzt, wenn er das Kriegshorn hört.	<i>w</i>	Cheer when they hear the sounds of war.
Nun sprecht, ihr kühnen Streiter,	<i>x</i>	Now, tell us, you brave fighters,
Was wollt ihr noch am Rhein?	<i>y</i>	What are you doing at the Rhine?
Was wollt ihr nun noch weiter	<i>x</i>	What are you up to
Am Rhein, am grünen Rhein?	<i>y</i>	At the Rhine, the green Rhine?

Although Johanna Kinkel never published a setting of these words, the poem reflects the themes which were discussed within the *Maikäfer* association. Nikolaus Becker himself contributed to the *Maikäfer* journal a metaphoric poem overwritten 'Humoristische Bitte' (Humorous Request, Table 6.8) dealing with a beaver that asks nature to bestow on him a beautiful fur after the long winter period as 'a rich spring life swells in [his] heart'.⁴² As 'Der deutsche Rhein' had also attracted a great deal of negative criticism among Becker's contemporaries, he might have aimed to show his poetic skills through more neutral poetry. Depending on the reading of this poem, Becker might even have been asking his audience ironically to see his diverse skills and interests rather than picking on one single poem which he had produced in the past.

Table 6.8: 'Humoristische Bitte'

Humoristische Bitte Nikolaus Becker	Humorous Request
Mit Sorgfalt weißt du zu bekleiden	<i>a</i> With care, you know to dress
All' deine Kinder, o Natur;	<i>b</i> All your children, o nature;
Wie's eben kommt, mit Sammt und Seiden,	<i>a</i> As the case may be, with velvet or silk,
Bald auch mit grünem Zeuge nur.	<i>b</i> Soon also in green clothes.
Die Blumen steh'n in buntem Glanze,	<i>c</i> The flowers are shining colourfully,

⁴² Nikolaus Becker, 'Humoristische Bitte', in Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, 1, pp. 271–72.

Es quillet Grün an Strauch und Stock; Bedacht hast du die kleinste Pflanze, Nur mir bescheerst du keinen Rock.	<i>d</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i>	The bushes and branches are nice and green; You considered the smallest plant, But you do not give me a coat.
Kannst du es dulden, daß dein Lieber Im Lenz allein soll schmucklos geh'n; Daß auf den abgeschabten Biber Die Menschen höhnisch niederseh'n?	<i>e</i> <i>f</i> <i>e</i> <i>f</i>	Can you accept that your beloved Walks around unadorned in springtime; That the humans sneer at The shabby beaver?
Daß mich dies Volk mit eitlen Scherzen Den Überrest des Winters schilt, Nicht ahnend, daß in meinem Herzen Ein reicher Frühlingsleben quillt?	<i>g</i> <i>h</i> <i>g</i> <i>h</i>	That the people sneer at me As if I were the winter's leftover, Not knowing that in my heart There swells a rich spring life?
Ich bitte dich, nur etwas Flimmer Auf dieses abgenutzte Tuch, Ein bischen Silber-, Rosenschimmer, Du hast ja doch des Zeugs genug.	<i>i</i> <i>k</i> <i>i</i> <i>k</i>	I beg you for just a little bit of glamour On top of this worn out coat, A bit of silver, some colour of roses, You have enough cloth.
Daß, wenn in solchen lichten Fäden Am Hügel sie mich sitzen seh'n, Sie athemlos durch alle Läden Nach jenem fremden Stoffe spääh'n.	<i>l</i> <i>m</i> <i>l</i> <i>m</i>	So that, when, dressed in such bright clothes, They spot me sitting at the hills They breathlessly look in all shops For this exotic fabric.

As a result of Kinkel's acquaintanceship with Becker, and despite - or maybe because of - the boom 'Der deutsche Rhein' experienced at the beginning of the 1840s Johanna Kinkel published her two-part song singularly with the Bonn publisher Bach. The simple strophic setting includes two contrasting parts. Notated in C major, the beginning of the Lied with its dominant G major⁷ seems unusual. However, considering the rotating nature of the song, the dominant opening leading the Lied towards its tonic of C major makes sense, as part B is set (and concludes) in F major. Apart from this harmonic feature, the Lied does not include any compositional specialities. As is similar to most of the other Rhineland settings discussed thus far, Kinkel may have aimed for a simple compositional treatment of the words, which are given priority.

6.2.4 'Die Lorelei', 'Das Schloß Boncourt' and 'Don Ramiro': between folk-like simplicity and operatic complexity

Remaining with the Rhineland, Kinkel also set the popular Heine poem 'Die Lorelei' (The Lorelei, op. 7, no. 4; Table 6.9), which tells the story of a beautiful woman sitting on a cliff overlooking the river Rhine where she sings and combs her long blonde hair. The fishermen passing the cliff on the river crash into the cliff and capsize, distracted by

the beauty of the woman and her voice. In the legend, both the woman and the cliff are referred to as the ‘Lorelei’.

Table 6.9: ‘Die Lorelei’ (op. 7, no. 4)

Die Lorelei Heinrich Heine Published in 1838		The Lorelei⁴³ Translation by Walter Meyer
Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten	<i>a</i>	I’m looking in vain for the reason
Daß ich so traurig bin;	<i>b</i>	That I am so sad and distressed;
Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten	<i>a</i>	A tale known for many a season
Das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn.	<i>b</i>	Will not allow me to rest.
Die Luft ist kühl und es dunkelt,	<i>c</i>	Cool is the air in the twilight
Und ruhig fließt der Rhein;	<i>d</i>	And quietly flows the Rhine;
Der Gipfel des Berges funkelt	<i>c</i>	The mountain top glows with a highlight
Im Abendsonnenschein.	<i>d</i>	From the evening sun’s last shine.
Die schönste Jungfrau sitzet	<i>e</i>	The fairest of maiden’s reposing
Dort oben wunderbar,	<i>f</i>	So wonderously up there.
Ihr goldnes Geschmeide blitzet	<i>e</i>	Her golden treasure disclosing;
Sie kämmt ihr goldenes Haar.	<i>f</i>	She’s combing her golden hair.
Sie kämmt es mit goldenem Kamme	<i>g</i>	She combs it with comb of gold
Und singt ein Lied dabei;	<i>h</i>	And meanwhile sings a song
Das hat eine wundersame	<i>g</i>	With melody strangely bold
Gewaltige Melodei.	<i>h</i>	And overpoweringly strong.
Den Schiffer im kleinen Schiffe	<i>i</i>	The boatman in his small craft
ergreift es mit wildem Weh,	<i>k</i>	Is seized with longings, and sighs.
Er schaut nicht die Felsenriffe,	<i>i</i>	He sees not the rocks fore and aft;
Er schaut nur hinauf in die Höh’.	<i>k</i>	He looks only up towards the skies.
Ich glaube, am Ende verschlingen	<i>l</i>	I fear that, at the end, the waves
Die Wellen Schiffer und Kahn; ⁴⁴	<i>m</i>	Will fling both vessel and man;
Und das hat mit ihrem Singen	<i>l</i>	That must have been what with her singing
Die Lorelei getan.	<i>m</i>	The Lorelei did intend.

Contrary to Eva Weissweiler, who bases the strong political motivation for Johanna Kinkel to set ‘Die Lorelei’ on her background as a Rhineland woman, Sanna Iitti doubts whether Kinkel’s ‘Die Lorelei’ is politically connotated. She argues that Kinkel

⁴³ Translation by Walter Meyer, <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=7601> [accessed 25 March 2016].

⁴⁴ Heine’s original reads ‘Ich glaube, die Wellen verschlingen | am Ende Schiffer und Kahn’, but Kinkel changed the word order of the first two lines of the final stanza. Heinrich Heine, ‘Die Lorelei’, in *Buch der Lieder von Heinrich Heine* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), p. 179, cited after *Heinrich Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe* <<http://hhp.uni-trier.de/Projekte/HHP/Projekte/HHP/searchengine/werke/baende/D01/enterdha?pageid=D01S0208&bookid=D01&lineref=Z12&mode=2&textpattern=loreley&firsttid=0&widthgiven=30>> [accessed 20 April 2016]. The translation was adjusted accordingly by myself.

published the poem in 1838 and includes it in her op. 7, which does not cover any other political subjects.⁴⁵ Although I agree with Iitti in that Kinkel's quite radical interest in political revolution developed later, namely when she engaged with Gottfried Kinkel, the great number of Rhineland poems Kinkel set before she returned to Bonn seems to prove her patriotic feeling towards her home. According to Iitti, Weissweiler downgrades Kinkel's composition as a Lied of minor compositional quality: 'Because of its political background', Iitti quotes Weissweiler, 'Johanna Kinkel's "Lorelei" is a creation for consumption – perhaps one should not take it too seriously'.⁴⁶ Weissweiler also comments on the seemingly feminine compositional style. In this perspective Iitti recognises a phallogocentric position, an attitude which is anchored in phallogocentrism on the one hand and logocentrism on the other and which states that meaning is created through words and is dominated by masculine mindsets.⁴⁷ In her analysis of the song, Iitti takes up this strand and focuses on the question whether there is such a thing as 'female authorship' and whether Kinkel's setting 'Die Lorelei' shows features typically associated with female composers. Iitti points to Chopinesque features in the rhythmic organisation of 'Die Lorelei' as well as to the Schubertian harmonic switch from E major to the tonic of E minor. She also discusses the subject of the femme fatale and the likelihood of Kinkel seeing herself as such a character.⁴⁸ Sanna Iitti builds her argument on Eva Weissweiler's comment and on Johanna Kinkel's letter to her friend Angela Oppenhoff, in which Kinkel expresses her desire to prove that she is capable of compositions that do not reveal feminine authorship. In the letter, Kinkel responds to a review in which her moonlight songs were mocked as female compositions.⁴⁹ However, looking at the contemporary reviews of 'Die Lorelei', we get the impression that this

⁴⁵ Sanna Iitti, *The Feminine in German Song* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 115.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴⁹ The letter is included in the following section on Kinkel's drinking songs (3.3.1).

particular song was not actually subject to such criticism. Ludwig Rellstab, for example, criticises the piano accompaniment, which, according to him, ‘has a confusing effect’. He continues his relatively long review of ‘Die Lorelei’ as follows:

Rather than stressing the effect of a simple setting, the artist has prioritised the musical skill of developing two melodies at the same time. In our opinion, this is a mistake, although we do acknowledge the finesse of her compositional technique. Nevertheless, the Lied has a nice effect, and the problem should easily be resolved if accompanists resign themselves to keeping the difficult accompaniment in the background as much as possible. The e minor chord at the end of the prelude, which recurs significantly during the Lied, exhales the mood of the wonderful Lied. The profound line ‘Die Nacht ist kühl, es dunkelt, und ruhig fließt der Rhein,’ and the thematically contrary line ‘Der Gipfel des Berges funkelt’ are especially beautiful. Thus the Lied contains enough felicitous elements to become a favourite song.⁵⁰

Similarly, Oswald Lorenz of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* regrets that the accompaniment dominates the vocal line, which was also a common feature associated with Schumann’s Lieder. Lorenz refers to ‘Die Lorelei’, alongside the Geibel setting ‘Die Zigeuner’, as the ‘most distinctive’ composition of the opus. The harmonic return from E major to the tonic of E minor, which was praised by Rellstab and identified as ‘Schubertian’ by Iitti, is called awkward and the unusual three-bar hypermeter rhythm is considered as being hard to grasp. Furthermore, the conclusion of the Lied is criticised as ‘the melody demands a conclusion with a dominant chord in the last but one bar, but the accompaniment has introduced it [the dominant chord] already six bars before and then dwells on the tonic’.⁵¹ Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, reviewer of the *Allgemeine*

⁵⁰ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 7* (1838), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 12 January 1838, pp. 5–7 (p. 6). ‘Die Künstlerin hat hier eine musikalische Geschicklichkeit, zwei Melodien zugleich fortzuführen, höher angeschlagen als die Wirkung einfacher Behandlung. Dies ist nach unsrer Ansicht ein Irrthum, wenngleich wir die Gewandtheit ihres Talentes bei der Ausführung nicht verkennen. Trotz dem aber hat das Lied eine schöne Wirkung, und wenn der Accompagnist das schwere Accompagnement mit der Resignation, sich so wenig geltend zu machen als irgend möglich, ausführt, so dürfte sich der Uebelstand leicht bedecken lassen. Der Emoll-Akkord am Schluß des Vorspiels, was auch im Liede sinnvoll wiederkehrt, haucht die Seele der Stimmung, in der das wunderschöne Lied gedichtet ist, aus. Sehr schön ist hier die in die Tiefe gehende Stelle: “Die Nacht ist kühl, es dunkelt, und ruhig fließt der Rhein,” und im Gegensatz dazu die folgende Zeile: “Der Gipfel des Berges funkelt”. So behält das Lied doch noch der trefflichen Elemente genug, um ein Lieblingslied werden zu können’.

⁵¹ Oswald Lorenz, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 7* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 9 March 1838, pp. 77–78 (p. 78). ‘Heine’s vielgesungene “Lorelei” ist der Text des vierten Liedes. Es ist in Auffassung und Erfindung nebst dem

Musikalische Zeitung, keeps his account of Kinkel's op. 7 rather general. He praises the wealth of emotion of all songs as well as the fresh and natural rhythms, suitable melodies, sensible harmonics, and the stable accompaniment, the latter of which avoids overly virtuosic passages.⁵² Although all three reviews reflect the subjective nature of music reviews, especially as very few critics refer to particular issues but keep their opinions rather general and ungrounded, only Fink's review, which points to the wealth of emotions, might be associated with a link to female authorship. Rellstab's and Lorenz's reviews reveal that 'Die Lorelei' was received as quite a challenging and complex work - features pointing to virility, which would not normally be attributed to female composers.⁵³ As Iitti points out, Eva Weissweiler's approach stands on shaky ground, because the conclusion that Lieder composed for consumption would automatically be of minor compositional complexity might be overhasty. The aesthetic links between Kinkel's Lied and the compositions of Chopin and Schubert, as ascertained by Iitti, support this assumption. Furthermore, the nineteenth-century reception of 'Die Lorelei' proves that this setting, despite its harmonic complexity and its difficult piano accompaniment, was received positively, which would have increased the commercial success of this Lied. It seems that Iitti's argument is based mainly on Weissweiler's (overhasty) assessment, so that, to a certain extent, both Weissweiler's and Iitti's approaches contradict the nineteenth-century reception. I concur with both scholars in so far that they examine such nineteenth-century paradigms as feminine

letzten das eigenthümlichste, wenn aber gleichwohl seine Wirkung nicht so schlagend ist, als z. B. bei den darauf folgenden, so liegt das zumeist an der durchweg dreitaktigen Rhythmik, die dem Gefühle nicht so leicht eingeht, und dann an dem von der Begleitung zu sehr beherrschten Gesange. Ungewandt ist die Wendung aus E-Dur nach der Haupttonart E-Moll und im vorletzten Tacte verlangt die Melodie einen Schluss mittelst des Leitaccordes, während ihn die Begleitung schon 6 Tacte früher gemacht hat und dann beim Accord der Tonika beharrt².

⁵² G. W. Fink, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 7* (1838), *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 8 August 1838, pp. 524–25. 'Weiter hat er frisch und natürlich rhythmisiert (wohl zu merken), die Melodie nicht verzerrt (wieder wohl zu merken), die Harmonie nicht in's Tollhaus gebracht und die Begleitung nicht zum Seiltänzer gemacht (Alles wohl zu merken)'.

⁵³ For further elaborations on virility see Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, p. 213.

authorship and phallogocentrism, but their choice of Johanna Kinkel's 'Die Lorelei' as an analytical example for this purpose seems rather illogical.

Like many others of Kinkel's Lieder, her Chamisso ballad 'Das Schloß Boncourt' (The Castle Boncourt, op. 9, Table 6.10), which Linda Siegel calls a 'mood poem', deals with the Rhineland and portrays moving water by means of the barcarole rhythm in the piano accompaniment, to which Cecelia Hopkins Porter refers as a member of 'a characteristic family of "Rhenish musical idioms" fulfilling the ideal of *Volkstümlichkeit* (folk-likeness) in their evocation of nature, the folk, or the imagined Germanic past'.⁵⁴ Besides Rhineland patriotism, the poem touches on such nineteenth-century subjects as the dreamy impression of a vagabond life and, more generally, the muses as welcome company for a lonesome traveller.

Table 6.10: 'Das Schloß Boncourt' (op. 9), capital letters indicate a new rhyme

Das Schloß Boncourt Heinrich Heine Published in 1838		The Castle Boncourt ⁵⁵ Translation adapted from Suzanne Summerville
Ich träume als Kind mich zurücke	<i>a</i>	As dreams of childhood overcome me
Und schüttele mein greises Haupt;	<i>b</i>	I shake my graying head
Wie sucht ihr mich heim, ihr Bilder,	<i>c</i>	How do you engulf me, images,
Die lang ich vergessen geglaubt?	<i>b</i>	Which I had long forgotten?
Hoch ragt aus schattigen Gehegen	<i>d</i>	A gleaming palace rises
Ein schimmerndes Schloß hervor,	<i>e</i>	Out of a shady bank of hedges.
Ich kenne die Türme, die Zinnen,	<i>f</i>	I recognize its towers, the battlements
Die steinerne Brücke, das Tor.	<i>e</i>	And stone bridge, the gate.
Es schau'n von dem Wappenschilde	<i>g</i>	From the coat of arms
Die Löwen so traulich mich an,	<i>h</i>	The lions look benevolently down on me.
Ich grüße die alten Bekannten	<i>i</i>	I greet my old friends
Und eile den Burghof hinan.	<i>h</i>	And rush through the courtyard.
Dort liegt die Sphinx an dem Brunnen,	<i>k</i>	The sphinx is there beside the fountain
Dort grünt der Feigenbaum,	<i>l</i>	And the fig tree is in bloom.
Dort, hinter jenen Fenstern, ⁵⁶	<i>m</i>	The windows where I dreamed

⁵⁴ Siegel, *Johanna Kinkel*, II, p. v; Hopkins Peter, 'The "Rheinlieder Critics"', p. 91.

⁵⁵ Translation by Suzanne Summerville <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=3731> [accessed 25 March 2016].

⁵⁶ Chamisso's original reads 'hinter diesen Fenstern'. Adelbert von Chamisso, 'Das Schloß Boncourt', in *Adelbert von Chamisso: Sämtliche Werke in zwei Bänden*, ed. by Jost Perfahl, 2 vols (Munich: Winkler, 1975), I, pp. 192–93. Further differences between the original and Kinkel's version are very minor and

Verträumt ich den ersten Traum.	<i>l</i>	My earliest dreams are still there.
Ich tret in die Burgkapelle	<i>n</i>	I enter the chapel
Und suche des Ahnherrn Grab,	<i>o</i>	And look for the graves of my ancestor.
Dort ist's, dort hängt von dem Pfeiler	<i>p</i>	The old armor
Das alte Gewaffen herab.	<i>o</i>	Is hanging there on the pillar.
Noch lesen umflort die Augen	<i>q</i>	The gauzed eyes do not yet
Die Züge der Inschrift nicht,	<i>r</i>	Read the inscription,
Wie hell durch die bunten Scheiben	<i>s</i>	No matter how brightly the colourful glass
Das Licht darüber auch bricht.	<i>r</i>	Reflects the light.
So stehst du, o Schloß meiner Väter,	<i>t</i>	So you are once again real in my thoughts,
Mir treu und fest in dem Sinn	<i>u</i>	Palace of my ancestors.
Und bist von der Erde verschwunden,	<i>v</i>	You disappeared from the earth
Der Pflug geht über dich hin.	<i>u</i>	And the plough moves over you.
Sei fruchtbar, o teurer Boden,	<i>w</i>	Be fruitful, o dear earth,
Ich segne dich mild und gerührt,	<i>x</i>	I give to you my blessings, gently and full of emotion,
Und segn' ihn zwifach, wer immer	<i>y</i>	And doubly bless any
Den Pflug nun über dich führt.	<i>x</i>	Who now guide the plough over you.
Ich aber will auf mich rafffen,	<i>z</i>	However, I must gather up
Mein Saitenspiel in der Hand,	<i>A</i>	My lyre
Die Weiten der Erde durchschweifen	<i>B</i>	And traverse the wide, wide world
Und singen von Land zu Land.	<i>A</i>	Singing from land to land.

The three-part Lied deals with a wanderer who bids farewell to his home place. He visits the chapel and the castle, where he remembers his ancestors, while he wants to get up and travel the world with his lyre. Considering Johanna Kinkel's own background, it is not surprising that she was attracted by Adelbert von Chamisso's words, especially as she met Chamisso in person shortly before his death while she was in Berlin - a fact which might also explain why Kinkel was seemingly the first composer to set Chamisso's words. The song is a strophic setting; each strophe includes three poetic stanzas. The harmonic progression is dense and diverse, although it is mainly focused on its tonic key of F major and its close relatives C major and B-flat major. The melodic line includes a great deal of ornamentation and altered notes, which must have challenged the singer. Despite its relatively advanced compositional complexity and although the work was published by Trautwein, the same publisher who published Kinkel's op. 7, and who was in charge of Rellstab's journal *Iris im Gebiete der*

only refer to phrasing and metric aspects, for example Kinkel replaced 'am Brunnen' with 'an dem Brunnen' (stanza 4) and 'vom Pfeiler' with 'von dem Pfeiler' (stanza 5).

Tonkunst, ‘Das Schloß Boncourt’ was not reviewed in any of the contemporary music journals.

The same applies to Kinkel’s Heine ballad ‘Don Ramiro’ (op. 13, Table 6.11), which, besides her unpublished stage works, is undoubtedly one of her longest and most complex works. Perhaps nineteenth-century critics did not review Kinkel’s ballads, as the ballad was considered a rather masculine, thus unsuitable, genre. ‘Don Ramiro’ tells the story of a woman, Donna Clara, who gets married to the knight Don Fernando. However, a different man, Don Ramiro, is in love with her and regrets that she cannot marry him. When Clara asks Ramiro to overcome his own pride and attend the wedding, Ramiro promises to do so. At the wedding dance, Clara dreams of Ramiro wearing a black robe and smelling of death and, in her imagination, she dances with him. When she awakes from her unconsciousness after the fearful dream, she realises that Ramiro was not at the wedding. Her groom asks what had happened to her, whereupon she utters ‘And Don Ramiro?’. Fernando replies ‘Lady, ask not bloody tiding | Don Ramiro died this morning’.

Table 6.11: ‘Don Ramiro’ (op. 13)

Don Ramiro Heinrich Heine Published in 1840	Don Ramiro ⁵⁷ Translation adapted from Emma Lazarus
Donna Clara! Donna Clara! Heißgeliebte langer Jahre! Hast beschlossen mein Verderben, Und beschlossen ohn’ Erbarmen.	Donna Clara! Donna Clara! Hotly-loved through many years! You have wrought me mine undoing, And have wrought it without mercy!
Donna Clara! Donna Clara! Ist doch süß die Lebensgabe! Aber unten ist es grausig, In dem dunkeln, kalten Grabe.	Donna Clara! Donna Clara! Still the gift of life is pleasant. But beneath the earth ‘tis frightful, In the grave so cold and darksome.
Donna Clara! Freu’ dich, morgen Wird Fernando, am Altare, Dich als Ehgemahl begrüßen – Wirst du mich zur Hochzeit laden?	Donna Clara! Laugh, be merry, For tomorrow shall Fernando Greet you at the nuptial altar, Will you invite me to the wedding?

⁵⁷ Translation by by Emma Lazarus (1849–1887)
<http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=37005> [accessed 2 April 2016].

Don Ramiro! Don Ramiro!
Deine Worte treffen bitter,
Bitterer als der Spruch der Sterne,
Die da spotten meines Willens.

Don Ramiro! Don Ramiro!
Rüttle ab den dumpfen Trübsinn;
Mädchen gibt es viel auf Erden,
Aber uns hat Gott geschieden.

Don Ramiro, Überwinder
Vieler tausend Mohrenritter,
Überwinde nun dich selber –
Komm' auf meine Hochzeit, Lieber.

Donna Clara! Donna Clara!
Ja, ich schwör es, ja ich komme!
Will mit dir den Reihen tanzen; –
Gute Nacht, ich komme morgen.

Gute Nacht! – Das Fenster klirrte.
Seufzend stand Ramiro unten,
Stand noch lange wie versteinert;
Endlich schwand er fort im Dunkeln.

Endlich auch, nach langem Ringen,
Muß die Nacht dem Tage weichen;
Wie ein bunter Blumengarten
Liegt Toledo ausgebreitet.

Prachtgebäude und Paläste
Schimmern hell im Glanz der Sonne;
Und der Kirchen hohe Kuppeln
Leuchten stattlich wie vergoldet.

Dumpfig und wie Bienensummen
Klingt der Glocken Festgeläute,
Lieblich steigen Betgesänge
Aus den frommen Gotteshäusern.

Aber dorten, siehe! siehe!
Dorten aus der Marktkapelle,
Im Gewimmel und Gewoge,⁵⁸
Strömt des Volkes bunte Menge.

Blanke Ritter, schmucke Frauen,
Hofgesinde, festlich blinkend,⁵⁹
Und die hellen Glocken läuten,
Und die Orgel rauscht dazwischen.

Don Ramiro! Don Ramiro!
Very bitter sounds your language,
Bitterer than the stars' decrees are,
Which bemock my heart's desire.

Don Ramiro! Don Ramiro!
Cast aside your gloomy temper.
In the world are many maidens,
But the Lord has parted us two.

Don Ramiro, you who bravely
Many and many a moor has conquered,
Conquer now yourself, – tomorrow
Come and greet me at my wedding.

Donna Clara! Donna Clara!
Yes, I swear it. I am coming.
I will dance with you the measure, –
Now good night! I come tomorrow.

So good night! The casement rattled,
Sighing beneath it, stood Ramiro.
Long he stood a stony statue,
Then amidst the darkness vanished.

After long and weary struggling,
Night must yield unto the daylight.
Like a many-coloured garden,
Lies the city of Toledo.

Palaces and stately fabrics
Shimmer in the morning sunshine.
And the lofty domes of churches
Glitter as with gold incusted.

Humming like a swarm of insects,
Ring the bells their festal carol.
With sweet tones the sacred anthem
Ascends from each house of God.

But behold, behold! beyond there,
Yonder from the market-chapel,
With a billowing and a swaying,
Streams the motley throng of people.

Gallant knights and noble ladies,
In their holiday apparel;
While the pealing bells ring clearly,
And the deep-voiced organ murmurs.

⁵⁸ This line corresponds with the Düsseldorf Gesamtausgabe. Heinrich Heine, 'Don Ramiro', cited after *Heinrich Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe* <[http://hhp.uni-trier.de/Projekte/HHP/Projekte/HHP/searchengine/werke/baende/D01/enterdha?pageid=D01S0081&bookid=D01&lineref=Z22&mode=2&textpattern=don%20ramiro&firsttid=0&widthgiven=30%20\[16%20April%202016\]>](http://hhp.uni-trier.de/Projekte/HHP/Projekte/HHP/searchengine/werke/baende/D01/enterdha?pageid=D01S0081&bookid=D01&lineref=Z22&mode=2&textpattern=don%20ramiro&firsttid=0&widthgiven=30%20[16%20April%202016]>) [accessed 16 April 2016]. The Hoffmann & Campe edition is slightly different. Heinrich Heine, 'Don Ramiro', in *Buch der Lieder von Heinrich Heine* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), pp. 62–70, cited after *Heinrich Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe*.

⁵⁹ This line corresponds with the Düsseldorf Gesamtausgabe. The Hoffmann & Campe edition is slightly different ('Festlich blinkend Hofgesinde').

Doch, mit Ehrfurcht ausgewichen,
In des Volkes Mitte wandelt
Das geschmückte junge Ehepaar:⁶⁰
Donna Clara, Don Fernando.

Tausend Augen schau'n nach ihnen,⁶¹
Tausend frohe Stimmen rufen:
Heil Kastiliens Mädchen-sonne!
Heil Kastiliens Ritterblume!

Bis an Bräutigams Palasttor
Wälzet sich das Volksgewühle;
Dort beginnt die Hochzeitfeier,
Prunkhaft und nach alter Sitte.

Ritterspiel und frohe Tafel
Wechseln unter lautem Jubel;
Rauschend schnell entfliehn die Stunden,
Bis die Nacht herabgesunken.

Und zum Tanze sich versammeln
Dort im Saal die Hochzeitgäste;
Alle funkeln bunt beleuchtet
Von dem Lichterheer der Kerzen.

Don Fernando strahlt wie'n König
In dem güldnen Purpurmantel;
Clara wie die junge Rose,
Blüht im weißen Brautgewande.

Auf erhobne Ehrensitze
Rings von Dienerschaft umwoget,
Ließen sich die beiden nieder,
Und sie tauschten süße Worte.

Und im Saale braust es dumpfig,
Wie ein Meer von Sturm bewegt!
Und die lauten Pauken wirbeln,
Und es schmettern die Trommeten.

Doch warum, o schöne Herrin,
Sind gerichtet deine Blicke
Dorthin nach der Saalesecke?
So verwundert sprach der Ritter.

Siehst du denn nicht, Don Fernando,
Dort den Mann im schwarzen Mantel?
Und der Ritter lächelt freundlich:
Ach! das ist ja nur ein Schatten.

Doch es nähert sich der Schatten,
Und es war ein Mann im Mantel;
Und Ramiro schnell erkennend,
Grüßt ihn Clara, glutbefangen.

Und der Tanz hat schon begonnen,

But a reverential passage
In the people's midst is opened,
For the richly-clad young couple,
Donna Clara, Don Fernando.

A thousand eyes are staring at them,
A thousand merry voices are shouting:
Hail bright girl from Castille!
Hail knight of Castille!

To the bridegroom's palace-threshold,
Wind the waving throngs of people;
There the wedding feast begins,
Pompous in the olden fashion.

Knightly games and open table,
Interspersed with joyous laughter,
Quickly flying, speed the hours,
Till the night again has approached.

And the wedding guests assemble
For the dance within the palace,
And their many-coloured raiment
Glitters in the light of tapers.

Don Fernando smiles like a king
In his golden coat;
Clara blooms like a young rose
In her white bride's dress.

Seated on a lofty dais,
Side by side, are bride and bridegroom,
Donna Clara, Don Fernando,—
And they murmur sweet love whispers.

And within the hall wave brightly
All the gay-decked streams of dancers;
And the rolling drums are beaten.
Shrill the clamorous trumpet soundeth.

Why, why, beauteous lady,
Are your lovely glances fastened
Yonder in the hall's far corner?
In amazement asked Fernando.

Do you not see, o Don Fernando,
Yonder man in sable mantle?
And the knight spoke, kindly smiling,
Why, 'tis nothing but a shadow.

But the shadow drew anear them,
'Twas a man in sable mantle,
Clara knows at once Ramiro,
And she greets him, blushing crimson.

And the dance begins already,

⁶⁰ This line corresponds with the Düsseldorf Gesamtausgabe. T Hoffmann & Campe version reads 'Donna Clara schwarz verschleiert, Don Fernando waffenglänzend'.

⁶¹ This stanza is not included in the Gesamtausgabe, but it is included in the 1827 version published by Hoffmann & Campe.

Munter drehen sich die Tänzer;
In des Walzers wilden Kreisen,
Und der Boden dröhnt und zittert.⁶²

Wahrlich gerne, Don Ramiro,
Will ich dir zum Tanze folgen,
Doch im nächtlich schwarzen Mantel
Hättest du nicht kommen sollen.

Mit durchbohrend stieren Augen
Schaut Ramiro auf die Holde,
Sie umschlingend spricht er düster:
Sprachest ja, ich sollte kommen!

Und ins wirre Tanzgetümmel⁶³
Drängen sich die beiden Tänzer;
Und die lauten Pauken wirbeln,
Und es schmettern die Trommeten.

Sind ja schneeweiß deine Wangen!
Flüstert Clara, heimlich schauernd.
Sprachest ja, ich sollte kommen!
Schallet dumpf Ramiros Stimme.

Und im Saal die Kerzen blinzeln
Durch das flutende Gedränge;
Und die lauten Pauken wirbeln,
Und es schmettern die Trommeten.

Sind ja eiskalt deine Hände!
Flüstert Clara, schauerzuckend.
Sprachest ja, ich sollte kommen!
Und sie treiben fort im Strudel.

Laß mich, laß mich! Don Ramiro!
Leichenduft ist ja dein Odem!
Wiederum dieselbe Antwort:⁶⁴
Sprachest ja, ich sollte kommen!

Und der Boden raucht und glühet,
Lustig fiedeln die Geiger;
Wie ein tolles Zauberweben
Schwindet alles im Gekreisel.⁶⁵

Laß mich, laß mich! Don Ramiro!
Wimmerts immer im Gewoge.
Don Ramiro stets erwidert:
Seine dumpfen dunklen Worte.⁶⁶

Nun, so geh in Gottes Namen!

Gaily whirl around the dancers
In the waltz's reckless circles,
Till the firm floor creaks and trembles.

Yes, with pleasure, Don Ramiro,
I will dance with you the measure;
But in such a night-black mantle
You should never have come hither.

With fixed, piercing eyes, Ramiro
Gazes on the lovely lady,
Then embracing her, speaks strangely,—
I followed your invitation.

In the wild whirl of the measure,
Press and turn the dancing couple,
And the rolling drums are beaten,
Shrill the clamorous trumpets sound.

White as driven snow are your cheeks!
Whispers Clara, inly trembling.
I followed your invitation,
Hollow ring Ramiro's accents.

In the hall the tapers flicker,
With the eddying stream of dancers,
And the rolling drums are beaten,
Shrill the clamorous trumpet soundeth.

Cold as ice I feel your fingers,
Whispers Clara, thrilled with terror.
I followed your invitation.
And they rush on in the vortex.

Leave me, leave me, Don Ramiro!
Your breath is like a corpse's scent.
Once again the gloomy sentence,
I followed your invitation.

And the firm floor glows and smokes,
Merry sound the horns and fiddles;
Like a woof of strange enchantment,
All within the hall is whirling.

Leave me, leave me, Don Ramiro!
All is waving and revolving.
Don Ramiro still repeats,
His hollow dark words.

In the name of God, begone then!

⁶² This version corresponds with the Gesamtausgabe. The Hoffmann & Campe version reads 'Und der Boden dröhnt und zittert | Von dem rauschenden Getöse'.

⁶³ This line corresponds with the Gesamtausgabe. Hoffmann & Campe's version reads 'wilde' (wild) rather than 'wirre' (whirly).

⁶⁴ The Gesamtausgabe reads: 'Wiederum die dunklen Worte'. The Hoffmann & Campe version reads 'Wie als Echo schallen heiser | Don Ramiros grause Worte'.

⁶⁵ The Gesamtausgabe and Hoffmann & Campe use 'schwindelt' rather than 'schwindet' – it is uncertain whether this is an editorial error or whether Kinkel changed the words.

⁶⁶ The Gesamtausgabe and Hoffmann & Campe use the line 'Sprachest ja, ich sollte kommen!' . It is uncertain whether Kinkel had a different version at hand or whether she changed the words.

Clara riefs mit fester Stimme;
Und dies Wort war kaum entfahnen,
Und verschwunden war Ramiro.

Clara shrieked, with steadfast accent.
And the word was scarcely spoken,
When Ramiro had vanished.

Clara starret, Tod im Antlitz,
Kaltumflirret, nachtumwoben;
Ohnmacht hat das lichte Bildnis
In ihr dunkles Reich gezogen.

Clara stiffens! deathly pallid,
Numb with cold, with night encompassed.
In a swoon the lovely creature
To the shadowy realm is wafted.

Endlich weicht der Nebelschlummer,
Endlich schlägt sie auf die Wimper;
Aber Staunen will aufs neue
Ihre holden Augen schließen.

But the misty slumber passes,
And at last she lifts her eyelids.
Then again from sheer amazement
Her fair eyes at once she closes.

Denn derweil der Tanz begonnen,
War sie nicht vom Sitz gewichen,
Und sie sitzt noch bei dem Bräutigam,
Und der Ritter sorgsam bittet:

For she sees she has not risen,
Since the dance's first beginning.
Still she sits beside the bridegroom,
And the knight speaks with anxious question.

Sprich, was bleichet deine Wangen?
Warum wird dein Aug so dunkel? –
Und Ramiro? — stottert Clara,⁶⁷
Und Entsetzen lähmt die Zunge.

Say, why are your cheeks so pale?
Why are your eyes filled with shadows?
And Ramiro? stammers Clara,
And her tongue is glued with horror.

Doch mit tiefen, ernsten Falten
Furcht sich jetzt des Bräutigams Stirne;
Herrin, forsch nicht blutge Kunde –
Heute Mittag starb Ramiro.

But with deep and serious furrows
Is the bridegroom's forehead wrinkled.
Lady, ask not bloody tidings –
Don Ramiro died this morning.

This Heine ballad exhibits many operatic features, which is echoed in its dedication to the Leipzig opera singer Sophie Schloß.⁶⁸ Linda Siegel's reading of this ballad confirms this notion, as she identifies an operatic touch in the added verse 'Heil Kastiliens Mädchensonne, | Heil Kastiliens Ritterblume'.⁶⁹ In fact, the instrumentation for voice and piano accompaniment is the only Lieder characteristic. It is imaginable that Kinkel chose this arrangement in the interest of a much easier and more feasible performance, which would have increased the attractiveness of the opus on the business market.⁷⁰ The

⁶⁷ This line corresponds with the Gesamtausgabe. The Hoffmann & Campe version reads 'schaudert' (shudders) rather than 'stottert' (stammers).

⁶⁸ According to Colin Timothy Eatock, Sophie Schloß was a 'frequent performer at the Gewandhaus concerts'. Colin Timothy Eatock, *Mendelssohn and Victorian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 94. Robert Schumann's diaries, in which the repertory of the Leipzig Gewandhaus concerts is also listed, confirms that Schloß performed opera arias at various subscription concerts. See *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, ed. by Gerd Nauhaus, 4 vols (Basel/ Frankfurt: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971–87), II, pp. 504 and 512.

⁶⁹ Siegel, *Johanna Kinkel*, II, p. iii.

⁷⁰ Daniela Glahn draws a similar conclusion in her analysis of Kinkel's self-perception within the marketplace in relation to her musical joke *Die Vogelkantate*. Glahn, 'Johanna Kinkel', pp. 106–08 and 111.

through-composed work includes characteristic themes associated with the two main protagonists. For instance, Don Ramiro's speech at the beginning of the work is introduced through a distinct sighing motif consisting of two linear four-note descents (Ex. 6.2a). When Clara imagines Ramiro at the wedding, the same motif recurs in the piano accompaniment just as if she hears him talking (Ex. 6.2b). Furthermore, the work is virtually divided into different scenes, evoked by changing tempo instructions, key and time signatures as well as stylistic changes in the piano accompaniment.

Ex. 6.2a Sighing motif introducing Don Ramiro

Andante

Donna Clara, Donna Clara! Heiss - ge - lieb - te lan - ger

Jah - re Hast be - schlos - sen mein Ver - der - ben, Hast be - schlos - sen ohn' Er - bar - men

f *p* *f* *p*

Ped. *

Ex. 6.2b: Recurring sighing motif at the wedding dance (bars 252 ff.)⁷¹

252 Recitativo
Doch wa-rum, o schö-ne Her-rin, sind ge-rich-tet dei-ne Blik ke dort-hin nach des Saa les Ek-ke?

256 *Andante*
So ver-wun-dert sprach der Rit-ter. Siehst du denn nicht, Don Fer-
nan-do, dort den Mann im schwar-zen Man-tel?

An extensive full conclusion in C major, which stretches over several bars, suggests the end of the first act (Ex. 6.3).

Ex. 6.3: Cadence in C suggesting a conclusion of the first act (bars 79 ff.)

71
End-lich schwand er fort im Dun-keln.

⁷¹ In the original publication, the lyrics read ‘nach der Saales Ecke’, which is grammatically incorrect. In accordance with nineteenth-century German convention, I have changed this to the genitive ‘nach des Saales Ecke’ (rather than the compound ‘nach der Saalesecke’). Following convention, I divided ‘ck’ clusters as ‘kk’ in ‘Blik-ke’ and ‘Ek-ke’.

Ex. 6.3 continued

The image displays a musical score for piano and voice. It is divided into three systems. The first system, starting at measure 79, is marked 'Piu lento' and includes the vocal line with lyrics 'cres - cen - do' and 'accele - ran - do un'. The piano accompaniment features chords with triplets. The second system, starting at measure 87, is marked 'poco' and 'ff', and includes the instruction 'Maestoso'. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and triplets. The third system, starting at measure 91, shows the piano accompaniment with sustained chords and a final cadence.

More strikingly, the work includes three recitatives, which are unambiguously marked ‘Recitando’ and which, indeed, have much in common with an opera recitative, as the piano accompaniment steps into the background completely and the vocal part reminds the listener of a declamation rather than a Lied. The harmonic constitution of the work is complex. Kinkel uses enharmonic re-interpretations where she wants to change the atmosphere abruptly. For example, at Ramiro’s question ‘Are you going to invite me to your wedding?’, Kinkel employs a very complex enharmonic progression in order to support the dreadful tone of Clara and Ramiro’s final conversation (Ex. 6.4).

The first chord in the piano accompaniment in bar 25 can be interpreted in three different ways. Firstly, if one reinterpreted both the ‘d#’ and ‘e#’ to ‘e \flat ’ and ‘f’, this chord seems like a dominant seventh chord in second inversion; this approach would support the way in which this chord is heard. However, the following chord is B major⁷, which would imply a tritone progression F major⁷–B major⁷. Secondly, if one read the ‘e#’ as ‘f’, but maintained the ‘d#’, this chord would be a German augmented sixth chord in third inversion (‘d#’–‘f’–‘a’–‘c’; ‘c’ in bass). Thirdly, one could interpret the

two notes in the piano left hand (‘c’ and ‘e#’) as decoration of the following B major⁷ chord, which is my preferred interpretation, considering the preceding bars. This way, the chord in question would be a decorated B major⁷ chord and the ‘c’ and ‘e#’ would be auxiliary notes (ninth and sharpened fourth). All three interpretations show that Kinkel must have given a great deal of thought to this particular passage, an aspect which confirms her responsiveness to the suspenseful lyrics.

Ex. 6.4: Enharmonic progression at Don Ramiro’s question (bars 23–26)

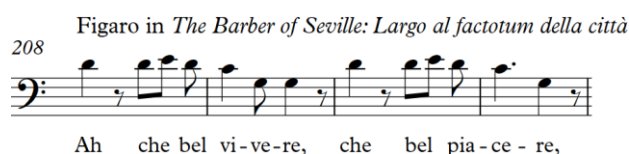
The musical score for Ex. 6.4 consists of two staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting at bar 23 with the lyrics "grü - ssen! Wirst du mich zur Hoch - zeit la - den?". The bottom staff is the piano accompaniment, starting with a B major chord in the left hand and a melodic line in the right hand. The score includes dynamic markings like 'p' and 'f', and chord symbols like 'B', 'B7', and '?'.

Besides such complex means, Kinkel also used typical nineteenth-century features in order to symbolise different cultural facets. For example, when the wedding ceremony begins, the piano accompaniment features rhythms and ornaments that remind us of the Spanish temperament. At the walk from the church to the groom’s palace, Kinkel applies a march-like rhythm, and the dance registers a waltz. James Parakilas refers to dances as an important meaning-bearing feature and an effective means of cultural identification. While Parakilas refers to the Spanish bolero, Kinkel might have used the Waltz as a means of identification.⁷² Furthermore, at the line ‘Heil Kastiliens Mädchen-sonne’ (Hail, bright girl from Castille!), the melodic line borrows the characteristic Figaro motif of Gioachino Rossini’s *The Barber of Seville*, which reads ‘Ah, che bel vivere, che bel piacere’ (Ah, what a fine life, what fine pleasure) (Ex. 6.5);

⁷² James Parakilas, ‘How Spain Got a Soul’, in *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. by Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Eastern Universit Press, 1998), pp. 137–93 (p. 150). Hereafter referred to as Parakilas, ‘How Spain Got a Soul’. The entire volume is hereafter referred to as Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music*.

another allusion to nationalism as it seems that Kinkel wanted to criticise indirectly the superficiality of Clara and Fernando’s marriage by means of a motif that, in her opinion, originates from a light opera.

Ex. 6.5: Figaro motif in ‘Don Ramiro’ and *The Barber of Seville*⁷³



Kinkel’s motivic constellation in ‘Don Ramiro’ bears witness to her ability to respond musically to Heine’s use of Romantic irony, by way of which Kinkel may have aimed to both engage and criticise her own socio-cultural background.⁷⁴

This idea is plausible considering Florian Kraemer’s concept of irony as a way of ‘criticis[ing] the political status quo of the time without voicing criticism directly’ and in light of Kinkel’s personal background (when she published this ballad in September 1840, she had just completed her divorce from her first husband). Kinkel commented on the light-hearted and simple compositional constitution of Italian opera several times; the most telling impression of her opinion on Italian melodies is revealed in her

⁷³ Score of *The Barber of Seville: Largo al factotum della città* <http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/f/f2/IMSLP25462-PMLP07237-Rossini_Barbiere_No_1-5.pdf> [accessed 5 April 2014].

⁷⁴ For further details on Romantic irony see Jean-Pierre Barricelli, ‘Musical Forms of Romantic Irony’, in *Romantic Irony*, ed. by Frederick Garber (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), pp. 310–22; Beate Julia Perrey, *Schumann’s Dichterliebe and Early Romantic Poetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 33–34; Lauri Suurpää, ‘Schumann, Heine, and Romantic Irony: Music and Poems in the First Five Songs of “Dichterliebe”’, *Intégral*, 19 (1996), 93–123 (p. 117); and Florian Kraemer, *Entzauberung der Musik: Beethoven, Schumann und die romantische Ironie* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2014).

theoretical writing *Notizen zum Klavier- und Gesangsunterricht und zur Ästhetik der Musik*, in which she states that:

In relation to expressive truthfulness, Scottish national melodies are the most brilliant among all nations, and they lead us to develop a favourable impression of the [Scottish] national character; Italian melodies sound a bit affected; French [melodies sound] frivolous; besides which German *Volksmelodien* sound a bit indolent.⁷⁵

In this light, her employment of Rossini's motif is ambiguous: on the one hand, it is used in order to symbolise pretense and superficiality, and ironically criticise the gender/marriage conventions of her time. On the other hand, the fact that this motif is used at all reveals that Kinkel must have appreciated its compositional suitability, and must have acknowledged Rossini as a composer.

Kinkel's thinking in categories of national characteristics reflects the nineteenth-century perception that each nation has certain traits, which are mirrored in their language and in their culture. Referring to the theories of Johann Gottfried Herder (1784–1803) and Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Henry Raynor explains that:

The German cultural unity, existing despite differences of religion between the various German states, the unity of a national language, national folklore and national traditions, all of which Herder and Fichte exalted as the reality of unity, became realities looking for political expression'.⁷⁶

In this respect, it is not surprising that Johanna Kinkel applies the term *Volksmelodien* (folk melodies) also in relation to German song. In light of Herder's theory, and despite her rather negative characterisation of German national song, Kinkel clearly promotes German nationalism, which reflects her desire for a united Germany, an aspect which surfaces even more clearly in her later political settings.

⁷⁵ Johanna Kinkel, *Notizen zum Klavier- und Gesangsunterricht*, p. 21. 'In der Wahrhaftigkeit des Ausdrucks stehen die schottischen Nationalmelodien allen Nationen als ein Meister da, und lassen uns für den Charakter der Nation ein günstiges Vorurtheil fassen; die italienischen Melodien klingen bisschen nach Verstellung, die französischen leichtsinnig, die deutschen Volksmelodien etwas indolent daneben'.

⁷⁶ Henry Raynor, *Music and Society Since 1815* (London: Barry & Jenkins, 1976), pp. 127–28.

6.3 On gender, religion, and socio-cultural self-fulfillment: Kinkel's sociocritical Lieder

Besides positively connotated approaches to the politics of her time, Johanna Kinkel also adopted more critical, indeed, negatively connotated perspectives, especially in relation to socio-political areas which crossed her personal development, namely religion, gender, and issues of socio-political self-fulfillment.

6.3.1 Drinking songs: testing out a male domain

When, in the summer of 1838, Johanna Kinkel sent Robert Schumann a drinking song for male choir as a contribution to his journal *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, she made a clear statement as to how she placed herself within the public domain. Complaining about the review previously published in this journal, Kinkel wrote to her best friend Angela Oppenhoff on 14 July 1838:

A group of young Leipzig composers, who had read Rellstab's review, pretended that they would have been able to tell from my compositional style that my compositions were written by a woman. Among others, they stressed humorously (in their review) the fondness for the *soft* and *tender* and they sneered at one of the moonlight songs. All of a sudden they changed their minds; one of them (not the reviewer) is writing extremely flattering letters to me without knowing more than my name and my short songs, and he asks for a composition as a contribution to the musical supplement of his journal. This proved to be a precious chance to show him the *soft* and *tender* of my compositions. I wrote a very prissy letter and included my wildest drinking song for male choir, to which I had versified a real students' text. If I could only see the reactions of my unknown correspondents when they try to sing this piece!⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Kinkel in a letter to Angela Oppenhoff dated 14 July 1838, cited in Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Schluß', p. 55. Italics in original. 'Nach dem Erscheinen des ersten [Liederheftes] passierte es, daß eine Confederation junger Liederkomponisten in Leipzig, die Rellstabs Rezension gelesen, sich hinterher die Miene geben wollten, als hätte sie an meinem Styl gleich gemerkt, daß dies eine Damenkomposition sey. Unter anderem hoben sie die Vorliebe für das *Sanfte, Zarte* ein wenig scherzhaft (in ihrer Rezension) heraus, und spöttelten über eins der Mondscheinlieder. Auf einmal sattelten sie um; einer dieses Clubs (nicht der Rezensent) schreibt mir äußerst schmeichelhafte Briefe, ohne mehr als meinen Namen und die Liederchen zu kennen, und bittet mich als Mitarbeiterin bei einer musikalischen Beilage zu einer Zeitung irgend eine Komposition zu liefern. Dies war für mich eine kostbare Gelegenheit, das *Sanfte, Zarte* dem Rezensenten einzutränken. Ich schrieb einen ganz feinen zimperlichen Brief, und schickte dazu mein wildestes Trinklied für Männerchor, zu welchem ich selbst einen rechten Studententext gemacht habe. Dürfte ich doch nur die Gesichter meiner unbekanntenen Korrespondenten sehn, wenn sie die Bescheerung durchsingen'.

Kinkel's letter to Oppenhoff reflects that she disagreed with the common nineteenth-century phenomenon of assessing music according to the composer's sex. This drinking song for male choir, which Kinkel sent to Schumann, supports the tradition of the drinking song as a musical genre mainly performed by men (Table 6.12). According to the *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, drinking songs were an inherent part of the students' movement after the middle ages.⁷⁸

Table 6.12: 'Trinklied für Männerchor'

Trinklied für Männerchor Johanna Kinkel Published in 1838		Drinking Song for Male Choir
Lasst uns trinken, lasst uns singen,	<i>a</i>	Let us drink, let us sing,
Und vergessen trägen Harm.	<i>b</i>	And let us forget the heavy grief.
Glutgefüllter Gläser Klingen	<i>a</i>	The clinging of glowing glasses
Scheucht hinweg der Sorgen Schwarm.	<i>b</i>	Drives out the swarm of worries.
Trinkt ihr Philister, bekehret euch doch,	<i>c</i>	Drink, Philistines, convert yourselves,
Wer liberal ist, der lebe hoch!	<i>c</i>	Long live he who is liberal!
Wein entfesselt Liebesblicke,	<i>e</i>	Wine unleashes lovers' glances,
Die sich sonst verbergen scheu;	<i>f</i>	Which otherwise hide shyly;
Aug' in Auge eine Brücke	<i>e</i>	Eye to eye, wine builds
Baut er, drauf sie wandeln frei.	<i>f</i>	A bridge, on which the glances stroll freely.
Darum sei höher der Becher gefüllt,	<i>g</i>	May the glass be topped up
Dessen Schaume die Liebe entquillt.	<i>g</i>	From whose foam love flows.

The 'Trinklied für Männerchor'⁷⁹ consists of two stanzas: the first stanza begins with an Anacreontic drinking theme and then turns into a political song, which points to the narrow-mindedness of Kinkel's reception in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* by celebrating liberal views. The second stanza praises wine as a means of imparting and spreading love. In accordance with the textual content, the fast tempo and the energetic piano prelude of this primarily syllabic setting evoke a rather harsh impression. Furthermore, the piano prelude reminds the listener of the Exoticist elements in

⁷⁸ See 'Trinklied', in *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, 20th edn, 30 vols (Leipzig/ Mannheim: Brockhaus, 1996), XXII, p. 316.

⁷⁹ A more elaborate analysis of this work is conducted in my own article, 'Johanna Kinkel's *Trinklied für Männerchor*: A Reactive response to Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism?', *The Musicology Review*, 9 (forthcoming).

Kinkel's gypsy songs, which had been reviewed with enthusiasm by the print media.⁸⁰ Sebastian Nickel points out that the genre of drinking songs became an expression of 'mutual political conviction' at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁸¹ This observation is related to the cultural fragmentation of Germany, which resulted in the formation of a great number of such local cultural associations as reading societies, patriotic societies, and choral societies.⁸² David Blackbourn points out three aspects in relation to such associations: they were 'public and voluntary' as opposed to state-driven; they linked the *Bildungsbürgertum* (educated bourgeoisie) with the *Besitzbürgertum* (propertied bourgeoisie) and thereby provided a platform for both groups to 'come together as a class'; and they 'were a major vehicle for bourgeois aspirations to local leadership' with humanist thinking.⁸³ In accordance with this, Karin Friedrich credits the formation of male choirs with a more significant 'role in forming public opinion' taken by the lower classes of the bourgeoisie.⁸⁴ This observation may also be applicable to Kinkel's motivation for writing a drinking song, which is supported by her use of the personal pronoun 'we' in the first line: 'Let us drink, let us sing, | And let us forget the heavy grief'. Hans-Rüdiger Schwab interprets drinking songs by means of the 'topos of inner immigration' as an 'exile within the unpleasant times,' a concept which is applicable to Kinkel in many ways. By writing this drinking song, she reacted in an effective way to both the gender-biased reviews of her own

⁸⁰ I am grateful to David Hurwitz, who pointed out the sound similarities between Kinkel's prelude and Haydn's Exotic works at the conference *Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism*, Lucca (10–12 December 2015).

⁸¹ Sebastian Nickel, *Männerchorgesang und bürgerliche Bewegung 1815–1848 in Mitteldeutschland* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013), p. 105. Hereafter referred to as Nickel, *Männerchorgesang und bürgerliche Bewegung 1815–1848*.

⁸² Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life*, p. 124.

⁸³ David Blackbourn, 'The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie: Reappraising German History in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Peculiarities of German History*, ed. by David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 159–294 (pp. 196–97).

⁸⁴ Friedrich, 'Cultural and intellectual trends', p. 107.

works in particular and the gender roles of the times in general.⁸⁵ Perhaps Kinkel wanted to support the bourgeoisie and humanist thought; and she most likely aimed to place herself and her works within the opinion-forming societal strata, despite (or because of) her gender. On a less personal level, the theme of ‘inner immigration’ may point to the Romantic notion of an emancipation of inner Self within a universal chaos.

Kinkel’s direct response to the criticism of her early Lieder is also reflected by the compositional features of her drinking song. The uneven phrasal pattern of six and eight bars could be interpreted as an attempt to question compositional conventions and aesthetic expectations. The vocal line of this Lied incorporates only two relatively challenging leaps, namely the major and minor sixths and the diminished third. The ascending leap of a sixth, however, appears on weak syllables (bars 14, 18, and 19), a feature which might be interpreted as an ironic response to the tradition of exclusive male choirs and a parody of the increased amount of alcohol consumed during the male choirs’ gatherings.⁸⁶ Harmonically, the song features systematic characteristics, although Kinkel employs a great deal of harmonic variety including a diminished seventh chord at the words ‘vergessen’ (forget, first verse) and ‘verbergen’ (hide, second verse), and an augmented sixth chord (bars 25 and 31). By offering Schumann a drinking song for male choir Kinkel not only challenged conventions of authorship and political participation but also surprised the publisher’s and the readers’ expectations, as many of this Lied’s characteristics (contextual, compositional and poetic features!) were unexpectedly harsh and virile.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Hans-Rüdiger Schwab cited after Nickel, *Männerchorgesang und bürgerliche Bewegung 1815–1848*, p. 106.

⁸⁶ I am grateful to Michael Radecke for this remark at the conference *Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism* in Lucca (10–12 November 2015).

⁸⁷ For further references to drinking songs within the context of the Anacreontic Gesellschaftslied, see Hans Ritte, *Das Trinklied in Deutschland und Schweden: Vergleichende Typologie der Motive* (Munich: Fink, 1973), p. 50.

However, Kinkel's unexpected response to Schumann's request for a contribution to his musical supplement only accelerated the gender-biased approach of the time, which can be seen in his review. Although Schumann acknowledged the unusual composition, he referred back to Kinkel's more typical Lieder opus numbers immediately.

A drinking song, particularly a drinking song in g minor. Although the poem, which asks us to appreciate our dearest assets in a friendly manner, does not seem to demand this dark, almost wild key, the interpretation of the composer might be a sign of our times and might be explained by the poetic traditions introduced in Rahel's [Rahel Varnhagen von Ense's] and Bettina's [Bettina von Arnim's] writings. He, who wants to learn to love the composer's musical, and, indeed, feminine, nature, may have a look at her recently-published Lieder opera, which are worthy of the appreciation that they have found everywhere.⁸⁸

By placing the unexpected otherness of Kinkel's drinking song within the socially progressive context of Bettina von Arnim and Rahel Varnhagen von Ense, Schumann's review lifts Kinkel's composition onto a remarkably high social level, although it confirms the gender-biased approach of his time. Both Bettina von Arnim and Rahel Varnhagen von Ense were renowned and respected personalities.

Kinkel published a different drinking song for voice, choir and piano accompaniment in her op. 6: the Kopisch setting 'Wasser und Wein' (Water and Wine, op. 6, no. 2, Table 6.13), which praises the different functions of water but prioritises wine as the most suitable drink. Interestingly, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* praises this

⁸⁸ R. S., review of Johanna Kinkel's *Trinklied für Männerchor* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 28 September 1838, p. 106. 'Ein Trinklied, und noch mehr eines in g-moll. Scheint mir diese dunklere, fast wild auftretende Tonart auch nicht vom Gedicht geboten, das heiter und schönsinnig zur Werthaltung unserer teuersten Güter auffordert, so mag die Auffassung der Komponistin als ein Zeichen der Zeit angesehen und vielleicht aus jeder weiblichen Dichterschule hergeleitet werden, die wir aus Rahels und Bettinas Schriften kennen. Wer die Komponistin ihre musikalische, durchaus weibliche Natur schätzen lernen will, mag es aus ihren vor kurzem erschienenen Liederheften, die der innigsten Anerkennung würdig, wie sie sie bereits überall gefunden'.

song as ‘the conclusion, in relation to both the words and the music convinces the most innocent (listener)’.⁸⁹

Table 6.13: ‘Wasser und Wein’ (op. 6, no. 2)

Wasser und Wein August Kopisch Published in 1839		Water and Wine ⁹⁰ Translation adapted from Gary Bachlund
Freunde sagt was wollt ihr trinken?	<i>a</i>	Friends, say what would you drink?
Wein! Wein! Wein!	<i>b</i>	Wine! Wine! Wine!
Soll der Knecht nach Wasser hinken?	<i>a</i>	Shall the fellow limp to water?
Nein! Nein! Nein!	<i>b</i>	No! No! No!
Laß das Wasser Wasser bleiben,	<i>c</i>	Let water remain water,
Laß es gehn und Mühlen treiben,	<i>c</i>	Let it go and push the water wheel,
Laß es in den Wüstenein	<i>b</i>	Let it serve in a desert
Trost den Karavanen sein.	<i>b</i>	To quench the thirst of caravans.
Laß die Hügel es beregnen	<i>d</i>	Let it sprinkle the hillsides
Daß sie uns mit Trauben segnen,	<i>d</i>	So they bless us with grapes,
Laß es seine stolzen Well’n	<i>e</i>	Let it be proud waves
Bis hinauf zum Himmel schnell’n.	<i>e</i>	That rise to the heavens.
Laß es große Schiffe schwingen,	<i>f</i>	Let it carry great ships
Die den Wein von Ferne bringen,	<i>f</i>	Which bring wine from afar,
Laß in alle Land’ es laufen	<i>g</i>	Let it be in all places
Und damit die Heiden taufen;	<i>g</i>	Thereby to sprinkle the fields;
Wasser soll belobet sein,	<i>b</i>	Water be praised,
Doch wir trinken: Wein Wein Wein!	<i>b</i>	But we drink: Wine! Wine! Wine!

This through-composed Lied comprises three verses, each of which is set to a different piano accompaniment, although the vocal line is the same. Else Thalheimer locates in the alternation of solo-performed verse and chorus, sung by the choir, similar traits as in the folk-like Lieder of Zelter and Reichardt. She also recognises the style of the Berlin Lieder tradition in the way in which Kinkel uses stereotypical piano figures.⁹¹ In this light, the folk-like character and the traditional, catchy style of the piano

⁸⁹ Oswald Lorenz, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder: Opus 6* (1839), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 3 January 1840, pp. 7–8. ‘Der Schluß, in Musik und Text, überzeugt den Unschuldigen?’.

⁹⁰ Translation by Gary Bachlund <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=48980> [accessed 31 March 2016].

⁹¹ Thalheimer, ‘Johanna Kinkel als Musikerin’, p. 58. ‘In dem fortgesetzten Spiel zwischen unison gehaltener Frage und chorisch gegebener Antwort betritt es die bekannten Wege, die Zelter und Reichardt in ihren volkstümlichen Liedern gegangen sind, auch in den stereotypen Klavierfiguren zeigt sich der Stil der Berliner Liederschule’.

accompaniment may have led the reviewer of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* to praise the song as a convincing composition.

6.3.2 Socio-political criticism under the disguise of religion and nature

The Lied ‘Rette Vater, Dein geliebtes Kind!’ (Father, Rescue your Beloved Child, op. 15, no. 5, Table 6.14), which is a setting of Gottfried Kinkel’s words, seems to offer a wide range of interpretative options. However, the Kinkels’ background helps understand the subject. When the Lied was published within op. 15 in 1841, Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel faced immense social hurdles, which were caused by the incompatibility of their religious backgrounds and their partnership. In the poem, the lyrical I addresses the ‘Ew’gen Vater, Quell des Lichts’ (Eternal Father, source of the light) and asks him for help. The first line, which is set in a melodic and dynamic contrast to its surrounding lines, reveals that the lyrical I followed a call led by his heart, which is the reason why the lyrical I is in trouble. ‘Doch wie sie mir Schaden brächten | Stets die Schaar der Feinde sinnt’ (But the troop of enemies is | Seeking ways to do me harm), bemoans the lyrical I, followed by a direct request to ‘Rette Du aus diesen Nächten | Vater, dein geliebtes Kind!’ (Father, rescue your beloved child).

Table 6.14: ‘Rette Vater, Dein geliebtes Kind!’ (op. 15, no. 5)

Rette Vater, Dein geliebtes Kind! Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1841		Father, Rescue your Beloved Child!
Einem Ruf hab’ ich gelauschet,	<i>a</i>	I listened to a call,
Den du mir in’s Herz gesendet,	<i>b</i>	Which you sent into my heart,
Ew’ger Vater, Quell des Lichts!	<i>c</i>	Eternal Father, source of light!
Mein Verderben ist gewendet,	<i>b</i>	My ruin has been turned,
Nicht mehr todverkündend rauschet	<i>a</i>	The roaring last judgement does not
Mir der Sturm des Weltgerichts.	<i>c</i>	Herald death anymore.
Doch wie sie mir Schaden brächten	<i>d</i>	But the troop of enemies is always
Stets die Schaar der Feinde sinnt –	<i>e</i>	Seeking ways to do me harm –
Rette du aus diesen Nächten,	<i>d</i>	Father, rescue your beloved child
Vater, dein geliebtes Kind!	<i>e</i>	Out of these nights!
Mag in heil’gem Muth ich streben,	<i>f</i>	I may aspire in blessed courage
Ganz die Welt mir zu erkämpfen,	<i>g</i>	To conquer the entire world,
Daß sie diene deinem Reich:	<i>h</i>	That it may serve your kingdom:
Ach ich kann sie doch nicht dämpfen,	<i>g</i>	Alas, I cannot subjugate it [the world],

Oft noch muß ich mich ergeben	<i>f</i>	I often have to abandon myself to
Ihrem Locken süß und weich.	<i>h</i>	Its sweet and soft luring.
Schau, wie sie mit Zauberflechten	<i>d</i>	Look, how, with the magic plaits
Ihrer Schönheit mich umspinnt –	<i>e</i>	Of its beauty it enwraps me–
Rette du aus Sündennächten,	<i>d</i>	Rescue, out of these sinful nights,
Vater, dein geliebtes Kind!	<i>e</i>	Father, your beloved child!
Ja, du nährst die Kraft! Gewaltig	<i>i</i>	Yes, you nourish my strength! Powerfully,
Steh' ich in dem Streit als Sieger!	<i>k</i>	I will win this battle!
Aber weh, mich trifft ihr Zorn,	<i>l</i>	But alas! Its anger hits me,
Und den kühnen Gotteskrieger	<i>k</i>	And, in many ways, having been rejected,
Trifft, verschmäh't, sie vielgestaltig	<i>i</i>	It strikes the keen holy warrior
Mit des bitteren Todes Dorn.		With the thorn of bitter death.
Mit dem letzten Feind zu fechten	<i>l</i>	Lord, help me to fight with my last enemy,
Hilf, Herr! meine Kraft verrinnt –	<i>d</i>	My strength fades away –
Rette du aus Todesnächten,	<i>e</i>	Out of deathly nights,
Vater, dein geliebtes Kind!	<i>d</i>	Father, rescue your beloved child!
	<i>e</i>	

The lyrical protagonist's cry for help towards God points to Gottfried Kinkel's religious belief. The second verse, which indicates that the lyrical I finds himself caught in an emotional debate between himself and the world, supports the assumption that Gottfried Kinkel's poem may carry an autobiographical element as his increasing interest in the Catholic-born Johanna put a strain on him in relation to both his romantic relationship with Sofie Boegehold and his professional career. Figuratively, the third and final verse encourages the lyrical I to keep up his spirits and even though he nearly loses his mind due to desperate emotional confusion caused by the pressure that is put on him from different sides.

Despite (or because of) the differences in Johanna and Gottfried's confession, religion played an important role in their relationship, especially during the first period of their joint lives. On 2 July 1840, Johanna wrote to the sermoniser Gottfried Kinkel:

Yesterday I had the great intention to travel to Cologne and listen to your sermon; but too many people would know me there so I must deny myself [this trip]. Please send me the promised sermon on my favourite text; surely I will decipher your writing; I have been able to decipher Henning's writing, and there is no theologian or philosopher in the world who would write more unclearly than he.⁹²

⁹² Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Gottfried Kinkel dated 2 July 1840, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 48. 'Gestern hatte ich den großartigen Plan, nach Cöln zu reisen, um Sie predigen zu hören; aber auch dort kennen mich zu viele Leute, und so muß ich mir's wohl versagen. Bitte senden Sie mir doch die versprochene Predigt über meinen Lieblingstext; ich werde Sie schon

This letter reflects Johanna's admiration of Gottfried at different levels, as she not only praises his preaching style, but she also acknowledges his expertise as both a theologian and a philosopher. On 10 July 1840, Johanna sent Gottfried a letter dealing with her own search for truth. Kinkel's request for advice supports her trust in Gottfried's philosophical intelligence, as she expects him to be able to answer her questions:

I ask you to give me advice. After prolonged struggles, I have come to one conclusion on my own; namely: for years, I have developed false concepts of truth. [...] Love and hate take in us priority over truth, and it has to be the other way around; - how will I achieve this? I feel that I have found out what separated me from my own salvation; once I overcome this self-deception, and I am rescued and free. The most difficult burdens are: 1) I need to digest that before this illumination I have already written: 'False to oneself, false to the world'. How can I keep the old view without [my] hindering progress?; I do not want to perceive myself as being inconsistent. 2) I need to fight against irreconcilability; this is the most difficult task for me, but I am aware of its necessity and I cannot avoid it, no matter how much I resist.⁹³

As a response, Gottfried Kinkel writes on 11 July 1840:

The Lord is trying to lead my friend into truth quickly, which is why He sends her struggles. 'We need to pass through many tribulations on our way into the kingdom of God', say the apostles. You, dear friend, will attest before God's throne that it was not I who pushed forward your development in haste. It is only now that I am really happy, as the spirit, of whom is written: 'he shall judge and light a fire', has started his irresistible work in your mind without my personal assistance. I am positive that you are on the right path, because you want to become forgiving, you no longer want to condemn and reject your brother but only want to hate the sin that that lies within him.⁹⁴

enträthseln; ich habe doch nun Hennings enträthseln müssen, und undeutlicher als der schreibt gewiß nicht Theolog noch Philosoph mehr auf Erden'. Considering that Johanna and Gottfried corresponded over particular sermons he gave at different occasions, one can assume that Johanna had in mind a certain sermon when she asked Gottfried to send her the 'promised sermon over [her] favourite words' and that Gottfried knew which sermon she meant.

⁹³ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Gottfried Kinkel dated 10 July 1840, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, 1, pp. 50–51. Underline in original. 'Ich rufe Sie an, mir mit Rath beizustehen. Zu einem Resultat bin ich nach langen Kämpfen schon selbst gekommen; nämlich: auch in mir sind jahrelang verkehrte Begriffe über Wahrheit eingewurzelt. [...] Liebe und Haß machen sich in uns die Wahrheit unterthan, und es muss umgekehrt seyn; - wie bringe ich das zu Stande? Mir ist, als hätte ich nun entdeckt, was zwischen mir und dem Heile stand; über die Selbsttäuschung hinüber, und ich bin erlöst und frei. Die ärgsten Klippen sind noch: 1) es zu verdauen, daß ich vor diesem Lichtstrahl schon geschrieben "Unwahr gegen sich selbst, unwahr gegen die Welt", wie rette ich die alte Ansicht, ohne den Fortschritt zu hemmen?; ich möchte mir so ungerm inkonsequent erscheinen. 2) Nun muß die Unversöhnlichkeit bekämpft werden; das ist mir das schwerste, aber ich erkenne es als eine Nothwendigkeit der ich nicht entschlüpfen kann, wie ich mich auch sträube'.

⁹⁴ Gottfried Kinkel in a letter to Johanna dated 11 July 1840, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, 1, pp. 51–52. Underline in original. 'Der Herr will meine Freundin rasch in die Wahrheit führen, darum sendet er ihr immer Kämpfe. "Wir müssen durch viele Trübsale in das Reich

In the following, Gottfried includes several quotations and allusions to the Bible in this letter and he closes it by reminding Johanna not to forget to pray. These two quotations only mark the beginning of a long correspondence dealing with religious questions, the answers to which are summarised in Johanna Kinkel's credo, and which result in Johanna's conversion to the Protestant faith on 10 December 1842.⁹⁵ The credo reflects her renunciation from the Catholic faith, as she explains that no one could make her adhere to a particular Christian faith and she denies confession as a religious act. In the credo, she writes:

I believe in One God, who created and reigns over the world; who saturates every human spirit with His life and who established the skill and ambition in the human spirit to aspire to truth and goodness; who presides over all muses with love and justice and who leads the international reputation towards the victory of love and justice over hate and sin. [...] I believe that no human authority may dictate to us and demand from us a certain form in which we externally honour and worship Him; that no priestly mediation between Him and the individual soul is necessary; and that He wants to be honoured by means of pure behaviour, holy love towards Him, and brotherly spirit towards our fellow men. [...] I believe that, besides the mentioned moral obligations and prayer, Christ dictated the religious acts of christening and the Last Supper, but no further obligatory customs.⁹⁶

Kinkel's credo and her correspondence with Gottfried reveal that both Johanna and Gottfried had faith in the help of God in difficult situations. This explains why, in Gottfried's poem 'Rette Vater, Dein geliebtes Kind!', the lyrical protagonist asks God

Gottes gehen", sagen die Apostel. Sie, theure Freundin, werden es mir vor Gottes Richterstuhle bezeugen, daß nicht ich Ihre Entwicklung hastig vorwärts getrieben habe. Jetzt erst kann ich mit reiner Freude mich freuen, da ohne mein Zuthun der Geist, von dem geschrieben steht: "er wird richten und ein Feuer entzünden" in Ihnen sein unwiderstehliches Werk beginnt. Und ich habe mein festes Zeichen, daß Sie auf dem rechten Wege sind, denn Sie wollen versöhnlich werden, wollen den Bruder nicht mehr verachten und von sich stoßen, sondern nur die Sünde hassen, die in ihm ist'.

⁹⁵ See Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 342.

⁹⁶ Johanna Kinkel, *Mein Glaubensbekenntnis*, 1842, ULB 2406, n. p. 'Ich glaube an Einen Gott, der die Welt geschaffen hat und regiert, der jeden Menschengestalt mit seinem Leben durchdringt, und die Fähigkeit und den Trieb in ihn gelegt hat, zur Wahrheit und Tugend hinzustreben, der mit Liebe und Gerechtigkeit über allen Musen waltet und den Welthruf zu dem Ziele lenkt, daß Liebe und Gerechtigkeit über Hass und Sünde den Sieg davontragen. [...] Ich glaube, daß keine menschliche Autorität uns die Form vorschreiben und gebieten darf, in der wir ihn äußerlich verehren und anbeten sollen; daß zwischen ihm und den einzelnen Seelen keine priesterliche Vermittlung nothwendig ist, und daß er vor Allem durch reinen Wandel, heilige Liebe zu ihm und Brudersinn gegen unsern Nächsten geehrt seyn will. [...] Ich glaube, daß außer den erwähnten sittlichen Verpflichtungen und dem Gebete Christus noch die religiösen Handlungen der Taufe und des Abendmahls, außer diesen aber keine verpflichtenden Gebräuche vorgeschrieben hat'.

for advice. Johanna Kinkel's decision to set his words confirms the closeness of her own frame of mind to his.

To a certain extent, the fact that the Catholic-born Johanna sets the words of a Protestant-born theologian serves as a means of socio-cultural criticism in two ways. Firstly, the inter-confessional joint work could be seen as a perfect example of the attempt at overcoming borders between the two confessions. Secondly, Johanna Kinkel's creative act of setting this poem reflects the belief that 'God presides over all muses with love and justice', which she included on the first page of her credo and which, in turn, echoes Kinkel's own critical approach to her original confession, Catholicism. Furthermore, Johanna might have used this Lied as a means of demonstrating the union between herself and Gottfried Kinkel in public.

From a compositional point of view, Else Thalheimer considers the Lied as noteworthy for its accompaniment and the melodic line, because:

It shows Johanna Kinkel's skills and taste in the best light and it rises far above her usual bland emotionality. The vocal part incorporates a firm line, and the accompaniment with its powerful bass and its occasionally fine middle voices [...] finally has an effect on its own, i.e. by means of its energetic rhythm and its genuine pathos; unfortunately the ending detracts from the overall effect by its backslide into the usual sentimentalism.⁹⁷

Interpretatively, the ending, which is criticised by Thalheimer for its sentimentalism, could be seen as a symbol of the lyrical I's attempt at defeating the enemies' attacks with the regressive cadence (G major–C major–G major) alluding to the lyrical I's desperate confusion. Additionally, Kinkel's uses a complex harmonic concept in this Lied, whose initial key signature suggests G major. Towards the end of the first verse (bars 15–16), Kinkel employs a tritone substitution (E-flat major–Ger6–D major), a

⁹⁷ Thalheimer, 'Johanna Kinkel als Musikerin', p. 72. 'Erwähnenswert ist ferner aus derselben Sammlung das Lied: "Rette Vater, dein geliebtes Kind!", weil es Johanna Kinkels Können und Geschmack von der besten Seite zeigt und sich weit über die ihr sonst eigene platte Gefühlseligkeit erhebt. Die Singstimme hat einen straffen Zug, und die Begleitung mit ihrem wuchtigen Bass und den gelegentlich fein ausgeführten Mittelstimmen [...] wirkt endlich einmal durch sich, d. h. durch ihren energischen Rhythmus und durch ihr echtes Pathos, leider beeinträchtigt der Schluss durch seinen Rückfall in die übliche Weichlichkeit wieder die Gesamtwirkung'.

procedure which involves a German Sixth chord (second half of bar 15). In bar 24, A-flat major is reached via a mediatic substitution (G major⁷–[expected: C major]–A-flat major), so that the harmonic surprise in bars 16–24 could be interpreted as a symbol of the lyrical I’s struggle and waiting for the Lord’s help (Ex. 6.6). Furthermore, the surprising harmonic turns accompany a rather dire vocal line and thereby stress the lyrical I’s fear.

Ex. 6.6: Harmonic density in ‘Rette Vater, Dein geliebtes Kind!’ (bars 15–24)

15

Sturm des Welt - ge - richts! Doch wie sie mir Scha - den bräch - ten, stets die Schaar der Fein - de
 Lok - ken süß und weich. Schau wie sie mit Zau - ber - flech - ten ih - rer Schön - heit mich um -
 bit - tern To - des Dorn. Mit dem letz - ten Feind zu fech - ten, hilf, Herr, mei - ne Kraft ver -

16

17

18

19

20

sinnt; Ret - te, ret - te Du aus die - sen Näch - ten,
 spinnt; Ret - te, ret - te Du aus Sün - den Näch - ten,
 rinnt; Ret - te, re - te Du aus To - des Näch - ten,

21

22

23

24

Eb Aug 6 *D* *G* *G* *G*⁷ *Ab* *Cm*
 [expected: C/ Cm]

Whereas ‘Rette Vater, Dein geliebtes Kind!’ takes on a very personal tone within the context of Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel’s own background, the Geibel setting ‘Abendfeier’ (Evening Ceremony, op. 8, no. 4, Table 6.15) seems to be of a more general nature.

Table 6.15: ‘Abendfeier’ (op. 8, no. 4)

Abendfeier Emanuel Geibel Published in 1838	Evening Ceremony ⁹⁸ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Ave Maria! Meer und Himmel ruh'n, Von allen Türmen hallt der Glocken Ton, Ave Maria! Laßt vom ird'schen Tun, Zur Jungfrau betet, zu der Jungfrau Sohn, Der Engel Scharen selber knieen nun ⁹⁹ Mit Lilienstäben vor des Vaters Thron, Und aus den Rosenwolken wehn die Lieder ¹⁰⁰ Der sel'gen Geister feierlich hernieder.	<i>a</i> Ave Maria! Sea and heaven are resting, <i>b</i> From every tower echoes the sound of bells, <i>a</i> Ave Maria! Leave off your earthly endeavours, <i>b</i> Pray to the Virgin, to the Virgin's son, <i>a</i> The hosts of the angels themselves are now kneeling <i>b</i> With staves of lilies before the Father's throne, <i>c</i> And out of the rosy clouds the songs <i>c</i> Of the blessed spirits waft solemnly down [toward earth].
O heil'ge Andacht, welche jedes Herz Mit leisen Schauern wunderbar durchdringt! O sel'ger Glaube, der sich himmelwärts Auf des Gebetes weißem Fittig schwingt! In milde Tränen löst sich da der Schmerz, Indes der Freude Jubel sanfter klingt. Ave Maria! Erd' und Himmel scheinen Bei diesem Wort sich liebend zu vereinen. ¹⁰¹	<i>d</i> Oh holy devotion, which marvelously penetrates <i>e</i> Every heart with a quiet shiver! <i>d</i> Oh holy faith that soars toward heaven <i>e</i> On the white wings of prayer! <i>d</i> There pain dissolves into mild tears, <i>e</i> While the rejoicing of happiness rings out more gently. <i>f</i> Ave Maria! It seems that earth and heaven <i>f</i> At this word love each other and become one.

The poem praises the different stages of a religious ceremony: the sounding of the bells – which, according to Else Thalheimer, can be heard in the piano introduction and which recur throughout the Lied, giving it a sacral atmosphere – the prayer to the Virgin Mary and her son, and the sacred devotions.¹⁰² Again, Kinkel uses an enharmonic progression in order to emphasise an important atmospheric turn. Bar 18 completes the exclamations ‘Ave Maria!’ (first verse) and ‘O sel'ger Glaube’ (O holy faith!, second verse). Here, an F major chord is followed by F minor, C-sharp major⁷ and F-sharp minor – the initial tonic key was A minor. The new tonal context of F-sharp minor is maintained over two full bars (Ex. 6.7).

⁹⁸ Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=38707> [accessed 31 March 2016].

⁹⁹ Geibel's original poem reads ‘Des Himmels Scharen’ (heaven't hosts). Emanuel Geibel, ‘Abendfeier in Venedig’, in Geibel, *Gedichte*, p. 90. The translation was adjusted accordingly by myself.

¹⁰⁰ Geibel's original reads ‘und durch die’ (and through). The translation was adjusted by myself.

¹⁰¹ Like Robert Schumann, Kinkel uses this version, while Geibel's original reads ‘Ave Maria! Wenn die Glocke tönet, | So lächeln Erd' und Himmel mild versöhnet’ (When the bell sounds, earth and heaven smile, reconciled). The translation was adjusted by myself.

¹⁰² Thalheimer, ‘Johanna Kinkel als Musikerin’, p. 67.

Ex. 6.7: Enharmonic progression in ‘Abendfeier’ (bars 17–20)¹⁰³

17

A - ve Ma - ri - a! Lasst vom irrd' - schen Thun! Zur
 O seehl - ger Glau - be! der sich him - mel - wärts

p

Am C⁷ F F^m C^{#7} F^{#m} B^m C[#]

Linda Siegel observes that the formal design of this Lied features five seven-bar sections, interrupted by two two-bar sections: 7–7–2–7–2–7–7, a palindromic sequence; she explains that Kinkel might have chosen this division on account of the importance of the number seven within the religious context.¹⁰⁴ It might have been this rather unusual harmonic progression and the division of the melodic line in accordance with the different steps of the ceremony that led Ludwig Rellstab to draw the following conclusion:

No. 4, ‘Abendfeier’, is undoubtedly the most distinctive Lied in the collection, but it is possibly the hardest to understand. The music distances itself from the purely religious idea of the poem, and relates to the formal appearance of the ceremony. This is not intended as criticism, but the observation that ‘She is giving us an image rather than a thought’.¹⁰⁵

Rellstab’s interpretation of Kinkel giving the listener an image rather than a thought can be developed further. Kinkel applies a change of the piano accompaniment over the line ‘In milde Thränen löst sich da der Schmerz’ (There pain dissolves into mild tears, second verse, Ex. 6.8), which takes up elements from the piano prelude and interlude. This compositional feature seems to stress the lyrical I’s sad mood. Furthermore, the

¹⁰³ Considering the harmonic progression and the placing of accidentals in the rest of the bar, the first ‘c#’ in the piano right hand in bar 19 was added by myself although the original publication includes ‘c#’ here. This is likely to be an editorial mistake.

¹⁰⁴ Siegel, *Johanna Kinkel*, I, p. iv.

¹⁰⁵ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Gedichte von Emanuel Geibel für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 8* (1838), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 3 August 1838, pp. 121–22. ‘Nr. 4, “Abendfeier”, ist unstreitig das eigenthümlichste Lied der Sammlung, kommt aber vielleicht am schwersten zur Verständnis. Die Musik geht von der reinen religiösen Idee des Gedichts ab, und wendet sich mehr auf die äußere Gestalt der gottesdienstlichen Feier. Dies soll hier kein Tadel sein; vielmehr das: “Sie giebt uns mehr ein Bild, als einen Gedanken.”’

application of an enharmonic progression at the words ‘Ave Maria’ and ‘Holy faith’ certainly offers food for thought, as this progression seems to question the blessedness of the belief. Having said this, and bearing in mind the increased difficulty in the piano part, which points to Kinkel’s personal touch as an accomplished pianist, one might interpret this Lied as an attempt at questioning the holiness of faith. Although Kinkel published this Lied within her op. 8 in 1838, i.e. before her serious encounter with Gottfried Kinkel and before her philosophical grappling with religiosity, the disappointment about her first Catholic marriage might have provoked critical thoughts.

Ex. 6.8: Changing piano accompaniment in ‘Abendfeier’ (bars /24–26)

Published in Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel’s year of marriage, 1843, the Lied ‘Stürmisch Wandern’ (Stormy Ramble, op. 18, no. 6, Table 6.16) seems to process the lovers’ ordeal by means of an allegory of nature. In this through-composed Lied, the lyrical I wanders through the mountains and encounters such natural barriers as storms, rivers, snow, and rain with determination and courage.

Table 6.16: ‘Stürmisch Wandern’ (op. 18, no. 6)

Stürmisch wandern Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1843	Stormy Ramble
Felsen steigen herauf, herab, Fliegt es zum Himmel? Steigt es ins Grab? Über die Felsen hinab, hinauf, Geht ungehalten mein steter Lauf.	<i>a</i> Rocky cliffs lead up and down, <i>b</i> Ascending to heaven? <i>a</i> Descending into the grave? <i>c</i> Over the rocks, down and up, <i>c</i> My steady ramble leads.
Oben umwandelt der Sturm mich rund,	<i>d</i> On top of the mountain a storm surrounds me,

Los mich zu reißen vom festen Grund.	<i>d</i>	Attempting to tear me away from the firm ground.
Unten aber der Ströme Grausen,	<i>e</i>	But in the valley there are terrifying rivers
Die grimmig schwellend zum Meere brausen;	<i>e</i>	Which bluster grimly to the sea;
Schnee auf den Höhn, Regen im Tal,	<i>f</i>	Snow on the top, rain in the valley,
Grausen und Schrecken allzumal.	<i>f</i>	Horror and fright everywhere.
Nimmer verzagt, nimmer geklagt und gejammert,	<i>g</i>	I never give up, I never complain or moan,
Sprung da gewagt, fest an den Fels dich geklammert.	<i>g</i>	I risk a jump, holding tightly onto the rocks.
Und dem Sturm zuwider mit trotziger Lust	<i>h</i>	Against the storm, with bold happiness,
Jauchz ich aus wild arbeitender Brust.	<i>h</i>	I cheer wildly out of my hard-working chest.
Und dem brausenden Gießbach,	<i>i</i>	In response to the roaring stream
dem eisigen Regen,	<i>k</i>	And the icy rain,
Ruf ich ein fröhliches Lied entgegen!	<i>k</i>	I sing a happy song!

While the first verse, which introduces all these barriers, is set in G minor (it opens with its dominant chord) and in 4/4 metre and is played *forte*, the second part (from ‘nimmer verzagt’ onwards) incorporates compositional changes at many levels. It introduces the brighter major tonic key of G major, is set in a lighter 6/8 metre and its dynamics increase from *piano* to *fortissimo*. These changes turn the Lied into an optimistic and positive reassurance of the lyrical I’s confidence. The piano accompaniment is employed as a support of the harmonic progression through large parts of the Lied, although it takes on an independent role in the preludes, interludes and postludes, all of which are characterised by a flowing vitality symbolising the lyrical I’s hilly path. Similarly, the melody includes many leaps, which support the textual content by stressing the most meaningful words. For instance, the very first word, ‘Felsen’ (rocks) is set to a descending minor sixth (‘d²–‘f^{♯1}’, Ex. 6.9) - a melodic feature which is found relatively rarely in Kinkel’s compositions, as Kinkel herself did not seem to have much confidence as regards her own singing skills. The vocal range of this Lied spans a diminished twelfth (‘c^{♯1}–‘g²’), which supports the assumption that Kinkel, as an alto singer, did not compose this composition with her own performance in mind.

Ex. 6.9: Melodic symbolism in ‘Stürmisch Wandern’ (bars 5–6)

5

f

Fel - sen stei - gen her - auf, her - ab,

The Lied was published by the Berlin publisher Schlesinger in 1843, so it is imaginable that it was performed within the lively musical circles Kinkel used to attend during her Berlin residence. Considering the date of publication, 1843, one is tempted to interpret the lyrical I’s hurdle race and his/ her optimism as an image of Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel’s own socio-political struggle, which preceded their marriage. Stressed by the climactic repetition of the word ‘fröhlich’ (happy), note ‘g²’ throughout the second part of the Lied, the enthusiasm, figuratively, could be seen as an appeal to like-minded people having to endure the same socio-cultural issues to keep fighting for a positive turn of their problems. That Kinkel was aware of other women’s struggles and their hesitation to fight for their rights is reflected in her memoirs, in which she states that:

My first marriage is the story of thousands of my sisters, and the logical consequence of our social situation. Numerous women collapse under similar circumstances, while hardly anyone out of an entire generation has the courage to break free and rescue her better self.¹⁰⁶

Besides gender and religion, Kinkel’s songs also thematise other political themes. The words to the Lied ‘Thurm und Fluth’ (Tower and Floodwaters, op. 19, no. 6, Table 6.17) were written by Gottfried in 1846; the Lied was published in 1848, one of the most eventful years in nineteenth-century German history.¹⁰⁷ The poem is laden

¹⁰⁶ Johanna Kinkel, ‘Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Jahre 1848’, *Deutsche Monatsschrift für Politik, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Leben*, 4 (1851), 39–108 (p. 98). ‘Meine erste Heirath ist die Geschichte von Tausenden meiner Schwestern, und das nothwendige Resultat unserer sozialen Zustände. Unzählige Frauen gehen an ähnlichen Verhältnissen zu Grunde, indeß von einer ganzen Generationen kaum eine den Muth hat, sich loszureissen und ihr besseres Selbst zu retten’.

¹⁰⁷ The year 1846 is included underneath the title in Gottfried Kinkel, ‘Thurm und Flut’, in *Gedichte*, 7th edn (Tübingen/ Stuttgart: Cotta, 1872), pp. 60–61, hereafter referred to as Kinkel, *Gedichte*, 7th edn. It is

with personification and metaphors, giving the reader the impression that the tower and the sea are acting like human beings.¹⁰⁸ Considering the semantically ambiguous chorus ('Die Wellen kennen nicht Rast noch Ruh', The waves know neither rest nor repose, line 7), the lyrics seemingly summarise and criticise the German political status quo and show the poet and composer's rather optimistic hopes using the power of nature as a major allegory. The tower symbolises the Prussian emperor; the sea represents the revolutionary movement. The waterfront tower is destroyed by the raging sea as spirits sally in from the West, possibly an allusion to the strong democratic movement in the Western parts of Germany, such as the Rhineland, Baden, and the Palatinate, or to the French revolutions which preceded the German revolutionary upheavals. As a counterpart to each stanza, the chorus exposes a positive development of the sea's attempt at defeating the tower – possibly a display of revolutionary optimism.

Table 6.17: 'Thurm und Fluth' (op. 19, no. 6)

Thurm und Fluth Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1848	Tower and Floodwaters ¹⁰⁹ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Auf starkem Klippenrande ¹¹⁰	<i>a</i> Upon a mighty cliff edge
Raget ein starker Turm	<i>b</i> There looms a strong tower
Weitschauend über die Lande,	<i>a</i> That gazes far across the land,
Und trotz so stolz dem Sturm.	<i>b</i> And defies the storm so proudly.
Unten so dumpf und schwer	<i>c</i> Below so dully and heavily
Wälzt sich das ew'ge Meer.	<i>c</i> Rolls the eternal sea;
Die Wogen kennen nicht Rast noch Ruh,	<i>d</i> The waves know neither rest nor repose,
Sie wühlen und spülen immerzu.	<i>d</i> They moil and swirl without end.
Was frommt, o Flut, dein Tollen?	<i>e</i> Of what use is, oh floodwaters, your agitation?
Dein tausendjährig Drohn?	<i>f</i> Your thousand-year-long threatening?
Es spricht ja deinem Rollen	<i>e</i> Your rolling waves are mocked
Der feste Zwinger Hohn!	<i>f</i> By the sturdy ward [of the castle]!
Früh bis zum Abendroth	<i>g</i> From early morning until sunset,
Rollst du in deinen Tod.	<i>g</i> You [waves] break yourself into death;
Die Wogen kennen nicht Rast noch Ruh,	<i>d</i> The waves know neither rest nor repose,

also included in the *Maikäfer* journal from 30 December 1845, with the note that this poem was submitted for the New Year's competition (Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, IV, pp. 367–69).

¹⁰⁸ For a more detailed examination of Kinkel's Lied 'Thurm und Fluth' see my article 'Johanna Kinkel's *Thurm und Fluth*'.

¹⁰⁹ Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=98071> [accessed 6 May 2016].

¹¹⁰ The original reads 'scharfem' (sharp) rather than 'starkem' (mighty).

Sie wühlen und spülen immerzu.	<i>d</i>	They moil and swirl without end.
Todmuthig Well an Welle	<i>h</i>	Valiant unto death, wave after wave
Zerschellt ihr krauses Haupt,	<i>i</i>	Shatters its curly head,
Und hat doch von der Stelle	<i>h</i>	And has only managed to steal
Ein Sandkorn nur geraubt.	<i>i</i>	A grain of sand from that place.
Stolz noch das Schloß sich bläht,	<i>k</i>	Proudly the castle still stands,
Well' an Welle vergeht.	<i>k</i>	Wave upon wave passes away --
Die Wogen kennen nicht Rast noch Ruh,	<i>d</i>	The waves know neither rest nor repose,
Sie wühlen und spülen immerzu.	<i>d</i>	They moil and swirl without end.
Da kommt die Nacht. Es stürmen	<i>l</i>	Then comes the night. From the west
Vom West die Geister her,	<i>m</i>	The spirits storm forth;
Da hebt sich empor zu Türmen	<i>l</i>	Then the still, eternal sea lifts itself
Das stille, das ewige Meer.	<i>m</i>	Up to the height of towers.
Tief in die Luken zischt	<i>n</i>	Deep into the crevices hisses
Weiß und wütig der Gischt.	<i>n</i>	Whitely and angrily the spume --
Die Wogen kennen nicht Rast noch Ruh,	<i>d</i>	The waves know neither rest nor repose,
Sie wühlen und spülen immerzu.	<i>d</i>	They moil and swirl without end.
Die ihr vertraut den Riffen, ¹¹¹	<i>o</i>	Those of you who have placed your trust in the reefs:
Bebt, die ihr droben haust,	<i>p</i>	Tremble, you who live above!
Die Flut hat euch ergriffen	<i>o</i>	The floodwaters have seized you
Mit tausendfingriger Faust.	<i>p</i>	With a thousand-fingered fist.
Just um die Mitternacht	<i>q</i>	Precisely at midnight
Berstend der Turm zerkracht.	<i>q</i>	The tower cracks asunder --
Die Wogen kennen nicht Rast noch Ruh,	<i>d</i>	The waves know neither rest nor repose,
Sie wühlen und spülen immerzu.	<i>d</i>	They moil and swirl without end.

From a compositional perspective, the ambiguous words written by Gottfried Kinkel are delivered through a broad variety of features, ranging from traditional formal aspects to a fairly experimental piano accompaniment and thoroughly organised harmonic and melodic progressions. The formal plan reminds us of the traditional eighteenth-century phrasal pattern, which supports the regularity Gottfried Kinkel applied in his poem (Fig. 6.3).

Fig. 6.3: Formal sketch of ‘Thurm und Fluth’

Bar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
Verse	1	2	3	4	5	6								Chorus ¹	Chorus ¹	Chorus ²									
Section	A								B				Chorus												
Piano	Triplets/ arpeggios								8/8 (RH) vs. 4/4 (LH)				Triplets/ arpeggios				Triplets (RH) vs. 4/4 (LH)				calming down				
Harm.	g	g	Ger6/ Bb	Bb/ D7	g/ Bb7	Eb/ Ab	Eb/Bb7	Eb	cD7	g	Bb/ c/ A7	D	D/d	cF7	Bb/Eb	Ab/cD7	gD7	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G

¹¹¹ The original reads ‘Ihr habt’ (you have) rather than ‘Die ihr’ (Those of you who).

Whereas the minnesang bar form and the strophic setting suggest a close relationship to a German folk song, the fast tempo and great number of triplets and arpeggios in the piano accompaniment is rather challenging. In the chorus, the piano takes on a semantic function (Ex. 6.10). In bars 18–20, the piano part becomes independent and features a duple and a triplet rhythm in coexistence, which reinforces the unsettledness of the sea and underlines musically the contents of the last line, ‘Sie wühlen und spülen immerzu’ (They moil and swirl without end). In the same passage, Kinkel uses melody as a means of contrast. Whereas the piano part signifies the troubled water, only one note, namely g, sounds in the vocal part. This note stabilises both the tonic key of G minor introduced initially and the brighter major tonic of G major, which dominates the chorus. Considering the employment of the sea as an allegory for the people, the melodic uniformity and the harmonic brightening might have been intended as an optimistic and enthusiastic encouragement of revolutionary actions.

Ex. 6.10: Chorus of ‘Thurm und Fluth’ (bars 13–20)

13
Die Wo - gen ken - nen nicht Rast noch Ruh, die Wo - gen ken - nen nicht

f *dim.* *p*

17
Rast noch Ruh, sie wüh - len und spü - len im - mer - zu.

marcato

Considering Johanna Kinkel’s financial situation at the time, it is not surprising that ‘Thurm und Fluth’ includes many simple folk-like elements. That Gottfried Kinkel

had some commercial interest in his poems is evident in his letter to his wife from 29 July 1849, in which he writes:

You might consider whether it might not be smart to publish a collection of my latest poems after my sentence, no matter what it will be like, maybe 1000 copies, and to sell them. It should be possible to negotiate a contract with Sulzbach, Henry, or with some Cologne book seller. [...] I believe that if a book seller sent around subscription lists, the edition would be sold out within a few months, which would liquidate a good bit of our debts.¹¹²

In a letter from 12 February 1850, Johanna Kinkel refers to the chorus of ‘Thurm und Fluth’ by using the line ‘Die Wogen kennen nicht Rast noch Ruh’ as a motto (‘Motto: Die Wogen kennen nicht Rast noch Ruh’, Motto: The waves know neither rest nor repose).¹¹³ Here, Johanna Kinkel assures her husband that she is considering a plan for his escape from prison:

I begin this letter by telling you that I have not been as happy as I am today for a long time. [...] A letter from our young former editor [Carl Schurz] has also strengthened me, so I stand before you cured from my feminine desperateness. First about my field of expertise: music. [...] A like-minded artist has offered me help practicing fugues (I nearly despaired of the attempt to acquire this Bachian manner of composing). According to his [the like-minded artist’s] references, he must be knowledgeable. I will get in touch with him and see if he understands more about this area than my former teacher. It must be a compositional genre that is possible to perform, as many others have studied it. Bernhard Klein’s brother complained about the scores [...]. Good Lord, who has time and who is in the mood for that, if the mind is full with one’s own studies, which are crying out to be completed!¹¹⁴

¹¹² Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, p. 578. ‘Überlege einmal, ob es nicht nach meinem Urteil, es falle wie es will, klug wäre, eine Sammlung meiner letztjährigen Gedichte rasch drucken zu lassen, etwa 1000 Exemplare und zu verkaufen. Ein Kontrakt mit Sulzbach resp. Henry oder einem Kölner Buchhändler würde zu schließen sein. [...] Ich glaube namentlich, wenn vom Buchhändler Subskriptionslisten herum geschickt würden, dürfte in wenig Monaten die Ausgabe vergriffen, wodurch ein guter Rest der Schulden zu tilgen wäre’.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 852.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 853. ‘Ich fange damit an dir zu sagen, daß ich fröhlichern Muthes bin, als seit lange. [...] Ein Brief unseres jungen ehemaligen Mitredakteurs [Carl Schurz] stärkte mich ebenfalls, und so trete ich geheilt von meinem weibischen Verzagen vor dich hin. – Zuvörderst über mein Fach: die Musik. [...] Bei meinen Uebungen im Fugenspiel, (welche Seb[astian] Bach’sche Compositionsweise durchzusetzen ich schon verzweifelte,) trägt mir abermals ein Kunstgenosse seine Hülfe an. Der Empfehlung zufolge, muß er ein Kenner sein. Ich will mich mit ihm in Correspondenz setzen, ob er vielleicht mehr davon versteht, wie mein früherer Lehrmeister in dem Fach. Es muß doch eine CompositionsGattung sein, die ausführbar ist, weil so manche drauf reflektiren. – Der Bruder Bernhard Klein’s hat die Partitur reklamiert [...]. Großer Gott, wer hat Zeit und Sinn für so was, der den Kopf voll eigner Studien hat, mit denen er nicht vorwärts kommt!’. According to Monica Klaus, Johanna tells Gottfried here that she was able to convince Carl Schurz to help her to free Gottfried from prison. Schurz himself had fled from the Rastatt prison. Footnote 987 in Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, p. 853.

Considering that Johanna Kinkel employs a secret metaphoric language throughout this passage, one could even interpret the first verse from ‘Thurm und Fluth’, which she uses as a motto, as part of this secret language and as an encouragement for Gottfried to keep up his spirits, patience, and hope.

6.3.3 Direct political connotations: atmospheric portrayals of the revolution

While ‘Thurm und Fluth’ is a folk-like song whose metaphorical revolutionary appeals would have only been recognised by the Kinkels’ like-minded friends and acquaintances of the democratic movement, Johanna Kinkel’s ‘Demokratenlied’ (Democrats’ Song, Table 6.18) contains direct references to the revolution.¹¹⁵

Table 6.18: ‘Demokratenlied’

Demokratenlied Johanna Kinkel Published in 1849	Democrats’ Song ¹¹⁶ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Genug der Schmähung habt Ihr uns geboten, Der Lüge und des Hohnes nur zu viel. Nicht schürten wir den Hass den blutig roten, Die Menschlichkeit war unser Ziel.	<i>a</i> You have offered us enough of vilification, <i>b</i> Of lies and ridicule only too much. <i>a</i> We did not fan the flames of hate, the blood-red [flames], <i>b</i> The goal of our battle was brotherliness.
Wer trägt des Blutes Zeichen am Gewande, Wem sprüht der Bürgerhass aus gift’gem Blick.	<i>c</i> Who has the sign of blood upon his garments? <i>d</i> From out of whose venomous gaze spews hatred of the populace?
Wer küßt den Staub von eines Thrones Rande, Und zittert vor dem Namen Republik.	<i>c</i> Who kisses the dust from the edging of a throne, <i>d</i> And trembles before the name ‘republic’?
Und Ihr die mit der Fülle Eures Goldes, Mit süßem Wein und süßer Schmeichelei Jetzt kirrt die Knechte des Tyrannensoldes, Es gilt auch Euch der Freiheit Racheschrei.	<i>e</i> And you, who with the abundance of your gold, <i>f</i> With sweet wine and sweeter flattery <i>e</i> Now tame the servants in the tyrant’s pay, <i>f</i> The revengeful scream of freedom pertains to you as well!
Droht nur dem freien Mann mit Kerkermauern, Wenn tückisch Ihr die Waffen erst geraubt; Erfüllt der Mütter Herz mit Todesschauern, Begehrt als Geisel unsrer Kinder Haupt.	<i>g</i> Only threaten the free man with prison walls, <i>h</i> When you have first sneakily taken away his weapons, <i>g</i> Fill the hearts of mothers with the horrors of death, <i>h</i> Desire the heads of our children as hostages.
O Freiheit die der Arme sich erkoren, Ob all sein Gut in Schutt und Trümmer sank. Dich grüßen wir, wenn nur zu unsern Ohren Im Tod der Name Republik erklang.	<i>i</i> Oh freedom that the poor man has chosen for himself, <i>k</i> Though all his possessions sank into rubble and ruin. <i>i</i> We greet you, if only in death our ears <i>k</i> Hear the name ‘republic’ ringing out.

¹¹⁵ For further information on this Lied and a more detailed reading see my own article ‘Johanna Kinkel’s Political Art Songs as a Contribution to the Socio-Cultural Identity’.

¹¹⁶ Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=98653> [accessed 22 April 2016].

Chorus: Schaut ob Ihr unser Recht	<i>l</i>	See if you can shatter our right
Und unsre Wehr zerbrecht.	<i>m</i>	And our defense.
Heran, heran, heran Demokratie,	<i>k</i>	Draw near, draw near, draw near, democracy,
Dran auf die rote Monarchie.	<i>m</i>	Storm the red monarchy.

Advocating a democratic republic, this simple strophic setting focuses on the words and seemingly aims to deliver a political message. Monica Klaus ascertains that the ‘Demokratenlied’ was received very positively when Gottfried Kinkel recited it at a meeting in December 1848.¹¹⁷ Its publication by Sulzbach (announced in the *Bonner Zeitung* on 16 December 1848) enabled an instant dissemination of the strong words.

Musically, the song is set in even metres evoking march-like impressions (4/4 in the verses; 2/4 in the chorus). The poem develops a contextual tension by starting off with a peaceful mood (‘Menschlichkeit war unser Ziel’; The goal of our battle was brotherliness) and concluding with combative enthusiasm (‘wenn nur zu unsern Ohren | Im Tod der Name “Republik” erklang’; if only in death our ears | Hear the name ‘republic’ ringing out). Two opposed parties are exposed: ‘we’ (good people), and ‘you’ (bad people, oppressing and robbing the poor people). The use of such personal pronouns as ‘we’ and ‘us’ might suggest a direct connection of the ‘Demokratenlied’ with the Kinkels’ own political ambitions. It may even have been the circulation of this song that increased the officials’ suspicion in relation to Gottfried Kinkel’s political activities, although the words were written by Johanna. On the other hand, the Kinkels may have decided to publish this song in response to the victimisation which they experienced from Gottfried’s employer and the political leaders. When, in 1849, Gottfried moved to Berlin as a representative of the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet, Johanna expanded her editorial activity with the *Bonner Zeitung*. In a letter dated 24 February 1849, she assured Gottfried that ‘even if I could not follow you, my

¹¹⁷ Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p.167.

glowing heart is with you, my mind and your mind aspire to the same aim'.¹¹⁸ On 7 July, after Johanna visited her husband in prison, she included in a letter to him the poem 'Der gefangene Freischärler' (The Imprisoned Voluntary Soldier, Table 6.19), a manuscript of which is archived.¹¹⁹

Table 6.19: 'Der gefangene Freischärler'

Der gefangene Freischärler Johanna Kinkel	The Imprisoned Voluntary Soldier
Was schaut ihr Kindlein traurig zu mir auf, Und fragt, warum der Mutter Thränen rollen? Hemmt nicht mit süßem Schmeicheln ihren Lauf Der aus der Seele quillt, der schwerzvollen. Der Vater, den wir lieben treu und rein, Er weilt gefangen auf dem hohen Thurme, Und lauscht durch sein vergittert Fensterlein Dem fernen Schlachtendonner und dem Sturme.	<i>a</i> Why, children, are you looking at me sadly, <i>b</i> And ask why mother's tears are falling? <i>a</i> Do not block with sweet words their path <i>b</i> Which springs from the aching soul. <i>c</i> The father, whom we love truly and purely, <i>d</i> He is kept in the high tower, <i>c</i> He listens through his barred window <i>d</i> To the remote battle-thunder and storms.
Er kämpfte für die deutsche Republik – Prophetisch sah sein Aug' die Zukunft tragen; Zur Freiheit hingewandt den kühnen Blick, Nicht mocht' er nach der Zahl der Feinde fragen. Es färbt sein edles Blut den Boden roth; Er sank; doch hielt die Hand noch die Muskete. O darum nun verschont' ihn früher Tod Daß er des Kerkers öden Raum betrete.	<i>e</i> He fought for the German Republic – <i>f</i> The future on his mind, like a prophet; <i>e</i> With a brave view towards freedom, <i>f</i> He did not ask about the number of his enemies. <i>g</i> His noble blood colours the ground; <i>h</i> He fell; but he kept the musket in his hand. <i>g</i> This is why he did not die early, <i>h</i> So that he was spared from stepping into the dull prison cell.
Ihr stolzen Sieger! Ehrt den tapfren Feind Der bis zum Tod getreu blieb seiner Fahne, Deß Lippe nie mit falschem Wort verneint Was still sein Herz beschloß im heil'gen Wahn. Doch <u>wir</u> verhüllen wehmuthsvoll das Haupt, Und harren stumm dem finstern Schicksals spruche. Noch grünt die Hoffnung! Weh, wenn sie entlaubt– Dann wird die Welt, das Leben uns zum Fluche.	<i>i</i> Proud winners! Honour the brave enemy <i>k</i> Who never attempted desertion, <i>i</i> Whose lips never denied <i>k</i> What his heart decided in blessed delusion. <i>l</i> But <u>we</u> sadly veil our faces, ¹²⁰ <i>m</i> And we wait quietly for destiny's dark verdict. <i>l</i> There is still hope! Alack, once the hope is gone – <i>m</i> Then the world, life [itself] will turn into a curse.

In the same letter, Kinkel explains that 'nobody will hold against me that I accept the necessity of keeping my hands off politics completely from now on. How easily could

¹¹⁸ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, I, p. 426. 'Wenn ich dir nicht folgen konnte, so ist doch mein volles glühendes Herz bei dir, mein Geist erstrebt mit deinem das gleiche Ziel'.

¹¹⁹ Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, signature: Kestner/II/A/IV/1087/Nr. 8; 1087; Nr. 8; Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, pp. 564–65; Willison-Lemke, "'Alles Schaffen ist wohl eine Wechselwirkung von Inspiration und Willen'", p. 66. According to Willison-Lemke, Kinkel also set her husband's 'Männerlied', which was included as a poem in the *Maikäfer* journal from 30 December 1845 (Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, IV, pp. 367–68). Willison-Lemke dates the 'Männerlied' c. 1846, but as the manuscript is missing and there are no letters between Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel recorded from October 1845 to May 1847, it is impossible to make definite statements about this composition.

¹²⁰ Underline in original.

an incautious statement of mine imperil your rescue!'.¹²¹ Considering Johanna Kinkel's promise to be careful, it is not surprising that both her Lied 'Der gefangene Freischärler' and her setting of Gottfried Kinkel's poem 'Der letzte Glaubensartikel' (The Last Credendum, Table 6.20) remained unpublished.¹²²

Table 6.20: 'Der letzte Glaubensartikel'

Der letzte Glaubensartikel Gottfried Kinkel		The Last Credendum
Von Allem, was ich einst geglaubt, Ist wenig mir geblieben, Die Priester haben's weggeraubt, Die <u>Welt</u> hat's ausgetrieben. Mir blieb ein einz'ger Glaube, Der macht mir Alles wett; Vernehmt's beim Saft der Traube: Ich glaube, ich glaube, Ich glaub' an's Bajonet!	a b a b c d c d c	Of everything I used to believe Very little has remained, The priests robbed it, The <u>world</u> took it. ¹²³ I am left with one belief, That compensates for every loss. Hear it over a glass of wine: I believe, I believe, I believe in the bayonet.
So herrlich hatt' ich mir gedacht Den Friedenssieg der Liebe! Doch seh' ich's heut: der <u>Fürst</u> der Nacht Weicht nur dem Flammhiebe. So wird er uns zum Raube, Er stürzt aufs blut'ge Bett! Vernehmt's beim Saft der Traube! Ich glaube, ich glaube, Ich glaub' an's Bajonet!	e f e f c d c d c	How beautiful I imagined The peaceful victory of love would be! But now I see: the <u>ruler</u> of the night Only yields to fire. That way he becomes our victim, He falls into the bloody bed! Hear it over a glass of wine: I believe, I believe, I believe in the bayonet.
Was schert mich alles Reden noch, Was scheren mich die Kammern? Wir brechen nimmermehr das Joch, Solang wir's nur bejammern! Setzt auf die Pickelhaube Zum blutigen Bankett! Vernehmt's beim Saft der Traube: Ich glaube, ich glaube, Ich glaub' an's Bajonet!	g h g h c d c d c	Who cares about all the talking, Who cares about the law? We will never win As long as we are sorry for ourselves! Put on helmets, Come to the bloody banquet! Hear it over a glass of wine: I believe, I believe, I believe in the bayonet.
Die <u>Feinde</u> sparen uns die Wahl, Fahr hin, du feige Sünde! Die Kugel und der blanke Stahl, Das sind die letzten Gründe. Hinab zu <u>Dampf</u> und Staube Von Eurem schwanken Brett! Vernehmt's beim Saft der Traube:	i k i k c d c	The <u>enemies</u> spare us our choice, Away with you, cowardly sin! The bullet and pure steel Are the last chances. Down to steam and dust Get off your labile board! Hear it over a glass of wine:

¹²¹ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gott!*, II, p. 561. 'Daß ich mich der Nothwendigkeit beuge, und von jetzt an die Finger von aller Politik fern halte, wird mir niemand verdenken. Wie leicht könnte eine unvorsichtige Äußerung meinerseits den Faden abschneiden, an dem deine Rettung hängt'.

¹²² Unfortunately, the manuscript of this Lied is also missing. See Willison-Lemke, "Alles Schaffen ist wohl eine Wechselwirkung von Inspiration und Willen", p. 66.

¹²³ All underlines in original.

Ich glaube, ich glaube, Ich glaub' an's Bajonet!	<i>d</i> I believe, I believe, <i>c</i> I believe in the bayonet.
Es saust der Hieb, die Kugel pfeift, Und die Tyrannen zittern! Die <u>Frucht</u> der deutschen <u>Freiheit</u> reift Nur in der <u>Schlacht</u> Gewittern. Es lebe dieser Glaube, Ein <u>Hoch</u> dem Bajonet! Vernehm'ts beim Saft der Traube: Ich glaube, ich glaube, Ich glaub' an's Bajonet!	<i>l</i> Strokes roar, bullets fly, <i>m</i> And the tyrants shake! <i>l</i> The <u>fruit</u> of German <u>freedom</u> ripens <i>m</i> Only during the thunderstorms of battle. <i>c</i> Long live this belief, <i>d</i> <u>Here's</u> to the bayonet! <i>c</i> Hear it over a glass of wine: <i>d</i> I believe, I believe, <i>c</i> I believe in the bayonet.

Comparing the two poems, both of which originate from the time when Gottfried Kinkel was imprisoned, there emerge two different approaches to a difficult emotional situation. While Johanna Kinkel's poem ('Der gefangene Freischärler') takes on a personal note processing the children's and her own sorrows about their father and husband, Gottfried's poem ('Der letzte Glaubensartikel') reflects his optimism and his eagerness to fight. The closing paragraph of Kinkel's letter from 7 July 1849 supports the assumption that she prioritised her family's well-being over the completion of Gottfried Kinkel's political mission, as she wrote:

Should the war situation change, of which there is no likelihood at the moment, I beg you: stay firm, and consider your political mission as definitely finished. There are other spheres for you in which no one takes you out. Do not tempt fate! If your life is saved by a miracle now, let us quieten down from then on.¹²⁴

Kinkel's Lied 'Abendlied nach der Schlacht' (Evening Song After the Battle, op. 21, no. 5, Table 6.21), in which she set her husband's words, indicates a much more thoughtful and defensive direction. This Lied is part of Gottfried Kinkel's Singspiel *Die Assassinen*, which originates from the early 1840s. Here, this song marks an important atmospheric turn. After a bloody battle between the Christian crusaders and the Muslim assassins, which was won by the Christians, the Templar Enguerrand de Coucy looks

¹²⁴ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, II, p. 562. 'Wenn irgend ein Wechsel des Kriegsglücks einträte, wozu kein Anschein ist, so flehe ich dich an: bleibe standhaft, und sieh deine politische Mission für definitiv beendet an. Es gibt andre Sphären für dich, worin dich kein Mensch überbietet. Frevle nicht! Wenn jetzt dein Leben durch ein Wunder errettet wird, so wollen wir uns über das Weitere beruhigen'.

sadly over the battlefield.¹²⁵ Throughout the Singspiel, de Coucy is in search of his missing son, who, as it turns out, is supposed to fight against him on the battlefield as an assassin. Later in the Singspiel, Musa and de Coucy find out that they are son and father, which brings about a positive ending of the suspenseful plot. When the Christian earl, who listened to de Coucy's thoughtful recital of 'Abendlied nach der Schlacht', asks him why he would be so serious after a hard-won battle, de Coucy replies:

Whether won or lost, a battle is something that makes even a warrior serious. Imagine how many a heart has died today that used to lean against a beautiful woman's chest! How many a man fell whose father was hoping to rejoice in his son's life!¹²⁶

In the Singspiel, de Coucy's remark addresses the loss of his son.¹²⁷ However, the character of both de Coucy's resume and 'Abendlied nach der Schlacht', led me to include this Lied here rather than in the separate section dealing with this Singspiel.¹²⁸ Another reason for my decision was that Johanna Kinkel did not mention this song's origin in the Singspiel in her op. 21. The *Adagio* setting 'Abendlied nach der Schlacht' takes on a different tone than 'Demokratenlied'. Pleading for peace, the lyrical I wanders over an abandoned battlefield.

¹²⁵ It is uncertain whether Gottfried Kinkel chose this name referring to the French earl of the same name, who, according to the 1858 *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, ruled the counties Soissons and Bedford, and voiced tenures in relation to the Western Rhineland region Elsaß-Lothringen. Pierer mentions that de Coucy died in 1397 during a crusade, which links to the plot of *Die Assassinen*. See *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, 4th edn, IV, p. 486. At a more general note, Kinkel might have been attracted by Enguerrand's figurative name, which is derived from 'en' (French 'in') and 'guerre' (French 'war').

¹²⁶ All references to Gottfried Kinkel's Singspiel *Die Assassinen* have been taken from Gottfried Kinkel's own manuscript, archived at ULB (S 2686, n.d. [1842/1843]). There is no pagination in Gottfried Kinkel's manuscript; the date [1842/1843] was ascertained by ULB. 'Gewonnen oder verloren, eine Schlacht ist ein Ding, das auch einen Krieger ernst macht. Wie manches Herz hat heute ausgeschlagen, das einst an eines schönen Weibes Brust klaffte! Wie mancher sank, dessen Vater noch hoffte, Freude an dem Sohn zu erleben!'

¹²⁷ This plot, according to Monica Klaus, goes back to the 'Hildebrandlied', in which a son and a father fight against each other unrecognised. See Monica Klaus, "'Die Assassinen – Romantisches Singspiel mit Gesang": von Gottfried und Johanna Kinkel, 1843' (unpublished article, Bonn, 24 November 2014), p. 14. Hereafter referred to as Klaus, "'Die Assassinen – Romantisches Singspiel mit Gesang"'.

¹²⁸ On the contrary to 'Abendlied nach der Schlacht', Kinkel includes the remark 'Aus den *Assassinen*' ('From the *Assassinen*') in her other single publications from this Singspiel.

Table 6.21: ‘Abendlied nach der Schlacht’ (op. 21, no. 5)

Abendlied nach der Schlacht Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1851		Evening Song After the Battle
Auf weitem blut’gen Feld,	<i>a</i>	On the wide bloody field,
Wo sich die Heere trafen,	<i>b</i>	Where the armies met,
So manche, manche Braven	<i>b</i>	Some brave [soldiers]
schlafen.	<i>b</i>	Sleep.
Auf weitem blut’gen Feld.	<i>a</i>	On the wide bloody field.
Die Sonne geht zu Ruh,	<i>c</i>	The sun sets,
Des Todes Schatten schleichen	<i>d</i>	Death’s shadows sneak
So langsam auf den bleichen	<i>d</i>	Slowly over the pale
Leichen.	<i>d</i>	Corpses.
Die Sonne geht zu Ruh.	<i>c</i>	The sun sets.
Schlaft wohl nun, Freund und Feind!	<i>e</i>	Sleep well now, friend and foe!
So viele heut gefallen,	<i>f</i>	So many died today,
Euch wünsch’ ich Frieden allen,	<i>f</i>	I wish you all peace,
allen.	<i>f</i>	All of you.
Schlaft wohl nun, Freund und Feind.	<i>e</i>	Sleep well now, friend and foe.

Gottfried Kinkel’s words are very poetic, which is substantiated by means of soft internal assonances portraying the stagnating atmosphere after the battle. The Lied captures this mood through long legato passages and a moving piano postlude (Ex. 6.11). In his essay ‘Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers’, Ralph B. Locke states that a crucial moment in the musical portrayal of the Middle East is Félician David’s visit to Turkey and Egypt in 1833, which brought forward a composition portraying the desert (*Le Désert*). In order to illustrate the desert, David employed long-held notes in the strings (Part 1), a feature which Kinkel also used in her Lied. It is unlikely that Kinkel knew of David’s composition, because her Singspiel was performed on 26 July 1843 while *Le Désert*, according to Locke, was published in 1844.¹²⁹ The four-bar lament passage in bars 13–16, which only covers one word, namely ‘schlafen’ (sleep, first verse), ‘Leichen’ (corpses; second verse), and ‘allen’ (all of you; third verse) is possibly the most meaningful passage of the poem. It is supported by the added sixth in bar 15 (‘g¹’ added to the chord of B-flat major).

¹²⁹ Ralph P. Locke, ‘Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers’, in Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music*, pp. 104–36 (pp. 111–13). Hereafter referred to as Locke, ‘Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers’.

Ex. 6.11: 'Abendlied nach der Schlacht' (op. 21, no. 5)

Adagio

1. Auf wei - tem blut' - gen Feld, wo sich die Hee - re tra - fen, so
 2. Die Son - ne geht zur Ruh', des To - des Schat - ten schlei - chen so
 3. Schlaf wohl nun, Freund und Feind! So vie - le heut ge - fal - len, euch

man - che, man - che Bra - ven schla - fen
 lang - sam auf den blei - chen Lei - chen
 wünsch' ich Frie - den al - len, al - len

— auf wei - tem blut' - gen Feld.
 — die Son - ne geht zur Ruh'.
 — schläft wohl nun, Freund und Feind.

movendo

Furthermore, the German augmented sixth chord in bar 6 changes the atmosphere of the song, moving from a rather stable harmonic context centring on F major to a melancholic harmonic progression touching on G minor and including a number of successive semitones. However, the most effective expressive means is the vocal line. As opposed to the rather folk-like melodies of most of Kinkel's Rhineland settings and her 'Demokratenlied', 'Abendlied nach der Schlacht' features a great number of linear dissonances, mainly minor seconds, but also a tritone in bars 12–13 ('a¹'–'e^{b1}'), all of which make this song rather difficult to perform. As Kinkel aimed to sell her Lieder publications, she must have worried about the marketability of her Lieder. Consequently, she published catchy songs such as the 'Demokratenlied' individually

and included more delicate songs, for example ‘Abendlied nach der Schlacht’, in her Lieder collections, most of which comprise songs featuring different levels of complexity.

3.4 Political optimism under the disguise of Exoticism: Kinkel’s ‘Exoticist’ settings

Ralph P. Locke explains the lack of scholarship on unfamiliar Exoticist works by means of the oblivion of such works; their often embarrassing/ unperformable contents; and the general hierarchy in music theory and history towards instrumental music during the nineteenth century, which also questions the idea of a historiographical division of music history into style periods.¹³⁰ In response to his own concern that Exoticist works may reveal embarrassing, and therefore unperformable content, Locke proposes that:

We accept each of these Exotically inspired works [...] is rooted in a unique mixture of fragmentary and often distorted impressions of, and perhaps even defamatory stereotypes of, the culture (and, when relevant, musical traditions) in question. [...] What makes many art works durable, and meaningful to many different kinds of listeners and viewers, is in part that they successfully convey the prevailing ideology of their day. [...] [The] ideological resonances in such a work can become richer as a listener studies the work more closely and learns more about its cultural and social contexts.¹³¹

Locke’s observation that Exoticist works carry information about the ‘ideology of their day’ promises insight into Kinkel’s context, as will be seen in the examination of Kinkel’s gypsy songs and her Singspiel *Die Assassinen*. Among scholars, there seems to be a general consensus on what should be studied in relation to Exoticism. Nadejda Lebedeva ascertains that:

A work’s contribution to Orientalism is not identical with its Exoticist local colour, nor is it saturated within this context; in order to depict the function of a Lied or opera within a cultural discourse, a much more complex examination is necessary, which takes into account the literary

¹³⁰ Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge/ New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 20–22. Hereafter referred to as Locke, *Musical Exoticism*.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

basis [i.e. the poetry], the musical fabric, the cultural and historical context of the time, and the ways in which the work was received.¹³²

In a similar way, Ralph P. Locke observes that:

Whereas, in operas (for example), the necessary images and other elements of cultural “framing” were/are supplied directly, an instrumental piece such as Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14 may have as part of its cultural background certain preconceptions – even prejudices – about the cultural-ethnic group in question. [...] Many of these preconceptions are today considered noxious or insulting. Historical distance, though, should enable us to observe such attitudes as they were held by people in the past and to recognise how those attitudes were embodied and made deliciously palatable – or resisted, or appropriated for new purposes – in the musical works.¹³³

In relation to both vocal and instrumental music, Locke argues for a ‘Music-in-Context-Approach’ and suggests that such elements as the plot, the set, the costumes, and the title should be considered, as ‘these [elements] have often been what motivated the composer to copy or create distinctive musical elements and have served as a framework within which the performer and listener “reads” the musical “codes”’.¹³⁴

David Gramit takes the idea of context even further, and connects the concept of extra-musical meaning with issues of publication practice and genre, an approach which corresponds with the parallels between music and journalism I propose in my introduction and with Katharine Ellis’s theory of genre as ‘generic contracts’. Gramit points out that:

Considering the implication of the song as identifiably Exotic provides another perspective on its enigmatic qualities: from this perspective, the song may hinge not on our ability to decipher hidden meanings, but rather on our willingness *not* to insist on a single meaning (whether hidden or not) and to consider the role of public contexts – not only general intellectual and cultural

¹³² Nadejda Lebedeva, ‘Die Lieder des Mirza-Schaffy op. 34 von Anton Rubinstein: Zwischen Folklorismus, Orientalismus und Nationalismus’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 67.4 (2010), 284–309 (p. 301). ‘Der Beitrag eines musikalischen Werkes zum Phänomen des Orientalismus ist weder identisch mit seinem exotischen Lokalkolorit noch erschöpft er sich darin; vielmehr bietet sich, um die Funktion eines Liedes oder einer Oper im kulturellen Diskurs zu ermitteln, eine viel komplexere Betrachtung an, welche die literarische Vorlage, die musikalische Struktur, den kulturellen und historischen Kontext der Entstehungszeit und die Arten seiner Rezeption mit einbezieht’.

¹³³ Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, p. 108.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

phenomena but also the particulars of genre and of individual publications – in constituting meaning.¹³⁵

Gramit's call for a consideration of 'multiple meanings' also responds to Kofi Agawu's advice to take into account more than one possible *ad hoc* interpretation of song. This section will shed light on Kinkel's Exoticist settings through the lens of two attributive screens: the context of Kinkel's own time – and our own screen enriched by such scholars as Locke, Gramit, and Lebedeva.

6.4.1 Exoticism: a brief definition

Many nineteenth-century writers, among whom Gottfried Kinkel was no exception, were attracted by settings in the Middle East.¹³⁶ Indeed, Ralph P. Locke shows how the Middle East was the second favourite location for operas and ballets in the mid-1840s, following the South of Spain,¹³⁷ both regions of which will be included in this section. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said states that 'Orientalism is the generic term [...] to describe the Western approach to the Orient'.¹³⁸ Said criticises that, because Europe saw itself in a position of strength, the knowledge of the Orient creates the Orient; therefore, Orientalism, in Said's opinion, is a 'sign of European-Atlantic power over the orient'.¹³⁹ Based on Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony and cultural leadership, Said depicts that Orientalism is the result of Westerners positioning themselves above non-Westeners

¹³⁵ David Gramit, 'Orientalism and the Lied: Schubert's "Du liebst mich nicht"', *19th-Century Music*, 27.2 (2003), 97–115 (p. 114). Hereafter referred to as Gramit, 'Orientalism and the Lied'.

¹³⁶ The Middle East, in the narrower sense, includes Turkey, Egypt, and the Arabian Peninsula (including Palestine and Israel), but in the broader sense it stretches westwards as far as the rest of the Islamic North Africa (referred to as Maghreb), eastwards as far as Persia (Iran), or even India and Ceylon, and southwards as far as Madagascar. Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers', p. 104.

¹³⁷ Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers', p. 111.

¹³⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p. 73, hereafter referred to as Said, *Orientalism*. It is important to note that Said was criticised for his work on many levels, most notably for his rather narrow geographical interpretation of the Middle East: he did not take into account such places as China, Burma, Tibet, and Japan. Furthermore, Said, according to David Scott, did not acknowledge Rudyard Kipling's appreciation of different religions (i.e. Buddhism) so that Said's criticism of the Western view on the Orient needs to be treated carefully. See David Scott, 'Kipling, the Orient, and Orientals: "Orientalism" reoriented?', *Journal of World History*, 22.2 (2011), 299–328 (p. 326). Despite this criticism, I will apply in this chapter some of Said's concepts of Orientalism, because many of his points emerge in Kinkel's Singspiel *Die Assassinen*.

¹³⁹ Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 5–6 and 40.

as culturally superior.¹⁴⁰ He argues that the nineteenth-century Orientalist was either a scholar (e.g. a Sinologist, Islamicist, Indo-Europeanist) or a gifted enthusiast (e.g. Hugo, Goethe), or both (e.g. Schlegel).¹⁴¹ Referring to Said's work on Orientalism, Ralph P. Locke ascertains that:

Orientalism thus became to be widely accepted (at least in academia and, to some extent, journalism) as a more sharply disapproving substitute for the word 'exoticism'. By today, this negative meaning is widely taken for granted.¹⁴²

Locke suggests the term 'Exoticism' (rather than Orientalism) because he is in favour of a more neutral (less negative) association with settings located in the Middle East or Southern Europe and defines Exoticism as 'a quality that links a work to some especially fascinating, attractive or fearsome place: to an Elsewhere and, usually, to its inhabitants and their supposed inclinations and ways'.¹⁴³ Locke explains that Exoticism is based on the assumption of such binarisms as 'Now vs Then'; 'Home vs Other'; 'Near vs Far'; 'Real vs Fictive'; and 'Musical vs Extramusical signs'.¹⁴⁴ Like Locke, Derek B. Scott, in his 1998 essay 'Orientalism and Musical Meaning', points to the contradictory meaning of Orientalism. On the one hand, Orientalism can be used as a form of social critique by inverting dominant values. On the other hand, however, Scott also warns of the negative Saidian aspect of a Western European sense of superiority.¹⁴⁵ In a next step, Locke proposes that Exoticist settings may have the potential to criticise the writer's own homeplace and therefore suggests that the study of Exoticist works may prove useful in the examination of a writer's own socio-political background.¹⁴⁶ Thus, in accordance with Marilyn Butler, Locke suggests that Exoticism 'helps an individual to achieve liberation from the constraints of his or her own culture and

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 6–7.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁴² Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, p. 35.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 64–69.

¹⁴⁵ Derek B. Scott, 'Orientalism and Musical Style', in Scott, *Musical Style and Social Meaning*, pp. 137–64 (pp. 155–56).

¹⁴⁶ Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, p. 36.

upbringing’, because, he argues, ‘beneath the surface, the place (people, social milieu) that is being evoked may be perceived as resembling home in certain ways’.¹⁴⁷ In a similar way, David Gramit concludes in his essay on Orientalism in Schubert’s Lied ‘Du liebst mich nicht’ that:

Yet considering the context of a society in which repression and limitations were widely felt, and in which the Lied occupied the position of a publicly marketed sign of the interior and private, it can serve as a reminder of the complex variety of ways in which such projections could serve to define not only an image of the Other but also the identity of those who participated in them.¹⁴⁸

Thus, Gramit alludes to the blurred boundaries between genre and *Alltag* (routine), and to music as cultural practice, as suggested by Beatrix Borchard.¹⁴⁹

So, how might Exoticism be represented through and/ or in music? Jonathan Bellman, in his volume *The Exotic in Western Music* defines musical Exoticism as:

the borrowing or use of musical materials that evoke distant locales or alien frames of reference. [...] [It is] a matter of compositional craft, of making the notes do something different from what they normally do.¹⁵⁰

Locke suggests a broader definition of musical Exoticism, which he describes as:

the process of evoking a place in or through music (people, social milieu) that is perceived as different from home by the people who created the Exoticist cultural product and by the people who receive it.¹⁵¹

Compositional Exoticist features, according to Locke, are modes and harmonies that were considered non-normative in the era or place where the work was composed; pentatonic or ‘gapped scales’ implying simplicity and stable/unchanging socio-cultural conditions; intense chromaticism and shifting harmonies; bare textures, unharmonised unisons or octaves, parallel fifths and fourths; static harmonies; undefined chords portraying the magical/ mystical; rhythmic or melodic patterns deriving from dances;

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 26 and 47.

¹⁴⁸ Gramit, ‘Orientalism and the Lied’, p. 115.

¹⁴⁹ Beatrix Borchard, ‘Lücken schreiben – aber wie?’ (unpublished paper, *Arbeitstagung der Fachgruppe Frauen- und Genderstudien in der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung*, Cologne, 1–3 April 2016).

¹⁵⁰ Jonathan Bellman, ‘Introduction’, in Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music*, pp. ix–xiii (p. ix).

¹⁵¹ Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, p. 47.

simple songs representing simple folk; such ritualistic elements as chanting and local linguistic variants; departures from normative types of continuity (asymmetrical phrase structure, sudden pauses, long notes, repetition); quick ornaments; foreign musical instruments or Western instruments used in unconventional ways.¹⁵² The diverse and sometimes contradictory nature of this list suggests that many of the features will only evoke Exoticist impressions when placed in context. It is also worth noting that many of those features, suggesting that Exotic music would be simpler, or somewhat more primitive than Western music, allude to Said's criticism of nineteenth-century Western culture taking a superior attitude towards the Middle East.

In conclusion, two points are worth remembering: Firstly, Ralph P. Locke argues that an Exotic local colour (dances, names, costumes, sets, title, plot, etc.) adds to the richness and to the comprehensibility of a composition. It is a significant means in order to establish social and gender contexts of the plot and helps outline the *rest* of the work (non-Exotic numbers).¹⁵³ Secondly, Locke stresses the similarities between 'national' style and 'Exotic' style and draws attention to the aspect that, owing to the ample availability and accessibility of sheet music, paintings, and literature, as well as an increased interest in and possibility of travelling, musical works evoked different impressions in different regions. What could be considered national in the composer's home country could be considered Exotic in a foreign country.¹⁵⁴ These dynamics along with other socio-cultural aspects (e.g. the industrialisation, the formation of different political movements after the French revolution, the desire for unity and national identity in some European countries) led to a political and cultural nationalism. In light of that, Ralph Locke points to the market value of musical works incorporating a form of nationalism during the nineteenth century; he argues that those works' fashionability

¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 47–50.

¹⁵³ Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers', pp. 127–28.

¹⁵⁴ Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, p. 77.

would have increased sales, an aspect which reveals a great deal about the general socio-political and cultural climate of the time, and which should be borne in mind also in relation to Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel's artistic output.¹⁵⁵

6.4.2 'Der spanische Zitherknabe' and 'Römische Nacht': remembering the past

Kinkel's settings 'Der spanische Zitherknabe' (op. 8, no. 1) and 'Römische Nacht' (op. 15, no. 1) are excellent examples of how typical features of nineteenth-century Romanticism, namely patriotism, thinking in national cultural categories, and longing for Southern countries and cultures can be combined in one and the same Lied. In Geibel's 'Der spanische Zitherknabe' (The Spanish Zither Player, Table 6.22), the lyrical I regrets that he cannot be in his beloved home country, Spain. Instead, he rambles from house to house trying to make a living with his playing.

Table 6.22: 'Der spanische Zitherknabe' (op. 8, no. 1)

Der spanische Zitherknabe Emanuel Geibel Published in 1838	The Spanish Zither Player
Fern im Süd das schöne Spanien, Spanien ist mein Heimatland, Wo die schattigen Kastanien Rauschen an des Ebro Strand, Wo die Mandeln rötlich blühen, Wo die süße Traube winkt Und die Rosen schöner glühen Und das Mondlicht gold'ner blinkt.	<i>a</i> Beautiful Spain in the remote South, <i>b</i> Spain is my home country, <i>a</i> Where the shady chestnut trees <i>b</i> Hiss at the banks of the river Ebro, <i>c</i> Where the almond trees are in red blossoms, <i>d</i> Where sweet grapes beckon <i>c</i> And where the roses are more beautiful <i>d</i> And where the moonlight is brighter.
Lang schon wandr' ich mit der Laute Traurig hier von Haus zu Haus, Doch kein helles Auge schaute Freundlich noch nach mir heraus. Spärlich reicht man mir die Gaben, Mürrisch heißet man mich gehn; Ach den armen braunen Knaben Will kein einziger verstehn.	<i>e</i> For long I have been wandering with the lute <i>f</i> Sadly, from house to house, <i>e</i> But not a single bright eye looked out <i>f</i> And greeted me in a friendly manner. <i>g</i> Sparingly they pass me my payment, <i>h</i> Grumpily, I am asked to leave; <i>g</i> Alas, nobody will understand <i>h</i> The poor dark-skinned boy.
Dieser Nebel drückt mich nieder, Der die Sonne mir entfernt, Und die alten lust'gen Lieder Hab ich alle schon verlernt. Ach, in alle Melodein	<i>i</i> This fog depresses me, <i>k</i> Which keeps the sun away from me, <i>i</i> And these old happy songs <i>k</i> I have long forgotten. <i>l</i> Alas, the same longing sound

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 78.

Schleicht der eine Klang sich ein: In die Heimat möcht ich ziehen, In das Land voll Sonnenschein!	<i>m</i> <i>l</i> <i>m</i>	Has entered all my melodies: I want to go home, To the land of sunshine.
Als beim letzten Erntefeste Man den großen Reigen hielt, Hab ich jüngst das allerbeste Meiner Lieder aufgespielt. Doch, wie sich die Paare schwangen In der Abendsonne Gold, Sind auf meine dunkeln Wangen Heiße Tränen hingerollt.	<i>n</i> <i>o</i> <i>n</i> <i>o</i> <i>p</i> <i>q</i> <i>p</i> <i>q</i>	When, at the latest Thanksgiving, Dances were performed in a big circle, I played the very best Of my songs. But, even though couples were dancing In the golden evening sun, Hot tears ran down My dark cheeks.
Ach, ich dachte bei dem Tanze An des Vaterlandes Lust, Wo im duft'gen Mondenglanze Freier atmet jede Brust, Wo sich bei der Zither Tönen Jeder Fuß beflügelt schwingt Und der Knabe mit der Schönen Glühend den Fandango schlingt.	<i>r</i> <i>s</i> <i>r</i> <i>s</i> <i>t</i> <i>u</i> <i>t</i> <i>u</i>	Alas, I thought during the dance Of the joys of my native land, Where in the filmy moonshine Every chest breathes freely. Where, accompanied by the zither, Every foot moves as if winged. And where the young man dances glowingly The Fandango with the beautiful woman.
Nein! Des Herzens sehndend Schläge Länger halt ich's nicht zurück; Will ja jeder Lust entsagen, Laßt mir nur der Heimat Glück! Fort zum Süden, fort nach Spanien! In das Land voll Sonnenschein! Unterm Schatten der Kastanien Muß ich einst begraben sein!	<i>v</i> <i>w</i> <i>v</i> <i>w</i> <i>x</i> <i>y</i> <i>x</i> <i>y</i>	No! The heart's longing beats - I can no longer hold it back; I want to suppress all my desire, Please let me be happy in my home! Let me go down South to Spain! To the country full of sunshine! I want to be buried Under the shady chestnut trees!

In relation to compositional features associated with the gypsies, Jonathan Bellman explains that:

One crucial point about this 'Gypsy' performance style, grafted onto Hungarian music, is that it has nothing to do with authentic Romanic folk music of which there are many varieties worldwide. [...] And there is no relation between the *style hongrois* and, say, the music played by Spanish or Greek Romani musicians.¹⁵⁶

Yet the *style hongrois* evoked gypsy flair and produced associations with the gypsies and the Southern regions in which they were usually seen.¹⁵⁷ The energetic and

¹⁵⁶ Jonathan Bellman, 'The Hungarian Gypsies and the Poetics of Exclusion', in Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music*, pp. 74–103 (p. 97). Hereafter referred to as Bellman, 'The Hungarian Gypsies and the Poetics of Exclusion'.

¹⁵⁷ The *style hongrois* includes such elements as the 'Gypsy' scale (a harmonic minor scale with raised fourth); wild ornamentation; augmented seconds; the kuruc-fourth (a trumpet-call figure between the fifth step of the scale and its upper prime); the bókazó rhythm imitating the clicking of the spurs; cimbalon imitations (a declamatory style and background drum style with a virtuoso approach, i.e. tremolando background passages); Hungarian bagpipe imitations (open fifths in the bass); certain rhythmic figures (spondeus – two longs; choriambus – long-short-short-long with a stress on the second short beat; dotted rhythm, alla zoppa rhythm – short-long-short); triadic, nontonal harmonies, free use of modal juxtapositions, surprising and unexpected chord progressions. Bellman, 'The Hungarian Gypsies and the Poetics of Exclusion', pp. 85–95.

accentuated piano accompaniment of Kinkel's Lied stresses both the composer's brilliant piano skills and the vital Spanish gypsy temperament, which is also noted by Ludwig Rellstab, who wrote about this 'romance':

The music enhances the poetic expression; it has selected the form of Fandango, and thus Lied appears in a national costume. Clothes make the man; a woman always has better taste at that than men. Thus she has had a lucky hand here as well.¹⁵⁸

Kinkel's choice to set this poem may have originated from various reasons, as she was friendly with Emanuel Geibel when she published the Lied as part of her op. 8 in 1838; she must have been aware of the commercial potential of such a fashionable subject; and she may, at times, have felt homesick herself while she was resident in Berlin.

In addition to the compositional features, James Parakilas depicts two typical images of Spain: the smuggler and the dancer, more particularly the female dancer and the bolero, which embodies the Exotic eroticism associated with the South of Spain.¹⁵⁹ Dorothea Link, in her essay 'The Fandango Scene in Mozart's *Le nozze de Figaro*', gives an elaborate account of the reception of the fandango as a sexually attractive (and provocative) dance at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁰ While the negative connotation with the fandango might have faded by the mid-nineteenth century owing to its repetition and ubiquity within both opera and song, its impression of a dance distant from other Middle European cultures might still have existed when Kinkel published her Lied. Because of the performance context of music which was written for and performed in the salon or parlor, Parakilas argues that:

It fell to the notes to convey everything – the sexually charged atmosphere, the liberating experience of the dance, the arch tone of the role playing. As a consequence, composers of

¹⁵⁸ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Gedichte von Emanuel Geibel für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 8* (1838), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 3 August 1838, pp. 121–22 (p. 122). 'Die Musik erhöht die Eindrücke des Gedichts; sie hat die Form eines Fandango gewählt, und erscheint daher sogleich in Nationaltracht. Kleider machen Leute; eine Frau hat darin immer bessern Geschmack als die Männer, und so hat sie es denn auch hier sehr gut getroffen'.

¹⁵⁹ Parakilas, 'How Spain Got a Soul', p. 141–43 and Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, pp. 160–61.

¹⁶⁰ Dorothea Link, 'The Fandango Scene in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 33.1 (2008), 69–92 (pp. 82–84).

‘Spanish’ songs and instrumental pieces in midcentury Paris inevitably resorted to the one musical type that could reliably convey everything ‘Spanish’: the bolero.¹⁶¹

This performance context also applies to Kinkel’s Lieder, most of which were performed within private or semi-public gatherings. Although Kinkel arranged for costumes to be improvised for some of her Singspiele, her Lieder would have been performed without costumes, so that it was important to evoke impressions of the South by means of compositional features. In accordance with Parakilas, the characteristic Fandango expression pinpointed by Rellstab corresponds with the emphasis on female power and leadership carried by this song’s words.

Finally, Jonathan Bellman argues that the Hungarian gypsy style was typically employed in order to portray particularly dark spirits. Referring to the works of Franz Schubert and his physical and psychological health issues during late 1822–late 1824, and late 1827–late 1828, Bellman notes that:

It seems clear that a specific psychological state led him to use this particular musical style, a style – it cannot be coincidental – that was associated with the most down-trodden group known to the Viennese at the time, the group whose music was felt to express the deepest conceivable despair.¹⁶²

Bellman concludes that:

Gypsy music means suffering and defiances and animal-level joys and griefs. [...] When standard musical discourse was found wanting, when sentiments were too deeply felt for conventional forms of expression, only then would the *style hongrois* find its proper motivation and use.¹⁶³

Bellman also explains that the application of gypsy [and seemingly Exotic] elements constituted an intersection of art and popular music, as the mixture of ‘high’ and ‘low’ styles (in Schubert, Brahms, Liszt) would have been rather unusual at the time. He states that:

As composers such as Schubert, Liszt, and Brahms are now chronologically remote and charter members of our musical canon, such mixtures of high and low style shock far less than they

¹⁶¹ Parakilas, ‘How Spain Got a Soul’, p. 150.

¹⁶² Bellman, ‘The Hungarian Gypsies and the Poetics of Exclusion’, p. 97.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

originally may have and, because of the familiarity of repeated listenings, challenge our expectations not at all.¹⁶⁴

In a similar way, the reception of plots and settings changes according to the cultural heritage and status quo of an audience. This may also be valid for Kinkel's Exoticist works. Nevertheless, I argue that these songs should not be abandoned, because they might offer an interesting insight into the time during which they were composed, published, and received.

Unlike Geibel's words, Gottfried Kinkel's poem 'Römische Nacht' (Roman Night, Table 6.23) must have been rather unknown when Johanna Kinkel set it at the beginning of the 1840s. That the poem was exceptionally well received and acknowledged for its plot, is reflected by the fact that also such other Romantic composers as Georg Vierling (1820–1901),¹⁶⁵ and later Eduard Lassen (1830–1904)¹⁶⁶ and Felix Draeseke (1835–1913)¹⁶⁷ set these words. The poem portrays the calm city of Rome, which remembers its glorious past of which nothing is left. While Parakilas argues that Italy was Exoticised by mid-nineteenth-century France for the same reason as Spain,¹⁶⁸ I would also like to draw attention to the temporal displacement created in

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 101–02.

¹⁶⁵ Georg Vierling (1820–1901) was a German composer and organist. His teachers were A. B. Marx (Berlin) and Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck (Darmstadt). In 1852, he was appointed Musikdirektor in Frankfurt, but he returned to Berlin in the following year, where he founded a well-known choral association, the *Bach-Verein*. See *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, xx, p. 154.

¹⁶⁶ Eduard Lassen (1830–1904) was a composer and conductor born in Copenhagen. After his musical training, which he received in Brussels, he won a composition scholarship in 1850, which enabled him to undertake artistic travels throughout Europe. During his travels, he met such famous contemporaries as Louis Spohr and Franz Liszt. From 1857 to 1895, Lassen resided in Weimar, where he largely influenced the musical life. James Deaville observes a certain folk-like style in Lassen's Lieder, derived from his natural imagery and his salon-like melodramatic expressive means. Deaville encourages a more in-depth examination of both Lassen's Lieder and his stage works, in which, among others, he set Goethe's words. James Deaville, 'Lassen, Eduard', trans. by Günther Kraft, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, x, Personenteil, pp. 1365–70.

¹⁶⁷ Felix Draeseke (1835–1913) was a German composer. He was fascinated by such contemporary composers as Richard Wagner and Franz Liszt, who influenced his compositional style to a great extent. The performance of his *Germania Marsch* in 1861 in Weimar resulted in a scandal, whereupon he moved to Switzerland. Draeseke then changed his compositional direction towards a more neutral compromise between modern and traditional strands. His Lieder, many of which he composed in 1880, stand out for the thoughtful prioritisation of the voice. See Helmut Loos, 'Draeseke, Felix', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, v, Personenteil, pp. 1239–40.

¹⁶⁸ Parakilas, 'How Spain Got a Soul', pp. 141–43 and Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, p. 151.

this song, which corresponds with Ralph P. Locke’s binarism between ‘Now and Then’ as a typical Exotic feature.

Table 6.23: ‘Römische Nacht’ (op. 15, no. 1)

Römische Nacht Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1841	Roman Night ¹⁶⁹ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Ringsum auf allen Plätzen	<i>a</i> Motionless, the night sleeps
Schläft unbewegt die Nacht.	<i>b</i> Above all squares.
Am blauen Himmel stehet	<i>c</i> The glorious moon shines
Der Mond in voller Pracht.	<i>b</i> Down from the blue sky.
So totenstill sind beide,	<i>d</i> The old and new Rome
Das alt’ und neue Rom,	<i>e</i> Are deadly silent,
Und selbst ihr Riesenwächter	<i>f</i> Even its giant guard
Nickt ein – Sankt Peters Dom.	<i>e</i> Falls asleep – St. Peter’s Basilica.
Nur wunderbar noch rauschen ¹⁷⁰	<i>g</i> Only the fountains rustle
Die Brunnen nah und fern.	<i>h</i> Beautifully near and far.
Die halten wach die Seele	<i>i</i> They keep awake the soul
Die selbst entschliefen gern.	<i>h</i> That is longing to sleep as well.
Die spülen aus dem Herzen	<i>k</i> Quietly, they rinse the woe gone by
Leise das alte Leid.	<i>l</i> Out of the heart.
Im blauen Mondlicht dämmert	<i>m</i> The old times are dawning
Weit fort die alte Zeit!	<i>l</i> In the blue moon light!

Figuratively, this subject could be transferred to many German folk songs and folk-like songs such as the Rhineland settings discussed above, which praise the German *Kaiser* or the Germanic past in order to build up interior confidence and a certain sense of a national *Kultur*. In relation to the German *Volksbewusstsein* (national consciousness), Martin Wehnert asserts that:

In its early phase, the distinctive quality of the German Romantic movement was a universal wanderlust, which had replaced the one-sided classicistic enthusiasm for the ancient world. After the Napoleonic Wars, the past of one’s own people was granted priority in the world of arts with

¹⁶⁹ Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=105819> [accessed 22 April 2016].

¹⁷⁰ Gottfried Kinkel’s original includes the word ‘wundersam’ (strangely) rather than ‘wunderbar’ (beautifully). Gottfried Kinkel, *Gedichte*, p. 97. This poem is included in the same section as ‘Abschied von Italien’ (see Chapter II.2).

regards to both compositional aesthetics (e.g. in C. M. Von Weber's *Freischütz*) and reception history (J. S. Bach was seen as a national musical hero).¹⁷¹

Interestingly, 'Römische Nacht' seems to incorporate both enthusiasm for the ancient (Roman) world and an increased interest in German musical aesthetics as Else Thalheimer detects in 'Römische Nacht' Kinkel's fondness for Spohr's compositional style, which is also mirrored in the repertory of the *Bonner Gesangverein*. Thalheimer's interpretation of Kinkel's music as being influenced by Spohr's supports Martin Wehnert's observation. Thalheimer continues:

['Römische Nacht' is a composition], which breathes the spirit of Spohr, especially in its instrumental parts, which incorporates soft cantilenas. One is struck by a modulation (second verse over the words 'Das alte Leid' [the woe gone by]). Here, one expects a modulation via the cadential four sixthsix-four chord back to the tonic key, but a musically and textually unmotivated modulation to E-flat major is employed instead; the 'old times dawning in the blue moonlight' are expressed very dramatically until, finally, the initial musical idea picks up the aforementioned line and thereby concludes the Lied.¹⁷²

Kinkel uses this unexpected harmonic turn as a means of dramatic expression. Bearing in mind the Romantic context in which this Lied was produced and published, it is not surprising that Kinkel wanted to specially emphasise the lines 'the woe gone by' and 'the old times are dawning in the blue moonlight', as the Romantic fashion not only incorporated a notable admiration of the past, but also an increased appreciation of nature. Interestingly, Thalheimer identifies cantilenas in this Lied, which alludes to the

¹⁷¹ Wehnert, 'Romantik', p. 483. 'Die deutsche Eigenart der romantischen Bewegung wies in ihrer Frühphase dagegen noch ein ausgesprochen universalistisches Fernweh auf, das die einseitig orientierte klassizistische Antikenschwärmerei abgelöst hatte. Die Befreiungskriege trugen dann wesentlich dazu bei, dass nun die Vergangenheit des eigenen Volkes sowohl produktionsästhetisch (beispielsweise bei C. M. von Webers *Freischütz*) als auch rezeptionsästhetisch (J. S. Bach wurde in die Beleuchtung eines nationalen Tonheroen gestellt) vornehmlich in das künstlerische Blickfeld gerückt wurde'.

¹⁷² Thalheimer, 'Johanna Kinkel als Musikerin', p. 72. '[Eine Komposition], die ganz Spohr'schen Geist atmet, vor allen in ihrem instrumentalen Teil, der weiche Cantilenen aufweist. Auffallend in diesem Liede ist eine Modulation (Text 2 Str. auf den Worten: Das alte Leid). Man erwartet an dieser Stelle die Modulation über den cadenzierenden Quartsextakkord zur Haupttonart zurück, statt dessen erfolgt eine sowohl textlich als auch musikalisch unmotivierter Ausweichung nach Es-Dur, ganz dramatisch wird hier die "im blauen Mondlicht fort dämmernde alte Zeit" angesungen, bis endlich der musikalische Eingangsgedanke wieder versöhnend die erwähnte Versreihe aufnimmt und so das Lied abschliesst'.

Italian setting.¹⁷³ Another noteworthy passage in this song is the line ‘Und selbst ihr Riesenwächter | Nickt ein – St. Peters Dom’ (Even its giant guard | Falls asleep – St. Peter’s Basilica’). At the word ‘nickt ein’ (falls asleep) Kinkel employs a German augmented sixth chord, which, ironically, prolongs the cadence in response to the words (bars 21–23, A major⁷–D major–Ger6–A major–E major–A major).

Both ‘Römische Nacht’ and ‘Der spanische Zitherknabe’ include similar Romanticist features to those in ‘Don Ramiro’, in which Kinkel used a motif originating from a Spanish opera setting in order to identify the ‘Spanish-ness’ of a particular plot, and which further developed the concept of musical irony; and the Rhineland settings – which incorporated such typical German folk-like elements as a simple and catchy melody, memorable rhythms and strophic forms. This refers back to the similarity between ‘national’ and ‘Exotic’ style as outlined by Ralph P. Locke and might explain why ‘Der spanische Zitherknabe’ and ‘Römische Nacht’ were received so positively by both the nineteenth-century and twentieth-century critics.

6.4.3 Gottfried Kinkel’s Singspiel *Die Assassinen*

Four of the songs included in *Die Assassinen* were published by Johanna Kinkel within her two last Lieder opus numbers: ‘Beduinen-Romanze’, ‘Durch Carthago’s Trümmerhallen’, ‘Provençalisches Lied’, and ‘Abendlied nach der Schlacht’, the latter of which was already introduced in the section above. *Die Assassinen* was never performed in a public forum and was never published as a whole, which explains why there are no public reviews of this work in its entirety. This section will explore those Lieder from this Singspiel which were published separately and will contextualise them within the Singspiel’s overall plot. Taking Gramsci’s and Said’s advice, I will

¹⁷³ Ellen T. Harris asserts that the term ‘cantilenas’ originally refers to a ‘particularly sustained or lyrical vocal line’, which incorporates a ‘wordless quality’. She derives the term from the Italian word ‘cantilenare’, meaning ‘to hum’. According to Harris, the term can be transferred to ‘an instrumental passage with this lyrical and vocal quality’. Ellen T. Harris, ‘Cantilena’ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, v, p. 57.

interweave aspects of Gottfried Kinkel's personal inventory, i.e. his socio-political background, his knowledge, and the sources of his knowledge. A Protestant theologian, Gottfried Kinkel read a great deal of literature available to him, but he never travelled to the Middle East. Monica Klaus detects that Gottfried Kinkel, for his work *Die Assassinen*, must have used Johann Philip Lorenz Withof's 1765 publication *Das meuchelmörderische Reich der Assassinen* (The Assassins' Empire). Klaus ascertains that some aspects of this book, re-worded and dramatised, recur in Gottfried Kinkel's work.¹⁷⁴ For instance, some events, places, and characters mentioned in Withof's monograph surface in Kinkel's work, but they are condensed in correspondence with the plot. Klaus reconstructs that Kinkel must not have known of Hammer's source, because mistakes made by Withof but clarified by Hammer arise in *Die Assassinen*.¹⁷⁵ For example, some places and names are confused, and the assassins were not, as in Kinkel's play, defeated by the templars and crusaders but by the Christian Mongolian leader Hüläkü.¹⁷⁶ However, Klaus raises the point that 'the defeat [of the Muslims by the Christians] had to be achieved in order for the piece to be performable and effective according to the times',¹⁷⁷ which conforms to the issues of fashionability and a changing cultural perception mentioned by Locke.

The Singspiel is divided into three acts and is preceded by an overture. Ralph P. Locke states that the 'stylistically most "different" moments tend to be located at the beginnings of scenes or acts and tend to involve the orchestra alone, or the chorus, or dancers (but little or no solo singing)'.¹⁷⁸ Although the overture of this Singspiel will not be discussed here, it may be insightful to open this section with the singer and

¹⁷⁴ Klaus, "Die Assassinen – Romantisches Singspiel mit Gesang", pp. 2–3.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 2–3. The source is Joseph von Hammer, *Die Geschichte der Assassinen aus morgenländischen Quellen*, transl. by Oswald Charles Wood (1835), *The History of the Assassins: Derived from Oriental Sources* (London: Smith & Elder, 1818).

¹⁷⁶ Klaus, "Die Assassinen – Romantisches Singspiel mit Gesang", pp. 3 and 7.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 7. 'Denn ein Sieg musste das Stück, und zwar im Sinner der Zeit, bühenwirksam zu Ende bringen'.

¹⁷⁸ Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers', p. 125.

Kinkel's friend Leopold Kaufmann's account of the overture, which supports the strategy suggested by Locke. Kaufmann writes to his sister:

The overture is a highly interesting piece, which takes up the following idea: the first movement is dominated by a chorale-like melody in the strings, serious and solemn, alluding to Christianity, while it gets ready for the fight against paganism. The middle movement represents the Orient by means of Janissary music; it merges artistically yet clearly with the chorale melody which wins in the end.¹⁷⁹

Kaufmann's conflation of the assassins with pagans points to the nineteenth-century view on religion and 'otherness', and reminds us that both the plot and the reception of this piece need to be considered with care.

In the first act, which is set in the assassins' headquarters, the two young assassins Musa and Nadir are introduced. Musa and Nadir are two young Muslims who, having been delivered to the assassins' ruler in their sleep by the ruler's helpers, are given a magic drink. The ruler, the 'Alte vom Berge' (old man of the mountains), consecrates the two men, anticipating that love will strengthen the murderer (scene 1). This reflects the general nineteenth-century public perception that the assassins were such brave warriors because of their anticipation of dying and returning to the same paradise, which they have experienced temporarily after their consecration.¹⁸⁰ After the consecration, Musa and Nadir wake up slowly and find themselves in a paradise, surrounded by beautiful women, known as 'Paradiesjungfrauen' (virgins of paradise, scene 2), who welcome the two young men to their world (scene 3). While Nadir leaves with Zoraide, one of the virgins, Musa meets Melisande, who encourages him to follow the others rather than spending time with her. Melisande's following monologue, in which she thanks the 'Gott meiner Natur' (God of my nature) for saving her, reveals that Melisande is not originally a Muslim but a French Christian, who was kidnapped

¹⁷⁹ Cited after Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 127.

¹⁸⁰ See *Pierer's Universal-Lexikon*, 4th edn, I, pp. 830–31.

during the Children's Crusade in 1212 (scene 4).¹⁸¹ In the fifth scene, Melisande sings a song which she remembers from her childhood, 'Provençalisches Lied', which is published by Johanna Kinkel as the fourth number of her op. 21.

In 'Provençalisches Lied' (Lied from the Provence, Table 6.24), the lyrical I praises her home place, the Provence, and remembers the olive trees and the Rhone, where she used to sleep as a child. Furthermore, she regrets that she is forced to abet the men to kill, which is why '[her] grief will never end'.

Table 6.24: 'Provençalisches Lied' (op. 21, no. 4)

Provençalisches Lied Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1851		Lied from the Provence
Am Strande der Dürançe	<i>a</i>	At the beach of the Durance river,
In blühender Provençe,	<i>a</i>	In the beautiful Provence,
Da ragt im Sonnenglanze	<i>a</i>	My father's castle towers
Des Vaters Schloß empor.	<i>b</i>	In the bright sunshine.
Mich hat der Sturm verschlagen,	<i>c</i>	The storm has carried me away,
Es bringt der Eltern Klagen	<i>c</i>	Of my parents' laments,
Kein Hauch aus West getragen	<i>c</i>	Not a breath is carried from the West
Zu der Gefangnen Ohr.	<i>b</i>	To the captive woman's ear.
Ob noch zu Kirchenhallen	<i>d</i>	Do the believers still
Die Frommen gläubig wallen,	<i>d</i>	Go to church,
Ob noch die Glocken schallen	<i>d</i>	Do the bells still announce
Ins Land den Festesgruß?	<i>e</i>	The solemn ceremony?
Weh mir, daß ich mit Tücken	<i>f</i>	Woe betide me, for I maliciously
Der Männer Herz berücken,	<i>f</i>	Have to bewitch the men's hearts,
Mit frevelndem Entzücken	<i>f</i>	With bad enchantment
Zum Mord sie locken muß.	<i>e</i>	I have to lure them to kill.
O grünt ihr noch, Oliven,	<i>g</i>	O olive trees are you still growing,
Wo wir am Mittag schliefen,	<i>g</i>	Where we used to sleep at midday,
Wenn kühl in blauen Tiefen	<i>g</i>	When the Rhone, cool,
Gerauscht der Rhone Flut?	<i>h</i>	In blue depths, rushed past?
Stumm ring ich meine Hände,	<i>i</i>	Silently, I pray,
Nie hat mein Gram ein Ende,	<i>i</i>	Never will my grief come to an end,
Es schmachtet Melisande	<i>i</i>	Melisande languishes
In Ostens Todesglut.	<i>h</i>	In the Eastern fervour of death.

In correspondence with the image of Melisande as a graceful young woman, the melodic line in this Lied is elegant and incorporates a great deal of ornamentation. The

¹⁸¹ Klaus, "Die Assassinen – Romantisches Singspiel mit Gesang", p. 11.

most meaningful words are stressed by means of melodic turns and stretches, for example ‘Klagen’ (regrets, first verse) and ‘Ende’ (end, third verse) in bar 19 (Ex. 6.12) as well as ‘Gefangnen’ (convict, first verse), ‘locken’ (lure, second verse), and ‘Ostens’ (Eastern, third verse) in bars 24–25 (Ex. 6.13). The *Allegretto* tempo and 6/8 metre stress Melisande’s positive and light-hearted childhood memories, which are additionally captured by the lively and richly decorated piano prelude, interlude and postlude.

Ex. 6.12: Melodic ornamentation in ‘Provençalisches Lied’ (bar 19)

19

Kla - - gen kein
rük - - ken, mit
En - - de, es

Ex. 6.13: Melodic stretch in ‘Provençalisches Lied’ (bars 23–25)

23

Ohr, zu der Ge - fang - - - - - nen, zu
muss, daß ich sie lok - - - - - ken, zum
glut, in O - - - - - stens, in

mf

In order to emphasise the huge emotional contrast between Melisande’s positive childhood memories and her negative associations with her current situation, Kinkel

sets the first part of the two-part Lied in the bright tonic key of C major. However, as the atmosphere changes in part B of each stanza, this part turns the initial tonic key into the dominant key and opens in F minor, which echoes the lyrical I's desperate and sad mood. C major is reestablished via a modulation after the first phrase of part B. In general, this Lied evokes rather Western European connotations (the 6/8 metre, the vocal line, and the harmonic constitution do not feature any Exoticist characteristics). This corresponds with Ralph P. Locke's observation that musical passages which do not differ from the normative style of a certain era and region may be perceived as Exotic, because they are presented within a certain Exotic context.¹⁸² In a similar way, Balász Mikusi detects non-oriental (and non-Danish) features in Schumann's Andersen settings. Mikusi, referring to Schumann himself, distinguishes between characteristic and picturesque music, stating that characteristic music reflects a specific state of mind while picturesque music reflects a specific state of life. He then argues that Schumann sometimes evokes an atmosphere (i.e. characteristic music) rather than presenting a certain local color (i.e. picturesque music), an aspect which is also true for Kinkel's 'Provençalisches Lied'.¹⁸³ In relation to this, Balász Mikusi suggests that the word 'local' in the phrase 'local colour' does not only have a geographical dimension, but also refers to the application of such stylistic means within a musical work. Thus, Exoticist elements, Mikusi argues, are often employed 'only at certain moments, rather than throughout the work'.¹⁸⁴ Mikusi explains that 'musical Exoticism, being inspired by the distance of the plot, inevitably creates distance from the audience, and this might easily have been the very thing the composer strove to avoid', which is why the

¹⁸² Ralph P. Locke, 'A broader View of Musical Exoticism', *The Journal of Musicology*, 24.4 (2007), 477–521 (p. 483).

¹⁸³ Balász Mikusi, 'Evoking the Exotic: Schumann's "Danish" Manner', *The Musical Times*, 149 (2008), 36–46 (pp. 38–39). Hereafter referred to as Mikusi, 'Evoking the Exotic'.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

composer might be economical with those means.¹⁸⁵ In a similar way, Ralph P. Locke explains that:

The music in certain Exotic portrayals may, at times, not even be notably consistent with the Exotic people's qualities or characteristics (as defined by the words and dramatic action). [...] The composer puts into gear all the usual ways and means of compositional excellence – melodic and harmonic coherence, subtle variation in phrase structure, orchestration that is delicate or forceful, and so on – to keep us listening and watching, and to help us feel involved in the proceedings.¹⁸⁶

Considering Kinkel's rather small performance settings and her close relationship with the audience (which the performance of the *Assassinen* by the *Bonner Gesangverein* would have featured), this might have been an important aspect of Kinkel's compositional strategy. Furthermore, Mikusi alludes to the 'essential human similarities, the feeling that this could have happened to any of us', which Schumann evokes in his Andersen settings.¹⁸⁷ In a similar way, considering Kinkel's own biography, she might have aimed to thematise (desperate) emotional states of mind by way of allegory of Melisande's situation.

When Melisande finishes her song, Musa returns to her as the singing attracts his interest. The following dialogue between Melisande and Musa establishes a major strand of the plot, namely that Musa, like Melisande, is not a Muslim (scene 6):

Musa: I heard the song and it warmed my heart. This is not an Arab song. It sounds to me like a tune of my earliest childhood!

Melisande: Then you are not a son of the East!

Musa: I do not know my origin; I only know weapons and battle songs. But this song, where is this from?

Melisande: They sing it in the beautiful country of France.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁸⁶ Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, p. 63.

¹⁸⁷ Mikusi, 'Evoking the Exotic', p. 40.

Musa: O then this is my home country.¹⁸⁸

Although Melisande does not tell Musa the whole truth, she reveals that he has been betrayed. She advises him what to do once he has left the paradise, should he wish to see her again. At the end of the first act, the assassins' ruler releases the two men from paradise.

The second act is set in the Christian earl's big castle. The Christian soldiers, led by their commander Falco, bemoan that they have not got paid for three months (scene 1). Falco asks the earl for money, who, after a while, agrees to obtain the soldiers' salary, although he first responds to the soldiers' demand that they would find money when they conquer the assassins' castle in Tigado (scene 2). In the third scene, a conversation between the earl and the Templar Enguerrand de Coucy includes an interesting socio-critical allusion: when the Templar expresses his astonishment about the soldiers' boldness to ask for money, the earl points to the difference between Templars, i.e. monks, and warriors. 'Obedience is not a vow',¹⁸⁹ explains the earl, an observation, which might reveal Gottfried Kinkel's own attitude to religious and official promises. In the following scene, the earl and de Coucy meet the rich Prince of Armenia and his daughter. Here, we learn that de Coucy has come to Palestine in order to look for his missing son, who had been stolen out of his bed when he was a baby (scene 4).

In the song 'Durch Carthago's Trümmerhallen' (Over Carthage's Battlefields, op. 19, no. 2, Table 6.25) de Coucy describes his unsuccessful search.

¹⁸⁸ 'Musa: Ich hörte den Gesang und er wärmte mir das Herz in der Brust. Das ist kein arabisch Lied. Es klingt zu mir herüber aus meiner frühesten Kindheit! | Melisande: Dann bist du kein Sohn des Ostens! | Musa: Ich weiß meinen Stamm nicht, ich kenne nur Waffen und Schlachtgesang. Aber diese Weise, wo ist sie her? | Melisande: Sie singen die Weise im schönen Frankreich. | Musa: Dann ist das mein Vaterland'.

¹⁸⁹ 'Gehorsam ist kein Gelübde'.

Table 6.25: ‘Durch Carthago’s Trümmerhallen’ (op. 19, no. 2)

Durch Carthago’s Trümmerhallen Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1848		Over Carthage’s Battlefields
Durch Carthago’s Trümmerhallen	<i>a</i>	Over Carthage’s battlefields
Suchend bin ich umgeschweift;	<i>b</i>	I rambled searching;
Wo in heissem Mittagwallen	<i>a</i>	Where in the hot midday’s sun
Voll die gold’ne Ernte reift.	<i>b</i>	The golden corn ripens.
Und ich sah wie bunt zum Kranze	<i>c</i>	I saw how sea and earth
Meer und Erde sich verflucht	<i>d</i>	Merged to a colourful corona,
Unter klarem Himmelsglanze.	<i>c</i>	Beneath the clear sky.
Aber ach, ihn fand ich nicht,	<i>d</i>	But alas, I did not find him,
Aber ach, ihn fand ich nicht.	<i>d</i>	But alas, I did not find him.
Durch Egyptens reiche Fluren	<i>e</i>	I pilgrimaged through
Zog ich an dem Pilgerstab;	<i>f</i>	Egypt’s rich landscape;
Alter Grösse heil’ge Spuren	<i>e</i>	Many a glorious tomb
Trägt manch prächtig Königsgrab.	<i>f</i>	Carries the sacred traces of ancient greatness.
Auf den Pyramiden leuchtet	<i>g</i>	The sunlight shines under the clear sky
Unbewölkt der Sonne Licht,	<i>d</i>	On the pyramids,
Weit der Strom das Land befeuchtet,	<i>g</i>	The wide river waters the land,
Aber ach, ihn fand ich nicht,	<i>d</i>	But alas, I did not find him,
Aber ach, ihn fand ich nicht!	<i>d</i>	But alas, I did not find him!
Canaan! zu süsßer Labe	<i>h</i>	Canaan! I entered your ground
Deinen Grund betrat ich nun,	<i>i</i>	For the sake of a sweet balm,
Wo an des Erlösers Grabe	<i>h</i>	Where all sorrows rest
Alle Erdensorgen ruhn.	<i>I</i>	At the Saviour’s tomb.
Gläubig bin ich hingesunken	<i>k</i>	Faithfully, I kneeled down
Auf mein flammend Angesicht,	<i>d</i>	Onto my flaming face,
Himmelslust hab’ ich getrunken.	<i>k</i>	I imbibed heavenly joy.
Aber ach, ihn fand ich nicht,	<i>d</i>	But alas, I did not find him,
Aber ach, ihn fand ich nicht!	<i>d</i>	But alas, I did not find him!

As Kinkel’s ‘Provençalisches Lied’, this Lied includes characteristic piano solo passages, whose constant changes stress the desperate father’s restless search (bars 19–22 and 46–51; Ex. 6.14 and 6.15). A similar restlessness is also reflected in large parts of the accompanying sections. Monica Klaus remarks that the musical features contrast the monotony of the father’s long search.¹⁹⁰ The harmonic uncertainty, which is produced by means of a constant interchange between major and minor keys, confronts the listener with de Coucy’s desperateness, which is also emphasised by means of a prolongation at the words ‘aber ach, ihn fand ich nicht’ (But alas, I did not find him) at the end of each stanza.

¹⁹⁰ Klaus, “Die Assassinen – Romantisches Singspiel mit Gesang”, p. 13.

Ex. 6.14: Piano interlude in ‘Durch Carthago’s Trümmerhallen’ (bars 19–22)



Ex. 6.15: Piano postlude in ‘Durch Carthago’s Trümmerhallen’ (bars 46–51)



Convinced by de Coucy, the earl, Falco, and the warriors, the Armenian Prince agrees to provide the money for the crusade towards Tigado (scenes 6–10). The warriors prepare themselves for their battle in the ‘Kreuzlied der Krieger’ (Crusaders’ Song, scene 10). Simultaneously, the assassins Musa and Nadir receive their final consecration by the ‘Old Man of the Mountains’ (scenes 11 and 12). Nadir is supposed to murder the Christian earl; and Musa is asked to murder the Templar de Coucy. In a Lied, Nadir hopes for an early death as he is longing to be re-united with his beloved Zoraide (scene 11). Musa, however, does not share Nadir’s enthusiasm. He is terrified by the thought of having to murder someone:

Murder, murder and murder does not bring any blessing. I should seek to throw the lance and send the arrow into my enemy’s eye in an open valley in a hand-to-hand combat. But it seems easy to attack the enemy secretly with a poisoned arrow. The dead body’s shadows lurk everywhere. All songs sound of the bane of murder. What does the wild song of the Bedouins

sound like; the song that tells of Yussuf, who secretly murdered his enemy to death? I often heard it over night in the desert when the Arabs sang it in the far distance.¹⁹¹

In Kinkel's Singspiel, the 'wild song' is entitled 'Beduinen-Romanze' (Bedouins' Romance, op. 19, no. 4, Table 6.26).

Table 6.26: 'Beduinen-Romanze' (op. 19, no. 4)

Beduinen-Romanze Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1848	Bedouins' Romance
Vorwärts mit des Vogels Fluge, Fort!, fort, mein Roß in Sturmesflucht! Denn gemordet liegt der Feind Drunten in der Felsenschlucht. Halala leila halala!	<i>a</i> Onward with the bird's flight, <i>b</i> Onward!, onward, my horse in stormy escape! <i>c</i> For the murdered enemy lies <i>b</i> Down there in the rocky gorge. Halala leila halala!
Mondlicht zittert! In der Wüste Bäumt ein Schatten sich empor. Und die Stute beißt den Zaum, Schaudert, schnaubt und spitzt das Ohr. Halala leila halala!	<i>d</i> Moonlight is trembling! In the desert <i>e</i> A shadow rears up. <i>f</i> And the mare bites the bridle, <i>e</i> It shudders, snuffles and strains its ears. Halala leila halala!
Jussuf senkt die Lanzenspitze Spornst das Tier mit aller Macht. Doch der Schatten unbewegt Steht im Weg ihm da und lacht Halala leila halala!	<i>g</i> Yusuf lowers the lancehead <i>h</i> With a vengeance, he cheers on the beast. <i>i</i> But motionless, the shadow <i>h</i> Stands in his way and laughs. Halala leila halala!
Rückwärts wendet sich die Stute, Braust dahin in Sturmesflucht, Und der Mörder liegt zerschellt Bei dem Feind in tiefer Schlucht. Halala leila halala!	<i>k</i> The mare turns backwards <i>b</i> Blusters in stormy escape. <i>l</i> And the shattered murderer lies <i>b</i> Besides the enemy in the rocky gorge. Halala leila halala!

Johanna Kinkel included this setting, which features both oriental and Western European compositional characteristics, in her op. 19. Both aspects are interesting in relation to Kinkel. The mixture of Western and non-Western stylistic means may have increased the interest and the marketability of Kinkel's 'Beduinen-Romanze', especially as it was published within a Lieder opus which Kinkel aimed to sell. According to Locke, many compositions of the 1830s and 1840s were based on authentic Islamic or

¹⁹¹ 'Mord, Mord und der Mord bringt keinen Segen. In offener Schlucht, wie Mann gegen Mann, wo Leben um Leben gekämpft wird, da hab ich die Lanze zu werfen und den Pfeil ins Auge des Feindes zu senden. Aber ungemerkt, mit Lehmungsgift, inmitten des Lebens den Gegner zu berücken, das ist gewiß leicht. Und die Schatten der Ermordeten lauern auf allen Wegen. In allen Liedern klingt der Fluch des Mordes. So, wie lautet das wilde Lied der Beduinen von Jussuf, der seinen Feind heimlich erschlug? Oft hört ichs nachts über den Wüstensand hintönen, wens der Araber weggezogen erklingen ließ'.

non-European musical sources and included a range of compositional features, many of which were derived from folk music originating from the Middle East.¹⁹² This Middle Eastern style includes such features as keys with few flats or sharps; simple harmonic vocabulary; sudden shifting from one tonal area to another; duple meter (2/4, less often 4/4); repeated notes (or thirds) and brief rhythmic figures; unison textures, parallel octaves; melodic decoration and melodic motion; long note values at the beginning of a phrase; loud playing; percussion instruments; simplicity of phrase structure and form; characterisations of the area and its inhabitants (quick pattern, confusing structures).¹⁹³ However, Locke holds that many of those features were of a rather simple nature because of the lack of expressive means of Western traditions (the notation system and instruments did not allow for microtonal scales), Western hearing not being geared to Middle Eastern music, the unfounded nineteenth-century assumption that the non-Western world was less elaborated, and the performance context of large parts of the music composed during the 1830s and 1840s. Lieder were mainly performed by amateur performers, and their compositional fabric had to be suitable for amateur performances in small settings. These observations are also evident in relation to Kinkel.¹⁹⁴ As a result of this, melodic progressions and rhythmicity in ‘Beduinen-Romanze’ step into the foreground. Despite the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*’s degradation of this Lied, the 6/8 metre, the pick up bar and the one-bar piano prelude maintain the musical impetus, which also responds to Musas’s memories of the Lied as being ‘wild’.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, the first three bars of the piano accompaniment, in which only one melodic line is recognisable, allude to another characteristic of Arab music, namely monophony. Issam El-Mallah explains the lack of harmony in oriental music by

¹⁹² Locke, ‘Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers’, p. 110.

¹⁹³ Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, p. 181.

¹⁹⁴ Locke, ‘Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers’, pp. 116–17.

¹⁹⁵ [Anon.], review of Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 19* (1848), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 2 April 1849, p. 146. ‘Die Beduinen-Romanze Nr. 4. läßt freilich nichts von Beduinen-Wildheit erklingen’.

means of the traditional Arab instrument Oud, a fretless lute.¹⁹⁶ In this light, also the homophonic voice-leading in bar three might allude to oriental monophony, as well as to the increased occurrence of parallel octaves as pointed out by Locke (Ex. 6.16).

Ex. 6.16: Beginning of ‘Beduinen-Romanze’ (bars /1–3)

Molto Allegro
f

1.Vor - wärts mit des Vo - gels
 2.Mond - licht zit - tert
 3.Jus - suf senkt die Lan - zen -
 4.Rück - wärts wen - det sich die

Apart from musical features which are seemingly derived from Middle Eastern music, this Lied also features some pseudo-oriental aspects. The impulsive chorus reminds us of janissary music as composed by Mozart or Haydn,¹⁹⁷ to which Locke refers as ‘shopworn’ – perhaps an indicator that Kinkel was a woman of her own time. This is not only recognisable by means of the actual words and phonetics, but the syllabic setting attracts the listener’s attention to each sharp sound. The rich chords and arpeggios in the piano accompaniment support the almost aggressive character of the chorus. This portrays the warrior’s wild and dangerous environment, which could also be read as a hidden allusion to Germany’s insecure political situation at the time. Kinkel’s rather disorganised and extremely diversified formal disposition of the chorus adds to this impression.

¹⁹⁶ Issam El-Mallah, *Arab Music and Musical Notation* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), p. 20.

¹⁹⁷ Ralf Martin Jäger, ‘Janitscharenmusik’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, IV, Sachteil, pp. 1316–29 (p. 1326).

Besides the aforementioned Western pseudo-oriental phenomena, Kinkel also used such traditional Western European compositional techniques as traditional tempo and dynamic markings as well as the 6/8 metre. The tempo *Molto allegro*, along with several *forte* passages and *staccato* notes, add to the spurring rhythm. In addition, the piano accompaniment reflects typical Western compositional approaches. It either repeats the voiced word (e.g. bars 10–11, Ex. 6.17) or anticipates what the singer is going to express next by introducing the atmosphere characterised by the following words (e.g. bar 1). Furthermore, this Lied is written in strophic form and contains a total of 28 bars. However, the first impression of a regularly structured song is misleading. Contrary to the traditional German folk song, ‘Beduinen-Romanze’ is not divided into phrases of four bars each (Fig. 6.4).

Ex. 6.17: Melodic repetition in ‘Beduinen-Romanze’ (bars 8–12)

8

ff

flucht!
por.
Macht.
flucht,

Denn ge - mor - det liegt der Feind
Und die Stu - te beisst den Zaum
Doch der Schat - ten un - be - wegt
und der Mör - der liegt zer - schellt

drun - ten
scheu - dert
steht im
bei dem

p

Ped.

*

Fig. 6.4: Formal plan of ‘Beduinen-Romanze’

Bar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Verse		1		2		3		4		Chorus																		
Phrase	A ¹			A ²			B ¹			B ²			Chorus _{opening}			Chorus _{emphasis}			Chorus _{echo}			Chorus _{closing}						
Bars	8							6							14													
Harm.	a-E		E-a		c- $\text{B}^{\text{dim}7}$		Ger6-a		E ⁷ -a-E						E-a		a											

Finally, Kinkel's allusion to the devil's mill (bars 11–13) in combination with a German sixth chord (Ex. 6.18), which portrays the negative experience of the dying assassin, serve as examples of her own Western musical education. Marie-Agnes Dittrich argues that the devil's mill in the nineteenth century had to be modified in order not to be accused of serving clichés.¹⁹⁸ Having said this, Kinkel's application of an incomplete devil's mill – it only spans three bars – could be seen as a response to mid-nineteenth-century trends rather than lack of knowledge or compositional skill. The chromatic descent in the bass line includes an augmented sixth chord, which adds tension and diversity (bar 12).

Ex. 6.18: Allusion to Devil's Mill in 'Beduinen-Romanze' (bars 11–14)

11

drun - ten in der Fel - sen - schlucht.
 schau - dert, schnaubt und spitzt das Ohr.
 steht im Weg ihm da und lacht.
 bei dem Feind in tie - fer Schlucht.

p

F#°7 Aug6 Am Am

After Musas's monologue, he recognises the moon and the river, which were included in Melisande's instructions outlining what he needed to do if he wanted to see her again. He follows her advice and meets Melisande (scene 14). During their brief encounter, Melisande and Musa find out that Musa was born as a Christian. Melisande tells Musa her own story, namely that she was kidnapped and forced to obey the assassins' ruler in the virgins' paradise. She asks Musa for help in relation to her escape, but their conversation is interrupted by the assassins' battle song 'Auf in den Kampf'

¹⁹⁸ Marie-Agnes Dittrich, "Teufelsmühle" und "Omnibus", *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie*, 4.1–2 (2007), 107–21 (p. 121).

(Let's Go to War, scene 15). The following battle, which is won by the Christians, marks the end of the second act.

The third act, which begins with de Coucy's resuming walk across the battlefield, 'Abendlied nach der Schlacht', brings about a happy ending for the Christians. Moved by de Coucy's thoughtful remarks on the serious nature of war, the earl orders a ceasefire when the Templars take up their weapons against Nadir. Nadir had approached the Christians in order to free Musa, who was caught by the Templars (scenes 3–5). De Coucy recognises Musas's ring and they discover that they are father and son (scene 6). Finally, Musa rescues Melisande, who is about to be killed by the assassins due to her dishonest acting (scenes 8–14). Musa, whose original name is Geoffrey, De Coucy and Melisande return to their home country, France. The 'Old Man of the Mountains' is defeated and the earl frees a great number of Christians, who were being kept in captivity by the assassins.

Not only does this Singspiel reflect the typical nineteenth-century attitude that the Christians were a morally better and a physically superior people, but it also reflects another important feature. Although some aspects, such as the geographic setting, seem to have been researched by Gottfried Kinkel, the poetry in general is rich in prejudices and assumptions. For example, in 'Durch Carthago's Trümmerhallen', the lyrical I characterises his journey through the North of Africa as a romantic experience. Besides the aspect of fashion, lack of knowledge could be one reason for such assumptions as Kinkel most likely only used Withorf's publication on the assassins, which appeared in the mid-eighteenth century. On the other hand, Kinkel might have tried to find parallels between the oriental setting and German history and culture. For example, the setting – a desert with canyons and cliffs – could be seen as the poet and composer's attempt to distance themselves as much as possible from the plot and still link it to Germany. The Kinkels' home, the Rhineland, contains numerous cliffs and canyons. In this light, the

moral turn towards the happy ending may allude to the Kinkels' hope for a happy ending in their own country bringing forward a victory of the 'good people', named explicitly in the 'Demokratenlied', over the immoral emperor. Correspondingly, Ralph P. Locke argues for two extra-musical factors which should be taken into account when analysing (Exoticist) music: the social context (truth and ideology) on the one hand, and the relationship between truth, ideology, and musical work on the other.¹⁹⁹ Referring to Edward Said and Marilyn Butler, Locke proposes that:

'Cultural work' that is done by the arts when they invoke another society (whether or not that society has been colonized by the West) is not necessarily as repressive and regrettable as Said and Butler state. [...] Quite the contrary: [...] art has the potential for formulating a resistant or 'antinomous' response (in part through modernist irony) to Western control over the non-Western world or at least if we accept the possibility of multiple valid readings of a given work – for allowing itself to be *interpreted* as critical of certain generally accepted policies. Indeed, a given work may communicate (or be understood as communicating) both acceptance of imperial policies and unease with those same policies and their ramifications.²⁰⁰

Monica Klaus detects similar tendencies in *Die Assassinen*. She states that the Turkish-Egyptian war (in 1840) was a recent topic also for Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel even though Prussia's military was not involved. Nevertheless, Klaus argues, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel were concerned about this war and humanity in general. On 2 June 1841, Johanna wrote to Gottfried:

The power of the bandits increases every day, ships full of participants and arms along with proviant arrive despite all obstacles, and they are welcomed with enthusiasm. They still have not been attacked. In Bulgaria, and other Turkish provinces the atrocities toward the Christians reach so far that the government can no longer control them. O heaven, why does all of Europe not stand up to help.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers', p. 105–06.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.. Italics in original.

²⁰¹ Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gott!*, I, p. 196 and Klaus, "Die Assassinen – Romantisches Singspiel mit Gesang", p. 5. 'Die Macht der Banditen wächst täglich an, ganze Schiffe von Teilnehmern und Waffen nebst Proviant landen dort trotz aller Hindernisse, und werden mit Jubel aufgenommen. Noch immer hat man nicht gewagt, sie anzugreifen. In Bulgarien und anderen türkischen Provinzen gehen die Schandtaten gegen die Christen so weit, daß die Regierung sie gar nicht mehr zügeln kann. O Himmel, warum steht nicht ganz Europa auf und hilft'.

Based on this letter, Monica Klaus argues that the ending of *Die Assassinen* might have been a product of its own time; however, Klaus suggests that Kinkel had a second goal and wanted to express something else, namely ‘that the human being is more than a Christian’, and that the struggles of a father trying to find his son and of a beloved couple who innocently faced socio-cultural disturbances of the time were more serious concerns than religious cruelty.²⁰² Considering the Kinkels’ own standing within society, there are strong parallels in relation to a rather unconventional view on both different religious confessions and struggles with self-fulfilment due to family issues.

In light of this, Locke points out that ‘a work about the Middle East may touch on issues other than the Empire’, for example sexual issues, or issues concerned with individual psychology.²⁰³ He further develops the idea of gender and states that female sensuality became the chief signifier of the mysterious imagined. According to Locke, this is recognisable by means of an ‘increasing use of curvaceous melodic lines [...], floating harmonies, and ear-caressing accompanimental textures’.²⁰⁴ Melisande in *Die Assassinen* is a Christian woman who was brought to the Orient as a child, but her ‘Provençalisches Lied’ reminds us of such curvaceous melodies mentioned by Locke. Although the leaders in *Die Assassinen* are not female, and thus follow traditional conventions of male leadership, it is striking that the plot is overall influenced and controlled by female characters. Locke points out that the mezzo-soprano in opera often represents a ‘worldly wiseness (including a willingness to manipulate or deceive)’ and comes along with open sexual desire and independence, which embodies the ‘fantasy of what a woman could be like when free from complementary European constraints of demureness (represented by the proper Victorian woman) and shame (the prostitute,

²⁰² Klaus, “‘Die Assassinen – Romantisches Singspiel mit Gesang’”, p. 8.

²⁰³ Locke, ‘Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers’, p. 107.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

hiding in the shadows)'.²⁰⁵ As Kinkel had planned her *Singspiel* to be performed with the *Bonner Gesangverein*, she might have been limited in terms of roles and registers, so that neither of the two female protagonists in *Die Assassinen* are mezzo-sopranos. *Die Assassinen* was performed by the *Bonner Gesangverein* on 26 Jul 1846. The performance featured Johanna Kinkel's friends Andreas Simons (Der Alte vom Berge), Leopold Kaufmann (Nadir), Anna Goldfuß (Melisande), Adele Thormann (Zoraide), Herrn Lira (Falko), and Letellier (de Coucy), and Peretti (Musa).²⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the power and independence associated with Melisande and Zoraide is worth noting, especially in the light of Kinkel's own socio-political background.

6.4.4 Goethe's 'Traumdeutung'

Another (better known) example of nineteenth-century Orientalism is Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan*, whose title points to the amalgamation of Western and Eastern, i.e. oriental, strands. George F. Peters ascertains that Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan* could be read as a cycle as the poems express a certain 'unifying "spirit" which binds them together'.²⁰⁷ First published in 1819, the cyclic poetry collection includes twelve books, the eighth of which, *Book of Suleika*, inspired such famous nineteenth-century composers as Felix Mendelssohn, Carl Banck (1808–1889),²⁰⁸ Franz Schubert, Fanny Hensel, Carl Eberwein (1786–1868),²⁰⁹ Moritz

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

²⁰⁶ Kinkel, *Notizen den Gesangverein betreffend*, p. 42.

²⁰⁷ George F. Peters, 'Air and Spirit in Goethe's "West-Östlicher Divan"', *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature*, 30.4 (Autumn 1976), 216–28 (p. 217).

²⁰⁸ Carl Ludwig Albert Banck (1809–1889) was a German composer and music critic. He received his musical education in Berlin from Bernhard Klein, Ludwig Berger and Carl Friedrich Zelter. He contributed to Robert Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and worked as a singing teacher in Dresden. See Hermann Arthur Lier, 'Banck, Karl', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912), XLVI, pp. 199–202. Johanna Kinkel mentions him as one of the more serious Lieder composers in her essay 'Über die modernen Liederkomponisten'.

²⁰⁹ Carl Eberwein (1786–1868) was a Weimar-based German composer and conductor. His career both as a composer and a musician was influenced by his cooperation with Goethe, who enabled Eberwein's compositional training by Carl Friedrich Zelter. Eberwein was the musical organiser of Goethe's *Hausmusiken* from 1808 until Goethe's death, during which many of his Goethe Lieder as well as the setting of Goethe's *Proserpina* were premiered. Although Peter Larsen points to Eberwein's aesthetic and

Hauptmann, and Carl Friedrich Zelter. Whereas the composers mentioned above set Suleika's poem 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' (Alas, I Envy You for Your Fresh Breezes), Johanna Kinkel chose an excerpt from the beginning of Suleika and Hatem's conversation. In her Lied 'Traumdeutung' (Interpretation of Dreams, op. 10, no. 5, Table 6.27), Suleika tells Hatem that she lost the ring which he once gave her. In response to her question what this omen was supposed to mean, Hatem refers to the Venetian legend that the elected Doge, as a symbol of loyalty, had to get married to his Venetian Republic by throwing a finger ring into the sea surrounding Venice.

Table 6.27: 'Traumdeutung' (op. 10, no. 5)

Traumdeutung Johann Wolfgang von Goethe Published in 1839	Interpretation of Dreams Translation by Emily Ezust
<i>Suleika:</i>	<i>Suleika:</i> ²¹⁰
Als ich auf dem Euphrat schiffte,	<i>a</i> When I was sailing on the Euphrates,
Streifte sich der goldne Ring	<i>b</i> The golden ring slid off
Finger ab, in Wasserklüfte,	<i>a</i> My finger into the watery abyss -
Den ich jüngst von dir empfang.	<i>b</i> The ring that I received from you recently.
Also träumt ich. Morgenröte	<i>c</i> Thus I dreamed. The red dawn
Blitzt' ins Auge durch den Baum,	<i>d</i> Blazed into my eyes down through the trees;
Sag, Poete, sag, Prophete!	<i>c</i> Tell me, poet, tell me, prophet!
Was bedeutet dieser Traum?	<i>d</i> What does this dream mean?
<i>Hatem:</i>	<i>Hatem:</i> ²¹¹
Dies zu deuten bin erbötig!	<i>e</i> I am willing to interpret this!
Hab ich dir nicht oft erzählt,	<i>f</i> Have I not often recounted the story
Wie der Doge von Venedig	<i>e</i> Of how the Doge of Venice
Mit dem Meere sich vermählt?	<i>f</i> Married the sea?
So von deinen Fingergliedern	<i>g</i> It was this way that your fingers
Fiel der Ring dem Euphrat zu.	<i>h</i> Let the ring fall into the Euphrates.
Ach, zu tausend Himmelsliedern,	<i>g</i> Ah, to a thousand flowery songs
Süßer Traum, begeisterst du!	<i>h</i> You inspire me, sweet dream!
Mich, der von des Indostanen	<i>I</i> I, who have been everywhere
Streifte bis Damaskus hin,	<i>k</i> From the Indies to Damascus,
Um mit neuen Karawanen	<i>i</i> And come with new caravans
Bis ans rote Meer zu ziehn,	<i>k</i> All the way to the Red Sea:

compositional limitations, Eberwein's Singspiel *Leonore* 'was one of the most-performed Liederspiele in Germany between 1830 and 1850'. Peter Larsen, 'Eberwein, Carl', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, vi, Personenteil, pp. 36–39.

²¹⁰ Translation by Emily Ezust <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=6388> [accessed 2 April 2016].

²¹¹ Translation by Emily Ezust <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=6380> [accessed 2 April 2016].

Mich vermählst du deinem Fluße,	<i>l</i>	You have married me to your river,
Der Terrasse diesem Hain:	<i>m</i>	To the terrace of this grove;
Hier soll bis zum letzten Kuße	<i>l</i>	Here I shall, until the last kiss,
Dir mein Geist gewidmet sein.	<i>m</i>	Dedicate my soul.

Dorothee Metlitzki ascertains that the *Book of Suleika* is based on ‘the metaphor of finality which Goethe stamped on his climactic achievement in love and life’.²¹² In her abstract, Metlitzki argues that Goethe’s work carries a certain autobiographical aspect as Hatem, the male main protagonist in the poem collection, constitutes Goethe’s ‘poetic self in the lyric poem of his old age that he addressed to Marianne von Willemer, his Suleika’.²¹³ As Carl Hammer points out, ‘not until 1869 – fifty years after publication of the work – did [Hermann] Grimm reveal to scholarship the secret of Marianne’s participation in its authorship and, therewith, its deeper significance for Goethe’.²¹⁴ Although Johanna Kinkel would not have been aware of the autobiographical scope of Goethe’s *Book of Suleika* when she published an excerpt from the work in 1839, she might have been attracted by the parallels between her own life and the lyrical I’s unsettled love life. Another reason for Kinkel’s decision to set this passage, as opposed to the seemingly more popular poem addressing the Westerly Winds, might have been the combination of both love and politics, a combination that determined Kinkel’s biography throughout her life. Although the third verse, in which Hatem explains that Suleika lost the ring as a symbol of eternal loyalty between himself and Suleika, fully establishes the poem’s concern with love rather than politics, the idea of getting married to one’s home country may have appealed to Kinkel.

Set in F major, the three-part strophic setting includes extensive piano passages, whose arpeggios keep the Lied grounded and respond to Suleika’s questioning

²¹² Dorothee Metlitzki, ‘On the Meaning of “Hatem” in Goethe’s West-Östlicher Divan’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 117.1 (January–March 1997), 148–51 (p. 150).

²¹³ Ibid., p. 148. For further details on Marianne von Willemer and Goethe’s poem collection, see Carl Hammer, ‘Goethe and Marianne: After the “Divan”’, *The South Central Bulletin*, 28.4 (Winter, 1968), 134–38. Hereafter referred to as Hammer, ‘Goethe and Marianne’.

²¹⁴ Hammer, ‘Goethe and Marianne’, p. 134.

uncertainty. The tempo instruction *Moderato* supports the effect of the piano accompaniment and represents the wisdom of Hatem, to whom Suleika refers as both a poet and a prophet. These words are stressed in the vocal part by means of unusually large leaps, e.g. ‘Poet’, bar 19, ‘f¹–‘d²’; and ‘Prophet’, bar 20, ‘a¹–‘g²’ (Ex. 6.19). Else Thalheimer considers the prelude, interludes and postlude as well as the vocal leaps as a ‘greater contingent of artistic means’ with which Kinkel is trying to do Goethe justice.²¹⁵

Ex. 6.19: Melodic leaps in ‘Traumdeutung’ (bars 19-20)

19

sag Po - e - te, sag Pro - phe - tel
 Ach zu tau - send Him - mels - lie - dern,
 hier soll bis zum letz - ten Kus - se

p

Thalheimer does not comment on the peculiar organisation of the Lied as a strophic setting. The strophic framework, in which the first verse covers Suleika’s question, followed by Hatem’s response in the second and third verses, does not offer any compositional means to differentiate the two protagonists’ speech acts. Perhaps Kinkel used a strophic setting in order to portray structurally the merge of the two perspectives and the ideological union at the end of the Lied. On the other hand, Kinkel might have assumed that her audience would know both Goethe’s poetry collection and the particular dialogue she set, which made a clearer distinction between the two dialogue partners unnecessary.

²¹⁵ Thalheimer, ‘Johanna Kinkel als Musikerin’, p. 69. ‘In der Traumdeutung sucht die Komponistin wieder mit einem größeren Aufgebot von Kunstmitteln [...] dem Goetheschen Text gerecht zu werden’.

6.4.5 Political statements under the disguise of foreign countries: admiring the Greeks

Another effective way of addressing revolutionary thoughts without voicing them directly was the use of foreign countries (other than Spain or regions that tended to host gypsies) as a disguise. I have already pointed to the various reasons why early Romanticists praised foreign nations, among which are Romantic wanderlust; the longing for the South; the longing for rural set-ups as opposed to industrialised cities; sympathy with gypsies and travelling foreigners who want to return to their home places; and the worship of antique heroes and their achievements as a form of self-encouragement. The two Lieder ‘Auf wohlauf ihr Candioten!’ (op. 18, no. 3) and ‘Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris’ (no opus number) serve as an example of revolutionary appeals under the disguise of Greek heroism, although they relate to fairly contemporary issues, which is most clearly evident in the case of Marco Botzaris. Marco Botzaris (1788–1823) was a hero of the Greek war of independence against the Ottomans; he died in a battle at Missolunghi in 1823.²¹⁶

In his book *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise*, Peter Gradenwitz opens his chapter on music in the salon with a lengthy quotation from E. T. A. Hoffmann’s essay ‘Gedanken über den hohen Wert der Musik’ (Thoughts on the High Value of Music), published in 1812.²¹⁷ In this essay, E. T. A. Hoffmann observes that:

One cannot deny that, recently, thank God!, the pleasure in music has been spread ever more widely so that musical training is now to a certain extent part of a good upbringing, which is why one can find a piano, or at least a guitar, in every house that wants to meet certain standards.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*, 5th edn, I, p. 248.

²¹⁷ Peter Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991), p. 175. Hereafter referred to as Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise*.

²¹⁸ Hoffmann cited after Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise*, p. 175. ‘Es ist nicht zu leugnen, daß in neuerer Zeit, dem Himmel sei’s gedankt! Der Geschmack an der Musik sich immer mehr verbreitet, so daß es jetzt gewissermaßen zur guten Erziehung gehört, die Kinder auch Musik lehren zu lassen, weshalb man denn in jedem Hause, das nur irgend etwas bedeuten will, ein Klavier, wenigstens eine Gitarre findet’.

Regardless of E. T. A. Hoffmann’s ironic tone, which shines through the entire essay, the point that musical training became a solid element of a general education is noteworthy, as is Hoffmann’s allusion to the guitar as a favourite instrument at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The guitar, which reminds us of German folk music and singing vagabonds trying to make a living rambling from house to house, is also employed in Johanna Kinkel’s setting ‘Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris’ (Hymn in Memoriam of Marco Botzaris, Table 6.28). In fact, it is the only Lied of Kinkel’s that was composed for voice, piano, and guitar. The words originate from a Greek legend and were translated by Gottfried Kinkel. The poem tells the story of the dead hero Marco Botzaris, who died in a battle against the Ottomans and whose case is used in order to encourage his fellow men to keep fighting ‘if freedom means | More to you than life’.

Table 6.28: ‘Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris’

Hymne auf den Tod von Marco Botzaris Greek Folk Song German by Gottfried Kinkel Publishd in 1843		Hymn in Memoriam of Marco Botzaris
Männer von Hellas, Klagt um den Heroen! Botzaris Heldengeist Ist uns entflohen; Uns zu erlösen, sank er auf’s Blutfeld.	<i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a’</i> <i>b</i> <i>c</i>	Men of Hellas, Grieve for your hero! Botzaris’ heroic spirit Has left us; He died on the battlefield for our salvation.
Schaut auf sein Heldenbild, Ihm nachzustreben, Wenn euch die Freiheit gilt Mehr als das Leben! Bald dann zermalmen wir unsre Tyrannen.	<i>d</i> <i>e</i> <i>d</i> <i>e</i> <i>f</i>	Look at his heroic life, And follow his example, If freedom means More to you than life! Soon then will we defeat our tyrants.
Blutiger Türkenschwarm, Der ihn geschlachtet, Noch ist der Freiheit Stern Uns nicht umnachtet; Wilder nur braust heran griechische Kampfwuth.	<i>g</i> <i>h</i> <i>g</i> <i>h</i> <i>i</i>	The bloody Turks Killed him, The star of freedom Is not yet obscured for us. Our Greek bloodlust has just become wilder.
Nie von dir, Botzaris, Schweigt die Kunde; Aller Hellenen Herz Traf deine Wunde. Ruhet dein Staub im Grab, doch dein Ruhm nicht.	<i>k</i> <i>l</i> <i>k’</i> <i>l</i> <i>m</i>	Never will your legend, Botzaris, Fall silent; Your wound struck All Hellenic hearts. May your body rest in the grave, but not your fame.
Steig’ ein, Unsterblicher,	<i>n</i>	Farewell, immortal hero,

Auf zu den Fernen,	<i>o</i>	Off you go to a remote place;
Wo dir die Hütte winkt	<i>p</i>	Where a refuge is waiting for you
Über den Sternen;	<i>o</i>	Above the stars;
Bitte den Herrn der Welt für deine Treuen.	<i>q</i>	Beg the Lord on behalf of your loyal friends.

Compositionally, the Lied is very simple. Set in 6/8 metre, both accompanying instruments take on the same rhythmic pattern and only have a stabilising function. The vocal range includes an octave (‘d¹–‘d²’) and the harmonic constitution consists of the tonic, D major, the dominant, A major, and the subdominant, G major. In her *Lecture on Harmony*, Johanna Kinkel explains that such simple harmonic plans are usually found in national songs:

The life of a harmless, quiet person, which moves daily in the same circle of family = relations, resembles the circle of the so called relative chords, in which all simple national songs move. No modulation surprises us; the attendant major and minor chords greet us like the familiar faces of father, mother, sister & brother, neighbours and cousins.²¹⁹

That Kinkel liked to use figurative allegories including images of family and acquaintances, has already been established within the context of her pedagogical writing *Acht Briefe an eine Freundin über Clavier-Unterricht*, in which she explained the relationship between different chords by means of family relations.²²⁰ In the same pedagogical treatise, Kinkel recommended that musical teaching should include basic knowledge of music theory. While her wording ‘national songs’ in her *Lecture on Harmony* leaves us in the dark as to whether she refers to folk songs or songs featuring certain national characteristics such as the Spanish elements discussed in Kinkel’s patriotic settings, her choice of words is more precise in *Acht Briefe an eine Freundin über Clavier-Unterricht*. Here, she advises the reader to first introduce the student to the tonic, the dominant, and the subdominant, about which chords she concludes humorously that ‘almost all *Volkslieder* can be accompanied with these three chords,

²¹⁹ Johanna Kinkel, *Lecture on Harmony*, n. d., ULB S S 2394, no pagination, original in English.

²²⁰ Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, p. 15.

and if you add a minor chord, you have almost enough material to compose an entire Italian opera'.²²¹

Considering Kinkel's awareness of folk-like simplicity, the three-part strophic setting 'Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris' must have been composed with the performance by musical dilettantes rather than professional musicians in mind. Both the guitar and piano are equally dependent on the voice, which supports this assumption, as the performer could have easily picked just one instrument rather than looking for a second musician. This, as well as the fact that the Lied was published as a single work, facilitated an easy distribution and increased the performability of the song.

The three-part strophic Lied 'Auf wohlauf ihr Candioten' (Arise, Arise Well, Ye Residents of Crete, op. 18, no 3, Table 6.29), which is also a setting of Gottfried Kinkel's words, is not as simple as 'Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris', although the piano accompaniment also steps into the background and the formal structure is quite straightforward. Here, the harmonic progressions are slightly more complex, as Kinkel employs the tonic of G major, the minor tonic, their dominant, supertonic and subdominant as well as the mediant B major and E minor. In light of this, this Lied would have been less suitable for a performance by dilettantes, which might be why it was not published singularly but as part of Kinkel's op. 18. 'Auf wohlauf ihr Candioten' encourages the Candiots to fight against the Ottoman attempts to conquer their Greek island.²²²

²²¹ Ibid., p. 14. 'Fast die meisten Volkslieder lassen sich mit diesen drei Akkorden begleiten, und thut man gar einen Mollakkord hinzu, so ist ja beinahe der Stoff vorhanden, um eine ganze italienische Oper zu machen'.

²²² According to the *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*, the Candiots were the native people of Crete, which, in Italian, is called Candia. *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*, 5th edn, I, p. 305.

Table 6.29: ‘Auf wohlauf ihr Candioten’ (op. 18, no. 3)

Auf wohlauf ihr Candioten Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1843		Arise, Arise Well, Ye Residents of Crete ²²³ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Auf wohlauf, ihr Candioten,	<i>a</i>	Arise, arise well, ye residents of Crete,
Schwinget hoch das Kreuzpanier,	<i>b</i>	Raise high the banner of the cross,
Funkeln laßt die weißen Felsen	<i>c</i>	Let the white cliffs sparkle
In des Blutes Purpurzier.	<i>b</i>	In the crimson ornament of blood.
Unser ist das Land, das mächtig	<i>d</i>	Ours is the country that lifts itself
Aus dem Ozean sich hebt;	<i>e</i>	Mightily from the sea;
Unser sei es, bis es mörd'risch	<i>d</i>	Ours shall it remain until murderously
Neu der Ozean begräbt,	<i>e</i>	The ocean buries it anew,
Unser ist des Kornes Fülle,	<i>f</i>	Ours is the plethora of wheat,
Unser ist des Weines Glut,	<i>g</i>	Ours the blazing of wine,
Unser die metall'ne Ader,	<i>h</i>	Ours the veins of minerals
Die in ew'gen Bergen ruht.	<i>g</i>	That lie in the eternal mountains.
Auf wohlauf, ihr Candioten,	<i>a</i>	Arise, arise well, ye residents of Crete,
Hoch das Kreuz und hoch den Speer,	<i>h</i>	Raise high the cross and high the spear,
Und der Roßhuf des Osmanli	<i>i</i>	And the horse-hooves of the Ottomans
Stampfe nie den Boden mehr.	<i>h</i>	Shall nevermore tread upon our soil.
Unser sind die hundert Städte	<i>k</i>	Ours are the hundred cities
Hoch mit Ruhme sonst genannt;	<i>l</i>	Named once with high praise;
Ach, es blieben wenig Dörfer,	<i>m</i>	Alas, there remain few villages,
Hingemordet und verbrannt.	<i>l</i>	[Their residents] murdered and [the villages] burned.
Unser sind die frischen Rosen	<i>n</i>	Ours are the fresh roses ²²⁴
Rein aus Hellas Blut entstammt!	<i>o</i>	Which originate purely from Hella's blood!
Soll sie der Barbare rauben	<i>p</i>	Should the barbarian steal them
Nur zu schnöder Lust entflammt?	<i>o</i>	Out of disdainful desire?
Steig herauf, gerechter Minos,	<i>q</i>	Arise, fair Minos,
Der des Orkus Waage hält,	<i>r</i>	Who balances Hades' scales,
Hilf du rechten Deinem Volke	<i>s</i>	Help your people fight for justice
Rechten mit der Christenwelt,	<i>r</i>	And fight for justice in the Christians' world,
Die des Kreuzes freien Krieger	<i>t</i>	Where the free warriors of the cross
Schon mit neuen Ketten dräut.	<i>u</i>	Are being threatened with new chains.
Die verräth'risch uns gerathen,	<i>v</i>	And where we got betrayed
Unterwerfung uns gebeut.	<i>u</i>	As we were told to comply.
Wehe aber, dreifach wehe	<i>w</i>	But woe, threefold woe
Jedem, der des Volkes Schritt	<i>x</i>	To everyone, who hinders the steps
Hemmet auf dem Pfad der Freiheit,	<i>z</i>	Of the people on the path of freedom,
Ihn zermahlt der Rache Tritt!	<i>x</i>	May he be ground down by the footsteps of revenge!

²²³ Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=110769> [accessed 26 April 2016].

²²⁴ The following twelve lines are not included in Sharon Krebs's translation; therefore, I translated those lines by myself.

Ex. 6.20: 'Auf wohlauf ihr Candioten' (op. 18, no. 3)

Tempo di marcia

f

1. Auf wohl-auf, ihr Can-di - o - ten, schwin-get hoch das Kreuz-pa - nier, fun - keln lasst die
 2. Auf wohl-auf, ihr Can-di - o - ten, hoch das Kreuz und hoch den Speer! Und der Ross - huf
 3. Steig her - auf, ge - rech-ter Mi-nos, der des Or - kus Waa-ge hält, hilf du rech - ten

f trem.

6

weis - sen Fel - sen in des Blu - tes Pur - pur-zier. Un-ser ist das Land das
 des Os-man - li stam - pfe nie den Bo - den mehr. *mf* Un-ser sind die hun - dert
 Dei - nem Vol - ke rech - ten mit der Chris - ten-welt, die des Kreuz-es frei - en

mf

10

mäch-tig aus dem O - ze - an sich hebt; Un - ser sei es bis es mör - drisch neu der
 Stä - dte hoch mit Ruh-me sonst ge - nannt; Ach es blie - ben we - nig Dör - fer hin - ge -
 Krie-gern schon mit neu - en Ket - ten dräut; Die ver - räth'-risch uns ge - ra - then, Un - ter -

sfz *f* *sfz*

Ex. 6.20 continued

15

O - ze - an be - gräbt. Un-ser ist des Kor - nes Fül - le,
 mor - det und ver - brannt. Un-ser sind die fri - schen Ro - sen
 wer - fung uns ge - beut. We - he, a - ber, drei - fach We - he

19

un - ser ist des Wei - nes Glut, un - ser die me - tall' - ne
 rein aus Hel - las Blut ent - stammt! Soll sie der Bar - ba - re
 Je - dem, der des Vol - kes Schritt hem - met auf dem Pfad der

22

A - - der die in ew' - gen Ber - gen ruht.
 rau - - ben nur zu schnö - der Lust ent - flammt?
 Frei - - heit, ihn zer - malmt der Ra - che Tritt!

Especially striking are the common contextual features Gottfried Kinkel picks out between Crete and his own home place, the Rhineland: white rocks, corn, wine, ore, mountains, and roses – all these natural products can also be found in the Rhineland. Interestingly, the enumeration of the natural goods that the people want to defeat is set within different harmonic contexts. From bar 9 onwards, each line lists one specific national heritage and is harmonised with a different chord (Ex. 6.20). Published in 1843, this Lied could be seen as a response to Nikolaus Becker's 'Der deutsche Rhein', which advocates the Rhenish resistance against the French conquerors. Furthermore, the march-like 4/4 pattern relativises the Romantic perception of the South which is carried by the words. In fact, the rhythm grants the Lied an energetic tone, similarly to the spurring 'Demokratenlied' discussed earlier. Another parallel to 'Demokratenlied' is the use of such pronouns as 'we' and 'our' (bars 9, 13, 17, 19, 21) which are stressed by climactic emphases, in order to increase the sense of community, and possibly unity. However, in the first line, the lyrical I takes on the observer's position ('you'); his/ her perspective changes towards a participating function in the following lines, which is reflected by a melodic change after the first phrase (bars 9 ff.). The last verse, 'Wehe, aber dreifach wehe | Jedem, der des Volkes Schritt | Hemmet auf dem Pfad der Freiheit, | Ihn zermalmt der Rache Tritt!' (But woe, threefold woe | To everyone, who hinders the steps | Of the people on the path of freedom, | May he be ground down by the footsteps of revenge!), reads like a threat addressing everybody who resists the fight for freedom, which turns the song into a revolutionary appeal.

Both 'Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris' and 'Auf wohlauf ihr Candioten' encourage people to fight for their freedom; both Lieder, to a certain extent, incorporate folk-like elements and both settings could be linked with the German socio-political situation in the 1840s. As an important difference, however, I would like to stress that the words of 'Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris' originate from Greece and were

translated by Gottfried Kinkel, but ‘Auf wohlauf ihr Candioten’ was versified by Gottfried Kinkel. Having said this, ‘Auf wohlauf ihr Candioten’ could be seen as a pseudo-foreign folk song as it was created by a German revolutionary– possibly so in order to deliver a political statement under the disguise of a foreign nation’s case. In this light it is noteworthy that ‘Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris’ was published as a separate work by Sulzbach in 1849; the *Demokratenlied*, even though it was published in December 1848, was announced by Hofmeister in the same year.²²⁵

6.5 Kinkel’s political art songs as cultural practice

In order to conclude this chapter, it is important to devote some thought to the emergence of popular music in the nineteenth century. Derek B. Scott refers to salon music as ‘the stimulus behind the first flowering of the commercial popular music industry in Britain and North America’,²²⁶ an observation, which also applied to such German *Lieder* composers as Johanna Kinkel. The prompt publication of Johanna Kinkel’s political songs enabled a quick dissemination of her works. As regards the double nature of the *Lied* as an ‘artistic genre and a class of commodity’, David Gramit points out that the *Lied* is located ‘on the border between high art and popular music’, a development which, however, brought with it a ‘conflict between artistic value and commercial viability’.²²⁷ This aspect must have played a major role for Kinkel, because she tried to make a living from her publications (besides her teaching activities). James Deaville points to the variety of texts and musical styles in mid-century *Lieder*

²²⁵ Ad. Hofmeister, announcement of Johanna Kinkel, ‘*Demokratenlied*’ (1848), *Hofmeister: musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, 9/10 (September/October 1849), 111 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001849&teil=0203&seite=00000111&zoom=1>> [accessed 6 June 2016].

²²⁶ Derek B. Scott, ‘Music and Social Class in Victorian London’, in Scott, *Musical Style and Social Meaning*, pp. 205–18 (p. 210).

²²⁷ David Gramit, ‘The Circulation of the *Lied*: the double life of an artwork and a commodity’, in Parsons, *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, pp. 301–14 (pp. 301 and 306). Hereafter referred to as Gramit, ‘The Circulation of the *Lied*’.

collections, which, according to him, was achieved ‘while preserving the genre’s time-honoured constraints’, i.e. singability, popularity, and simplicity.²²⁸ In light of this, it is not surprising that Kinkel used different avenues: Dunst’s *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder*; Schumann’s musical supplement to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*; the popular publisher Trautwein in Berlin for Lieder collections; and other publishers for such singular publications as Sulzbach for her ‘Demokratenlied’, or Schott for her ‘Ritters Abschied’. In relation to the Lied in particular, Gramit ascertains that:

The Lied, adopting the new explosion of high German lyric poetry as its starting point, could thus become a national and nation-defining genre, circulating well beyond the local owing to its participation in print culture, but limited by the bounds of its language to the German-speaking realm.²²⁹

James Deaville supports Gramit’s observation by stating that the ‘Lied as a poetic-musical entity was a manifestation of the German spirit’, because the ‘Lied as poem ideally arose from the depths of the German soul and soil’.²³⁰ Kinkel’s Lieder were popular among her friends and wider social environment and Gramit’s observation is not only valid for Kinkel’s published work but is also true for her unpublished oeuvre. The enthusiastic description of *Die Assassinen* by the singer Leopold Kaufmann supports the assumption that Kinkel’s music was performed and appreciated by her friends and wider acquaintances. Kinkel’s friends’ memories also reveal that they felt closely related to Kinkel because of her own performance style and set up, which corresponds with Jon Landau’s observation of the close relationship between performer and the audience of rock/ folk music.²³¹ Jennifer Ronyak, in her introduction to the colloquy ‘Studying the Lied: Hermeneutic Traditions and the Challenge of Performance’, suggests that ‘the performance context [does] not just nuance a “given”

²²⁸ Deaville, ‘A multitude of voices’, p. 145.

²²⁹ Gramit, ‘The Circulation of the Lied’, p. 306. For further details on the concept of music as a commodified products see also Cook, ‘Between Process and Product’, p. 6.

²³⁰ Deaville, ‘A multitude of voices’, p. 146.

²³¹ Cited after Simon Frith, “‘The Magic That Can Set You Free’: The Ideology of Folk and the Myth of the Rock Community”, *Popular Music*, 1 (1981), 159–68 (p. 159).

musico-poetic meaning but determines or shapes it crucially'.²³² Furthermore, in line with such Romantic paradigms as dualisms between the Self and the community, and spiritual understandings of the world, Mary Hunter explains that Romantic notions of performance incorporated a great deal of self-transformation by the performer as well as the idea of listening as a 'metaphor for idealised spiritual communion, the idea of harmony applying both to the individual and to a community of soul'.²³³ In this light, it is not surprising that Kinkel performed her own works in a smaller setting evoking the impression of a direct connection between herself (as a composer and performer) and the audience.

Moreover, Johanna Kinkel contributed her own writings to the *Maikäfer* journals in an entirely democratic way, which suggests that Kinkel considered herself equal to her fellow artists. In 1841, Kinkel created a *Maikäfer Nationalhymne* (*Maikäfer National Anthem*), which alludes to the powerful role which music must have played as a means of identification.²³⁴ Georgina Born explains that there are two models of music reflecting identities, the homology model and the process model. According to Born, the homology model implies that:

Music reflects or enunciates underlying social relations and structures. The problem is to trace the links between a musical form or practice and its production or consumption by particular social groups.²³⁵

The process model, in line with Nicholas Cook's concept of music as a process and social script, suggests that:

²³² Jennifer Ronyak, 'Introduction', in Ronyak, 'Colloquy', 543–82 (p. 548).

²³³ Mary Hunter, "'To Play as if from the Soul of the Composer": The Idea of the Performer in Early Romantic Aesthetics', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 58.2 (2005), 357–98 (pp. 360 and 370).

²³⁴ The national anthem was included in the *Maikäfer* journal dated 1 June 1841 (Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, p. 484–85). The words were written by the *Maikäfer* member Alexander Kaufmann. The score manuscript is included in Paul Kaufmann's legacy in the Stadtarchiv Bonn (SN 94/67, No. 10).

²³⁵ Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, 'Introduction', in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, ed. by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley/London/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 1–58 (p. 31). Hereafter referred to as Born and Hesmondhalgh, 'Introduction'.

Music ‘reflects’ nothing: rather, music has a formative role in the construction, negotiation, and transformation of sociocultural identities. In this view, music engenders communities or ‘scenes’; it allows a play with, a performance of, and an imaginary exploration of identities.²³⁶

Born, however, points out that both models pose dangers and argues that:

There is a need to acknowledge that music can variably *both* construct new identities *and* reflect existing ones. Sociocultural identities are not simply constructed in music, there are ‘prior’ identities that come to be embodied dynamically in musical cultures, which then also *form* the reproduction of those identities – no passive process of reflection.²³⁷

In light of this, and referring to the *hyperconnotative* character of music, Born explains that:

The point is that the two perspectives are not contradictory. It is precisely music’s extraordinary powers of imaginary evocation of identity and of cross-cultural and intersubjective empathy that render it a primary means of both marking and transforming individual and collective identities.²³⁸

Born concludes that ‘these qualities are also means of *self*-idealisation and, through repetition of the existing tropes and genres of identity-in-music (national anthems, patriotic songs), for the reinforcement of extant collective identity’, an observation which also applies to both Johanna Kinkel’s patriotic songs and the *Maikäfer* national anthem.²³⁹ Referring to twentieth-century popular music, Simon Frith explains that ‘in a culture in which few people make music but everyone makes conversation, access to songs is primarily through their words’.²⁴⁰ In this respect, the converse argument is that, in the nineteenth century, the genre of the Lied may have enabled access to poetry that otherwise would have remained unknown.

As an aside, I would like to elaborate briefly on the paradox that Johanna Kinkel never published instrumental music, even though she was more confident as a pianist than as a singer. In the light of the socio-cultural context (fashionability, gender

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 31.

²³⁷ Ibid., pp. 31–32.

²³⁸ Ibid., p. 32.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 32.

²⁴⁰ Simon Frith, ‘Why Do Songs Have Words?’, in *Taking Popular Music Seriously*, ed. by Simon Frith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 77–106 (p. 101). The entire volume is hereafter referred to as Frith, *Taking Popular Music Seriously*.

limitations) of her time, Kinkel published Lieder rather than instrumental music. However, there were other instrumental genres which would have been performable in salons (for instance, piano miniatures). Furthermore, Kinkel's unpublished Singspiele and her complex ballad 'Don Ramiro' bear witness to her compositional potential. Thus Kinkel must have deliberately chosen to publish Lieder, perhaps because she wanted to address the two cultural domains (poetry and song) at the same time. This way, Kinkel attracted a wider audience comprising different interests (music and literature) and levels of expertise (simple vs complex works). Kinkel's Lieder would have been performed primarily by musical amateurs, many of whom might have enjoyed singing love or nature songs rather than obvious national (and later revolutionary) settings, which might be why most of her Lieder collections included a mixture of songs dealing with different themes. Kinkel's single publications, however, most strikingly 'Der deutsche Rhein', 'Demokratenlied', 'Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris' and those of her songs that were included in the *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder* were clearly aimed at a political audience. Simon Frith describes cultural identity as a 'social process, a form of interaction, and an aesthetic process'.²⁴¹ Not only was the *Maikäferbund* a platform for the performance of Kinkel's Lieder, but it also generated both political and aesthetic interaction, which is also reflected in the joint works and settings in which Kinkel set other members' words.²⁴² Kinkel's artistic activities contributed a great deal to the identity of the *Maikäfer*. She set her acquaintances' poems, inspired, wrote, and published prose, and created the title pages of the journal. Considering the great number of socio-political, critical, and satirical writings in the *Maikäfer* journals, it would be wrong to assign the *Maikäfer*'s political direction to Johanna Kinkel alone.²⁴³ Various

²⁴¹ Simon Frith, 'Music and Identity', in Frith, *Taking Popular Music Seriously*, pp. 108–27 (p. 110).

²⁴² Besides Gottfried Kinkel, Johanna Kinkel set words by Wilhelm Seibt, Alexander Kaufmann, Sebastian Longard and Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter.

²⁴³ Over the course from its foundation in 1840 to its closure in 1847, the *Maikäfer*'s authors include Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, Alexander Kaufmann (1817–1893), Andreas Simons, Sebastian Longard,

poetic and prosaic contributions by other *Maikäfer* members and Nikolaus Becker's honorary membership reflect a collective political self-perception of this association. As the co-founder and the editor of the journal, however, Kinkel's gatekeeping might have been an authoritative factor in the process of article selection, inclusion, and collection. The examination of nineteenth-century German-language dictionary and encyclopaedia articles in the first part of my dissertation shows Kinkel's public reception as an active and influential revolutionary. Johanna Kinkel was presented as having a strong influence on both the *Maikäfer* association and Gottfried Kinkel's own political activities. Although, retrospectively, Johanna Kinkel's political influence on her husband might not have been as great as was assumed by the nineteenth-century public, in the nineteenth century, she was recognised as a key figure of the revolutionary democrats' movement, and one can assume that Kinkel's political Lieder must have contributed a great deal to this reception.²⁴⁴

In accordance with Ralph P. Locke's observation of Exoticism, Derek B. Scott detects a strong political property of music through its perceived power to 'act upon or represent emotions'. 'Because of its emotional impact,' Scott explains, 'music also possesses a political power that can be exerted in the forging of national and social class identities'.²⁴⁵ That Kinkel's Lieder, within their own context, can be considered popular music has already been established in this chapter. In the light of Kinkel's political reception by the nineteenth-century public, I would like to add to Scott's statement the possibility of the performer's (and/or the composer's) reputation predetermining those

Leo Hasse (1819–?), Wolfgang Müller (1816–1873), Carl Arnold Schlönbach (1817–1866), Carl Fresenius, Willibald Beyschlag, Karl Simrock (1802–1876), Jacob Burckhardt, Nikolaus Becker, Hermann Behn-Eschenburg (1814–1873), Wilhelm Seibt, Albrecht Schöler (1819–1863), Albrecht Wolters, Ernst Wilhelm Ackermann (1821–1846), Franz Beyschlag, Heinrich Brinckmann (1809–1855), and Wilhelm Junkmann (1811–1886).

²⁴⁴ The Kinkels' letter correspondence reveals that Johanna Kinkel was looking for Gottfried's guidance and advice over long periods of the Kinkels' joint life. Although she supported her husband's political activities as best she could, she often regretted his absence from the household. Therefore, it seems inappropriate to assign Johanna a greater political influence than Gottfried Kinkel himself.

²⁴⁵ Derek Scott, 'The Power of Music', in Scott, *Musical Style and Social Meaning*, pp. 235–54 (p. 235).

feelings evoked by a particular song. Johanna Kinkel's personal case and her special socio-cultural standing were well-known to her friends, acquaintances and large parts of the public. Her audience might have listened to her Lieder knowing that she was politically engaged. In this context, an interesting approach to consider would be Jay Blumler and Denis McQuail's 'uses and gratifications' theory, which suggests that the audience selects their media by actively pursuing certain gratifications.²⁴⁶ If we apply this approach to Kinkel's Lieder, her audience, namely the democratic movement of the 1840s, would have consumed Kinkel's ideologically-loaded music because it was in line with their own mind set.

Finally, I would like to raise attention to the aspect of joint identifiers, as it is doubtful whether Johanna Kinkel would have been associated with the nineteenth-century revolutionary movement had she not been married to Gottfried Kinkel. One might be tempted to belittle Kinkel's influence on the basis of typical nineteenth-century gender representations in marriages. However, I would like to caution against overhasty conclusions and generalisations. Firstly, it should be borne in mind that a great deal of Gottfried Kinkel's popularity and media coverage only evolved after his escape from prison - an event, which was, by and large, Johanna Kinkel's achievement.²⁴⁷ Johanna Kinkel's early compositions were reviewed enthusiastically by the musical print media long before her romantic involvement with Gottfried. In this respect, Kinkel was a recognised Lieder composer even before she moved back to Bonn in 1839; she expanded her musical reputation with the *Bonner Gesangverein*, in whose establishment Gottfried Kinkel was not involved in any way. Undoubtedly, both Johanna Kinkel's personal and artistic careers were shaped by Gottfried, which is not

²⁴⁶ See Kunczik and Zipfel, *Publizistik*, p. 343.

²⁴⁷ Gottfried Kinkel's case was addressed in several national newspapers: *Kölnische Zeitung*, *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, *Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen (Vossische Zeitung)*, *Deutsche Reform: politische Zeitung für das constitutionelle Deutschland*, *Neue Preußische Zeitung*.

least echoed in her fifteen Lieder and two Singspiele, *Die Assassinen* and *Friedrich der Rothbart in Suza*. However, in turn, Gottfried Kinkel's political activities were encouraged by Johanna's support, whose socio-political unconventionality had come to the fore already when she fought for her divorce from Johann Paul Mathieux. Therefore, I would suggest the reciprocal nature of the Kinkels' influence on each other's mind sets, and thus describe them as joint identifiers of the revolutionary movement.

6.6 Conclusion: Kinkel's Lieder as a contribution to cultural identity

Georgina Born depicts two different representations of identity in music: Firstly, constructions of identity that are *primarily* experiences of the cultural imaginary ('musically-imagined communities'); and secondly, music driven by sociocultural identities that are *ontologically and sociologically prior*, even if their enhancement and enactment in musical practice produces effects on those identity formations.²⁴⁸ Both representations are evident in Kinkel's political art songs. While Kinkel's Exoticist settings are outcomes of 'musically-imagined communities', her patriotic Rhineland songs are driven by the cultural identity of the Rhineland. Born also distinguishes between four types of identification: firstly, a 'purely imaginary identification, which only exists in fantasy and reinforces the boundaries between the self and the other' (e.g. Kinkel's Exoticist works as well as her songs being set in the past). Secondly, 'musical imaginary works to *prefigure*, crystallise, or potentialise *emerged, real* forms of sociocultural identity'. Such works are Kinkel's political songs, which emerged from the creative gatherings within the *Maikäfer* or which were inspired by such socio-cultural events as the 1848/49 revolutions and Gottfried Kinkel's imprisonment. Thirdly, 'musical imaginary works to *reproduce*, reinforce, actualise, or memorialise

²⁴⁸ Born and Hesmondhalgh, 'Introduction', p. 35. Italics in this paraphrase are present in the original source.

extant sociocultural identities, in some cases also forcefully *repressing* both transformation and alternation'. This would apply to national anthems which are not usually subject to change – perhaps the *Maikäfer* national anthem could serve as an example. Fourthly, 'musical representations of sociocultural identity come *after the fact* and are to be reinterpreted and debated discursively and, out of this process, "reinserted" as representations into the changing socio-cultural formation,' i.e. the music becomes 'subject to the inevitable historical process of reinterpretation'. This aspect addresses our own attributive screen through which we perceive Kinkel's works.²⁴⁹ Like Locke, Born advocates a view on music which takes into account the music's context. She argues that music generates meaning in a number of different, simultaneous forms: as musical sound disseminated through notation, technological and visual forms; as practices of sociality of performance; as social institutions and socio-economy; as language (lyrics, dramatic narration) as well as in the form of theoretical knowledge, and conceptual and knowledge systems.²⁵⁰ Born's observations of influences on music reception correspond with the influences on a journalist as elaborated by Siegfried Weischenberg. It reminds us of the 'movement of the musical object through a series of states: imagination, composition, and production, dissemination, performance, reception'.²⁵¹ As this chapter has shown, Kinkel's songs underwent all those different states and experienced impact from various avenues. Firstly, Kinkel's published Lieder were subject to self-censorship by Kinkel herself, based on her own socio-cultural anchoring, an aspect which might explain why she did not publish any large-scale works. Secondly, the aspect of publishability must have been an important factor. Thirdly, Kinkel's critics reviewed her works through a certain lens. Fourthly, Kinkel's posthumous reception is largely influenced by the socio-

²⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 35–36

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 37.

²⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 1–8 and 46.

cultural conventions and methodological strands of its own time, an observation which might shed light on the nature of Kinkel's reception within the context of the twenty-first century. This twenty-first-century perspective grants Kinkel's Lieder a significant impact on the cultural identity of the *Maikäferbund*, and more generally on the revolutionary movement of the 1840s.

In the light of current strands and methodologies taken in historiography, cultural studies, and historical musicology, and referring to the important role of individual works in the fashioning of national identity, Born points to the research potential of lesser-known music. By using as an analytical sample reviews of Debussy's premiere of *Palléas et Melisande* (in 1902), she ascertains that:

But what music contributes to national identity is not merely determined by the men in power and the most important composers of the era. Much can be learnt from those working on the boundaries of the mainstream – women, lesser-known composers, and even amateurs. Their efforts to achieve distinction, recognition, and even prestige reveal what is important to a culture as well as what it is willing to reward.²⁵²

It was the aim of this chapter to undertake a journey through Kinkel's political songs not only by focusing on the actual compositions themselves, but also by examining their imagination, production, dissemination, performance, and perception. Born's remark on the importance of women composers, lesser-known composers, and amateurs is precisely why I suggest that Kinkel's political art songs reveal a great deal about the dynamics of the time both in terms of the corresponding socio-political and cultural discourse as well as Kinkel's own and her acquaintances' identities.

²⁵² Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, p. 16.

CHAPTER 7: KINKEL'S SONGS IN PRAISE OF NATURE: ARE KINKEL'S LIEDER TYPICAL REPRESENTATIVES OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY ROMANTICISM?

This final thematic chapter introduces Kinkel's seventeen songs in praise of nature, all of which exhibit Romantic features in one way or the other. However, many of these songs also allude to aspects of Kinkel's biography and certain socio-political features discussed in the previous chapters of this dissertation, which shows the connectedness between all three thematic categories. In order to depict Romantic features in Kinkel's Lieder, the first section of this chapter gives a brief overview of typical Romantic features, followed by the analyses of Kinkel's Lieder in praise of nature.

7.1 Romantic paradigms: an attempt to define the undefinable?

Lawrence Kramer defines the word 'Romanticism' as the 'endeavour to overcome the split between the subject and the object', the 'self and the world', the 'conscious and unconscious' by means of a 'heightening of self-consciousness'.¹ Referring to the work of René Wellek, Morse Peckham, Søren Kierkegaard, Geoffrey Hartman, and Jacques Derrida, Kramer summarises that 'subjects come to occupy the cultural or metaphysical place formerly occupied by objects'.² How did those features asserted by Kramer come about?

In his introduction to *The Romantic Movement*, Alan Menhennet points to the terminological vagueness of the word 'Romanticism'. He explains that 'some of that confusion [which exists in relation to its meaning] is inherent in the phenomenon itself; some results from insufficient awareness of the variety of perspectives from which it

¹ Kramer, *Music and Poetry*, p. 22.

² Ibid., p. 22.

can be, and is used'.³ In a similar way, Ernst Ribbat begins his literary record of study, *Romantik*, with a disillusioning introduction:

The number of editions, monographs, and individual studies cannot be missed – the defining terms, the evaluations of particular writers and works are highly contradictory: Romantic literature, and the German Romantic period specifically, like a hundred or fifty years ago, cannot be captured in a consistent picture.⁴

Thus, it seems hard to define Romanticism, although such a definition will be essential in order to ascertain whether or not Kinkel's Lieder typically represent Romanticism and if they do, in what ways and to what extent.

Christopher A. Strathman cites Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe and Jean-Luc Nancy's work and stresses their 'important observation concerning a watershed moment in the history of Western culture':

Romanticism implies something entirely new, the *production* of something entirely new. The Romantics never really succeed in naming this something: they speak of poetry, of the work, of the novel, or...of Romanticism. In the end, they decide to call it – all things considered – *literature*.⁵

Contrary to Strathman, Elizabeth Millàn-Zaibert refers to the Schlegelian concept of Romanticism and explains that Romantic does not address only literature, but also philosophy. According to Schlegel, 'romantic is that which presents us with sentimental material in a fantastic form (that is, in a form determined entirely by the imagination)'.⁶

Despite its clarity, however, this definition seems rather broad, even though it will be

³ Alan Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1981), p. 11. Hereafter referred to as Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*.

⁴ Ernst Ribbat, 'Einleitung', in *Romantik: Ein literaturwissenschaftliches Studienbuch*, ed. by Ernst Ribbat (Königstein: Athenäum, 1979), pp. 1–6 (p. 1). The entire volume is hereafter referred to as Ribbat, *Romantik*. 'Unübersehbar ist die Zahl der Editionen, der monographischen Darstellungen, der Einzelforschungen – höchst widersprüchlich sind die verwendeten Epochenbegriffe, die auf einzelne Autoren und Werke bezogenen Wertungen: die romantische Literatur, und die deutsche Romantik zumal, lässt sich heute so wenig wie vor hundert oder fünfzig Jahren in einem einheitlichen Bilde erfassen'.

⁵ Christopher A. Strathman, *Romantic Poetry and the Fragmentary Imperative: Schlegel, Byron, Joyce, Blanchot* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006), p. 28. Italics in original. Hereafter referred to as Strathman, *Romantic Poetry and the Fragmentary Imperative*.

⁶ Elizabeth Millàn-Zaibert, *Friedrich Schlegel and the Emergence of Romantic Philosophy* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2007), p. 16, hereafter referred to as Millàn-Zaibert, *Friedrich Schlegel and Friedrich Schlegel, Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, ed. by Ernst Behler and others, 36 vols (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1979–), II, p. 333, hereafter referred to as Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*. 'Denn nach meiner Ansicht und nach meinem Sprachgebrauch ist eben das romantisch, was uns einen sentimentalen Stoff in einer fantastischen Form (d.h., in einer ganz durch die Fantasie bestimmten) Form darstellt'.

used as an analytical starting point in this chapter. Because of its historical anchoring, an approximation via this term's history seems promising. Menhennet ascertains that:

[The] first stage of the rise of the romantic tendency in Germany is the 'Empfindsamkeit' ['Sentimentalism'] which came to the fore in the late 1740s and corresponds to a cult of nature and feeling [...]. A characteristic situation for such writers [of the 1760s] is the contemplation of a landscape, leading to a state of [...] melancholy reverie.⁷

As an 'intermediate stage' between German Sentimentalism and Romanticism, Menhennet mentions the era beginning in the 1760s 'for which the traditional parochial formulae ("Sturm und Drang", "Klassik") are not wholly satisfactory in our present context'.⁸ Although this period is still pre-Romantic, Menhennet argues that:

[Such writers as Goethe and Schiller] who dominate this period, were, in fact, major influences on non-German Romantic Movements. The process of spiritualisation of nature, for example, [...] is carried so far by Goethe in the lyrics of the 1770s and the following years that one feels that the barrier between 'inner' and 'outer', 'Ich' and 'Welt' has almost disappeared.⁹

As a conclusion, Menhennet explains that the period of the 'Sturm und Drang' (which is often referred to as 'Classicism' from the 1780s onwards) overlaps with the Romantic period. as the Romantic period began in 1796 and Classicism 'continues in full flower until at least 1805 (when Schiller died), and Goethe's subsequent development till his death in 1832'.¹⁰ Furthermore, Menhennet stresses that 'there are outstanding individuals who cannot be fitted into the pattern of any "school"', that the Classicist and the Romantic Movements often 'analyse the same problems' but approached these problems from different perspectives and that a non-Romantic movement coexisted

⁷ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 13. For further details on the succession of Enlightenment, Sturm und Drang, Klassik, Romantik, and Vormärz see Arnd Bohm, 'Goethe and the Romantics', in *The Literature of German Romanticism*, ed. by Dennis F. Mahoney (New York/ Woodbridge: Camden House, 2004), pp. 35–50 (p. 35) and Deborah Stein and Robert Spillman, *Poetry into Song: Performance and Analysis of Lieder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), especially pp. 3–15 'Introduction to German Romanticism'. Mahoney's entire volume is hereafter referred to as Mahoney, *The Literature of German Romanticism*.

⁸ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 14.

⁹ Ibid., p. 14. Menhennet states that 'this never quite happens. The "Stürmer und Dränger" recognised, often with a deep sense of tragedy, that reality and logic constituted an insuperable obstacle to the emotions and longings of the Self'.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

with the Romantics, which adds to the terminological confusion and vagueness.¹¹ Yet it seems that certain Romantic characteristics can be named. It is these features which this chapter seeks to explore in relation to Kinkel's *Lieder*.

7.1.1 The emancipation of the Self

In his introduction to *Romantic Poetry and the Fragmentary Imperative*, Christopher A. Strathman points to Friedrich Schlegel's notion of 'Romantic poetry' as a 'new and highly self-conscious literary work that embodies the fractured, decentred consciousness of ancient philosophical dialogue'.¹² In a similar way, James H. Donelan opens his book *Poetry and the Romantic Musical Aesthetic* with a chapter on self-consciousness, a concept which he defines as a 'process by which the self becomes aware of its status as a thinking, knowing entity, and the precondition, according to the Idealists and Romantics, for all knowledge'.¹³ In relation to this, however, Alan Menhennet points out that:

[We] can speak of a *significant* tendency only when the Romantic potential begins to be recognised and consistently exploited as a path to reality and truth. The crucial process is the emancipation of the 'Ich', the individual Self. As long as reality and truth are 'given' to the Self, as long as the external world has priority over the internal, the romantic potential cannot be fully realised.¹⁴

Martin Wehnert explains the focus on the individual Self with the early Romantics' attempt to construct a poetic alternative draft to the real world, which was characterised by 'human alienation, disenchantment, and disillusionment' during the age of industrialisation.¹⁵ Wehnert concludes that the 'eternal longing' for a spiritual footing, which was a significant feature of the Romantic era, evolved in the course of the industrialisation. He ascertains that, because 'mental footing and spiritual home are

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 14–15. As an example of different perspectives, Menhennet mentions the Classicist ideal of Greek harmony and 'Humanität', which he defines as a non-Romantic characteristic.

¹² Strathman, *Romantic Poetry and the Fragmentary Imperative*, p. 1.

¹³ James H. Donelan, *Poetry and the Romantic Musical Aesthetic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 1.

¹⁴ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 12. Italics in original.

¹⁵ Wehnert, 'Romantik', p. 469.

sought outside of established, conventional forms of thought and behaviour during phases of critical upheaval’, religious salvation was replaced by self-salvation reached through art.¹⁶ Thus, Wehnert explains that the arts, as a ‘replacement of religion, [provided] visionary getaways whose ideals were real organicism in nature and organic completeness in society’.¹⁷ Besides nature, further central concerns of the Romantic protagonist are the tragedy of love as well as love and death. However, Wehnert points out that these themes are not as such Romantic, but they can be considered Romantic if unreal, intangible components are stressed particularly, which then constitutes an escape from the perceived inhuman reality.¹⁸

In relation to this observation, Menhennet concludes that ‘the Romantic, in which the liberated “inner” spiritual faculties dominate, sees the universal unity and therefore finds more truth in chaos than in a divisive “system”’, a phenomenon with which Menhennet explains the great number of fragmentary or unfinished works during the Romantic period and the ‘cavalier freedom’ with which Romantics treated the question of genre.¹⁹ On a related note, Richard Littlejohns points to the increasing popularity of aphorisms and collections of several people’s ideas as a ‘method for putting “sociability” into practice’, an interesting parallel observation also in relation to the aspect of *Stammbuchforschung*, which suggests that the individual entries in poetry books reflect nineteenth-century sociability.²⁰ Like Littlejohns and Menhennet, Charles Rosen calls the Romantic fragment a ‘principal form of expression’ for such early Romantics as Friedrich Schlegel and his Jena contemporaries.²¹ However, Elizabeth

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 469–70.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 470.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 502.

¹⁹ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 17.

²⁰ Richard Littlejohns, ‘Early Romanticism’, in Mahoney, *The Literature of German Romanticism*, pp. 61–77 (pp. 66–67). Hereafter referred to as Littlejohns, ‘Early Romanticism’. A recent project on *Stammbuchforschung* and its potential for the research of musical cultural practice is undertaken by Henrike Rost, University of Detmold/ Paderborn and was introduced at the *Arbeitstagung der Fachgruppe Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung in der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung*, Cologne, 1–3 April 2016.

²¹ Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, p. 48.

Millàn-Zaibert argues that the Romantic preference for fragmentary works was not merely an indication of the Romantic favour of chaos. Using as a basis Friedrich Schlegel's 'ambivalent relation to creating a system for his ideas,' Millàn-Zaibert explains that the Romantic fragment was the result of combining both having a system and not having a system.²² Millàn-Zaibert refers to Schlegel's Fragment 53 in *Athenäum*, which reads: 'It is just as fatal for the spirit to have a system as not to have a system. Some way of combining the two must be reached'.²³ The fragment, according to Millàn-Zaibert, 'because it is not *necessarily* systematic, provides the space necessary for the free play of irony and facilitates the possibility that a single idea be approached from a plurality of perspectives'.²⁴ Strathman's association of Romantic irony with releasement and the process of freeing up or letting go of something corresponds with Millàn-Zaibert's idea of irony as a representative of the possibility of not having a system (or more than one system).²⁵ Strathman takes this idea even further and interprets Schlegel's use of irony as a 'parody of scientific classification' and a criticism of linguistic limitations: 'Schlegel's parody of scientific classification offers an instructive example of how irony works to loosen our grip on things by loosening our grip on our conceptual (linguistic) categories'.²⁶

By citing Friedrich Schlegel and Clemens Brentano, Menhennet ascertains that the Classicist and Sturm und Drang rationalism 'cramps what are, for the Romantic, the supreme faculties, fancy and love, and its dominance in the mind and heart gives rise to what Brentano calls the "Vernunftphilister"'.²⁷ These Romantic 'supreme faculties' may be particularly attractive for the Romantics because of their links with emotions and the

²² Millàn-Zaibert, *Friedrich Schlegel*, p. 12.

²³ Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, II, p. 173. 'Es ist gleich tödlich für den Geist, ein System zu haben, und keins zu haben. Es wird sich also wohl entschließen müssen, beides zu verbinden'.

²⁴ Millàn-Zaibert, *Friedrich Schlegel*, p. 12. Italics in original.

²⁵ Strathman, *Romantic Poetry and the Fragmentary Imperative*, p. 51.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

²⁷ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 17.

Romantic notion of the indefinite and the paradoxical. In relation to Romantic notions of emotion, Joel Faflak and Richard C. Sha ascertain that:

[Emotion] is a knowing beyond thought that requires no knowing, but that makes all knowing possible. [...] Emotions are the not-being-said within the said of human experience.²⁸

This concept conforms to Elizabeth Millàn-Zaibert's idea that Romantic irony means 'that there is no last word'.²⁹ Referring to Romantic wit and humour, Menhennet points out that 'comic disorder is one of the primary effects of Romantic humour [...] and failure to respond positively to it is a sure sign of philistinism'.³⁰ In Romantic understanding, philistines, although they would be able to experience such emotions as love or charity, are characterised by spiritual shallowness.³¹ As a result of the combination of romantic fancy and intellect, Menhennet introduces a distinct Romantic wit or humour, 'a frame of mind in which the consciously free spirit *enjoys* its sense of the discrepancy between itself and reality', which is also related to the concept of irony.³² Furthermore, Littlejohns explains that:

Given human limitations, it is impossible for us to articulate absolute knowledge, as Kant had shown; yet it remains imperative, necessary for our intellectual self-respect, for us to keep trying to do so. Faced with this dilemma, we can only ensure that every thought contains the potential for development, for self-transcendence, even self-contradiction, or at least contains a built-in awareness of its own incompleteness, in other words that it is capable of self-ironizing.³³

According to Elizabeth Millàn-Zaibert, 'irony is the tool used to make the inherent incompleteness of human experience apparent'.³⁴ In a similar way, Judith Norman interprets both irony and fragmentism as a matter of style. She argues that:

[The Romantics] wrote in fragments to express their idea of the essential incompleteness of systematicity; they used irony to express their scepticism over foundations, or something to that effect. These literary devices, on this reading, are not essential to the Romantics' message; they

²⁸ Joel Faflak and Richard C. Sha, *Romanticism and the Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 2.

²⁹ Millàn-Zaibert, *Friedrich Schlegel*, p. 168.

³⁰ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 32.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 32. Italics in original.

³³ Littlejohns, 'Early Romanticism', p. 67.

³⁴ Millàn-Zaibert, *Friedrich Schlegel*, p. 167.

are just ways of illustrating or underscoring it, a sugar-coated pill where the poetic exterior makes the philosophical medicine go down more easily.³⁵

However, fragmentism and irony may also be understood as a Romantic attitude rather than merely a stylistic device. If irony and fragmentism were considered indicators of Romantic fancy and intellect, then Romantic literary style would go beyond literature. As a result of the renunciation from philistinism and in order to avoid disorientation, Romantics developed their own understanding of rationalism ‘on the basis of “Besonnenheit”, the inner balance and conscious control essential both in life and [...] art’.³⁶ The concept of *Besonnenheit* (Considerateness) was developed by Johann Gottfried Herder, who, according to Alexander J. Cvetko, defined this term as a ‘process of pausing and remembrance, which constitutes memory’ and who used this term as a substitute for reflection and rationalism.³⁷ However, referring to the contradiction between the (considerate) inner Self and the crude industrialised reality, Menhennet points to the ‘potential threat to all Romantic writers’, namely the lack of unity and an impression of inner conflict, which is also a typical Romantic feature.³⁸

7.1.2 The relation between spirit and reality

Menhennet derives this lack of unity from the ‘Romantic dilemma [of] the relation between spirit and reality’.³⁹ While infinite and eternal spirit is a ‘pure unified being’ and would therefore be considered a Romantic ideal, ‘it must find an object, which

³⁵ Judith Norman, ‘The Work of Art in German Romanticism’, in *Internationales Jahrbuch des deutschen Idealismus: Romantik/ International Yearbook of German Idealism: Romanticism*, ed. by Karl Ameriks, Fred Rush and Jürgen Stolzenberg (Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 59–79 (p. 59). The entire volume is hereafter referred to as Ameriks and others, *Internationales Jahrbuch des deutschen Idealismus*.

³⁶ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, pp. 17–18.

³⁷ Alexander J. Cvetko, ...durch Gesänge lehrten sie...*Johann Gottfried Herder und die Erziehung durch Musik: Mythos, Ideologie – Rezeption* (Frankfurt and others: Peter Lang, 2005), p. 57. Hereafter referred to as Cvetko, ...durch Gesänge lehrten sie...*Johann Gottfried Herder und die Erziehung durch Musik*.

³⁸ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 18.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

means giving up some of its purity and admitting of a lower reality' in order to 'achieve conscious *existence*'.⁴⁰ Menhennet explains that:

A comprehensible reality entails the sacrifice of the absolute unity of the spirit and acceptance of a basic dualism in the world and the Romantics do accept this, even though they regard spirit as the only pure truth and the overcoming of duality of existence, either inwardly as a foretaste of perfection or outwardly as a millennial restoration of harmony, as a consummation devoutly to be wished.⁴¹

Referring to the Romantic understanding of the word *Gemüt* (mind, temper), 'that untranslatable word which renders the inner psychological life in its totality', Menhennet explains that 'it is above all the fact that it has psychological roots that enables the Romantic imagination to retain a link with reality'.⁴² Millàn-Zaibert ascertains that Romantic irony, although being playful and irreverent would be the result of Schlegel's 'deep respect for and commitment to *understanding* reality'.⁴³ In this light, and although Romantics seemed to find themselves in a constant dualism between reality and spirituality, Gabriele Rommel argues that, although Romantics distanced themselves from rationalism, they were highly interested in science.⁴⁴ Strathman stresses this dualism by citing Schlegel's notion that 'all art should become science and all science art'.⁴⁵ According to Menhennet, 'men whose training and profession were unimpeachably scientific were willing, indeed eager, to take the "Night-side" of nature [...] entirely seriously'.⁴⁶ Regarding the relationship between natural science and arts, Rommel points out that:

The natural philosophical efforts of the Romantics did not exert any lasting influence on the further development of the natural sciences and medicine. But the discussions of that time on nature and spirit, nature and humanity, life and death, historical temporality, and the infinitude of nature and the universe did generate critical contributions in Romantic fragments and studies, essays and poetical works, which to a certain degree treated approaches to epistemology, natural

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 18. Italics in original.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 19.

⁴² Ibid., p. 29.

⁴³ Millàn-Zaibert, *Friedrich Schlegel*, p. 167. Italics in Original.

⁴⁴ Gabriele Rommel, 'Romanticism and Natural Science', in Mahoney, *The Literature of German Romanticism*, pp. 209–27 (p. 209). Hereafter referred to as Rommel, 'Romanticism and Natural Science'.

⁴⁵ Strathman, *Romantic Poetry and the Fragmentary Imperative*, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 28.

science, and natural philosophy. Particularly in the years around 1800, the Romantic concepts of arts and poetry built upon a radicalised principle of history from the perspective of nature.⁴⁷

7.1.3 Nature, mysticism, and imagination

The ideal of spirit alludes to the broad Romantic understanding of nature as a form of religion.⁴⁸ This is reflected in Alison Stone's interpretation of Novalis, in which she concludes that:

Novalis tends to equate the universe as a whole – the absolute – with nature, speaking of the *natural* system of the universe. For Novalis, this system coincides with nature because, as he says, *all* phenomena belong within this system, including all phenomena of the human mind. Because for Novalis these phenomena realise the self-organising powers of nature, they remain within nature, which therefore is all-encompassing. For Novalis, then, metaphysics – interpreted as the study of the absolute – coincides with philosophy of nature. Hence, the metaphysics of the *Brouillon* [Novalis's draft encyclopaedia outlining his conception of nature] is equally an examination of the empirical natural sciences.⁴⁹

However, according to Menhennet, the experience of the infinite and the ability to see the infinite in nature were considered as originating from the spiritual capacities of the Self rather than the intellect. Therefore, in accordance with Novalis, 'the most important quality of the student of nature [...] is a spiritual constitution more often found in combination with simplicity of character than with intellectual sophistication'.⁵⁰

By way of contrast to Goethe, whose Classicist science is based on the distinction between the observer and the observed, Romantic science, according to Menhennet, could 'accept a measure of mysticism' which incorporated the idea that 'truth can be perceived through "Ahnung" (perception without a concrete observation)'.⁵¹ Menhennet refers to Romantic science as the 'era of "nature-

⁴⁷ Rommel, 'Romanticism and Natural Science', p. 216.

⁴⁸ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 19.

⁴⁹ Alison Stone, 'German Romantic and Idealist Conceptions of Nature', in Ameriks and others, *Internationales Jahrbuch des deutschen Idealismus*, pp. 80–101 (p. 85).

⁵⁰ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 20.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

philosophy”, when physical nature was seen as a series of variations on “thoughts” of God, a vast unity formed and informed by spiritual forces’.⁵²

Having stressed the primacy of the Self as well as the significant role of religion and spiritual belief for the Romantics, it should be noted that:

Man is not God for the Romantics, and he is not a universe in himself. He cannot know the infinite without some consciousness of a relation to things outside himself. But it is in and through the inner world of the Self [...] that the universe and its laws are known.⁵³

In accordance with this, ‘faith and an essentially pure heart are more important than reason and will’, from which Menhennet concludes that ‘the German Romantic hero is characterised by passivity and receptivity’.⁵⁴

7.1.4 Dualisms

Based on the above concepts, Strathman states that:

The Romantic work thus navigates a precarious passage between knowledge and scepticism, system and fragment, narrative and lyric, and history and language without collapsing into the form of either one of them.⁵⁵

This takes us to another significant Romantic paradigm: the constant juxtaposition of dualisms. Menhennet argues that ‘harmony and reconciliation were longed for and sought, but it is usually only in myth or *Märchen* [tale] that the Romantic can find them’.⁵⁶ Menhennet explains that ‘everywhere in Romantic thought and art one finds recognition of the duality of life and the attempt to overcome, or at least contain, its destructive potential’.⁵⁷ According to Menhennet, the Romantic cultivation of the inner Self must have ‘made it inevitable that [the Romantics] should discover mysticism’.⁵⁸ Having said this, German Romantics ‘disliked the spirits of the new age’ as the

⁵² Ibid., p. 20.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 21.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 22.

⁵⁵ Strathman, *Romantic Poetry and the Fragmentary Imperative*, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 22.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 25.

industrialised era contradicted their ideal of a pure-hearted Self spiritually understanding nature.⁵⁹ Menhennet states that:

[To] preserve the ideal in such unpromising surroundings, they [the Romantics] turned to spiritual rather than political means, hoping to re-ignite in the Germans their sense of identity, and the spirit of poetry in general, by persuading them to concentrate their minds on sources and objects which breathed a spirit at once Germanic and poetic, such as the Rhine, the 'Wartburg' and the Middle Ages.⁶⁰

This aversion to modernity is also reflected in the popularity of Exoticist settings, as outlined in the previous chapter, and the idea of a regeneration of Europe by Asia as voiced by Schlegel and Novalis.⁶¹ Furthermore, Millàn-Zaibert asserts that mythology, even though it may seem like the promotion of religious chaos at first glance, was also propagated by Schlegel in order to provide education as a 'centre or unifying tradition for a society torn asunder by a variety of disruptive factors'.⁶² In that sense, mythology helped to form a unified whole and achieve greater social cohesion; in fact, Millàn-Zaibert argues that, by turning to mythology, Schlegel aimed to bring society together and impart a democratic world view, which alludes to the political significance Millàn-Zaibert assigns to the Romantics' mythological interests.⁶³

Referring to the spiritual tendency of the Romantics within the context of nineteenth-century industrialism and the rise of other values connected with the new age, Menhennet ascertains that 'social integration was bound to be a problematic matter for [the Romantics]', which resulted in a strong sense of solitude and a fear of isolation. Although, according to Menhennet, the Romantic ideal was not the 'social integration as a "Bürger" [citizen]', 'the Romantics did have a sense of community, which is expressed in their attitude to the state'. This attitude places the individual citizen within

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 24.

⁶¹ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 115.

⁶² Millàn-Zaibert, *Friedrich Schlegel*, pp. 161–62.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 162. Millàn-Zaibert points out that this 'turn to mythology was not unique to Schlegel'. She then refers to the text 'Oldest Programme for a System of German Idealism', which dates back to 1796 and whose authorship is not fully proven.

a larger conglomeration of individualities, which resulted in the German Romantic concept of nationalism.⁶⁴

Referring to the broad range of Romantic contradictions, Alfred Einstein considers the increasing popularity of the folk song as a perceptive means of national inclusion, a 'cure for isolation' and a bridge over the gap between the artist on the one hand and the public on the other.⁶⁵ Although Einstein's work is outdated, his observation that German Romantic song blurred the boundaries between the artist, i.e. the private, and the public is noteworthy. However, Menhennet concludes that the gap between Romantic ideal and reality was often too big so that:

German Romanticism, being so absolute in its desires, is all the more susceptible to frustration and strain and so it is natural that it should be specially characterised by the feeling of 'Sehnsucht': longing for consummation and longing for release.⁶⁶

Perhaps it is hard to separate the arts, including literature and music, from the political events of the time and from scholarship in general. Rey M. Longyear points out that, in the Romantic era:

[A] new view of art took shape: whereas in the eighteenth century art was often degraded to an entertainment and diversion (accounting for the pretty superficiality of much art and music of the time), now it was ennobled as an escape, even as a substitute for religion.⁶⁷

Like Menhennet, who pointed to the Romantics' renunciation from the new age, Longyear explains that 'the love of an unspoiled pre-industrial nature that characterises much pre- and early Romantic poetry and painting [...] had a strong and powerful counterpart in music'.⁶⁸ As the 'most conspicuous portrayals of nature by Romantic composers' Longyear mentions:

[The] forest paintings in Weber's *Der Freischütz* or Wagner's *Siegfried*; the landscapes and seascapes of Mendelssohn and Gade; the Alpine pictures of Schumann's or Chaikovsky's

⁶⁴ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 35.

⁶⁵ Alfred Einstein, *Music in the Romantic Era* (London: Dent & Sons Ltd, 1947), p. 37. For more recent considerations of music between the private and the public see Borchard, 'Between Private and Public' and Kenny, 'Blurring the Gendered Dichotomies'.

⁶⁶ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 37.

⁶⁷ Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*, p. 11.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Manfred; the love of wandering that permeates the music of Schumann and Brahms; the moods of the sea as depicted in Wagner's *Flying Dutchman* or Rimsky-Korsakov's *Sadko*, *Scheherazade*, and *Tsar Saltan*, or the love of travel shown in Mendelssohn's *Italian* and *Scottish* symphonies, Liszt's *Album d'un voyageur* and *Anneés de pèlerinage*, and Chabrier's *España*.⁶⁹

Having said this, it is not surprising that arts also took up themes originating from areas related to every-day life and universal issues of the nineteenth century, as is shown in poetry and Lieder dealing with the Germanic or other people's heroic pasts, myths and such paradigms as loneliness and longing.⁷⁰ Gisela Brinker-Gabler explains the Romantic interest in both the Germanic and foreign pasts, referring to Schlegel's definition of Romantic poetry as a 'progressive universal poetry [...], which cancels out the boundaries of time and space and considers all works within their inter-related contexts'.⁷¹ Therefore, Gisela Brinker-Gabler concludes that the reception of Old German literature was embedded in a wide-ranging process aiming to acquire past and foreign literatures, an observation which will surface in some of Kinkel's Lieder.⁷²

7.2 Dreamy images of foreign countries: longing for a pre-industrialised setting

Although Greek and Spanish Lieder were discussed in chapter II.3, Kinkel's two Geibel Lieder 'Sehnsucht nach Griechenland' (op. 6, no. 1) and 'Die Zigeuner' (op. 7, no. 6) are included in this following section. While the Lieder discussed in the above chapter deal with heroic imaginations of foreign countries' pasts, the two songs introduced in the following focus on the lyrical protagonists' dreamy images of Southern natural beauty.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 12.

⁷⁰ For further details on the relationship between the early nineteenth-century perception of the Germanic past and the increasing popularity of folk-like melodies and folk literature, see Fabian Lampart, 'The Turn to History and the *Volk*: Brentano, Arnim, and the Grimm Brothers', in Mahoney, *The Literature of German Romanticism*, pp. 171–89 (p. 171).

⁷¹ Gisela Brinker-Gabler, 'Wissenschaftlich-poetische Mittelalterrezeption', in Ribbat, *Romantik*, pp. 80–97 (p. 84). 'Die Vorstellung der "Einen Poesie" – [...] orientiert an Schlegels Definition der romantischen Poesie als einer "progressiven Universalpoesie" – hebt Grenzen der Zeit und Räume auf und sieht alle Werke in wechselseitigem Bezug'.

⁷² Ibid., p. 85.

The Lied ‘Sehnsucht nach Griechenland’ (Longing for Greece, op. 6, no. 1, Table 7.1) alludes to Romantic longing for the (less industrialised) South paired with a sense of transience, a strongly romanticised image of (Southern) nature, and a desperate perspective on the lyrical I’s own situation.

Table 7.1: ‘Sehnsucht nach Griechenland’ (op. 6, no. 1)

Sehnsucht nach Griechenland Emanuel Geibel Published in 1839	Longing for Greece ⁷³ Translation adapted from Allen Shearer
Ich blick’ in mein Herz und ich blick’ in die Welt, Bis vom schwimmenden Auge die brennende Träne mir fällt, Wohl leuchtet die Ferne im goldenen Licht, ⁷⁴ Doch hält mich der Nord, ich erreiche sie nicht. O die Schranken so eng, und die Welt so weit, Und so flüchtig die Zeit!	<i>a</i> I look into my heart and I look at the world <i>a</i> Till out of my moist eyes a burning tear falls. <i>b</i> Though the distance glows in the golden light, <i>b</i> The north holds; me I shall not reach it. <i>c</i> Ah! How narrow our confines, how wide the world, <i>c</i> And how fleeting is time!
Ich weiß ein Land, wo aus sonnigem Grün, Um versunkene Tempel die Rosen glühn, ⁷⁵ Wo die purpurne Woge das Ufer beschäumt, Und von kommenden Sängern der Lorbeer träumt. Fern lockt es und winkt dem verlangenden Sinn, Und ich kann nicht hin!	<i>d</i> I know a land where in sun-filled greenery <i>d</i> Roses gleam among sunken temples, <i>e</i> Where the purple wave covers the shore with foam <i>e</i> And laurels dream of singers to come. <i>f</i> It lures from afar and beckons my longing soul, <i>f</i> And I cannot go there!
O hätt’ ich Flügel, durch’s Blau der Luft Wie wollt’ ich baden im Sonnenduft! Doch umsonst! Ach und Stunde auf Stunde entflieht ⁷⁶ Verträume die Jugend, begrabe das Lied! – ⁷⁷ O die Schranken so eng, und die Welt so weit, Und so flüchtig die Zeit!	<i>g</i> If I had wings to fly through the blue <i>g</i> How I would wish to bathe in sun’s fragrance! <i>h</i> But in vain! Alas, hour flees upon hour; <i>h</i> Pass your youth in dreaming, bury your song. <i>c</i> Ah! How narrow our confines, how wide the world <i>c</i> And how fleeting is time!

The first line ‘Ich blick’ in mein Herz und ich blick’ in die Welt’ (I look in my heart and I look at the world) reveals the general tone of the poem, in which the lonesome lyrical protagonist separates his- or herself from the rest of the world. The final two lines of each verse, which stress the lyrical I’s hopeless desire to reach the South, evoke a sense

⁷³ Translation by Allen Shearer <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=6025> [accessed 20 June 2016].

⁷⁴ Geibel’s original poem reads ‘mit goldenem Licht’ (with golden light). Emanuel Geibel, ‘Sehnsucht’, in Geibel, *Gedichte*, p. 130. The translation has been adjusted by myself.

⁷⁵ Geibel’s original poem reads ‘Trauben glühn’ (grapes gleam). The translation has been adjusted by myself.

⁷⁶ The word ‘Ach’ (Alas) was added by Kinkel. The original poem reads ‘Stunde um Stund’ entflieht’. Kinkel changed ‘Stund’ to ‘Stunde’ in favour of a more regular metric pattern.

⁷⁷ The original poem reads ‘Vertraure die Jugend’ (Pass your youth in mourning). The translation has been adjusted by myself.

of Romantic unhappiness, to which Rey M. Longyear refers as *Weltschmerz*.⁷⁸ Kinkel's changes to the poem intensify the Romantic tone by adding the sighing word 'Ach' (Alas) and replacing the word 'Vertraure' with the word 'Verträume' in the third stanza. As a means of semantic emphasis, which corresponds with the Romantic dualism between the inner Self and the outer world, the vocal part of those lines creates a contrast between the 'Schranken' (confines) and the 'Welt' (world) (bars 20 ff., Ex. 7.1). While the narrow confines are set to repeated quavers ('b¹'), the wide world is portrayed by means of a dotted ascent in crotchets ('a¹'-'c²'-'f²'). The changing piano accompaniment supports the overall contrast between the rather melancholic and dreamy first four lines of each verse and the desperate realistic conclusion in the final two lines. While the piano accompaniment plays long arpeggios of one-bar length in the first part of the varied strophic setting, it is set in groups of six arpeggio quavers per bar in the middle section. It is not until bar 20 that the piano accompaniment changes to pairs of *staccatissimo* quavers separated from each other by means of a quaver pause. The *staccatissimo* expression and the employment of pauses between each pair of quavers result in a strong emphasis of the words voiced in the corresponding verses: 'O die Schranken so eng und sie Welt so weit, | Und so flüchtig die Zeit' (Ah! How narrow our confines, how wide the world | And how fleeting is time!). Moreover, the sudden inclusion of a D-sharp diminished seventh chord in bar 23 supports the sadness and desperateness carried by the poem, as well as the lyrical I's sudden realisation of the time going past so quickly.

⁷⁸ Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*, p. 9.

Ex. 7.1: Semantics in ‘Sehnsucht nach Griechenland’ (bars 20–29)

20

p 1.O, die Schranken so eng, und die Welt so *f*weit, und so flüchtig die

f *p*

Ped. *

25

Zeit.

più moto

sfz *sfz* *ff*

Unlike ‘Sehnsucht nach Griechenland’ and despite the clear reference to such Southern countries as Spain and Egypt, the Lied ‘Die Zigeuner’ (The Gypsies, op. 7, no. 6, Table 7.2) does not praise a particular country or landscape. Rather, it portrays a gypsy gathering at night time during which the gypsies are closely related to nature. Besides some minor changes in the poetry, the last verse was not set by Johanna Kinkel. As Kinkel never commented on this poem herself, it is unclear whether she omitted this verse in accordance with the formal design of the Lied (each musical stanza covers two poetic verses) or whether she deliberately left out the allusion to the indefinite expressed in the last verse (printed in grey).

Table 7.2: ‘Die Zigeuner’ (op. 7, no. 6)

Die Zigeuner Emanuel Geibel Published in 1838	The Gypsies ⁷⁹ Translation by Martin Stock
Im Schatten des Waldes, im Buchengezweig, Da regt sich’s und raschelt’s und flüstert’s zugleich. ⁸⁰ Es flackern die Flammen, es gaukelt der Schein Um bunte Gestalten, um Laub und Gestein.	<i>a</i> In the shady forest, between the beech-trees, <i>a</i> There’s a hustling, bustling, and whispering. <i>b</i> The flickering light of the fire dances <i>b</i> Around colourful figures, leaves and rocks.
Das ist der Zigeuner lebendige Schaar, ⁸¹ Mit blitzenden Augen und nächtlichem Haar, ⁸² Gesäugt an des Niles geheiligter Fluth, Gebräunt von Hispaniens südlicher Gluth. ⁸³	<i>c</i> This is where the restless gypsies gather, <i>c</i> With flashing eyes and glowing hair, <i>d</i> Suckled at the Nile’s holy waters, <i>d</i> Tanned by the blazing southern Hispanic sun.
Um’s lodernde Feuer im schwellenden Grün, Da lagern die Männer verwildert und kühn, Da kauern die Weiber und rüsten das Mahl, Und füllen geschäftig den alten Pokal.	<i>e</i> Around the fire, amidst the lush green, <i>e</i> The men lie, wild and brave. <i>f</i> The women squat, preparing the meal, <i>f</i> Busily filling the old goblet.
Und Sagen und Lieder erklingen im Rund, Wie Spaniens Gärten so blühend und bunt, Und magische Sprüche für Not und Gefahr Verkündet die Alte der horchenden Schaar.	<i>g</i> Folklore and tales are shared by the group, <i>g</i> Songs as fantastic and colourful as the gardens of Spain. <i>c</i> Magic words for times of distress <i>c</i> Are told by the old woman.
Schwarzäugige Mädchen beginnen den Tanz. Da sprühen die Fackeln im rötlichen Glanz. Heiß lockt die Gitarre, die Cymbel erklingt. Wie wilder und wilder der Reigen sich schlingt.	<i>h</i> Black-eyed maidens begin the dance. <i>h</i> Red-glowing torches are sparkling. <i>i</i> To the enticing sounds of guitars and cymbals <i>i</i> The dancers are twirling in an ever wilder dance.
Dann ruhn sie ermüdet von nächtlichen Reih’n. Es rauschen die Bäume in Schlummer sie ein. ⁸⁴ Und die aus der glücklichen Heimat verbannt, ⁸⁵ Sie schauen im Traume das südliche Land. ⁸⁶	<i>k</i> Then, exhausted by the night's dancing, they lie down and rest. <i>k</i> The beech-trees are murmuring a lullaby. <i>l</i> Those once expelled from a homeland where they were happy <i>l</i> See the Southern land in their dreams.
Doch wie nun im Osten der Morgen erwacht, Verlöschen die schönen Gebilde der Nacht, Laut scharret das Maultier bei Tagesbeginn, Fort ziehn die Gestalten. -- Wer sagt dir, wohin?	<i>m</i> When the morning awakes in the east <i>m</i> The beautiful images of the night fade away. <i>n</i> At dawn the mule paws at the ground. <i>n</i> The gypsies depart - who knows where they are going?

⁷⁹ Translation by Martin Stock <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=6007> [accessed 28 April 2016].

⁸⁰ The original poem reads ‘Da regt sich’s und raschelt’s und flüstert’s zugleich’. Emanuel Geibel, ‘Zigeunerleben’, in Geibel, *Gedichte*, pp. 4–5.

⁸¹ Geibel’s original poem reads ‘bewegliche’ (lively) rather than ‘lebendige’ (restless).

⁸² Geibel’s original poem reads ‘mit blitzendem Aug und wallendem Haar’. These change are most likely attributed to the aspect of metric regularity and a change of atmosphere, as ‘wallendes Haar’ (flowing hair) is not as atmospheric as ‘nächtliches Haar’ (nightly/dark hair). I kept the translation ‘glowing hair’ as ‘glow’ represents the atmosphere of this verse.

⁸³ Geibel’s original poem reads ‘gebrannt’ (burnt) rather than ‘gebräunt’ (tanned).

⁸⁴ Geibel’s original poem reads ‘Wipfel’ (tree tops) rather than ‘Bäume’ (trees).

⁸⁵ Geibel’s original poem reads ‘sonnigen’ (sunny) rather than ‘glücklichen’ (happy).

⁸⁶ Geibel’s original poem reads ‘im Traum das gesegnete Land’ (blessed land) rather than ‘südliche Land’ (Southern land). The translation has been adjusted by myself. The slight change of ‘Traum’ to ‘Traume’ is attributed to metric regularity.

The fast-flowing piano accompaniment and the distinct rhythm allude to the Southern temperament typically associated with gypsies in the nineteenth century (Ex. 7.2).

Ex. 7.2: 'Die Zigeuner' (op. 7, no. 6)⁸⁷

Allegro molto

1. Im Schat-ten des Wal-des, im Bu-chen-ge-zweig, da regt sich's und ra-schelt's und flü-stert's zu - gleich, es lo - dern - de Feu - er, im schwel-len-den Grün, da la - gern die Män - ner ver-wil - dert und kühn, da äü - gi - ge Mäd-chen be - gin - nen den Tanz, da sprü-hen die Fak-keln im röth - li - chen Glanz, heiss

5 flak - kern die Flam-men, es gau-kelt der Schein um bun - te Ge-stal - ten, um Laub und Ge - stein. Das kau-ern die Wei - ber und rü - sten das Mahl, und fül - len ge-schäf - tig den al - ten Po - kal. Und lockt die Gui-tar - re, die Cym-bel er - klingt, wie wil - der und wil - der der Rei - gen sich schlingt. Dann

9 ist der Zi - geu - ner le - ben - di - ge Schaar, mit blit - zen - den Sa - gen und Lie - der er - kling - gen im Rund, wie Spa - ni - ens ruh'n sie er - mü - det vom nächt - li - chen Reih'n; es rau - schen die

Red. * *Red.* * *Red.* * *Red.* *

⁸⁷ In the original publication, the grace notes 'f#̣' in the piano right hand in bars 7 and 8 are notated as 'f#̣'; however, considering that upper auxiliary notes are usually diatonic notes, this is most likely an editorial mistake as it should be 'f̣#̣' within the context of a minor rather than 'f#̣'. Therefore, I naturalised the 'f#̣' in this example.

Ex. 7.2 continued

2

14

Au - gen undnäch - li - chem Haar, ge - säugt an des Ni - les ge -
 Gär - ten so blü - hend und bunt, und ma - gi - sche Sprü - che für
 Bäu - me in Schlum - mer sie ein, und die aus der glück - li - chen

19

hei - lig - ter Fluth, ge - bräunt von His - pa - ni - ens süd - li - cher Gluth.
 Noth und Ge - fahr, ver - kün - det die Al - te der hor - chen - den Schaar.
 Hei - math ver - bannt, sie schau - en im Trau - me das süd - li - che Land.

poco ritard. *pp* *a tempo*

25

Um's
Schwarz -

accelerando poco a poco *cresc.* *f*

29

ff

Ludwig Rellstab praised this Lied as one of the most characteristic Lieder included in Kinkel's op. 7. In his review, he pointed out that:

The final Lied of this collection (Die Zigeuner von E. Geibel) has the most characteristic physiognomy of the entire opus. [...] The lively accompaniment contributes a great deal to the beauty of the Lied, although the melody is also significantly independent in places, especially at the words 'suckled at the Nile's holy waters'. However, the harmonisation of the line 'with flashing eyes and glowing hair' is almost too church-like in order to be singable and here the melody loses its characteristic expression demanded by the words, which it keeps throughout the rest of the Lied.⁸⁸

Rellstab preferred the melodic leaps in bars 17–20 to the linear descent in the preceding line (bars 13–16). However, Rellstab seemed to ignore the overall formal design of this Lied. Bars 13–16 respond to their preceding phrase (bars 9–12) and thus form the middle section of the Lied, while bars 17–20, along with the following four-bar phrase (bars 21–24) mark the final section of the three-part Lied. Rellstab's selection of phrases for his comparison is problematic as it disregards the inter-relationships within the particular sections. Interestingly, Rellstab did not comment on the formal design of the Lied at all, although its division into a fast eight-bar section (strophes 1, 3 and 5) and two slow eight-bar sections (strophes 2, 4 and 6) seems rather unusual, considering that each stanza covers two four-line poetic strophes (Fig. 7.1). While a syllabic setting in quavers is applied in the first section, which covers the first poetic strophe, the melodic rhythm of the second and third sections is prolonged. Here, it is made up of dotted crotchets and quavers (Ex. 7.2). Set in E minor, the harmonic outline of this Lied centres on the commonly used dominant and third relations. Rellstab and Oswald

⁸⁸ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 7* (1838), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 12 January 1838, pp. 5–7. 'Das letzte Lied (Die Zigeuner von E. Geibel) hat die charakteristischste Physiognomie in der ganzen Sammlung. [...] Die bewegte Begleitung bildet einen wesentlichen Theil der Schönheit dieses Liedes, doch erhebt sich auch die Melodie an einigen Stellen besonders zur selbstständigen Bedeutsamkeit, zumal auf die Worte: "Gesäugt an des Niles geheiligter Fluth". Dagegen ist die Combination bei der Stelle: "Mit blitzenden Augen und nächtlichem Haar" fast zu sehr im kirchlich-harmonischen Stil gehalten um recht sangbar zu sein, auch verliert die Melodie hier, was sie sonst so festhält, den charakteristischen Ausdruck den die Worte fordern?'

Lorenz seemed to agree on the effectiveness of the piano accompaniment.⁸⁹ Gottfried Wilhelm Fink did not refer to any of the songs in this opus in particular. However, he praised the entire opus for its character and its suitable declamations, the musical technical skills, fresh and natural rhythms, natural melodies, reasonable harmony and stable accompaniments.⁹⁰

Fig. 7.1: Formal design of ‘Die Zigeuner’ (op. 7, no. 6)

Bar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25– 28	29– 32
Phrase	A						B						C						Postl.	Postl.						
Verse	1						2						3													
	3						4						5													
	5						6																			

Thematically, this Lied incorporates both a typical Romantic admiration of the gypsies, romanticised images of the night and recognition of those people who have been banned from their home countries. Considering Kinkel’s own biographical background, this Lied may have attracted her interest for different reasons. Firstly, Emanuel Geibel was a close friend of hers and his poetry forms a major poetic contribution to Kinkel’s early Lieder publications; secondly, the thematic dimension of this Lied goes hand in hand with the Romantic fashion of the time, which may have increased the marketability of the opus; and thirdly, the Lied might reveal some of Kinkel’s own pride in and longing for her home, the Rhineland, an aspect which might point to the close relationship between her own mind set and the socio-cultural context of the time.

7.3 Night songs

In a similar way, Kinkel’s nature settings dealing with the night match the Romantic tone as it responds to the Romantic notion of *Besonnenheit*. The Lied ‘Abendruhe’

⁸⁹ Oswald Lorenz, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 7* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 9 March 1838, pp. 77–78.

⁹⁰ G. W. Fink, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 7* (1838), *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 8 August 1838, pp. 524–25.

(Evening Rest, op. 17, no. 3, Table 7.3), in which Kinkel sets her own poetry, describes how the lyrical I watches the approach of the night.⁹¹ Leaning against a tree, he/ she dreams away while the sun sets and the moon rises. In the last verse, the thoughtful lyrical I wishes to rest like this ‘day and night’ and longs to dream of this very moment forever.

Table 7.3: ‘Abendruhe’ (op. 17, no. 3)

Abendruhe Johanna Kinkel Published in 1847		Evening Rest ⁹² Translation by Sharon Krebs
Gelehnet lag ich an dem Baum,	<i>a</i>	I lay leaning against a tree,
Und lauscht' dem Wellensang;	<i>b</i>	And listened to the singing of the waves;
Versunken ganz in süßen Traum	<i>a</i>	Completely immersed in a lovely dream,
Ward mir die Zeit nicht lang.	<i>b</i>	Time did not hang heavy on my hands.
Die Sonne lenkt den Strahlenlauf	<i>c</i>	The sun took its beaming journey
Zum tiefen Horizont,	<i>d</i>	To the low horizon,
Das Abendroth stieg mild herauf,	<i>c</i>	The glow of sunset gently arose,
Es folgt der Silbermond.	<i>d</i>	The silvery moon followed suit.
Der Mond ging endlich auch zur Ruh'	<i>e</i>	The moon, too, finally went to rest,
Rings um mich ward es Nacht;	<i>f</i>	Round about me night fell;
Mir fielen nicht die Augen zu	<i>e</i>	My eyes did not fall shut
Auf einsam stiller Wacht.	<i>f</i>	During my solitary, silent watch.
So möcht' ich ruhen Tag und Nacht,	<i>f</i>	Thus would I like to rest day and night,
Und überschau'n mein Glück,	<i>g</i>	And survey my happiness,
Und ewig, ewig träumen nach	<i>f</i>	And ever, ever dream again
Dem einen Augenblick.	<i>g</i>	That One Moment.

The formal structure of ‘Abendruhe’ is simple: one musical stanza covers two poetic verses and includes four eight-bar phrases. Throughout the Lied, the harmonic design centres on the tonic D major, but the German augmented sixth chord in bar 28 causes a meaningful halt before the concluding line, supported by the *rallentando* (Ex. 7.3). The vocal range is unusually big and includes a great deal of ornamentation, by means of which Kinkel stresses such Romantic key words as ‘süßen Traum’ (lovely dream), ‘Abendroth’ (glow of sunset), and ‘Silbermond’ (silvery moon).

⁹¹ Kinkel’s poem is included in the *Maikäfer* journal of 23 March 1841 (Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, pp. 384–85).

⁹² Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=109402> [accessed 13 March 2016].

Ex. 7.3: 'Abendruhe' (op. 17, no. 3)

Andante

1. Ge - leh - net lag ich an dem Baum, und lauscht', undlauscht' dem
 2. Der Mond ging end - lich auch zur Ruh, rings - um mich ward es

The first system of the musical score for 'Abendruhe' (op. 17, no. 3) is marked 'Andante' and is in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of three staves: a vocal line for the first voice (Soprano), a vocal line for the second voice (Alto), and a piano accompaniment. The piano part features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand. The lyrics are: '1. Ge - leh - net lag ich an dem Baum, und lauscht', undlauscht' dem' and '2. Der Mond ging end - lich auch zur Ruh, rings - um mich ward es'.

7
 Wel - len - sang; ver - sun - ken ganz in sü - ssen Traum ward mir die
 Nacht; mir fie - len nicht die Au - gen zu auf ein - sam

The second system of the musical score continues from the first. It is marked with a '7' at the beginning of the vocal lines. The lyrics are: 'Wel - len - sang; ver - sun - ken ganz in sü - ssen Traum ward mir die' and 'Nacht; mir fie - len nicht die Au - gen zu auf ein - sam'. The piano accompaniment continues with the same eighth-note pattern.

14
 Zeit nicht lang. Die Son - ne lenkt den Strah - len - lauf zum
 stil - ler Wacht. So möcht' ich ru - hen Nacht und Tag und

The third system of the musical score continues from the second. It is marked with a '14' at the beginning of the vocal lines. The lyrics are: 'Zeit nicht lang. Die Son - ne lenkt den Strah - len - lauf zum' and 'stil - ler Wacht. So möcht' ich ru - hen Nacht und Tag und'. The piano accompaniment continues with the same eighth-note pattern.

Ex. 7.3 continued

The image shows a musical score for a song, divided into two stanzas. The first stanza starts at measure 21 and ends at measure 26. The second stanza starts at measure 27 and ends at measure 32. The score includes vocal lines for both the soprano and alto parts, and a piano accompaniment with a right and left hand. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The tempo is marked 'rall.' (rallentando) in the second stanza. The lyrics are in German and describe a sunset over the ocean.

21
 tie - fen Ho - ri - zont das A - bend - roth stieg
 ü - ber - schau'n mein Glück und e - wig, e - wig

27 *rall.*
 mild her - auf, es folgt der Sil - ber - mond.
 träu - men nach dem ei - nen Au - gen - blick.

The vocal range stretches from ‘c¹’ to ‘f²’. Although the Lied is notated as a varied strophic setting, the vocal lines of both musical stanzas differ from each other only in two places (in bars 5–8, and 21–26). In both instances, Kinkel responds musically to the words. While the movement of the waves in bar 7 is portrayed by means of a dotted descending motif, the night in the second strophe (also bar 7) is realised by means of a held note (‘c¹’). In a similar way, the word ‘horizon’ in bar 23 is approached via a stepwise descent (‘a¹–‘e¹’), while the word ‘Glück’ (happiness) in the second strophe (same bar) is emphasised by a raising octave variation and brings the melody to a climax. Large parts of the piano accompaniment expose broken semi-quaver triplets in the right hand and broken quaver triads in the left hand. The left hand piano is slowed down in the last eight-bar phrase of each musical stanza, which supports the calm, dreamy and contented mood expressed by the lyrical I in the corresponding lines (‘Das

Abendroth stieg mild herauf, | Es folgt der Silbermond’, The glow of sunset gently arose, | The silvery moon followed suit). Unlike her Berlin Lieder, in many of which Kinkel prioritised the piano accompaniment over the vocal part, this Lied focuses on the voice, which indicates that Kinkel must have considered Josephine Hubar, the dedicatee of op. 17, a very good singer.

The second nature setting of op. 17, ‘In der Bucht’ (In the Bay, op. 17, no. 5, Table 7.4), in which the lyrical I praises the quietness and calmness of the night, is characterised by a wide vocal range similar to that of ‘Abendruhe’. It spans a major ninth (‘d¹–‘e²’). ‘In der Bucht’ is a poem by Kinkel’s friend and *Maikäfer* member Alexander Kaufmann, of whom Kinkel only set a single poem. The poem is included in the *Maikäfer* journal and is dated 20 September 1840.⁹³ Considering the great number of love songs which allude to nature, and more specifically the water, thematically, this Lied exposes strong parallels to Kinkel’s love songs of the early 1840s, many of which were also produced within the context of the *Maikäferbund*.

Table 7.4: ‘In der Bucht’ (op. 17, no. 5)

In der Bucht Alexander Kaufmann Published in 1847	In the Bay ⁹⁴ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Es schließt der dunkle Wald uns ein;	<i>a</i> The dark forest encloses us;
Die Ruder plätschern matt und leise;	<i>b</i> The oars splash tiredly and quietly;
Kaum, daß von oben noch herein	<i>a</i> Faintly, from above, ⁹⁵
Der Mond bescheint die stille Reise.	<i>b</i> The moon illuminates the quiet journey.
Die Blume träumt in stiller Pracht,	<i>c</i> The flower dreams in quiet splendour,
Es singen leis die schönen Frauen –	<i>d</i> The beautiful women sing softly --
Wer möchte wohl nach solcher Nacht	<i>c</i> After such a night as this, who would
Noch wünschen je den Tag zu schauen!	<i>d</i> Yet wish ever to see day!

⁹³ Brandt-Schwarze and others, *Der Maikäfer*, I, p. 124.

⁹⁴ Translation by Sharon Krebs, amended by myself
<http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=110338> [accessed 18 March 2016].

⁹⁵ While I respectfully acknowledge the fine translation by Sharon Krebs, I translated lines three and four of this verse more literally in order for the word order in the translation to match the original’s word order since I elaborate on these two lines in the following paragraph.

This Lied is set in two parts; however, while the first part includes eight bars and thereby suggests a simple and traditional phrasal structure, the second part covers eleven bars and a three-bar piano postlude (Ex. 7.4).

Ex. 7.4: Part B of ‘In der Bucht’ (bars 9–22)

9
kaum dass von o - ben noch her - ein der Mond be - scheint
wer möch - te wohl in sol - cher Nacht noch wün - schen je

16
— die stil - le Rei - se!
— den Tag zu schau - en.

mf
f
p
rall.
pp
a Tempo

Example 7.4 shows the B-part of this Lied and demonstrates this section’s irregular division into two phrases. The second phrase is striking on account of its prolongation of the words ‘Mond bescheint’ ([the] moon illuminates, first verse), and ‘noch wünschen je’ (yet wish, second verse), which creates the irregularity mentioned above and which emphasises the corresponding line in each verse. Contrary to the rest of the setting, which includes a relatively dense harmonic pattern, the harmonic progression at the prolonged line stagnates and rests over the tonic key of C major, which suggests that Kinkel wanted the listener to focus on the vocal part, i.e. the words. Untypically, the final chord of this Lied constitutes a melodic rise: while the previous two closing chords are embraced by the note ‘c¹’ in the bass and discant, the discant note of the final chord is ‘e¹’. This rise almost works like a question mark at the end of the Lied (‘Wer möchte

wohl nach solcher Nacht | Noch wünschen je den Tag zu schauen!', After such a night as this, who would | Yet wish ever to see day!) and might be intended to interpret literally the lyrical protagonist's rhetoric question, or to portray their longing for eternity – for the 'never ending night'.

Kinkel's duet 'Der Sommerabend' (The Summer Evening, op. 12, no. 2, Table 7.5) includes a similar Romantic setting as the aforementioned songs dealing with the night. In this duet, in which Kinkel set the words of her friend Wolfgang Müller, the lyrical I praises a quiet evening at the river Rhine, when he/ she dreams away after the girls' singing has faded. Like before, the mountains and the stars have a calming effect on the lyrical I. Kinkel changed some of the words in favour of a slightly brighter and less gloomy conclusion of this poem.

Table 7.5: 'Der Sommerabend' (op. 12, no. 2)

Der Sommerabend Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter Published in 1840	The Summer Evening ⁹⁶ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Der Sommerabend schauet So still auf's Erdenreich, Tiefer der Himmel blauet, Des Westens Rot wird bleich.	<i>a</i> The summer evening gazes <i>b</i> So quietly upon the earthly realm, <i>a</i> The sky is becoming a deeper blue, <i>b</i> The red of the west is becoming pale.
An den Bergen verglühet Der goldne Abendschein, Still heimlich rauschend ziehet Drunten der tiefe Rhein.	<i>c</i> And the golden glow of evening <i>d</i> Dims upon the hills, <i>c</i> Quietly, secretly rushing <i>d</i> The deep Rhine flows below.
Es duften Orangen und Rosen Um das freundliche Haus, Rosige Mädchen kosen ⁹⁷ Von dem Balkon heraus.	<i>e</i> Scent rises from the orange trees and roses <i>f</i> About the friendly house, <i>e</i> Rosy maidens are flirting <i>f</i> From the balcony.
Scherzend sie sich umschlingen, ⁹⁸ Ringend im süßen Spiel, Saiten und Lieder erklingen, Ich sinne und träume viel.	<i>g</i> They jokingly embrace <i>h</i> Each other, wrestling in sweet play, <i>g</i> Strings and songs ring out <i>h</i> I ponder and dream many things.
Ich wandle auf und nieder In süßem seligen Traum;	<i>i</i> I wander up and down <i>k</i> In sweet blissful dreams;

⁹⁶ Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=101582> [accessed 25 June 2016].

⁹⁷ Müller's original poem reads 'lieblich' (lovely) rather than 'rosig' (rosy). Wolfgang Müller, *Junge Lieder* (Düsseldorf: Schreiner, 1841), pp. 3–4.

⁹⁸ The original poem reads: 'Sie ringen und umschlingen Sich scherzend im süßen Spiel'.

Verklungen sind längst die Lieder, Ich weiß es selber kaum.	<i>i</i> <i>k</i>	The songs have long since died away, I hardly know it myself.
Und wie ich erwache, blicket ⁹⁹ So groß mich an die Nacht, Der Himmel sternendurchsticket, ¹⁰⁰ Und der Berge ruhige Pracht.	<i>l</i> <i>m</i> <i>l</i> <i>m</i>	And when I awaken, the night Gazes at me so hugely, The sky all embroidered through with stars, And the peaceful splendour of the hills.

Musically, this duet is divided into three sections, each of which covers two poetic verses. While the embracing sections are characterised by a fairly stable harmonic outline centring on the tonic key of A major, the middle section seems more complex and touches on more remote chords (Fig. 7.2). As a means of harmonic variety, part three includes an augmented sixth chord at the line ‘ich weiß es selber kaum’ (I hardly know it myself, A major–Ger6–E major–A major), followed by a stabilising piano interlude in A major. The piano accompaniment, the flowing character of which Ludwig Rellstab acknowledges as a ‘nutty seasoning of the melody’, unifies the three musical stanzas.¹⁰¹

Fig. 7.2: Harmonic pattern of B part of ‘Der Sommerabend’ (op. 12, no. 2)

Bar	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
Section	...A	B																C...
Harmony	A	F	C ⁷	F	G ₇ ⁹	C	a	d– G ⁷	C	C ⁷	F	B ⁷	e	G	C	a– D ⁷	G	E

In a similar manner as ‘Abendruhe’, ‘In der Bucht’, and ‘Der Sommerabend’, Kinkel’s setting of her husband’s poem ‘Es ist so still geworden: Geistliches Abendlied’ (It Has Become so Quiet: Sacred Evening Song, op. 18, no. 1, Table 7.6) praises the quiet and thoughtful atmosphere at night time as something inspiring and appeasing.

⁹⁹ The original poem reads ‘dunkelt’ (darkens) rather than ‘blicket’ (gazes).

¹⁰⁰ The original poem reads ‘sternendurchfunkelt’ rather than ‘sternendurchsticket’. This change is due to the rhyme scheme, which Kinkel aimed to align to the first line of this verse.

¹⁰¹ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duette für weibliche Stimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 12* (1849), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 19 March 1841, pp. 45–46 (p. 46). ‘Doch fließt der Gesang angenehm, und die Begleitung fügt der Melodie eine pikante Würze durch die fortlaufende Figur hinzu, die sehr ansprechend erfunden ist’.

The connection between the spiritual and nature reflects the Romantics' explanation of the world through nature (rather than God), although the title 'Geistliches Abendlied' raises expectations towards a sacred song, perhaps an intended confusion and turn of perspective considering Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel's relationship to religion.

Table 7.6: 'Es ist so still geworden: Geistliches Abendlied' (op. 18, no. 1)

Es ist so still geworden: Geistliches Abendlied Gottfried Kinkel Published in 1843		It Has Become so Quiet: Sacred Evening Song¹⁰² Translation by Sharon Krebs
Es ist so still geworden, In Tiefen und auf Höh'n, ¹⁰³ Nun hört man aller Orten Der Engel Füße gehn, Rings in die Thale senket ¹⁰⁴ Sich Finsterniß mit Macht – Wirf ab, Herz, was dich kränket Und was dich traurig macht! ¹⁰⁵	<i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i>	It has become so quiet, In the valleys and the mountains, Now one hears everywhere The footsteps of the angels. All around darkness sinks Powerfully into the depths; Cast off, heart, what grieves you And what makes you sad!
Es ruht die Welt im Schweigen, Ihr Tosen ist vorbei, Stumm ihres Jauchzens Reigen ¹⁰⁶ Und stumm ihr Schmerzensschrei. Was sie von Rosen schenket, Von Dornen hat gebracht, ¹⁰⁷ Wirf ab, Herz, was dich kränket Und was dich traurig macht!	<i>e</i> <i>f</i> <i>e</i> <i>f</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i>	The world rests silently in peace, The excitement is over, Joys have turned silent And so has the cry of pain. [The world] has brought you roses It brought you thorns – Cast off, heart, what grieves you And what makes you sad!
Und hast du heut gefehlet, Und trübt die Schuld den Blick; ¹⁰⁸ Empfinde dich beseelet In freier Gnade Glück. ¹⁰⁹ Auch des Verirrten denket Der Hirt auf hoher Wacht – Wirf ab, Herz, was dich kränket Und was dich traurig macht!	<i>g</i> <i>h</i> <i>g</i> <i>h</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i>	If you failed today, If conscience clouds your view; Rejoice In your freedom. The guardian shepherd shall Also think of the confused ones – Cast off, heart, what grieves you And what makes you sad!

¹⁰² Translation of the first and fourth stanzas by Sharon Krebs

<http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=42244> [accessed 20 June 2016]; the second and third stanzas were translated by myself.

¹⁰³ Gottfried Kinkel's original reads 'Verrauscht des Abends Wehn' (the evening has gone past). Gottfried Kinkel, 'Ein geistlich Abendlied', in Kinkel, *Gedichte*, 7th edn, pp. 191–92. It is uncertain whether Johanna Kinkel changed the lyrics, or whether this Lied reflects the original unpublished version of Gottfried Kinkel's poem. The translation has been adjusted by myself.

¹⁰⁴ The published original poem reads 'Berge' (mountains) rather than 'Thale' (valleys). I kept Sharon Krebs's original translation for this line.

¹⁰⁵ The published original poem reads 'dir bange' (anxious) rather than 'dich traurig' (sad). I changed the translation myself. This change applies to all four stanzas.

¹⁰⁶ The published original poem reads 'Freude' rather than 'Jauchzen'. I kept Sharon Krebs's original translation.

¹⁰⁷ The published original poem reads 'Hat Rosen sie geschenket | Hat Dornen sie gebracht'. This change does not affect the semantics of those two lines.

¹⁰⁸ The published original poem reads 'O schaue nicht zurück' (O do not look back).

¹⁰⁹ The published original reads 'Von' (by) rather than 'in' (in).

Nun stehn im Himmelskreise	<i>i</i>	Now all about the heavens
Die Stern' in Majestät;	<i>k</i>	The stars stand in majesty.
In gleichem festem Gleise	<i>i</i>	Along the old, firm pathway
Der goldne Wagen geht.	<i>k</i>	The golden carriage [the moon] is travelling.
Und gleich den Sternen lenket	<i>c</i>	And like the stars, it directs
Er deinen Weg durch Nacht –	<i>d</i>	Your way through the night.
Wirf ab, Herz, was dich kränket,	<i>c</i>	Cast off, heart, what grieves you
Und was dir bange macht!	<i>d</i>	And what makes you anxious!

Like 'Abendruhe', 'Geistliches Abendlied' is a varied strophic setting and the vocal line is quite wide with a range from 'd¹' to 'e²'. The piano accompaniment, however, is more challenging than in 'Abendruhe' as it incorporates a latent second voice in the piano right hand and such Romantic expressive means as tremolo (bar 13), a trill (bar 20) and a piano postlude (Ex. 7.5).

Ex. 7.5: Es ist so still geworden: Geistliches Abendlied (op. 18, no. 1)

1. Es ist so still ge - wor - den in Tie - fen und auf Höh'n, nun hört man al - ler -
 2. Es ruht die Welt im Schwei - gen, ihr To - sen ist vor - bei, stumm ih - res Jauch - zens
 3. Und hast du heut ge - feh - let, und trübt die Schuld den Blick, em - pfin - de dich be -
 4. Nun stehn im Him - mels - krei - se die Stern' in Ma - je - stät; in glei - chem fe - stem

or - ten der En - gel Fü - sse gehn. Rings auf die Ber - ge sen - ket sich
 Rei - gen und stumm ihr Schmer - zens - schrei, Was sie von Ro - sen schen - ket, von
 see - let in frei - er Gna - de Glück. Auch des Ver - irr - ten den - ket der
 Glei - se der gold' - ne Wa - gen geht; Und gleich den Ster - nen len - ket Er

Fin - ster - niss mit Macht. *f* Wirf ab Herz was dich krän - ket und was dich trau - rig
 Dor - nen hat ge - bracht. *pp*
 Hirt auf ho - her Wacht.
 dei - nen Weg durch Nacht. *a Tempo*

Ex. 7.6 continued

17
macht.
mf
fp
*) Die oberen Noten gelten für die erste und vierte Strophe.

Although the harmonic range does not exceed the commonly used third relations and dominant/subdominant, the harmonic progression is strikingly dense with harmonic changes and abrupt shifts within single bars. It also includes Italian augmented sixth chords (bars 7 and 8) and a diminished seventh chord (bar 12).¹¹⁰ Thus, this Lied seems more challenging than others, an aspect which might reveal special attention with which Kinkel approached the compositional challenge to set her husband's words and also reflects the couple's close examination of religion during the early 1840s.

Kinkel's Geibel Lied 'Nachtlied' (Nightly Song, op. 7, no. 1, Table 7.7) is set in a simple harmonic pattern and harmonic changes usually occur at the beginning of each bar. Like many of Kinkel's early Lieder, this Lied includes an expressive piano accompaniment, while the structural outline is simple. It is a two-part Lied with each part covering eight bars. Interestingly, Oswald Lorenz praises the harmonic progression of this Lied. In his review in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, he states that the Lied 'Nachtlied' 'is harmonised in the most coherent and correct way'.¹¹¹ Ludwig Rellstab

¹¹⁰ The manuscript of a later version of this Lied, which Kinkel dated 21 August 1857, does not include the Italian sixth chord in bar 7. It is uncertain whether Kinkel might have made a mistake in this manuscript as she places a '♮' before the note 'd' in the left hand piano in bar 7 even though it would have been 'd^b' without the accidental as the later version is set in B-flat major. Johanna Kinkel, manuscript of 'Es ist so still geworden: Geistliches Abendlied', ULB E 4' 756/6 Rara:15, pp. 27–28.

¹¹¹ Oswald Lorenz, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 7* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 9 March 1838, pp. 77–78. 'Am folgerichtigsten und korrektesten harmonisiert ist das erste "Nachtlied"'.

praises the original conclusion of each section.¹¹² The vocal line is unusually challenging for an early composition of Kinkel's, as it ranges from 'c¹' to 'f²'. Rellstab detects in it a horn-like melody, which he appreciates because of its simple and independent character.¹¹³ Oswald Lorenz calls the melody of 'Nachtlied' 'gesangvoll und gemüthlich' (singable and comfortable).¹¹⁴ The positive reception of this Lied by two renowned music reviewers of the time alludes to Kinkel's sense of compositional fashionability and musical marketability. Not only do both reviewers praise Kinkel's compositional style, but they also acknowledge her choice of a poem by Geibel. Thematically, the poem fits in with nineteenth-century Romanticism by combining two paradigms: nightly thoughtfulness and the mystification of the beloved. The poem also creates a dualism between the observer and the observed, which alludes to both the significant role of duality within the context of Romanticism and the rather Classicist distinction between the observer and the observed. While 'drunten im Tale da funkeln | Die Fenster von Liebchens Haus' (And down in the valley, there twinkle | The lights from my lover's house), the lyrical I '[blickt] aber im Dunkeln | still in die Welt hinaus' (in darkness still looks out – | Calmly – into the world).

Table 7.7: 'Nachtlied' (op. 7, no. 1)

Nachtlied Emanuel Geibel Published in 1838	Nightly Song ¹¹⁵ Translation adapted from David Kenneth Smith
Der Mond kommt still gegangen	<i>a</i> The moon rises so peacefully
Mit seinem gold'nen Schein,	<i>b</i> With all its golden light,
Da schläft in holdem Prangen	<i>a</i> Here sleeps in lovely glitter
Die müde Erde ein.	<i>b</i> The weary earth below.
Im Traum die Wipfel weben,	<i>c</i> In the dream, the tree tops sweep,

¹¹² Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 7* (1838), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 12 January 1838, pp. 5–7.

¹¹³ Ibid.. 'Die Melodie hat überhaupt und zumal an diesen Stellen den Charakter einer Hornmelodie, die bekanntlich wegen der Lage der natürlichen Töne dieses Instruments zu den einfachsten und selbstständigsten zu gehören pflegen'.

¹¹⁴ Oswald Lorenz, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 7* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 9 March 1838, pp. 77–78 (p. 78).

¹¹⁵ Translation by David Kenneth Smith <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=5994> [accessed 20 June 2016].

Die Quellen rauschen sacht;	<i>d</i>	The springs rustle softly;
Singende Engel durchschweben	<i>c</i>	Singing angels hover
Die blaue Sternennacht.	<i>d</i>	Through the blue starry night.
Und auf den Lüften schwanken	<i>e</i>	From many a faithful heart
Aus manchem treuen Sinn	<i>f</i>	Many thousand loving thoughts
Viel tausend Liebesgedanken	<i>e</i>	Waft on the breezes
Über die Schläfer hin.	<i>f</i>	Upon the sleeping ones.
Und drunten im Tal, da funkeln ¹¹⁶	<i>g</i>	And down in the valley, there twinkle
Die Fenster von Liebchens Haus;	<i>h</i>	The lights from my lover's house;
Ich aber blicke im Dunkeln	<i>g</i>	But I in darkness still look out –
Still in die Welt hinaus.	<i>h</i>	Calmly – into the world.

7.4 Moon settings

While the moon played an important role as a source of light and thoughts during the night in the Lieder discussed in the previous section, the following two Goethe Lieder grant even more significance to the moon. In both Lieder, the lyrical I addresses the moon and seeks advice in relation to their beloved. While the lyrical I in ‘Nachtlied’ watches the beloved’s window and turns away ‘into the world’, Goethe’s first version of ‘An Luna’ exposes a rather Anacreontic, almost cheeky approach to the beloved’s window.

‘An Luna’ (To Luna, op. 6, no. 4, Table 7.8) was the first of Goethe’s poems dealing with the moon, published in 1770. According to Gerhard Sauder, there are two versions of this poem. The first version, entitled ‘An den Mond’ and published within the collection *Neue Lieder in Melodien gesetzt von Bernhard Theodor Breitkopf* (launched at the Leipzig *Michaelismesse* in 1769), reflects a mixture of styles: while the first verse takes on a Romantic colouring, the second and third verses acquire the style of the Rokoko. Sauder explains that the different styles of narration (‘erzählendes Ich’, narrating I, vs ‘erlebendes Ich’, experiencing I) support this combination of aesthetic styles.¹¹⁷ The title of the second version (written in 1815) was then changed to ‘An Luna’. While Goethe and Breitkopf had agreed to the Lieder collection while Goethe

¹¹⁶ Geibel’s original reads ‘Tale’ rather than ‘Tal’. Emanuel Geibel, ‘Nachtlied’, in Geibel, *Gedichte*, pp. 13–14. This change is attributed to metric regularity.

¹¹⁷ Gerhard Sauder, in *Johann Wolfgang Goethe: Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens* (Münchner Ausgabe), I.1, p. 825.

still lived in Leipzig, the Lied ‘An Luna’ was added after Goethe’s return to Frankfurt. Referring to those poems that were modified or added to the collection after Goethe’s return to Frankfurt, Hanna Fischer-Lamberg ascertains that ‘the significance of the problems is more obvious; scepticism and pessimism are no longer hidden, which increases the persuasive power of the Lieder. At the same time, this development meant disengagement with the Anacreontic approach; even irrational tones are alluded to in parts’.¹¹⁸

The first four verses of the poem describe a Romantic setting in the countryside (Table 7.8). The moon overlooks a ‘boundless expanse’ while the knight tries to catch a glimpse of his beloved’s bedroom. The final two verses turn the seemingly Romantic words into a rather comical poem. The final punch line, ‘Ei, da schieltest du dich blind’ (Ei, you have leered at her until you have turned blind) makes fun of the (k)nightly spectator and takes away the Romantic atmosphere evoked in the preceding verses. In her analytical commentary on ‘An Luna’, Hanna Fischer-Lamberg states that ‘the felicitously evoked lyrical atmosphere is destroyed by the Anacreontic final punch line’.¹¹⁹ Thorsten Valk’s interpretation of this poem differs from the previous one. He points to ‘the combination of sentimental characterisations of nature and a conclusion coloured by the spirit of the rococo’.¹²⁰ In 1815, Goethe replaced this last Anacreontic verse with a more Romantically-coloured verse, in relation to which the literary critic Dietrich Borchmeyer remarks: ‘Goethe tried to save the mood evoked in the first verse at the expense of the witty punch line by mystifying the whole motive with the

¹¹⁸ Hanna Fischer-Lamberg, ed., *Der junge Goethe*, 5 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), I, p. 494. ‘Die Schwere der Probleme wird jetzt freier eingestanden, Skepsis und Pessimismus lassen sich nicht mehr unterdrücken [...], damit steigt die Überzeugungskraft der Lieder. Mit dieser Entwicklung geht eine allmähliche Loslösung von der Anakreontik Hand in Hand, zuweilen werden schon irrationale Töne angeschlagen’.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 502. ‘Die glücklich heraufbeschworene lyrische Stimmung [wird] durch die anakreontische Schlusspointe zerstört’.

¹²⁰ Thorsten Valk, *Der junge Goethe: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung* (Munich: Beck, 2012), p. 75. ‘Verknüpfung einer empfindsam getönten Landschaftsschilderung mit einer aus dem Geist des Rokoko komponierten Schlusspartie’.

relationship between Selene (Luna, [goddess of the moon]) and Endymion, Luna's beloved'.¹²¹ Johanna Kinkel set this 1815 version.

Table 7.8: 'An Luna' (op. 6, no. 4)

An Luna ¹²² Johann Wolfgang von Goethe Published in 1839		To Luna ¹²³ Translation by Briony Williams
Schwester von dem ersten Licht, Bild der Zärtlichkeit in Trauer!	<i>a</i> <i>b</i>	Sister of the sun, Picture of tenderness in mourning!
Nebel schwimmt mit Silberschauer Um dein reizendes Gesicht;	<i>b</i> <i>a</i>	Mist swims in silver shimmers Around your lovely face.
Deines leisen Fußes Lauf Weckt aus tagverschloßnen Höhlen Traurig abgeschiedne Seelen, Mich und nächt'ge Vögel auf.	<i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>d</i> <i>c</i>	The tread of your soft foot Awakens from caves that shut out the day Sad isolated souls, Me, and nocturnal birds.
Forschend übersieht dein Blick Eine großgemeßne Weite. Hebe mich an deine Seite! Gib der Schwärmerei dies Glück.	<i>e</i> <i>f</i> <i>f</i> <i>e</i>	Your glance searchingly surveys A boundless expanse. Raise me to your side! Grant my zeal this happiness.
Und in wollustvoller Ruh' Säh der weiterschlag'ne Ritter Durch das gläserne Gegitter Seines Mädchens Nächten zu.	<i>g</i> <i>h</i> <i>h</i> <i>g</i>	And in peaceful ecstasy The knight, driven far, would, through The glass barriers, keep watch over His lady as she slept.
1770: Dämmerung, wo die Wollust thront, Schwimmt um ihre runden Glieder. Trunken sinkt mein Blick hernieder. Was verhüllt man wohl dem Mond?	<i>l</i> <i>k</i> <i>k</i> <i>i</i>	Twilight, in which desire rules, ¹²⁴ Swims about her rounded limbs. Intoxicated, my gaze moves downward. What does she hide from the moon?
Doch was das für Wünsche sind! Voll Begierde zu genießen, So da droben hängen müssen; Ei, da schieltest du dich blind.	<i>l</i> <i>m</i> <i>m</i> <i>l</i>	But what kind of desires am I thinking of! Full of desire to enjoy, You have to hang up there in the sky; Ei, you have leered at her until you have turned blind.
1815: Des Beschauens holdes Glück Mildert solcher Ferne Qualen, Und ich sammle deine Strahlen, Und ich schärfe meinen Blick;	<i>e</i> <i>n</i> <i>n</i> <i>e</i>	The sweet happiness of contemplation Assuages the torments of such distance And I gather your rays And I focus my gaze;

¹²¹ Dietrich Borchmeyer, *DuMont Schnellkurs Goethe* (Cologne: DuMont, 2005)

<<http://www.goethezeitportal.de/wissen/dichtung/schnellkurs-goethe/klein-paris-studium-in-leipzig-und-frankfurter-rekonvaleszenz.html>> [28 April 2016]. 'Goethe hat später (1815) die in der ersten Strophe angeschlagene Tonart gegenüber der witzigen Pointe zu retten versucht, indem er in einer neuen dritten Strophe das ganze Motiv durch die Beziehung auf Selene (Luna) und Endymion, den Geliebten der Mondgöttin, mythisch überhöhte'.

¹²² Unless otherwise noted, all Goethe lyrics are checked against *Johann Wolfgang Goethe: Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens* (Münchner Ausgabe).

¹²³ Translation by Briony Williams, 'Maker, Mother, Muse: Bettina von Arnim, Goethe and the Boundaries of Creativity,' in *Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne (Dublin: Carysfort, 2004), pp. 185–202 (pp. 195–96). Hereafter referred to as Williams, 'Maker, Mother, Muse'.

¹²⁴ As the 1770 version of this poem is not included in Williams's article, the two corresponding strophes have been translated by myself.

Hell und heller wird es schon	<i>i'</i>	It becomes bright and brighter already
Um die unverhüllten Glieder,	<i>k</i>	Around the unveiled limbs
Und nun zieht sie mich hernieder,	<i>k</i>	And she draws me down to her
Wie dich einst Endymion.	<i>i'</i>	As once Endymion did to you.

Kinkel's Lied 'An Luna' includes three stanzas. Each stanza contains eight lines, i.e. two poetic strophes. While the first four lines of each stanza expose the lyrical I's observations in relation to the moon, the following four lines of each corresponding verse portray the lyrical I's own feelings. While those eight lines are held together by the continuous piano accompaniment, they differ from each other in terms of tonality (Fig. 7.3). Set in A-flat major, the first part concludes with A-flat minor and stresses the sad mood of the lonesome lyrical I. The second part begins with a remote E major chord, a harmonic turn, which evokes a sense of tonal uncertainty and alludes to the lyrical I's desire to love and to be loved. The return to the tonic A-flat major in the last phrase of each stanza links the lyrical I's perception of the moon with his associations with his beloved.

Fig. 7.3: Harmonic outline of 'An Luna' (op. 6, no. 4)

Bar	1–4	5–8	9–12	13–16	17–20	21–24	25–28	29–32
Phrase	a		b		c		d	
Part	A				B			
Line	1 9	2 10	3 11	4 12	5 13	6 14	7 15	8 16
Chord	A b	f-F	B b -E b -B b ⁷	E b -a b	E-a	F ⁷ -e b	E b -A b	A b

The range of expressive means – including changing dynamics and pace, a flowing piano accompaniment and a graceful vocal line – clearly reflects Romantic musical colouring. Especially effective is the use of vocal ornamentation in bars 14–16 stressing the words 'reizendes Gesicht' (lovely face), 'Schwärmerei dies Glück' ([grant my] zeal this happiness), and 'schärfe meinen Blick' (focus my gaze). However, chromaticism in

the vocal line and the rather unusual tonal design give this Lied a personal touch (Ex. 7.6).

Ex. 7.6: 'An Luna' (op. 6, no. 4)¹²⁵

Andantino
sempre p

1. Schwe - ster von dem er - sten Licht, Bild der
2. For - schend ü - ber - sieht dein Blick ei - ne
3. Des Be - schau - ens hol - des Glück mil - dert

Zärt - lich - keit in Trau - er! Ne - bel schwimmt mit
gros - ge - mess - ne Wei - te. He - be mich an
sol - cher Fer - ne Qua - len, und ich samm - le

Sil - ber - schau - er um dein rei - zen - des Ge -
dei - ne Sei - te! Gib der Schwär - me - rei dies
dei - ne Strah - len, und ich schär - fe mei - nen

rall.

rall.

sempre marcato

¹²⁵ Considering the latent second voice in the piano right hand in bar 22, it would make more sense if the last note in the right hand were 'e ♭' rather than 'd'. That way, the upper and lower melodic line in the piano right hand in bars 21–22 would both be 'c'–'c'–'d ♭'–'e ♭'–'f'. As the original publication suggests 'd' rather than 'e ♭' and it is uncertain whether Kinkel intended the upper and lower voices to move in analogy to each other, I followed the original publication here.

Ex. 7.6 continued

16 *a tempo* *cresc* - - - *poco* - a - - *poco*

sicht. Dei - nes lei - sen Fus - - ses
 Glück. Und in wol - lust - vol - in - ler
 Blick; Hell und hel - ler wird es

20 *dimin.*

Lauf weckt aus tag - ver - schloss - nen Höh - len
 Ruh' sah' der weit - ver - schlag' - ne Rit - ter
 schon um die un - ver - hüll - ten Glie - der

25 *p*

trau - rig ab - - ge - schied - ne See - len,
 durch das glä - ser - ne Ge - git - ter
 und nun zieht sie mich her - nie - der,

29 *mf*

mich, und nächt' - ge Vö - - gel auf.
 sei - nes Mäd - chens Näch - - ten zu.
 wie dich einst En - dy - - mi - on.

Kinkel's second moon setting, 'An den Mond' (To the Moon, op. 7, no. 5, Table 7.9) reflects the Romantic perception of nature as a powerful influence on the human's

well-being even more obviously than ‘An Luna’. There are three versions of ‘An den Mond’, all of which were written within the context of Goethe’s relationship with Charlotte von Stein from 1776 to 1778. Goethe wrote two versions of this poem; another one was created by Charlotte von Stein, but, according to Hartmut Reinhardt, it is uncertain whether Stein knew Goethe’s second version or whether Goethe used Stein’s version as an inspiration for his second version, because the chronology of the three versions is unclear.¹²⁶ Kinkel set to music Goethe’s second version of this poem; however, she did not set the second verse (marked in grey).

Table 7.9: ‘An den Mond’ (op. 7, no. 5)

An den Mond Johann Wolfgang von Goethe Published in 1838		To the Moon ¹²⁷ Translation adapted from Scott Horton
Füllest wieder Busch und Thal	<i>a</i>	Once more you fill bush and valley
Still mit Nebelglanz,	<i>b</i>	With your misty light,
Lösest endlich auch einmal	<i>a</i>	At last also you bring
Meine Seele ganz;	<i>b</i>	Rest to me;
Breitest über mein Gefild	<i>c</i>	With calm you spread your brilliant gaze
Lindernd deinen Blick,	<i>d</i>	Over the fields around me
Wie des Freundes Auge mild	<i>c</i>	Like my loved one watching my fate
Über mein Geschick.	<i>d</i>	With his gentle eyes.
Jeden Nachklang fühlt mein Herz	<i>e</i>	Every echo fills my heart
Froh und trüber Zeit,	<i>f</i>	With memories of glad and sad times,
Wandle zwischen Freud’ und Schmerz	<i>e</i>	I pass between the happiness and pain
In der Einsamkeit.	<i>f</i>	In loneliness.
Fließe, fließe, lieber Fluß!	<i>g</i>	Flow on, flow on my beloved river!
Nimmer werd’ ich froh;	<i>h</i>	Happiness will not return to me;
So verrauschte Scherz und Kuß	<i>g</i>	Thus passed from me
Und die Treue so.	<i>h</i>	Laughter, kisses and fidelity.
Ich besaß es doch einmal,	<i>a</i>	Though once I held
Was so köstlich ist!	<i>i</i>	What is so precious!
Daß man doch zu seiner Qual	<i>a</i>	What one to his torment
Nimmer es vergißt!	<i>i</i>	Will never forget!
Rausche, Fluß, das Tal entlang,	<i>k</i>	Rumble, o river, along the valley,
Ohne Rast und Ruh,	<i>l</i>	Without rest or silence,
Rausche, flüstre meinem Sang	<i>k</i>	Rumble and whisper melodies
Melodien zu!	<i>l</i>	For my song.

¹²⁶ Hartmut Reinhardt, in *Johann Wolfgang Goethe: Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens (Münchner Ausgabe)*, II.1, p. 559.

¹²⁷ Translation by Scott Horton <http://harpers.org/blog/2010/02/goetheschubert-_an-den-mond_/> [accessed 28 April 2016].

Wenn du in der Winternacht	<i>m</i>	When on winter nights you
Wütend überschwillst	<i>n</i>	Rage and spill your banks,
Oder um die Frühlingspracht	<i>m</i>	Or when you surge around
Junger Knospen quillst.	<i>n</i>	The springtime glory of young buds.
Selig, wer sich vor der Welt	<i>o</i>	Blessed are we who withdraw
Ohne Haß verschließt,	<i>p</i>	From the world without hate,
Einen Freund am Busen hält	<i>o</i>	Holding a friend to the breast,
Und mit dem genießt,	<i>p</i>	And with him enjoy
Was, von Menschen nicht gewußt	<i>q</i>	That which is not known to man
Oder nicht bedacht,	<i>m</i>	Or not contemplated
Durch das Labyrinth der Brust	<i>q</i>	Wandering in the night
Wandelt in der Nacht.	<i>m</i>	Through the labyrinth of the heart.

‘An den Mond’ is characterised by tonal unconventionality. In 1838, Oswald Lorenz observed the extraordinary harmonic progression by stressing the unusual tonal excursion to A major in bars 12–13:

[Compared to the ‘Lorelei’, a different Lied], ‘An den Mond’ makes a friendlier impression and will be appreciated by many women. The tonal modulation to A major, where the ‘e \flat ’ (instead of ‘d \sharp ’) enters bravely among all the sharps, and the naïve return to G major allude to the female hand just as much as the graceful character of the setting in general.¹²⁸

As the vocal line in bar 13 suggests a parallelism to bar 4, the listener – in analogy to bar 4 – would expect an A minor chord rather than an A major chord here. However, considering the seemingly more sedate textual content delivered in bars 12–13, the offset to A major as opposed to A minor makes sense. Lorenz did not comment at all on the original tonal introduction of the A major chord in question. This introduction demonstrates Kinkel’s tonal variety by applying a diminished seventh chord (bar 9), which introduces a harmonic state of uncertainty in the following bars. Bar 10 touches on a completely new tonal thought (C-sharp major and F-sharp minor), followed by a remote progression (F major⁷– A major) in bar 11 (Ex. 7.7).

¹²⁸ Oswald Lorenz, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 7* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 9 March 1838, pp. 77–78. “‘An den Mond’ von Goethe hat dagegen ein recht freundliches und gewinnendes Ansehn und wird sich namentlich viele Freundinnen erwerben. An der Ausweichung aber nach A-Dur, bei der das es (statt dis) sich so furchtlos unter die vielen Kreuze hineingewagt hat, und an der naiven Rückkehr nach G-Dur ist, wie an der zarten Haltung des ganzen Liedes vor allem die weibliche Hand zu erkennen’. The strongly gendered attitude, which resonates in this review, was discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation; therefore, this section will focus on the harmonic progression rather than gender issues.

Ex. 7.7: 'An den Mond' (op. 7, no. 5)¹²⁹

1 Andante quasi Allegretto

1. Fül - lest wie - der Busch und Thal still mit Ne - bel - glanz, lö - sest end - lich
 2. Flies - se, flies - se, lie - ber Fluss! nim - mer werd' ich froh, so ver - rausch - te
 3. Rau - sche, Fluss, das Thal ent - lang, oh - ne Rast und Ruh, rau - sche, flüst - re
 4. See - lig, wer sich vor der Welt oh - ne Hass ver - schliesst, ei - nen Freund am

semp. pp

Due Pedale

6

auch ein - mal mei - ne See - le ganz. Je - den Nach - klang
 Scherz und Kuss, und die Treu - e so. Ich be - sass es
 mei - nem Sang, Me - lo - di - en zu, wenn du in der
 Bu - sen hält und mit dem ge - nieszst, was, von Men - schen

cresc.

10

rall.

fühlt mein Herz froh und trü - ber Zeit,
 doch ein - mal, was so köst - lich ist!
 Win - ter - nacht wü - thend ü - ber - schwillt,
 nicht ge - wusst o - der nicht be - dacht,

rall. *f* *dim.*

13

a tempo *rall.*

p

wand' - le zwi - schen Freud' und Schmerz in der Ein - sam - keit.
 Dass man doch zu sei - ner Qual nim - mer es ver - gisst!
 o - der um die Früh - lings - pracht jun - ger Kno - spen quillst.
 durch das La - by - rinth der Brust wan - delt in der Nacht.

a tempo *rall.* *f* *p*

pp

¹²⁹ The sixth quaver in the piano right hand in bar 13 is notated as 'g¹'-a¹' rather than 'g¹'-a^{#1}'. This is an editorial mistake; in the score, a previous library user wrote underneath this quaver the words 'ais+g¹'; the mistake was corrected in this example.

Thus, the ‘e♭’, which was bemoaned by Lorenz, constitutes the minor seventh in F major. It is interesting that Lorenz suggests the German augmented sixth chord (‘f’–‘a’–‘c’–‘d♯’) instead of the dominant seventh chord, because Kinkel used augmented sixth chords in many other Lieder and must have been familiar with this chord. It seems that Kinkel deliberately chose the dominant seventh chord here, followed by an incorrect resolution of the seventh by means of an ascending semitone (‘e♭’–‘e’). In the light of Kinkel’s affinity for semitones and enharmonic progressions, it is imaginable that she chose this progression on purpose in order to achieve a surprising harmonic turn. On the other hand, considering that this Lied was part of Kinkel’s first published and reviewed opus, it is also possible that her awareness of the augmented sixth chord and its correct resolution was only raised through this review. Figuratively, this tonal meandering in bars 9–12 illustrates the lack of knowledge referred to in the corresponding line of the final verse: ‘Was vom Menschen nicht gewußt, | Oder nicht bedacht’ (That which is not known to man | Or not contemplated). Furthermore, it portrays the lyrical I’s ramble ‘zwischen Freud und Schmerz’ (between happiness and pain, first stanza) and the ‘Labyrinth der Brust’ (labyrinth of the heart, last stanza).

In terms of formal structure, Kinkel’s Lied ‘An den Mond’ is very regular. Each musical stanza consists of two verses, as a result of which Kinkel’s Lied only includes eight rather than all nine verses of the original poem. In correspondence with the trochaic metre of the poem, the Lied is set in an even metre and includes traditional four-bar phrases. The piano accompaniment takes on a supportive function, although its numerous multi-note chords seem rather challenging. Furthermore, occasional arpeggios in the right and left hands increase the expressiveness of the piano part.

7.5 Mystic songs

The Heine duet ‘Die Geisterinsel’ (Phantom Island, op. 11, no. 2, Table 7.10) deals with a loving couple that sit in a boat at sea. The couple float past a beautiful foggy phantom island, where lovely sounds are heard. The last two lines, however, turn the rather melancholic mood into one of desperation, or even fear, as the boat floats past the island and drifts onto the wide sea, an atmospheric turn which reflects Heine’s use of Romantic irony.

Table 7.10: ‘Die Geisterinsel’ (op. 11, no. 2)

Die Geisterinsel Heinrich Heine Published in 1839	Phantom Island ¹³⁰ Translation adapted from Robert McFarland and Emily Ezust
Mein Liebchen, wir saßen beisammen, Traulich im leichten Kahn.	<i>a</i> My darling, we sat together, <i>b</i> Comfortably in the light tub;
Die Nacht war still, und wir schwammen Auf weiter Wasserbahn.	<i>a</i> The night was silent, and we floated <i>b</i> On the broad watery road.
Die Geisterinsel, die schöne, Lag dämm’rig im Mondenglanz; Dort klangen liebe Töne, Dort wogte der Nebeltanz. ¹³¹	<i>c</i> The phantom island, the lovely one, <i>d</i> Lay duskily in the moonlight; <i>c</i> Sweet tones were sounding there, <i>d</i> The dancing mists heaved up and down.
Dort klang es lieb und lieber, Und wogt’ es hin und her; Wir aber schwammen vorüber, Trostlos auf weitem Meer.	<i>e</i> It sounded lovely and lovelier, <i>f</i> Dances heaved back and forth, <i>e</i> But we floated past, <i>f</i> Comfortless on the wide sea.

The romantic atmosphere, which is evoked by such key words as ‘Wasserbahn’ (watery road), bars 11–12; ‘Geisterinsel’ (Phantom island), bar 19; ‘dämmrig’ (duskily), bar 21; and ‘Nebeltanz’ (dancing mists), bar 29, is supported by the piano accompaniment. It is set in a typical barcarole rhythm. Suggesting the movement of the water, this rhythm is applied at the line ‘wogt’ es hin und her’ (heaved back and forth), which Kinkel repeats

¹³⁰ Translation adapted from Robert McFarland <<http://sophie.byu.edu/?q=texts/die-geisterinsel>> [accessed 13 March 2016]) and Emily Ezust <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=17777> [13 March 2016].

¹³¹ Heine’s original poem reads ‘Und wogte der Nebelglanz’ rather than ‘Dort wogte der Nebelglanz’. Heinrich Heine, ‘XLIII’, in *Buch der Lieder von Heinrich Heine* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), p. 147, cited after *Heinrich Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe* <<http://hhp.uni-trier.de/Projekte/HHP/Projekte/HHP/searchengine/werke/baende/D01/enterdha?pageid=D01S0174&bookid=D01&lineref=Z01&mode=2&textpattern=geisterinsel&firsttid=0&widthgiven=30>> [accessed 29 April 2016]. Kinkel might have changed this word in favour of a stylistic and contextual parallelism; I kept Robert McFarland’s translation as this change does not affect the textual content to a large extent.

several times. Although Ludwig Rellstab, in his review from August 1839, praised the expressive accompaniment, he criticised the repetitiveness of this particular line in his review:

The second duet benefits from its suitable accompaniment expressing the romantic background of the poem, the filmy night over the calm sea, the moonlight, the phantom island. However, the poem does not strike us as appropriate for a duet as it expresses a single mood. As a result, there are some drawbacks, such as the rather weakening compositional treatment of the line ‘heaved back and forth’, indeed, an almost meaningless line.¹³²

Referring to Rellstab’s comment on the poem’s unsuitability for a duet, it seems that Kinkel was aware that the poem covered a single person’s mood. In fact, she employs the two voices in alteration over the second verse and the first two lines of the third verse rather than setting them simultaneously. As the first verse and the last two lines of the poem seem to reflect the unity of the couple, as is indicated by the pronoun ‘we’, Kinkel’s setting as a duet makes sense, especially if we consider Kinkel’s own affection for nature, water, and accompanied journeys on the water with friends.

Bearing in mind Kinkel’s affinity with nature and considering the great number of Rhineland myths and love stories, the line describing a romantic setting on the water was certainly not ‘meaningless’ to Kinkel. Perhaps it was Rellstab’s Berlin origin that led him to consider the watery countryside and foggy islands ‘meaningless’; although, in a review of Francois Hünten’s setting ‘Drei Sterne am Rhein’ (Three Stars at the Rhine), he compares the Rhine with the river of his own home town: the river Spree:

[We] protest against [the poem’s] content, which allocates the three stars of happiness, song, and wine exclusively to the Rhine. They also shine at the Main, the Spree, the Danube [...]. On a positive note, one can apply the Lied to any region and landscape of the world by changing one name.¹³³

¹³² Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duetten für Sopran und Alt: Opus 11* (1839), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 2 August 1839, pp. 122–24 (p. 123). ‘Das zweite Duett drückt den romantischen Hintergrund des Gedichts, die duftige Nacht auf dem still ruhenden Meere, den Mondenschimmer, die Geisterinsel, sehr glücklich im Accompagnement aus. Doch das Gedicht selbst scheint uns zum Duett nicht geeignet, sondern nur der Ausdruck der einzelnen Seelenstimmung zu sein. Daher kommen denn manche Übelstände, z. B. die den Eindruck des Ganzen schwächende Ausführung der Worte ‘dort wogt es hin und her’, eine in der That fast bedeutungslose Zeile’.

¹³³ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Francois Hünten, *Sechs Lieder mit Begleitung des Pianoforte* (1841), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 19 February 1841, pp. 29–30, (p. 30). ‘Nur protestieren wir gegen dessen Inhalt,

In the next paragraph of his review of Kinkel's op. 11, Rellstab criticises the seemingly incomprehensible conclusion of Heine's poem, which reflects Rellstab's and Kinkel's different emotional approaches to the words even more obviously. Rellstab bemoans that:

We have never been able to bring the ending of the poem in line with its beginning. While Heine often purposely completes a wonderful painting with a bizarre question, here he seems to have been at a loss for a pathetic ending, for a definite thought in order to vitalise the graceful picture, [...]. He, who, arm in arm with his beloved, floats in a boat on the calm sea, does not go past the foggy phantom island in a state of debility but in a state of blessedness.¹³⁴

Rellstab clearly does not approve of the poem's unexpected conclusion. However, referring to Kinkel's own background, it is not surprising that the rather desperate conclusion attracted her attention. Considering Kinkel's biographical background, her previous Rhineland experience may well have led to comfortless associations with the watery landscape and Rhenish myths. At a more general level, the spiritualisation of reality reflects the Romantic ideal of natural connectedness, an aspect which would have increased this duet's marketability.

The employment of numerous compositional means at the corresponding line, 'Wir aber schwammen vorüber | Trostlos auf weitem Meer' (But we floated past | Comfortless on the wide sea), supports the assumption that Kinkel granted special attention to the atmospheric turn in the poem. The tempo changes from *Andantino* to *Adagio*; the dynamics change from *mf* to *f*; the rhythm changes from lively repeated semiquavers to heavier alternating crotchets and quavers; and the line opens with an unexpected dramatic E minor chord within the tonal context of E major (Ex. 7.8).

in sofern er die drei Sterne des Frohsinns, der Lieder und des Weines dem Rhein exclusive vindiciren will. Sie glänzen auch am Main, an der Spree, Donau – [...]. So hat denn das Lied das Gute, daß man es mit leichter Umwandlung des einen Namens auf alle Orte und Landschaften der Erde appliciren kann'.

¹³⁴ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duetten für Sopran und Alt: Opus 11* (1839), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 2 August 1839, pp. 122–24 (p. 123). 'Den Schluß des Gedichts haben wir nie mit dem Anfang in Einklang bringen können; wie Heine oft absichtlich bizarr ein wundervoll angelegtes Gemälde mit einer Frage vollendet, so scheint er hier, um einen pathetischen Schluß, um einen sicheren Gedanken, um dem reizenden Bilde Leben zu geben, verlegen gewesen zu sein, [...] Wer mit der Geliebten Arm in Arm, auf leichtem Nachen auf ruhigem Meere schwimmt, treibt nicht kraftlos, sondern seelig an der nebligen Geisterinsel vorüber'.

Ex. 7.8: 'Die Geisterinsel' (bars /50–63)

50

dort wogt' es hin und her, dort wogt' es hin und her.

dort wogt' es hin und her, dort wogt' es hin und

mf

54

Adagio

f Wir a-ber schwam-men vor - ü - ber, trost - los auf wei - - -

her. Wir a-ber schwam-men vor - ü - ber, trost - los auf wei - - -

f *sfz* *p*

59

Tempo Primo

- tem Meer.

- tem Meer.

mf *pp*

The word 'trostlos' (comfortless, bar 57) is harmonised with a German augmented sixth chord, and is set as a melodic tritone ('e²'–'a^{#1}'), which is emphasised by means of a fermata on both syllables (bar 58). This passage is an example of Kinkel's compositional response to Heine's use of Romantic irony.

So far, Rellstab's dislike of this duet has been explained on the basis of his disapproval of the rather negative words. However, the next section of Rellstab's review questions whether the lack of comprehension was the only reason for his harsh critique. According to Ulrich Tadday, Rellstab's political background was, at first, republican, although it changed to a monarchist set of mind after the 1848/49 revolutions.¹³⁵ Thus, in 1839, Rellstab, being a keen advocate of German nationalism, must have regretted Heine's expatriation to Paris in 1831, which becomes evident in the following passage, and which might have triggered Rellstab's unconscious search for negative aspects in Heine's poetry:

The unfortunate close relation to the words leads us to a number of critical asides. But they should not distract us from the third duet, which has a delightful, innocent charm, and in which nothing disturbs us, but in which everything delights us. The poem is a jewel among the many genre portraits – reverently, harmoniously depicted states of being, in which Heine is so successful, or in which he once was so successful, for now being immersed in the immoral Parisian mire, he seems to be lost to all more lovely creativity.¹³⁶

Rellstab's reference to Heine's residency draws upon the aforementioned nineteenth-century Rhineland patriotism and the consideration of the Rhineland as a fruitful area for artistic creativity.¹³⁷ Praising Beethoven's 'merry rhythms' in her *Lecture on Beethoven*, Kinkel conforms to this fashion and concludes that:

A few of them are of a particular colour, which I might believe that only a native of the Rhine could impart to music. It is that despising of affected dignity, which the grand genius likes to express in a sort of bold rhythm, full of health and liberty.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Ulrich Tadday, 'Rellstab, (Heinrich Friedrich) Ludwig', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XIII, Personenteil, pp. 1547–49 (p. 1549). An interesting study of the nationalist impact of Rellstab's Lieder reviews is exposed in Hopkins Porter, 'The "Rheinlieder Critics"'.
¹³⁶ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duetten für Sopran und Alt: Opus 11* (1839), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 2 August 1839, pp. 122–24 (pp. 123–24). 'Der unglückselige zu innige Zusammenhang mit dem Text verführt uns zu allerlei kritischen Nebenbetrachtungen. Sie sollen uns aber wenigstens nicht von dem dritten Duo abziehen, welches eine reizende, unschuldige Lieblichkeit hat, und uns durch Nichts stört, sondern durch Alles erfreut. Das Gedichtchen ist ein Juwel unter den vielen zarten Genrebildern und ehrend, harmonisch dargestellten Zuständen, in denen Heine so glücklich ist, oder einst so glücklich war, da er, jetzt im unsittlichen Schlamme von Paris versunken, für jedes schönere Wirken verloren zu sein scheint'.

¹³⁷ See Williamson, *The Longing for Myth in Germany*, p. 73.

¹³⁸ Kinkel, *Lecture on Beethoven's earliest Sonatas*. Original in English.

That Rellstab approved of Kinkel's second duet, 'Der Seejungfern Gesang' (The Mermaid's Singing, op. 11, no. 3, Table 7.11), might be related to its thematic and musical Romantic colouring. Additionally, the reviewer of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* praises the 'feminine choice of words'.¹³⁹

Table 7.11: 'Der Seejungfern Gesang' (op. 11, no. 3)

Der Seejungfern Gesang Heinrich Heine Published in 1839	The Mermaids' Singing ¹⁴⁰ Translation by James Thomson
Der Mond ist aufgegangen Und überstrahlt die Wellen; Ich halte mein Liebchen umfangen, Und unsre Herzen schwell'n.	<i>a</i> The moon is fully risen <i>b</i> And shineth o'er the sea; <i>a</i> And I embrace my darling, <i>b</i> Our hearts are swelling free.
Im Arm des holden Kindes Ruh' ich allein am Strand; Was horchst du beim Rauschen des Windes? Was zuckt deine weiße Hand?	<i>c</i> In the arms of the lovely maiden <i>d</i> I lie alone on the strand; <i>c</i> What sounds in the breezes sighing? <i>d</i> Why trembles your white hand?
Das ist kein Rauschen des Windes, Das ist der Seejungfern Gesang, Und meine Schwestern sind es, Die einst das Meer verschlang!	<i>c</i> That is no breezes sighing, <i>e</i> That is the mermaids' song, <i>c</i> The singing of my sisters <i>e</i> Whom the sea hath drowned so long.

Not only does this poem of Heine's reflect the Romantic paradigm of loneliness and the ideal of deep emotional love, but it also alludes to Romantic mysticism. Compositionally, this duet meets Ludwig Rellstab's ideal of simplicity. The piano takes on a supportive function. It imitates the noise of the wind with lively semiquavers and symbolises the rise of the moon by means of calm minims in the left hand in the first part. The duet can be divided into four parts: A–B–C–A'. Sections A, B, and C cover one poetic strophe each; section A' is a literal repetition of the first poetic strophe and a varied repetition of the first musical stanza. Section B gives each voice a solo part. Sections A, A' and C, when both voices sing simultaneously, are characterised by fairly simple lines. Else Thalheimer sees in the homophonic structure of the duets the

¹³⁹ [Anon.], review of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duetten für Sopran und Alt: op. 11* (1840), *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 15 April 1840, p. 340. 'weiblich ausgewählte Texte von H. Heine'.

¹⁴⁰ Translation by James Thomson, 'Der Mond ist aufgegangen', in *Poems Selected from Heinrich Heine*, ed. by Kate Freiligrath Kroeker (London: Walter Scott, 1887), p. 91. This volume is hereafter referred to as Freiligrath Kroeker, *Poems Selected from Heinrich Heine*.

influence of Felix Mendelssohn's compositional style, although her comparison of Kinkel's duets with Mendelssohn's music takes a rather anti-Semitic position.¹⁴¹ Thalheimer bemoans the sentimental tone painting in Kinkel's duets.¹⁴² Despite its relatively simple design, this duet's harmonic progression is diverse. It opens in A major (part A), while the first section of part B is set in F major, but it also features a short harmonic meander to A minor. Part C launches with A major, but incorporates a tonal excursion to F-sharp minor, C-sharp major, C-sharp minor, and finally back to A major. Section A' is set in A major and serves as unifying element. Taking into account this rather diverse harmonic outline, Thalheimer's focus on the voice leading seems unjustified.

7.6 Nature as an allegory for love and the beloved

Whereas Thalheimer considers Kinkel's melodic progressions monotonous, Rellstab criticised that, in the first duet of op. 11, 'Das Lied der Nachtigall' (The Song of the Nightingale, op. 11, no. 1, Table 7.12), the natural melodic flow is interrupted by unexpected accentuations:

Like the other duets [of Op. 11], we would like to imagine this duet without its sharp accentuations which are supposed to stress a single feature at the expense of the nice melodic flow. For instance, the first 'e b' (C minor) at the word 'spring' ('spring out of my tears') in the first line. It is true: at this point, the expression becomes bitter, but the melody does not remain natural. One can, one should apply such means, but one should introduce them in a more natural way; the preparation of the dissonances must occur at an aesthetic level higher than required by strict composition.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Thalheimer, 'Johanna Kinkel als Musikerin', p. 70.

¹⁴² Thalheimer, 'Johanna Kinkel als Musikerin', p. 70. 'Während aber bei den Mendelssohnschen Kompositionen der gleichen Gattung die ebenso originellen wie volkstümlich eingängige Melodik einen reichen musikalischen Ertrag gewährt, finden wir hier wieder nur die eine Mendelssohnsche Seite, – die sentimentale, ganz einseitig und fast verzerrt wieder, und für die gewollten tonmalerischen Effekte, die mit dem Tremolo, das bald pp bald ff angewandt ist, jeder unheimlichen oder mysteriösen Stimmung der Dichtungen beizukommen suchen, haben wir heute nur noch ein mitleidiges Lächeln'.

¹⁴³ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duetten für Sopran und Alt: Opus 11* (1839), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 2 August 1839, pp. 122–24 (p. 123). 'Nur die zu scharfen Accentuationen, die ein Einzelnes auf Kosten des schönen Flusses in der Melodie hervorheben wollen, möchten wir aus diesem Duett wie aus den andern hinwegwünschen. Z.B. gleich das Es (C-Moll) auf das Wort 'sprissen'

Rellstab argues that the melodic progression ‘b’-‘c’-‘d’-‘e b ’-‘c’ (bars 9–10, Ex. 7.9) interrupts the natural flow of the melody. However, he admits that the ‘e b ’ matches the bitter mood of the line. In Rellstab’s opinion, the unprepared introduction of the dissonance and mode mixture in bars 9-10 is inappropriate - perhaps he would have preferred an earlier preparation or the omission of this chromatic technique. Although Jürgen Rehm considers Rellstab’s view as distinctively regressive, the reviewer’s criticism of semitones was neither singular nor uncommon during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁴ Kinkel referred to the employment of chromaticism in her music-historical writing *Zur Geschichte der Musik* (On Musical History). She comments on this novelty, taking as an example Frederic Chopin; a perspective, which also reflects Kinkel’s broad understanding of the music-historical discourse:

Chopin dares to bring together the intervals by a semitone; for example, he applies the minor second where we expect the major second, and thereby achieves completely new and much more subtle expressions, which also causes unforeseen harmonic turns. With this adventure, he approaches the mysteriously-locked region of the quarter tones, which, in later centuries, will be received like the semitones in our generation or the third in the generation of our ancestors’.¹⁴⁵

Thematically, ‘Das Lied der Nachtigall’, like ‘Der Seejungfern Gesang’, demonstrates how different Romantic topoi can be applied side by side. While the duet is clearly a love song, nature is used as an allegory for the longing for love. In the first verse, the lyrical I compares his/her emotions with natural phenomena; their tears are associated with flowers and their sighing is referred to as the nightingales’ singing. In the second

(Aus meinen Thränen spriessen) in der ersten Zeile. Es ist wahr, der Ausdruck dieser Stelle wird herb, aber die Melodie bleibt nicht natürlich. Dergleichen kann, soll angebracht werden, allein man muß natürlicher darauf hinleiten; es tritt hier eine Vorbereitung der Dissonanzen in einem höhern ästhetischen Sinne ein, als der strenge Satz dieselbe fordert’.

¹⁴⁴ Jürgen Rehm, *Zur Musikrezeption im vormärzlichen Berlin: Die Präsentation bürgerlichen Selbstverständnisses und biedermeierlicher Kunstanschauung in den Musikkritiken Ludwig Rellstabs* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1983), p. 77.

¹⁴⁵ Johanna Kinkel, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, p. 16. ‘Chopin wagt es die Intervalle wieder um 1/2 Ton näher zu rücken, z.B. die kleine Sekunde da anzuwenden, wo wir die große erwarten; und bringt dadurch ganz neue und viel feinere Ausdrücke hervor, welche die Harmonie ebenfalls zu völlig ungeahnten Wendungen veranlassen. Mit diesem Wagestück rüttelt er an der noch geheimnisvoll verschloßnen Pforte der Vierteltöne, die dereinst späteren Jahrhunderten das sein werden, was uns der kleine Sekundschritt, und was unsern Vorfahren die Terz war’.

verse, the lyrical I offers his/ her beloved to give him/ her the flowers and to get the nightingales to sing underneath their window, which emphasises the sweetness and tenderness with which the lyrical I tries to convince his/ her beloved. Having said this, the bitter mood of the corresponding line, which was emphasised by Ludwig Rellstab in his review, is not only stressed by means of harmony, but also by means of an allegory. By comparing the lyrical I's individual emotions with powerful instances of nature, the lyrical I's heartache seems to be granted more weight.

Table 7.12: 'Das Lied der Nachtigall' (op. 11, no. 1)

Das Lied der Nachtigall Heinrich Heine Published in 1839	The Song of the Nightingale ¹⁴⁶ Translation by J. E. Wallis
Aus meinen Tränen sprießen Viel blühende Blumen hervor, Und meine Seufzer werden Ein Nachtigallenchor.	<i>a</i> Where e'er my bitter teardrops fall, <i>b</i> The fairest flowers arise; <i>c</i> And into choirs of nightingales <i>b</i> Are turned my bosom's sighs.
Und wenn du mich lieb hast, Kindchen, Schenk' ich dir die Blumen all', Und vor deinem Fenster soll klingen Das Lied der Nachtigall.	<i>d</i> And wilt thou love me, thine shall be <i>e</i> The fairest flowers that spring, <i>f</i> And at the window evermore <i>e</i> The nightingales shall sing.

¹⁴⁶ Translation by J. E. Wallis, 'Aus meinen Tränen sprießen', in Freiligrath-Kroeker, *Poems Selected from Heinrich Heine*, p. 55.

Ex. 7.9: 'Das Lied der Nachtigall' (op. 11, no. 1)¹⁴⁷

Andante
p
cresc.
rall.

7
 Aus mei - nen Thrä - nen sprie - ssen viel blü - hen - de Blu - men her - vor, und
 Aus mei - nen Thrä - nen sprie - ssen viel blü - hen - de Blu - men her - vor, und
pp
p

13
 mei - ne Seuf - zer wer - den ein Nach - ti - gal - len - chor.
 mei - ne Seuf - zer wer - den ein Nach - ti - gal - len - chor.
mf
mf

¹⁴⁷ The 'f^{♯1}' in the piano right hand in bar 19 (second quaver) was notated as 'f^{♯1}' in the original publication. Considering the previous chord in the same bar, is it likely that this was an editorial mistake; therefore, it has been changed to 'f^{♯1}' in this musical example. The 'g³' in the piano right hand in bar 55 is notated as 'e³' in the original publication. This is an editorial mistake (missing ledger line). Furthermore, the 'c[♯]' in the piano right hand in bars 29, 31, and 35 was notated in the original publication as 'c[♯]'. However, considering the harmonic progression (B⁷-e-A-D-A-A⁷-G) it would make more sense to include a 'c[♯]' in order to turn the A minor chords into A major chords. Therefore, the 'c[♯]' has been added in the three bars this example.

Ex. 7.9 continued

19

Aus mei-nen Thrä-nen sprie-ssen viel blü-hen-de Blu-men her-vor, und

Aus mei-nen Thrä-nen sprie-ssen viel blü-hen-de Blu-men her-vor, und

poco stacc.
p

25

mei-ne Seuf-zer wer-den ein Nach-ti-gal-len-chor, und mei-ne Seuf-zer wer-den

mei-ne Seuf-zer wer-den ein Nach-ti-gal-len-chor, und mei-ne Seuf-zer wer-den

p
pp

31

ein Nach-ti-gal-len-chor, ein Nach-ti-gal-len-chor. Und

ein Nach-ti-gal-len-chor, ein Nach-ti-gal-len-chor.

mf

Ex. 7.9 continued

37

wenn du mich lieb hast, Kind - chen, schenk' ich dir die Blu - men all',
 Und wenn du mich lieb hast, Kind - chen, schenk' ich dir die Blu - men

41

die Blu - men all', die Blu - men all', und vor dei - nem Fen - ster soll klin - gen das
 all', die Blu - men all', die Blu - men all', und vor dei - nem Fen - ster soll klin - gen das

46

Lied der Nach - ti - gall, und vor dei - nem Fen - ster soll klin - gen das
 Lied der Nach - ti - gall, und vor dei - nem Fen - ster soll klin - gen das

Ex. 7.9 continued

50

Lied der Nach - ti - gall, das Lied, das Lied der Nach - ti - gall, das Lied der
Lied der Nach - ti - gall, das Lied, das Lied der Nach - ti - gall, das Lied der

p
pp

55

Nach - ti - gall, das Lied der Nach - ti - gall.
Nach - ti - gall, das Lied der Nach - ti - gall.

rall.
rall.
rall.

58

rall.

In the Goethe setting ‘Gegenwart’ (Presence, op. 16, no. 4, Table 7.13), the lyrical I’s beloved is associated with such natural phenomena as the sun, the roses and lilies in the garden, the stars, and the moon. In the last verse, the beloved is referred to as the sun, which serves as an overall allegory as, the lyrical I asks the sun to ‘sei du auch mir | Die Schöpferin herrlicher Tage’ (be also to me | The creator of majestic days).

Table 7.13: ‘Gegenwart’ (op. 16, no. 4)

Gegenwart ¹⁴⁸ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe Published in 1841	Presence ¹⁴⁹ Translation by Emily Ezust
Alles kündet dich an! Erscheinet die herrliche Sonne, Folgst du, so hoff’ ich es, bald.	<i>a</i> Everything announces your presence! <i>b</i> When the majestic Sun appears, <i>c</i> I hope you will follow soon.
Trittst du im Garten hervor, So bist du die Rose der Rosen, Lilie der Lilien zugleich.	<i>d</i> When you walk in the garden, <i>e</i> You are the rose of roses <i>f</i> And the lily of lilies at the same time.
Wenn du im Tanze dich regst, So regen sich alle Gestirne Mit dir und um dich umher.	<i>g</i> When you move in dance, <i>h</i> All the stars move <i>i</i> With you and about you.
Nacht! und so wär es denn Nacht! Nun überscheinst du des Mondes Lieblichen, ladenden Glanz.	<i>k</i> Night! and so it is then night! <i>l</i> Now you outshine the moon's <i>m</i> Lovely, inviting gleam.
Ladend und lieblich bist Du, Und Blumen, Mond und Gestirne Huldigen, Sonne, nur Dir.	<i>n</i> You are attractive and lovely <i>o</i> And the flowers, moon and stars <i>p</i> Worship only you, my sun!
Sonne! so sei du auch mir Die Schöpferin herrlicher Tage; Leben und Ewigkeit ist's.	<i>q</i> My sun! be also to me <i>r</i> The creator of majestic days; <i>s</i> This is life and eternity.

Interestingly, and rather unusually for a nineteenth-century Lied, the verses do not rhyme. Nevertheless, Kinkel’s setting is characterised by regularity and unity, which might be attributed to the regular phrasal structure (each of the two phrases includes six

¹⁴⁸ This poem was published in 1815 and was probably written in 1812 when Goethe listened to a Lieder performance by Mamsell Engels at his home place. As he did not like the words of one of the songs performed, he decided to write a different poem to the melody of this song (which was composed by Ludwig Berger). See Christoph Siegris, in *Johann Wolfgang Goethe: Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens (Münchner Ausgabe)*, IX, p. 1100.

¹⁴⁹ Translation by Emily Ezust <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=6422> [accessed 25 June 2016].

bars), the syllabic and regular text setting, and the division of each phrase into two-bar motives, each of which corresponds with one line of the poem. Untypical for a Lied by Kinkel, there is no piano introduction, interlude or postlude, an aesthetic feature which holds together the verses even more eloquently. Furthermore, the poem in itself creates unity by means of assonance and alliteration.

Musically, this Lied exposes a peculiar melody with some challenging turns, the most striking example of which is the note ‘f[♯]’ rather than ‘f[♮]’ in bar 8 (Ex. 7.10), which precedes a harmonic change to A minor within the context of A major. The return to A major in the last two bars confirms the positive impression of the lyrical I’s beloved. In this respect, parallels between Kinkel’s own biography, i.e. her love life at the beginning of the 1840s when op. 16 was published, and her songs in praise of nature might become evident.

Ex. 7.10: Melodic extravaganza in ‘Gegenwart’ (bars 7–12)

7

molto ritenuto

Trittst du im Gar-ten her- vor so bist du die Ro - se der Ro - sen, Li - lie der Li-lien zu - gleich.
 Nacht! und so wär' es denn Nacht! Nun ü - ber-scheinst du des Mon - des la - den-den lieb - li - chen Glanz.
 Son - ne, so sei du auch mir die Schö - pfer - inn herr - li - cher Tä - ge; Le - ben und E - wig - keit ist's.

mf

colla parte

7.7 Lullabies in praise of nature

While many of the songs discussed previously alluded to a possible connection between Kinkel’s songs in praise of nature and her own biography, specifically her fondness for nature and her patriotic love for the Rhineland, this last group of nature settings directly supports this connection. Three of the four lullabies discussed in the following are settings of Johanna Kinkel’s own words. However, not all three of them were composed for Kinkel’s own children. The first lullaby, ‘Wiegenlied’ (op. 10, no. 4), was published

as early as 1839, but Kinkel's first child was born in 1844. According to Monica Klaus, Kinkel's lullaby published within her op. 15 ('Wiegenlied', op. 15, no. 3) was originally written for her friend Emilie von Henning's daughter Maria Johanna.¹⁵⁰ Kinkel's letter to Emilie von Henning's daughter Laura von Henning, dated 2 September 1841, confirms this observation. In the letter Kinkel writes:

The Lieder collection op. 15, which I am sending your lovely mother, includes almost nothing which she would not know yet. But I could not resist reminding her of it in a new format. Marie's lullaby is the favourite piece of my students here.¹⁵¹

It is uncertain for whom Kinkel composed the lullaby included in her op. 10, but the Berlin setting in the poem reveals that Kinkel must have had one of her Berlin friends' children in mind when she wrote this song. 'Wiegenlied' (op. 10, no. 4, Table 7.14) was written for a person other than the mother or father of the child to try and calm down and entertain an upset child. Each of the three stanzas exposes specific characters, the wind, the horse, and the musicians, who are envious of the child and its delicious food and warm bed. Ludwig Rellstab acknowledges this song in his review as 'one of the nicest compositions' and praises the unusual style.¹⁵²

Table 7.14: 'Wiegenlied' (op. 10, no. 4), capitalised letters indicate a new rhyme

Wiegenlied Johanna Kinkel Published in 1839	Lullaby ¹⁵³ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Refrain: O du hast es gar zu gut, lieb Herzenskind,	<i>a</i> Chorus: <i>a</i> Oh you are completely spoiled, dear child of my

¹⁵⁰ Maria Johanna von Henning was born on 18 April 1839; Kinkel dated her composition 15 April 1839. Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 55.

¹⁵¹ Johanna Kinkel to Laura von Henning in a letter dated 2 September 1841, cited after Goslich, 'Briefe von Johanna Kinkel', p. 203. 'Das Liederheft op. 15 was ich Deiner lieben Mutter sende, enthält fast nichts als was sie schon kennt. Ich konnte es aber doch nicht lassen, es ihr in neuer Form nochmals ins Gedächtnis zu bringen. Das Mariechens-Wiegenlied ist hier das Lieblingsstückchen meiner Schülerinnen'.

¹⁵² Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Op. 10* (1839), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 7 June 1839, pp. 91–92 (p. 92). 'No. 4 ist ein gar allerliebstes Wiegenliedchen, nicht sowohl zum Einschläfern, als zum Unterhalten der Kinder, weshalb man es weniger ein Wiegenlied als ein Kinderlied nennen sollte. Es weicht dadurch so ganz von dem gewöhnlichen Stil ab, daß mancher es leicht erkennen, und die rein für den Kindersinn berechnete Komik ganz falsch betrachten könnte. Wir halten es daher für besondere Pflicht, auf das Liedchen recht entschieden als auf eines der gelungensten aufmerksam zu machen'.

¹⁵³ Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=109218> [accessed 29 April 2016].

Drum gib dich zufrieden und schlafe geschwind. Schlaf, schlaf, schlaf, schlaf.	b	heart, So be contented and go to sleep quickly. Sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep.
Wie bist du so glücklich, Wie bist du so reich, Der Vater, die Mutter tun alles Dir nach deinem Sinn; Liegst warm in dem Bettchen Von Flaume so weich, Kriegst köstliches Süppchen Mit zuckersüßem Zucker drin. Eia, ei, weint das Kind, eia, ei.	c d e f g d h f i	How happy you are, How rich you are, Your father, your mother do everything That you want; You lie in a warm little bed So soft and downy, You are given delightful soups With sweet sugar in them. Wah, wa, cries the child, wah, wa.
Refrain		Chorus
Da draußen da heulet Der eiskalte Wind, Er weinet und bläst durch Berlin, Die große, große Stadt; Der Sturmwind ist neidisch Auf dich, mein lieb Kind, Weil er nicht wie du Ein warm Flaumenfederbettchen hat. Susu, su, bläst der Wind, susu su.	k l m n o l p n p	There outdoors howls The ice-cold wind, It cries and blows through Berlin, The great, great city; The storm-wind is jealous Of you, my dear child, Because, unlike you, He doesn't have a downy feather bed. Whoosh, whoosh, blows the wind, whoosh, whoosh.
Refrain		Chorus
Da draußen da ziehet Den Schlitten das Pferd, Es läuten die Schellen, Das Pferdchen aber ist betrübt; Mit Schnauben und Wiehern Es laut sich beschwert, Daß niemand ihm Zucker Und delikates Stüppchen gibt. Klingi, ling, schellt das Pferd, klingi, ling.	q r s t u r v t w	There outdoors a horse Is pulling a sled, The sleigh bells are ringing, The little horse, however, is sad; With snorting and neighing It complains loudly That no one gives him sugar Or dainty soups. Jingle jing, ring [the bells on] the horse, jingle jing.
Refrain		Chorus
Da draußen da stehn Musikanten im Schnee, Die Frau singt ein Liedchen, Die Fiedel spielt der Mann dazu; Ob ihnen der Hals Und die Finger tun weh, Doch müssen sie singen Und fiedeln ohne Rast und Ruh. Lala la, singt die Frau, Vidividi bum, spielt der Mann, vidividi bum.	x y z A B y C A D E	There outdoors in the snow Stands a group of musicians, The woman sings a song, The man plays the fiddle in accompaniment; Even if their throats And their fingers hurt, They must sing And fiddle without rest or repose. Lala, la sings the woman, Feefeedee boom, plays the man, Feefeedee boom
Refrain		Chorus

As a result of the setting's strophic form, all three characters are portrayed musically in the same way, a technique which simplifies the structural design of the Lied and achieves a better chance for memorability. The harmonic outline is fairly straightforward, although Kinkel employs a tritone substitution at the rather unexpected

progression D major⁷–G major–F-sharp major⁷–B minor–A major at the fifth line of each verse. Furthermore, both the vocal part and the piano accompaniment are characterised by an extraordinarily fast tempo. This aspect seems to contradict the purpose of the Lied as a lullaby. Only the chorus line ‘Schlaf, schlaf, schlaf, schlaf’ (Sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep) is set in dotted minims and thereby creates a calm and soothing atmosphere. Perhaps Kinkel wanted to portray the eventful and fast-paced life of the ‘big, big city’ with the unsettled musical layout of this Lied.

Kinkel’s second lullaby (‘Wiegenlied’, op. 15, no. 3, Table 7.15) is organised as a strophic setting with a straightforward pattern of eight bars per phrase. As in the aforementioned lullaby, the harmonic progression is rather simple and centres on the tonic key of E-flat major. The even rhythm and regular phrasal pattern might have been chosen in order to create a flowing momentum within this song. The lyrical observer reminds the child of such natural phenomena as the wind, small mosquitos, and the bees, all of which take on human traits. That way, the fear of the loud noise produced by the wind and the bees is taken away from the child. The last verse, which assures the child of angels watching and guarding him/ her, adds to the impression that the singer aimed to take away fear from the child. It also alludes to the Romantic imagination of a human being seeing and understanding nature.

Table 7.15: ‘Wiegenlied’ (op. 15, no. 3)

Wiegenlied Johanna Kinkel Published in 1841	Lullaby
Schlaf Du holdes süßes Kind!	<i>a</i> Sleep well, you lovely child!
Draussen weht der Frühlingswind,	<i>a</i> Outside, the spring wind is blowing,
Flüstert leis dir Märchen zu,	<i>b</i> And softly whispers fairy tales to you,
Wiegt dich sanft damit zur Ruh.	<i>b</i> It cradles you to sleep gently.
Lula leila lilalu	<i>b</i> Lula Leila lilalu
Schlummre sanft, mein Liebchen du.	<i>b</i> Sleep well, my Sweetheart.
Schlummre ein zu meiner Weis,	<i>c</i> Sleep now, with me singing,
Draussen summt ein Bienchen leis,	<i>c</i> Outside a bee is softly humming,
Honig bringt’s dem Kind herein	<i>d</i> It brings honey to the child
Wenn’s will still und artig sein.	<i>d</i> If it is quiet and well-behaved.
Lula leila lilalu	<i>b</i> Lula Leila lilalu

Schlummre sanft, mein Liebchen du.	<i>b</i>	Sleep well, my Sweetheart.
Schlummre süß die ganze Nacht,	<i>e</i>	Sleep well all night long,
Muttertreue für dich wacht,	<i>e</i>	The mother is watching you,
Scheucht von deiner Wiege still	<i>f</i>	She shoos away the midges
Mückchen, das dich stechen will.	<i>f</i>	That want to sting you.
Lula leila lilalu	<i>b</i>	Lula Leila lilalu
Schlummre sanft, mein Liebchen du.	<i>b</i>	Sleep well, my Sweetheart.
Englein drückt zu jeder Stund	<i>g</i>	An angel kisses you
Sanften Kuss auf deinen Mund,	<i>g</i>	At every hour,
Ist zum Hüter dir bestellt	<i>h</i>	It is guarding you
Von dem Herrn der ganzen Welt.	<i>h</i>	At the behest of the Lord.
Lula leila lilalu	<i>b</i>	Lula Leila lilalu
Schlummre sanft, mein Liebchen du.	<i>b</i>	Sleep well, my Sweetheart.

Also the third of Kinkel's lullabies ('Wiegenlied', op. 21, no. 2, Table 7.16) uses such natural phenomena as the wind, the river Rhine, the garden, the moon, and the mountains in order to calm down the child. However, it is not as fast-paced and energetic as the previous one.

Table 7.16: 'Wiegenlied' (op. 21, no. 2)

Wiegenlied Johanna Kinkel Published in 1851	Lullaby ¹⁵⁴ Translation by Sharon Krebs
Die milden Sterne scheinen, Sanft rauscht der Abendwind. Hör' endlich auf zu weinen, Du mein geliebtes Kind! Dein Bettchen ist bereitet, O ruhe sanft darin; Den weichsten Teppich breitet Die Mutter drüber hin. Schlaf wohl, gut Nacht, gut Nacht.	<i>a</i> The mild stars are shining, <i>b</i> The evening wind is souging gently. <i>a</i> Stop crying at last, <i>b</i> You my beloved child! <i>c</i> Your little bed is prepared, <i>d</i> Oh sleep softly therein; <i>c</i> The softest blanket over it <i>d</i> Your mother is spreading. <i>e</i> Sleep well, good night, good night.
Die sieben Berge schauen In unser Kämmerlein, Bestrahlt vom silberblauen Verklärten Vollmondschein. Sie stehn an Rheines Borden, Wir wandeln hin dereinst, Wenn du bist gross geworden Und wenn du nicht mehr weinst. Schlaf wohl, gut Nacht, gut Nacht.	<i>f</i> The seven mountains are gazing <i>g</i> Into our little chamber, <i>f</i> Illuminated by the silvery blue <i>g</i> Transfigured glow of the full moon. <i>h</i> They stand on the banks of the Rhine; <i>i</i> We shall go there someday, <i>h</i> When you have grown up <i>i</i> And when you no longer cry. <i>e</i> Sleep well, good night, good night.
Ein Garten ist da drunten, Voll Blumen rot und weiss. Es schlingen drum die bunten Nachtfalter ihren Kreis. Die Blumen woll'n wir pflücken,	<i>k</i> A garden is down there, <i>l</i> Full of red and white flowers. <i>k</i> Weaving their circles about it <i>l</i> Are the colourful moths of the night. <i>m</i> We shall pick the flowers

¹⁵⁴ Translation by Sharon Krebs <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=77473> [accessed 25 June 2016].

Sobald der Tag erwacht,	<i>n</i>	As soon as the day awakes,
Dein Bettchen damit schmücken.	<i>m</i>	In order to adorn your bed with them.
Doch nun, schlaf wohl, gut Nacht.	<i>e</i>	But now, sleep well, good night.
Schlaf wohl, gut Nacht, gut Nacht.	<i>e</i>	Sleep well, good night, good night.

Contrary to the two lullabies discussed previously, this lullaby is set at the river Rhine, which suggests that Kinkel might have composed this song for one of her own children. The late opus number (op. 21) supports this idea. Like the other lullabies, this *andante* setting is written in strophic form, which corresponds to the purpose of the Lied to create a soothing atmosphere. It also enables the potential singer to memorise the Lied. Furthermore, as shown in previous chapters, folk-like simplicity of both form, voice, and harmony was a welcome feature of the nineteenth-century Lied if it was intended to be performed by musical amateurs. Bearing in mind Kinkel's dependency on the marketability of her Lieder publications and the topicality and timeliness of lullabies, it is not surprising that Kinkel aimed for lullabies easily memorable and singable. Besides this, this last lullaby alludes to the great significance nature must have had in Kinkel's life.

While the previous lullabies were most likely composed with particular children in mind, the fourth song included in this group, the duet 'Nachtgesang' to words by Goethe (Night Song, op. 12, no. 3, Table 7.17), is not devoted to a specific person. The lyrical protagonist tries to put someone to sleep, but it is not certain whether the addressee is a child or a beloved. The third and fourth verses allude to a loving relationship between the lyrical protagonists, as the lyrical I admits the 'ewigen Gefühle' (eternal feelings, second and third verses) associated with their guitar playing for the addressee. In the fourth verse, the lyrical I states that the addressee separates him/ her from the 'earthly throng', which suggests an uplifting, almost spiritual influence of the lyrical protagonist's addressee.

Table 7.17: ‘Nachtgesang’ (op. 12, no. 3)

Nachtgesang ¹⁵⁵ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe Published in 1840	Night Song ¹⁵⁶ Translation by Richard Wigmore
O! gib, vom weichen Pfühle, Träumend, ein halb Gehör! Bei meinem Saitenspiele Schlafe! was willst du mehr?	<i>a</i> O lend, from your soft pillow, <i>b</i> Dreaming, but half an ear! <i>a</i> To the music of my strings <i>b</i> Sleep! What more can you wish?
Bei meinem Saitenspiele Segnet der Sterne Heer Die ewigen Gefühle; Schlafe! was willst du mehr?	<i>a</i> To the music of my strings <i>b</i> The host of stars <i>a</i> Blesses eternal feelings; <i>b</i> Sleep! What more can you wish?
Die ewigen Gefühle Heben mich, hoch und hehr, Aus irdischem Gewühle; Schlafe! was willst du mehr?	<i>a</i> These eternal feelings <i>b</i> Raise me high and glorious <i>a</i> Above the earthly throng; <i>b</i> Sleep! What more can you wish?
Vom irdischen Gewühle Trennst du mich nur zu sehr, Bannst mich in deine Kühle, ¹⁵⁷ Schlafe! was willst du mehr?	<i>a</i> From this earthly throng <i>b</i> You separate me only too well, <i>a</i> You spellbind me to this coolness, <i>b</i> Sleep! What more can you wish?
Bannst mich in diese Kühle, Gibst nur im Traum Gehör. Ach! auf dem weichen Pfühle Schlafe! was willst du mehr?	<i>a</i> You spellbind me to this coolness, <i>b</i> Giving ear only in your dream. <i>a</i> Ah, on your soft pillow <i>b</i> Sleep! What more can you wish?

Furthermore, this Goethe Lied is set as a duet, which might reveal a more equal relationship between the lyrical I and the addressee, and which generates a more artistic sense than the three rather simple lullabies which were designed to be sung by a worried mother (or father or caretaker). The duet is characterised by a complex harmonic pattern with many tonal shifts and sudden changes, an aspect which was criticised by the reviewer of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*.¹⁵⁸ The piano accompaniment, which includes many arpeggios and ornamentation, adds to the rather ambitious compositional level. The most striking feature of this duet, however, is the formal structure (Fig. 7.4).

In his review, Ludwig Rellstab acknowledges that:

¹⁵⁵ This poem is dated 1802. See *Johann Wolfgang Goethe: Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens (Münchner Ausgabe)*, IX, pp. 74 and 899.

¹⁵⁶ Translation by Richard Wigmore, in *Franz Schubert: The Complete Songs*, transl. by Richard Wigmore, intr. by Graham Johnson (London: Hyperion, 2005), pp. 32–33.

¹⁵⁷ Goethe’s original poem reads ‘Bannst mich in diese Kühle’ instead of ‘deine Kühle’.

¹⁵⁸ [Anon.], review of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duetten für weibliche Stimmen: Opus 12* (1840), *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 28 October 1840, p. 904.

By linking the verses melodically, the composer has musically taken up the plaiting of the [poetic] stanzas, which is achieved through a repetition of the last line of each verse in the first line of each following verse – a very happy thought. Every finesse of form increases the value of a musical work, of an artistic work in general; the same applies here.¹⁵⁹

As Figure 7.4 shows, the formal sketch corresponds with the harmonic pattern of this duet. Furthermore, the four-bar opening phrase of each musical stanza is a rhythmic repetition of the concluding phrase of each preceding stanza. However, the repetition takes place on a different degree of the scale, which results in a great amount of harmonic variety. The conclusion of this duet (bars 41–47), by reinserting the B phrase, which sounded initially in bars 9–12, creates an overall unity of all stanzas.

Fig. 7.4: Formal design of ‘Nachtgesang’ (op. 12, no. 3)

Stanza	Prelude	1		2		3		4		5		Coda
Poetic Strophe		1		2		3		4		5		
Phrase		A	B	B	C	C	D	D	E	E'	B'	B'
Bar	1–4	5–8	9–12	13–16	17–20	21–24	25–28	29–32	33–36	37–40	41–44	45–47
Chord	a	a–E	E–A	D–G	C–E	E–G#	C#–F#–F	F–a	E	a–E	E–A	Ger6–a–E–a

As regards the singability of this duet, Rellstab remarks that ‘the vocal line [of all three duets of op. 12] is comfortable and simple to perform’,¹⁶⁰ which explains why Rellstab, being an advocator of simple and straightforward Lieder, seemed to be very fond of Kinkel’s op. 12.

¹⁵⁹ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duette für weibliche Stimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 12* (1849), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 19 March 1841, pp. 45–46 (p. 46). ‘Die Verschlingung der Strophen, durch die gleichlautenden Zeilen der alten, an denen die neue Strophe angeknüpft wird, hat die Componistin, ein sehr glücklicher Gedanke, in der Musik wiedergegeben, indem sie ihre Melodie ebenso fortspinnt. Jede Feinheit der Form erhöht den Werth eines Musikstückes, eines Kunstwerkes überhaupt; so auch hier’.

¹⁶⁰ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Mathieux, *Drei Duette für weibliche Stimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 12* (1849), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 19 March 1841, pp. 45–46 (p. 46). ‘So dürfen wir denn diese drei Duette mit vollstem Recht allen denen, die den seelenvollen Gesang lieben, um so mehr empfehlen, als sie auch bequem in der Stimme liegen und leicht ausführbar sind’.

7.8 Conclusion: nineteenth-century Romanticism in Kinkel's Lieder

This chapter demonstrates that Kinkel's Lieder contain numerous Romantic features, such as the tone-painting in the piano accompaniment and the simplicity of both the piano and the voice leading. The majority of Kinkel's Sololieder are strophic settings, which corresponds with Alan Menhennet's observation that:

While the romantic search for forms conducive to the liberation of the Self often led to departure from familiar forms which appealed to the orderly and rationalistic mind, this did not mean that organisation and control had vanished.¹⁶¹

Kinkel's combination of traditional phrasal patterns and rather irregular formal structures, for example in 'Die Zigeuner' or, more strikingly, in 'In der Bucht', confirms both Kinkel's sense for tradition and her attempt to situate herself as an individual within her own time. All of Kinkel's duets are through-composed settings - a feature which represents uniqueness as opposed to the repetitive strophic form, which Kinkel applied in most of her Sololieder. Richard Taruskin explains the popularity of through-composed Lieder incorporating unique verses rather than repeated verses via Herder's Romantic notion of unique and distinguishable language communities, which added to the Romantic ideal of the *Volk* as a unique entity.¹⁶² Under the consideration of Herder's notion of a unity between music and poetry, Alexander J. Cvetko suggests that, when speaking of the *Volkslied*, the joint analysis of music and language as a unity is both helpful and necessary.¹⁶³ Referring to Ulrich Gaier's interpretation of Herder's approach, Cvetko summarises that:

[When speaking of 'tone'], Herder does not mean the musical tone, but the 'togetherness of characteristics'. [...] Thus, by 'tone', 'poetic key', poetic 'modulation' Herder means the togetherness of music and language, situation, relation to the addressee, theme, development, form and, above all, poetic change (modulation), the 'unexpended motion and progression' of the relations, the togetherness of differences also within the context of time, a togetherness

¹⁶¹ Menhennet, *The Romantic Movement*, p. 13.

¹⁶² Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music: The Nineteenth Century*, p. 146.

¹⁶³ Cvetko, ...durch Gesänge lehrten sie...*Johann Gottfried Herder und die Erziehung durch Musik*, p. 70.

which also enables variation, above all textual shortening or expansion, which enables textual simplification by means of alterations.¹⁶⁴

Contrary to Gaier, Horst Günther, according to Cvetko, refers particularly to musical elements because, in music, Herder ‘sought the authenticity, its inner truth, its spirit and its objectivity’.¹⁶⁵ Sensual power and comprehensibility (rather than art and rationalism), and complexion (rather than fixed contours), according to Günther, were the true features of the *Volkslied*: ‘Written by the people for the people, open for modulation as regards form and content, rich in melodic progression, sensual power and comprehensibility, full of brave throws and leaps’.¹⁶⁶ Even though the through-composed Liedform may question its own suitability as a *Volkslied* considering Herder’s preference of simplicity, naïveté and, thereby, strength,¹⁶⁷ its high degree of musical modulation, change and variety responds directly to Herder’s notion of ‘sensual power and comprehensibility’ as well as ‘complexion’.

Furthermore, Herder’s concept of uniqueness in language and culture is reflected in the through-composed song in two ways: firstly, by employing each compositional feature just once (rather than in each verse), the musical uniqueness responds directly to the notion of cultural and linguistic uniqueness and to the concept that certain moods reflected in different poetic verses may only be expressed by a certain kind of music. Secondly, by emphasising the different moods and atmospheres carried in the corresponding verses, through-composed Lieder stress the compositional expressive power with whose help distinguishable moods could be circumscribed, or, on an even

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 385. ‘Nicht der musikalische Gesang sei gemeint, sondern das “Gesamt von Charakteristika, das etwa die Meistersinger und die mittelalterlichen Spruchdichter neben der musikalischen Melodie mit ‘Ton’ meinten. [...] Mit “Ton”, “poetischer Tonart”, poetischer “Modulation” ist also die Zusammenstimmung von Musik und Sprache, Situation, Adressatenbezug, Thema, Tendenz, Form, und vor allem poetischer Wechsel (Modulation), der “gehaltene Gang und Fortgang” des Verhältnisses, die Zusammenstimmung, in der auch Variation, vor allem textliche Kürzung oder Erweiterung, möglich ist, wo Zersingevorgänge die fehlerhaften Texte bereinigen etc.’.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 385.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 385. ‘Sinnliche Kraft und Anschaulichkeit (im Gegensatz zu Kunst und Vernunft) und Kolorit (im Gegensatz zu festen Konturen) seien die wahren Merkmale des Volksliedes: Vom Volk fürs Volk gedichtet, modulationsfähig nach Form und Inhalt, von melodischem Gange, reich an sinnlicher Kraft und Anschaulichkeit, voll kühner Würfe und Sprünge’.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 385.

higher level, might have been evoked. Furthermore, by using specific compositional means which were shared within certain communities, or *Völker*, and which were understood as a joint compositional and music-historical language (for example specific harmony, characteristic melodic progressions, or regional features such as the Rhineland barcarole rhythm as mentioned by Hopkins Porter), these features added to the sense of unity among these *Völker*.

Additionally, Kinkel's choice of poems by Emanuel Geibel and Heinrich Heine conforms to the general nineteenth-century fashion. Heinrich Heine, arguably, was considered a Romantic poet, as Sonja Gesse-Harm points out that:

[His] folk-like Romantic subjects, bizarre dream worlds, poetic musicality and folk-like tone [*Volkston*], which, according to himself, he adopted from the poems of Wilhelm Müller, triggered the musical ambitions of the composers just as much as the irony and disparity of his themes.¹⁶⁸

The duet 'Die Geisterinsel' serves as an example of a Heine poem that contains both typical Romantic motives and two contrary thematic concepts. Gesse-Harm's observation that the dualism of two different themes in one and the same poem attracted a multitude of nineteenth-century composers is certainly true; however, Johanna Kinkel seems to be one of the first composers to have set Heine's 'Die Geisterinsel', which might explain Rellstab's rather negative appraisal of the unexpected thematic turn in the last verse. However, it is worth noting that Kinkel's choice of poets by no means limits her Lieder to the Romantic genre. Despite the fact that Kinkel set poems by Heine and Goethe, whose complex and in part ambivalent relationships to the Romantic Movement were discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Kinkel never set the lyrics of Joseph von Eichendorff or Clemens Brentano (1778–1842), for example, although she

¹⁶⁸ Sonja Gesse-Harm, 'Heine, Heinrich, Harry', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XIII, Personenteil, pp. 1167–76 (p. 1169). 'Die volkstümlich-romantischen Sujets, bizarre Traumbilder, die Sprachmusikalität und der Volkston, den Heine nach eigener Angabe wesentlich den Gedichten Wilhelm Müllers abgelauscht hat, motivierten die Vertonungsansätze der Komponisten ebenso wie die Ironie und die Disparität seiner Themen'. See also Sonja Gesse-Harm, *Zwischen Ironie und Sentiment: Heinrich Heine im Kunstlied des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart/ Weimar: Metzler, 2006).

certainly must have encountered their poetry while living in Berlin with Bettina von Arnim.

It is also striking that Kinkel chose a great number of poets who were less famous. Such friends as Alexander Kaufmann or Wolfgang Müller as well as her husband Gottfried Kinkel were less well-known within the musical, literary and musico-literary discourse of the time. Yet Kinkel seemed to be conscious about whose lyrics to pick, as she criticised Franz Schubert for his rather unfortunate choice of words in her 1843 essay ‘Über die modernen Liederkomponisten’ (On the Modern Lieder Composers):

Franz Schubert, who only created a few large-scale compositions, poured the rich resources of his heart into the Lied, which he usually set as an expanded form of a through-composed melody and which gained him the uncontested name of Germany’s first musical lyricist. No one can compete with him for inventive passion and depth, wealth of imagination as well as rhythmic and melodic originality and beauty. (It is understood that we are referring only to Lieder composers here.) Unfortunately, Schubert often wasted his lovely melodies on the worst poetry. One can hardly ascribe these blunders to a lack of taste, for he also set a great number of excellent poems, which, compositionally, are treated with more passion and thoughtfulness. But his dedications reveal that, sometimes out of gratitude, sometimes for other reasons, he aimed to introduce to the public his friends’ and aristocratic patrons’ poetic attempts.¹⁶⁹

Besides offering a lively insight into Schubert’s contemporary reception, this quote indicates that Kinkel did not choose her friends’ poetry in order to please them, but she must have genuinely preferred their poetry to the poems of more popular Romantics like Clemens Brentano, Joseph von Eichendorff and Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853). Yet the themes she chose for her Lieder represent typical Romantic features such as longing for pre-industrialised landscapes and the South (‘Sehnsucht nach Griechenland’ and ‘Die

¹⁶⁹ Kinkel, ‘Über die modernen Liederkomponisten’, p. 34. ‘Franz Schubert, welcher nur wenig größere Compositionen geschaffen, ergoß seine ganze reiche Seelenfülle in dem Lied, dem er meist die erweiterte Form eines durchkomponierten Gesanges gab, und erwarb sich so den unbestrittenen Namen des ersten musikalischen Lyrikers in Deutschland. An Gluth und Tiefe der Erfindung, Reichtum der Phantasie, Originalität und Schönheit des Rhythmus wie der Melodie kann keiner mit ihm wetteifern. (Es versteht sich daß hier ausschließlich von Liederkomponisten die Rede ist.) Leider hat Schubert seine Weisen allzu oft an die schlechtesten Texte verschwendet. Einer Geschmacklosigkeit von seiner Seite ist dieser Misgriff schwer zuzutrauen, denn er hat ebenfalls eine große Zahl trefflicher Gedichte in Musik gesetzt und diese sind zugleich in der Composition mit mehr Liebe und Aufmerksamkeit behandelt. Aus den Worten seiner Dedikationen geht eher hervor daß er theils aus Dankbarkeit theils aus andern Rücksichten die poetischen Versuche seiner Freunde und vornehmen Gönner in’s Publikum zu bringen strebte’.

Zigeuner’); the praise of nightly atmospheres and of the healing powers of the moon (‘Abendruhe’, ‘In der Bucht’, ‘Der Sommerabend’, and ‘Es ist so still geworden: Geistliches Abendlied’, and the moon settings); the dualism between the inner Self and the outside world (‘Nachtlied’ and ‘Sehnsucht nach Griechenland’); mystifications of nature and the attempt to explain reality by means of spiritualisation (‘Die Geisterinsel’ and ‘Der Seejungfern Gesang’); nature as an allegory for love and the beloved in combination with the Romantic ideal of strong and pure-hearted emotions (‘Das Lied der Nachtigall’ and ‘Gegenwart’); and the belief in nature as a powerful influence on the human’s well-being (lullabies and ‘Nachtgesang’).¹⁷⁰

Despite Kinkel’s fondness for Romantic themes, however, her Lieder exhibit a personal (post-Romantic?) touch, which can be deduced from the negative criticism some of her songs received from Ludwig Rellstab and Gottfried Wilhelm Fink in relation to their harmonic variety, melodic peculiarity and challenging piano accompaniment. In light of this, Kinkel’s application of chromaticism and dissonances in the vocal part were rather progressive within the nineteenth-century discourse. Furthermore, Rellstab’s criticism of Kinkel’s choice of the Heine poem ‘Die Geisterinsel’ reflects that Kinkel must have had an extraordinary association with Rhenish myths and landscape, which may have resulted from her biographical background as a Rhineland woman, who attempted to divorce her first husband. That Kinkel’s setting ‘Die Geisterinsel’ was published as early as 1839 as opposed to Moritz Hauptmann and Felix Mendelssohn’s settings of the same words, which were published in 1844 and 1846 respectively, shows that her personal biography resulted in an emotional progressiveness which surfaced in her choice of poems.¹⁷¹ Other Lieder introduced in this chapter (for example ‘In der Bucht’ and Kinkel’s lullabies) confirm

¹⁷⁰ For more details on the Romantic popularity of dreamy and night-time landscapes see Albert Béguin, *Traumwelt und Romantik: Versuch über die romantische Seele in Deutschland und in der Dichtung Frankeichs* (Bern/ Munich: Francke, 1972).

¹⁷¹ Johann Vesque von Püttlingen (1803–1883) also set the poem in 1838 (op. 36); however, he did not set it as a duet. See Chapter II.5.

that Kinkel's biography, musical taste, and choice of topoi merged with the Romantic set of mind.

CHAPTER 8: KINKEL'S COMPOSITIONAL STYLE

8.1 Compositional-aesthetic features of the Romantic era: an introduction

In a similar way as the thematic scope of Kinkel's Lieder, Kinkel's compositional style ranges from simple to rather challenging and served a wide range of both performers and listeners. In order to position Kinkel more clearly within the compositional discourse of her time, this final chapter will provide a comparative analysis of a selection of Kinkel's Lieder with selected compositions of her contemporaries'. It is important to note that the selection of composers with which Kinkel's compositions will be compared appears rather arbitrary. It would be impossible to aim for an exhaustive analysis, because many compositions of whose existence we know through the examination of nineteenth-century music reviews are impossible to find and/ or acquire today.¹ Besides the contextualisation of Johanna Kinkel's compositional style within its own aesthetic discourse, this chapter aims to shed light on some other rather unknown compositions of this period of time, many of which seem to be overshadowed by a small selection of canonical composers.

In his article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Martin Wehnert identifies a number of compositional features bearing witness to the Romantic era. Based on the conceptual history of the term 'Romantik' (derived from: *romanhaft*, novel-like), Wehnert explains that music exposes a 'novel-like' analogy or a meta- and

¹ By way of content analysis, I searched the three major music journals of the time for relevant Lieder publications. The publication periods of those three journals are as follows: *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*: 1834–today; *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*: 1830–41; *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*: 1798–1848 (with later publications from 1863 onwards). As this chapter aims for a comparative analysis with Johanna Kinkel's compositions, all of which were published between 1838 and 1851, only Lieder originating from the end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries have been considered for this comparison. Through a search in the digitalised Staatsbibliothek's card index I was able to find and acquire some of the compositions which I had previously identified as potential material for this chapter.

epifunction when it contains the following dispositional characteristics that expand boundaries (selection):

- (i) abrupt abandonment or frequent changes of specific compositional principles;
- (ii) spontaneous breakouts and interjections;
- (iii) interpolating recourses to older (previous) compositional techniques;
- (iv) sudden interruptions and fragments of rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic structures;
- (v) differentiated structures of tone (*couleur locale*) and time (tempo changes);
- (vi) untypical ‘humorous’ or ‘ironic’ application of sound characteristics and structures which would have been used in order to express something completely different in previous (homogeneous) musical epochs;
- (vii) a suggestion of a ‘before’ and ‘after’, of an embedment of music within a larger context by special treatment of the beginning and the ending, i.e. of passages of higher perceptive and psychological importance, without a real indication of opening and closing: this can be identified by means of harmonic features (intense dissonances), dynamic features (emergence and disappearance of *pp* passages), or instrumental features (low registers as a symbol of darkness).²

² Wehnert does not use numbers in his listing; I have added these numbers in order to indicate the structure of this chapter. Wehnert, ‘Romantik’, p. 501. ‘Ob bzw. wo wir von einer ‘romanhaften’ Analogie oder von einer Meta- und Epifunktion bei Musik des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts sprechen können, dafür erweisen sich im Prinzip alle ‘entgrenzenden’ kompositionellen und dispositionellen Verfahren als Indizien. Hierher gehören (Auswahl): abruptes Verlassen bzw. häufiger Wechsel eines Gestaltungsprinzips; spontane Ausbrüche und Interjektionen; interpolierende Rückgriffe auf alte Techniken; Abbrüche (Fragmente) rhythmischer, melodischer, harmonischer Strukturen; differenzierte Klang- (*couleur locale*) und Zeitstrukturen (Tempowechsel); gattungswidrige – als ‘humoristisch’ oder auch ‘ironisch’ aufzufassende – Hereinnahme von Klangbildern bzw. -strukturen, die in der älteren – relativ stilenheitlichen – Musik zur Charakterisierung eines ganz anderen Ausdrucksbereiches dienen; insbesondere Gestaltung von Anfang und Ende des Stückes oder Werkes, also von Positionen mit den wahrnehmungspsychologisch höchsten Stellenwerten, ohne echten Charakter des Beginnens und Schließens: Ein Vorher und Nachher wird suggeriert, ein Eingebettetsein der Musik in einen größeren Sinn- bzw. Lebenszusammenhang. Es kann an harmonischen (durch Spannungsdissonanzen),

Wehnert remarks that this list is only a selection, which points to its incompleteness.

Furthermore, Wehnert admits that:

All these features are contrary to the aesthetic canon of ‘classical’ or ‘classicist’ organicism – which aims for compensation, balance, and a consequent resolution of all built-up tension –, but at the same time it also contradicts an early Romantic musical attitude. Among the features listed above [...], [only] those that reveal a fundamentally changed awareness of time are to be granted epoch-making significance.³

Despite (or because of) its limitations and its uncertainty – how do we know whether or not a certain compositional feature points to a changed awareness of time before we even start contextualising it? – Wehnert’s list serves as a good starting point and as a structural and methodological guideline for this chapter, the subchapters of which are based on Wehnert’s compositional indicators of Romanticism.

Each of the following subchapters focuses on one compositional feature of Johanna Kinkel’s and will explore each of these features by way of comparing a selected Lied (or a small selection of Lieder) with settings of the same words by some of Kinkel’s contemporaries. Because of their commonalities, the first, second, and fourth points mentioned in Wehnert’s list have been merged to one subchapter (8.4). Furthermore, the order of features listed by Wehnert has been changed in favour of a more systematic approach in this chapter.

8.2 Formal structure in Kinkel’s Lieder

In the previous chapter of this dissertation, I examined the harmonic progression of Johanna Kinkel’s Goethe setting ‘An den Mond’ (op. 7, no. 5), which includes a number of diminished seventh chords and an unusual tonal excursion to A major (as

dynamischen (durch Auftauchen und Verebben im *pp*) oder instrumentaltchnischen Besonderungen (durch tiefe Lagen, Dunkelheit symbolisierend) erkennbar (gemacht) werden’.

³ Wehnert, ‘Romantik’, p. 501. ‘All diese Kennzeichen stehen einem Schönheitskanon im Sinne einer ‘klassischen’ bzw. ‘klassizistischen’ Organik – auf Ausgleich, Ausgewogenheit, konsequente Beseitigung aller erzeugten Spannungen gerichtet –, damit aber zugleich auch frühromantischer Musikanschauung entgegen. Einen Akzent von epochaler Bedeutung verdienen unter den aufgelisteten, die Musik neuartig konstituierenden Merkmalen alle diejenigen, von denen aus auf ein fundamental verändertes Zeitbewusstsein zu schließen ist’.

opposed to A minor, which would have been the chord expected in analogy to the preceding bars). Fig. 8.1 shows the harmonic progression of this setting.

Fig. 8.1: Harmonic design in Johanna Kinkel’s Lied ‘An den Mond’

Bar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Harmony	G	a ^{#dim7} -G	E ⁷	a-D ⁷	G	a ^{#dim7} -F ^{#7}	B-D ⁷	G	G-g ^{#dim7}	C ^{#7} -B [#]	F ⁷ -A-E ⁷	A-D	G	G ⁷ -c	G-D ⁷	G

While Kinkel applies a fairly complex harmonic design, the formal structure is very regular. Four bars form one phrase and two phrases form one musical stanza. Two musical phrases set two poetic strophes (Fig. 8.2). As this Lied is a strophic setting, each musical stanza (including sixteen bars) is repeated four times. Even though the piano accompaniment takes on a supportive function, it poses some challenges by means of multi-chord notes, arpeggios and a number of expressive instructions.

While the Romantic textual content, the expressiveness of the piano accompaniment, and the tonal meanders in the second eight-bar phrase of each musical stanza point to Romantic aesthetics, the regular formal design incorporating a strophic pattern and two eight-bar phrases consisting of two four-bar motives each alludes to eighteenth-century aesthetics.⁴ By employing this compositional technique originating from the previous century, Kinkel creates a contrast to such other compositional components as harmony and piano accompaniment, both of which point to rather progressive aesthetics. This contrast could in itself be interpreted as a compositional adaptation of dualism, a textual feature which I identified as a typical Romantic ingredient in my previous chapter. On the other hand, Kinkel’s application of a very regular formal design creates unity within this Lied and enables both the listener and the performer to focus on the challenges posed by the harmonic progression and the piano

⁴ For further details on the division of musical works into periods and phrases, see Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition: Studienausgabe*, ed. by Jo Wilhelm Siebert (Hanover: Siebert, 2007), p. 424.

accompaniment. Compared to other late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century composers, it appears that Kinkel's approach was not a singular one. However, her harmonic complexity and the pianistic expressiveness are more advanced than those of many of her predecessors' and contemporaries' settings of the same words.

Fig. 8.2: Formal structure of Johanna Kinkel's Lied 'An den Mond'

Poetic strophe	Lyrics		Formal design			Musical stanza	
			Bar	Motive	Phrase		
1	Füllest wieder Busch und Thal Still mit Nebelglanz, Lösest endlich auch einmal Meine Seele ganz;	a b a b	1–4	a	A	1 st stanza	
			5–8	a'			
2	Breitest über mein Gefild Lindernd deinen Blick, Wie des Freundes Auge mild Über mein Geschick.	c d c d	(not set by Kinkel)				
3	Jeden Nachklang fühlt mein Herz Froh- und trüber Zeit, Wandle zwischen Freud' und Schmerz In der Einsamkeit.	e f e f	9–12	b	B		
			13–16	c			
4	Fließe, fließe, lieber Fluß! Nimmer werd' ich froh; So verrauschte Scherz und Kuß Und die Treue so.	g h g h	same as 1 st stanza				2 nd stanza
5	Ich besaß es doch einmal, Was so köstlich ist! Daß man doch zu seiner Qual Nimmer es vergißt!	a i a i					
6	Rausche, Fluß, das Tal entlang, Ohne Rast und Ruh, Rausche, flüstre meinem Sang Melodien zu!	k l k l	same as 1 st stanza				3 rd stanza
7	Wenn du in der Winternacht Wütend überschwillst Oder um die Frühlingspracht Junger Knospen quillst.	m n m n					
8	Selig, wer sich vor der Welt Ohne Haß verschließt, Einen Freund am Busen hält Und mit dem genießt,	o p o p	same as 1 st stanza			4 th stanza	
9	Was, von Menschen nicht gewußt Oder nicht bedacht, Durch das Labyrinth der Brust Wandelt in der Nacht.	q m q m					

Siegmund Freiherr von Seckendorff (1744–1785), whose setting of 'An den Mond' is dated 1778, employs a four-bar phrasal structure to his Lied, which reflects typical late eighteenth-century aesthetics, as it is very simple and straightforward in

terms of harmony, melody, and piano accompaniment.⁵ Contrary to Kinkel's setting, this Lied consists of musical stanzas of eight bars each (rather than sixteen bars), which simplifies the formal design and allows for a great deal of memorability.

In a similar way, Andreas Romberg's (1767–1824) setting is characterised by simple harmony, modesty of expressive means and a four-bar phrasal pattern.⁶ His setting, dated 1793, differs from von Seckendorff's in so far as it offers some more challenges in the vocal line in the form of a few suspensions. The vocal parts of both Lieder do not span huge ranges, which makes them singable and memorable. The vocal line in von Seckendorff's setting ranges from 'd^{#1}' to 'e²'; Romberg's spans an octave ('d¹'–'d²').

Like von Seckendorff and Romberg, Carl Friedrich Zelter, whose setting originates from 1812, uses a four-bar phrasal pattern and a strophic formal plan.⁷ The harmonic progression in his Lied is slightly more diverse than those of the two settings discussed previously. The second four-bar phrase of each musical stanza includes a

⁵ Siegmund Freiherr von Seckendorff, 'Füllest wieder's liebe Thal', in *Gedichte von Goethe in Compositionen seiner Zeitgenossen*, ed. by Max Friedlaender (Weimar: Verlag der Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1896), p. 55. Friedlaender's volume is hereafter referred to as Friedlaender, *Gedichte von Goethe*. Siegmund Freiherr von Seckendorff (1744–1785) was a German composer and writer. He was educated by his father, who was a minister at the Bayreuth court. Quite likely, von Seckendorff studied at the Bayreuth Musikakademie, where he acquired knowledge of piano, violin, cello, harmony and counterpoint. He also travelled to Italy and France and probably to Portugal and Spain in order to improve his knowledge of foreign languages. On 22 December 1775, after adventurous travels as a military servant, von Seckendorff arrived at the Weimar Court, where he was employed as a chamberlain. At the *Musenhof* (Court of Muses), von Seckendorff was actively involved as a director, actor, singer, instrumentalist, and composer. In 1785, von Seckendorff left Weimar and was appointed Prussian minister in the Frankish area; however, he died from tuberculosis during his first travels as a Prussian minister. Music-historically, von Seckendorff was inspired by Herder's and Goethe's concepts of the folk song; his Lieder are characterised by simple melody, straightforward harmony and modest accompaniment. Undine Wagner, 'Seckendorff, eigentl. Karl, Carl, (Friedrich) Siegmund, Sigismund, Freiherr von Seckendorff-Aberdar', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XV, Personenteil, pp. 500–02.

⁶ Andreas Romberg, 'An den Mond', in Friedlaender, *Gedichte von Goethe*, p. 55. Andreas Romberg (1767–1821) was a German violinist and composer. He had his debut as a violinist in 1774 and was considered a child prodigy. He travelled Europe extensively and moved between different German cities a great deal. As Romberg's salary was bad, he depended financially on his income from published compositions. In 1815, he took over Spohr's position as Hofkapellmeister in Gotha. From 1811, he only published very few new works as his family grew and his health began to decrease due to the huge financial pressure. He died twenty years before his cousin Bernhard who supported the family after Andreas's death. Klaus G. Werner, 'Romberg, Andreas', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XIV, Personenteil, pp. 331–35.

⁷ Carl Friedrich Zelter, 'An den Mond', in Friedlaender, *Gedichte von Goethe*, p. 56.

descending circle of fifths sequence in combination with two diminished triads. Furthermore, Zelter employs a two-bar piano postlude, which follows the last stanza.

Friedrich Heinrich Himmel (1765–1814) further develops the notion of a piano postlude in his setting of ‘An den Mond’, which is dated 1806 (six years before Zelter’s) and which includes a three-bar piano prelude and a four-bar piano postlude.⁸ This feature might allude to the Romantic idea of embedding a musical work within a larger context as pointed out by Martin Wehnert (section II.8.5 will explore this notion further). Himmel’s setting is also characterised by a four-bar phrasal pattern, but the harmonic design in his setting is slightly more complex, as it employs a tonal enclave at the second line of each stanza. This tonal enclave is reached by a mediantic progression (G major–E major within the tonal context of C major).

Like Himmel, Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850), who published his version of Goethe’s ‘An den Mond’ around 1818, seemed to grant meaningful weight to the piano prelude and postlude.⁹ While the harmonic design is fairly straightforward throughout the vocal parts (although it is much more diverse than all of the settings previously discussed), Tomášek employs a number of diminished seventh chords in his piano

⁸ Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, ‘An den Mond’, in Friedlaender, *Gedichte von Goethe*, p. 56. Friedrich Heinrich Himmel (1765–1814) was a German composer and pianist. He received his musical education from an organist in his hometown Treuenbrietzen. From 1787 onwards, Himmel served Prussia and was appointed chamber composer by the Prussian king in 1792. He toured Europe as a pianist, music director, and composer many times; his last opera *Der Kobold* (The Kobold) was first premiered in Vienna on 23 March 1814. Himmel gave his last concert on 13 February 1814, only four months before his death. Karsten Mackensen, ‘Himmel, Friedrich Heinrich’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, IX, Personenteil, pp. 1–4.

⁹ Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, *Gedichte von Goethe mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte*, 9 vols (self-published, c1818), IV. Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850) was a Bohemian composer, pianist and pedagogue. He received his first musical education (violin and singing) from Pavel Josef Wolf between 1783 and 1785. In 1797, he entered university in Prague, where he took up studies in law, philosophy, maths, aesthetics, history, anatomy, and surgery. He acquired further musical and music-theoretical knowledge on a self-taught basis. In 1806, Tomášek gave up his career in law in favour of music. He was then employed by Count Buquoy who promised him a secure living. In 1824, following his marriage with Wilhelmina Ebert, he moved into his own flat, which became an important cultural centre and meeting point for international musicians travelling through Prague. Tomášek had more than 125 music students and was considered a ‘musical Dalai Lama’ (or ‘Musical Pope’) of Prague by his contemporaries. During his lifetime, he met such famous eighteenth- and nineteenth-century personalities as Vogler, Dussek, Forkel, Clementi, Haydn, Beethoven and Goethe, the latter of whom voiced his appreciation of Tomášek’s settings of his own words on several occasions. Marketa Kabelková, ‘Tomášek, Tomaschek, Václav Jan, Wenzel Johann (Křitel)’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XVI, pp. 900–06.

postlude, which shows his own compositional diversity as well as the progression of compositional thought. None of the composers introduced above applied diminished seventh chords in their settings of ‘An den Mond’. Interestingly, Tomášek structures his setting in a different way: by grouping three poetic strophes as one musical stanza, each musical stanza is divided into three rather than two parts (ABA). However, despite this structural variety, Tomášek sticks to the traditional four-bar pattern per motive (two motives form one phrase and two phrases set one poetic strophe). As the original version of this poem includes nine strophes, Tomášek’s strophic setting repeats the musical stanza (ABA) three times. Johanna Kinkel’s Lied only includes two strophes in each musical stanza, which is repeated four times; she omits the second strophe of the poem.

Like Kinkel, Wilhelmine von Schwertzell (1787–1863) combines two poetic strophes in each musical stanza.¹⁰ She omits the seventh poetic strophe. Unlike the Lieder introduced above, von Schwertzell’s version is characterised by a rather large vocal range (‘d¹’–‘g²’) as well as some successive semitones in the vocal line. Considering this, von Schwertzell might have prioritised the voice over the piano and harmonic and structural complexity. Like in Kinkel’s setting, structural regularity serves as a stabilising element and contradicts the complexity of a different compositional element – in this case the voice; in Kinkel’s case harmony and piano accompaniment.

Franz Schubert set this poem twice. His first version is rather simple: it is a strophic setting and, like Kinkel’s and von Schwertzell’s, combines two poetic strophes in one musical stanza. In *Schubert’s Werke*, it is dated 19 August 1815 and the fifth

¹⁰ Wilhelmine von Schwertzell, ‘An den Mond’, in *Zwölf Lieder von Göthe, Fouque, Hebel, Tieck, und Uhland* (Leipzig: Probst, n. d.), p. 18. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (DMS O.25274). Unfortunately, it is unknown when this setting was composed and/ or published. Very little is known about Wilhelmine von Schwertzell (1787–1863), who was the daughter of Georg von Schwertzell and his wife Luise. Wilhelmine’s brother, who was employed as the chief administrator of the royal hunt in Hesse, was a friend of the Grimm brothers who visited the Schwertzells’ house on a regular basis. Further visitors of the Schwertzells’ house include Prince Radowitz (the later Prussian Minister of State) and Gerhart von Reutern, who, according to Hermann Rebel, was Goethe’s favourite Baltic painter. Hermann Rebel, *When Women Held the Dragon’s Tongue and Other Essays on Historical Anthropology* (Oxford/ New York: Berghahn, 2013), p. 106.

strophe is printed in brackets.¹¹ The harmonic progression in this first setting is fairly straightforward; the only harmonic peculiarity is observable at the word ‘mild’ where a diminished seventh chord based on the sharpened tonic (E diminished seventh) creates harmonic variety (bar 14). In her reading of Schubert’s first version of ‘An den Mond’, Lorraine Byrne examines how Schubert responds to the:

[P]oetic enjambment of Goethe’s verse between stanzas one and two, six and seven, eight and nine, and though [the poetic] stanzas three and four are not interrelated, the introduction of the accompanying quaver motif supports the movement of the river through this verse.¹²

Based on Schubert’s *Nachlass* (legacy), however, Byrne argues that Schubert had not initially intended this version to be performed like this. Byrne explains that, instead of omitting strophe 5, Schubert had initially omitted strophes 5, 6 and 7, which corresponds with Goethe’s *Urgestalt* of this poem.¹³ As regards the structural design of each musical stanza, it is noteworthy that this version, like all other versions of ‘An den Mond’ discussed thus far, is based on a regular four-bar phrasal pattern. Furthermore, certain melodic figures in both the vocal line and the piano accompaniment recur frequently and are also taken up in the four-bar piano postlude, which creates unity.

Schubert’s second version of this poem, however, features much more complex characteristics.¹⁴ Lorraine Byrne dates this second version 1819/20. She provides a close reading of the harmonic complexity and the musical expressive power of this Lied to which I would like to add the aspect of time and movement, which is addressed by means of formal structure of this setting.¹⁵ Byrne asserts that ‘the use of strophic variation allows for an uneven number of verses and captures the changing tones in

¹¹ Franz Schubert, ‘An den Mond’, in *Franz Schubert's Werke, Serie XX: Sämtliche Lieder und Gesänge, No.116*, ed. by Eusebius Mandyczewski (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894–95), pp. 40–41. This corresponds with Lorraine Byrne’s reference to Deutsch, who also makes this observation. Lorraine Byrne, *Schubert’s Goethe Settings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 116.

¹² Lorraine Byrne, *Schubert’s Goethe Settings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 116. Hereafter referred to as Byrne, *Schubert’s Goethe Settings*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹⁴ Franz Schubert, ‘An den Mond II’, in *Franz Schubert's Werke, Serie XX: Sämtliche Lieder und Gesänge, No.176*, ed. by Eusebius Mandyczewski (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894–95), pp. 195–97.

¹⁵ Byrne, *Schubert’s Goethe Settings*, p. 117.

Goethe's verse'.¹⁶ Figure 8.3 shows that the strophic variation in Schubert's setting, besides the uneven number of strophes, also allows for an uneven number and irregular division of bars per stanza.

Fig. 8.3: Formal design of Franz Schubert's second version of 'An den Mond'

Poetic strophe	Lyrics		Formal design			Musical stanza
			Bar	Motive	Number of bars	
			1-5	Piano prelude	5	
1	Füllest wieder Busch und Thal Still mit Nebelglanz, Lösest endlich auch einmal Meine Seele ganz;	<i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i>	6-11	A	6	1 st stanza
			12-13	Piano interlude	2	
2	Breitest über mein Gefild Lindernd deinen Blick, Wie des Freundes Auge mild Über mein Geschick.	<i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i>	14-20	B	7	2 nd stanza
			21-22	Piano interlude	2	
3	Jeden Nachklang fühlt mein Herz Froh- und trüber Zeit, Wandle zwischen Freud' und Schmerz In der Einsamkeit.	<i>e</i> <i>f</i> <i>e</i> <i>f</i>	6-11 (rep.)	A	6	3 rd stanza
			12-13 (rep.)	Piano interlude	2	
4	Fließe, fließe, lieber Fluß! Nimmer werd' ich froh; So verrauschte Scherz und Kuß Und die Treue so.	<i>g</i> <i>h</i> <i>g</i> <i>h</i>	14-20 (rep.)	B	7	4 th stanza
			21-22 (rep.)	Piano interlude	2	
5	Ich besaß es doch einmal, Was so köstlich ist! Daß man doch zu seiner Qual Nimmer es vergißt!	<i>a</i> <i>i</i> <i>a</i> <i>i</i>	23-28	A	6	5 th stanza
			29-30	Piano interlude	2	
6	Rausche, Fluß, das Tal entlang, Ohne Rast und Ruh, Rausche, flüstre meinem Sang Melodien zu!	<i>k</i> <i>l</i> <i>k</i> <i>l</i>	31-38	B/C (first 2 bars of B in minor key)	8	6 th stanza
7	Wenn du in der Winternacht Wütend überschwillst Oder um die Frühlingspracht Junger Knospen quillst.	<i>m</i> <i>n</i> <i>m</i> <i>n</i>	39-43	D	5	7 th stanza
			44	Piano interlude		
8	Selig, wer sich vor der Welt Ohne Haß verschließt, Einen Freund am Busen hält Und mit dem genießt,	<i>o</i> <i>p</i> <i>o</i> <i>p</i>	45-50	A	6	8 th stanza
9	Was, von Menschen nicht gewußt Oder nicht bedacht, Durch das Labyrinth der Brust Wandelt in der Nacht.	<i>q</i> <i>m</i> <i>q</i> <i>m</i>	51-59	E/B (B accompaniment)	7+2(rep)	9 th stanza
			60	Piano coda		

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 117.

While the first, third, fifth, and eighth stanzas contain six bars each (they all contain the same melodic phrases), stanzas 2 and 4 contain seven bars (stanza 4 is a literal repetition of stanza 2). Stanza 6 includes eight bars; stanza 7 includes only five bars; and stanza 9 contains nine bars, although the last two bars of this stanza are a repetition of their previous bars. This is interesting in so far as, poetically, all lines contain the exact same number of syllables (twelve syllables), which is why regular phrasal patterns (mostly multiples of six or four) were employed in most of the settings discussed thus far. By breaking away from this regular phrasal pattern, Schubert responds to the concept of changing paces of life as is suggested by the different paces of the stream (in the winter time, the stream is in full flood while, in the spring time, it turns into a spring running around flower buds). The ‘labyrinth of the heart’ is another indication of temporal irregularity. Even though Schubert’s formal design is irregular, his setting is held together by other musical elements creating unity. Besides the harmonic constellation of this setting, which was discussed in depth by Lorraine Byrne, Schubert uses recurring motives as a further means of creating unity.¹⁷ The characteristic musical figures of the piano prelude recur after the first, third, and fifth stanzas. Furthermore, the piano accompaniment of the second (and fourth) stanzas recurs as a literal repetition in the ninth stanza of this Lied. However, the vocal line of this stanza contrasts the vocal line of the second (and fourth) stanzas (Ex. 8.1a and Ex. 8.1b). The last two bars of stanza 2 anticipate the repetition of the last line of the poem at the end of stanza 9 (‘wandelt in der Nacht’, wandering in the night). Even though the piano accompaniment is identical in both stanzas, the expressive character is totally different, which is achieved by the contrasting vocal lines (stanzas 2 and 4 include a few scales and leaps while stanza 9 contains numerous tone repetitions). Nevertheless, the repetition of the piano

¹⁷ For Lorraine Byrne’s interpretation of this setting see Byrne, *Schubert’s Goethe Settings*, pp. 117–18.

accompaniment (and thus the harmonic repetition) creates unity despite the irregular phrasal pattern in this Lied.

Ex 8.1a: Second stanza of Schubert's 'An den Mond II' (bars 13–22)

13

brei - test ü - ber mein Ge - fild lin - dernd dei - nen Blick, wie des
Flie - sse, flie - sse, lie - ber Fluss! Nim - mer werd' ich froh, so ver -

17

Freun - des Au - ge mild ü - ber mein Ge - schick.
rausch - te Scherz und Kuss, und die Treu - e so.

Ex. 8.1b: Ninth stanza of Schubert's 'An den Mond II' (bars 50–60)

50

niesst, was, von Men - schen nicht ge - wusst o - der nicht be - dacht, durch das La - by - rinth der
Brust wan - - delt in der Nacht, wan - - delt in der Nacht.

ppp

Finally, Ferdinand Hiller (1811–1885) employs an even more diverse formal structure in his through-composed setting of Goethe’s ‘An den Mond’ (Fig. 8.4). None of the musical motives are repeated in the different stanzas.¹⁸ However, stanzas 8 and 9 are repeated entirely at the end of this setting. Furthermore, the number of bars per stanza ranges from six (stanza 3) to fifteen (stanza 2). Additionally, Hiller’s setting includes numerous changes of metre (for example in the third and fourth interludes, bars 42–47, and 82–89, respectively). The harmonic progression and melodic line are very complex and diverse. Considering this, one might wonder which compositional feature Hiller employs in order to create a sense of unity and coherence between the different stanzas. One aspect is the recurrence of rhythmic patterns: the four-beat pattern in the piano prelude recurs in different places (for example the first interlude, bar 17; and in bars 90ff). Furthermore, the piano seems to respond more directly to the words than for example in Johanna Kinkel’s setting, which, because it is a strophic setting, does not allow for individual compositional matching of each stanza. This is especially notable in stanzas 4, 5 and 6 of Hiller’s setting, all three of which deal with the stream or movement as symbols of the elapse of love. Here, the flowing piano accompaniment (which is arranged in semiquavers) symbolises the flow of the stream.

¹⁸ Ferdinand Hiller, ‘An den Mond’, in *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Op. 204* (Leipzig: Kahnt, n. d.), pp. 2–11. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (28598). This opus is announced by Hofmeister in February 1885 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001885&teil=0203&seite=00000048&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 March 2016]. It is uncertain whether earlier versions of this song may have been known to Kinkel because Kinkel and Hiller were on friendly terms. Ferdinand Hiller (1811–1885) was a German composer, music pedagogue, writer, pianist, conductor, and music organiser; he was born in Cologne and is considered one of the most representative nineteenth-century musical characters. He received his first composition lessons from Joh. G. Vollweiler and he performed his first public concert (Mozart) at the age of ten. He was friendly with Felix Mendelssohn, who recommended him to the Weimar composer Hummel, from whom he received piano lessons from 1825 to 1827. Through Hummel, Hiller met Beethoven, Schubert, and Grillparzer in Vienna in 1827. From 1828 to 1836, Hiller lived in Paris where he befriended Chopin, Cherubini, Rossini, Meyerbeer, Liszt, Berlioz, and Heine. He returned to Frankfurt in 1836 for one year; after that, he lived in Italy, Leipzig, and Dresden. He settled in Cologne later on. Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, ‘Hiller, Ferdinand (von)’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, VIII, Personenteil, pp. 1581–87; for details on Kinkel and Hiller’s acquaintanceship see Rittershaus, ‘Felix Mendelssohn und Johanna Kinkel: Ungedruckte Tagebuchblätter und Briefe’; *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Sämtliche Briefe*, IV, pp. 48–51, and Reinhold Sietz, *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1826–1861)* (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1958), p. 73.

Fig. 8.4: Formal design of Ferdinand Hiller's 'An den Mond'

Poetic strophe	Lyrics		Formal design			Musical stanza
			Bar	Motive	Number of bars	
			1-3	Piano prelude	3	
1	Füllest wieder Busch und Thal Still mit Nebelglanz, Lösest endlich auch einmal Meine Seele ganz;	<i>a</i> <i>b</i> <i>a</i> <i>b</i>	4-16	A (a[6]+b[7])	13	1 st stanza
			17	Piano interlude	1	
2	Breitest über mein Gefild Lindernd deinen Blick, Wie des Freundes Auge mild Über mein Geschick.	<i>c</i> <i>d</i> <i>c</i> <i>d</i>	18-32	B (c[6]+a[6]+b'[3])	15	2 nd stanza
			33-35	Piano interlude	3	
3	Jeden Nachklang fühlt mein Herz Froh- und trüber Zeit, Wandle zwischen Freud' und Schmerz In der Einsamkeit.	<i>e</i> <i>f</i> <i>e</i> <i>f</i>	36-41	C	6	3
			42-47	Piano interlude	6	key and metre change
4	Fließe, fließe, lieber Fluß! Nimmer werd' ich froh; So verrauschte Scherz und Kuß Und die Treue so.	<i>g</i> <i>h</i> <i>g</i> <i>h</i>	48-57	D	10	4 th stanza
5	Ich besaß es doch einmal, Was so köstlich ist! Daß man doch zu seiner Qual Nimmer es vergißt!	<i>a</i> <i>i</i> <i>a</i> <i>i</i>	58-65	E	8	5 th stanza
6	Rausche, Fluß, das Tal entlang, Ohne Rast und Ruh, Rausche, flüstre meinem Sang Melodien zu!	<i>k</i> <i>l</i> <i>k</i> <i>l</i>	66-72	F	7	6 th stanza
7	Wenn du in der Winternacht Wütend überschwillst Oder um die Frühlingspracht Junger Knospen quillst.	<i>m</i> <i>n</i> <i>m</i> <i>n</i>	73-81	G	9	7 th stanza
			82-89	Piano interlude	8	key and expressive character change
8	Selig, wer sich vor der Welt Ohne Haß verschließt, Einen Freund am Busen hält Und mit dem genießt,	<i>o</i> <i>p</i> <i>o</i> <i>p</i>	90-97	H	8	8 th stanza
9	Was, von Menschen nicht gewußt Oder nicht bedacht, Durch das Labyrinth der Brust Wandelt in der Nacht.	<i>q</i> <i>m</i> <i>q</i> <i>m</i>	98-104	I	7	9 th stanza
			105	Piano interlude	1	
			106-113	H (repetition of strophe 8)	8	8 (rep.)
			114-120	I' (repetition of strophe 9; on tone below original I)	7	9 (rep.)
			121-126	I'' (repetition of second part of strophe 9)	6	9 (rep.)

A similar pianistic feature is evident in the corresponding stanzas of Franz Schubert's second version of these words; however, Schubert's passage is shorter than Hiller's. Thus, this impression is rather short-lived in Schubert's setting.

In conclusion, both Schubert's second version and Hiller's setting of these words differ from their contemporaries in so far that the unifying principle is *not* the formal structure, but a different aesthetic component. While late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century composers (Siegfried Freiherr von Seckendorff, Andreas Romberg, Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, Carl Friedrich Zelter, Václav Jan Tomášek, and Wilhelmine von Schwertzell) were rather modest as regards harmonic, melodic, and pianistic challenges to the performer (and listener), Franz Schubert's first version and Johanna Kinkel's setting, even though both of them adhere to the traditional eighteenth-century phrasal regularity, employ a greater range of harmonic diversity. The recourse to a structural pattern originating from the previous music-aesthetic epoch serves as a unifying parameter in these settings. Franz Schubert's second setting, which originates from before 1820, as well as Ferdinand Hiller's setting, whose date of origin we do not know, point to a further developed aesthetic ideal. These two settings must have been much harder to perform than any of the strophic settings because both the vocal part and the piano accompaniment are more challenging. Considering Johanna Kinkel's financial dependency on the marketability of her compositions (especially during her time in Berlin, during which she published this Lied within her op. 7 – it was her first publication whatsoever) it is imaginable that Kinkel purposely avoided overly challenging compositional features.

8.3 Rhythmic peculiarities in Kinkel's Lieder

Considering the positive remarks on both of Kinkel's songs dealing with Southern cultures in the nineteenth-century musical print media, it seems to make sense to use the following two Lieder, 'Die Zigeuner' (op. 7, no.6), and 'Der spanische Zitherknabe' (op. 8, no. 1), in order to elaborate on Kinkel's use of *couleur locale* and tempo changes. In both Lieder, the lively and spirited overall tone is created by means of rhythmic characteristics, which respond directly to the textual content and the overall theme.

Linda Siegel states that:

Kinkel's two Spanish songs appear to be the first to introduce Spanish culture and pseudo-Spanish music to the realm of the German *lied*. It may well be that Eric Sams's statement that "Schumann's setting of Geibel's *Der Hidalgo* of 1840 was among the first to put Spain on the map of the *lieder*" needs to be amended.¹⁹

While I agree with Siegel, it should be borne in mind that other composers too felt attracted by Spanish themes, and thus Siegel's thesis that 'there is also some question as to whether Schumann's setting [...], indeed his whole interest in the Spanish songs of Geibel was sparked by Kinkel's ground-breaking version of same in op. 7' might be a little optimistic.²⁰

Carl Gottlieb Reissiger (1798–1859) set Emanuel Geibel's 'Der Zigeunerbube im Norden' (The Gypsy Boy in the North) for guitar and voice.²¹ This setting is

¹⁹ Siegel, *Johanna Kinkel*, I, p. 3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²¹ Carl Gottlieb Reissiger, 'Der Zigeunerbube im Norden', in *Auswahl beliebter Lieder und Gesänge* (Dresden: Paul, [1838]), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (76495). This opus is announced by Hofmeister in March 1838 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001838&teil=0203&seite=00000046&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 March 2016]. Carl Gottlieb Reissiger (1798–1859) was a German composer and conductor. Reissiger received his first musical education in piano and violin from his father Christian Gottlieb Reissiger (1762–1839). He published his first compositions in 1818. Reissiger studied with A. Salieri and I. von Seyfried in Vienna and P. von Winter in Munich (1821/22). In October 1825, he was employed as a composition teacher at the Berlin Kirchenmusikschule; in 1826, he took over Marschner's position as Music Director at the Court Opera in Dresden. In 1828, he followed C. M. von Weber as Hofkapellmeister. He maintained this position (which was upgraded to 'First Hofkapellmeister' in 1851) until his death in 1859. Christoph Dohr, 'Reissiger, Carl, Karl, Gottlieb', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XIII, Personenteil, pp. 1539–42.

characterised by a distinct rhythmic feature in the accompaniment, which I will call in this section the ‘fandango motif’ (Ex. 8.2).

Ex 8.2: Fandango in Reissiger’s ‘Der Zigeunerbube im Norden’ (bars 1–3)

Moderato

1. Fern im Süd das schö - ne Spa - nien Spa - nien
 2. wand'r ich mit der Lau - te trau - rig
 3. Ne - - bel drückt mich nie - der, der die
 4. Her - - zens seh - nend Schla - gen län - ger

This rhythmic feature predominates in Reissiger’s entire Lied, which is a strophic setting and is striking on account of its simple (folk-like) formal structure (Reissiger applies the traditional four-bar phrasal pattern), and its simple harmony and melody (the vocal line ranges from ‘f^{#1}’ to ‘f²’). The rhythm creates a distinct tone associated with lively Spanish music and temperament.

Like most of Kinkel’s Lieder, her setting of ‘Der Zigeunerbube im Norden’, which she titles ‘Der spanische Zitherknabe’ (The Spanish Zither Player) is a strophic setting. Each musical stanza consists of four parts which are separated by means of piano interludes. The vocal part is framed by a piano prelude and a postlude, both of which take up motivic material which occurs throughout the Lied. The vocal part is determined by characteristic rhythmic figures in the piano accompaniment (Ex. 8.3). These rhythmic figures create unity within this Lied, because they are introduced (and repeated) in the prelude and postlude, which is a repetition of the prelude (Ex. 8.4). All these figures are characterised by a distinct rhythm full of character. It is interesting that Kinkel, at times, contrasts this rhythmic figure by means of a one-bar melodic gesture in the right-hand piano accompaniment (Ex. 8.5).

Ex. 8.3: Rhythmic figures in Kinkel's 'Der spanische Zitherknabe'²²

Ex. 8.4: Piano prelude of Kinkel's 'Der spanische Zitherknabe' (bars 1–4)

Ex. 8.5: Rhythmic contrast in Kinkel's 'Der spanische Zitherknabe' (bar 16)

Elise Schmezer employs a similar aesthetic concept to Kinkel's. Like Kinkel, she applies a 3/4 metre throughout all six musical stanzas.²³ Although this Lied is

²² The 'e b' in the piano left hand in bar 19 was notated as 'e b' in the original publication. Considering the 'e b' in the piano right hand and the harmonic progression in the same bar this is likely to be an editorial mistake. Therefore, the 'e b' has been added to the piano left hand in this example.

²³ Elise Schmezer, 'Zigeunerbube', in *Romanzen und Balladen für Tenor: Op. 5* (Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen, [1850]). This opus was announced by Hofmeister in July 1850 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi->

notated as a through-composed setting, each stanza features the same (or slightly varied) melodic motive in the vocal line. However, frequent key, tempo and dynamic changes create tension throughout this Lied, which is held together by the constant rhythm. The only time when the rhythm changes is in the piano accompaniment (like in Kinkel's Lied) – but this change does not occur until the piano postlude and follows directly upon the last line of the poem, in which the lyrical I's emotional crisis is revealed.

Interestingly, at this point, Schmezer employs a similar melodic figure as Kinkel (a step-wise ascent) as a means of contrasting the rhythmic primacy in the preceding bars (Ex. 8.6). This melodic ascent takes up the characteristic melodic motive of the vocal line established in the previous bars. Like in Kinkel's Lied, this melodically contrasting element appears in the right hand of the piano, which is juxtaposed with a rhythmically stable motive in the left hand. The characteristic rhythmic figure in the piano accompaniment is abandoned in the final four bars of Schmezer's setting, and is replaced by a descent comprising leaps, which evokes the impression of the Lied fading away slowly. This impression is supported by the reduction of double octaves (bar 94) to single-part melody in the right hand piano (bar 95). Interestingly, the reviewer of Schmezer's 'Zigeunerlied' in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* is full of criticism for this setting. He/she criticises the accompaniment: 'It is supposed to be original, but it torments us with its monotony and its vexed decoration' and, like in the Lied preceding

content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001850&teil=0203&seite=00000105&zoom=1> [accessed 4 March 2016]. Very little is known about Elise Schmezer, née Kratky. She was born around 1810; her birthplace is unknown. Her father was the music pedagogue Josef Kratky, who taught trumpet, trombone, and horn in Graz (1819–30). Elise Schmezer most likely received lessons in piano and singing; she performed as a singer in Graz during the first half of the nineteenth century. She married Friedrich Schmezer in the 1830s; in 1836, Friedrich Schmezer was appointed to Braunschweig as a singer and director. It is not known when Elise Schmezer followed her husband to Braunschweig. Her marriage, perhaps, ended in divorce. In Braunschweig, Elise Schmezer established herself as a composer; she is now considered one of the most influential Braunschweig (female) composers of the nineteenth century. Between 1848 and 1856, Schmezer published a great deal of Lieder with such renowned publishers as Mayer (Braunschweig), Heinrichshofen (Magdeburg), Schlesinger (Berlin), Damköhler (Berlin), Bachmann (Hanover), and Luckhardt (Kassel). She also published a three-act opera *Otto der Schütz*, for which she wrote the libretto herself. Silke Wenzel, 'Elise Schmezer', in *MUGI: Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen*, ed. by Beatrix Borchard (Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg, 2003–) <http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/artikel/Elise_Schmezer> [accessed 14 April 2016].

the ‘Zigeunerlied’ in Schmezer’s opus, the reviewer believes to discover in it the ‘inadequate education which turns a simple and innocent folk song into a monster full of morbid modern salon sensibility’.²⁴ However, this perception of Schmezer’s setting as unoriginal is also attributed to the nineteenth-century understanding that the composer should always portray exactly the content of the text. Edward T. Cone ascertains that ‘the poetic persona, originally a surrogate for the actual poet, now becomes, through its participation in the vocal-instrumental persona, a surrogate for the actual composer’, while ‘surrogate’ does not always have autobiographical implications.²⁵ Cone uses as an example the criticism with which Schumann was often confronted in relation to his musical responses to Heine’s use of Romantic irony. Cone argues that the personality of Heine’s protagonist is not the same personality as Schumann’s protagonist and therefore Schumann’s setting does not require the same contextual interpretation as the poem’s protagonist.²⁶ Having said this, Schmezer’s realisation of the atmosphere in her work does not necessarily need to conform to Geibel’s understanding or to the reviewer’s understanding, an aspect which offers food for thought in relation to the question of originality in general. Considering that Kinkel applies the same fandango motif which Schmezer employs in her accompaniment, it is surprising that Kinkel’s setting was received much more positively than Schmezer’s, which might be attributed to the difference of time: Kinkel’s Lied was reviewed in 1838, while Schmezer’s review dates from 1851, an aspect which alludes to Rabinowitz’s concept of the attributive screens through which music is listened to. The reviewer of Schmezer’s setting might have approached this Lied with much more

²⁴ [Anon.], review of Elise Schmezer, *Lieder, Romanzen und Balladen* (1850), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 3 January 1851, p. 4. ‘Im “Zigeunerlied” (Nr. 3) soll’s die Begleitung thun, die originell sein soll, uns aber peinigt mit ihrer Monotonie und leiden Verbrämtheit’. ‘die mangelhafte Bildung, die aus einem schlichten und treuherzigen Volksliedchen ein Ungethüm voller krankhafter, moderner Salonempfindung macht’.

²⁵ Edward T. Cone, ‘Poet’s Love or Composer’s Love?’, in Scher, *Music and Text*, pp. 177–92 (p. 184).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

listening experience in relation to gypsy songs than Kinkel's; furthermore, the sub-genre 'gypsy song' itself would have been less of a novelty in 1851 than it was in 1838.

Ex. 8.6: Lyrical motive in piano in Elise Schmezer's 'Zigeunerlied' (bars 87–97)

The musical score for Ex. 8.6 consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins at bar 87 with the lyrics 'Un-ter Schat-ten der Ka - sta - ni - en muss ich einst be - gra - ben sein.' The tempo markings are 'più lento' (bars 87-90), 'ad libit.' (bars 91-92), and 'tempo' (bars 93-97). The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern in the right hand that contrasts with the vocal melody. The score is in G major and 2/4 time.

Carl Krebs (1804–1880) also employs the fandango rhythm in his strophic setting, which, like Kinkel's and Schmezer's, is characterised by rhythmic coherence.²⁷ This coherence is contrasted in the piano postlude, which sounds after each of the individual musical stanzas except for the last one (Ex. 8.7). This contrasting feature, which prioritises melody over rhythm and thereby contradicts the general aesthetic principle of this Lied, creates tension and emphasises the rhythmic peculiarity by way of contrast. It occurs in the right hand of the piano and is juxtaposed with the rhythmically characteristic figure pointing to the fandango in the left hand.

²⁷ Carl Krebs, *Der Zigeunerknabe im Norden: deutsches Lied für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Op. 50* (Hamburg/ Leipzig: Schubert, n. d.). Carl Krebs (1804–1880) was a German composer and conductor. Krebs first performed as a pianist at the age of six; his first opera was written one year later. In 1826, Krebs was appointed third Kapellmeister at the Vienna Kärntnertheater; from 1827 to 1850, he was employed at the Hamburg City Theatre. After that he took over Wagner's position at the Dresden Court Opera. He resigned from his theatre profession in 1872 and took over the church music directorship at the Catholic Court Church. Krebs was married to the singer Aloysia Michalesi (1826–1904). SL [Richard Schaal], 'Krebs, Karl August', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, x, Personenteil, pp. 649–50.

Ex. 8.7: Prelude of Carl Krebs's 'Der Zigeunerknabe im Norden' (bars 21–29)

21

1. und das Mond - licht gold - ner blinkt.
 2. mag kein Ein - zi - ger ver - stehn.
 3. in das Land voll Son - nen - schein.
 4. hei - sse Thrä - nen hin - ge - rollt.
 5. glü - hend den Fan - dan - go schlingt.

26

Carl Ludvig Lithander (1773–1843) uses a 3/4 metre and a similar rhythmic figure as Kinkel employs throughout the second section of her Lied. However, Lithander uses this motif only in the fifth stanza of his setting, which refers directly to the couple dancing the fandango.²⁸ The quick change of metre and rhythm in this fifth stanza constitutes a major contrast to the rest of Lithander's Lied, all other stanzas of which are in 4/4 metre and thereby create a completely different tone than Kinkel's setting. Numerous key and tempo changes support the impression that Lithander's song is more diverse and incorporates more surprising turns than Kinkel's. However, because of this aesthetic richness, the individual features (for example key changes, new motives, tempo changes, dynamic changes) do not stand out as sudden surprises and therefore do not create individual contrasts, but make the Lied more diverse as a whole.

²⁸ Carl Ludvig Lithander, *Der Zigeunerknabe im Norden* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d.). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (O.25191). Carl Ludvig Lithander (1773–1848) was born in Estonia to a Finnish pastor who served a Swedish-speaking community. He was one of eleven children, all of whom were musicians and received their musical education from their father. When the parents and one of the children died, the ten children left and settled with relations in Finland and Sweden. Carl Ludvig Lithander moved to Sweden. He combined his musical career as a pianist, composer, and violinist with the military; he was a teacher for maths (at a military school from 1795 onwards) and geometry (at an arts academy from 1807 to 1824). From 1814 to 1818, he was on leave to London, where he met and befriended with leading musical figures of the time. Ruth-Esther Hillila and Barbara Blanchard Hong, *Historical Dictionary of the Music and Musicians of Finland* (Westport: Greenwood, 1997), p. 231.

In a similar way to Lithander's *Lied*, Friedrich Hieronymus Truhn's setting of the same words is characterised by diverse compositional aesthetics (Ex. 8.8).²⁹ Although it is a varied strophic setting, Truhn employs a change of metre in the fourth and fifth stanzas. The *Lied* begins in 3/4 metre and switches into 6/8 metre at those two stanzas. At the end of the fifth stanza, the metre changes back to 3/4; this is also when Truhn includes the fandango motif. However, while, in most of the other settings discussed in this section, this rhythmic motif is used in order to create unity and was juxtaposed with a contrasting motif in a few selected places, it makes a rather rare appearance in Truhn's setting.

Ex. 8.8: Fandango in Truhn's 'Der Zigeunerbube im Norden' (bars 60–71)

²⁹ Friedrich Hieronymus Truhn, 'Der Zigeunerbube im Norden', in *Lieder aus Spanien: Op. 38, Nr. 1* (Berlin: Schlesinger, [1840]), pp. 3–7. This opus is announced by Hofmeister in December 1840 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001840&teil=0203&seite=00000174&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 March 2016]. Friedrich Hieronymus Truhn (1811–1886) was a German composer, conductor and writer. He received singing, flute and violin lessons at a very early age; from 1831, he studied composition with B. Klein and S. Dehn in Berlin. For a short while, he received lessons in instrumentation from Mendelssohn. After the successful premiere of his opera *Tribby* in Berlin in 1835, he moved to Danzig, where he was appointed Kapellmeister at the City Theatre. In 1837, he returned to Berlin and worked as a journalist. He wrote for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, *Hamburger Correspondenten*, and *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*. Between 1845 and 1858, Truhn travelled as a conductor through Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Latvia, and Germany. He worked as a musician in his birthplace Elbing from 1848 to 1852. After that, he lived in Berlin, where he founded the *Neue Berliner Liedertafel*. His engagement for male choirs and Liedertafeln in Riga and Elbing influenced his posthumous reception to a great extent. Emanuel Scobel, 'Truhn, Friedrich Hieronymus', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XVI, Personenteil, pp. 1086–87.

To conclude, all settings discussed in this section use rhythm as a feature in order to create a certain tone which is employed in order to evoke associations with Spain – or, more generally – the South. This is achieved by means of a distinct rhythmic figure imitating the fandango rhythm. In terms of complexity, however, the Lieder discussed above differ from each other. While Reissiger's setting for guitar and voice is undoubtedly the simplest version of this poem, Carl Krebs's, Elise Schmezer's and Johanna Kinkel's settings are fairly complex – yet manageable. All three of them employ the same rhythmic features throughout the Lied and use a contrasting figure in selected passages in order to raise further awareness to the importance of rhythm. Carl Ludvig Lithander and Hieronymus Truhn apply more complex concepts, which are characterised by changes of metre, tempo, key, and dynamics and which therefore must have posed greater challenges to both the performer and the listener.

However, it is noteworthy that Kinkel's second setting dealing with gypsies, also a Geibel poem, entitled 'Die Zigeuner' (The Gypsies) exposes similar complex characteristics. In my previous chapter, I alluded to the unbalanced formal structure of this Lied: While the first strophe is set in eight fast-moving bars, the second strophe is set in sixteen slow-moving bars, which are divided into two eight-bar phrases (see Ex. 7.2 in the previous chapter). Not only is a rhythmic change achieved by means of a melodic prolongation, which influences the overall structural perception of this Lied. But this rhythmic slowdown also creates atmospheric tension between the first and the second sections. By changing the piano accompaniment and the rhythm in the vocal line, Kinkel creates a sense of inner peace and ease, which contrasts the preceding bars, in which haste is portrayed by means of shorter repetitive motives in the piano left hand and fast tone repetitions in the vocal line. The two excerpts in Ex. 8.9 demonstrate the contrasting expressive characters of the sections, which corresponds with the textual content of the corresponding strophes.

Ex. 8.9: Contrasting motives in Johanna Kinkel's 'Die Zigeuner' (bars 1 and 9)

Allegro molto

9

Ped. *

Unlike Kinkel, Charlotte von Bülow, in her setting of the same words, applies the same rhythm in the vocal line throughout the Lied (Ex. 8.10).³⁰ However, von Bülow employs a change of piano accompaniment in both the left and right hand piano in the middle section of the second part of this strophic setting, which evokes a calm atmosphere (bars 19–22).

³⁰ Charlotte von Bülow, 'Zigeunerleben', in *Lieder und Gesänge für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte* (Berlin: Bahn, n. d.), pp. 3–5. Although the publication date of this opus is unknown, it is certain that this opus was published after Kinkel's, as the title page reads 'M. Bahn Verlag (früher Trautwein)' (M. Bahn Publishers [formerly Trautwein]). When Kinkel published her op. 7, which includes 'Die Zigeuner', the publishing company was still called Trautwein, so this must have happened before the company was taken over by Bahn. Charlotte von Bülow (1817–1908) was born in Erfurt and lived in Berlin since 1832 (at the latest), where she died in 1908. She was musically educated by Karl Friedrich Rungenhagen through her membership of the Berlin Singakademie, with which she was affiliated as a member from 1832 to 1847. When, in 1847, Julius Stern founded the Berlin Sternsche Gesangverein, Charlotte von Bülow was a founding member; she was an active member until 1893 (or even longer). From the mid-1850s onwards, von Bülow published a number of Lieder with several publishers (Schott in Mainz, Heinrichshofen in Magdeburg, Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, and Trautwein/ Bahn in Berlin). In 1914, Charlotte von Bülow's Lieder opus numbers three, four and five were included at the World Exhibition of Books and Graphics in Leipzig. Silke Wenzel, 'Charlotte von Bülow', in *MUGI: Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen*, ed. by Beatrix Borchard (Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg, 2003–) <http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/artikel/Elise_Schmezer> [accessed 14 April 2016].

Ex. 8.10: Second part of Charlotte von Bülow's 'Zigeunerleben' (bars 16–29)

16 *ritar - - - dan - - - do*

1. Mit blit - zen - dem Aug' und mit wal - len - dem Haar, ge - säugt an des Ni - les ge - hei - lig - ter Fluth, ge -
 2. Wie Spa - ni - ens Gär - ten so blü - hend und bunt und ma - gi - sche Sprü - che für Noth und Ge - fahr ver -
 3. Es rau - schen die Bu - chen in Schlum - mer sie ein und die aus der glück - li - chen Hei - math ver - bannt, sie

21 *cresc - - - en - - - - do a tempo*

bräunt von His - pa - ni - ens süd - li - cher Gluth, das ist der Zi - geu - ner be - weg - li - che Schaar, das
 kün - det die Al - te der hor - chen - den Schaar, das ist der Zi - geu - ner be - weg - li - che Schaar, das
 schau - en im Trau - me das süd - li - che Land, das ist der Zi - geu - ner be - weg - li - che Schaar, das

a tempo

25

ist der Zi - geu - ner be - weg - li - che Schaar. 2. Ums
 ist der Zi - geu - ner be - weg - li - che Schaar. 3. Schwarz -
 ist der Zi - geu - ner be - weg - li - che Schaar.

In conclusion, in a similar way to the previous Lied discussed in this section, both Kinkel's and von Bülow's settings of Geibel's 'Die Zigeuner' create a distinct atmosphere using rhythmic features as an expressive vehicle. While Kinkel's

application of a rhythmic change in the piano accompaniment and a rhythmic prolongation in the vocal line contrast the previous bars and confuse the listener's sense of symmetrical structure in this Lied, von Bülow's setting does not apply such drastic means. Nevertheless her setting also plays with the expressive potential of rhythm as a stylistic means. The sole application of a rhythmic change in the piano accompaniment (rather than the vocal line) defuses the potential sharpness of rhythmic alterations. However, like in some of the settings discussed above, the juxtaposition of two different expressive features (calm vs hasty) also has the potential to stress the contrast between different atmospheres and thereby becomes a means to portray this atmospheric change.

8.4 Melodic, harmonic, and pianistic specialties in Kinkel's Lieder

Another effective way of portraying changes of atmosphere and/ or highlighting certain contextual aspects of a poem is the inclusion of spontaneous breakouts and interjections as well as the abrupt abandonment of ideas, sudden interruptions, fragments and frequent changes within a Lied. While it is questionable what Martin Wehnert means by the word 'spontaneous' when he identifies these compositional features as representatives of typical Romantic aesthetics, this section will explore such unexpected (rather than spontaneous) features in Kinkel's Lieder. As such means can occur in many different ways (and some of the rhythmic features discussed in the section above would have been pertinent here as well), this section is divided into three sub-sections addressing melodic, harmonic, and pianistic events of Kinkel's Lieder. The choice of songs to be included in this chapter was influenced by many different parameters such as suitability for a comparison (i.e. are there settings of these words by other late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century composers and if so, are they accessible?); suitability for the particular section (does the Lied exhibit the features discussed in this section?); and poet (can I make sure to include as many different poets as possible

rather than picking the same poets throughout this chapter?). Another aspect is the period of time during which Kinkel composed her *Lieder*. Unfortunately, it was very hard to find *Lieder* of Kinkel's later period because this period brought forward mostly settings of her own, her husband's or her *Maikäfer* friends' words, very few of which were set by other composers.

8.4.1 Melody: 'An Luna'

The *Lied* selected to demonstrate melodic peculiarities, 'An Luna', was chosen because of its rare appearance within nineteenth-century compositional history. This section will explore Kinkel's Goethe setting 'An Luna' in comparison to Bettina von Arnim's setting of the same words, which is especially interesting because of Kinkel and von Arnim's close relationship when Kinkel's *Lied* was composed.³¹ We do not know when exactly Kinkel composed this *Lied* and we also do not know when Bettina von Arnim composed her version of this song, so it is impossible to conclude whom of the two women might have influenced whom as regards the idea to set these words by Goethe. However, we do know that Bettina von Arnim had asked Kinkel to give her music lessons, a situation which upset Kinkel at times, because Bettina von Arnim's unwillingness to adhere to pedagogical conventions did not please Kinkel's sense of pedagogy (and vice versa). Considering the rather poor understanding of harmony in Bettina von Arnim's setting, one may assume that both composers did not exert too great an influence on each other.

Like the other *Lieder* discussed, Kinkel's *Lied* 'An Luna' is a strophic setting and employs the traditional four-bar phrasal pattern. In my previous chapter, I discussed the rather progressive concept of tonality in this *Lied*; and I explained that the contrasting harmonic patterns are held together by the piano accompaniment, which

³¹ Kinkel published this *Lied* within her op. 6, which was published by the Leipzig publisher Kistner in July 1839. However, Mendelssohn's correspondence reveals that Kinkel asked Mendelssohn to help her publish her op. 6 as early as March 1839. *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Sämtliche Briefe*, VI, pp. 332–33.

does not change throughout the entire Lied and which thereby acts as a unifying element. Melodically, this Lied is striking on account of its chromatic technique and its vocal ornamentation in bars 14–16 at the words ‘reizendes Gesicht’ (lovely face), ‘Schwärmerei dies Glück’ (grant my zeal this happiness), and ‘schärfe meinen Blick’ (I focus my gaze). These two bars interrupt the evenly flowing vocal line in two ways. Firstly, the melodic figure, a six-note cambiata and turn, alludes to an unexpected shift of style (see Ex 7.6 in the previous chapter). Secondly, the *rallentando* tempo instruction in these two bars (14–16) interrupts the even pace established in the previous bars. As the following bars pick up an even pace and melodic flow, the sudden interjection of a stylistically different melodic figure stresses the words of the corresponding bars and thereby creates surprise. It also prepares the change of tonality, which takes place in the following bars, even though the harmonic progression in bars 14–16 is straightforward with the dominant chord and the minor tonic key (A-flat minor rather than A-flat major) being applied in alteration (Ex. 7.6).

Compared to Kinkel’s Lied, Bettina von Arnim’s settings features a rather simple piano accompaniment, but it also stands out for its undefined structure, which Briony Williams explains by referring to Bettina von Arnim’s perception of the poem as a cyclic work. In her analysis of this Lied, Williams states that:

The almost constant use of the dominant seventh chord removes any feeling of climax and repose. [...] Despite the harmonic stasis, however, ‘An Luna’ is tonally ambiguous. Because there is no introduction and no postlude, the ambiguity of the final chord of each verse blurs the strophic boundaries until the very end, when the questioning half-close becomes at last apparent. This makes the music almost glide, and the rests in both voice and piano seem a particularly poignant cessation of movement. [...] It is as if all the accepted defining components have been removed – harmonic direction, formal symmetry – so that we are left with what is, in a sense, a return to the original lyric.³²

However, Bettina von Arnim makes an exception to her structural neutrality as she changes the metre and marks the tempo ‘schneller’ (faster) at the beginning of the

³² Williams, ‘Maker, Mother, Muse’, p. 197.

second verse of each stanza (bar 17). Like Kinkel, she seemingly wanted to stress the lyrical I's change of mood at the corresponding passage (Ex. 8.11).

Ex. 8.11: Bettina von Arnim's 'An Luna'

1 **Langsam**

1. Schwe - ster von dem er - sten Licht, Bild der Zärt - lich - keit in Trau - er! Ne - bel schwimmt mit
 2. For - schend ü - ber - sieht dein Blick ei - ne un - er - meß - ne Wei - te: He - be mich an
 3. Des Be - schau - ens hol - des Glück mil - dert sol - cher Fer - ne Qua - len; und ich samm - le

11 *schmeller*

Sil - ber - schau - er um dein rei - zen - des Ge - sicht. Dei - nes lei - sen Fu - ßes
 dei - ne Sei - te, gön - n der Schwär - me - rei dies Glück! Und in wol - lust - vol - ler
 dei - ne Strah - len, und ich schär - fe mei - nen Blick; hell und hel - ler wird es

19

Lauf weckt aus tag - ver - schloß - nen Höh - len trau - rig ab -
 Ruh sah' der weit - ver - schlag - ne Rit - ter durch das glä -
 schon um die un - ver - hüll - ten Glie - der, und nun zieht

22

- ge - schied - ne See - len, mich, und nächt' - ge Vö - gel auf.
 - ser - ne Ge - git - ter sei - nes Mäd - chens Näch - ten zu.
 - sie mich her - nie - der, wie dich einst En - dy - mi - on.

Bettina von Arnim applies this surprising change of style by means of rhythmic, metric, and pianistic variety. The melodic progression seems rather straightforward as there are no excessive *cambiatas*, turns, or other types of ornamentation. However, the use of *fermatas* poses a challenge to the performer in so far as these *fermatas* interrupt the regular sense of time.

Both Johanna Kinkel and Bettina von Arnim treat ‘An Luna’ in unconventional (though very different) ways. While Johanna Kinkel applies a complex harmonic progression, a melodic line incorporating an unexpected interjection of a stylistically contrasting figure and a slow-down of pace, Bettina von Arnim’s unconventional style is recognisable by means of sudden interruptions of the time structure (*fermatas*) in the melodic line as well as an unexpected change of style in the second part of her Lied. Both composers choose a strophic setting and the traditional phrasal pattern, which supports the assumption ascertained in section 8.2. If an early-nineteenth-century Lied incorporates unconventional melodic, harmonic, rhythmic or pianistic features, its formal design, as a unifying means, is likely to adhere to compositional techniques originating from previous compositional-aesthetic discourses.

Considering Johanna Kinkel’s financial dependency on her Lied publications on the one hand and her outstanding skills as a pianist as well as her well-grounded music-theoretical knowledge on the other hand, it is not surprising that Kinkel took a more complex and subtle compositional direction than Bettina von Arnim. Indeed, perhaps Bettina von Arnim’s unconventional style mirrors her deliberate ignorance of music theory rather than her deliberate decision to try out something new. In her memoirs, Johanna Kinkel, who was also Bettina von Arnim’s music teacher in 1836, remembers that:

In her [Bettina’s] opinion, music theory spoilt the arts, and she had the strange belief that ‘Beethoven never cared about figured bass’. In order to prove that theoretical background knowledge is dispensable, she showed me her own compositional attempts. She was convinced that the beautiful melodies and ingenious peculiarities of these musical fragments outdid all

structured compositions, which drag behind them the chinking chain of figured bass. I looked at these pieces, and I thought that they really revealed a great musical talent, but they were wild and incoherent. A piece could begin with an A minor chord and conclude in E flat major. In another piece *one* bar contained five crotchets and another bar contained three quavers. She had confused the key signatures and played completely different notes than she had written down.³³

8.4.2 Harmony: ‘Abendfeier in Venedig’

This section will shed light on Kinkel’s own concept of tonality. In her setting ‘Abendfeier in Venedig’, Kinkel employs a harmonically distant progression (F major–F minor–C-sharp major–F-sharp minor) in bar 18 and maintains the new tonal context for two bars (Ex. 6.7). Compared to the analogue passage in the previous musical stanza, this tonal interjection centring on F-sharp minor is surprising in so far as it seems to question metaphorically the ‘ird’schen Thun’ (earthly endeavours, first stanza) which is set in the corresponding bars (Ex. 8.12a and Ex. 8.12b).

Ex. 8.12a: First musical stanza of Kinkel’s ‘Abendfeier in Venedig’ (bars 8–11)

8

1. A - ve Ma - ri - a! Meer und Him - mel ruh'n, von
 2. O heil' - ge An - dacht! wel - che je - des Herz mit

p *cresc.* *f*

Am C7 F F7 A E7 A A7

³³ Kinkel (jun.), ed., ‘Aus Johanna Kinkels Memoiren’, p. 245. Italics in original. ‘In ihren Augen war Theorie der Musik das Verderben jedes Künstlers, und sie lebte in dem seltsamen Irrthum, der “Beethoven habe nicht nach Generalbaß gefragt”. Zum Beweise für ihre Behauptung von der Entbehrlichkeit theoretischer Vorstudien holte sie ein Packet lose Notenblätter herbei, auf denen ihre eigenen Kompositionsversuche geschrieben standen. Sie war davon überzeugt, daß diese Bruchstücke musikalischer Einfälle an Schönheit der Melodie und genialer Eigenthümlichkeit jede geordnete Komposition, welche die Kette des Generalbasses nachschleppte, weit überbötten. Ich betrachtete diese Stücke und fand, daß sie wirklich ein großes Talent zur Musik verriethen; aber sie waren wild und zusammenhangslos. Hier fing ein Stück mit einem A-moll-Akkord an und endete in Es-Dur. Dort hatte *ein* Takt fünf Viertel und ein anderer drei Achtel. Sie hatte die Vorzeichnungen verwechselt und spielte ganz andere Noten, als sie geschrieben hatte’.

Ex. 8.12b: Second musical stanza of Kinkel's 'Abendfeier in Venedig' (bars 17–20)

17

1. A - ve Ma - ri - a!
2. O seel'-ger Glau - bel!

Lasst vom irrd' - schen Thun! Zur
der sich him - mel - wärts

p

Am C⁷ F Fm C⁷ F[♯]m Bm C[♯] C[♯]m A⁷

Like Kinkel, Carl Amand Mangold (1813–1889), who structured his setting of Geibel's words in the same way as Kinkel did, applied a harmonic excursion at the line 'Ave Marie! Lasst vom ird'schen Thun'.³⁴ Within the context of C major, Mangold sets this line in E major, which is reached via a mediantic progression using G major as a pivot chord (G major–B major⁷–E major, Ex. 8.13).

Ex. 8.13: Mediantic progression in Mangold's 'Abendfeier in Venedig' (bars 8–15)

8

1. von al - len Thür - men haltt der Glok - ke Ton;

2. mit lei - sen Schau - ern wun - der - bar durch - dringt!

Am E⁷ Am D G D G B⁷

³⁴ Carl Amand Mangold, 'Abendfeier in Venedig', in *Drei Lieder gedichtet von Emanuel Geibel, für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Op. 43* (Mainz: Schott, [1855]). This opus was announced by Hofmeister in June 1855 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001855&teil=0203&seite=00000782&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 March 2016]. Carl Amand Mangold (1813–1889) was a German composer and conductor. He volunteered with the Darmstadt Hofkapelle in 1831; from 1835 onwards, he performed at Darmstadt as a violinist and singer. From 1836 to 1839, he took up studies at composition, singing, and violin in Paris, where he met Meyerbeer, Berlioz, Chopin, List, and Clara Wieck, together with whom he gave concerts. Mangold was also a Paris correspondent of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. When Mangold returned to his hometown Darmstadt in 1839, he took over the directorship of the Musikverein. At the beginning of the 1840s, he was appointed répétiteur at the Court Theatre. In 1848, he was appointed Hofmusikdirektor. His second opera *Tanhäuser* (1843–45) was written – without knowledge of Wagner's – at the same time as Wagner's opera with the same title; out of respect for Wagner, this opera was not performed outside of Darmstadt. Ursula Kramer, 'Mangold, Carl [Ludwig] Amand', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XI, Personenteil, pp. 973–75.

Ex. 8.13 continued

12

A - ve Ma - ri - a! Lasst vom ird' - schen Thun; zur

O sel' - ger Glau - be, der sich him - mel - wärts auf des Ge -

E B⁷ E B⁷ E E⁷ Am

The musical score consists of three systems. The first system contains two vocal staves (soprano and alto) with lyrics. The second system contains two piano staves (right and left hand). The right hand plays a melodic line with eighth-note patterns, and the left hand plays a bass line with chords. Chord symbols are placed below the piano staves: E, B⁷, E, B⁷, E, E⁷, and Am. A piano dynamic marking 'p' is present at the beginning of the piano part.

This progression (G major–B major) is a rather unexpected turn; however, it is not as complex as Kinkel’s enharmonic progression at the corresponding line. While Kinkel chose a distant relationship for her progression (F minor–C-sharp major), Mangold’s choice of the upper mediant creates less friction. Furthermore, Mangold alludes to the chord E major, which is the temporary new key over the corresponding line, already in the bars preceding this passage. By contrast, Kinkel’s introduction of the new key is more sudden.

Unlike Mangold, Heinrich Marschner employs numerous harmonic interjections in his setting of the same words, which makes the harmonic design of his Lied much more diverse.³⁵ Interestingly, he also stresses the line ‘Ave Maria! lass vom ird’schen Thun’. Unlike Kinkel and Mangold, he uses a half-diminished seventh chord in order to highlight this passage harmonically (Ex. 8.14). The parallel fifths in the piano right and left hands in bar 17 (‘b b ’–‘f’, third beat to ‘g b ’–‘d b ’, fourth beat) make one think

³⁵ Heinrich Marschner, ‘Abendfeier in Venedig’, in *Drei Gesänge für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Op. 179* (Hamburg: Cranz, [1857]), pp. 2–7. Hofmeister announced this opus in June 1857 as a novelty by the Vienna publisher Spina. It is not certain whether the Vienna edition was published first, or whether the Hamburg edition by Cranz predates the Vienna edition <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001857&teil=0203&seite=00000094&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 March 2016].

that Marschner prioritised his diverse harmony over voice-leading, as block parallels were considered inelegant.

Ex. 8.14: Seventh chords in Marschner's 'Abendfeier in Venedig' (bars 12–17)

12

A - ve Ma - ri - a! lass vom ird' - schen

p

Ab⁷ Eb^{m7} Eb^m Ab⁷ Ab⁷ Eb⁷

15

Thun zur Jung - frau be - tet, zu der

f

f

Eb⁷ Ab⁷ Db Eb A⁷ Bbm Gb

Furthermore, Marschner applies an Italian augmented sixth chord at the line 'welche jedes Herz | Mit leisen Schauen wunderbar durchdringt' ([Oh holy devotion], which marvelously penetrates | Every heart with a quiet shiver, Ex. 8.15).

Interestingly, Mangold does not stress this line at all as neither the harmonic progression nor melodic, pianistic, structural, or dynamic features raise awareness to this passage. By contrast, Kinkel applies two diminished seventh chords (C-sharp diminished ninth seventh, bar 12; and B diminished seventh, bar 13) at the corresponding line(s), which highlights their textual content (Ex. 8.16).

Ex. 8.15: Italian sixth chord in Marschner's 'Abendfeier in Venedig' (bars 34–41)

34
wel - che je - des Herz mit heil - - gen Schau - ern

38
wun - der - bar durch - dringt. O sel' - - ger Glau - be,

Chord symbols: Bbm, A^{o7}, F⁷, Bbm, Gb, Cbm/Bm, G, Cm, Ab⁷, Db, Db+, Bbm, D^{b7}(omit5), D^{b7}(omit5) It6, C, B^{o7}, C

Ex. 8.16: Diminished seventh chords in Kinkel's 'Abendfeier' (bars 11–13)

11
ruh'n, von al - len Thür - men halt der Glock - ken -
Herz mit lei - sen Schau - ern wun - der - bar durch -

Chord symbols: A, A⁷, Dm, C^{#o7}, Dm, B^{o7}, C⁷

Compared to Marschner, Mangold and Kinkel, Joachim Raff's through-composed setting exhibits a much more dense and harmonic design, which might be attributed to its later date of origin.³⁶ Because the harmonic design in Raff's setting is

³⁶ Joachim Raff, 'Abendfeier in Venedig', in *Fünf Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Opus 51* (Leipzig: Kistner, [1853]), pp. 14–17. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (28289). Hofmeister announced this opus in February 1853 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001853&teil=0203&seite=00000274&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 March 2016]. Joachim Raff (1822–1882) was a German composer and pedagogue. Raff completed his formal education between 1838 and 1840; he acquired skills at piano, violin and organ on a self-taught basis. From 1840 to 1844, he was employed as a school teacher near Zurich. When his piano pieces op. 2–6 were received positively, Raff decided to fully concentrate on music and gave up his position as a teacher, a momentous decision as Raff, from then on, faced financial difficulties. In 1845, Raff met Liszt in Basel. The relationship between Liszt and Raff was twofold. While Liszt tried to include Raff in the Weimar

diverse throughout this Lied, he uses a different feature in order to put emphasis on the line ‘Ave Maria! Lasst ab vom irdischen Thun’: following a fermata, the piano accompaniment changes completely. The characteristic rhythmic figure contrasting a pedal point established in the prelude and the first section is replaced by a chorale-like four-part melody moving in crotchets and reminding us of church style (Ex. 8.17).

Ex. 8.17: Harmonic density in Raff’s ‘Abendfeier in Venedig’ (bars 18–27)³⁷

The musical score for Raff's 'Abendfeier in Venedig' (bars 18–27) is presented in two systems. The first system (bars 18–22) shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a fermata over the word 'Glock' and then continues with 'ken Ton: A - - ve Ma - ri -'. The piano accompaniment features triplets in bars 18 and 19, and a change in texture from a simple accompaniment to a more complex, chorale-like four-part setting in bars 23–27. Dynamics include *pp*, *mp*, and *sf*.

The second system (bars 23–27) continues the vocal line with the lyrics '- a! Lasst ab vom ir - di - schen Thun; zur Jung - frau be - tet, zu der Jung - frau Sohn!'. The piano accompaniment continues with a complex, chorale-like four-part setting, featuring a *sf* dynamic in bar 27.

In conclusion, all four composers discussed in this section emphasise the same line of the poem (Ave Maria! Lasst ab vom ird’schen Thun!). However, the ways in which these emphases are achieved are diverse. Kinkel’s setting incorporates interjections of sudden harmonic turns (the two diminished seventh chords and the enharmonic progression) which liven up the harmonic progression of her Lied and

circle, Raff’s direct (and offensive) personality created conflicts. In 1850, he finally moved to Weimar, but his salary was low and he still had financial issues. In 1856, Raff left Weimar and moved to Wiesbaden, because the tension between himself, Liszt and the princess von Sayn-Wittgenstein had grown too big. In Wiesbaden, Raff’s career as a composer came to a peak and his chamber music and symphonies filled concert halls throughout Europe. Rainer Bayreuther, ‘Raff, Joachim’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XIII, Personenteil, pp. 1191–99.

³⁷ The triplet numbers ‘3’ in bars 18 and 19 were not originally printed in the publication. However, in order to enable a better orientation for the pianist, these numbers have been added in this example.

which stress the two corresponding passages. Mangold's setting features a similar tonal escape; however, the harmonic plan in this Lied seems less complex than Kinkel's, as the harmonic relationships on which Mangold bases his progression are less distant. By contrast, Marschner and Raff both use a more complex harmonic framework. While Marschner employs half-diminished seventh and Italian sixth chords, Raff increases the intensity of the corresponding line by means of a stylistically-changing piano accompaniment (on top of harmonic diversity and density).

8.4.3 Piano Accompaniment: 'Der Runenstein'

As regards stylistic diversity of the piano accompaniment, Kinkel uses this feature in different Lieder, one of which is 'Der Runenstein'. Similarly to the Lied discussed previously, 'Der Runenstein' features one line that is stressed by many different composers. It is the line 'Wo sind sie hin?' (Where have they gone?), which refers to the lyrical I's regrets that his/ her beloved and acquaintances are gone. Typical for Heinrich Heine's poetry, this line constitutes an ironic turn of the plot, which first exhibits an atmospheric setting at the sea where the lyrical I reflects on his/ her dreams and memories of the loved ones. When the lyrical I realises that his/ her loved ones have all disappeared, Kinkel employs a tremolo in the piano accompaniment (bar 18, Ex. 6.1). Although the entire Lied is characterised by a fast-flowing piano accompaniment, this bar is especially emphasised by means of the tremolo (besides an abrupt harmonic turn to a B diminished chord within the temporarily established context of C-sharp major).

Ferdinand Gumbert (1818–1896) employs tremolos in the piano accompaniment throughout the first and third part of his three-part setting of Heine's words (Ex. 8.18).³⁸

³⁸ Ferdinand Gumbert, *Es ragt in's Meer der Runenstein: Op. 3* (Berlin: Schlesinger, [1843]), pp. 4–5. This opus was announced by Hofmeister in December 1843 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001843&teil=0203&seite=00000190&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 March 2016]. Ferdinand Gumbert (1818–1896) was a German Lieder composer, singer, music pedagogue, and writer. He was born in Berlin where he received his musical education from E. Rietz (violin) and E. G. Fischer (singing and music theory). In 1839, Gumbert was appointed singer at Sondershausen; one year later, he was employed as a singer and teacher at the Stadttheater Cologne. In 1842, following the advice

Ex. 8.18: Emphasis in Gumbert's 'Es ragt in's Meer der Runenstein' (bars 10–19)³⁹

He sets apart the middle section ('Ich habe geliebt manch schönes Kind | Und manchen guten Gesellen'; I have loved many a fair girl | And made many good friends) by means of broken triads in the piano right hand. The following line 'wo sind sie hin?' is set to a repetition of quaver multi-note chords, which emphasise this line by creating a contrast to its surrounding bars.

of Konradin Kreutzer, Gumbert resigned from his career as a singer and moved back to Berlin, where he worked as a singing and composition teacher as well as a répétiteur. Gumbert travelled to Vienna in 1845, where his Lieder and Singspiele were received with great enthusiasm. Despite several job offers, he returned to Berlin, where he continued his activities as a composer, reviewer, writer, and poet. Among his contemporaries he was most notably known for his Lieder. Linda Maria Klodau, 'Gumbert, Ferdinand', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, VIII, Personenteil, pp. 272–73.

³⁹ Considering that the last note in the vocal line of bar 13 is 'g b', the octave on 'g^b' in the left hand of the piano in the same bar might be intended to be a 'g b'. However, I have kept the original notes, as I am uncertain whether the chromatic technique is intended there or whether this is an editorial error.

Julius Becker emphasises the line ‘Wo sind sie hin?’ by means of a minim and fermata in the piano left hand, which differs from the majority of the Lied (which, like Kinkel’s and Gumbert’s settings, incorporates fast-moving broken triads and chord repetitions).⁴⁰ However, Becker’s pianistic change does not occur quite as surprisingly, as it is prepared gradually in the two preceding bars (Ex. 8.19).

Ex. 8.19: Pianistic feature in Becker’s ‘Der Runenstein’ (bars 19–27)

The image shows a musical score for two systems. The first system (bars 19-23) features a vocal line in treble clef and piano accompaniment in bass clef. The tempo is marked 'con moto'. The lyrics are: 'Ich ha - be ge - liebt manch schö - nes Kind, manch schö - nes Kind und'. The piano part consists of broken triads in the right hand and a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the left hand. The second system (bars 24-27) continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The tempo changes to 'Tempo primo'. The lyrics are: 'man - chen gu - ten Ge - sel - len. Wo sind sie hin? Es pfeift der'. The piano part features a fermata on the left hand at the end of bar 24, followed by a change to 'Tempo primo' and a section of broken triads in the right hand with a 'ff' dynamic marking and a '6' (sextuplet) in the left hand.

Robert Franz (1815–1892), who, as the only composer discussed in this section, does not choose a fast-paced piano accompaniment for this poem, also uses a decrease of pace in order to stress the thoughtfulness of the line ‘Wo sind die hin?’.⁴¹ He

⁴⁰ Julius Becker, ‘Es ragt in’s Meer der Runenstein’, in *Fünf Lieder für eine Stimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Op. 4* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, [1837]), pp. 2–3. This opus was announced by Hofmeister in September/ October 1837 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001837&teil=0203&seite=00000125&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 March 2016]. Julius Becker (1811–1859) was a German music critic and composer. He was born in Oberlößnitz near Dresden; in 1835, he attended lectures in philosophy in Leipzig and received lessons in counterpoint from C. F. Bekker through whom he met influential musical personalities of Leipzig. From 1837 to 1846, Becker wrote for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. In 1843, he settled in Dresden and worked as a singing and composition teacher. In 1846, after his marriage, he moved back to his birthplace and retired from his musical career. His compositional, music-theoretical, and literary works were influenced by Robert Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn. Konstanze Freudenberg, [Peter Schmiedel], ‘Becker, (Constantin) Julius’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, II, Personenteil, pp. 625–26.

⁴¹ Robert Franz, ‘Es ragt ins Meer der Runenstein’, in *Sechs Lieder von Heinrich Heine für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Op. 39* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1867]), p. 6. This date is the date given by Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Hofmeister announced it for the first time in June 1872;

superscribes this bar ‘poco rit.[ardando]’; furthermore, he employs a dynamic outburst starting with a *crescendo* and quietening back down with a *decrescendo* (bar 14, Ex. 8.20).

Ex. 8.20: Diversity in Franz’s ‘Es ragt in’s Meer der Runenstein’ (bars /13-15)

The image shows a musical score for three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting at bar 13. The lyrics are: "Ge - sel - - len wo sind sie hin? Es pfeift der Wind, es". Above the vocal line, there are tempo markings: "poco rit." above bars 14 and 15, and "a tempo" above bar 13. The middle staff is the right-hand piano part, and the bottom staff is the left-hand piano part. The piano accompaniment features a four-note semi-quaver motive in the right hand and a similar figure in the left hand. There are dynamic markings like "poco rit." and "a tempo" in the piano part.

In conclusion, Gumbert, Kinkel, and Becker apply similar means in order to portray the fast movements of the wind and the waves, whereas Robert Franz uses such means at very specific bars in order to emphasise the corresponding words. He employs a four-note semi-quaver motive at the words ‘Wind’ (wind), ‘schäumen’ (foam), ‘Wellen’ (waves). Furthermore, Gumbert and Kinkel make use of tremolos in the piano accompaniment. However, while Kinkel treats this feature as a special means in order to emphasise the most thoughtful (and contextually contrasting) line, Gumbert applies it throughout large parts of his setting. Featuring semi-quaver figures and a latent second voice at a few parts, Kinkel’s piano accompaniment overall is more challenging than

however, in this announcement, op. 39 is part of a larger collection of Franz’s Lieder and it is imaginable that the opus was published as an individual opus before <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001872&teil=0203&seite=00000134&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 March 2016]. Robert Franz (1815–1892) was a German composer and conductor. Franz received his first private music lessons at the age of fourteen. He left school without a degree in 1835 in order to receive musical education from Joh. Chr. Fr. Schneider in Dessau; however, he broke up his studies with Schneider two years later. He returned to his hometown Halle in 1837. In 1844, Franz was appointed organist at St. Ulrich in Halle. Additionally, he supported the work of the Halle University Music Director Johann Friedrich Naue; in 1845, following the recommendations of Mendelssohn, Gade, and Schumann, he was appointed university music teacher without salary. In 1859, he was appointed University Music Director. Franz took over the directorship of the Halle Singakademie in 1842. He married the Lieder composer Marie Hinrichs (1828–1891) in 1848. During the *Vormärz*, Franz was an enthusiastic follower of the revolutionary movement. His Lieder were received with great enthusiasm by Robert Schumann. In 1867, Franz had to retire from all his professional activities because of hearing issues. Yet his contemporaries report that he was a sensitive pianist and a good singer (of his own songs) until a very old age. Ulrike Kienzle, Franz, ursprüngl. Knauth, Robert (Franz Julius)’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, VII, Personenteil, pp. 26–36.

Franz's and Gumbert's (and no less challenging than Becker's), which, once more, stresses her own pianistic skills.

8.5 Piano preludes and piano postludes in Kinkel's Lieder

Kinkel's focus on the piano accompaniment is also reflected in many of her pre- and postludes, some of which are rather challenging and reflect Romantic aesthetics in terms of both freer expression and the aim to place music within a larger context. The elaborate piano prelude in Johanna Kinkel's Rückert setting 'So wahr die Sonne scheint' (Ex. 8.21) points to both Johanna Kinkel's skills as a pianist and her use of the piano as a contrasting stylistic means. While the prelude is challenging, the accompaniment throughout this Lied is rather straightforward and takes on a supportive function. The piano prelude establishes the tonic key of G major, but it does not introduce any motivic material that is employed throughout this Lied. Therefore, it seems that the prelude is detached from the vocal part, which begins without any motivic preparation (bar 5). As regards the ending of this Lied, it is noteworthy that the piano postlude is, at the same time, the piano prelude (and the interlude), an aspect which creates unity between the elaborate piano parts and the musical stanzas.

Ex. 8.21: Piano prelude in Kinkel's setting 'So wahr die Sonne scheint' (bars /1–4)

The musical score for the piano prelude is presented in two staves. The top staff is the vocal line, and the bottom staff is the piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 6/8. The tempo is marked 'Allegretto'. The vocal line begins with a rest, followed by a few notes at the end. The piano accompaniment features a complex, rhythmic pattern in the right hand and a simpler, chordal pattern in the left hand. The piece ends with a trill and a flourish in the right hand, and a 'Ped.' marking in the left hand.

However, at the end of each musical stanza (this Lied is a strophic setting and there are two strophes), the interlude follows directly upon the simple piano accompaniment, which, on the other hand, constitutes a contrast between the vocal and the piano parts.

Because the prelude, interlude and postlude are the same piano passages it seems hard to know whether or not the Lied is finished (or whether another strophe will follow) after the appearance of the piano solo. This structural feature might allude to the reciprocal exchange of love between the two lovers sung about in this Lied. Within a larger context, this repetitive feature portrays the cyclical rhythm of life including the sunrise, the sunset, and the seasons (spring). The contrast between the piano parts (which allude to the spiritual cycle of life) and the words (which allude to the reality of life) could be interpreted as an attempt to highlight the dualism between the inner self and its environment. On a less abstract level, however, this contrast could also be explained by means of practical reasons. Firstly, Kinkel might have thought of the performer and might have wanted to enable the performance of this Lied by one person (she performed her own songs without an accompanist). While she granted full attention to the pianist for the piano solo parts, she might have deliberately chosen a rather straightforward piano accompaniment for the vocal parts in order for the performer to be able to focus on the words. Secondly, by eclipsing the piano part during the vocal part, Kinkel puts more emphasis on the words, a feature which might have been well-intended as she must have felt strongly about the ephemeral nature of love when she published this Lied in 1839.⁴²

Like Kinkel, Leopold Lenz (1804–1862) applies a prelude and a postlude in his setting of the same words, which is arranged for piano, cello, and voice.⁴³ However,

⁴² This Lied was reviewed by Ludwig Rellstab in *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 7 June 1839, pp. 91–92. In this review, this Lied is only mentioned in a marginal note, which reads: ‘The fresh song by Rückert, No. 3., is just as fresh [as the Lied before] and also well-composed’. ‘Das frische Lied von Rückert, No. 3., ist eben so Frisch und gesund in der Musik gehalten’.

⁴³ Leopold Lenz, ‘So wahr die Sonne scheint’, in *Zwölf Gedichte von Friedrich Rückert für eine Singstimme mit Pianoforte und obligatem Cello, auch mit Pianoforte allein: Op.36* (Munich: Falter & Sohn, [1844]), pp. 31–38. This opus was announced by Hofmeister in January 1844 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001844&teil=0203&seite=00000011&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 March 2016]. William P. Dougherty, in his reading of Leopold Lenz’s setting ‘Kennst du das Land’, points out that Leopold Lenz (1804–1862) ‘is a completely forgotten composer’. William P. Dougherty, ‘Mignon in Nineteenth-Century Song’, in *Word and Music Studies: Essays in Honour of Paul Scher and on Cultural Identity and the Musical Stage*, ed. by Suzanne M. Lodato, Suzanne Aspden and Walter Bernhart (Amsterdam/ New York: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 123–41 (p. 135), hereafter referred to as Dougherty,

Lenz's prelude differs from Kinkel's in so far as it introduces the melodic motif which is then taken up by the vocal part. Prelude and vocal part form one entity, which is established by means of the recurring motif as a unifying element (Ex. 8.22). In a similar way, the piano and cello postludes recapitulate motivic material that is introduced in the second poetic strophe of this through-composed Lied. Unlike Kinkel, Lenz does not repeat any material introduced at the beginning towards the end so that one does not get the impression of a cyclic form at all. The ending of this piece is clearly marked with a fermata and a semibreve following a sixteen-quaver group of repeated multi-note chords, a feature which, in this form, did not occur in any of the previous bars.

Ex. 8.22: Opening of Leopold Lenz's 'So wahr die Sonne scheint' (bars /1–6)

Bewegt

Allegretto vivace

legg.

'Mignon in Nineteenth-Century Song'. This might explain why there is no article on Lenz included in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. An anonymous note in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* from 23 June 1841 (p. 503) reveals that Lenz was a member of the Munich Kapelle and was stage director at the opera. The note mentions that Lenz travelled with his pianist brother to Lausanne where he performed some of his own compositions including the Goethe setting 'Kennst du das Land', the Heine setting 'Die beiden Grenadiere', and a setting of Victor Hugo's words. 'Herr Leopold Lenz, Mitglied der Kapelle und Opernregisseur zu München, hat in Lausanne ein Konzert als Sänger und Komponist mit großem Erfolge gegeben. Namentlich brachten seine Lieder den grössten Eindruck hervor, besonders Mignons Lied von Goethe, Heine's Grenadiere, Serenade von Victor Hugo u. A. Herr Lenz ist mit seinem Bruder, dem Pianofortevirtuosen, nach Paris gereist'.

Ex. 8.22 continued

The image displays a musical score for the song 'So wahr die Sonne scheint' by Robert Schumann. It features four staves: a vocal line at the top, a bass line, and two piano accompaniment staves (treble and bass clef). The vocal line includes the lyrics: 'So wahr die Sonne scheint, so wahr die Wolke weinet, so'. The piano accompaniment consists of multi-note chords in the right hand and two notes in the left hand, creating a rhythmic unison with the vocal parts.

Unlike Kinkel and Lenz, Robert Schumann does not employ a piano prelude or postlude (or interlude) in his Rückert setting, which is a duet (soprano and tenor or baritone) with piano accompaniment.⁴⁴ This duet is noteworthy on account of its overlapping vocal parts at the chorus lines ‘Du liebst mich wie ich dich | Dich lieb’ ich wie du mich’ (You love me, as I love you | I love you, as you love me). Voice leading is clearly a priority of Schumann’s in this setting, as the entire duet is reminiscent of a chorale: the two voices and the piano accompaniment move in rhythmic unison throughout and the piano accompaniment consists of multi-note chords (usually three notes in the right hand and two notes in the left hand), which accentuates the straightforward rhythm and the harmonic progression of this Lied. At the end, following a repetition of the last vocal line with a *ritardando*, the piano accompaniment exhibits a codetta in which the last motif is echoed, which clearly indicates the end of this Lied. This Lied is superscribed ‘Einfach’ (simple), an instruction which also reflects the compositional style.

⁴⁴ Robert Schumann, ‘So wahr die Sonne scheint’, in *Zwölf Gedichte aus Friedrich Rückerts Liebesfrühling: Op. 37*, in *Robert Schumanns Werke, Serie XIII: Für eine Singstimme, mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, ed. by Clara Schumann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1879–1912), pp. 26–27.

In a similar way, Kinkel's Lied 'Gegenwart', a strophic setting to words by Goethe, does not incorporate any prelude, interlude or postlude. Here, however, the avoidance of an introduction (or recapitulation) constitutes one of the main characteristics, as it responds directly to the words by way of contradiction. As the Lied exhibits the first line ('Alles kündigt dich an!', Everything announces your presence!) without any prelude or introduction whatsoever and in *forte* dynamics, the spontaneous beginning raises attention to the strong feelings the lyrical I has for his/ her beloved (Ex. 8.23). The omission of an introduction contradicts the announcement of the beloved sung about in this Lied, which is an effective way of emphasising the charisma of the lyrical I's beloved.

Ex. 8.23: Beginning of Kinkel's Goethe setting 'Gegenwart' (bars 1–2)

Con fuoco

1. Al - les kün-det dich an!
 2. Wenn du im Tan-ze dich regst,
 3. La - dend und lieb-lich bist du

Furthermore, the omission of a piano prelude and postlude raises sole attention to the words and thereby to the strong affection which the lyrical protagonist feels for their beloved. The rather abrupt ending exposes another contrast to the words: the last line reads 'Leben und Ewigkeit ist's' (This is life and eternity), but the lack of a postlude contradicts the literal notion of eternity. While the listener might expect a postlude after these words, Kinkel plays with the listener's expectations and thereby triggers their own creative and interpretative longing.

In comparison, Fanny Hensel employs a one-bar piano prelude as well as interludes and a postlude in her through-composed setting of these words.⁴⁵ Hensel's version is much more complex than Kinkel's with a number of abrupt interjections of rhythmic changes, tonal enclaves, changes in the piano accompaniment and a great deal of melodic decoration. The one-bar introduction contrasts with the following bar, in which the vocal line begins, in two ways. Firstly, it is set in *piano*, while the vocal part begins in *forte*; secondly, the piano introduction is a linear ascent in octaves while the vocal line incorporates leaps and descends overall (Ex. 8.24).

Ex. 8.24: Opening of Fanny Hensel's 'Gegenwart' (bars 1–6)

The musical score for the opening of Fanny Hensel's 'Gegenwart' (bars 1–6) is presented in a standard musical notation format. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The tempo is marked 'Allegro moderato'. The key signature is B-flat major, and the time signature is 6/8. The vocal line begins with a rest in the first bar, followed by the lyrics 'Al-les kün-det Dich an!' in the second bar. The piano accompaniment starts with a piano prelude in the first bar, marked 'p' and 'cresc.'. The lyrics are: 'Al-les kün-det Dich an! Er-schei-net die herr-li-che Son - - ne,'.

Furthermore, Hensel's setting, by employing sudden rhythmic changes and atmospheric turns evoked by the piano accompaniment, takes away the listener's sense of an even structure of this Lied. As soon as the listener has become used to one differentiated structure, a completely new feature replaces the established pattern and thereby creates surprise. Because listeners do not know what to expect next, this compositional technique takes away their sense of time and thereby alludes to the eternity referred to in the last line.

In conclusion, Kinkel and Hensel respond to the words in this poem in completely different ways. While Kinkel chooses a strophic setting and plays with the abrupt ending and beginning, Hensel plays with the listener's habit to get used to certain

⁴⁵ Fanny Hensel, 'Gegenwart', in *Fanny Hensel: Ausgewählte Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, ed. by Annette Maurer, 2 vols (Leipzig, Wiesbaden, Paris: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1993), I, pp. 57–61.

compositional patterns and resulting expectations. Both compositional techniques are effective, although Hensel's Lied is more challenging and more difficult to perform. However, while Martin Wehnert's aesthetic category (embedding of music within a larger context) serves as a good starting point, this section also shows that his characterisations of each category might need a re-consideration, as he does not seem to take into account the composer's possible intention to evoke interpretative thought among listeners, and more importantly, performers. Wehnert identifies *piano* preludes and postludes as Romantic ways of placing music within a larger context. However, I argue that, by way of contrast, the avoidance of such features might also allude to a larger context without pointing to it directly.

As an example of a Lied incorporating a *piano* prelude and postlude I would like to finally discuss Kinkel's setting of her husband's words 'Römische Nacht', which she introduces with a long piano prelude. Here the main motive, which recurs in the vocal line, is established. Even though this Lied is one of the few of Kinkel's settings notated as a through-composed Lied, the motivic material introduced in the prelude recurs frequently and also concludes the Lied at the end. The vocal conclusion is followed by a very short but expressive piano postlude, which, played softly, incorporates a *rallentando*, then a *diminuendo* and then a fermata, evoking the impression that the Lied dies away slowly rather than ending on a certain note. These features contradict the aesthetic principle Kinkel applied in her setting 'Gegenwart', whose beginning and ending is abrupt and unprepared. Both settings, however, are geared to the textual content. While 'Gegenwart' creates a vivid atmosphere and portrays the lyrical I's excited feelings about their own emotions, 'Römische Nacht' communicates a thoughtful and sedate atmosphere and places the characterisation of the 'alte Zeit' (old times) within the larger historical context. Both settings embed the textual content of the words within their larger interpretative contexts.

As regards the ending of ‘Römische Nacht’, both Eduard Lassen and Felix Draeseke employ a similar calm ending as Kinkel.⁴⁶ All three composers complete the last word of the vocal part with a *legato*, which lasts for more than one bar. Furthermore, all three composers conclude in *piano* (Kinkel), *pianissimo* (Draeseke), or even *pianississimo* (Lassen). At the opening, however, all three composers use different techniques. While Lassen employs a two-bar prelude, which is characterised by a cantabile style, but which does not expose the motive used in the vocal line, Draeseke opens his setting with three staccato multi-note crotchets. This very short introduction is played in *pianissimo*, while the vocal part (starting on the fourth crotchet of the first bar) is sung *piano*, which evokes the impression of the contextual event developing over the course of the following bars. However, Draeseke’s entire Lied is held in *piano* or *pianissimo* dynamics, so that no major contrasts are recognisable between the different musical sections. The piano accompaniment in this setting acts as a unifying element by sticking to the pattern of four crotchets per bar as introduced in the very first bar. The instruction ‘Ruhig, nicht schleppend’ (calm, [but] not dragging) increases the calm and sedate atmosphere of this Lied. On the contrary, Lassen’s piano accompaniment differs greatly between the different musical sections. His harmonic progression is also much more complex than Draeseke’s and Kinkel’s. This might be attributed to the later publication date (Lassen was born twenty years after Kinkel). Another indication of the later date of origin is Lassen’s generous use of the pedal, a feature which also appears in some songs by Kinkel.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that there are different ways of embedding music within larger contexts, and that Kinkel employed different

⁴⁶ Eduard Lassen, ‘Nacht in Rom’, in *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Op. 92* (Leipzig: Otto Junne, [1893]), pp. 16–18; Felix Draeseke, ‘Nacht in Rom’, in *Landschaftsbilder: Sechs Gesänge für eine Bariton- oder Mezzo-Sopran-Stimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte: Op. 20* (Dresden: Hoffarth, 1880/81), 12–13. Lassen’s op. 92 was announced by Hofmeister in November 1893 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001893&teil=0203&seite=00000496&zoom=1>> [4 March 2016].

compositional principles in response to the textual content of the corresponding *Lieder*. This shows that Kinkel, like Robert Schumann, whose *Lied* ‘So wahr die Sonne scheint’ exposes different features than one would normally expect from him, was a versatile *Lieder* composer and that she might have varied her compositional style depending on different aspects. One of these aspects could be performability; another could be marketability. Finally, another factor is Kinkel’s personal familiarity with the poets she set. While Kinkel did not know Goethe or Heine in person at all, she was friendly with Emanuel Geibel, and was in love with (and soon married to) the author of ‘Römische Nacht’, Gottfried Kinkel. Perhaps Kinkel felt very strongly about these words and therefore employed a diverse harmonic progression and a more complex and elaborate formal design incorporating a lengthy prelude and a recapitulation of the motivic material introduced at the beginning.

8.6 (Romantic) irony in Kinkel’s *Lieder*

That Kinkel applied different styles (of different complexity and character) is also evident when analysing her setting of Heine’s poem ‘Die Geisterinsel’, a duet which responds to Heine’s use of Romantic irony. In chapter 3, I explored the broad area of Romantic irony, using as an analytical example Johanna Kinkel’s Heine setting ‘Don Ramiro’. In order to be able to compare Kinkel’s use of irony with that of some of her contemporaries, however, ‘Don Ramiro’ does not serve as a fruitful analytical basis, because no other nineteenth-century setting of these words is known (to me). Therefore, this section will shed light on a different Heine setting, ‘Die Geisterinsel’, and on its use of Romantic irony.

Kinkel’s musical response to Heine’s ironic turn at the last two lines of this poem was discussed in the previous chapter of this dissertation (Ex. 7.8). By applying a sudden change of rhythm in the piano accompaniment, voice-leading (homophonic

rather than canon-like voice-leading), dynamics (*forte* rather than *pianissimo*), tempo (*adagio* rather than *andantino*), and harmonic progression and rhythm, Kinkel emphasises the unexpected textual turn of atmosphere. Considering the homophonic compositional structure, the change of the harmonic rhythm to one new chord per rhythmic element, and the application of a German sixth chord at the word ‘trostlos’ (comfortless), one could argue that Kinkel, besides other means, used sound characteristics of previous epochs for this passage.

Fanny Hensel and Peter Emilius Hartmann (1805–1900), like Kinkel, employ a 6/8 metre and broken chords in the piano accompaniment, which portrays the movement of the water.⁴⁷ Hensel also employs a canon-like pattern in her duet. Although Hensel’s setting is complex in terms of harmony and challenging as regards the voice-leading, her response to the ironic element in this setting is different than Kinkel’s. Hensel does not change the compositional principles over the last two lines of this poem, and she replaces the word ‘trostlos’ (comfortless) with the word ‘ruhig’ (quiet), which takes away a great deal of irony intended by Heine. In a similar way, Hartmann employs the same rhythmic pattern throughout his setting; however, Hartmann plays with the ambiguity of the key signature (Ex. 8.25). While his Lied opens in B minor, the harmonic progression hints at D major several times (bars 6, 10) and finally establishes D major in bar 22. In bar 30, however, which is where the final two lines begin, the

⁴⁷ Fanny Hensel, ‘Mein Liebchen, wir saßen beisammen’, in *Fanny Hensel, geb. Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Duette: Gesamtausgabe in 5 Bänden*, ed. by Willi Gundlach, 5 vols (Kassel: Furore, 1999), II; (Johan) Peter Emilius Hartmann, ‘Die Trostlosen’, in *Sechs Gesänge: Op. 35* (Leipzig: Kistner, 1839), pp. 2–8. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (29518). (Johan) Peter Emilius Hartmann (1805–1900) was a Danish composer, organist and conductor. He completed his studies in law in 1828 and was appointed secretary at the Borgerlige Indrullerungskommission, a position which he maintained until 1870. Nevertheless, he had a huge interest in music. In 1824, he followed his father as organist and was appointed music teacher at Siboni’s music conservatory. In 1836, Hartmann travelled to Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Prague, Vienna, and Paris. He was friendly with Heinrich Marschner, whom he had met in Copenhagen before his European travels. Hartmann also befriended Spohr, Chopin, and Cherubini. In 1839, he travelled to Berlin, Dresden, and Leipzig, where he met Mendelssohn and Schumann. Five years later, in 1844, when the Danish composer and conductor Niels Wilhelm Gade was appointed conductor at the Leipzig Gewandhaus, Hartmann visited Berlin and Leipzig again. He then conducted his own *Hakon Jarl*-Overture in Leipzig; it was received with enthusiasm by the German press. Despite his strong German connections, Hartmann’s musical career centred on Denmark, more particularly Copenhagen after his third travels to Germany. Inger Sørensen, ‘Hartmann, Johan Peter Emilius’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, VIII, Personenteil, pp. 736–40.

Lied returns to the initial key of B minor. Interestingly, Hartmann, like Hensel, makes a change to the words. He replaces the word ‘weitem’ (wide) with ‘meinem’ (my), which neutralises the desperate flavour of this passage, but which might be an editorial error.

Ex. 8.25: Last stanza of Peter Emilius Hartmann’s ‘Die Trostlosen’ (bars 24–39)

Unlike Hensel and Hartmann, Johann Vesque von Püttlingen, who also sets ‘Die Geisterinsel’ in 6/8 metre, responds to Heine’s ironic turn in a very effective way.⁴⁸ He

⁴⁸ Johann Vesque von Püttlingen, ‘Die Geisterinsel’, in *Album der Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik* (1838), pp. 43–44. Johann Vesque von Püttlingen (1803–1883) was a lawyer, composer and tenor. He was born in Galicia and moved to Vienna with his diplomat family in 1804, where he died in 1883. Like his father, who was an official in the Habsburg Netherlands, Vesque von Püttlingen entered the state service (1827–72). Despite his liberal views, he was one of Austria’s leading lawyers and politicians. Besides his diplomat career, he, like his parents, enjoyed music and arts; he received his first musical education at the age of thirteen from such renowned music pedagogues as Leidesdof, Moscheles, and Voříšek. From 1821, he was taught piano by Salzmann and joined the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* as a singer. In 1827, he took up singing lessons with Giuseppe Ciccimarra. One year later, he took lessons in compositions (Heinrich Eduard Joseph von Lannoy, and, in 1833, Sechter). Many of his compositions were published under his pseudonym Hoven. Among his friends were Clara and Robert Schumann, Felix Mendelssohn, Franz Liszt, Hector Berlioz, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Carl Loewe, and Franz Schubert. In his house, Vesque von Püttlingen organised salon-style concerts at which he, together with his wife Anna Maria von Márkus zu Eör (1814–1893), performed his own Lieder. His most important musical genre was the Lied; like no other composer, he seemed to prioritise Heinrich Heine’s poetry and set almost 120 poems of Heine’s.

sets apart harmonically the middle section of his song from the two outer sections, all three of which cover one poetic strophe each. While the two outer sections are in E-flat major, the second stanza is in the raised tonic (E major). When the initial tonic key returns at the beginning of the third stanza, one immediately gets the impression of a different atmosphere, which is emphasised by the return to *pianissimo* dynamics (as opposed to *fortissimo* in the preceding bars, Ex. 8.26).

Furthermore, Vesque von Püttlingen plays with minor-major relations and applies the minor tonic key of E-flat minor when the last line is repeated at the end of his setting in bars 36–40, a feature which stresses the desperate mood this setting has turned into. As the rhythmic patterns of the piano accompaniment and vocal part do not change throughout this Lied, however, the final two lines are not as clearly stressed as in Kinkel's setting. On a side note, Vesque von Püttlingen's ending, which employs a gradual decrease of tempo and dynamics and instructs the pianist to play the last three bars 'verhallend' (dying away), serves as a perfect example of a Lied embedding the music within a larger context, as discussed in the previous section. Not only does this feature respond to the image of a 'weites Meer' (wide sea), but it also alludes to the various ways in which Romantic music expressed certain atmospheres and responded to different aspects of Romantic poetry.

Ludwig Finscher, [Reinhold Sietz], 'Vesque von Püttlingen, Johann Freiherr, Pseud. *J. Hoven, Hans Hoven*', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, XVI, Personenteil, pp. 1520–23.

Ex. 8.26: Last stanza of Vesque von Püttlingen's 'Die Geisterinsel' (bars 26–45)

26

wogt' es hin und her; wir a - ber schwam - men vor - ü - ber

8^{va} *f* *ff* *f* *Langsamer* *Erstes Zeitmass* *pp*

32

trost - los auf wei - tem Meer, wir a - ber schwam - men vor - ü - ber trost - los auf wei - tem Meer, — *f*

38 *langsamer werdend*

trost - los auf wei - tem Meer, — trost - los auf wei - tem Meer. — *p* *langsamer werdend* *pp* *ppp*

42

verhallend

It is interesting that Julius Becker uses a partly strophic structure for these words, setting the first and second stanzas to the exact same music.⁴⁹ The third stanza begins with the same melodic phrase in the vocal part and the same rhythmic pattern in the piano accompaniment as the first two stanzas. However, in order to stress compositionally the final two lines of the poem, this last stanza is notated separately. Like Kinkel, Becker changes the piano accompaniment in order to create a more sedate atmosphere at the last two lines (Ex. 8.27). Furthermore, the use of arpeggio figures in the right hand piano and harmonic variation at the corresponding lines emphasise the negative atmospheric turn. In order to allude to the moving water, Becker uses a 9/8 metre.

Ex. 8.27: Conclusion of Becker's 'Mein Liebchen, wir sassen beisammen' (bars 11–23)

11
Dort klang es lieb und lie - ber, und wogt' es hin und

15
her; wir a - ber schwam - men vor - ü - ber trost - los auf wei - tem

19
Meer, trost - los auf wei - tem Meer.

smorz. p perdend. pp

⁴⁹ Julius Becker, 'Mein Liebchen, wir sassen beisammen', in *Fünf Lieder für eine Stimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte; Op. 4* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, [1837]), pp. 6–7. Like 'Der Runenstein', which is part of the same opus number, this Lied was announced by Hofmeister in September/ October 1837.

Like Kinkel, Hartmann, and Hensel, Moritz Hauptmann arranges his setting of the same words, ‘Meerfahrt’, in 6/8 metre.⁵⁰ His setting for voice, violin and piano accompaniment differs from the other songs introduced above in many ways. Besides the different instrumentation, which allows for a more diverse accompaniment (the violin part takes on a purely decorative function and emphasises the vocal part by means of melodic contrast), Hauptmann sets Heine’s entire poem twice in one and the same Lied. While the final two lines of the poem in the first section are set to a striking change of piano accompaniment (Ex. 8.28a, bars 31–40) and harmonised with diminished seventh chords, the second section differs in terms of piano accompaniment and melody (Ex. 8.28b, bars 61–71).

Ex. 8.28a: Bars 31–40 of Moritz Hauptmann’s ‘Meerfahrt’

31

her; wir a-ber schwam-men vor - ü - ber,

36

trost-los auf wei - tem Meer, trost-los auf wei - tem Meer. Mein Lieb - chen, wir

⁵⁰ Moritz Hauptmann, ‘Meerfahrt’, in *Drei Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Pianoforte- und Violinbegleitung: Op. 31* (Leipzig: Peters, [1844]), pp. 2–5. This opus was announced by Hofmeister in November 1844 <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-buch?apm=0&aid=1000001&bd=0001844&teil=0203&seite=00000168&zoom=1>> [accessed 4 March 2016].

Ex. 8.28b: Bars 61–71 of Moritz Hauptmann’s ‘Meerfahrt’

61

f *dimin.*

wir a - ber schwam-men vor-ü-ber, trost-los auf wei - tem Meer,

dimin. *f* *dimin.* *p* *f* *dimin.*

66

p *poco ritard.*

trost-los auf wei - tem Meer._____

p

To conclude, all composers discussed in this section seemed to capture the sea and the image of a loving couple floating on the water by means of a 6/8 metre (or 9/8 metre) and a light-hearted piano accompaniment. However, their responses to Heine’s use of irony are different. While Fanny Hensel and Peter Emilius Hartmann made minor changes to the words and thereby defused the ironic sharpness, Johann Vesque von Püttlingen, Moritz Hauptmann, Julius Becker, and Johanna Kinkel responded musically to this irony. However, Kinkel is the only composer discussed here to use at the same time several surprising aesthetic means, including dynamics, tempo, rhythm, harmony, melody, and voice-leading, some features of which remind us of previous musical epochs.

8.7 Conclusion: Johanna Kinkel – a ‘typical’ nineteenth-century composer?

This chapter shows that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century composers can by no means be generalised as regards their compositional styles, as their musical responses to certain words are diverse. The aesthetic features applied by the composers included in this chapter depend on the words they set and the content they wanted to stress. Johanna Kinkel makes use of such typical Romantic stylistic features as recourse to earlier compositional techniques (e.g. strophic form and homophonic voice-leading); differentiated structures of tone and time (e.g. in her gypsy songs); spontaneous outbursts, interjections and sudden interruptions; the embedment of music within a larger context (which can be seen by means of different treatments of the beginnings and endings of Kinkel’s *Lieder*); and the musical response to Romantic irony. Considering this, one could conclude that Johanna Kinkel was a ‘typical’ Romantic composer in terms of her aesthetics. However, Kinkel’s style differs depending on the textual content, the performance and publication contexts, and the poet. Kinkel’s complexity and degrees of difficulty do not change in a chronological order. The reasons for this are manifold. Firstly, Kinkel only published *Lieder* within a period of thirteen years (1838–51); most of them were published between 1838 and 1848. This period of time is fairly short – and perhaps too short to make any observations as regards a chronological stylistic development. Secondly, Kinkel, at all stages of her career, composed for herself and for others, as she depended financially on the marketability of her *Lieder* publications. Therefore, it is imaginable that she aimed to include *Lieder* of different degrees of difficulty in her *Lieder* opus numbers in order to attract as many performers (i.e. consumers) as possible. Thirdly, it is impossible to make a definite statement about Kinkel’s *Lieder compositions* (as opposed to her *Lieder publications*) because we do not know how many *Lieder* she may have composed which were not published. We do know, however, that Kinkel set the words of her husband’s

and her own Singspiele, none of which (except for the *Vogelkantate*) were published. This brings us to a substantial thought as regards Martin Wehnert's categories determining Romantic compositional aesthetics. While this dissertation only deals with Johanna Kinkel's Lieder, i.e. her small-scale works, some of Wehnert's categories might have been aimed at the examination of large-scale works, which would be an interesting undertaking for future Kinkel research. Compared to other nineteenth-century Lieder composers, many of Kinkel's Lieder are striking because of their challenging piano accompaniment, complex harmonic design, distinctive rhythm, and relatively simple melodic line. However, some of her contemporaries might have applied more complex harmonic progressions in settings which were not examined in this chapter. To conclude, Kinkel's compositions deserve attention within the context of nineteenth-century compositional history, because they feature superior harmony and pianistic skills and are as rich as the Lieder of those contemporaries who have long been included in the research and performance canons.

CONCLUSION

Considering the nineteenth-century socio-political discourse, Johanna Kinkel's biography is extraordinary. Kinkel's persistent fight for a divorce from her first husband, her conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism, her second marriage with the Protestant theologian and later revolutionary Gottfried Kinkel, and her escape to and exile in London bear witness to her strong and emancipated personality. Her own involvement in socio-politics through journalistic activities with the *Neue Bonner Zeitung*, the *Endenicher Wochenblatt*, and the *Endenicher Modejournale*, her leadership of the *Maikäferbund*, her constant juggling of family, household, and the public domain, and her directorship of the *Bonner Gesangverein* reveal her democratic and proactive mindset. Finally, her extraordinarily broad artistic affinity surfaces in her composition, teaching, and writing activities. While Kinkel's musical engagement, considered in isolation, is a relatively common nineteenth-century phenomenon, the combination of all biographical facets of Kinkel's is astonishing. The nineteenth-century print media bear witness to a great number of Lieder publications by women, many of whom have long been forgotten: Charlotte Bauer (dates unknown), Isabella Behr (dates unknown), Jeanette Bürde (1799–?), Fanny Hensel, Marie Hinrichs, Marie König (1831–1859), Elise Müller (1782–1849), Elise Schmezer, Clara Schumann, Bettina von Arnim, Ingeborg von Bronsart (1849–1913), Charlotte von Bülow, Wilhelmine von Schwertzell, to name but a few.¹ Likewise, women writers were not uncommon.² Such salon gatherings as Kinkel's *Maikäferbund* in Poppelsdorf were a fashionable

¹ This list of names is the result of a four-week research visit to the Berlin Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, during which I examined systematically the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, and *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*. I am very grateful to the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz for the four-week research scholarship in February/ March 2015 Berlin.

² For example Louise Aston, Caroline de la Motte Fouqué, Henriette Frölich, Ida Hahn-Hahn (1805–1888), Fanny Lewald, Sophie Mereau (1770–1806), Rahel Varnhagen, Bettina von Arnim, Emilie von Binzer, Annette von Droste-Hülshoff (1797–1848), Malwida von Meysenbug, and Karoline von Woltmann (1782–1842). Kinkel was friendly with many of those women.

phenomenon throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and throughout Europe. Some examples of salonnières are Ingeborg von Bronsart, Marie d'Agoult (1805–1876), Fanny Hensel, Jessie Hillebrand (1827–1905), Malla Silfverstolpe (1782–1861), Bettina von Arnim, and Elisabeth von Staegemann (1761–1835).³ In terms of teaching, Kinkel herself took precise record of her impression of the job market for music teachers in her memoirs and her *Briefe aus London*. Both documents reveal that Kinkel was one of many people who tried to make a living from teaching and that the job market was extremely competitive both in Berlin and London. It is mostly the combination and the nature of all those activities which grant Kinkel an extraordinary standing within her own context. Kinkel was a woman of her own time with regard to her socio-cultural restrictions and her national views, but her biography also reflects her rather progressive mindset in terms of gender roles and socio-cultural conventions. As much as Kinkel was a woman of her own time, however, her time is also a reflection of women like Kinkel, an aspect which not only surfaces in Kinkel's biography but also in her artistic oeuvre.

In the light of Kinkel's strong reception by the media, her own public appearance with the *Bonner Gesangverein*, the *Maikäfer*, and her published compositions, fictional and non-fictional writings, Kinkel's artistic output can be considered a significant contribution to the nineteenth-century literary and musical canon. Not only did Kinkel reiterate the cultural and compositional-aesthetic significance of such popular poets as Goethe, Heine, Platen, and Geibel, but she also set her own, her husband's, and her friends' lesser-known poems, all of which reflect typical Romantic, and in part post-Romantic, thought. Kinkel's music was mainly performed in private and semi-public settings by herself and/ or her contemporaries, an

³ I am grateful to all speakers at the international bilingual conference *The European Salon: Nineteenth-Century Salonmusik* (Maynooth University, 2–4 October 2015) who shed light on many different salons throughout Europe. A very comprehensive and detailed list of Berlin salons during the nineteenth century is provided in Wilhelmy, *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert*.

aspect which points to typical performance contexts of the Lied during the first half of the nineteenth century.

In line with the rather small and personal settings, Kinkel's Lieder compositions carry autobiographical content and are thereby linked to her socio-political background and environment. Kinkel's musical mode of thought is reflected in her correspondence, which encourages an interpretation of certain compositional features according to Kinkel's own verbal statements about those features (for example, the diminished seventh chord, according to Kinkel, alludes to a rather sad mood). At the same time, Kinkel's allusions to musical expressiveness stress her notion of music's potential to create meaning. The poetry Kinkel set in her Lieder reveals autobiographical content on different levels: in her correspondence, Kinkel refers to specific songs; some of the poems she set are clearly associated with key moments of Johanna and Gottfried's courtship and relationship; Kinkel's doubts and sorrows voiced in her letters to friends recur in her songs. On a technical level, Kinkel's compositional style and the poets she set changed in accordance with her personal development and environment, an aspect which serves as a further allusion to Kinkel's (musical) biography. However, Kinkel's productive period only spans thirteen years from 1838 to 1851, which limits the potential to evaluate her stylistic development in greater detail. Not only do Kinkel's Lieder illustrate musically her letters, memoirs, and writings by underlining certain life events and states of mind, but Kinkel's love songs serve as biographical evidence of emotions to which she only alluded by way of passing remarks in her literary legacy. A close reading of Kinkel's love songs enables her audience to gain insight into her biography and her inner life at a time when the socio-political conventions did not allow for an open and uncensored exposure of one's feelings about marriage, faith, and politics. Thus I argue that Kinkel's love songs are a valuable source of biographical evidence, as they act as emotional qualifiers of Kinkel's prose. Considering Kinkel's

eventful life, which included many emotional highs and lows, it is not surprising that the themes and moods expressed in all her Lieder publications vary and that it seems impossible to pinpoint a psycho-biographical development over the course of Kinkel's thirteen years of publishing.

An examination of Kinkel's political songs enables us to gain further insight into the socio-political climate of the time. The small salon-like performance context and Kinkel's democratic involvement in the *Maikäferbund* reveal that Kinkel considered her own songs as rather personal. In light of this, it is not surprising that many of Kinkel's political Lieder carry strong political content, including criticism of religious and socio-political conventions as well as the encouragement of revolutionary activities. Kinkel might have deliberately chosen to address delicate political themes within her artistic output, much of which was performed in private circles. By combining political modes of thought with popular musical domains – both the Lied and the Singspiel were popular musical genres of the time – Kinkel addressed an audience comprising both political activists and musically interested people. By setting her own and her husband's words, Kinkel placed herself within the male domain of politics and indicated her fondness for and her affiliation with the democratic revolutionary movement of the first half of the nineteenth century. Although it is questionable whether Kinkel's Lieder and poetry alone would have been powerful enough to qualify the *Maikäferbund* as a democratic movement, it is obvious that her gatekeeping as the leader of this association, her drawings, and her numerous reminders to fellow writers to contribute to the weekly *Maikäfer* journal influenced the tone predominating this group. It should be borne in mind, however, that the composer's (and the performer's) reputation might have influenced the reception of this movement's gatherings. Therefore, I hold that Kinkel's political settings had a considerable impact on the *Maikäferbund* and the democratic revolutionary movement of the nineteenth century. However, it is worth

noting that Kinkel's socio-political significance was intensified by the political activities of her husband. In terms of creative innovation, Kinkel's political settings are joint works and thus Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel are joint identifiers of the revolutionary movement. Not only did Johanna Kinkel set a great number of Gottfried Kinkel's and their mutual friends' words and was thereby inspired directly by her husband's political mindset. But, in a similar way to Kinkel's love songs, Gottfried Kinkel's political activities served as an inspiration for Johanna's own creative process of writing poetry and prose throughout their marriage. Thus, her political settings act as socio-political mirrors of the time in two ways. Firstly, they had a significant impact on the socio-political environment surrounding Kinkel, as those settings were distributed, bought, and performed by Kinkel's contemporaries. Secondly, the aspect of joint authorship and mutual inspiration alludes to the Kinkels' unconventional interpretation of gender rules, as they considered both Johanna and Gottfried as equal inspirations of each other's artistic output on the one hand and each other's motivation for political commitment on the other. This reciprocal relationship might be one explanation why Kinkel's Lieder were not mentioned in nineteenth-century encyclopedia entries, as the composition history of Kinkel's Lieder does not conform to the ideals of authorship and gender roles during the nineteenth-century socio-cultural discourse.

On the other hand, Kinkel's Lieder feature typical Romantic paradigms as well, an aspect which is particularly evident in Kinkel's songs in praise of nature. Many of Kinkel's Lieder feature such Romantic traits as Herder's idea of distinguishable language communities and inner truth; Romantic fashionability in terms of poets set by Kinkel (Heinrich Heine, Emanuel Geibel); and such Romantic themes as the longing for pre-industrialised landscapes and the South; the praise of night-time atmospheres and the moon; dualisms between the inner self, its spiritual and surrounding worlds; mystifications of nature; nature as an allegory for love and the beloved; and strong

emotions. In light of this, Kinkel's Lieder in praise of nature give an excellent account of the Romantic period both paradigmatically and compositionally, especially as many of her Lieder were received with great enthusiasm by renowned music critics of the time. Some aspects of Kinkel's compositional style, however, also attracted rather negative criticism. The reviewers deemed Kinkel's prominence of the piano accompaniment and her employment of successive semitones too difficult, considering the performative purposes of Kinkel's Lieder. Furthermore, the harmonic progressions of some Lieder seemed too modern to the reviewers of the time. This negative criticism (or – in some cases – lack of criticism) reflects the general tenor of the time just as arrestingly as the positive criticism of Kinkel's Lieder. Therefore, I suggest a more careful consideration of those works which were not reviewed by the public print media. For instance, Kinkel's Heine ballad 'Don Ramiro' was never reviewed by the public media and I argue that the consideration of reasons why this is so might lead to further insight into nineteenth-century socio-political and cultural paradigms. The ballad 'Don Ramiro' includes such operatic features as recitativo passages; cadential divisions of the ballad into separate 'acts'; references to Italian opera; and motivic constellations which allude to a complex overall structure employing the concept of Romantic irony in an arguably post-Romantic way. Considering the gendered ideals of the time and Kinkel's image as a Lieder composer, perhaps the print media did not mention this complex work in order to maintain the image produced by the media initially.

In a similar way, it seems that the print media disregarded Kinkel's compositional diversity and her ability to adapt styles and compositional features to certain themes, moods, purposes, and target groups. As is examined in the comparative analysis in chapter II.5, the works of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century composers feature a great degree of diversity depending on the words they set. While Kinkel employs typical Romantic stylistic means, her style differs depending on the textual

content, the poet, and the performance context. Considering Kinkel's complex and unusually diverse biographical facets, the thematic range of her Lieder, her compositional diversity, her reception history and her personal correspondence, it seems difficult and perhaps impossible to generalise her compositional style. However, her use of complex harmonic progressions including augmented sixth chords, diminished and half-diminished seventh chords and enharmonic progressions, as well as challenging piano passages, places some of her Lieder among such artful and canonical compositions as Schumann's, Schubert's, and Vesque von Püttlingen's.

Finally, was Johanna Kinkel's reception typical within the nineteenth-century discourse? According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, 'typical' means 'having the distinctive qualities of a particular type of person or thing'.⁴ In other words, does Kinkel's reception have the distinctive qualities of nineteenth-century reception patterns? Kinkel's works were received with suspicion by her contemporary reviewers, because she was a woman who produced noteworthy Lieder. Thus, Kinkel's contemporary reception was 'typical' in so far as most women composers were treated with suspicion, as is reflected in Ludwig Rellstab's reviews. On the other hand, however, Kinkel is one of a few exceptions within this context, as most women composers were criticised for their rather simple styles. Kinkel's works, on the contrary, were reviewed quite positively. Finally, in terms of twentieth-century reception, Kinkel might be more 'typical' than it may seem at first glance, as only very few nineteenth-century composers are performed on a regular basis today. Many nineteenth-century Lieder composers have long been forgotten and consequently abandoned from both the research canon and the performance repertoires. While the word 'typical' might not be the best choice of words in order to classify a composer and her reception, I would like to raise the point that well-researched and often-performed nineteenth-century

⁴ *Oxford Dictionary*, article on 'typical' <<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/typical>> [accessed 28 April 2016].

composers might *not* feature distinctive qualities of the nineteenth-century aesthetic discourse, and therefore, might not have determined this era aesthetically. Most of the composers performed today stand out for their stylistic extraordinariness or because of other unusual features (e.g. family background) and are therefore considered ‘epoch-making’ representatives of the age in question. In his essay ‘Mignon in Nineteenth-Century Song’, William P. Dougherty explains his ambition to refer to lesser known composers of the Goethe poem ‘Kennst du das Land’ by citing George Herbert Palmer, who in his preface to his own collection of works, writes that:

[Although] there are very few to whom this book will seem worthwhile [and] will probably never be read entire by any one [...] the tendencies of an age appear more distinctly in its writers of inferior rank than in those of commanding genius. These latter tell of past and future as well as of the years in which they live. They are for all time. But on the sensitive, responsive souls of less creative power, current ideals record themselves with clearness.⁵

Dougherty then cites Arthur Lovejoy, who claims that:

The study of the history of ideas [...] is especially concerned with the manifestations of specific unit-ideas in the collective thought of large groups of persons, not merely in the doctrines or opinions of a small number of profound thinkers or eminent writers. [...] It is, in short, most interested in ideas which attain a wide diffusion, which become a part of the stock of many minds.⁶

In the light of this, and bearing in mind the antagonism between ‘epoch-making’ composers on the one hand and ‘typical’ composers on the other hand, an examination of a rather unknown nineteenth-century composer might reveal further detail on typical socio-political and cultural features of the time. Despite (or because of) her typical nineteenth-century aesthetics on the one hand and her stylistic diversity and unusual biography and reception on the other, Kinkel has not been granted her deserved place within the performance and research canons. It almost seems that Kinkel’s oeuvre is not unusual enough to be considered within the context of typical nineteenth-century composers and the history of ideas; and her work is not unusual enough to be

⁵ Dougherty, ‘Mignon in Nineteenth-century Song’, p. 131; *The English Works of George Herbert*, ed. by George Herbert Palmer, 6 vols (Boston/ New York: Houghton Mifflin & Company, 1905), I, pp. xi–xii.

⁶ Arthur Lovejoy cited after Dougherty, ‘Mignon in Nineteenth-century Song’, p. 131.

considered within the context of epoch-making profound works and thinkers. This aspect questions the division of musical history into *Stilperioden* (style periods) and a musical historiography based on the history of individual great composers or great works, an aspect which was, as Ralph Locke points out, criticised by many musicologists in the past.⁷ To date, the only context within which Kinkel's literary and musical works may have been explored (although in limited depth) is the context of gender, an approach which – at least to a certain extent – enabled Kinkel's Lieder to enter the canon, but also limits the lens through which these Lieder have been received and examined.

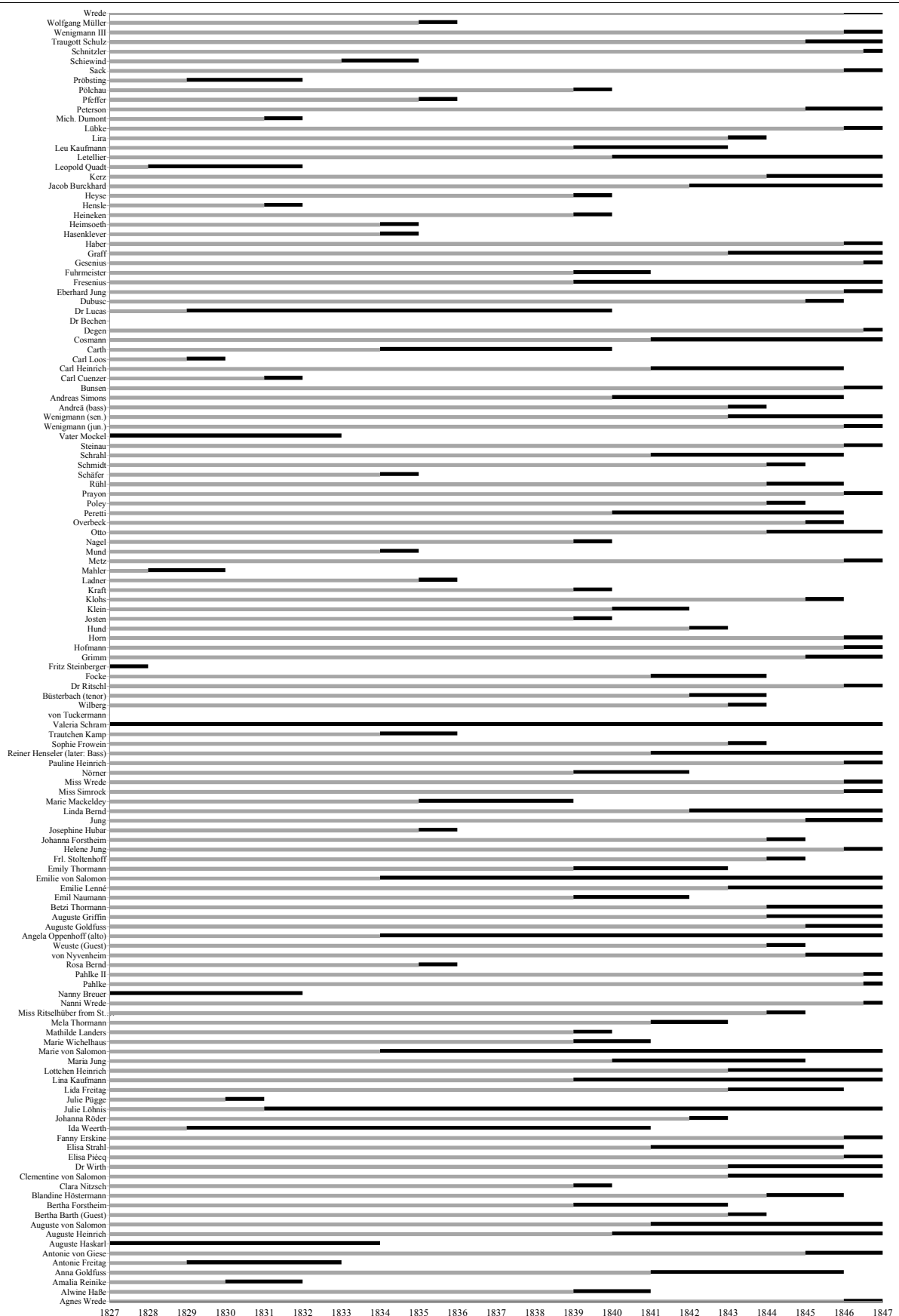
Kinkel is not only a 'typical' nineteenth-century composer in terms of her thematic diversity and compositional aesthetics, but also in terms of twenty-first-century reception and performance practice, an aspect which calls for reconsideration and change also in terms of the academic curriculum. Besides the interesting aspect of Kinkel's gender, her artistic output should be considered within such other frameworks as autobiographical composition, cultural identity, and Romanticism. Furthermore, it is important to explore cultural-historical phenomena by way of cross-references between different disciplines of the humanities, notably musicology, literary studies, cultural studies, and media studies. This approach might inspire further research on Kinkel's unpublished Singspiele and Scottish songs, or similar projects on her lesser-known contemporaries. Some of these contemporaries - for example Julius Becker (1811–1859), Charlotte von Bülow (1817–1908), Joachim Raff (1822–1882), Elise Schmezer (1810–1856), and Friedrich Hieronymus Truhn (1811–1886) - emerge in this dissertation, but my focus on Kinkel did not allow an in-depth examination of these other figures.

⁷ Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, pp. 20–22.

To conclude and in response to my major research question, this dissertation shows the diversity of themes, paradigms, and aesthetics which informed Johanna Kinkel's published songs and, more generally, the nineteenth-century Lied. Researching Kinkel's published Lieder sheds light on such aspects as autobiography, politics, Romanticism, female authorship, performance settings, poetic plots and settings, poets, publishing contexts, review practice, and teaching methods and backgrounds. A montage-like study of Kinkel's Lieder and her time, this dissertation not only suggests that Kinkel's Lieder are a mirror of her psycho-biography and her time, but also elaborates on the question of a reciprocal relationship between society and song. In accordance with Nicholas Cook's theory of the score as a social script and McCombs and Shaw's media effect theory of agenda setting, Johanna Kinkel's published Lieder reflect the socio-political and cultural circumstances which surrounded them. More importantly, however, Kinkel's works – to a certain extent – set the agenda of their own time. By shaping parts of their own culture, Kinkel's Lieder constitute an active part of society, an aspect which confirms the two-fold significance of song as both a mirror and a script for the exploration of the nineteenth-century socio-political and cultural discourse. Likewise, to maintain Cook's concept of music as a social script, an interpretative reflection of Kinkel's works as suggested by this study reminds us that historiography, too, is a social script and that perhaps it is a (good!) sign of our times that the examination of niche compositions such as Kinkel's is granted full attention, encouragement, and support by the international research community today.

–APPENDICES–

APPENDIX A: Members of the *Bonner Gesangverein*¹



¹ The members' names are listed by way of alphabetical order, and grouped into the four categories 'soprano' (from Agnes Wrede upwards), 'alto' (from Angela Oppenhoff upwards), 'tenor' (from Büsterbach upwards), and 'bass' (from André upwards), from bottom to top. These data are based on Kinkel, *Notizen den Gesangverein betreffend*.

APPENDIX B: Repertoire of the *Bonner Gesangverein* (based on Kinkel's *Notizen den Gesangverein betreffend*)¹

Year	Mozart	Weber	Beethoven	Spohr	Spontini	Hummel	Ries	Auber	Boieldieu	Paer	Löwe	Gluck	Cherubini	Pergolese	Rhigini	Klein	Lotti	Kinkel	Handel	Marschner	Mendelssohn	Hensel	Schubert	Hiller	Neukomm	
1827–1834	Small Ens. Pieces, Main Numbers from <i>Figaro</i>	Small Ens. pieces	<i>Fidelio</i> , Trios, Sonatas	<i>Zemire und Azor</i> , <i>Jessonda</i>	<i>La Vestale</i> , <i>Olympia</i>	Trios, Sonatas	Trios, Sonatas	No details	No details	No details	<i>Die Drei Wünsche</i>	<i>Alceste</i>														
1835	<i>Don Juan</i> , <i>Idemeneo</i> , <i>Cosi Jan Tutti</i>	<i>Abu Hassan</i> , <i>Euryanthe</i> , Solo and choirs, Lieder	Sonatas, Violin sonatas, <i>Opferlied</i>			F#-minor sonata						<i>Armida</i>	<i>Der Wasserträger</i>													
1836		<i>Oberon</i>		<i>Faust</i> , <i>Zemire und Azor</i>		Trios						<i>Armida</i>														
1839	<i>Don Juan</i>		Sonatas	<i>Zemire und Azor</i>		Quintuor						<i>Orfeus</i>	<i>Stabat Mater</i>	<i>Jerusalems Befreiung</i>												
1840	<i>Idomeneo</i>											<i>Iphigenie in Tauris</i> , <i>Armida</i>														
1842	<i>Requiem</i> , <i>De Profundis</i>		<i>Schottische Lieder</i>												<i>Ave Maria</i>	<i>Crucifixus</i>		<i>In Coena Domini</i> , <i>Otto der Schütz</i>								
1843																		<i>Die Assassinen</i>	<i>Salomon</i>							
1844				<i>Jessonda</i>										<i>Stabat Mater</i>		<i>Miserere</i>			<i>Joshua</i>							
1845		<i>Oberon</i>																								
1846				<i>Pietro von Abano</i>								<i>Iphigenie</i>								<i>Hans Heiling</i>						
1847	<i>De Profundis</i> , <i>Requiem</i>		<i>Schottische Lieder</i> , <i>Opus 90</i>	<i>Berggeist</i>												<i>Ave Maria</i>	<i>Crucifixus</i>		<i>Israel in Egypt</i> , <i>Aria</i>		<i>Hymnus</i> , Solo and Choir	<i>Gartenlieder</i>	<i>Der Gondelfahrer</i>			<i>4-part psalm</i>
1848												<i>Requiem</i>							<i>Salomon</i>					<i>Gesang der Geister über den Wassern</i>		

¹ Highlighted columns mark female composers

APPENDIX C: Johanna Kinkel's Compositions

Op.	Title	Composition			Publisher	Dedicatee	Date	Source
		Title	First Line	Poet				
Published compositions								
7	<i>Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	1 Nachtlid	Der Mond kommt still gegangen	E. Geibel	Trautwein (Berlin)	Bettina von Arnim	March 1838	Hofmeister
		2 Wunsch	Im Meere möcht' ich fahren	A. Kopisch				
		3 Vorüberfahrt	Ihr Liebesflüsternden Linden	J. Kinkel				
		4 Die Lorelei	Ich weiss nicht was soll es bedeuten	H. Heine				
		5 An den Mond	Füllest wieder Busch und Thal	J. W. von Goethe				
		6 Die Zigeuner	Im Schatten des Waldes	E. Geibel				
8	<i>Sechs Gedichte von Emanuel Geibel für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	1 Der spanische Zitherknabe	Fern im Süd das schöne Spanien	E. Geibel	Trautwein (Berlin)	Emilie von Henning	July 1838	Hofmeister
		2 Rheinsage	Am Rhein, am grünen Rheine	E. Geibel				
		3 Gondellied	O komm zu mir	E. Geibel				
		4 Abendfeier	Ave Maria! Meer und Himmel	E. Geibel				
		5 Trennung	In meinem Garten die Nelken	E. Geibel				
		6 Abreise	Es kommt ein Schiff gezogen	E. Geibel				
	<i>Der Runenstein</i>	Gedicht von Heine	Es ragt ins Meer der Runenstein	H. Heine	Trautwein (Berlin)	/	November 1838	Hofmeister

	<i>Trinklied für Männerchor</i>	Trinklied für Männerchor	Lasst uns trinken, lasst uns singen	J. Kinkel	Musical Supplement to <i>Neue Zeitschrift für Musik</i> (Leipzig)	/	September 1838	<i>Neue Zeitschrift für Musik</i> , 28 September 1838, p. 106
9	<i>Das Schloss Boncourt: Gedicht von Adelbert von Chamisso für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	Das Schloß Boncourt	Ich träume als Kind mich zurücke	H. Heine	Trautwein	Chamisso	November 1838	Hofmeister
	<i>Rhein-Sagen und Lieder, 1</i>	Köln	Im Rhein, im heiligen Strome	H. Heine	Dunst (Bonn)	/	December 1838	Announcement in supplement to <i>Allgemeine Zeitung</i> , 16 December 1838, p. 2668; Hofmeister announced this in January 1840
		Der Rheinstrom	Berg und Burgen schau'n herunter	H.Heine				
1	<i>Die Vogelkantate</i>	<i>Die Vogelkantate</i> ; comic cantata		J. Kinkel	Trautwein (Berlin)	Prof. Lucas in Bonn	1838	Klaus, <i>Johanna Kinkel</i> , p. 50; Hofmeister announced this in January 1839; composed in 1829 (Klaus, <i>Johanna Kinkel</i> , p. 342)
10	<i>Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	1 Nachgefühl	Wenn die Reben wieder blühen	J. W. von Goethe	Trautwein (Berlin)	/	May 1839	Hofmeister
		2 Der Kuss	Ich will meine Seele tauchen	H. Heine				
		3 So wahr die Sonne scheint	So wahr die Sonne scheint	F. Rückert				
		4 Wiegenlied	O du hast es gar zu gut	J. Kinkel				

		5 Traumdeutung	Als ich auf dem Euphrat schiffte	J. W. von Goethe				
		6 Der Müllerin Nachbar	Die Mühle die dreht ihre Flügel	A. von Chamisso				
	<i>Rhein-Sagen und Lieder, III</i>	Die beiden Brüder	Oben auf der Bergesspitze	H. Heine	Dunst (Bonn)	/	May 1839	Hofmeister
6	<i>Sechs Lieder mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	1 Sehnsucht nach Griechenland	Ich blicke in mein Herz	E. Geibel	Kistner (Leipzig)	Angela Oppenhoff	July 1839	Hofmeister
		2 Wasser und Wein	Freunde sagt, was wollt ihr trinken?	A. Kopisch				
		3 Die Geister haben's vernommen	Da hab' ich viel blasse Leichen	H. Heine				
		4 An Luna	Schwester von dem ersten Licht	J. W. von Goethe				
		5 Verlorne Glück	Sitze hier an lieber Stelle	J. Kinkel				
		6 Die Sprache der Sterne	Es stehen unbeweglich	H. Heine				
11	<i>Drei Duetten für Sopran und Alt mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	1 Das Lied der Nachtigall	Aus meinen Thränen spriessen	H. Heine	Trautwein	Nanny Müller	July 1839	Hofmeister
		2 Die Geisterinsel	Mein Liebchen, wir sassen beisammen	H. Heine				
		3 Der Seejungfern Gesang	Der Mond ist aufgegangen	H. Heine				
12	<i>Drei Duetten für weibliche Stimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	1 Die Fischerkinder	Hast du von den Fischerkindern	W. Müller von Königs-winter	Trautwein	Adele and Emily Thormann	September 1840	Hofmeister
		2 Der Sommerabend	Der Sommerabend schauet so still	W. Müller von Königs-winter				
		3 Nachtgesang	O gieb vom weichen Pfühle	J. W. von Goethe				

13	<i>Don Ramiro: Ballade von H. Heine für Alt oder Bariton mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	Don Ramiro	Donna Clara, Donna Clara! Heissgeliebte langer Jahre	H. Heine	Eck & Lefebvre (Cologne)	Sophie Schloß	September 1840, 2 nd edition 1846	Hofmeister
	<i>Der deutsche Rhein</i>	Der deutsche Rhein	Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, den freien deutschen Rhein	N. Becker	Kistner (Leipzig)	/	December 1840	Hofmeister
15	<i>Sechs Lieder für Alt oder Bariton mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte</i>	1 Römische Nacht	Ringsum auf allen Plätzen	G. Kinkel	Eck & Lefebvre (Cologne and Amsterdam)	/	September 1841 (2nd edition 1846)	Hofmeister
		2 Du nah'st	Du nah'st! und wie Morgenröthe	J. Kinkel				
		3 Wiegenlied	Schlaf du holdes süßes Kind	J. Kinkel				
		4 Lust und Qual	Knabe sass ich, Fischerknabe	J. W. von Goethe				
		5 Rette Vater, Dein geliebtes Kind!	Einem Ruf hab' ich gelauschet	G. Kinkel				
		6 Allegretto	War hinaus gezogen	J. Kinkel				
16	<i>Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	1 Die Gefangenen	Der erste Tagesschimmer	J. Kinkel	Hofmeister (Leipzig)	Emilie von Binzer	December 1841	Hofmeister; Text to 'Die Gefangenen': 25 August 1840 (<i>Maikäfer</i>); Text to 'Klage': 21 July 1840 (<i>Maikäfer</i>)
		2 Nächtliche Fahrt	Wenn über Wellen und Land	J. Kinkel				
		3 Abschied von Italien	Fort nun, o Schiff!	G. Kinkel				
		4 Gegenwart	Alles kündet dich an	J. W. von Goethe				
		5 Rheinfahrt	Die Nacht kommt still gezogen	S. Longard				
		6 Klage	Ach dass da doch so ferne bist	S. Longard				
14	<i>Hymnus in Coena Domini</i>	<i>Hymnus in Coena Domini</i> ; choral work		Words from the seventh century; poet	F. W. Arnold (Elberfeld)	Franz Ries	May 1843	Hofmeister

				unknown				
18	<i>Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Piano</i>	1 Es ist so still geworden: Geistliches Abendlied	Es ist so still geworden	G. Kinkel	Schlesinger (Berlin)	Fräulein Forstheim	May 1843	Hofmeister; Text to 'Am Ufer': 29 September 1840 (<i>Maikäfer</i>); Text to 'Seelige Nacht': 12 April 1841 (<i>Maikäfer</i>)
		2 Am Ufer	Erblick' ich dort	J. and G. Kinkel				
		3 Auf wohl auf ihr Candioten	Auf wohl auf ihr Candioten	G. Kinkel				
		4 Seelige Nacht	Noch einmal erklingt	J. Kinkel				
		5 Wolle keiner mich fragen	Wolle keiner mich fragen	E. Geibel				
		6 Stürmisch wandern	Felsen steigen herauf, herab	G. Kinkel				
	<i>Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris</i>	Hymne auf den Tod des Marco Botzaris	Männer von Hellas, klagt um den Heroen	Greek folk song, transl. by G. Kinkel	Eisen (Cologne); also: 1849 Sulzbach (Bonn)	/	June 1843	Both announced by Hofmeister
17	<i>Sechs Lieder für eine tiefe Stimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	1 Blaue Augen	In ahnungsvollem Glanze	G. Kinkel	Bote & Bock (Berlin)	Josephine Hubar	December 1847	Hofmeister; Text to 'In der Bucht': 20 September 1840 (<i>Maikäfer</i>); Texts to 'Schwarze Augen' and 'Blaue Augen': June 1840 (<i>Maikäfer</i>)
		2 Schwarze Augen	Ach, in dem funkelnden, träumerisch dunkelnden	S. Longard				
		3 Abendruhe	Gelehnet lag ich an dem Baum	J. Kinkel				
		4 Die Stimme der Geliebten	Lass tief in dir mich lesen	A. von Platen				
		5 In der Bucht	Es schliesst der dunkle Wald uns ein	A. Kaufmann				
		6 Welt, o Welt! Wie liegst du so weit!	Auf einsam hohem Thurme	G. Kinkel				
19	<i>Sechs Lieder für Alt oder Bariton mit</i>	1 Die Mandoline	Ich bin der Mandoline gleich	W. Seibt	Schloss (Cologne)	Heinrich Dorn	August 1848	Hofmeister; Text to 'Thurm

	<i>Clavierbegleitung</i>	2 Aus dem Singspiel 'Die Assassinen'	Durch Carthago's Trümmerhallen	G. Kinkel				und Fluth?: 30 December 1845 (<i>Maikäfer</i>)
		3 Liebesmacht	Das Bächlein magst du dämmen	J. Kinkel				
		4 Beduinen-Romanze	Vorwärts mit des Vogels Fluge	G. Kinkel				
		5 Abschied	Schöne Wiege meiner Leiden	H. Heine				
		6 Thurm und Fluth	Auf starkem Klippenrande	G. Kinkel				
	<i>Demokratenlied</i>	Demokratenlied	Genug der Schmähung habt ihr uns geboten	J. Kinkel	Sulzbach (Bonn)		September/ October 1849	Hofmeister
20	<i>Anleitung zum Singe, Übungen und Liedchen für Kinder von drei bis sieben Jahren</i>	1 Vom guten Vater und der lieben Mutter 2 Vom Grossvater 3 Von der Grossmutter 4 Von der Pathinn und der Tante 5 Vom Doktor Velten 6 Vom weissen Kätzchen 7 Vom Osterhääschen 8 Von der Katze Stuppstetz 9 Von der Lerche 10 Von der Bürgerwache 11 Vom Spektakel 12 Vom dicken Mops und braven Pudel 13 Vom Juni 14 Von der Tante Antonie 15 Geburtstagsliedchen für die Grossmama 16 Geburtstagsliedchen für den Vater 17 Von der Tante Maria 18 Vom zukünftigen Brudermann 19 Vom Haselnüsschen 20 Von der Hummel 21 Vom Federvieh 22 Vom Hääschen höp höp höp 23 Von der Eisenbahn		J. Kinkel	Schott (Mainz)		January 1849	January 1849 is noted in the original publication; Hofmeister announced this in September/ October 1849

		24 Von den Nummern 25 Vom Christkindchen 26 Vom Brummstälchen						
21	<i>Sechs Lieder für eine tiefe Stimme mit Pianoforte-Begleitung</i>	1 Lied aus dem 'Spessarttraum'	Welle, darfst du nimmer weilen	G. Kinkel	Schott (Mainz)	/	March 1851	Hofmeister
		2 Wiegenlied	Die milden Sterne scheinen	J. Kinkel				
		3 Jugenderinn' rung	Altverscholl'ne Lieder steigen	J. Kinkel				
		4 Provençalisches Lied	Am Strande der Dürance	G. Kinkel				
		5 Abendlied nach der Schlacht	Auf weitem blut'gen Feld	G. Kinkel				
		6 Des Lehnsmanns Abschied	Weh dass wir scheiden müssen	G. Kinkel				
22	<i>Tonleitern und Solfeggien für die Altstimme</i>	Solfeggios for the Contralto-Voice	no words		Schott (Mainz)		1852	1852 is noted in the original publication; Hofmeister announced this in August 1853
	<i>Ritters Abschied (Sololied)</i>	Ritters Abschied	Weh dass wir scheiden müssen	G. Kinkel	Schott (Mainz)	/	date unknown	
	<i>Ritters Abschied (Male Choir)</i>	Ritters Abschied	Weh dass wir scheiden müssen	G. Kinkel	various publishers	/	dates unknown; 1880s	Hofmeister
Unpublished compositions								
	<i>Schottische Lieder</i>	1 Farewell to Lochaber	Farewell to Lochaber, and farewell my Jean	[no date], Stadtarchiv Bonn				
		2 Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament	Balow, my babe, lye still and sleep					
		3 Gilderoy	Oh! Chloris could I now but sit as unconcerned as when					
		4 O the Broom	How blyth ilk morn was I to see					

		5 The Boatman	Ye gales that gently wave the sea		
		6 Johny Fa	The gypsies came to our lord's gate		
		7 The Banks of Forth	Awake, my love, with genial ray		
		8 Logan Water	Forever, fortune wilt thou prove		
		9 The Lass of Patie's Mill	The lass of Patie's mill		
		10 Auld Rob Morris	There's auld Rob Morris that win's in yon glen		
		11 Busk You, Busk You, my Bonny Bonny Bride	Weep not, weep not, my bonny bonny bride		
		12 Oh Open the Door Lord Gregory	Oh! Open the door, Lord Gregory		
	<i>Sechs Duette für zwei weibliche Stimmen, ohne Klavierbegleitung</i>	1 Späte Liebe	Es lag ein junger deutscher Held	G. Kinkel	[no date], Stadtarchiv Bonn
		2 Ständchen	Leise flehen meine Lieder	L. Rellstab	
		3 Täuschung	Blütenweiß bestreuet schaute	W. Müller von Königs-winter	
		4 Trinklied im Sommer	Ei sagt mir doch ihr Leute	E. Geibel	
		5 Der Musensohn	Durch Feld und Wald zu schweifen	J. W. von Goethe	
		6 Ich wandelte unter den Bäumen	Ich wandelte unter den Bäumen	H. Heine	
	<i>Fragment eines Liederheftes</i>	1 Kathleen Mavourneen	Kathleen Mavourneen! The grey dawn is breaking	F. N. Crouch	[1856–1857], ULB
		2 Der Musensohn; Composition by F.	Durch Feld und Wald zu schweifen	J. W. von Goethe	[1856–1857], ULB

		3 Französische Melodie; Composition by F. Silcher	Das Thal ruht still im Dunkeln	poet unknown; French original	March 1856 (Kinkel's own date), ULB
		4 Matrosenlied; Composition by F. Silcher	Auf dem Meer bin ich geboren	poet unknown	June 1856 (Kinkel's own date), ULB
		5 Mein Herz ist im Hochland; Composer unknown	Mein Herz ist im Hochland	R. Burns (My Heart is in the Highland)	5 July 1856 (Kinkel's own date), ULB
		6 The Highland Watch; Composition by L. van Beethoven	Old Scotia wake thy mountain strain	J. Hogg (1770–1835)	24 December 1856 (Kinkel's own date), ULB
		7 Lied aus Friedrich in Suza	Du gabst dem Mann des Schwertes	G. Kinkel	1 May 1857 (Kinkel's own date), ULB
		8 Lied von Bernhard Klein; Composition by B. Klein	Rauschendes Bächlein, so silbern und hell	poet unknown	5 July 1857 (Kinkel's own date), ULB
		9 Geistliches Abendlied	Es ist so still geworden	G. Kinkel	21 August 1857, ULB
		10 Der Pilgrim; Composition by F. Schubert	Noch in meines Lebens Lenze	F. Schiller	[1857], ULB
	<i>Vineta</i>	Vineta; fragment manuscript; final fifteen bars	Und der Schiffer	W. Müller	[no date] Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin
	<i>Der gefangene Freischärler</i>	Der gefangene Freischärler	Was schaut ihr Kindlein traurig zu mir auf	J. Kinkel	[1849] Willison Lemke, 'Kinkel, Johanna', p. 611, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, signature: Kestner/II/A/IV/1087/Nr. 8; 1087; Nr. 8
		Geburtstagslied für Emilie von Henning		J. Kinkel	date unknown, S 2954

Unpublished works (manuscripts untraceable)		
<i>Dampfwagen-Komödie</i>	<i>Dampfwagen-Komödie</i> ; [Johanna Kinkel], manuscript lost	[1836–1839] Johanna Kinkel to Philipp von Nathusius on 26 February 1841, UB Kassel, 4° Ms. hist. litt. 15[151]
<i>Landpartie nach Pichelswerder</i>	<i>Landpartie nach Pichelswerder</i> ; [Johanna Kinkel]; comic operetta	[1836–1839] Maximiliane von Arnim's diary; Johannes Werner, ed., <i>Maxe von Arnim: Tochter Bettinas/ Gräfin Oriola: 1818–1894: Ein Lebens- und Zeitbild aus alten Quellen geschöpft</i> (Leipzig: Köhler and Amelang: 1937), pp. 54–60; also Willison Lemke, 'Kinkel, Johanna', p. 611. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart (Cod.mus.II fol. 111a-c)
<i>Savigny und Themis oder die Olympier in Berlin</i>	<i>Savigny und Themis oder die Olympier in Berlin</i> ; [Johanna Kinkel]; manuscript lost	[1836–1839] Maximiliane von Arnim's diary; Werner, ed., <i>Maxe von Arnim</i> , pp. 54–60
<i>Tröderln und Ziepern</i>	<i>Tröderln und Ziepern</i> ; [Johanna Kinkel]; manuscript lost	[1836–1839] Maximiliane von Arnim's diary; Werner, ed., <i>Maxe von Arnim</i> , pp. 54–60
<i>Verrückte Komödien aus Berlin: Der Wettstreit der schottischen Minstrels</i>	<i>Verrückte Komödien aus Berlin: Der Wettstreit der schottischen Minstrels</i> ; [Johanna Kinkel]; manuscript lost	[1836–1839] Willison Lemke, 'Kinkel, Johanna', p. 611.
<i>Gelbi's Liebe</i>	<i>Gelbi's Liebe</i> ; Lied; Gisela von Arnim; I did not find this manuscript	[1838] Willison Lemke, 'Kinkel, Johanna', p. 611.
<i>[Chor der strickenden Damen]</i>	<i>[Chor der strickenden Damen]</i> ; choir for SSA with solo soprano and piano; [Johanna Kinkel]	[1838] Ayaydin, 'Kinkel, Johanna'
<i>Hänneschen als Wunderkind</i>	<i>Hänneschen als Wunderkind</i> ; [Johanna Kinkel]; manuscript lost	[1840] Willison Lemke, 'Kinkel, Johanna', p. 611; also Ayaydin, 'Kinkel, Johanna'.
<i>Das Malztier</i>	<i>Das Malztier</i> ; Lustspiel; Johanna Kinkel	Premiered on 18 March 1840 (Klaus, <i>Johanna Kinkel</i> , p. 342)
<i>Friedrich der Rothbart in Suza, oder Vasallentreue</i>	<i>Friedrich der Rothbart in Suza, oder Vasallentreue</i> ; Liederspiel; Gottfried Kinkel	1841 Willison Lemke, 'Kinkel, Johanna', p. 611.
<i>Otto der Schütz</i>	<i>Otto der Schütz</i> ; Liederspiel; Johanna Kinkel	Premiered at <i>Maikäfer</i> Stiftungsfest on 29 June 1841 (Klaus, <i>Johanna Kinkel</i> , p. 342); Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart (Cod.mus.II fol. 111a-c)
<i>Die Assassinen)</i>	<i>Die Assassinen</i> ; Singspiel; Gottfried Kinkel	Premiered on 26 July 1843 (Klaus, <i>Johanna Kinkel</i> , p. 128)
<i>Männerlied</i>	<i>Männerlied</i> ; Lied; Gottfried Kinkel; manuscript lost	[1846] Willison Lemke, 'Kinkel, Johanna', p. 611.

	<i>Jubiläum des Großvaters</i>	<i>Jubiläum des Großvaters</i> ; Singspiel; Johanna Kinkel	1849 Ayaydin, 'Kinkel, Johanna', also Brand and others, <i>Komponistinnen in Berlin</i> , p. 91.
	<i>Der letzte Glaubensartikel, T.: Gottfried Kinkel.</i>	<i>Der letzte Glaubensartikel</i> ; Lied; Gottfried Kinkel; manuscript lost	[1850] Willison Lemke, 'Kinkel, Johanna', p. 611.
	<i>[Duetten Arrangements]</i>	Duet arrangements	[1853] Willison Lemke, 'Kinkel, Johanna', p. 611.
	<i>The Baker and the Mice: Cantata for Children</i>	<i>The Baker and the Mice: Cantata for Children</i> ; comic cantata; Johanna Kinkel; manuscript lost	1854 Ayaydin, 'Kinkel, Johanna', also Willison Lemke, 'Kinkel, Johanna', p. 611.
	<i>Katzenkantate 'Aus meiner Kindheit'</i>	<i>Katzenkantate 'Aus meiner Kindheit'</i> ; cantata; [Johanna Kinkel], also <i>Mäusekantate</i>	[no date] Brand and others, <i>Komponistinnen in Berlin</i> , p. 91.
	<i>Die Fürstin von Paphos</i>	<i>Die Fürstin von Paphos</i> ; opera in two acts with an overture; [Johanna Kinkel], manuscript lost	[no date] Ayaydin, 'Kinkel, Johanna', also Willison Lemke, 'Kinkel, Johanna', p. 611.
	<i>Gelegenheitsstücke</i>	<i>Gelegenheitsstücke</i> ; [Lieder?]; manuscripts in parts lost; Ayaydin might refer to the fragment of a songbook (Fragment eines Liederbuches) archived in Bonn	[no date] Ayaydin, 'Kinkel, Johanna'.

APPENDIX D: Reviews of Johanna Kinkel's compositions

Paper	Location	Date	Opus	Author	Pages	Approximate Word Count
<i>Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst (Iris)</i>	Berlin	12 January 1838	op. 7	Ludwig Rellstab	5–7	930
<i>Neue Zeitschrift für Musik (NZfM)</i>	Leipzig	9 March 1838	op. 7	Oswald Lorenz	77–78	450
<i>Iris</i>	Berlin	3 August 1838	op. 8	L. Rellstab	121–22	650
<i>Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung (AMZ)</i>	Leipzig	8 August 1838	op. 7	Gottfried Wilhelm Fink	524–25	250
<i>AMZ</i>	Leipzig	26 September 1838	op. 8	[Anon.]	637–38	130
<i>NZfM</i>	Leipzig	28 September 1838	Trinklied	R. S.	106	60
<i>Iris</i>	Berlin	4 January 1839	op. 1	L. Rellstab	2–3	420
<i>Iris</i>	Berlin	7 June 1839	op. 10	L. Rellstab	91–92	450
<i>Iris</i>	Berlin	2 August 1839	op. 11	L. Rellstab	122–24	530
<i>NZfM</i>	Leipzig	3 January 1840	op. 6	O. Lorenz	7–8	170
<i>NZfM</i>	Leipzig	7 February 1840	<i>Rhein-Sagen und Lieder</i>	O. Lorenz	47	55 (only Kinkel; the entire review includes c. 375 words)
<i>AMZ</i>	Leipzig	15 April 1840	op. 11	[Anon.]	340	60
<i>Allgemeiner Musikalischer Anzeiger</i>	Vienna	17 September 1840	op. 1	[Anon.]	149–50	300
<i>AMZ</i>	Leipzig	28 October 1840	op. 12	[Anon.]	904	200
<i>Iris</i>	Berlin	19 March 1841	op. 12	L. Rellstab	45–46	430
<i>AMZ</i>	Leipzig	8 December 1841	op. 6	[Anon.]	1044	65
<i>NZfM</i>	Leipzig	19 February 1848	op. 17	[Anon.]	87–88	100
<i>NZfM</i>	Leipzig	2 April 1849	op. 19	[Anon.]	146	160
<i>NZfM</i>	Leipzig	30 September 1849	op. 20	C. G.	141–42	450
<i>Neue Berliner Musikzeitung</i>	Berlin	21 November 1849	op. 20	Otto Lange	372	350
<i>NZfM</i>	Leipzig	4 April 1851	op. 21	[Anon.]	151–52	75

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