

Notes

Introduction: Mendelssohn as border-dweller

1. *Maus I: A Survivor's Tale* (New York, 1986). The sequel, *Maus II: And Here My Troubles Began*, appeared in 1991. The pair won a Pulitzer Prize, in 1992.
2. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, in *Friedrich Nietzsche: Gesammelte Werke* (Munich, 1925), XV, 202. See, however, Leon Botstein's warning against too simplistic a reading of Nietzsche's formulation in "The Aesthetics of Assimilation and Affirmation: Reconstructing the Career of Felix Mendelssohn," in *MhW*, 7.
3. *MNI*. The single most important collection of work on Mendelssohn's reception in Germany is *Felix Mendelssohn – Mitwelt und Nachwelt: Bericht zum 1. Leipziger Mendelssohn – Kolloquium am 8. und 9. Juni 1993*, ed. Leon Botstein (Wiesbaden, 1996).
4. Leon Botstein, "Aesthetics of Assimilation," 22. See, too, Botstein, "Songs Without Words: Thoughts on Music, Theology, and the Role of the Jewish Question in the Work of Felix Mendelssohn," *MQ* 77 (1993), 561–78; and Michael Marissen, "Religious Aims in Mendelssohn's 1829 Berlin-Singakademie Performances of Bach's St. Matthew Passion," *MQ* 77 (1993), 718–26.
5. Jeffrey Sposato, "Creative Writing: The [Self-] Identification of Mendelssohn as Jew," *MQ* 82 (1998), 190–209. See, however, Leon Botstein's subsequent rejoinder, "Mendelssohn and the Jews," *MQ* 82 [1998], 210–19.
6. See his letter of 16 July 1820, in Sebastian Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn 1729–1847, nach Briefen und Tagebüchern*, ed. Konrad Feilchenfeldt (Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, 1995), 126, trans. in *The Mendelssohn Family (1829–1847), From Letters and Journals*, trans. Karl Klingemann and an American collaborator, 2nd rev. edn., 2 vols. (London, 1882), I, 82.
7. See, in particular, his letter of 2 June 1837, in which he refuses his mother's plea that he encourage Fanny to publish, in *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig, 1863), 141–42; trans. in *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from 1833 to 1847*, trans. Lady Wallace (London, 1863), 113–14. Landmarks in this literature, all bearing to some

- extent on the relationship between the two, include Marcia J. Citron, "Felix Mendelssohn's Influence on Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel as a Professional Composer," *Current Musicology* 37/38 (1984), 9–17; Nancy B. Reich, "The Power of Class: Fanny Hensel," in *MhW*, 86–99; and Sarah Rothenberg, "'Thus Far, But No Farther': Fanny Mendelssohn's Unfinished Journey," *MQ* 77 (1993), 689–708; and Marian Wilson Kimber, "The Suppression of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography," *19th-Century Music* 26 (2002), 113–29. See also the important recent collection of essays gathered under the heading "Part IV: Felix and Fanny" in *TMH*, 233–88.
8. Sir Julius Benedict, *A Sketch of the Life and Works of the Late Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy*, appendix to W. A. Lampadius, *Life of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, trans. William Leonhard Gage (London, 1877 [1850]), 172.
9. Henry F. Chorley, *Modern German Music: Recollections and Criticisms*, 2 vols. (London, 1854), II, 417, 404.
10. *Ibid.*, 401.
11. K. Freigedank [Wagner's pseudonym], "Das Judenthum in der Musik," *NZfM* 33 (1850), 101–07 and 109–12.
12. Review of 23 February 1889; my immediate source is *Great Composers: Reviews and Bombardments by Bernard Shaw*, ed. Louis Crompton (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1978), 122.
13. A highly thoughtful consideration of the particular critical tradition into which Shaw's remarks fit is Friedhelm Krummacher, "Composition as Accommodation? On Mendelssohn's Music in Relation to England," in *MSt*, 80–105.
14. The 1829 *Liederspiel*, *Die Heimkehr aus der Fremde*, was a fully mature work, but never intended to be put before the public, composed as it was for a private celebration of Mendelssohn's parents' silver wedding anniversary.
15. *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), 589.
16. See in particular Douglass Seaton, "The Problem of the Lyric Persona in Mendelssohn's Songs," in *KBB*, 167–86; and Seaton, "Mendelssohn's Cycles of Songs," in *TMH*, 203–29.

17. Greg Vitercik, "Mendelssohn the Progressive," *The Journal of Musicological Research* 8 (1989), 372.
18. "Robert Schumann mit Rücksicht auf Mendelssohn-Bartholdy überhaupt: III. Mendelssohn," *NZfM* 27 (1845), 113. This translation is mine, though excerpts of this article appear, translated by Susan Gillespie, in *MhW*, 341–51.
19. *PM*, 7–9.
20. Botstein, "Aesthetics of Assimilation," 13. Botstein draws out further, and richly historicises, a number of this essay's central themes in his "Neoclassicism, Romanticism, and Emancipation: The Origins of Felix Mendelssohn's Aesthetic Outlook," in *MC*, 1–23.
21. "Felix culpa: Mendelssohn, Goethe, and the Social Force of Musical Expression," in *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995), 122–42. Closely related issues are confronted insightfully in Julie D. Prandi, "Kindred Spirits: Mendelssohn and Goethe, *Die erste Walpurgisnacht*," in *TMH*, 135–46.
22. "Mendelssohn's Babel: Romanticism and the Poetics of Translation," *Music & Letters* 80 (1999), pp. 23–49.
23. Thomas Christian Schmidt, *Die ästhetischen Grundlagen der Instrumentalmusik Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys* (Stuttgart, 1996), 221.
24. On the relationship between Mendelssohn's concert overtures and contemporary operatic overtures, see in particular R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: The Hebrides and Other Overtures* (Cambridge, 1993), esp. 38–51.
25. In a particularly dramatic recent case, Judith Silber Ballan's reading of the "Reformation" Symphony as "a narrative that . . . depicts, in order, the Catholic Church, a struggle, and then the victorious emergence of the Protestants" ("Marxian Programmatic Music: A Stage in Mendelssohn's Musical Development," in *MSt*, 155) – so sensible as to seem almost self-evident – is threatened with complete annihilation by James Garratt's clever reconsideration of the supposed "Catholicism" of the first movement's introduction in his "Mendelssohn's Babel" (1999). Wolfgang Dilinger has furthered considerably conversation on the topic of Mendelssohn's programmatic vision in his "The Programme of Mendelssohn's 'Reformation' Symphony, Op. 107," in *TMH*, 115–33.
26. A particularly insightful recent contribution to this conversation is Thomas Grey, "Tableaux vivants: Landscape, History, Painting, and the Visual Imagination in Mendelssohn's Orchestral Music," *19th-Century Music* 21 (1997), 38–76.
27. Robert Schumann, "Trio's für Pianoforte, Violine, und Violoncello," *NZfM* 13 (1840), 198.

1. Mendelssohn and the institution(s) of German art music

- Mendelssohn garnered considerable public and critical notice, for instance, at a Stettin concert of 20 February 1827, at which his *Midsummer Night's Dream Overture* and Concerto for Two Pianos in Ab were programmed alongside Beethoven's Ninth Symphony (that piece's north German premiere); Mendelssohn had also provided choral music for an 1828 Berlin commemoration of the 300th anniversary of Albrecht Dürer's death.
- Joshua Rifkin challenged the presumed 1729 premiere of the piece, making a strong case for a date of two years earlier, in "The Chronology of Bach's St. Matthew Passion," *MQ* 61 (1975), 360–87.
- Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, ed. Max Hecker, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), III, 154; quoted in Arndt Richter, *Mendelssohn: Leben, Werke, Dokumente* (Mainz, 1994), 127.
- See, in particular, Martin Geck, *Die Wiederentdeckung der Matthäuspasion im 19. Jahrhundert: Die zeitgenössischen Dokumente und ihre ideengeschichtliche Deutung* (Regensburg, 1967).
- See Eduard Devrient, *My Recollections of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, and his Letters to Me*, trans. Natalia MacFarren (London, 1869), 47–55. On the dubious verity of Devrient's account, see R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (Oxford, 2003), 194–95.
- See Barry Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia* (New York, 1994).
- Wulf Konold, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und seine Zeit* (Laaber, 1984), 13.
- The most accurate existing account (to which the present narrative is indebted) of Mendelssohn's spottily documented early education is Todd, *Mendelssohn*, 33–34.
- See R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education: A Study and Edition of His Exercises in Composition* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Review of a concert of 13 May 1833 in *The Harmonicon*, June 1833, 135; quoted in Roger Nichols, *Mendelssohn Remembered* (London, 1997), 127.
- Dr. Ferdinand Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, trans. M. E. von Glehn (New York, 1972 [1874]), 29.
- Julius Benedict, *Sketch of the Life and Works of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, 2nd edn. (London, 1850), 24. The most penetrating discussion to date of Mendelssohn's role in

- establishing musical “interpretation” as the conductor’s central task is Donald Mintz, “Mendelssohn as Performer and Teacher,” in *MC*, 87–134 (esp. 99–102).
13. The history of baton conducting throughout Germany is traced as far back as 1812, when Ignaz Franz Mosel conducted thus in Vienna, in Johannes Forner et al., *Die Gewandhauskonzerte zu Leipzig 1781–1981*, ed. Johannes Forner (Leipzig, 1981), 67–68. Important figures include Louis Spohr – who conducted an 1820 concert in London with a baton – and Weber, who habitually used a rolled-up page of a score.
14. For a range of contemporary reports on the subject, see Clive Brown, *A Portrait of Mendelssohn* (New Haven, 2003), 238–57.
15. Quoted in Sebastian Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family (1729–1847), From Letters and Journals*, 2nd revised edn., trans Karl Klingemann and an American collaborator (London, 1882), I, 85.
16. For a fascinating discussion of the personal and (potential) political significance of this initial journey to England, particularly with regard to the question of anti-Semitism, see Paul Jourdan, “The Hidden Pathways of Assimilation: Mendelssohn’s First Visit to London,” in *Music and British Culture, 1785–1914* (Oxford, 2000), 99–119.
17. Philharmonic Society conductor George Smart’s recollection is unaccountably at odds with the great bulk of reviews and letters surrounding Mendelssohn’s English premiere, his journal entry on the subject reading, “A sinfonia by Mendelssohn was performed on May 25th at the Philharmonic Society; not much notice was taken of this composition” (*Leaves from the Journals of Sir George Smart* [New York, 1971], 271).
18. See Peter Ward Jones, “Mendelssohn and his English Publishers,” in *MSt*, 240–55.
19. This was not altogether for lack of trying: Mendelssohn spent these months completing his “Reformation” Symphony, doubtless intended for performance at Berlin’s Tercentenary Celebration of the Augsburg Confession. The celebration took place on 25 June without Mendelssohn’s symphony. See Judith Karen Silber [Ballan], “Mendelssohn and His Reformation Symphony,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), 310–36.
20. The most systematic handling this episode has yet received is Wm. A. Little, “Mendelssohn and the Berlin Singakademie: The Composer at the Crossroads,” in *MhW*, 65–85.
21. *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys Briefwechsel mit Legationsrat Karl Klingemann*, ed. Karl Klingemann (Essen, 1909), 100.
22. Martin Blummer, *Geschichte der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1891), 93; see also Georg Schünemann, *Die Singakademie zu Berlin: 1791–1941* (Regensburg, 1941), 73–74.
23. *MNI*, 227.
24. Little sees Mendelssohn’s failure to obtain the post, “in the final analysis, as one of his great triumphs, since it liberated him from the need to commit himself to a specific institution and specific goals at a time when the freedom to grow and develop was critical to the full realization of his genius” (81). Martin Blummer’s early account of the event makes no mention whatever of the issue of anti-Semitism (*Geschichte der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin*, 93).
25. A glimpse of the glowing critical reception of these concerts, together with the program of the first two, appear in Susanna Großmann-Vendrey, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und die Musik der Vergangenheit* (Regensburg, 1969), 51–53.
26. Cecilia Hopkins Porter, “The New Public and the Reordering of the Musical Establishment: The Lower Rhine Music Festivals, 1818–1867,” *19th-Century Music* 3 (1980), 211.
27. *Ibid.* 219.
28. Those that followed were the festivals of 1835, 1836, 1838, 1839, 1842, and 1846.
29. Richter, *Mendelssohn*, 189.
30. Cecilia Hopkins Porter, “The Reign of the Dilettanti: Düsseldorf from Mendelssohn to Schumann,” *MQ* 73 (1989), 481–82.
31. The first comprehensive account of Mendelssohn’s work in Düsseldorf is provided in [Wilhelm Joseph] v[on] W[asielewski], “Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy in Düsseldorf in den Jahren 1833–35,” *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* 1 (1847), 389–92. See also Wilhelm Hubert Fischer, “Der Musikverein unter Leitung von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy von 1833 bis 1835,” in *Festschrift zur hundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Städtischen Musikvereins Düsseldorf . . .* (Düsseldorf, 1918).
32. Großmann-Vendrey, *Vergangenheit*, 54–66.
33. The impression made on Mendelssohn by Santini’s collection is captured in Mendelssohn’s letter of 8 November 1830, in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Reisebriefe von 1830/31*, ed. Peter Sutermeister (Zurich, 1949), 163. Mendelssohn’s desire to cultivate a relationship with Baini becomes clear in his letter of 7 December 1830 (*Ibid.*, 175).
34. Letter of 26 October 1833, in *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig, 1863), 10.
35. Großmann-Vendrey, *Vergangenheit*, 59–60.

36. On Immermann's role in Felix's appointment, see *MNI*, 232.
37. Letter of 28 March 1834, in *Briefe 1833 bis 1847*, 32.
38. His "salto mortale" is described in a letter of 4 November 1834, in *Ibid.*, 58.
39. A fascinating introduction to the history of the Gewandhaus building itself is Rudolf Skoda, *Das Gewandhaus Leipzig: Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1986), 10–55.
40. Important general surveys of the orchestra's concerts through the period of Mendelssohn's involvement include Alfred Dörffel, *Die Gewandhausconcerte zu Leipzig: Festschrift zur hundertjährigen Jubelfeier der Einweihung des Concertsaales im Gewandhause zu Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1884; repr. Leipzig, 1980), 83–137; Großmann-Vendrey, *Vergangenheit*, 138–72; and Johannes Forner et al., *Die Gewandhauskonzerte zu Leipzig 1781–1981* (Leipzig, 1981), 67–88.
41. Mintz, "Performer," 103.
42. Beethoven's Fourth Symphony concluded the fourth and final concert of the first series, on 8 March. In the 1847 cycle, it was the third concert of the four-concert series that concluded with Beethoven – the Ninth Symphony – with the final concert dedicated to more recent work, including that of Spohr, Spontini, Rossini, and Donizetti. The complete programs of these concerts appear in Großmann-Vendrey, *Vergangenheit*, 161–69.
43. See Matthias Pape, *Mendelssohns Leipziger Orgelkonzert, 1840: Ein Beitrag zur Bach-Pflege im 19. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1988). A reproduction of the original program for the event – in which Mendelssohn's name, at the top, stands in letters three times the size of Bach's, at the bottom – appears on 40.
44. "Reminiscences of Mendelssohn by His English Pupil," in *MhW*, 248. The reminiscences appeared originally in *Dwight's Journal of Music* 32 (1872), 345ff., 353ff., 361ff.
45. Letter of 30 October, *Bunsen aus seinen Briefen*, II, 142–43, quoted in *MNI*, 371.
46. Important accounts of this chapter in Mendelssohn's life are David Brodbeck, "A Winter of Discontent: Mendelssohn and the Berliner Domchor," in *MhW*, 1–32; and Wolfgang Dinglinger, "Mendelssohn – General-Musik-Direktor für kirchliche und geistliche Musik," in *KBB*, 23–36.
47. This arrangement is described in Ludwig von Massow's report to the king of 20 May 1841, in *Briefe 1833 bis 1847*, 286–87.
48. Quoted in Georg Schünemann, "Zur Geschichte des Berliner Domchors: Ein vergessenes Jubiläum," *Die Musikpflege* 6 (1935/6), 382; my immediate source is Brodbeck, "Domchor," 3.
49. His reasons are laid out – in impressively restrained tones – in his letter of 23 October 1842, to von Massow, in *Briefe 1833 bis 1847*, 339–41.
50. On these works, and their complex relationship to the liturgical and ecclesiastical environment for which they were crafted, see Brodbeck, "Domchor," 15–32.
51. *Briefe 1833 bis 1847*, 230–31.
52. The most probing study of Mendelssohn's relationship with Friedrich August II, and of the course of their negotiations on the subject of the conservatory, is Klaus Häfner, "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy in seinen Beziehungen zu König Friedrich August II. von Sachsen," *Mendelssohn Studien* 7 (Berlin, 1990), 219–68.
53. Quoted in Mintz, "Performer," 116.
54. *Ibid.*, 120–21. A particularly valuable commentary on Mendelssohn's work as a teacher at the Gewandhaus is William Smyth Rockstro, *Mendelssohn* (London, 1884), 104–13; this excerpt appears, together with other relevant documents, in Brown, *Portrait*, 280–306.
55. The most authoritative account of Mendelssohn's final weeks is his wife's long-neglected testimony, recently brought to light in Peter Ward Jones, "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys Tod: Der Bericht seiner Frau," *Mendelssohn Studien* 12 (2001), 205–26.
56. *Briefe 1833 bis 1847*, 31.
57. *Ibid.*, 438.

2 Mendelssohn and Judaism

An earlier version of portions of this essay appeared as "Mendelssohn's Music and German-Jewish Culture: An Intervention," *MQ* 83 (1999), 31–44. © Oxford University Press.

1. Regensburg, 1974.
2. See Lars Ulrich Abraham, "Mendelssohns Chorlieder und ihre musikgeschichtliche Stellung," in *PM*, 83.
3. Arnaldo Momigliano, "J. G. Droysen between Greeks and Jews," in *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Middletown, 1977), 310.
4. See Michael P. Steinberg, *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and 19th-century Music* (Princeton, 2004), Introduction and passim. Chapter 4, "Canny and Uncanny Histories in Biedermeier Music," contains a sustained treatment of Mendelssohn.
5. Peter Mercer-Taylor, *The Life of Mendelssohn* (Cambridge, 2000), 5–16. Mercer-Taylor's treatment here of Moses Mendelssohn's biography and its importance to his grandson is exceptionally strong. As my own argument will make clear, I am in disagreement with Mercer-Taylor's reasonable conclusion that "the Germans, not the Jews, were the Mendelssohns'

chosen people” (30). This binary misrepresents, in my view, both Abraham Mendelssohn’s Hegelianism and Felix’s multiculturalism. Particularly interesting is Mercer-Taylor’s speculation that Felix “inherited Moses’ [physical] constitution” (12). This speculation might presumably enable or inspire a psychoanalytic exploration of Felix’s inheritance of his grandfather’s “constitution” – physical and otherwise.

6. See the debate between David Sorkin (“The Mendelssohn Myth and Its Method”) and Allan Arkush (“The Questionable Judaism of Moses Mendelssohn”) in *New German Critique* 77 (1999), 7–44.

7. See Steven M. Lowenstein, *The Mechanics of Change: Essays in the Social History of German Jewry* (Atlanta, 1992), 24, 35; David Clay Large, *Berlin* (New York, 2000), 58; Lowenstein, *The Berlin Jewish Community* (New York, 1994), 121.

8. Deborah Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin* (New Haven, 1988), 230–32, cited in Lowenstein, *The Berlin Jewish Community*, 121.

9. Abraham Mendelssohn, “Why I have Raised You as a Christian: A Letter to His Daughter (c. July 1820),” in *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History* ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (New York, 1995), 257–58.

10. MQ 82 (Spring 1998).

11. MQ 83 (Spring 1999), as indicated above, in the first (unnumbered) note in this chapter.

12. MNI, viii.

13. The original letter was written to Manfred Schloesser, editor of the Festschrift in which it was published. The letter explained why Scholem would not contribute an essay to the volume on the “German Jewish dialogue.” See Gershom Scholem, “Wider den Mythos von deutsch-juedischen Gespraech,” in *Auf gespaltenem Pfad: Festschrift fuer Margarete Suessmann*, ed. M. Schloesser (Darmstadt, 1964), translated as “Against the Myth of the German-Jewish Dialogue,” in *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis: Selected Essays* (New York, 1976), 61–2.

14. See George Mosse, *German Jews Beyond Judaism* (Bloomington, 1985).

15. MNI, 44.

16. Scholem, “Jews and Germans” (1966), in *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis*, 80.

17. MNI, 37. I have duplicated the translation as provided by Werner but have made one change after comparing his translation with the German version used in his own, later edition of 1980. Where the letter says that the name Mendelssohn had acquired “great authority” (*ein grosses Gewicht*), Werner had translated hyperbolically “acquired a Messianic import.” I

am grateful to Peter Ward Jones for pointing this issue out to me.

18. See my discussion of this issue in its relation to Mahler and other thinkers in the chapter “The Catholic Culture of the Austrian Jews,” in *Austria as Theater and Ideology: The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival* (Ithaca, 2000).

19. Eduard Devrient, *Meine Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und seine Briefe an mich* (Leipzig, 1869), 62.

20. See MNI, 100.

21. *Ibid.*, 230–31.

22. William A. Little, “Mendelssohn and the Berlin Singakademie: The Composer at the Crossroads,” in *MhW*, 78.

23. *Ibid.*, 80.

24. MNI, 171.

25. *Ibid.*, 203.

26. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, 1993).

27. Friedhelm Kemp, “Mendelssohns Berliner Umwelt,” in *PM*, 12.

3. Felix and Fanny: gender, biography, and history

1. 28 September 1840, in *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, ed. Marcia J. Citron (Stuyvesant, NY, 1987), 294, 572, translation modified.

2. 9 June 1847, *Briefe von Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy an Ignaz und Charlotte Moscheles*, ed. Felix Moscheles (Leipzig, 1888; repr. Walluf-Nendeln, 1976), 280.

3. J. T. [John Thomson], “Notes of a Musical Tourist,” *The Harmonicon* 8 (3 March 1830), 99.

4. Carl Friedrich von Ledebur, *Tonkünstler-Lexikon Berlins von den Ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1861; repr. Tutzing, Berlin, 1964), 236; François Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2nd edn. (Brussels, 1860–65; repr. Paris, 1883), IV, 296.

5. Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into its Laws and Consequences* (London, 1869; repr. New York, 1870), 245.

6. “The Mendelssohn Family,” *The Saturday Review* 53 (21 January 1882), 87.

7. “The Mendelssohn Family [Second Notice],” *The Musical Times* 23 (1 June 1882), 312–13.

8. E. Sergy (pseud. of Noémie Koenig), *Fanny Mendelssohn. D’après les mémoires de son fils* (Paris, 1888). Marian Wilson Kimber, “Zur frühen Wirkungsgeschichte Fanny Hensels,” in *Fanny Hensel geb. Mendelssohn*, ed. Beatrix Borchard and Monika Schwarz-Danuser (Stuttgart, 1999), 248–62.

9. Sebastian Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn 1729–1847, nach Briefen und Tagebüchern*, ed. Konrad Feilchenfeldt (Frankfurt am Main and

- Leipzig, 1995), 131; Eduard Devrient, *Meine Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und seine Briefe an mich* (Leipzig, 1869), 13.
10. Hans-Günter Klein, "Similarities and Differences in the Artistic Development of Fanny and Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy in a Family Context: Observations Based on the Early Berlin Autograph Volumes," in *TMH*, 243.
 11. Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn*, 859.
 12. Ferdinand Hiller, *Mendelssohn. Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 2nd edn. (Cologne, 1878), 94.
 13. Quoted in James Robert Sterndale Bennett, *The Life of William Sterndale Bennett* (Cambridge, 1907), 126–27.
 14. Mrs. [Sarah] Austin, "Recollections of Felix Mendelssohn," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* 37 (April 1848), 427–28.
 15. Fanny Hensel, *Tagebücher*, ed. Hans-Günter Klein and Rudolf Elvers (Wiesbaden, 2002), 86.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn*, 169.
 18. 15 May [1837], *The Mendelssohns on Honeymoon: The 1837 Diary of Felix and Cécile Mendelssohn Bartholdy, together with Letters to Their Families*, ed. and trans. Peter Ward Jones (Oxford, 1997), 156.
 19. 25 August 1829, in *Felix Mendelssohn: A Life in Letters*, ed. Rudolf Elvers, trans. Craig Tomlinson (New York, 1986), 96.
 20. 30 January 1836, in Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847*, 5th edn., ed. Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig, 1865), 114.
 21. Marcia Citron, "Fanny Hensel's Letters to Felix Mendelssohn in the Green-Books Collection at Oxford," in *Mendelssohn and Schumann: Essays on Their Music and Its Content*, ed. Jon Finson and R. Larry Todd (Durham, NC, 1984), 102–04.
 22. 30 July 1836, in *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, 209, 514.
 23. c. August 1834, *Ibid.*, 151, 473.
 24. 28 December 1831, in *Reisebriefe von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 3rd edn. (Leipzig, 1862; repr. Mainz, n.d.), 310.
 25. Marian Wilson Kimber, "'For Art has the Same Place in Your Heart as Mine': Family, Friendship and Community in the Life of Felix Mendelssohn," in *MC*, 30–33.
 26. 2 June 1837, in *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, 234, 529, translation modified.
 27. Devrient, *Erinnerungen*, 40.
 28. *Aus Moscheles' Leben: Nach Briefen und Tagebüchern*, ed. Charlotte Moscheles, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1872), II, 54; letter of 6 October 1831 in *Reisebriefe*, 287–88; *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, ed. Johannes Joachim and Andreas Moser, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1911–13), II, 78–79, quoted in Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann, the Artist and the Woman*, 2nd edn. (Ithaca, 2001), 216.
 29. See Mendelssohn's critique of a Lied by an unidentified woman in *Felix Mendelssohn: A Life in Letters*, 273.
 30. Adolf Bernhard Marx recalled Abraham suggesting more "secure" careers to Felix in *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Berlin, 1865), I, portions reprinted as "From the Memoirs of Adolf Bernhard Marx," trans. Susan Gillespie, in *MhW*, 208 ff.
 31. Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn*, 126.
 32. Nancy B. Reich, "The Power of Class: Fanny Hensel," in *MhW*, 86–99.
 33. Henry F. Chorley, "Mendelssohn's Mother and Sister," in W. A. Lampadius, *Life of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, trans. William Leonhard Gage (Boston, 1865; repr. Boston, 1978), 210–11.
 34. R. Larry Todd, "On Stylistic Affinities in the Music of Fanny Hensel and Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy," in *TMH*, 258.
 35. "Fanny Mendelssohn," *The Musical Times* 29 (1 June 1888), 341.
 36. In fact, the Romantic myth frequently emphasizes the artist overcoming family resistance.
 37. Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron, Introduction to *Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Partnership* (London, 1993), 10.
 38. Elise Polko, "Versunkene Sterne," in *Musikalische Märchen, Phantasien und Skizzen* (Leipzig, 1852), 206–11.
 39. Jules [sic] Benedict, *Sketch of the Life and Works of the Late Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (London, 1850), 56.
 40. William Rounseville Alger, *The Friendships of Women* (Boston, 1868), 76–77.
 41. Gloria Kamen, *Hidden Music: The Life of Fanny Mendelssohn* (New York, 1996), 47.
 42. 29 June 1829, in *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, 57, 407.
 43. *MNI*, 76–77.
 44. 11 June 1830, in Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn*, 350–51. The reference at the end is to Wilhelm Hensel.
 45. David Warren Sabean, "Fanny and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and the Question of Incest," *MQ* 77 (1993), 709–17. Sabean instead places the relationship in the context of early nineteenth-century ideas about the intimacy of siblings.
 46. 28 September 1840, in *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, 296, 574.

47. Marian Wilson [Kimber], "Mendelssohn's Wife: Love, Art and Romantic Biography," *19th Century Studies* 6 (1992), 1–18.
48. Marian Wilson Kimber, "The Composer as Other: Gender and Race in the Biography of Felix Mendelssohn," in *TMH*, 335–51.
49. Marx, "From the Memoirs of Adolf Bernhard Marx," 210–11.
50. Hermann Zopff, "Characteristics of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 11 (15 August 1857), 154.
51. George Upton, *Woman in Music*, 2nd edn. (Chicago, 1886), 147.
52. "From My Study," *The Musical Times* 36 (1 September 1895), 590.
53. Chadwick and De Courtivron, *Significant Others*, 10.
54. The rest of this chapter is based on my "The Suppression of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography," *19th Century Music* 26 (2002), 113–29. © The Regents of the University of California.
55. For example, see Françoise Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn*, trans. Camille Naish (Portland, OR, 1996), and Marcia J. Citron, "Mendelssohn(-Bartholdy) [Hensel], Fanny (Cécilie)," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 29 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 2nd edn. (London, 2001), XVI, 388.
56. Letter of 24 June 1837, in *Briefe 1833 bis 1847*, 141–42.
57. Letter of 10 December 1847, in Ingeborg Stolzenberg, "Paul Mendelssohn-Bartholdy nach dem Tode seines Bruders Felix," *Mendelssohn Studien* 8 (1993), 184.
58. Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn*, 877.
59. Edward Dowden, Review of Sebastian Hensel's *The Mendelssohn Family (1729–1827 [sic]) from Letters and Journals*, in *The Academy* 21 (21 January 1882), 37.
60. 24 June 1837, New York Public Library, published in *The Mendelssohns on Honeymoon*, 165–68.
61. See Camilla Cai, Preface to Fanny Hensel (née Mendelssohn), *Songs for Pianoforte, 1836–1837*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries 22 (Madison, 1994), viii–ix. Cai has suggested that Hensel's failure to publish in 1838 may have been due in part to the death of Adolph Schlesinger, her chief advocate at the Schlesinger publishing firm.
62. Johann Christian Lobe, *Fliegende Blätter für die Musik* 1 (1855); trans. Susan Gillespie as "Conversations with Felix Mendelssohn" in *MhW*, 191.
63. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Briefe an deutsche Verleger*, ed. Rudolf Elvers and H. Herzfeld (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968); Peter Ward Jones, "Mendelssohn and His English Publishers," in *MSt*, 240–55.
64. Letter to Angelica von Woringen, 26 November 1846, quoted in *The Letters of Fanny Hensel*, 352n, translation modified.
65. Phyllis Benjamin, "A Diary Album for Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy," *Mendelssohn Studien* 7 (1990), 213. See Mendelssohn's letter to Fanny expressing his concern over her miscarriage, 14 April 1837 (*The Mendelssohns on Honeymoon*, 138–39).
66. *The Mendelssohns on Honeymoon*, 52.
67. These are nos. 2, 3, and 12 in Op. 8 ("Heimweh", "Italien", and "Suleika und Hatem") and nos. 7, 10, and 12 in Op. 9 ("Sehnsucht", "Verlust", and "Die Nonne").
68. Letter of c. 22 May 1830, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel*, 100, 436.
69. Letter to Lea Mendelssohn, 19 July 1842, in Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn*, 650.
70. [Thomson], "Notes of a Musical Tourist," 99.
71. Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn*, 480; F. Max Müller, *Auld Lang Syne* (New York, 1898), reprinted in *MhW*, 254–55.
72. Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art and Power and Other Essays* (New York, 1988), 155.

4 Mendelssohn and the rise of musical historicism

1. See Charles Rosen, "Mendelssohn and the Invention of Religious Kitsch," *The Romantic Generation* (London, 1996), 569–98.
2. Carl Dahlhaus, "Geschichtliche und ästhetische Erfahrung," in *Die Ausbreitung des Historismus über die Musik: Aufsätze und Diskussionen*, ed. Walter Wiora (Regensburg, 1969), 243; Walter Wiora, "Grenzen und Stadien des Historismus," in *Die Ausbreitung des Historismus*, ed. Wiora 302.
3. See Friedhelm Krummacher, "Historismus," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn., ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel and Stuttgart, 1994–), Sachteil, IV, 342–51.
4. A different perspective on the relation between (neo)classicism and historicism is provided in Leon Botstein, "Neoclassicism, Romanticism, and Emancipation: The Origins of Felix Mendelssohn's Aesthetic Outlook," in *MC*, 1–23.
5. Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses* (Paris, 1966), translated as *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York and London, 2002), 401–02.
6. Winkelmann's significance for the development of historicism is discussed in my "Prophets Looking Backwards: German Romantic Historicism and the Representation of

- Renaissance Music,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 125 (2000), 164–204.
7. Johann Gottfried Herder, *Denkmahl Johann Winkelmanns* (1777), *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, 33 vols. (Berlin, 1877–1913; repr. Hildesheim, 1967–68), VII, 481.
 8. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, draft of a letter to the architect Ludwig Friedrich Catel, April 1815, *Goethes Briefe*, ed. Karl Robert Mandelkow, 4 vols. (Hamburg, 1962–67), III, 627–28.
 9. Heinrich Heine, *Die romantische Schule* (1835), *Heinrich Heine Säkularausgabe*, ed. Fritz Mende et al., 27 vols. (Berlin and Paris, 1970–), VIII, 9.
 10. Friedrich Schlegel, “Nachricht von den Gemälden in Paris” (1803), *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, ed. Ernst Behler et al., 35 vols. (Munich, 1958–), IV, 13.
 11. See especially Friedrich Schlegel, “Vom Raffael,” *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, IV, 48–60.
 12. Heinrich Heine, *Die Stadt Lukka* (1828), *Heinrich Heine Säkularausgabe*, VI, 143.
 13. Goethe, letter to the architect Sulpiz Boisserée, 14 February 1814, *Goethes Briefe*, III, 605. At the time of this remark (which is echoed in other letters from the winter of 1813–14), Goethe’s knowledge of the work of Overbeck and Cornelius was restricted to drawings on religious and mythological subjects; later in 1814, he acquired Overbeck’s painting *Heilige Elisabeth*. See Richard Benz, *Goethe und die romantische Kunst* (Munich, [1940]), 211, 214–15.
 14. Friedrich Schlegel, “Über die deutsche Kunstausstellung zu Rom, im Frühjahr 1819, und über den gegenwärtigen Stand der deutschen Kunst in Rom” (1819), *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, IV, 248.
 15. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Ästhetik*, ed. Friedrich Bassenge, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Berlin and Weimar, 1965), I, 550–51 (all translations are based on *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1975]).
 16. *Ibid.*, 577, 584.
 17. *Ibid.*, 578.
 18. *Ibid.*, 577.
 19. *Ibid.*, 578.
 20. *Ibid.*, 163.
 21. See Andreas Huyssen, *Die frühromantische Konzeption von Übersetzung und Aneignung: Studien zur frühromantischen Utopie einer deutschen Weltliteratur* (Zurich and Freiburg im Breisgau, 1969).
 22. Franz Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland, und Frankreich. Von der ersten christlichen Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, 6th edn. (Leipzig, 1878), 128.
 23. *Ibid.*, 129.
 24. Ulrich Konrad, *Otto Nicolai: Studien zu Leben und Werk* (Baden-Baden, 1986), 69–70.
 25. Heinrich Hübsch, *In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?* (Karlsruhe, 1828). This pamphlet, and other contributions to the debate which it stimulated, are translated in *In What Style Should We Build? The German Debate on Architectural Style*, ed. Wolfgang Herrmann (Santa Monica, 1992).
 26. Anon. (Anton Springer), “Kritische Gedanken über die Münchner Kunst,” *Jahrbücher der Gegenwart* (1845), 1022–34, as presented in *Realismus und Gründerzeit: Manifeste und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur 1848–1880*, ed. Max Bucher et al., 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1976), II, 5–6.
 27. Barry Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia* (New York, 1994).
 28. Alan Barfour, *Berlin: The Politics of Order 1737–1989* (New York, 1990), 30–39.
 29. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, letter of January 24 1833 to Prince Maximilian of Bavaria, Margarete Kühn, *Schinkel Lebenswerk: Ausland: Bauten und Entwürfe* (Berlin and Munich, 1989), 4, as quoted in Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel*, 217.
 30. The most detailed study of Mendelssohn’s historical orientation in the different stages of his career remains Susanna Großmann-Vendrey, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und die Musik der Vergangenheit* (Regensburg, 1969); see also her “Mendelssohn und die Vergangenheit,” in *Die Ausbreitung des Historismus*, ed. Wiora, 73–84.
 31. Carl Friedrich Zelter, “Erste Denkschrift,” 28 September 1803, as presented in Cornelia Schröder, *Carl Friedrich Zelter und die Akademie: Dokumente und Briefe zur Entstehung der Musik-Sektion in der preußischen Akademie der Künste* (Berlin, 1959), 76.
 32. Carl Friedrich Zelter, unsent draft of a letter to Goethe, 6–11 April 1829, in *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1799 bis 1832, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens*, ed. Edith Zehm (Munich, 1998), XX/3, 1001.
 33. See R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn’s Musical Education: A Study and Edition of his Exercises in Composition* (Cambridge, 1983), 2–11.
 34. This aspect of Zelter’s activities is explored in my “Performing Renaissance Church Music in Nineteenth-Century Germany: Issues and Challenges in the Study of Performative Reception,” *Music & Letters* 83 (2002), 187–236 (esp. 189–92).
 35. Carl Friedrich Zelter, “Zweite Denkschrift” (c. 1803), as presented in Georg Schünemann, *Carl Friedrich Zelter, der Begründer der Preussischen Musikpflege* (Berlin, 1932), 14–15.

36. See Carl Dahlhaus, "Mendelssohn und die musikalischen Gattungstraditionen," in *PM*, 55–60.
37. Zelter, letter of 28 May 1825, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, XX/1, 847.
38. Felix Mendelssohn, letter of 20 September 1827 to his mother, as quoted in Großmann-Vendrey, *Vergangenheit*, 24.
39. Großmann-Vendrey, "Mendelssohn und die Vergangenheit," 78.
40. Wulf Konold, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und seine Zeit* (Laaber, 1984), 139. Similarly, Michael P. Steinberg contends that for the young Mendelssohn, Bach was "no antique or mere harbinger, but a modern composer" ("Das Mendelssohn–Bach–Verhältnis als ästhetischer Diskurs der Moderne," in *Felix Mendelssohn: Mitwelt und Nachwelt. Bericht zum 1. Leipziger Mendelssohn-Kolloquium am 8. und 9. Juni 1999*, ed. Leon Botstein [Wiesbaden, 1996], 84–88.
41. Lea Mendelssohn, letter of 19 October 1821 to Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein, as quoted in *Leipziger Ausgabe der Werke Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys*, ed. Hellmuth Christian Wolff, ser. I, I (Leipzig, 1972), v.
42. Zelter, letter to Goethe of 5–14 April 1827, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, XX/1, 992.
43. Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Bach – Leipzig – Mendelssohn," in *Felix Mendelssohn: Mitwelt und Nachwelt*, ed. Botstein, 79–83. The view that this performance marked the initiation of a Bach revival had its roots in the reports and reviews of Adolf Bernhard Marx, all of which are presented in Martin Geck, *Die Wiederentdeckung der Matthäuspassion im 19. Jahrhundert: Die zeitgenössischen Dokumente und ihre ideengeschichtliche Deutung* (Regensburg, 1967).
44. See the letter to his family of 21 May 1830, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Reisebriefe aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 5th edn. (Leipzig, 1863), 5.
45. See Thomas Schmidt, *Die ästhetischen Grundlagen der Instrumentalmusik Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys* (Stuttgart, 1996), 59–60.
46. Goethe, diary entry of 24 May 1830, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, XX/3, 1114; Mendelssohn, letter to his parents of 25 May 1830, *Reisebriefe*, 9.
47. Mendelssohn, letter to Rebecka Dirichlet, 22 July 1844, in Sebastian Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn*, 11th edn. (Leipzig, 1903), II, 328, as quoted in Großmann-Vendrey, *Vergangenheit*, 221.
48. Mendelssohn, letter to his father of 10–11 December 1830, *Reisebriefe*, 89.
49. Mendelssohn, letter to Fanny Hensel and Rebecka Dirichlet of 28 May 1831, *ibid.*, 171.
50. Mendelssohn, letter to Zelter of 18 December 1830, *ibid.*, 97.
51. Mendelssohn, letter to Ernst Friedrich Bauer of 4 March 1833, *Briefe 1833 bis 1847*, 2.
52. See Friedhelm Krummacker, "Art – History – Religion: On Mendelssohn's Oratorios *Sf. Paul* and *Elijah*," in *MC*, 299–382 (esp. 304–05).
53. Abraham Mendelssohn, letter of 10 March 1835, Mendelssohn, *Briefe 1833 bis 1847*, 85–86.
54. Mendelssohn, letter of 15 July 1831, Eduard Devrient, *Meine Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und seine Briefe an mich* (Leipzig, 1872), 115, as quoted in Krummacker, "Bach, Berlin und Mendelssohn," 63.
55. Mendelssohn, letter to Zelter of 18 December 1830, *Reisebriefe*, 96–97.
56. Schmidt, *Die ästhetischen Grundlagen*, 43; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Maximen und Reflexionen," no. 813, *Goethes Werke*, XII, 767.
57. Großmann-Vendrey, "Mendelssohn und die Vergangenheit," 80.
58. Mendelssohn, letter to Otto von Woringen, 12 March 1836, as presented in Großmann-Vendrey, *Vergangenheit*, 81.
59. Eduard Krüger, "F. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Drei Psalmen (2. 43. 22.) Opus 78," *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* 4 (1850), 3–5 (3).
60. See my "Mendelssohn's *Antigone* and the Afterlife of Art" (forthcoming); see also Sinéad Dempsey, "Aesthetic and Ideological Trends in the Reception of Mendelssohn's Orchestral Music in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (forthcoming).
61. Heinrich Heine, "Rossini und Felix Mendelssohn" (1842), "Musikalische Saison in Paris" (1844), *Lutezia: Berichte über Politik, Kunst und Volksleben*, in *Heinrich Heine Säkularausgabe*, XI.
62. Eduard Hanslick, "An Wien's Musikfreunde vor der Aufführung des 'Elias'" (1847), *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Dietmar Strauß (Vienna, 1993), I/1, 119–27; Franz Brendel, "Robert Schumann mit Rücksicht auf Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, und die Entwicklung der modernen Tonkunst überhaupt," *NZfM* 22 (1845), 63–67, 81–83, 89–92, 113–15, 121–23, 145–47, 149–50 (esp. 146). Cf. Richard Hohenemser, *Welche Einflüsse hat die Wiederbelebung der älteren Musik im 19. Jahrhundert auf die deutschen Komponisten?* (Leipzig, 1900), 66; Hans-Elmar Bach, "Mendelssohn als Komponist geistlicher a cappella-Musik," *Musica sacra* 88 (1968), 168.
63. Heine, *Lutezia*, 141.
64. Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, "Paulus. Oratorium nach Worten der heiligen Schrift componirt von Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 39 (1837), 522.

65. Robert Schumann, "Fragmente aus Leipzig" (1837), *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 3rd edn. (Leipzig, 1875), I, 328.
66. See Theodor W. Adorno, "Toward a Reappraisal of Heine," *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main, 1986), XX/2, 447–48.
67. Krummacher, "Art – History – Religion," 314–18; Peter Mercer-Taylor, "Rethinking Mendelssohn's Historicism: A Lesson from St. Paul," *The Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997), 208–29 (esp. 228–29).
68. James Garratt, "Mendelssohn's Babel: Romanticism and the Poetics of Translation," *Music & Letters* 80 (1999), 23–49; James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2002), 241–60.
- 5 Mendelssohn as progressive**
1. Arnold Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, trans. Roy E. Carter (Berkeley, 1978), 401.
 2. Robert Schumann, "Trios für Pianoforte, Violine und Violoncello," *NZfM* 13 (1840), 197–98.
 3. Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 589.
 4. Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, 6 vols. and supplement (London, 1935–44), I, 145–46.
 5. Viktor Urbantschitsch, "Die Entwicklung der Sonatenform bei Brahms," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1927), 282.
 6. Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century*, trans. Mary Whittall (Berkeley, 1980), 43–44.
 7. See, for example, Greg Vitercik, *The Early Works of Felix Mendelssohn: A Study in the Romantic Sonata Style* (Philadelphia, 1992), 47–70.
 8. Vitercik, *Early Works*, 79ff. and 190ff., respectively. On op. 26, see R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: The Hebrides and Other Overtures* (Cambridge, 1993), 64–68 and passim.
 9. It is worth noting that some form of structurally goal-oriented acceleration shapes each section of the first movement: the multifaceted intensifications of pace in the exposition; an extended passage of purely schematic acceleration of the development; and the wholesale elimination of the transitional material in the recapitulation. On the development section, see Peter Mercer-Taylor, *The Life of Mendelssohn* (Cambridge, 2000), 155.
 10. The term comes from Ernest Ansermet, "L'œuvre d'Igor Strawinsky," *La Revue Musicale* 10 (1921), 9, 17–27.
 11. For a closer examination of the relation of motive and tonality in this movement, see Vitercik, *Early Works*, 180–90. On a similar interrelation of motive and tonality in the *Hebrides* Overture, see 190–200.
 12. This is a characteristic strategy in Mendelssohn's finest works; the Octet, *Hebrides* Overture, and the "Italian" Symphony offer particularly striking examples. The coda to the last movement of the "Scottish" Symphony represents the most impressive, and probably at the same time the most controversial, example.
 13. On the notion of closure, see Barbara Herrnstein Smith, *Poetic Closure: A Study of How Poems End* (Chicago, 1968).
 14. See Leon Plantinga, "Schumann's Critical Reaction to Mendelssohn," in *Mendelssohn and Schumann: Essays on Their Music and Its Context*, ed. R. Larry Todd and Jon W. Finson (Durham, 1984), 17–18.
 15. On Schubert's influence on Brahms, see James Webster, "Schubert's Sonata Forms and Brahms's First Maturity," *19th-Century Music* 3 (1978/79), 18–35; and 4 (1979/80), 52–71.
 16. Donald Francis Tovey, "Brahms's Chamber Music," in *The Main Stream of Music and Other Essays* (New York, 1949), 230.
 17. Kofi Agawu, "Formal Perspectives on the Symphonies," in *The Cambridge Companion to Brahms*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Cambridge, 1999), 133–55.
 18. The terms are taken from Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, 47; see also Agawu, "Formal Perspectives," 134.
 19. Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*, exp. edn. (New York, 1997), 460.
 20. Vitercik, *Early Works*, 320–21, n. 18; and 226–67; see also Rosen, *Romantic Generation* 574–80.
 21. The movement – and the work as a whole – repays close study; it is one of the composer's most original and distinctly characteristic conceptions; see Rosen, *Romantic Generation*, 581–86 and Vitercik, *Early Works*, 267–90.
 22. Mercer-Taylor, *Mendelssohn*, 87.
 23. *Ibid.*, 88.
 24. On the concept of stratification, see Roman Ingarden, *The Literary Work of Art: An Investigation on the Borderlines of Ontology, Logic, and Theory of Literature*, trans. George Grabowicz (Evanston, 1973).
 25. See note 18.
 26. For a summary of Goethe's ideas see Nicholas Boyle, *Goethe: The Poet and the Age* (Oxford, 1991), I, 593–97. The present discussion is drawn from Boyle's commentary.
 27. Cited in Boyle, *Goethe*, I, 593.
 28. Mendelssohn to Adolf Fredrik Lindblad, cited in Friedhelm Krummacher, *Mendelssohn* –

- der Komponist: Studien zur Kammermusik für Streicher (Munich, 1978), 72. Translation mine.
29. “Plot can be defined as the dynamic, sequential element in narrative.” Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative* (Oxford, 1966), 207.
30. Krummacker, *Mendelssohn*, 72. Translation mine.
31. Mendelssohn to Abraham Mendelssohn, Paris, 31 March 1832, in *Reisebriefe von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig, 1861), 52. Translation mine.
32. Mercer-Taylor, *Mendelssohn*, 104.
33. Donald Francis Tovey, *Beethoven* (London, 1944), 30.
34. Tovey, *Essays*, III, 178.
35. *Ibid.*, 6.
36. Mozart to his father, 28 December 1782; cited in H. C. Robbins Landon, “The Concertos: (2) Their Musical Origin and Development” in *The Mozart Companion*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon and Donald Mitchell (New York, 1969), 227.

6 Symphony and overture

- General studies of Mendelssohn’s orchestral works include Thomas Grey, “The Orchestral Music,” in *MC*, 395–550; R. Larry Todd, “Mendelssohn,” in *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. D. Kern Holoman (New York, 1997), 78–107; Wulf Konold, *Die Symphonien Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys: Untersuchungen zu Werkgestalt und Formstruktur* (Laaber, 1992); Thomas Ehrle, *Die Instrumentation in den Symphonien und Ouvertüren von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (Wiesbaden, 1983).
- R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn’s Musical Education: A Study and Edition of His Exercises in Composition* (Cambridge, 1983).
- For synopses and comments on the sinfonias, see Wulf Konold, “Mendelssohns Jugendsymphonien: Eine analytische Studie,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 46 (1989), 1–41, 155–83; and Albert James Filosa, Jr., “The Early Symphonies and Chamber Music of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy,” Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1970, 6–9 and 44–89.
- The Mendelssohn family had traveled to Switzerland for a family vacation in 1822, and this piece dates from the following spring.
- For a detailed discussion of op. 11, see Wulf Konold, “Opus 11 und Opus 107: Analytische Bemerkungen zu zwei unbekanntem Sinfonien Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys,” in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, *Musik-Konzepte* 14/15 (Munich, 1980), 8–16.
- Grey, “The Orchestral Music,” 408–10. Filosa regards the thematic model as a Mendelssohnian

- “fingerprint” in the early sinfonias; see Filosa, “Early Symphonies,” 58.
- At the London performances and again later in Munich in 1831 Mendelssohn substituted an orchestrated version of the scherzo from the Octet.
 - Wolfram Steinbeck deals with this decisive position of the overtures in “Der klärende Wendepunkt in Felix’ Leben,” in *KBB*, 232–56.
 - Adolf Bernhard Marx, a close friend of the composer at the time, takes credit for pressing Mendelssohn to this vivid programmaticism, in place of a more conventional, “musical” approach. See the translation from his *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Berlin, 1865) in “From the Memoirs of Adolf Bernhard Marx,” trans. Susan Gillespie, in *MhW*, 216–17.
 - Thomas Grey has also described this as portraying “the sleeping household of the Duke”; Grey, “The Orchestral Music,” 465.
 - Arnd Richter, “Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Hegel und Marx: Zur Poetik der Ouvertüre ‘Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt,’” *NZfM* 149, no. 7–8 (1988), 18–23, discusses the background of the overture in relation to Beethoven’s choral cantata on Goethe’s texts.
 - See the programmatic description from the *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, published in 1847 and translated in R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: The Hebrides and Other Overtures* (Cambridge, 1993), 77.
 - Todd, *Mendelssohn: The Hebrides and Other Overtures*, 78; Grey, “The Orchestral Music,” 470. Lawrence Kramer also hears this closing as “a grateful reminiscence of the calm sea of the opening,” though one might question the rationale by which the sailor reminisces gratefully about having been becalmed; see his “*Felix culpa*: Goethe and the Image of Mendelssohn,” in *MSt*, 76, reprinted as “*Felix culpa*: Mendelssohn, Goethe, and the Social Force of Musical Expression,” in Lawrence Kramer, *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995), 137–38.
 - I owe this observation to the brief discussion of the concept in relation to Weber’s operas in Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), 69–71.
 - Letters of travelers with special literary talent could even be published, as were Goethe’s or, later, Mendelssohn’s own. The first German version of Mendelssohn’s Grand Tour letters is Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Reisebriefe aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig, 1861), trans. Lady Wallace as *Letters from Italy and Switzerland by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (London, 1862). For a

- more reliable text, see Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Briefe einer Reise durch Deutschland, Italien und die Schweiz und Lebensbild*, ed. Paul Sutermeister (Zurich, 1958).
16. “Ich glaube, ich habe heut da den Anfang meiner Schottischen Symphonie gefunden”; letter of 30 July 1829, quoted in Sebastian Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn 1729 bis 1847*, (17th edn. Berlin, 1918), 268. English text quoted from Sebastian Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family (1729–1847)*, trans. Carl Klingemann and an American collaborator (repr. New York, 1969), 198.
17. For a thorough description of the genesis of the work, see Todd, *Mendelssohn: The Hebrides and Other Overtures*, 26–37. See also Andreas Eichhorn, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Die Hebriden – Overtüre für Orchester op. 26* (Munich, 1998).
18. See R. Larry Todd, “Of Sea Gulls and Counterpoint: The Early Versions of Mendelssohn’s *Hebrides* Overture,” *19th-Century Music* 2 (1979), 197–213.
19. See John Michael Cooper, “Aber eben dieser Zweifel: A New Look at Mendelssohn’s ‘Italian’ Symphony,” *19th-Century Music* 15 (1992), 169–87, and his *Mendelssohn’s ‘Italian’ Symphony* (Oxford, 2003), based in part on his 1994 dissertation, “Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy and the *Italian* Symphony: Historical, Musical, and Extramusical Perspectives,” Duke University. Facsimiles of the sources and an edition of the 1834 revisions, edited by Cooper and Hans-Günter Klein, were published in 1997 (Wiesbaden). See also Wulf Konold, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Symphonie Nr. 4 A-Dur Op. 90, ‘Die Italienische’* (Munich, 1987).
20. Thomas S. Grey, “*Tableaux vivants*: Landscape, History Painting, and the Visual Imagination in Mendelssohn’s Orchestral Music,” *19th-Century Music* 21 (1997), 38–76, discusses not only the “Italian” Symphony but other works, as well.
21. Grey creates a fairly detailed program, pointing out that development’s new theme, like a “masked intruder,” is at first driven away and then welcomed back into the carnival celebration, concluding that “Whatever unruly antagonisms are enacted in Mendelssohn’s musical carnival, they are easily contained, at last, within the larger social order of the symphonic tradition.” Grey, “The Orchestral Music,” 442; complete discussion of the movement begins on page 439.
22. August Wilhelm Ambros, *Die Grenzen der Musik und Poesie* (Leipzig, 1855), 176.
23. Dale A. Olsen, “Ethnomusicology and Music History: Mendelssohn’s Italian Journey – Field Work or ‘A Runaway with the Rich and Famous?’”; paper presented to the Joint Annual Meetings of the American Musicological Society (Southern Chapter) and the Society for Ethnomusicology (Southeastern/Caribbean Chapter), Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 17 February 1989.
24. The history of the composer’s unrealized hope for this performance is discussed in Judith Silber Ballan, “Mendelssohn and His *Reformation* Symphony,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60 (1987), 310–36.
25. Ferdinand Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, trans. M. E. von Glehn (London, 1874; repr. New York, 1972), 21–22.
26. For an analytical study of the “Reformation” Symphony, see Konold, “Opus 11 und Opus 107: Analytische Bemerkungen zu zwei unbekanntem Sinfonien Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys,” 16–28.
27. An interesting interpretation of the stylistic contrasts within this work is Ulrich Wüster, “‘Ein gewisser Geist’: Zu Mendelssohns Reformations-Symphonie,” *Die Musikforschung* 44 (1991), 311–30. For a detailed study of the programmatic aspect of the symphony, emphasizing its relationship to Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, see Wolfgang Dinglinger, “The Programme of Mendelssohn’s ‘Reformation’ Symphony, Op. 107,” trans. John Michael Cooper, in *TMH*, 115–33.
28. Grey notes here the suggestion of a Gregorian intonation formula; “The Orchestral Music,” 418.
29. See Alfred Heuß, “Das ‘Dresdener Amen’ im ersten Satz von Mendelssohns Reformations-sinfonie,” *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 62 (1904), 281–84, 305–06. James Garratt, “Mendelssohn’s Babel: Romanticism and the Poetics of Translation,” *Music & Letters* 80 (1999), 25–27, cautions against too specifically programmatic a reading of the symphony.
30. For example, Hermann Deiters, in his review of the symphony in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (1868) 349–50, 356–57, who compares the movement to Pamina’s “Ach, ich fühl’s” in Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte*. Grey hears the influence of the slow movement in Beethoven’s Piano Sonata op. 110, which Beethoven labeled *klagender Gesang*; see Grey, “The Orchestral Music,” 424.
31. A helpful discussion of levels of discourse is Robert Hatten, “On Narrativity in Music: Expressive Genres and Levels of Discourse in Beethoven,” *Indiana Theory Review* 12 (1991), 75–98, esp. 86ff.
32. He explained the impetus for the work in a letter to his sister Fanny of 7 April 1834; see Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Letters of Felix*

Mendelssohn Bartholdy from 1833 to 1847, trans. Lady Wallace (London, 1863), 31–32.

33. Robert Schumann, “Overture zum Märchen von der schöne Melusine,” in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* (Leipzig, 1875), 138–40.
34. Letter to his mother of 18 March 1839, in Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from 1833 to 1847*, ed. Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, trans. Lady Wallace (London, 1863), 154–55.
35. William Lyle Peltó, “Musical Structure and Extramusical Meaning in the Concert Overtures of Mendelssohn,” Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1993; Siegwart Reichwald, “Two Days in the Workroom of a Composer: Schubert’s C Major Symphony, Mendelssohn’s Ruy Blas, and the Development of the Romantic Symphony,” paper presented at the 12th Biennial International Conference on Nineteenth-Century Music, University of Leeds, 4–7 July 2002.
36. The dedication of the symphony to Queen Victoria suggests that Mendelssohn continued to associate the work with the British Isles. To be sure, the identity of the symphony as Scottish eluded Schumann; he erroneously believed that it had originated during Mendelssohn’s Italian sojourn and heard it accordingly. See Robert Schumann, “Symphonien für Orchester,” *NZfM* 18, no. 39 (1843), 155–56. Peter Mercer-Taylor has made an interesting argument for the work’s essential German character in his “Mendelssohn’s ‘Scottish’ Symphony and the Music of German Memory,” *19th-Century Music* 19 (1995), 68–82. Thomas Schmidt-Beste argues that the real significance of the work is that Mendelssohn suppressed its Scottish connections; see his “Just how ‘Scottish’ is the ‘Scottish’ Symphony? Thoughts on Form and Poetic Content in Mendelssohn’s Opus 56,” in *TMH*, 147–65.
37. Grey, “The Orchestral Music,” 450.

7 The works of solo instrument(s) and orchestra

1. Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis, Volume III: Concertos* (London, 1936), 178.
2. Mendelssohn composed a number of other concerted works outside the purview of this article. In March of 1820, at eleven years of age, the composer began a work for piano and strings in D minor, his first attempt in the genre. This has not been published; the manuscript is in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mendelssohn Nachlass, Mus. Ms. Autogr. Mendelssohn 1. See Hans-Günter Klein, “Verzeichniss der im

Autograph überlieferten Werke Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys im Besitz der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin,” *Mendelssohn Studien* 10 (1997), 200ff.

In 1832 and 1833, Mendelssohn composed, and seems to have orchestrated, the Concertstücke for Clarinet, Bass-Horn, and Piano, with orchestral accompaniment, opp. 113 and 114, as concert vehicles for Heinrich and Karl Bärmann; they were not published in Mendelssohn’s lifetime. See R. Larry Todd’s “The Instrumental Music of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy,” Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University (abbreviated as Todd diss. hereafter), 384, n. 2. Todd includes substantial discussion of all of the Mendelssohn concertos, with particular focus on the D minor Violin Concerto (1822), the A^b major Double Piano Concerto (1824), the *Capriccio brillante* (1832), and the D minor Piano Concerto op. 40 (1837).

In 1833, in collaboration with Ignaz Moscheles, Mendelssohn composed a *Duo Concertant* for Two Pianos and Orchestra (*Variations brillantes*) on a March from Carl Maria von Weber’s opera *Preciosa*, listed as Moscheles’ op. 87b.

3. As Marian Wilson [Kimber] notes (“Felix Mendelssohn’s Works for Solo Piano and Orchestra,” Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1993 [abbreviated as Wilson diss. hereafter], 9–10), Mendelssohn’s autograph for the A minor Concerto is not dated. The year 1822 is given for this work in Sebastian Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family (1729–1847) from Letters and Journals*, 2nd edn., trans. Karl Klingemann (New York, 1882; repr. New York, 1969), I, 117. A performance of the work was noted in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 4 (22 January 1823).
4. R. Larry Todd’s “An Unfinished Piano Concerto by Mendelssohn,” *MQ* 68, no. 1 (1982), 80–101, argues that op. 64 was initially conceived for piano during the years 1842–44. However, see Grey, “The Orchestral Music,” in *MC*, 516.
5. R. Larry Todd, “Mendelssohn: Orchestral Works,” *New Grove* online.
6. Thomas Grey, “The Orchestral Music,” in *MC*, 503.
7. Letter to Moscheles of 10 August 1832, in *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn to Ignaz and Charlotte Moscheles*, ed. Felix Moscheles (1888; repr. edn. Freeport, NY, 1970), 30.
8. See R. Larry Todd, “Piano Music Reformed: The Case of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy,” in *MC*, 580–81.
9. Edwin J. Simon, “The Double Exposition in Classic Concerto Form,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1954.

10. Daniel N. Leeson and Robert D. Levin, "On the Authenticity of K. Anh. C 14.01 (297b), a *Sinfonia Concertante* for Four Winds and Orchestra," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1976 / 77 (Kassel, 1978), 70–96. Leeson and Levin are responsible for this seven-part delineation of the form of the first movement. For a more complete historical discussion of the development of concerto form in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see my *Structural Novelty and Tradition in the Early Romantic Piano Concerto* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1999). The book contains timeline analytical graphs of the first movements of all of the Mozart concertos, as well as many early nineteenth-century composers, including Beethoven, Chopin, Schumann, Liszt, Sterndale Bennett, Field, Steibelt, and many others.
11. Karl-Heinz Köhler, "Felix Mendelssohn (-Bartholdy)," *The New Grove Dictionary*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980), VII, 134–59.
12. *Leipziger Ausgabe der Werke von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, Herausgegeben von der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Serie II: *Konzerte und Konzertstücke*, Band I, ed. Christoph Hellmundt (Wiesbaden, 1999), "Introduction," xv.
13. Wilson diss., p. 9. See her analytical chart of the first movement on p. 14.
14. Todd diss., pp. 351ff. See his diagram of the first movement, p. 352. See also *Leipziger Ausgabe der Werke von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, *Internationale Felix-Mendelssohn-Gesellschaft*, Serie II: *Instrumentalkonzerte*, Band VI, *Konzert d-Moll für Violine und Streichorchester, Erste und zweite Fassung*, ed. Renate Unger (Leipzig, 1960; repr. 1973), "Zum Vorliegenden Band," v.
15. Peter Mercer-Taylor, *The Life of Mendelssohn* (Cambridge, 2000), 33.
16. Todd, "Piano Music Reformed," 582.
17. *Leipziger Ausgabe der Werke von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, Herausgegeben von der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Serie II: *Konzerte und Konzertstücke*, Band VIII, *Konzert für Violine, Klavier und Orchester (Bläser und Pauken ad libitum) d-Moll*, ed. Christoph Hellmundt (Wiesbaden, 1999), "Introduction," xvii.
18. Todd, "Piano Music Reformed," 584.
19. Friedhelm Krummacher, "Art – History – Religion: On Mendelssohn's Oratorios *St. Paul* and *Elijah*," in *MC*, 303.
20. Eric Werner, "Two Unpublished Mendelssohn Concertos," *Music & Letters* 36 (1955), 135. See also Peter John Roennfeldt, "The Double Piano Concertos of Felix Mendelssohn," DMA thesis, College-Conservatory of Music, Cincinnati, 1985, p. 92.
21. *Felix Mendelssohn: A Life in Letters*, ed. Rudolf Elvers, trans. Craig Tomlinson (New York, 1986), 18.
22. For an in-depth discussion of this see my *Felix Mendelssohn: Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra in E major (1823): Original Version of the First Movement* (Madison, 1999), and "Mendelssohn and Moscheles: Two Composers, Two Pianos, Two Scores, One Concerto," *MQ* 83 (1999), 51–74.
23. *NZFM* 10 (January 1839), 5.
24. Werner, "Unpublished Concertos," 92.
25. Todd diss., 358–59.
26. Roennfeldt, "Double Piano Concertos," 92.
27. Todd, "Piano Music Reformed," 583.
28. See my *Structural Novelty* for more discussion of the influence of Weber's *Konzertstück*.
29. See Wilson diss., 104–83, for a complete discussion of the publication history and compositional process in op. 25.
30. Todd, "Piano Music Reformed," 584–85.
31. R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: The Hebrides and Other Overtures* (Cambridge, 1993), 21.
32. Todd, "Piano Music Reformed," 611.
33. Peter Mercer-Taylor's unpublished paper, "Taming the Romantic Weber: Mendelssohn's *Capriccio brillante* as Self-Mythology," contains a fascinating and insightful perspective on Mendelssohn's debt to Weber, and analysis of op. 22. I am grateful to Dr. Mercer-Taylor for permitting me access to his paper. See the reading of op. 22 in his *Mendelssohn*, 105–06.
34. Mercer-Taylor, *Mendelssohn*, 105–06.
35. Wilson diss., 47–48.
36. *Ibid.*, 184–96.
37. Todd, "Mendelssohn: *Orchestral Works*."
38. Wilson diss., 194, letter written to Moscheles from Düsseldorf, 7 February 1834, *Briefe an Ignaz und Charlotte Moscheles* (Leipzig, 1888), 74, with Wilson's modified translation from that in *Letters to Ignaz and Charlotte Moscheles*, 98.
39. The review is cited and quoted in Wilson diss., 278, under the name F. L., "Das Musikfest in Birmingham," *NZfM* 3 (13 October 1837), 119.
40. See Marian Wilson, "Felix Mendelssohn's Piano Concerto no. 2 op. 40: A Study of the Autograph Sources," M.M. thesis, Florida State University, 1989, and Wilson diss., 275–384.
41. Todd diss., 372.
42. Todd, "Piano Music Reformed," 600–01.
43. *On Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (New York, 1946), 207.
44. Quoted in Mercer-Taylor, *Mendelssohn*, 153.
45. Wilson diss., 392.
46. The E minor Violin Concerto op. 64, as Todd argues, may have been initially conceived for piano during the years 1842–44. See his "An Unfinished Piano Concerto by Mendelssohn,"

- MQ, 68, no. 1 (January 1982), 80–101. However, see discussion of op. 64 later in this chapter.
47. As quoted in Wilson diss., 385, from *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Leipzig, 1863) 106; the translation is Wilson's modification of that in *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from 1833 to 1847*, trans. Lady Wallace (London, 1863), 135.
 48. Mercer-Taylor, *Mendelssohn*, p. 154.
 49. Grey, "Orchestral Music," 522–23.
 50. Wilson diss., 386, quoting D. L., in *NZfM* 8 (13 April 1838), 120.
 51. Wilson diss., 386, quoting G. W. Fink, in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 41 (18 April 1838), 262–63.
 52. Grey, "Orchestral Music," 516.
 53. *Ibid.*
 54. Todd, "Mendelssohn: Orchestral Works." For discussion of the op. 64 sketches, see H. C. Worbs, "Die Entwürfe zu Mendelssohns Violinkonzert e-moll," *Die Musikforschung* 12 (1959), 79–81; Reinhard Gerlach, "Mendelssohns Kompositionsweise – Vergleich zwischen Skizzen und Letztfassung des Violinkonzerts opus 64," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 28 (1971), 119–33; Gerlach, "Mendelssohns schöpferische Erinnerung der 'Jugendzeit.' Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Violinkonzert op. 64, und dem Oktett für Streicher, op. 20," *Die Musikforschung* 25 (1972), 142–52; and Gerlach, "Mendelssohns Kompositionsweise (II). Weitere Vergleiche zwischen den Skizzen und der Letztfassung des Violinkonzerts op. 64," in *PM*, 149–67. Todd discusses the sketches at some length in his dissertation, 384–95. See also his "An Unfinished Piano Concerto by Mendelssohn," 80–101.
 55. Joseph Kerman, *Concerto Conversations: The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures, 1997–98* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 91.
 56. Krummacher, "Art – History – Religion," 331.
 57. Grey, "Orchestral Music," 519.
 58. Krummacher, "On Mendelssohn's Compositional Style: Propositions Based on the Example of the String Quartets," trans. Douglass Seaton, in *MC*, 556.
- 8 Mendelssohn's chamber music**
1. R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education: A Study and Edition of his Exercises in Composition* (Cambridge, 1983), 62.
 2. *Ibid.*, 77–80.
 3. "as I repeat that we have learned and profited hardly at all from textbooks, but first and foremost from your talent and our mutual abilities," Carl Friedrich Zelter to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 3 August 1824; see Thomas Schmidt-Beste, "Alles von ihm gelernt? Die Briefe von Carl Friedrich Zelter an Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy," *Mendelssohn-Studien* 10 (1997), 25–56, quote on 42. All translation from German into English is the author's.
 4. Cf. the memoirs of one of Mendelssohn's pupils, the violinist Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski: Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, *Aus siebzig Jahren. Lebenserinnerungen* (Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1897), 34–36.
 5. In a letter of 16 July 1824, Zelter even sent his pupil a riddle with two melodies he himself composed as countersubjects of fugues from Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* – Felix was to find the original fugues. Felix of course accepted the challenge and answered with the solved riddle in his next letter (as it turned out, both countermelodies even belonged to the same fugue, the B minor from Book I). Both letters are edited in Schmidt-Beste, "Alles von ihm gelernt?" 37–41.
 6. Goethe, Conversation with Eckermann, 12–14 January 1827; Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, ed. Fritz Bergemann (Leipzig, 1968), 178.
 7. Gottfried Heinz, *Die Geschichte des Klavierquintetts von den Anfängen bis Robert Schumann* (Neckargemünd, 2001). The addition of a double bass to large-ensemble chamber works in itself was no rarity; R. Larry Todd points out parallels between the sextet and Johann Nepomuk Hummel's Septet op. 74 for flute, oboe, French horn, viola, violoncello, double bass, and piano of 1816 which was also published in a version for string quartet (violin, viola, violoncello, double bass) and piano. See R. Larry Todd, "The Chamber Music of Mendelssohn," in *Nineteenth-century Chamber Music*, ed. Stephen E. Hefling (New York, 1998), 180.
 8. *MNI*, 63.
 9. See Friedhelm Krummacher, *Mendelssohn – der Komponist. Studien zur Kammermusik für Streicher* (Munich, 1978), 154–57. Krummacher's magisterial study remains the standard work on Mendelssohn's chamber music, and all of the conclusions presented here draw heavily on this book.
 10. Sebastian Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn 1729–1847*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1879), I, 151; the English version of the passage from Goethe's *Faust* is taken from the translation by George Madison Priest (New York, 1941).
 11. English translation after *MNI*, 119.
 12. See Friedhelm Krummacher, *Das Streichquartett. Teilband II: Von Mendelssohn bis zur Gegenwart*, Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen 6,2 (Laaber, 2003), 11–30.

13. See Ludwig Finscher, *Studien zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts*, I: *Die Entstehung des klassischen Streichquartetts. Von den Vorformen zur Grundlegung durch Joseph Haydn*, Saarbrücker Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 3 (Kassel etc., 1974), 285–301.
14. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Adolf Fredrik Lindblad, [February 1828], *Bref till Adolf Fredrik Lindblad fran Mendelssohn . . . och andra*, ed. L. Dahlgren (Stockholm, 1913), 19–20. The letter is not dated, but the subsequent letter from Mendelssohn, dated 22 April, mentions that the last letter had been written nine weeks previously.
15. *MNI*, 118.
16. *Ibid.*, 308.
17. *Ibid.*, 358.
18. *Ibid.*, 308.
19. Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 17 February 1835, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, ed. Marcia J. Citron (Stuyvesant, NY, 1987), 490; translation the author's, considerably revised from Citron's on 174.
20. Krummacker, *Mendelssohn – der Komponist*, 467.
21. See Thomas Christian Schmidt, *Die ästhetischen Grundlagen der Instrumentalmusik Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys* (Stuttgart, 1996), 155–209.
22. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Wilhelm von Boguslawski, 19 April 1834; Bruno Hake, "Mendelssohn als Lehrer. Mit bisher ungedruckten Briefen Mendelssohns an Wilhelm v. Boguslawski," *Deutsche Rundschau* 140 (1909), 465.
23. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Johann Heinrich Lübeck, 20 August 1836; unpublished, copy in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mendelssohn-Archiv Nachlass 7,42.
24. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Bernhard Schüler (pseudonym "Silphin vom Walde"), 22 January 1841; *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847*, ed. Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig, 1863), 265.
25. See Schmidt, *Die ästhetischen Grundlagen*, 55–56.
26. *Ibid.*, 306–10.
27. Robert Schumann, "Trios für Pianoforte mit Begleitung," in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 5th edn., ed. Martin Kreisig (Leipzig 1914), I, 500.
28. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Ignaz Moscheles, 7 February 1834; *Briefe an Ignaz und Charlotte Moscheles*, ed. Felix Moscheles (Leipzig, 1888), 74.
29. See Armin Koch, *Choräle und Chorallhaftes im Werk von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*

- (= Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte 12) (Göttingen, 2003), 124–30.
30. Friedhelm Krummacker, "Mendelssohn's Late Chamber Music: Some Autograph Sources Reconsidered," in *Mendelssohn and Schumann. Essays on Their Music and Its Context*, ed. Jon W. Finson and R. Larry Todd (Durham, NC, 1984), 76–80.
31. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Karl Emil von Webern, 24 May 1847; *Briefe 1833 bis 1847*, 483.
32. *MNI*, 496.
33. Krummacker, "Mendelssohn's Late Chamber Music," 80–84.

9 The music for keyboard

1. This essay will focus on the keyboard pieces published by Mendelssohn; he left very many unpublished works. For work lists see the Mendelssohn article in the *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 29 vols. (London, 2001) and *MC*, 748–65.
2. R. Larry Todd, "Piano Music Reformed," in *MC*, 582.
3. Mendelssohn composed a "Scottish Sonata", most probably c. 1828, but did not publish it in this guise; a revised version of its three movements appeared in 1834 as the *Fantasia in F# minor* op. 28.
4. Cited in *MNI*, 52.
5. Letter to Franz Brendel (18 September 1849), cited by Christa Jost in "In Mutual Reflection: Historical, Biographical and Structural Aspects of Mendelssohn's *Variations sérieuses*," in *MSt*, 95, from *Robert Schumanns Briefe*, neue Folge, ed. Th. G. Jansen, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1904), 312.
6. Wulf Konold, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und seine Zeit* (Laaber, 1984), 256.
7. Hauptmann in a letter to Franz Hauser in October 1834. Cited in Christa Jost, *Mendelssohns Lieder ohne Worte*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 14 (Tutzing, 1988), 27. Mendelssohn took some pride in the songs, but already in 1832 he complained to his father about the "endless piano songs" (*die ewigen Clavierlieder*).
8. *Ibid.*, 14–15 and passim after 68.
9. *Ibid.*, 20–24. Among the composers are Stephen Heller, Sigismund Thalberg, Hans von Bülow, Max Reger, and Schoenberg(!). In France, Fauré, d'Indy, and Gounod composed *Romances sans paroles* or some variation on that title.
10. Cited in *Felix Mendelssohn: Letters*, ed. G. Selden-Goth (New York, 1945; repr. 1973), 266.
11. On this question and the *Songs without Words* in general see John Michael Cooper,

“Words without Songs: Of Texts, Titles, and Mendelssohn’s ‘Lieder ohne Worte,’” in *Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung*, “Musik als Text,” Freiburg, September 1993, II, Freie Referate, ed. Hermann Danuser und Tobias Plebuch (Kassel, 1998), 341–46, and Todd, “Piano Music Reformed,” 593–99, especially 594, where Todd cites the Leipzig theorist and Cantor of the Thomaskirche Moritz Hauptmann: “What is it all about? Is he really in earnest? . . . Songs without Words must be uncanny, I think.”

12. Fanny Mendelssohn, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, ed. and trans. Marcia J. Citron (Stuyvesant, NY, 1987), 261. Years later, in a review of volume II, Schumann echoes the creative spontaneity that Fanny’s description implies, but without its levity: “Who of us in the twilight hour . . . in the midst of improvising has not unconsciously begun to sing a quiet melody? Should one happens to be able to play the cantilena along with the accompaniment, above all, when one happens to be a Mendelssohn, the loveliest ‘song without words’ would result.” Cited in Todd, “Piano Music Reformed,” 594.

13. The distribution of the lower voices between the two hands in this piece presents another classic pianistic problem, as seen in mm. 18–23, which introduce a minor-mode version of the antecedent phrase of the main theme in the lower voice that makes a fleeting but highly evocative allusion to the tragic D minor slow movement of Beethoven’s String Quartet in F op. 18 no. 1, a duet between the first violin and the cello.

14. Todd is very interested in relating textures to texted-song forms and in his enthusiasm forces the issue somewhat. He establishes a “duet” category that includes the “Duetto” and also the *Gondellieder* and other pieces that contain parallel melodic lines. As we have seen, the “Duetto” presents an interaction between two distinct voices that is typical of vocal duets, which certainly present voices moving together but also emphasizes dialogue. Authors going back to Schumann associate the homorhythmic songs with polyphonic Romantic part songs. This seems misguided, in part because of the large registral space between the bass and upper voices in many of the piano works, in part because the bass and inner voices do not have as much melodic integrity as is typical of a part-song, in part because the number of voices changes within a songs, and also because these are very pianistic textures in their own right. Schumann’s comment, “Mendelssohn has progressed from the simple Lied through the duet to the polyphonic and choral style,” should

be understood in general terms; he does not link specific songs to the specific vocal genres and he uses the general term style. Citation from *Robert Schumann: On Music and Musicians*, trans. Paul Rosenfeld, ed. Konrad Wolff (New York, 1946), 212.

15. Jost, *Lieder ohne Worte*, 73, n. 254, cites a remark in a German popular music guide about these pieces: “Perhaps they are based on the idea of a [German] courtly love song (Minnelied), imagining a troubadour who preludes on his harp before he begins to sing.”

16. Based on an unpublished letter to Eduard Devrient of 14 January 1837. See *MNI*, 279.

17. Cited in Ferdinand Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, trans. M. E. von Glehn, intr. by Joel Sachs (New York, 1972), 81.

18. See R. Larry Todd on this and other aspects of the preludes and fugues in “Me voilà perruqué’: Mendelssohn’s *Six Preludes and Fugues* op. 35 reconsidered,” in *MSt*, 162–99. Todd considers op. 35 to be Mendelssohn’s most important work for the piano.

19. On Mendelssohn’s stylistic mediations see Charles Rosen’s discussion of no. 7 of the *Seven Characteristic Pieces* (op. 7), a binary-form andante movement evocative of an allemande, in *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), 587–88.

20. Cited, with minor revisions, in *Robert Schumann: On Music and Musicians*, 215.

21. The first Prelude has been associated with the first Prelude of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, Book I in C major. This exaggerates the importance of the single common feature, the arpeggiations; otherwise the movements could not be more different, and the arpeggiations of the later piece do not, in my view, create an allusion to the former that can be heard. At best we have *Augenmusik*.

22. Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 590–95.

23. For a survey of Mendelssohn’s organ music see Robert C. Mann, “The Organ Music,” in *MC*, 625–56.

24. Susanne Großmann-Vendry, “Stilprobleme in Mendelssohns Orgelsonaten Op. 65,” in *PM*, 185–94.

25. Henry Gauntlett in *The Musical World*, 15 September 1837; cited in Grossman-Vendry, “Stilprobleme,” 190.

26. Cited in Jost, “*Variations sérieuses*,” 34.

27. Mendelssohn played the variations for the first time in November 1841 at the Gewandhaus; he also played them privately for Spohr and Wagner in 1846. Spohr remembers “He played a fearsomely difficult and highly idiosyncratic composition of his own . . . with monstrous bravura . . .” (*Selbstbiographie* [Kassel and Göttingen], 1861, II, 306–07).

28. Letters to Rebecka and to Karl Klingemann convey his excitement about variations. To Klingemann, “I vary every theme that occurs to me . . . passionately . . . as though I had to make up for never having written any before.” Rebecka learns that he has already finished two variation sets – the second consisting of twelve “sentimental” variations in E \flat (a less substantial but interesting work, published posthumously as op. 82 in 1850) and has plans for further piano variations and some “with and for” orchestra as well. Mendelssohn did complete two further sets of piano variations, but no variations in other genres were composed.
29. Jost, “*Variations sérieuses*,” 44–57.
30. *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London, 1971), 401.
31. Suite no. 3 in D minor: see Peter Rummenhöller, *Romantik in der Musik* (Kassel, 1989), 178–81.
32. Todd sees a spiritual connection between Mendelssohn’s use of “sérieuses” and Beethoven’s Quartet in F minor op. 95 (“Piano Music Reformed,” 606).
33. The copy belongs to the Mendelssohn Nachlaß in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.
34. See the commentary in the Norton Critical Score: *Johann Sebastian Bach, Cantata No. 4 “Christ lag in Todesbanden.” An Authoritative Score, Backgrounds, Analysis, Views and Comment*, ed. Gerhard Herz (New York, 1967).
35. Letter to Moscheles in 1835 on new mazurkas (probably op. 17) and other new pieces “so mannered that they are hard to stand.” *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn to Ignaz and Charlotte Moscheles*, ed. F. Moscheles (Boston, 1888), 129 and 156.
36. Mendelssohn praises Liszt’s playing; “The only thing that he seems to me to want is true talent for composition, I mean really original ideas . . .” Cited in *ibid.*, 203–04.
37. Todd, “Piano Music Reformed,” 178–79.
38. This information is taken largely from Donald Mintz, “Mendelssohn as Performer and Teacher,” in *MC*, 109.
39. See Robert C. Mann, “The Organ Music,” in *ibid.*, 625–56.
40. See Matthias Pape, *Mendelssohns Leipziger Orgelkonzert 1840: Ein Beitrag zur Bach-Pflege im 19. Jahrhundert*, Jahresgabe 1987 der Internationalen Bach-Gesellschaft Schaffhausen (Wiesbaden), 15–16.
41. Jost, “*Variations sérieuses*,” 37.
42. Cited by Mintz from Sir George Grove in his article “Mendelssohn” in the first edition of the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, reprinted in Grove, *Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn* (London, 1951), 374.

43. This passage has been translated by Nancy Reich for her forthcoming translation of a German edition of the diaries, which will be published in German by Breitkopf & Härtel and in English by the Northeastern University Press. The remark is recorded in Diary 6a, 16. The original manuscript diaries are located in the Robert-Schumann Haus in Zwickau, Germany. The author wishes to thank Dr. Gerd Nauhaus, the director of the Haus, for permission to publish this excerpt.

10 On Mendelssohn’s sacred music, real and imaginary

An earlier version of this paper was read at the conference A Sense of Place: Seventy Years of Musical Scholarship at Yale, in New Haven in December 2001.

1. Camille Selden, *Mendelssohn* (Paris, 1867), 125.
2. Hippolyte Barbedette, *Félix Mendelssohn, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris, 1869), 132.
3. *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. George Grove, 2nd edn. (London, 1890), II, 304.
4. Jack Werner, “The Mendelssohnian Cadence,” *The Musical Times* 97 (1956), 17–19; repr. in Werner, *Mendelssohn’s “Elijah”* (London, 1965), 86–87.
5. *MNI*, 471.
6. Jeffrey S. Sposato, “The Price of Assimilation: The Oratorios of Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition,” Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2000, 20–21.
7. Staatsarchiv der Hansestadt Hamburg; see Rudolf Elvers, “Frühe Quellen zur Biographie Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys,” in *KBB*, 18.
8. Zelter to Goethe, 23 October 1821; the passage originally read, “Er [Felix] ist zwar ein Judensohn aber kein Jude. Der Vater hat mit bedeutender Aufopferung seine Söhne nicht beschneiden lassen und erzieht sie wie sichs gehört.” But when the Goethe–Zelter *Briefwechsel* was published in 1834, the sentence was doctored to read “Der Vater hat mit bedeutender Aufopferung seine Söhne etwas lernen lassen und erzieht sie wie sich’s gehört.” See further, Elvers, “Frühe Quellen,” 18–19.
9. Jacob Bartholdy to Abraham Mendelssohn, n.d., in Sebastian Hensel, ed., *The Mendelssohn Family (1729–1847) from Letters and Journals*, trans. C. Klingemann (London, 1882; repr. 1969), I, 75.
10. *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst* 7 (1822); facs. in *Das verborgene Band: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und seine Schwester Fanny Hensel*, ed. H.-G. Klein (Wiesbaden, 1997), 65.
11. Rudolf Elvers, “Einleitung” to Fanny Hensel, *Tagebücher*, ed. H.-G. Klein and Rudolf Elvers

- (Wiesbaden, 2002), viii. Similarly, when Felix's sister Fanny Hensel began to publish her compositions toward the end of her life, she was identified as "Fanny Hensel geb. Mendelssohn Bartholdy."
12. See Alexander Altmann, "Moses Mendelssohns gesammelte Schriften, neuerschlossene Briefe zur Geschichte ihrer Herausgabe," *Bulletin of the Leo Baeck Institute* 11, no. 42 (1968), 73–115.
 13. In the introductory essay "Die Familie Mendelssohn in historischer Sicht" to *Bankiers, Künstler und Gelehrte: Unveröffentlichte Briefe der Familie Mendelssohn aus dem 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Felix Gilbert (Tübingen, 1975), xxiv.
 14. Wilhelm to Luise Hensel, 1 December 1823, *Unveröffentlichte Briefe*, 57–61.
 15. Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family*, I, 131.
 16. "Lebensgeschichte Moses Mendelssohn" in Moses Mendelssohn, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. G. B. Mendelssohn (Leipzig, 1843), I, 43–44 ("Es war Mendelssohn's auf unerschütterliche Ueberzeugung gegründete Meinung, daß die Verschiedenheit religiöser Ansichten unter den Menschen nicht unterdrückt werden müsse und daß die Welt in grausenhafte Barbarei verfallen würde, wenn es möglich wäre eine Religion zur einzigen zu machen").
 17. See the edition by Barbara Mohn (Stuttgart, 1997), *Neun Psalmen und Cantique*. The melody appeared, without attribution to Mendelssohn, as *Cantique* no. 103 in the *Recueil de cantiques chrétiens*, introduced to the Frankfurt congregation in 1849.
 18. *MNI*, 415–16, and the revised German version in *Mendelssohn: Leben und Werk in neuer Sicht* (Zurich, 1980), 443–44; and Werner, "Felix Mendelssohn's Commissioned Composition for the Hamburg Temple: *The 100th Psalm* (1844)," *Musica Judaica* 7, no. 1 (1984/85), 54–57.
 19. Including five letters from the director of the Temple to Mendelssohn (14 November 1843, and 8 and 21 January, 29 March, and 12 April 1844), in the Green Books of the M. Deneke Mendelssohn Collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, XVIII, 185 and XIX, 15, 48, 192, and 223; and the composing autograph of Psalm 100 in an *a cappella* version, dated 1 January 1844 (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, *Mendelssohn Nachlass* 39, 43–45).
 20. Oxford, Bodleian Library, M. Deneke Mendelssohn, Green Books XVIII, 185.
 21. 8 January 1844, Fränkel to Mendelssohn.
 22. Felix's letter does not survive, but is mentioned in Fränkel's letter of 21 January, which permits us to infer the context of the correspondence.
 23. Again, Mendelssohn's letter does not survive, though it is mentioned in Fränkel's letter of 12 April.
 24. See David Brodbeck, "A Winter of Discontent: Mendelssohn and the Berliner Domchor," in *MSt*, 1–32.
 25. Thus in Caput 16 of Heine's *Deutschland: Ein Wintermärchen* (1844), appears the quatrain: "Abraham had begotten with Lea / A little boy, Felix. The youngster / Has made great strides in the Christian world – / Has already become *Kapellmeister*." See further Leon Botstein and Susan Gillespie, "Heinrich Heine on Mendelssohn," in *MhW*, 352–63. On Heine's conversion, see Jeffrey L. Sammons, *Heinrich Heine: A Modern Biography* (Princeton, 1979), 107ff.
 26. The *Konfirmations-Bekentnis* is printed in *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys Briefwechsel mit Legationsrat Karl Klingemann in London*, ed. Karl Klingemann [Jr.] (Essen, 1909), 358–62.
 27. Felix to Julius Schubring, 18 November 1830, in *Briefwechsel zwischen Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und Julius Schubring, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theorie des Oratoriums*, ed. Julius Schubring (Leipzig, 1892), 15. The Calvinist Schleiermacher preached at Trinity Church (Dreifaltigkeitskirche) in Berlin, where Mendelssohn worshiped. According to Hans-Jürgen Sievers, the congregation was an example of a *Simultangemeinde*, with a blend of Calvinist and Lutheran members, the result of Friedrich Wilhelm III's efforts beginning in 1817 to unify the Reformed and Lutheran branches of the Protestant Church in Prussia. See Hans-Jürgen Sievers, "Die Familie Mendelssohn Bartholdy in den Kirchenbüchern der Evangelisch-reformierten Kirche zu Leipzig," in *In der Mitte der Stadt: Die Evangelisch-reformierte Kirche zu Leipzig von der Einwanderung der Hugenotten bis zur friedlichen Revolution*, ed. H.-J. Sievers (Leipzig, 2000), 100.
 28. "Il croit fermement à sa religion luthérienne, et je le scandalisais quelquefois beaucoup en riant de la Bible." Hector Berlioz, *Correspondance générale I: 1803–1832*, ed. Pierre Citron (Paris, 1972), I, 441 (6 May 1831).
 29. See Sposato, "The Price of Assimilation," Chapter 5, and Martin Staehelin, "Elijah, Johann Sebastian Bach, and the New Covenant: On the Aria 'Es ist genug' in Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's Oratorio *Elijah*," in *MhW*, 121–36.
 30. See R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education: A Study and Editions of His*

- Exercises in Composition* (Cambridge, 1983), 27–39.
31. Two other works based on chorales, *Aus tiefer Noth* and *Mitten wir im Leben sind*, appeared as nos. 1 and 3 of the *Drei Kirchenmusiken* op. 23 in 1832.
32. Eduard Devrient, *Meine Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und seine Briefe an mich* (Leipzig, 1969), 62.
33. Michael Marissen, “Religious Aims in Mendelssohn’s 1829 Berlin-Singakademie Performances of Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion*,” *MQ* 77 (1993), 718–26.
34. Sposato, “The Price of Assimilation,” 131.
35. Martin Geck, *Die Wiederentdeckung der Matthäuspassion in 19. Jahrhundert: Die zeitgenössischen Dokumente und ihre ideengeschichtliche Deutung* (Regensburg, 1967), 38.
36. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 39 (1837), 522.
37. Friedhelm Krummacher, “Art – History – Religion: On Mendelssohn’s Oratorios *St. Paul* and *Elijah*,” in *MC*, 310.
38. Abraham to Felix, 10 March 1835, in *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from 1833 to 1847*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy, trans. Lady Wallace (London, 1863), 67. On the relationship between *St. Paul* and Bach’s music, see further Glenn Stanley, “Bach’s *Erbe*: The Chorale in the German Oratorio of the Early Nineteenth Century,” *19th-Century Music* 11 (1987), 127ff.; and Peter Mercer-Taylor, “Rethinking Mendelssohn’s Historicism: A Lesson from *St. Paul*,” *Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997), 208–29.
39. See “From the Memoirs of Adolf Bernhard Marx,” trans. Susan Gillespie, in *MhW*, 214; and Karl Klingemann, “Account of the Musical Festival at Düsseldorf,” *Musical World*, 17 June 1836, 1.
40. In the following discussion, movements of *St. Paul* (1–45) are identified by numbering the Overture as 1.
41. For Peter Mercer-Taylor, the progression of chorales suggests not so much a dependence “on an established language” as a “thoughtful, wholly original metalinguistic impulse” through which the oratorio “sets out to critique its own compositional premises.” Mercer-Taylor, “A Lesson,” 229.
42. Felix to William Bartholomew, 30 December 1846, in F. G. Edwards, *The History of Mendelssohn’s Oratorio “Elijah”* (London, 1896), 106.
43. See further Sposato, “The Price of Assimilation,” Chapter 5.
44. Leon Botstein, “The Aesthetics of Assimilation and Affirmation: Reconstructing the Career of Felix Mendelssohn,” in *MhW*, 23.
45. See the Vorwort to my edition of *Christus* (Stuttgart, 1994).
46. Isaac Nathan, *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies, Ancient and Modern: Reprint of the 1815–1816 Edition*, ed. Frederick Burwick and Paul Douglass (Tuscaloosa, 1988), 29.
47. Felix to Charlotte Moscheles, 17 July 1833, in *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn to Ignaz and Charlotte Moscheles*, trans. and ed. Felix Moscheles (Boston, 1888), 74.
48. See further Monika Hennemann, “Mendelssohn and Byron: Two Songs Almost without Words,” *Mendelssohn Studien* 10 (1997), 142ff.
49. See my *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (New York, 2003), 506.
50. Other examples include the trio of the scherzo from the *Lobgesang* (see below), and the Organ Sonata op. 65 no. 5. In a related sub-group are the early “Gellert” Chorales of 1820, completed as studies for Zelter, in which Felix composed new melodies to which he set texts from the *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* of C. F. Gellert.
51. Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 590.
52. See Julius Schubring, “Reminiscences of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy,” *Musical World* 31 (18 May 1866), repr. in *MhW*, 227.
53. Carl Dahlhaus, “Mendelssohn und die musikalischen Gattungstraditionen,” *PM*, 58; see also Georg Feder, “On Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy’s Sacred Music,” in *MC*, 272–73.
54. For accounts of the festival, see Mark Evan Bonds, *After Beethoven: Imperatives of Originality in the Symphony* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 80ff.; and R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (New York, 2003), 395.
55. Including the Fugue in E♭ for string quartet op. 81 no. 4, the opening of the “Reformation” Symphony, and the choral fugue that opens the second part of *St. Paul*.
56. Concerning the new liturgy, or *Agende*, see Brodbeck, “A Winter of Discontent,” especially 1–15.
57. This version is available in the edition by David Brodbeck (Stuttgart, 1998).
58. Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mendelssohn Nachlass 38 (*bis*), 235–37.
59. *MNI*, 257. Though the first autograph of the symphony is dated March 1833, and thus postdates Zelter’s death (May 1832), Mendelssohn’s letter of 11 June 1831 to Thomas Attwood established that the symphony was “finished” (i.e., conceptualized though not written out in score) before the composer left Italy.
60. Considerable mystery surrounds this composition, finished in Berlin on 5 February 1833, and thus *before* Mendelssohn’s

- appointment in Düsseldorf, where he conceivably may have introduced the piece in a service in one of the city's Catholic churches. According to Fanny Hensel, A. B. Marx performed the work in Berlin, probably c. July 1834. See Fanny's letter to Felix, c. 1 August 1834, in *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, ed. and trans. Marcia J. Citron (Stuyvesant, NY, 1987), 152.
61. Mendelssohn to Klingemann, 19 January 1847, in *Felix Mendelssohn–Bartholdys Briefwechsel mit Karl Klingemann*, ed. Klingemann, 319.
 62. Mendelssohn to Magis, 13 March 1846, in Albert van der Linden, "Un Fragment inédit du 'Lauda Sion' de F. Mendelssohn," *Acta Musicologica* 26 (1954), 52.
 63. The fugue is reinstated in my edition of *Lauda Sion* (Stuttgart, 1996).
 64. "Learned in the sacred institutions, we consecrate the bread and wine as the host of salvation."
 65. H.-F. Chorley, *Modern German Music* (London, 1854), II, 325.
 66. *Ibid.*, 326–27.

11 Mendelssohn's songs

1. His earliest known song is the "Lied zum Geburtstag meines guten Vaters, den 11ten December" of 1819, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (GB-Ob, MDM c. 21, fol. 107). A facsimile can be found in Ernst Wolff, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (Berlin, 1906), facing 13. See Peter Ward Jones, "Mendelssohn's First Composition," in *TMH*, 101–02.
2. John Michael Cooper, "Of Red Roofs and Hunting Horns: Mendelssohn's Song Aesthetic, with an Unpublished Cycle (1830)" forthcoming in *The Journal of Musicological Research* 21/4 (2002), 277–317.
3. Many works have been lost, and there are privately owned manuscripts which may contain either alternate versions of known songs or unknown songs with a generic title such as "Frühlingslied." See Ralf Wehner, "'It seems to have been lost': On Missing and Recovered Mendelssohn Sources," in *TMH*, 3–25.
4. Eduard Otto's so-called "translations" offended Mendelssohn to such an extent that he wrote a blistering letter of rebuke, including the statement, "And hence there is scarcely a line [in your poems] whose meaning I can ascertain with any certainty. What is going on here?" This comes from an unpublished letter of 26 April 1841 in the Heinrich-Heine-Institut in Düsseldorf (shelfmark 62.5657).
5. Christern's letter of 17 July 1841 is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 40, no. 9). See also Karl Christern, *Sechs Lieder ohne Worte von Felix*

Mendelssohn Bartholdy, mit entsprechender Dichtung für Gesang und Pianoforte übertragen von Christern (Bonn: N. Simrock, [1842]).

6. The autograph manuscript of this letter written on 15 November 1842 is in private hands. There is a contemporary copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 32, fols. 56–57).
7. See *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Reisebriefe aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 5th edn. (Leipzig, 1863), 205–06.
8. Adolph Bernhard Marx's review of the *Zwölf Gesänge* op. 8 appeared in the Berlin *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 4, no. 23 (6 June 1827), 178–80.
9. The Mendelssohn–Klingemann solo songs are "Im Herbst" op. 9 no. 5; "Frühlingslied" op. 34 no. 3; "Sonntagslied" op. 34 no. 5; "Der Blumenstrauß" op. 47 no. 5; "Bei der Wiege" op. 47 no. 6; "Frühlingslied" op. 71 no. 2; "Herbstlied" op. 84 no. 2; and "Es lauschte das Laub" op. 86 no. 1. The child prodigies Felix and Fanny were, of course, famously the apples of Goethe's eye, and both brother and sister set the great poet's verse as songs on occasion; see Lawrence Kramer, "*Felix culpa*: Mendelssohn, Goethe, and the Social Force of Musical Expression" in Kramer, *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley, 1991), 122–42 and Kramer, "The Lied as Cultural Practice: Tutelage, Gender and Desire in Mendelssohn's Goethe Songs" in *ibid.*, 143–73.
10. See Leon Botstein, "The Aesthetics of Assimilation and Affirmation: Reconstructing the Career of Felix Mendelssohn," in *MhW*, 26–27.
11. *Felix Mendelssohn: A Life in Letters*, ed. Rudolf Elvers, trans. Craig Tomlinson (New York, 1986), letter of 25 August 1829 to his father Abraham Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 143.
12. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Leipzig, 1863; 2nd edn. 1864; final edn. 1870), 36.
13. See Douglass Seaton, "The Problem of the Lyric Persona in Mendelssohn's Songs," in *KBB*, 167–86.
14. See Adolf Bartels, *Heinrich Heine. Auch ein Denkmal* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1906), 139. See also Bartels, *Heine-Genossen. Zur Charakteristik der deutschen Presse und der deutschen Parteien* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1908).
15. See Thomas Schmidt-Beste, "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Heinrich Heine," *Heine-Jahrbuch* 39 (2000), 111–34. Heine mocked Mendelssohn in Caput 16 of

Deutschland: Ein Wintermärchen; see *MhW*, 352–63.

16. See Ignace Feuerlicht, “Heines ‘Auf Flügeln des Gesanges,’” *Heine-Jahrbuch* 21 (1982), 30–49.

17. Heine first mentions the poem in a letter of 24 December 1821. See Heinrich Heine, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, vol. I/2, ed. Pierre Grappin (Hamburg, 1975), 784–86. The poem was first published in the *Tragödien, nebst einem lyrischen Intermezzo, von H. Heine* (Berlin, 1823), where it was the eighth poem, and again in the first edition of the *Buch der Lieder* (Hamburg, 1827), where it is the ninth poem.

18. See Heinrich Heine, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. IV, ed. Klaus Briegleb, 2nd edn. (Munich, 1978), 313 (*Neue Gedichte*) and vol. III, 3rd edn. (Munich, 1996), 652 (*Elementargeister*).

19. *Gedichte von Ludewig Heinrich Christoph Hölty, neu besorgt und vermehrt von Johann Heinrich Voss* (Weissenfels, 1814), 242–44.

20. Douglass Seaton, “Mendelssohn’s Cycles of Songs,” in *TMH*, 203–29.

21. In Friedrich Spee, TRVTZ-NACHTIGAL. ODER GEISTLICHES POËTISCH LVST-WAELDLEIN, facsimile edn. Berne, 1985: “Der trübe Winter ist fürbey, / Die kranch wider kehren; / Nun reget sich der Vogelschrey, / Die Nester sich vermehren: / Laub mitt gemach / Nun schleicht an tag, / Die blümlein sich nun melden, / Wie Schlängelein kream / Gehn lächelnd vmb / Die Bächlein kühl in wälden. // Wo nur man schawt, fast alle welt / Zum frewden thut sich rüsten: / Zum schertzen alles ist gestelt, / Schwebt alles fast in lüsten. / Nur Jch allein, / Jch leyde pein, / Ohn end ich werd gequeelet, / Seit ich mitt dir, / Vnd du mitt mir, / O JESV, dich vermählet.”

22. On a visit to the singer Livia Frege on 9 October 1847, Mendelssohn reportedly stated that the “Altdeutsches Frühlingslied” referred to his sister Fanny.

23. See also Monika Hennemann, “Mendelssohn and Byron: Two Songs almost without Words,” *Mendelssohn-Studien* 10 (1997), 131–56; Luise Leven, “Mendelssohn als Lyriker unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Beziehungen zu Ludwig Berger, Bernhard Klein und Adolf Bernhard Marx,” Ph.D. diss., University of Frankfurt am Main, 1926; and Leven, “Mendelssohn’s Unpublished Songs,” *Monthly Musical Record* 88 (1958), 206–11.

12 Felix Mendelssohn’s dramatic composition: from *Liederspiel* to *Lorelei*

1. See for example Wulf Konold’s chapter “Scheitern an der Oper?” in his biography *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und seine Zeit* (Laaber, 1984), 225–45.

2. In his third “Berlin letter” from 7 June 1822, Heinrich Heine summarized the Berlin public opinion: “Except for the young Felix Mendelssohn, who is, in the judgment of all musicians, a musical miracle and could become a second Mozart, I would not be able to find a single musical genius among the autochthones living in Berlin.” Quoted in Heinrich Heine, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. II ed. Klaus Briegleb (Munich, 1968), 59–60. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author

3. Eduard Devrient, *My Recollections of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and His Letters to Me*, trans. Natalia Macfarren (London, 1869).

4. Letter of Oettinger to Mendelssohn, Berlin, 11 November 1841, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. M.D.M. d.50, item 172.

5. Letter of Becher to Mendelssohn, Vienna, 18 May 1842, quoted in Renate Federhofer-Königs, “Der unveröffentlichte Briefwechsel Alfred Julius Becher (1803–1848) – Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (1809–1847),” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 41 (1992), 69–70.

6. Letter of Mendelssohn to Devrient, Frankfurt, 26 April 1845, quoted in Devrient, *Recollections*, 259.

7. With Liszt the parallel is especially striking, as a child-prodigy opera in the 1820s (*Don Sanché*) was followed by a lengthy search for a suitable libretto in the 1840s, only to result in one unfinished mature opera (*Sardanapale*, 1849) and a subsequent concentration on orchestral music and dramatic oratorio.

8. Letter of Lea Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein, 20 July 1820, quoted in pre-release of Ruldolf Elvers, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Briefe*, vol. I (1817–1829), 17.

9. Since only the first two acts of the spoken dialogue survive, the work still awaits publication.

10. Quoted in Sebastian Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn 1729–1847* (Frankfurt, 1995), 175.

11. The authorship of this libretto (or at least of a major portion) has only recently been established. See Rudolf Elvers, “‘Nichts ist so schwer gut zu componiren als Strophen.’ Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Librettos von Felix Mendelssohns Oper ‘Die Hochzeit des Camacho,’” (Berlin and Basel, 1976). For the public performance, the text was dramatically revised by Freiherr Carl von Lichtenstein.

12. Elvers, “‘Nichts ist so schwer gut zu componiren als Strophen,’” 11.

13. Devrient, *Recollections*, 24.

14. Review in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 29, no. 24 (June 1827), cols. 410–12, quoted in *MC*, ed. and trans. Douglass Seaton, 245.

15. Georg Schünemann, “Mendelssohns Jugendopern,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 23 (1922), 545.
16. Letter of Mendelssohn to Devrient, 13 July 1831, quoted in Devrient, *Recollections*, 114.
17. The genre was particularly popular in Berlin, where it had originated with Reichardt’s *Lieb und Treu* in 1800.
18. Letter to Friedrich Rosen, Berlin, 9 April 1830, quoted in *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys Briefwechsel mit Legationsrat Karl Klingemann in London*, ed. Karl Klingemann (Essen, 1909), 78.
19. The resemblance to the opening of Act I, scene 3 in Weber’s *Freischütz*, which Mendelssohn heard at its premiere on 18 June 1821, is certainly not coincidental.
20. Review in *NZfM* 54 (January–June 1861), trans. Douglass Seaton, quoted in *MC*, 244.
21. Letter of Mendelssohn to his father, Paris, 21 February 1821, quoted in, *Letters from Italy and Switzerland by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy, trans. Lady Wallace (London, 1862), 341.
22. Letter of Mendelssohn to his father, Paris, 19 December 1831, quoted in *ibid.*, 307.
23. Letter of Planché to Mendelssohn, London, 20 July 1838, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. M.D.M. d.34, item 14.
24. Memorandum of Mendelssohn to William Chappell, Leipzig, 29 December 1838, quoted in James Robinson Planché, *The Recollections and Reflections of J. R. Planché* (London, 1872), 311.
25. Letter of Mendelssohn to Klingemann, Leipzig, 2 January 1840, quoted in *Briefwechsel*, ed. Klingemann, 241–42.
26. Planché, *Recollections*, 315.
27. *The Morning Herald*, 21 January 1847, 5.
28. Letter of Mendelssohn to Klingemann, 18 February 1847, quoted in *Briefwechsel*, ed. Klingemann, 321.
29. Letter sketch of Mendelssohn to Lumley, no date, Oxford, Bodleian Library, M.D.M. d.51, item 303.
30. Letter sketch of Mendelssohn to Beale, 1 January 1847, *ibid.*, item 1.
31. For an extensive discussion, see my forthcoming dissertation on Mendelssohn’s operatic projects (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz).
32. Letter of Mendelssohn to Kinkel, 2 April 1843, Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, S 2662.
33. Letter of Gollmick to Mendelssohn, Frankfurt, 21 June [18]37, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. M.D.M. d.32, item 48.
34. Letter of Zuccalmaglio to Mendelssohn, Franzensbad, 30 July 1838, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. M.D.M. d.34, item 23.
35. See letter of Mendelssohn to Adolf Böttger, 10 December 1841, quoted in Dr. Karl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Goethe and Mendelssohn (1821–1831)*, trans. M. E. von Glehn (London, 1874), 156–58.
36. Letter of Mendelssohn to Devrient, Frankfurt, 26 April 1845, quoted in Devrient, *Recollections*, 260.
37. Devrient, *Recollections*, 43.
38. *Ibid.*, 43.
39. Considering that the libretto was written by one of the better-known German authors, it is surprising that it has remained unpublished (and is not even included in the otherwise reliable complete critical edition of Immermann’s works). Only the second and third acts of the libretto are still extant, but Julius Rietz’s (Mendelssohn’s successor in Düsseldorf) interest in the text suggests that it was completed by Immermann.
40. Wilhelm Stahl, *Emanuel Geibel und die Musik* (Berlin, 1919), 15.
41. Letter of Mendelssohn to Geibel, 27 August 1847, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Music Division. There is no evidence of a complete manuscript of Act 1.
42. For a more extensive discussion, cf. R. Larry Todd, “Mendelssohn’s Operatic Destiny: *Die Loreley* Reconsidered,” in *KBB*, particularly 126–37.
43. Henry F. Chorley, *Modern German Music* (London, 1854), II, 388.
44. John Warrack’s acerbic comment that the music “suggest(s) not so much the gathering of a host of spirits as girls joining a new school” amusingly sums this up. See John Warrack, “Mendelssohn’s Operas,” in *Music and Theatre: Essays in Honour of Winton Dean*, ed. Nigel Fortune (Cambridge, 1987), 297.
45. Mendelssohn describes his libretto preferences in several instances; see, for example, his letter to Devrient, 26 April 1845, quoted in Devrient, *Recollections*, 260: “It [the libretto] should be German, and noble, and cheerful; let it be a legend of the Rhine, or some other national event or tale; or let it be a powerful type of character (as in *Fidelio*)” or his letter to Julius Becher, Berlin, 13 October 1841, quoted in Federhofer-Königs, “Der unveröffentlichte Briefwechsel Alfred Julius Becher (1803–1848) – Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (1809–1847),” 61: “I would like to have something truly passionate, humane, natural, touching to all people, basic . . . In one word: the most beautiful!”
46. Eduard Krüger, ‘Ueber die heutige Oper’, *NZFM* 20, no. 12 (18 February 1840), 58–59.
47. For example, *Elijah* was performed in the 1912–13 season for the “first time in America as music drama” by the Majestic Grand Opera Company in New York.

48. Cf. Ralf Wehner, “Mendelssohns Musik zu Immermanns ‘Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm im Theater,’” *Die Musikforschung* 2/ 2002, 145–61.
49. Quoted in Michael Steinberg, “The Incidental Politics to Mendelssohn’s *Antigone*,” in *MhW*, 137.
50. Cf. Ernst Wolff, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (Berlin, 1906), 152.
51. Letter of Mendelssohn to Droysen, 2 December 1841, quoted in *Ein tief gegründet Herz: Der Briefwechsel Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys mit Johann Gustav Droysen*, ed. Carl Wehmer (Heidelberg, 1959), 71–72.
52. Förster, quoted in Peter Andraschke, “Felix Mendelssohns *Antigone*,” in *KBB*, 165.
53. Quoted in Peter Ranft, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Eine Lebenschronik* (Leipzig, 1972), 100–01.
54. Unlike those in German and most other modern European languages, the patterns of Greek poetry depend for much of their effect on syllabic length, rather than word-stress.
55. Wolff, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, 166–67.
56. Letter of Mendelssohn to Kinkel, 2 April 1843, D-BNu S 2662.

13 Mendelssohn received

- The literature on Mendelssohn’s reception history is voluminous. For an overview of recent contributions that is closely keyed to a classified bibliography, see Friedhelm Krummacher, “Aussichten im Rückblick: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy in der neueren Forschung,” in *KBB*, 279–96. See also Chapter 3 of my *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: A Guide to Research* (New York, 2001), 107–17.
- For a survey of these recent developments in primary-source scholarship, see my “Knowing Mendelssohn: A Challenge from the Primary Sources,” *Notes* 61 (2004), forthcoming.
- Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 20, no. 45 (11 November 1818), col. 791; see Rudolf Elvers, “Frühe Quellen zur Biographie Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys,” in *KBB*, 22.
- See Thomas Grey, “The Orchestral Music,” in *MC*, 460.
- See R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: The Hebrides and Other Overtures* (Cambridge, 1993), 16.
- The surviving correspondence suggests an approximate date of mid-February 1828 for this commission. See Kent Eugene Hatteberg, “*Gloria* (1822) and *Große Festmusik zum Dürerfest* (1828): Urtext Editions of Two Unpublished Choral-Orchestral Works by Felix Mendelssohn, with Background and Commentary,” D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa, 1995, I, 139.

- See Martin Geck, *Die Wiederentdeckung der Matthäuspasion im 19. Jahrhundert: Die zeitgenössischen Dokumente und ihre ideengeschichtliche Deutung* (Regensburg, 1967).
- Only one contemporary source – Eduard Devrient’s memoir, published forty years after the fact – indicates that anti-Semitism played a role in this decision, and Wm. A. Little has argued that other considerations were more influential. See Peter Mercer-Taylor, *The Life of Mendelssohn* (Cambridge, 2001), 110–13; further, Wm. A. Little, “Mendelssohn and the Berlin Singakademie: The Composer at the Crossroads,” in *MhW*, 65–85.
- See David L. Brodbeck, “A Winter of Discontent: Mendelssohn and the *Berliner Domchor*,” in *MhW*, 1–32; further, Wolfgang Dinglinger, “Mendelssohn: General-Musik-Direktor für kirchliche und geistliche Musik,” in *KBB*, 23–37.
- The Leipzig conservatory, which first opened its doors in 1843 and still flourishes as the Hochschule für Musik und Theater “Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy.”
- “Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy,” in *The Musical Gem: A Souvenir for [1834]* (London, [1833]), 68–70.
- Ibid.*, 70.
- That some of the information was derived from private sources is clear from the references to Mendelssohn’s then-unpublished youthful operas and from the inaccurate accounting for the tepid reception of *Camacho*. The author smooths over the rather unsavory tale in a fashion such as might well have been offered by one of the young composer’s London acquaintances to avoid tarnishing the recounting of his successes. For a discussion of the *Camacho* premiere, see Mercer-Taylor, *Mendelssohn*, 60–62.
- The Musical Gem*, 68.
- Ibid.* “Some of Luther’s hymns” probably refers to the series of chorale cantatas (which are decidedly Lutheran and employ texts from Luther’s translation of the Bible). The reference to “an *Ave*” remains unclear; it may refer to the setting of “*Ave Maria*” composed in 1830 and published in 1832 or to the setting of “*Ave maris stella*” for soprano and orchestra, composed in 1828 and published posthumously.
- Johann Peter Lyser, “Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy,” in *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 154 (24 December 1842); repr. in *Ein unbekanntes Mendelssohn-Bildnis von Johann Peter Lyser*, ed. Max F. Schneider (Basel, 1958), 37–43.
- Lyser, *Ein unbekanntes Mendelssohn-Bildnis*, ed. Schneider, 38. These remarks echo those

- offered by Schumann in his review of *St. Paul* and *Les Huguenots*; see discussion below.
18. *Ibid.*, 39.
19. *Ibid.*
20. See Leon Plantinga, “Schumann’s Critical Reaction to Mendelssohn,” in *Mendelssohn and Schumann: Essays on their Music and its Context*, ed. Jon W. Finson and R. Larry Todd (Durham, NC, 1984), 11–19.
21. Robert Schumann, “Fragmente aus Leipzig, 4,” *NZfM* 7 (1837), 75.
22. Robert Schumann, “Trio’s für Pianoforte, Violine und Violoncello,” *NZfM* 13 (1840), 198. See also R. Larry Todd, “Mozart according to Mendelssohn: A Contribution to Rezeptionsgeschichte,” in *Perspectives on Mozart Performance*, ed. R. Larry Todd and Peter Williams (Cambridge, 1991), 158–203.
23. Robert Schumann, “Aufzeichnungen über Mendelssohn,” in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (Munich, 1980), 102.
24. Schumann, “Trio’s,” 198.
25. Leon Botstein, “The Aesthetics of Assimilation and Affirmation: Reconstructing the Career of Felix Mendelssohn,” in *MhW* 5–42, esp. 32–37.
26. See, for example, Joel Lester, “Substance and Illusion in Schumann’s ‘Erinnerung,’ Op. 68: A Structural Analysis and Pictorial (*geistliche*) Description,” in *Theory Only* 4 (1978), 9–17; Bernhard R. Appel, “‘Actually, taken directly from family life’: Robert Schumann’s *Album für die Jugend*,” in *Schumann and his World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton, NJ, 1994), 171–202; Michael P. Steinberg, “Schumann’s Homelessness,” in *Schumann*, ed. Todd, 47–79.
27. See Donald Mintz, “1848, anti-Semitism, and the Mendelssohn reception,” in *MSt*, 126–48.
28. “K. Freigedank,” [pseudonym Richard Wagner], “Das Judenthum in der Musik,” *NZfM* 33 (1850), 101–07, 109–12. The usual English translation for the title is “Judaism in Music” (suggesting above all the Jewish religion), but Wagner uses the term *Judentum* as a conceptual counterpart to “Christentum,” meaning the community of Christendom.
29. Wagner, “Judenthum,” 102. The English translation is lightly modified from that presented W. Ashton Ellis’s translation (*Richard Wagner’s Prose Works*, vol. III: *The Theatre*, 82).
30. Wagner, “Judenthum,” 102; Ellis trans., 82.
31. Wagner, “Judenthum,” 103; Ellis trans., 84.
32. Wagner, “Judenthum,” 103; Ellis trans., 84.
33. Wagner, “Judenthum,” 103; Ellis trans., 84.
34. Wagner, “Judenthum,” 104; Ellis trans., 84–85.
35. Wagner, “Judenthum,” 104; Ellis trans., 87.
36. Franz Liszt, *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (Paris, 1859). There is to date no evidence to refute Liszt’s authorship of these words, but Mendelssohn is never mentioned by name in the original 1859 publication (the source from which the material presented in this text is quoted). In Liszt’s defense, however, it should be added that at least the second, significantly expanded and substantially more vitriolic edition (1881) of this text and its contemporaneous English translation, like many other texts published under Liszt’s name, was demonstrably corrupted by Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein. In any case, the book’s influence was certainly enhanced because many readers associated these ideas with an artist of Liszt’s impressive credentials.
37. See Jonathan Bellman, *The “Style hongrois” in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston, 1993), esp. 175–99.
38. Liszt, *Des Bohémiens*, 37. In the second, corrupt French edition (1881) and the English translation by Edwin Evans (*The Gipsy in Music*, 2 vols. [London, 1926]) the textual interpolations expand this material considerably: the first sentence is found on 40 of the English edition, the next two on 44.
39. Liszt, *Des Bohémiens*, 39–40.
40. Wagner, “Judenthum,” 105–06; Ellis trans., 95.
41. Wagner, “Judenthum,” 107; Ellis trans., 93–94.
42. Although Mendelssohn’s works abound with examples of this stylistic dialectic, the most often discussed examples are the Prelude and Fugue in E minor op. 35 no. 1, and the finale of the Piano Trio in C minor op. 66. See R. Larry Todd, “‘*Me voilà perruqué*’: Mendelssohn’s Six Preludes and Fugues op. 35 reconsidered,” in *MSt*, 162–99; Thomas Schmidt-Beste, *Die ästhetischen Grundlagen der Instrumentalmusik Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys* (Stuttgart, 1996), 318–33. See also Charles Rosen, “Mendelssohn and the Invention of Religious Kitsch,” in *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 569–98, esp. 595–97; and James A. Garratt, “Mendelssohn’s Babel: Romanticism and the Poetics of Translation,” *Music & Letters* 80 (1999), 23–49.
43. For a splendid overview of these theories of progress, see John Williamson, “Progress, Modernity and the Concept of an Avant-garde,” in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge, 2001), 287–317; further, Glenn Stanley, “Historiography,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley

- Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), XI, 546–61, esp. 568–56.
44. See Jürgen Thym, “Schumann in Brendel’s *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*,” in *Mendelssohn and Schumann*, ed. Finson and Todd, 21–36. Another important advocate of this approach to music history was Adolph Bernhard Marx, a composer and former friend of Mendelssohn. See, for example, his widely disseminated book *Die Musik des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts und ihre Pflege* (Leipzig, 1855, with numerous subsequent editions and translations).
45. Franz Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich: Von den ersten christlichen Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, 5th edn. (Leipzig, 1875), 347.
46. Anonymous [Richard Wagner], “Rossini’s Stabat Mater,” *NZfM* 15 (1841), 205.
47. Richard Wagner, *Oper und Drama*, in *Richard Wagner: Dichtungen und Schriften: Jubiläumsausgabe in zehn Bänden*, ed. Dieter Borchmeyer (Frankfurt am Main, 1983), VII, 246.
48. Wagner, “Über das Dirigieren,” *Jubiläumsausgabe*, VIII, 135.
49. Wagner, *Über das Dichten und Komponieren, Jubiläumsausgabe*, IX, 294.
50. Viewed as a whole, the works published during Mendelssohn’s lifetime do not portray him as a *Kirchenkomponist*: out of seventy-three works prepared for publication and provided with opus numbers by Mendelssohn, only nine are sacred, and out of the remaining twenty-four works published without opus numbers during his lifetime, only four are sacred. It is worth noting that Mendelssohn himself published none of his *a cappella* sacred music.
51. Indeed, Botstein has argued that Wagner’s emphasis on the genre of opera was a self-affirmative reaction against Mendelssohn’s influence in other genres. See “The Aesthetics of Assimilation and Affirmation,” 12.
52. For an amateur but conceptually representative application of this historiographic method, see Adolf Schubring, “Schumanniana No. 4: The Present Musical Epoch and Robert Schumann’s Position in Music History (1861),” trans. John Michael Cooper in *Schumann and his World*, ed. Todd, 362–74. Ironically, Brendel, Wagner, Liszt, and others emphatically resisted the notion that Mendelssohn’s brilliantly composed incidental music to the dramatic literature of classical antiquity constituted dramatic music.
53. Most importantly, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Reisebriefe aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Leipzig, 1861); *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Paul and Carl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Leipzig, 1862); and Sebastian Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn, 1729–1847: Nach Briefen und Tagebüchern* (Berlin, 1879). All of these sources were published in numerous recent editions and translations. For an annotated survey of these memoirs and collections of correspondence, see Chapter 2 (69–93) of my *Guide to Research*.
54. See Jim Samson, “The Great Composer,” in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, 259–84. For an exploration of the mechanisms by which this historiographic method has materially affected perceptions of Mendelssohn’s contributions to the genre of the string quartet and the nineteenth-century history of that genre, see Friedhelm Krummacker, “Epigones of an Epigone? Concerning Mendelssohn’s String Quartets – and the Consequences,” in *TMH*, 303–34.
55. The qualifier “selected” is important because those compositions that were chosen as the proper starting points for subsequent musical projects by no means represent the emphatically trivial style that Beethoven also cultivated in the last years of his life.
56. See Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 2nd edn. (New York, 1996), esp. Chapters 2 and 3 (105–75).
57. See Marian Wilson Kimber, “The Composer as Other: Gender and Race in the Biography of Felix Mendelssohn,” in *TMH*, 335–51.
58. See Botstein, “Assimilation and Affirmation,” esp. 32–37; Botstein, “Neoclassicism, Romanticism, and Emancipation: The Origins of Felix Mendelssohn’s Aesthetic Outlook,” in *MC*, 1–27.
59. See Wilson Kimber, “Composer as Other,” esp. 344–51.
60. George Grove, “Mendelssohn,” article in *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. George Grove (London, 1880), II, 253–310.
61. Especially commendable in this regard are *Briefe von Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy an Ignaz und Charlotte Moscheles*, ed. Felix Moscheles (Leipzig, 1888); Johannes Eckardt, *Ferdinand David und die Familie Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Aus hinterlassenen Briefschaften* (Leipzig, 1888); and *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys Briefwechsel mit Legationsrat Karl Klingemann*, ed. Karl Klingemann (Essen, 1909).
62. For example, Eduard Hanslick, “Briefe von Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy an Aloys Fuchs,” *Deutsche Rundschau* 57 (1888), 65–85; and Bruno Hake, “Mendelssohn als Lehrer: Mit bisher ungedruckten Briefen Mendelssohns an Wilhem v. Boguslawski,” *Deutsche Rundschau* 140 (1909), 453–70.
63. Alfred Dörrfel, *Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerte zu Leipzig vom 25. November 1781 bis 25. November 1881* (Leipzig, 1884).

64. Ernst Wolff, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (Berlin, 1906; 2nd edn., 1909).
65. Three important contributions should be mentioned here: Joseph Esser, “Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und die Rheinlande,” Ph.D. diss., Universität Bonn, 1923; Wilhelm Hubert Fischer, “Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Sein Leben und Wirken in Düsseldorf,” in 95. *Niederrheinisches Musikfest, Düsseldorf, 1926: Festschrift mit Angaben der Konzerte des Städt. Musikvereines und seiner Geschichte . . . nebst einer Schilderung der Düsseldorfer Musikfeste 1833 und 1836 unter Leitung von Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy* (Düsseldorf, 1926); and Rudolf Werner, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy als Kirchenmusiker* (Frankfurt am Main, 1930).
66. The literature on this period is voluminous. For an introduction, see Thomas Schinköth, “Es soll hier keine Diskussion über den Wert der Kompositionen angeschnitten werden’: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy im NS-Staat,” *Mendelssohn-Studien* 11 (1999), 177–205.
67. Julius Alf, *Geschichte und Bedeutung der Niederrheinischen Musikfeste in der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Düsseldorf, 1940), passim.
68. Wolfgang Boetticher, *Robert Schumann: Einführung in Persönlichkeit und Werk* (Berlin, 1941).
69. For example, Karl Blessinger, *Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Mahler: Drei Kapitel Judentum in der Musik als Schlüssel zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1939); Blessinger, *Judentum und Musik: Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Rassenpolitik* (Berlin, 1944).
70. The quotations given here are from the English translation (Alfred Einstein, *A Short History of Music* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937], 196–97). These translations concur with the German text as it is given in all editions through 1948 (1918, 1920, 1927, 1934, 1948).
71. In the German editions of this text, this phrase reads: “Er ist ein Meister der äußerlichen formalen Gestaltung” (“He is a master of the arrangement of external form”) – thus stating an additional idea that is only implicit in the English translation: that Mendelssohn falls short in the category of “internal” form (i.e., ideas and content). Alfred Einstein, *Geschichte der Musik*, 2nd edn. (Leiden, 1934), 119–20.
72. Einstein, *Short History*, 196.
73. *Ibid.*, 197.
74. On Mendelssohn’s relationship to this myth, see Marian Wilson Kimber, “‘For art has the same place in your heart as in mine’: Family, Friendship, and Community in the Life of Felix Mendelssohn,” in *MC*, 29–85, esp. 61–63.
75. Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York, 1941), 811.
76. For surveys of these problematical portrayals, see Albrecht Riethmüller, “Das ‘Problem Mendelssohn,’” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 59 (2002), 210–21; further, Hans-Werner Boresch, “Neubeginn mit Kontinuität: Tendenzen der Musikliteratur nach 1945,” in *Die dunkle Last: Musik und Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Brunhilde Sonntag, Hans-Werner Boresch, and Detlef Gojowy (Cologne, 1999), 286–317, esp. 304–06.
77. Bernhard Bartels, *Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Mensch und Werk* (Bremen, 1947); George Grove, *Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn* (London, 1951).
78. *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Lebensbild mit Vorgeschichte* (Zurich, 1949), ed. Peter Sutermeister; 2nd rev. edn. as *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Briefe einer Reise durch Deutschland, Italien und die Schweiz, und Lebensbild* (Zurich, 1958).
79. Eric Werner, “Mendelssohn,” article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel, 1961), IX, 59–98; *MNI*.
80. Donald Monturian Mintz, “The Sketches and Drafts of Three of Felix Mendelssohn’s Major Works,” Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1960.
81. The symposium, held in Berlin in 1972, produced the first of a series of important collections of essays devoted to various aspects of Mendelssohn’s life, works, and posthumous reception. See *PM*.
82. The journal *Mendelssohn-Studien*, published by Duncker & Humblot (Berlin).
83. For example, the early string *sinfonie* (see Wulf Konold, “Mendelssohns Jugendsinfonien: Eine analytische Studie,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 46 [1989], 155–83); the chorale cantatas (see Pietro Zappalà, *Le “Choralkantaten” di Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy* [Venice, 1991]); the “Paris” Kyrie in D minor (see Ralf Wehner, *Studien zum geistlichen Chorschaffen des jungen Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* [Cologne, 1996], 155–87); *Die Heimkehr aus der Fremde* (see Thomas Krettenauer, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys “Heimkehr aus der Fremde”: Untersuchungen und Dokumente zum Liederspiel op. 89* [Augsburg, 1994]); or the concert aria *Infelice! / Ah, ritorna, età dell’oro* (see John Michael Cooper, “Mendelssohn’s Two *Infelice* Arias: Problems of Sources and Musical Identity,” in *TMH*, 43–97).
84. For annotated commentaries on these important studies, see Chapter 5 (137–77) of my *Guide to Research*.
85. The last ten years have witnessed the appearance of two “new” compositions: the 1838 *Festgesang* “Möge das Siegeszeichen” (first

published Wiesbaden, 1997), and the still-unpublished orchestral prelude to Karl Immermann's play *Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm im Theater* (see Ralf Wehner, “. . . das sei nun alles für das Düsseldorfer Theater und dessen Heil . . .”: Mendelssohns Musik zu Immermanns Vorspiel ‘Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm im Theater’ (1834),” *Die Musikforschung* 55 [2002], 145–61).

86. Clive Brown, *A Portrait of Mendelssohn* (New Haven, 2003); R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (New York, 2003).

87. See MNI, and esp. its significantly improved revision (*Mendelssohn: Leben und Werk in neuer Sicht* [Zurich, 1980]).

88. See Jeffrey Sposato, “The Price of Assimilation: The Oratorios of Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition,” Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2000; Sposato, “Creative Writing: The [Self]-Identification of Mendelssohn as Jew,” *MQ* 92 (1998), 190–209.

89. Most obviously important here (and perhaps surprising) are Mendelssohn's personal and artistic relationships with Franz Liszt. On this issue, see Wm. A. Little, “Mendelssohn and Liszt,” in *MSt*, 106–25; further, Martin Geck, “Im Dienst der Volksbildung: Franz Liszt und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy,” in *Von Beethoven bis Mahler: Leben und Werk der großen Komponisten des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Reinbek, 2000), 212–79.

90. See Leon Botstein, “Neoclassicism, Romanticism, and Emancipation: The Origins of Felix Mendelssohn's Aesthetic Outlook,” in *MC*, 1–27; further, Peter Mercer-Taylor, “Mendelssohn and the Musical Discourse of the German Restoration,” Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1995.

14 Wagner as Mendelssohn: reversing habits and reclaiming meaning in the performance of Mendelssohn's music for orchestra and chorus

1. There are two new important books on Mendelssohn that can provide the reader with the most compelling and up-to-date account of biography and reception, particularly with respect to issues of interpretation. These two works each contain a bibliography and critical

apparatus sufficient for any further reading and research. See R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (New York, 2003) and John Michael Cooper, *Mendelssohn's “Italian” Symphony* (Oxford, 2003).

2. The obvious sources are Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy* and Mann on Wagner and the novels *The Magic Mountain* and *Doctor Faustus*.

3. See Leon Botstein, “Neoclassicism, Romanticism, and Emancipation: The Origins of Felix Mendelssohn's Aesthetic Outlook,” in *MC*, 1–27. It should be noted that modern scholarship has revealed new perspectives on how to understand Mendelssohn in ways that are helpful to performance considerations. See for example Thomas Grey's “*Tableaux vivants*: Landscape, History Painting and the Visual Imagination in Mendelssohn's Orchestral Music,” *19th Century Music* 21 (1997) 42–55.

4. See Barry Bergdall, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia* (New York, 1994); the new installation at Berlin Nationalgalerie.

5. In order to dispense with the personal dimension behind this essay in as discreet a manner as possible, brief disclosure as to the author's experience as a performer with Mendelssohn is appropriate. I recorded the complete *St. Paul* in the mid 1990s, with the extra numbers Mendelssohn removed from the final version and have, since the mid 1980s, performed in a variety of public professional concert venues with different orchestras in Europe and America. *St. Paul, Antigone*, all five symphonies, the overtures, the Violin Concerto, the two piano concertos, the string symphonies, and a good bit of sacred music. The Bard Music Festival was devoted to Mendelssohn in 1991.

6. Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music* (Berkeley, 1989) 157; see also Cooper, *Mendelssohn's “Italian” Symphony*, 1.

7. Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (Berkeley, 1957).

8. See Mendelssohn's praise for his father's comments on Bach in the exchange of letters in March 1835. In *Felix Mendelssohn: Letters*, ed. S. Selden-Goth (New York, 1945) 239–44.

9. This discussion owes much to Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge, 2002), an outstanding analysis and survey.