

Introduction

The body of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's orchestral works is comprised of over 50 pieces written between 1821 and 1846 including fourteen concertos and concert pieces, a total of nineteen symphonies, seven overtures, and twelve further orchestral works. Although not all of these compositions have survived, many of them still exist in multiple versions and arrangements, bringing the overall number of pieces to a much higher total. This volume concludes Series I of this edition presenting the composer's orchestral works, and contains all of the orchestral works that are neither included in the volumes with the concert overtures and symphonies, nor are grouped with the concert pieces published in Series II. Six compositions are presented here, only one of which the composer had published in his lifetime, the Overture für Harmoniemusik op. 24. The appendix includes one 78 measure-long symphony fragment as well as the remaining elements of a short fanfare. A further six works, for which no sheet music has survived, are also documented here, among them, children's symphonies and multiple marches. The volume additionally contains sketches of themes for two symphonies (MWV Z 4c and Z 4f). Sketches for the incomplete Symphony in B-Flat Major MWV N 17 can be viewed in the companion edition that presents the work with which that piece is closely connected, the symphony cantata *Lobgesang* (Hymn of Praise) MWV A 18.¹

Ouverture für Harmoniemusik in C Major op. 24 MWV P 1

In May of 1828, a Berlin daily newspaper reported: "On Saturday, Herr Kunert, a virtuoso harmonica player, gave a concert at the English House. The orchestra consisted solely of wind instruments and was thus too loud for that or any hall; nevertheless, one had to admire the skill with which the works composed for the assembled orchestra, for example Mozart's Symphony in C and a fluently written, brilliant overture by Herrn F. Mendelssohn, were performed."² This concert on May 3, 1828, may very possibly have been the first public performance of the Mendelssohn piece that later came to be known as the Overture für Harmoniemusik op. 24 MWV P 1, or the frequently used abbreviation *Harmoniemusik*-Ouverture. For while it is true that Mendelssohn had already composed two other overtures at that

point, the so called "Trumpet-Overture" MWV P 2 and the overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* MWV P 3, it is rather unlikely that those unpublished works would already have been arranged for wind ensemble by that time.³ By contrast, the descriptions "fluently written" and "brilliant" are indeed apt for the two-part *Harmoniemusik*-Ouverture.

The history of the work leading up to its printing is detailed in the introduction to the companion volume that contains its various versions, and is therefore simply presented in broad strokes here.⁴ In 1826, inspired by the Doberan Kurkapelle he had heard two years previously, Mendelssohn penned an Andante and Allegro vivace for eleven wind instruments. And though he did not formally give the work a title, the Mendelssohn family always associated it with the Baltic seaside town where it originated and was therefore in the habit of referring to it as the "Dobberaner Harmoniemusik."⁵ Today it is known under the epithet "Nocturno."⁶ Mendelssohn later expanded the scoring of the piece to include 23 wind and Janissary instruments, and it was this version for wind orchestra, along with an arrangement for piano four-hands, that was printed in 1839. Some oblique hints suggest however that the orchestral version may not have been written in 1838/1839, as first presumed, but rather ten years earlier, the earliest documented point at which it might have existed being the 1828 wind ensemble performance mentioned above. Heinrich August Neithardt (1793–1861), a military bandmaster, played a central role in the work's early reception. He began serving in the Prussian military in 1813, first in the Guards' Rifles Battalion, and later continued as a "staff oboist"⁷ in the Kaiser-Franz-Grenadier-Regiment No. 2 beginning in 1822. He had contributed substantially to the flourishing of Prussian military music for over twenty-five years by the time he later turned his attention to reorganizing and directing the Berliner Domchor.⁸ The following remark made in 1830 exemplifies the high level of skill and repertoire the regiment's wind ensemble and other military bands in Berlin were known for maintaining: "In yet other gardens near the city, often are held the usual concerts of military music. Weller's musical corps, as well as Neithardt's, especially distinguish themselves through their precision and superb arrangements of well-chosen operatic pieces, overtures, and symphonies, even from Beethoven."⁹

1 See Series VI, Volume 9 of this edition.

2 L. R. [Ludwig Rellstab], *Concert*, in: *Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, no. 106 of May 7, 1828, p. [7]. It is possible that he meant either Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony K. 551 or his "Linz" Symphony K. 425 with his reference to "Mozart's Symphony in C".

3 The "Trumpet Overture", which had been performed on April 18, 1828, as part of the Dürer Festival in Berlin is the more likely candidate of the two.

4 See the Introduction to Series I, Volume 10A (2018) of this edition.

5 For example, in the letter to Fanny Hensel of February 6, 1839, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv (hereafter: D-B), *MA Depos. Berlin 3*, printed in: *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 6, ed. and with comments by Kadja Grönke and Alexander Staub, Kassel etc., 2012, pp. 303–304.

6 On the various titles of this work, see Series I, Volume 10A of this edition, S. XXIII.

7 "Hautboist" or "Hoboist" [oboist] was the job title for military musicians in a music corps.

8 For more background see Max Thomas, *Heinrich August Neithardt*, Diss. Berlin, 1959 (hereafter: Thomas, *Neithardt*).

9 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 32 (1830), no. 30 (July 28), col. 492. The music director mentioned alongside Neithardt, Friedrich Weller (1790–1870), was known for his excellent arrangements of great symphonic works and entire operas (for example, Weber's *Oberon*).

While there are no records of how the Mendelssohn family first came to know Neidhardt,¹⁰ they clearly appear to have been on quite friendly terms. In fact, on Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's 20th birthday, his sister even recounted that: "[...] 42 oboists gathered under Neidhardt's direction in the garden hall to serenade Felix. [...] to his inordinate surprise and joy. They first played his Doberan piece very beautifully, and next came the Camacho overture, and interspersed with a few other things, both pieces were played again."¹¹ The event must have left a lasting impression on Mendelssohn as he referred to it again two years later when he was in Rome reflecting on an upcoming birthday, writing: "[...] that the papal military band will surprise me in the morning seems unlikely [...] I'll just conjure the picture of all of you again in my mind in the morning, and enjoy thoughts of it and all of you, and then I'll play my military overture for myself [...]"¹²

In his dissertation, Max Thomas examined Neidhardt's arrangements and found that, with minor variations, the scores always featured the same instrumentation: "2 flutes (1 large, 1 piccolo, also called a flautino) or 2 large or 2 piccolos, F clarinets (1 or 2 parts), C clarinets (1 or 2 parts), 2 oboes, 2 corni bassetti, 2 bassoons, serpent et cornu [sic] Basso or serpent et contrafagotto, C horns (1 or 2 parts), F horns (1 or 2 parts), 1 or 2 valve trumpets (from 1832), 2 C trumpets, 3 trombones (generally 2 alto, 1 bass), Tambour petite or Tambour soldat, Tambour grand or Grand Chaise, Piatti, Triangle or Triangolo."¹³ When comparing this instrumentation of Neidhardt's with the one Mendelssohn scored for his overture, an astonishing congruence reveals itself, as, apart from a few negligible differences, the overlap is complete. It therefore stands to reason that Mendelssohn very likely at least modeled the expansion of his eleven-part "Nocturno" on the ensemble Neidhardt led, if he didn't actually arrange the piece specifically for that group outright. It is, at any rate, verifiable that Neidhardt was in possession of a score of the Overture, since a transcript of it is known to have been made in 1833 for the Düsseldorf military musician Carl Klotz (1802–1874).¹⁴

Five years later, Mendelssohn decided to have the overture printed by the Bonn publishing house N. Simrock. Due to a gap that needed to be closed in his series of opus numbers, the piece was given the opus number 24, even though by that point Mendelssohn was already working on his op. 43: the *Serenade und Allegro giojoso* for Piano and Orchestra MWV O 12. Once

the engraver's copy of the overture had been submitted to the publisher, along with a letter dated November 30, 1838, only three months passed before the advance copies were sent in return at the end of February 1839. On December 30, 1838, Simrock sent the proofs of the orchestral parts and the piano arrangement to Mendelssohn, who then spent the first days of the new year intensively reviewing them. On January 13, 1839, the composer wrote a substantial letter detailing the concrete points he found needed revising. With respect to the individual parts, he wrote: "I've looked through the orchestral parts as well and only found a few mistakes. Since I don't have the score though, and can't read through the parts measure for measure, I request that, before anything is printed, you 1) count the measures in all of the parts so that there isn't a measure too few or too many anywhere, and 2) compare those yet once again with the score, which I've thoroughly corrected, as well (or as poorly) as I can."¹⁵ Further on in the same letter, Mendelssohn noted of the Janissary instruments: "Naming the Janissaries individually doesn't seem necessary to me since the expression 'Janissary' is used and understood in every military orchestra, but that the large drum should play 3 different notes is a poor state of affairs indeed, and an indication of where things are with my corrections. Please remedy this ill, and enter one and the selfsame note everywhere consistently, it doesn't really matter which one, probably f would be best since it occurs more often than g and a. Instead of the superscription 'Corno basso' please print the one I indicated."¹⁶

The ensuing exchange with Simrock was swift and focused. On February 7, the publisher raised a few final critical questions,¹⁷ which Mendelssohn then answered in detail. Because this February 15, 1839, letter of response was, until very recently, thought to have only survived only partially, it is quoted more extensively here. In addition to the discussion about the correct opus number, it is also interesting in that it reveals that the work was specifically intended for a performance in Leipzig: "I received your esteemed letter on the 7th, and thank you greatly for it. It is not necessary for you to send anything at all to Cramer and Addison, since these gentlemen have long had everything they need from me (the four-hands reduction); the version for military band isn't going to be published in England, and wouldn't find very much of an audience there anyway. The opus number remains, as indicated, no. 24. If, as you noted,

10 It is possible that Carl Friedrich Zelter, with whom he claimed in a handwritten resume to have continued his "studies of composition", played a role here, see Thomas, *Neidhardt* [note 8], p. 156.

11 Personal Diary 1829 | January 1 through [July 3, 1834], D-B, *MA Depos. Berlin 500, 22*, p. 24, printed in: *Fanny Hensel. Tagebücher*, ed. by Hans-Günter Klein and Rudolf Elvers, Wiesbaden/Leipzig/Paris, 2002 (hereafter: *Fanny Hensel. Tagebücher*), pp. 6–7.

12 Letter to the family of February 1, 1831, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (hereafter: GB-Ob), *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 13*, fol. 37^r, printed in: *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 2, ed. and with comments by Anja Morgenstern and Uta Wald, Kassel etc., 2009 (hereafter: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 2), pp. 199–202, quotation on p. 200.

13 Thomas, *Neidhardt* [note 8], p. 23.

14 See Critical Report, Source Overview, Supporting Documents [E].

15 Letter to N. Simrock of January 13, 1839, privately owned, quoted from: *Ein unbekannter Brief Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys*, in: *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1963), issue 1, pp. 69–70, quotation on p. 70.

16 Ibid.

17 Letter from N. Simrock to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy of February 7, 1839, Gb-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 35*, Green Books IX-56.

the musical journal refers to the Hebrides as op. 24, that is an error¹⁸ – it was published without any opus number, and still doesn't have one; both op. 24 and 26 got skipped at some point (God only knows how), and if an opus number for the Hebrides does need to be activated now, then it should be given 26, the Militair Ouverture, however, op. 24.

I now request that you send me a copy of the orchestral parts for this Militair-Ouverture (op. 24) as soon as possible per post at my expense. It is supposed to be publicly performed here before Easter, and since I have neither the score nor the parts, I would be much obliged if you send them quite quickly.

I do hope, in the very near future, to be able to send you the piece in its original form. I have every expectation of receiving it shortly, which wasn't particularly easy, since I have no copy of it, and I didn't know in whose hands my manuscript had landed after the owner of it died. It was in Meklenburg.¹⁹

On February 18, Simrock honored Mendelssohn's request for an advance proof, immediately sending him the parts he'd asked for.²⁰

What is more, just a few days later, on March 2, 1839, Mendelssohn also held two sample copies of the finished edition of the orchestral parts in his hands. He was thoroughly satisfied with the results, finding only one flaw: "I'm very pleased with the edition, and just noticed one thing when I opened it, namely that Corni de Bassetto instead of *di* Bassetto is printed on that instrument's part. Kindly see to it that this is changed in the plates and (if some copies have already been printed) with ink in the copies, since I do always like to have the instruments accurately named."²¹

In all of his correspondence, as well as in the engraver's copy, Mendelssohn consistently used the title "Ouverture für Militairmusik" for the large ensemble version of the work and its arrangement for piano. In fact, it wasn't until it reached the publishers that the formulation "für Harmoniemusik" was first used and, ultimately, printed. While this semantic switch exemplifies the common practice at that time of using the words interchangeably, it is rooted in a more antiquated tradition,

within which "Harmoniemusik" had long been understood as a sweeping expression for wind music in general.²² By contrast, Mendelssohn's use of the term "military music" was progressive, or, at the very least, up-to-date since a consensus was forming within the changed societal context of the 19th century that the term specifically implied large wind ensemble formations. The "Nocturno" from 1826, which distinctly has the character of a chamber music piece, was therefore certainly not military music in any literal sense of the word.

A characteristic feature of the older Classical "Harmoniemusik" of the late 18th century was the use of a standard constellation of wind instruments grouped in pairs (typically oboes, clarinets, bassoons, and horns). That being said, surviving sheet music clearly demonstrates that divergences from this formula were far from uncommon, particularly in the face of the widely varying performance circumstances present in the courts with which the ensembles of the time were associated.²³

Against the backdrop of the shift that was taking place away from the aristocratic court music model ("Hof-Harmonie") towards larger ensembles, which were more public entities both shaped and received by the middle class, especially as seen in the case of the military bands that were flourishing at the time, Mendelssohn's works signify the establishment of this new instrumentation. His Overture in C Major practically illustrates this transformation over the developmental course of a single work: while the eleven-part version from 1826 was still very much in the spirit of older serenade-like compositions, it also departed from the 18th century Classical Harmoniemusik tradition by adding a flute, a trumpet, and an English bass horn. It was however the later expansion of the ensemble to include percussion instruments associated with "Turkish music"²⁴ or "Janissary music" that ultimately rooted the piece firmly in the 19th military music tradition, as it was understood at the time.

Mendelssohn's overture has been the focus of a great deal of attention from the very beginning. On the one hand, its instrumentation is singular among all of his works, and on the other, it continues to enjoy an excellent reputation among wind

18 This was in reference to a list of Mendelssohn's works (opp. 1–39), which had been published in the context of a biographical sketch more than a year before: G. W. Fink, *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy*, in: *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 39 (1837), no. 52 (December 27), cols. 845–851. In column 850, the space reserved for the opus number was marked "(Vacat.)", whereas op. 24 was mistakenly assigned to the "Ouverture zur Fingalshöhle (Hebriden) für Orchester" [The Hebrides, or Fingal's Cave].

19 Letter to N. Simrock of February 15, 1839, D-B, *55 Ep 1831*, segments of which are printed in: Wilhelm Altmann, *Aus Mendelssohns Briefen an den Verlag N. Simrock in Bonn*, in: *Die Musik* 12 (1912/1913), pp. 131–149 and pp. 195–212, quotation on p. 199.

20 Evidenced in the letter from N. Simrock to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy of February 20, 1839, Gb-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 35*, Green Books IX-65. Further research is necessary to determine whether the performance took place.

21 Letter to N. Simrock of March 4, 1839, location unknown, quotation from: *Briefe an deutsche Verleger*, ed. by Rudolf Elvers, Berlin, 1968, pp. 225–226, quotation on p. 225.

22 For more on the term "Harmoniemusik" and how its meaning changed, see Achim Hofer, *Zum Begriff "Harmoniemusik"*, in: *Zur Harmoniemusik und ihrer Geschichte*, ed. by Christoph-Hellmut Mahling et al., Mainz, 1999 (= Schloß Engers. Colloquia zur Kammermusik; vol. 2), pp. 1–16, as well as Heinz Ecker, *Harmoniemusik: Versuch einer Begriffsbestimmung*, in: *Kongress-Berichte Bad Waltersdorf / Steiermark, Lana/Südtirol 2002*, ed. by Bernhard Habla, Tutzing, 2003 (= Alta Musica; vol. 24) (hereafter: *Kongress-Berichte 2002*), pp. 283–305.

23 Summarized in multiple articles in the anthology *Zur Geschichte und Aufführungspraxis der Harmoniemusik*. XXXII. Wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung Michaelstein, 20. bis 23. Mai 2004, ed. by Boje E. Hans Schmuhl in association with Ute Omonsky, Augsburg, 2006 (= Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte; vol. 71).

24 On the definition, history, and instrumentation see Anke Schmitt, *Der Exotismus in der deutschen Oper zwischen Mozart und Spohr*, Hamburg, 1988 (= Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft; vol. 36), pp. 337–352; Achim Hofer, *Studien zur Geschichte des Militärmarsches*, Tutzing, 1988 (= Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft; vol. 24) (hereafter: Hofer, *Geschichte des Militärmarsches*), pp. 248–259; Gottfried Veit, *Die Blasmusik. Meilensteine in der geschichtlichen Entwicklung der Blas- und Bläsermusik*, Buchloe, 2013, pp. 40–43.

players to this day, being considered one of the finest original concert pieces of the early 19th century. In the environment it emerged from, a repertoire²⁵ otherwise made up almost entirely of marches, dances, opera potpourris, and arrangements of famous works (especially those of Haydn, Mozart,²⁶ and Beethoven), Mendelssohn's overture and Louis Spohr's *Nocturno* in C Major op. 34, a multiple movement piece printed in 1816 for "Harmonie" and Janissary instruments, represented notable exceptions to the norm.

As a rule, the arrangements Mendelssohn made of his own works were usually piano reductions. By this token, the fact that he later adapted this piece by expanding its instrumentation makes it a rarity.²⁷ And although it was typically the first main version of a work that made the most lasting impression on audiences, this piece breaks the mold again in that its second incarnation has actually proved more popular than the original. Its elevated position in the literature has led to it, even up to the present day, being the subject of papers²⁸ and even monographic studies.²⁹

What is more, it continued to animate wind players to create their own new arrangements,³⁰ most of which have been born out of the necessity to adapt Mendelssohn's original instrumentation to the respective possibilities, needs, and particular band formations (which, currently usually include saxophones) that have evolved since the piece was first written.³¹

And while Simrock already recognized in 1838 that the overture is: "a brilliant piece, justifiably well-suited for concert performances",³² he could neither have known then that Ludwig Rellstab had come to the same conclusion ten years before in a

review he wrote of the Berlin performance,³³ nor predicted the extent to which the work would go on to establish itself in the concert repertoire.

Various Marches for Düsseldorf

After a nine-year long vacancy, the position of Municipal Music Director³⁴ in Düsseldorf was finally filled on October 1, 1833: by the twenty-four year old Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. According to the contract of employment, he thereby became responsible for: "the direction of the vocal and instrumental music pertaining to every musical performance that takes place in the city of Düsseldorf, insofar as these are carried out by either of the music societies existing here, the instrumental or the vocal one, either jointly or separately.

These obligations specifically entail

- a) the direction of ecclesiastical music;
- b) the direction of concerts organized by the named societies in their own interests;
- c) the direction of rehearsals held by those two societies."³⁵

For this, Mendelssohn was awarded a salary of 600 talers. During his years in Düsseldorf (1833–1835) the musical scene there encompassed secular concert series, church music, and the Stadt-Theater [Municipal Theater]. This sphere of musical activity is inseparably associated with Karl Leberecht Immermann (1796–1840), who initiated a revival of the city's theatrical life, and whose tireless efforts ultimately led to the founding of the new theater in October of 1834.³⁶ Concert life primar-

25 Bernhard Friedrich Höfele, *Materialien und Studien zur Geschichte der Harmoniemusik*, Diss. Bonn, 1982 (hereafter: Höfele, *Materialien und Studien*), especially the chapter *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis europäischer Komponisten und ihrer Werke für Harmonie- und Militärmusik bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 82–167.

26 Peter Heckl, *W. A. Mozarts Instrumentalkompositionen in Bearbeitungen für Harmoniemusik vor 1840*, Hildesheim etc., 2014 (= Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft; vol. 81).

27 Another prime example is the scherzo from the Octet op. 20 MWV R 20, that Mendelssohn arranged for large orchestra and integrated into his Symphony no. 1 in C Minor, see Series I, Volume 4 (2000) of this edition, pp. 144–159.

28 David F. Reed, *The Original Version of the 'Overture for Wind Band' of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy*, in: *Journal of Band Research* 18 (1982), pp. 3–10; Wolfgang Suppan, *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Ouvertüre für Harmoniemusik*, in: *Clarino* 2 (1991), issue 11, pp. 13–15; Philipp Wagner, *Op. 24 von Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy*, in: *BOF-Journal. Eine Publikation des Blas-Orchester-Forums Schweiz* 2 (1991), pp. 13–66; Michael Johns, *Mendelssohn's Overture for Band. An Interpretive Analysis*, in: *The Instrumentalist* 56 (2002), pp. 27–30; John P. Boyd, *Ouverture für Harmoniemusik op. 24 by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: An Edition for Contemporary Wind Band*, in: *Kongress-Berichte 2002* [note 22], pp. 215–243; Kevin Gerald, *Felix Mendelssohn's Nocturno/Overture, Opus 24: A Study in Context, Composition and Performance*, in: *Journal of Band Research* 45 (2009), pp. 53–55; Achim Hofer, *Zwischen "belanglos" und "Meilenstein". Aspekte des Popularen und Populären bei Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys "Nocturno" (1826) und der "Ouvertüre für Harmoniemusik" op. 24 (1838)*, in: *Populäres und Popularität in der Musik*. XLII. Wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung Michaelstein, 6. bis 8. Mai 2016, ed. by Christian Philipsen in association with Ute Omonsky, Augsburg/Michaelstein, 2017 (= Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte; vol. 85), pp. 345–357.

29 John Pretz Boyd, *Ouverture für Harmoniemusik op. 24 by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: An Edition for contemporary wind band*, D. M. A. University of Missouri, Kansas City, Missouri 1981; Achim Hofer, *"es möchten manche Leute Vergnügen daran haben". Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys "Ouvertüre für Harmoniemusik" op. 24*, Sinzig, 2018.

30 On the overture's reception in general see Achim Hofer 2018, *ibid.*, pp. 123–143.

31 On the original instrumentation and current performance practice issues, see the section below: "Historical Instruments and Performance Practice".

32 Letter from N. Simrock to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy of December 11, 1838, Gb-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 34*, Green Books VIII-162.

33 See the review of the concert on May 3, 1828 quoted above [note 2].

34 The post had previously been held by Friedrich August Burgmüller (born 1766), father of the composers Friedrich (also Frédéric) Burgmüller (1806–1874) and Norbert Burgmüller (1810–1836), who died in 1824.

35 Contract from Mai 20, 1833, duplicate ("Zweite Ausfertigung") in the Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf, 0-1-2-607.0000 (olim: StA, Bestand II 607, fols. 46–47), facsimile of the first page in: *"Übrigens gefall ich mir prächtig hier". Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy in Düsseldorf*, ed. by Bernd Kortländer (Katalog zur Ausstellung des Heinrich-Heine-Instituts, Düsseldorf, 1. Oktober 2009 bis 10. Januar 2010), Düsseldorf, 2009 (hereafter: *"Übrigens gefall ich mir prächtig hier"*), p. 48.

36 See Ralf Wehner, *Zum wechselvollen Verhältnis zwischen Karl Leberecht Immermann und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, in: *Immermanns 'theatralische Sendung'. Karl Leberecht Immermanns Jahre als Dramatiker und Theaterintendant in Düsseldorf (1827–1837). Zum 175. Todestag Immermanns am 25. August 2015*, ed. by Sabine Brenner-Wilczek, Peter Hasubek, and Joseph Anton Kruse, Frankfurt am Main etc., 2016, pp. 165–213. The stage works Mendelssohn wrote during his Düsseldorf period are presented in Series V, Volume 11 (2015) of this edition.

ily revolved around the direction of concerts organized by the “Verein zur Beförderung der Tonkunst” (Society for the Promotion of Musical Arts), or as it was later abbreviated, “Verein der Tonkunst”,³⁷ and the pace at which pieces had to be rehearsed and performed becomes evident when viewing a surviving rehearsal plan in Mendelssohn’s handwriting,³⁸ which also documents works planned for specific holiday services in connection with his obligation to direct performances of sacred music in the two Catholic municipal churches, St. Lambertus and St. Maximilian. A further extension of this responsibility was the overseeing of processions that took place on certain Catholic holidays accompanied by a band playing marches or other suitable music.³⁹ These processions always traced the same routes through the center of the city of Düsseldorf, and in some cases, represented the continuation of centuries-old traditions.⁴⁰

A mere few days after having officially taken on the mantle of his new position, Mendelssohn presented a new composition of him, not a concert piece as it turns out, but rather a wind band march used in a procession through Düsseldorf. Interestingly, he did not divulge the name of the work’s creator to the public. He did however share the background of it, equally tragic and heartwarming, with his family in Berlin, writing in his characteristic manner: “Yesterday there was a poignant scene. Next Sunday there is a procession [...], the music for which has, to date, defied description. Simon, the trumpet player’s father-in-law, beat the time pretty wretchedly, and two half-dead tomcats (that blow clarinets) struggled to back him up. Apart from them, there was a trombonist too, 12 guys in all, who play marches for the parish fair.”⁴¹ Apparently though, the expectations of the parties involved had significantly evolved over the years concerning the quality of the repertoire played and the performances. Mendelssohn went on: “A chaplain came and poured out his woes, the pastor said it is a scandal, the mayor said his predecessor had been a Protestant who had simply put up with things, but that he for his part wanted to participate in the procession along with the others and now the music must be better. Simon was summoned and appeared. A very old surly musician in a shabby robe, as they started in on him, he said:

he neither would nor wanted to improve his music making; if we wanted anything better, we’d have to get someone else. He knew good and well enough that people were very demanding nowadays, everything was supposed to sound good; that’s not how things had been in his day though, and he was just as good now as he was back then. At that point, the idea of taking the thing away from him started to weigh truly heavily on me, even though it is certain the others will do the job better. I just kept thinking to myself, if in 50 years, I were to be called to the town hall, and had to speak in front of everyone like that, and some greenhorn started ranting at me, and my robe was that shabby, and I didn’t have any idea why everything should sound better anyway, I began to feel quite dismal. Now this morning, the man came to my home at 8 o’clock and asked that I at least allow his foster son to continue playing, he was certain to play well, which I promised him I would do [...].”⁴²

The procession was held in the course of a festival celebrating the Patron Saint Maximilian on October 13, 1833, and Mendelssohn ended up composing a piece for the event after all, reporting of its debut: “Sunday, Maximilian Day, was my first mass, which was festive enough. [...] subsequently, a procession took place with my celebratory march in E-Flat, for which the musicians in the bass section repeated the first part, while the treble voices played on. Since it was an open air event, that didn’t much matter though, and as I encountered the procession later on Flinger Straße, they’d played the march so often that, by that time, it sounded quite good. I’m considering it an honor therefore that the musicians asked me to write another march for the next parish fair.”⁴³

Whether this ever came to pass is unknown. Half a year later however, Mendelssohn did write a similar piece⁴⁴ of which he informed his family on May 28, 1834: “Yesterday, I wrote a processional march for the town musicians, which they will have to trumpet through all of Düsseldorf tomorrow for the Feast of Corpus Christi procession [...].”⁴⁵ He went on to reference a conflict that had arisen in connection with the march he had written the year before: “[...] there was a stink about the first march, because the Neuß town musicians wanted to have it too,

37 On the music scene in general see Bernd Kortländer, *Das musikalische Leben in Düsseldorf zur Mendelssohn-Zeit*, in: “Übrigens gefall ich mir prächtig hier” [note 35], pp. 41–60. As a supplement to that, see also the register of the concerts and sacred music that took place under Mendelssohn’s direction in Düsseldorf, *ibid.*, pp. 184–189.

38 GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 49*, fols. 15–17, for more background information see Matthias Wendt, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys Düsseldorfer Probenplan Mai 1834 – Juli 1835. Umschrift und Kommentar*, in: “Übrigens gefall ich mir prächtig hier” [note 35], pp. 60–69, and *id.*, *Amt und Alltag. Annotationen zu Mendelssohns Notizen aus Düsseldorfer Zeit*, in: *Bürgerlichkeit und Öffentlichkeit. Mendelssohns Wirken in Düsseldorf*, ed. by Andreas Ballstaedt, Volker Kalisch and Bernd Kortländer, Schliengen, 2012 (= Kontext Musik; vol. 2), pp. 56–78 with further documents.

39 There is one extant handwritten list of the relevant holidays, GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn g. 4*, fol. 24^r. Transcription and commentary see Wendt, *Amt und Alltag* [see previous note], pp. 58–59.

40 B. G. Bayerle, *Die katholischen Kirchen Düsseldorf’s, von ihrer Entstehung bis auf die neueste Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Stadt*, Düsseldorf, 1844.

41 Letter to the family of October 9 and 10, 1833, Music Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (hereafter: US-NYp), *MNY++ Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix, family letters, no. 170, printed in: *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 3, ed. and with comments by Uta Wald in association with Juliane Baumgart-Streibert, Kassel etc., 2010 (hereafter: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 3), pp. 281–286, quotation on p. 284.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

43 Letter to the family of October 26 and 28, 1833 (letter section of October 26), US-NYp, *MNY++ Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix, family letters, no. 171, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 3 [note 41], pp. 290–296, quotation on p. 291.

44 The two named marches are registered under MWV P 11 and P 13. Their musical substance cannot be determined with certainty. It is possible however that they correspond with two of the three of marches ascribed to Mendelssohn, which have survived as transcriptions, and are catalogued under the numbers MWV P 17, P 18, and P 19.

45 Letter to his two sisters of May 28, 1834, US-NYp, *MNY++ Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix, family letters, no. 200, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 3 [note 41], pp. 440–442, quotation on p. 441.

and the Düsseldorfers claimed that no one was allowed to play it but them. May God just grant us now as few wrong notes as possible.”⁴⁶

And with this cheerful carefree quote, the documented trail of Mendelssohn’s own words and materials pertaining to the two works comes to an end. There are neither surviving manuscripts of the music, nor did the composer ever mention the marches again. There is however evidence of the processions in town records that document payments made to the musicians who participated. According to those invoices, all written by Louis Kreutzer, the band consisted of 12 to 13 musicians, frequently accompanied by paid “timpani carriers”.⁴⁷ No such invoice for the Maximilian procession in 1833 has survived; however, others do exist for the Feast of Corpus Christi procession on May 29, 1834, that Mendelssohn mentioned (13 people), the Maximilian procession on October 12, 1834 (13 people), and the Appolinaris processions on July 20, 1834, and July 24, 1835 (12 people each).

In contrast to the large formal concerts held by the musical societies, for which the bills and written records list the employed musicians by name, the invoices for the processions only document sum fees, which reflect the size of the ca. twelve-person ensemble but no further details of the individuals’ names or the instruments they played. The name of the man who wrote these invoices, Kreutzer, resurfaces unexpectedly in 1848, once again in connection with the marches. When Cécile Mendelssohn Bartholdy was putting her husband’s affairs in order following his death, she ran across a group of works she then mentioned in a letter to Heinrich Conrad Schleinitz, who was overseeing the legal matters concerning their estate: “I [...] am only sending you [...] written greetings today, and the marches of which you are already apprised. It’s not my place to judge them, but I don’t care for the arrangement at all; it sounds so thin and pathetic, and the marches sound quite similar to each other in a way. Surely, it was no voluntary matter that they ended up in the hands of this Herr Kreutzer,⁴⁸ who was no great friend of my husband’s”.⁴⁹ It is now unknown exactly which pieces Mendelssohn’s widow sent to Schleinitz, as there are no marches for Harmoniemusik listed in the estate inventory he completed in 1848, the so-called “Schleinitz-Katalog”.⁵⁰ Consequently, it also remains indeterminable if Cécile Mendelssohn Bartholdy was referring to a set of three works, which have survived solely

as English transcriptions (MWV P 17 through P 19) now held in Oxford.⁵¹ The three scores in question are all marches in the handwriting of an English copyist, who, though he didn’t date the music did label it with the name of the composer, and – as evidenced by his occasional use of German designations for certain instruments – clearly appears to have transcribed the pieces from German originals. Among these marches is a *Procession March* for twelve instruments: three clarinets, pairs of horns and trumpets, and a single flute, bassoon, contrabassoon, trombone, and English bass horn. The other two works, both bearing the title *March for Harmoniemusik*, do not include the contrabassoon, and are thus comprised of parts for only eleven instruments.

One adaptation of two of these works, though not directly relevant to the present edition, does nonetheless provide a point of reference for determining when the copied score might have been made. In 1852, Edmund Thomas Chipp (1823–1886) produced a volume of piano four-hands versions of unknown Mendelssohn works, which he titled *Procession March* and *Military March No. 2* for the English publisher Buxton.⁵² The latter of these works is the March in E-Flat Major MWV P 18, and the first is the Prozessionsmarsch [Procession March] MWV P 19. The provenance of the piano arrangements can be traced back to the publishing house Novello, which bought out their competitor, J. J. Ewer & Co., in 1867. It was for the owner of that company, Edward Buxton, that the two arrangements had originally been made, as the note from Chipp on the manuscript indicates: “Arranged from the Score, for 4 hands on the Piano Forte for E. Buxton Esq. [...] Dec: 1852.”⁵³ A comparison of the manuscripts reveals that the piano arrangements are clearly based on the Oxford scores, which, therefore, must have been created in 1852 or earlier. Whether or not the *Procession March* actually shares a connection with the two Düsseldorf procession marches cannot however currently be determined with certitude. It is noteworthy though that the opening of the work, which has a unison melody that obliquely alludes – with an altered rhythm and thus in a slightly veiled form – to the liturgical phrase “Credo in unum Deum”, does at least hint at the proximity of a Catholic occasion. On the other hand, Mendelssohn spoke of two clarinetists being in the band that accompanied the Düsseldorf processions,⁵⁴ whereas the English manuscripts in question are scored for three clarinets. An addi-

46 Ibid., p. 441. In the same letter, Mendelssohn elaborated further: “There is utter discordance in the air here concerning the true authentic tuning (the concert pitch), the result being that the wind instruments are always frightfully out of tune [...]”

47 Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf, 0-1-20-99.0000 (olim: StA, Bestand XX/99 Vereine, Schützen).

48 It was however probably not Louis Kreutzer that was meant here, but rather the concertmaster Joseph Kreutzer (1790–1840), with whom Mendelssohn had clashed during his time in Düsseldorf. A total of six members of the Kreutzer musician family are documented to have been in Mendelssohn’s orchestra in the year 1833. Along with Louis and Joseph Kreutzer, the referenced list also includes Carl, Friedrich, Max, and A. Kreutzer, Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf, 0-1-20-99.0000, Invoice No. B 4 for performing in a concert on November 22, 1833.

49 Undated letter from Cécile Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Heinrich Conrad Schleinitz [1848], GB-Ob, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 33, fols. 141–142.

50 Concerning the name and location of this thematic index see Ralf Wehner, *Das Schicksal des Bandes 43 und weiterer Manuskripte aus dem Nachlass von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, in: *Die Tonkunst* 3 (2009), issue 2 (April), pp. 189–200.

51 GB-Ob, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 50, fols. 67–75. For more, see the Critical Report.

52 Original arrangement for piano four-hands, Mendelssohn-Haus Leipzig, AN 23. The question of whether the title *March No. 2* refers to the *Procession March* or to a different *March* must remain open for the time being, as must that of whether Chipp also arranged the third work in the surviving English score, another march, for piano four-hands.

53 Note at the end of the march; the arrangement had – according to an analogous comment – actually been prepared for Buxton in July 1852.

54 See quotation from the letter to the family of October 9 and 10, 1833, note 41.

tional shadow of doubt is cast by the seeming unlikelihood of musicians actually playing a contrabassoon and an English bass horn while traversing the streets of Düsseldorf. And in the event that the two marches MWV P 18 and P19 were indeed found to be identical to the lost works MWV P 11 and P 13, uncertainty would still persist concerning the original manuscript on which the third march in the English transcriptions is based.⁵⁵

A Funeral March in Honor of Norbert Burgmüller MWV P 14

Another work affiliated with Düsseldorf, albeit under more somber circumstances, was performed for the first time on May 11, 1836, by the music corps of the 16th Prussian Infantry Regiment under the direction of Carl Klotz:⁵⁶ a funeral march written for the burial of Norbert Burgmüller, a twenty-six year old man – just a year younger than Mendelssohn at the time – who died unexpectedly on May 7, 1836. Mendelssohn had met this talented son of his predecessor in Düsseldorf in 1833 and appreciated his compositions, as evidenced by the fact that he personally performed Burgmüller's Piano Concerto in F-Sharp Minor op. 1 on May 3, 1834, and programmed his first Symphony in C Minor op. 2 for a concert that was held on the 13th of November that same year.⁵⁷ The news of this gifted young man's sudden death thrust his surviving friends and colleagues in Düsseldorf into deep mourning. Mendelssohn, who had already left the city on the Rhine by then to begin serving as the director of the Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig, happened to be back in town to prepare for the 18th Niederrheinisches Musikfest, where he planned to debut his oratorio *Paulus [St. Paul]* op. 36 MWV A 14 on Pentecost in 1836.

In 1889, excerpts from papers belonging to the Klotz family were published as part of a biographical sketch of Norbert Burgmüller, including this reminiscence: "A deep friendship bound Norbert Burgmüller and Carl Klotz, in whose house he was a daily and welcome guest. He usually appeared there after meal-time and had coffee with the family. It was at these afternoon gatherings, that Mendelssohn often also appeared, as he likewise enjoyed frequenting that hospitable home."⁵⁸ The narrative continues: "When Burgmüller died, Mendelssohn came, just as he so often had in the past, for the afternoon coffee hour in the Klotz household. Naturally, all of the conversation revolved around their departed mutual friend. Finally, Mendels-

sohn sprang up, asked for some staff paper, and composed a funeral march for their friend's burial (op. 103 A Minor) at the capellmeister's desk. That was at the Bastionstrasse No. 21 house. Mendelssohn dedicated the manuscript to Klotz, who always considered it a great honor. The family eventually lost the manuscript."⁵⁹ As there is no surviving record of Mendelssohn himself ever having mentioned this event or the composition,⁶⁰ this anecdotal story remains unverifiable. Evidently though, the lost manuscript mentioned above is identical to an autograph presently held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, except for the fact it does not contain a written dedication to Klotz. Of the work's debut, the "Düsseldorfer Zeitung" reported: "If the worth of a person can be measured by the sympathies of their contemporaries, and if the unfeigned general expression of those sympathies serves as a measure of the love and respect due him, then Norbert Burgmüller occupies a truly prestigious place in the hearts of his fellow citizens, his friends, and his fellow artists. The ceremony held at four o'clock in the afternoon yesterday to lay his earthly shell to rest was the most eloquent proof of this. [...] At four o'clock, the procession set forth from the Franziskanerkirche, where a viewing had been held in an adjacent building. The music corps of the highly commendable 16th Infantry Regiment led the procession, playing a deeply moving funeral march composed specifically for the occasion by the Herr Musikdirektor Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdi, who is in town for purposes concerning the upcoming Feast of Pentecost. Next came an open carriage bearing the coffin crowned with flowers, followed by the music corps of the highly commendable 17th Infantry Regiment executing a magnificent funeral march by Beethoven in alternation with the above mentioned corps. [...] The most prominent musicians of our city were the first mourners to pay their respects to the body, led at the front by Hr. Musikdirektor Mendelssohn."⁶¹ The work composed for this occasion was first published in 1868, a number of years after Mendelssohn's death, with the unauthorized opus number 103. To ensure a wider distribution of the piece, the publishing house J. Rieter-Biedermann simultaneously released versions for large orchestra, piano two-hands, and piano four-hands⁶² as well as, a year and a half later, an organ arrangement by Robert Schaab.⁶³ Yet another version for string orchestra also came into circulation and was performed multiple times in 1867 by the Baden-Baden Kurorchester. It was the composer's son, the historian Karl Mendelssohn Bartholdy

55 See also the section titled "A Military Piece for Thomas Attwood MWV P 9".

56 Klotz was a clarinetist and directed the referenced music corps. For more on the regiment known in military history as the "Freiherr von Sparr" see Eduard v. Franse[c]ky II., *Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 16. Infanterie-Regiments*, Münster, 1834.

57 For details of the works and evidence documenting when Mendelssohn directed the symphony see Klaus Tischendorf and Tobias Koch, *Norbert Burgmüller. Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, Köln, 2011, pp. 23–39.

58 Benno Vorwerk, *Norbert Burgmüller*, in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Niederrheins*, vol. 4, Düsseldorf, 1889, pp. 159–192, quotation on p. 185.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 187.

60 Burgmüller's death was the subject of a lost letter to Karl Emil von Webern (1790–1878), as this recollection of his demonstrates: "Burgmüller's death really affected me. I've searched in vain through my papers for a wonderful letter from Mendelssohn, which he wrote me on the occasion of that event that was so distressing for both of us.", quotation from: Emil von Webern, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Aus den Erinnerungen des Generalleutnants Karl Emil von Webern*, in: *Die Musik*, Year 12, Fourth quarterly volume, Book XLVIII (1912/1913), 2nd July issue (1913), pp. 67–94, quotation on p. 69.

61 *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*, no. 128, May 14, 1836, title page.

62 An advertisement dated January 1, 1868, was printed in: *Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 3 (1868), no. 1 (January 1), p. 8, and no. 2 (January 8), p. 16.

63 *Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 4 (1869), no. 47 (November 24), p. 376.

(1838–1897), a resident of Freiburg im Breisgau at the time, who made the original score available for this purpose.⁶⁴ A reviewer of the first edition remarked: “Mendelssohn’s march distinguishes itself from others of its kind in that it lacks acerbity and darkness, in that, as is the way of this composer in general, it instead allows a broader palette of hues, a warmer tone in the harmony and melodic motives to move to the forefront. [...] As such, it must be a welcome gift to all orchestral societies, not just for single purpose use, but also simply as a piece of music which is beautiful in its own right.”⁶⁵

A March for the Painter Peter von Cornelius MWV P 16

The publishing house J. Rieter-Biedermann, which was founded in 1848 in Winterthur and opened a further branch in Leipzig in 1862,⁶⁶ made an appearance in 1867/1868 with the edition of multiple posthumous works by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. The second installment of posthumous works, initially intended to contain the opus numbers 101 through 121, was published between 1867 and 1873, and ultimately included just four orchestral works, all of which had been withheld from the first edition by the composer’s widow (op. 73 through 100, 1848–1853), but were later approved for release by their son Karl Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Of those, the most significant, though also most controversial, work was the Symphony in D Minor MWV N 15, also known as the “Reformation” Symphony, which was given the opus number 107.⁶⁷ It was joined by the Overture in C Major MWV P 2, or the so-called “Trompeten-Overtüre” [“Trumpet Overture”] (op. 101).⁶⁸ Rieter-Biedermann took over the other two orchestral works, the Funeral March in A Minor MWV P 14 (op. 103) and a march in D

Major MWV P 16 (op. 108), as well as some smaller works, which were given a total of five opus numbers.⁶⁹

The history painter Peter Joseph von Cornelius (1783–1867),⁷⁰ for whom Mendelssohn composed his March MWV P 16, was a scintillating figure whose personality and oeuvre alike have always had a polarizing effect. In the early 1980s, one author colorfully illustrated this dichotomy with the following words: “Cornelius is also no easy artist insofar as he is usually interpreted in extremes. Judgments of him by both his contemporaries and succeeding generations seesaw between blind hagiography and the most profound rejection. While for one person, he remains the most important artist of his time, even his entire century, the be-all and end-all genius, at the very same time, that person’s objector sees only a charlatan. Once a towering figure in the art world, ever since the turn of the 20th century, Cornelius has been more or less wasting away as a crumbling mummy in the Museum of Art History.”⁷¹ Due to the thorough work of Frank Büttner⁷² and the recent indexing of part of an estate in Munich,⁷³ it has over the last few years become possible to counteract that oblivion, and create a more nuanced picture of this artistic personality, who contributed so significantly to the revival of the art of fresco painting in the 19th century.

The artist evidently came into contact with the Mendelssohn family relatively early as, in January of 1816, Jacob Ludwig Salomon Bartholdy (1779–1825)⁷⁴ commissioned the then thirty-two year old Cornelius and other German artists⁷⁵ to paint what came to be known in the literature as the “Joseph frescos” in the Palazzo Zuccari, a villa in Rome later to become famous as “Casa Bartholdy”.⁷⁶ Bartholdy spelled out his motives in a letter from Rome to his brother-in-law, Abraham Mendelssohn: “When I arrived here, I found many German and Prussian artists with decided aptitudes and talents, yet no opportunity to

64 *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 25 (1867), no. 42 (October 3), p. 775, following this original notice: *Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 2 (1867), no. 42 (October 16), p. 339. See also Markus Zepf, *Zwang, Befreiung und das Erbe des Vaters. Karl Mendelssohn Bartholdy in Freiburg und Baden-Baden*, in: *250 Jahre Familie Mendelssohn*, ed. by Sebastian Panwitz and Roland Dieter Schmidt-Hensel, Hannover, 2014 (= Mendelssohn-Studien; Sonderband 2) (hereafter: *250 Jahre Familie Mendelssohn*), pp. 203–225.

65 H. D. [no doubt Dr. H. Deiters, Bonn], *Nachgelassene Werke von Mendelssohn. (Schluss.)*, in: *Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 3 (1868), no. 21 (May 20), pp. 164–166, quotation on p. 164.

66 In 1882, the publishing house relocated its headquarters to Leipzig, and in 1917 it was sold to C. F. Peters, where it continued to exist as a sub-publisher.

67 See Series I, Volume 7 (2017) of this edition, for information on the dispute about this work and its posthumous edition see especially the Introduction pp. XXXII–XXXV.

68 See Series I, Volume 9 (2016) of this edition. In the Introduction to this volume there is a more detailed exposition on publishing practices and the allocation of opus numbers following Mendelssohn’s death, pp. XXXVII–XXXIX.

69 These were: the early piano sonatas in G Minor MWV U 30 (op. 105) and B-Flat Major MWV U 64 (op. 106); two sacred pieces for male chorus with Latin texts MWV B 28 and B 29 (op. 115); the so-called “Traueresang” [Funeral Song] MWV F 31 (op. 116) as well as an “Ave Maria” and a “Winzer-Chor” [Vintner Chorus] (op. 98, no. 2 and no. 3) from the opera fragment *Die Lorelei* [Loreley] MWV L 7, the finale of which was published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1852.

70 The aristocratic title was awarded Cornelius by the Bavarian king Ludwig I. at the end of 1825. Cornelius was the uncle of the composer Peter Cornelius (1824–1874).

71 Stefanie Bielmeier, *Gemalte Kunstgeschichte. Zu den Entwürfen des Peter von Cornelius für die Loggien der Alten Pinakothek*, München, 1983 (= Miscellanea Bavarica Monacensia; issue 106), p. 3.

72 See Frank Büttner, *Peter Cornelius. Fresken und Freskenprojekte*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden, 1980, vol. 2, Stuttgart, 1999 (hereafter: Büttner, *Cornelius*) and the bibliography it contains.

73 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, *Ana* 353. This part of the estate (a total of three boxes) does not however contain any materials relevant to our purposes here.

74 Bartholdy was Mendelssohn’s maternal uncle, who took up residence in Rome in the fall of 1815 in his capacity as Prussian Consul General.

75 Friedrich Wilhelm von Schadow, Philipp Veit, and later Friedrich Overbeck were involved, as well as Franz Catel at the beginning of the conceptual phase.

76 Büttner, *Cornelius* [note 72], vol. 1, pp. 76–97.

exercise them [...]. This bred the ill not only of such artists remaining unknown by others but, perhaps worse still, them not knowing themselves, which, when a degree of flattery or delusion was present, often had the effect of causing them to overestimate themselves.”⁷⁷ According to Büttner, Bartholdy considered “the enterprise as an exhibit of sorts for the country he represented. Thus, only Prussian artists were taken into consideration. The Lübeck artist Overbeck was only brought aboard after a good deal of hesitation.”⁷⁸

The project was complete by the end of July 1817 and there was soon no doubt as to the significance it would have for art history. The paintings were valued so highly, even decades later, that in 1886/1887 they were moved, despite great difficulties, into the Berlin Nationalgalerie.⁷⁹ They survived World War II and can still be viewed today.⁸⁰ The societal significance of the frescos’ original home far superseded its purely artistic value however. In the years following, “Casa Bartholdy” developed into a prestigious center of gravity for German artists in Rome, particularly those remembered in art history as the “Nazarenes”.⁸¹ Naturally, when Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy was visiting there, he too sought out the home of his relative, who had died in 1825: “[...] and so I arrived then for the first time in my uncle’s home, and saw his paintings, and his view of the city; it was a magnificent and regal idea, that of the fresco paintings; and this execution of a beautiful thought, in spite of every possible obstacle and vexation, purely for its own sake has always been what I love most. Schadow was with me and may have had his own sentiments upon seeing it for the first time again;⁸² that painting of Cornelius’ is, so far, the only one of his that has made an impression on me and that I have liked.⁸³ And though his tendency to distort and exaggerate that I find so off-putting in his later work does have a nascent presence here in the odd rolled eye or strained pose, it still has a beautiful flowing vitality about it on the whole, and its fundamental concept is a natural one. I always had the opposite sense in the Glyptothek.”⁸⁴

Cornelius and Mendelssohn spent multiple months in Rome at the same time, during which they are known to have encountered each other in person.⁸⁵ Without doubt, the composer still had a clear mental picture of the painter, one generation his senior, when ten years later, in the spring of 1841, his friend Eduard Bendemann (1811–1889) turned to him with a request in connection with Cornelius. The man had fallen out of favor with King Ludwig I from Bavaria,⁸⁶ and consequently happily accepted an offer from the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV to dedicate himself to a new artistic scene elsewhere. His move from Munich to Berlin took place in April of 1841,⁸⁷ with a stop planned in Dresden along the way. The pending relocation of the equally successful and controversial artist, Cornelius, not only incited discussion concerning the Prussian king’s aspirations to bring renowned intellectual giants, academics, and artists into his court,⁸⁸ it also sent the Saxon royal seat into a flurry of hectic activity to prepare an enormous celebration in honor of the master. Bendemann, one of the painters with whom Mendelssohn had travelled Italy in 1830/1831, and who had in the meantime been awarded a professorship at the Kunstakademie Dresden, wrote to the composer on March 22, 1841, announcing Cornelius’ forthcoming visit: “We have the intention of arranging a souper for him, decorating the hall as beautifully and artistically as possible, and beforehand having some music performed, a symphony, for instance. At the same time, it has been our wish that we might present him with a musical piece, which would have a special correlation with the festivities. My inquiry and request now boils down to whether you might want to compose such a piece for us, and whether you might counsel us concerning how we could most skillfully combine it with well-chosen words for venerating and pleasing the guest of honor. Certainly you are the person who is the best advised for this, though if need be, a poet could be found here as well, who could piece a few fitting words together. I assume it would be your preference to speak directly with the poet yourself. Herr von Quandt, Hübner, Rietschel, Semper, and other

77 Letter from J. L. S. Bartholdy to Abraham Mendelssohn of February 6, 1817, location unknown, quotation from: Sebastian Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn 1729–1847. Nach Briefen und Tagebüchern*, Berlin, 1879 (hereafter: Hensel 1879), vol. I, pp. 111–113, quotation on p. 111.

78 Büttner, *Cornelius* [note 72], vol. 1, p. 76.

79 Lionel von Donop, *Die Wandgemälde der Casa Bartholdy in der Nationalgalerie*, Berlin, 1889.

80 Hans-Joachim Gronau, *Maltechnik und Restaurierungsmaßnahmen in der “Casa Bartholdy”*, in: *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Forschungen und Berichte*, vol. 9 (1967), pp. 55–57.

81 On the history and the various uses of the term “Nazarenes” see Büttner, *Cornelius* [note 72], vol. 1, pp. 117–124.

82 Schadow worked on the fresco in 1816 along with other painters, v.s. note 75.

83 “Joseph interprets Pharaoh’s dreams”, the first fresco, created July through October 1816, reproduction, among others, in Büttner, *Cornelius* [note 72], vol. 1, Plate XXXIV.

84 Letter to the family of February 1, 1831, GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 13*, fol. 37, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 2 [note 12], pp. 199–202, quotation on pp. 200–201. The allusion to the Glyptothek refers to the frescos in the Göttersaal (completed in 1823), the Heroensaal, and in the vestibule of the new Munich museum, which was charged with housing the Crown Prince Ludwig von Bayern’s collection emphasizing on Greek and Roman sculptures. Cornelius was commissioned in 1818 for this project, which ultimately took over a decade to complete, Büttner, *Cornelius* [note 72], vol. 1, pp. 125–223.

85 Cornelius sojourned in Rome from August 1830 until July 1831, Mendelssohn from November 1830 until June 1831 with interruptions for (in some cases lengthy) excursions.

86 The offer of a large follow-up project failed to materialize after the frescos in the Ludwigskirche in Munich were complete. Moreover, the criticism of his works was getting increasingly louder.

87 He departed on April 12, 1841, see Ernst Förster, *Peter von Cornelius. Ein Gedenkbuch aus seinem Leben und Wirken*, Berlin, 1874, vol. 2, p. 171.

88 For more on the, in some cases, vicious comments concerning the appointment see Büttner, *Cornelius* [note 72], vol. 2, pp. 265–266.

artists join me in making this request, all believing it would be a source of particular delight for Cornelius.”⁸⁹

Mendelssohn promptly accepted the commission and immediately began developing ideas for a possible piece and ways of involving colleagues from Dresden: “Your commission gives me great joy, and it is a given that I will make my best effort to contribute to your festivities; I am truly incapable though of giving any useful advice about the text. It is all far too dependent on the rest of the event and the poet, and also from the means of delivery you will have. A special verse would most certainly be desirable, but I do not know of anyone here who is up to the task. Another thought that keeps pressing on me is that (as happy as I am to participate) musicians from Dresden, especially Reissiger, for example, should not be passed over. I’m thinking of things from my own perspective, and know that if a similar event were taking place in Leipzig, I would be upset if only out-of-towners were approached. If it so happens then that you only need one piece for the occasion, it would, on behalf of myself for one, but also for the cause itself and the harmony of the entire celebration, be better if you asked a composer from Dresden instead, since I would in no case be comfortable being the only one. If however you allow for two similar pieces in the lineup of festivities, two songs for instance, and one should be from me, then, as I’ve said, it would be a true honor and joy. The best-suited thing would be a song for male chorus, a North German greeting of sorts, or something of the like with lots of trombones and brass instruments. Whether or not I can personally come depends on when it takes place; I’m afraid I probably won’t be able to get away during the first few weeks after Easter, since I’ve promised to go to Weimar on the 15th and head to Berlin after that.”⁹⁰ A number of further letters passed between Dresden and Leipzig⁹¹ the last of which were forwarded to Mendelssohn in Weimar, where the composer had been staying since April 12th in order to prepare for a performance of his *Paulus* [*St. Paul*] oratorio. Mendelssohn, who had been in touch with Bendemann anyway during this timeframe concerning plans for a Bach monument in Leipzig, sincerely wanted to do his friend a favor, but, was also highly occupied with the demands of his career and, as the following letter illustrates, evidently struggled to fulfill the Dresden commission: “Ever since I received your letter yesterday I’ve been properly agonizing over coming up

with anything even remotely meaningful that might resemble a sort of musical call to the meal; I can’t think of anything sensible though and, especially because it’s you, I wouldn’t want to send anything stupid.”⁹² The idea of a vocal work ultimately got dismissed. In response to a final, belated, and somewhat desperate letter from Bendemann that arrived on April 14th, in which an even earlier date for the festivities was named,⁹³ the composer finally drafted a march, the score for which he wrote out practically overnight, and sent to Dresden a day later. In the accompanying note, he simultaneously divulged a significant performance practice hint and the reason why this march – singularly among his works – contains two trio sections: “Yesterday, I received both of your letters at the same time, and today, as requested, the march is being sent off. You’ll find the score for it enclosed here; I only hope it reaches you soon enough for there to still be enough time for you to have the thing copied out. I added the 2nd trio in case you need something longer; if it’s long enough without it, it should be left off. There is also the option at the Da Capo of either repeating the whole march or just the first part of it; either senza or con replica. It really is a piece destined for the drawer you see. I wanted to prove my goodwill, since, on balance, there’s honestly not that much substance to it.

The performance of my St. Paul is beginning in half an hour, so please excuse the hurriedness of these lines. Do in any case make sure the little march gets rehearsed before it is used at the banquet, since my manuscript isn’t clearly legible.”⁹⁴

Multiple newspapers reported on that ultimately successful event. One of these articles is quoted here at some length as it both describes the scale and execution of the banquet on April 19, 1841, particularly vividly, and sheds light on how Mendelssohn’s march was integrated into the festivities: “As soon as news of Director Knight Peter von Cornelius’ arrival on the previous Saturday, the 17th, spread via a notice posted on the Kunst=Akademie building, the student body set about preparing to parade by torch light, with their faculty leading the way, in honor of the great German master.

They began moving after 9 o’clock from the academy building, down the terrace steps, and across the Neumarkt into Wilsdruffergasse, where the celebrant had alighted in the Hotel de France. More than 250 people took part, accompanied by in-

89 Letter from Eduard Bendemann to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy of March 22, 1841, GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 39*, Green Books XIII-139.

90 Letter to Eduard Bendemann of March 24, 1841, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, “Bibliotheca Albertina”, Sondersammlungen (hereafter: D-LEu), *Rep. IX, 3, No. 217i*, printed in: *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Briefe aus Leipziger Archiven*, ed. by Hans-Joachim Rothe and Reinhard Szeskus, Leipzig, 1972 (hereafter: *Briefe aus Leipziger Archiven*), pp. 29–32, quotation on pp. 31–32.

91 There are three extant letters from Bendemann concerning the process in Oxford (Green Books XIII) and a further one in Leipzig (v.i. note 93). Mendelssohn’s letters of response are in a part of Bendemann’s estate, which is on loan from the Leipziger Städtische Bibliotheken to the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, where it is being held. They were published in the book *Briefe aus Leipziger Archiven* [note 90] for the Mendelssohn-Year 1972.

92 Letter to Eduard Bendemann of April 10, 1841, D-LEu, *Rep. IX, 3, No. 217k*, printed in: *Briefe aus Leipziger Archiven* [note 90], pp. 34–35, quotation on p. 34.

93 The letter from Eduard Bendemann to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy of Easter Monday 1841 (postmarked April 12) was forwarded to Weimar, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig, *MT/2011/228*. This letter was originally part of the “Green Books”, but was removed at an unknown time and was in Rudolf Elvers’ collection at the end of the 20th century. The original index number “XIII 178”, indicating its initial location, is still on the original letter. In the respective volume’s catalogue *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 39*, Green Books XIII, is the entry: “Missing. Formerly Bendemann”, see *Catalogue of the Mendelssohn Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, vol. I *Correspondence of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy and others*. Compiled by Margaret Crum, Tutzing, 1980 (= Musikbibliographische Arbeiten; vol. 7), p. 110.

94 Letter to Eduard Bendemann of April 15, 1841, D-LEu, *Rep. IX, 3, No. 217l*, printed in: *Briefe aus Leipziger Archiven* [note 90], p. 35.

strumental music. A circle was formed in front of the apartment, and after a powerful song was sung by the vocalists of the entourage set to words by Th. Hell in honor of Cornelius, a great cheer for him went up. He personally received the delegation at the house doors and was presented with the poem, for which he delivered heartfelt words of gratitude, after which the assembly left in the same order in which it had arrived. – Yesterday evening, [...] a banquet was held for him by local artists in the great hall of the Kaufmanns=Verein, the use of which was granted specially for the event. The hall was transformed through the presence of the famous tapestries of Raphaelite drawings, graciously lent for the purpose, into a true and extraordinary art gallery of sorts, the background of which was graced with plaster models of the Viktoria from the Berlin Museum, as well as colossal busts of Minerva and Jupiter that stood in the corners. The entire space was further festooned with garlands and banks of flowers. At a table set for 120, Cornelius was placed immediately next to the Viktoria. A march Mendelssohn=Bartholdy composed especially for the occasion was played while the guests took their seats, and after a time, a vocal quartet from the Royal Court Theater sang an excellent composition of Reissiger's set to a fine poem made up of four strophes by Mosen, between which the ceremonial orator, Herr Meyer, delivered spoken verses addressed to the Master Cornelius, all of which ended in a jubilant cheer. [...] All in all, between the singing and speeches, merrymaking, and high spirits, the festivities lasted until well after midnight."⁹⁵

Due to the hurry he had been in, Mendelssohn was unable to have a copy of the work's score made before sending it to Bendemann. He therefore requested of him in the accompanying letter's postscript: "to send me the score or a copy of it to Leipzig at some point after you've used it."⁹⁶ That manuscript initially remained in Dresden. A couple of months later, Mendelssohn was in Berlin, where Cornelius himself mentioned the march to him, prompting him to then inquire of Bendemann: "Did you by chance forget to give Cornelius the little marchlette? He knew nothing of it, and asked me about it."⁹⁷ The response from Dresden was swift: "I did not forget the march for Cornelius,

but I have been holding on to it here because I had hoped that we would be able to have it printed soon. That has taken longer than first expected though, and may in fact not even happen at all, so it's been copied (that's under lock and key with me) and the original has been sent to Cornelius."⁹⁸ Neither the Dresden copy nor the autograph score has been located to date. It also remains unclear when and how the single surviving copy of the score, one prepared by Mendelssohn's main copyist, Eduard Henschke, came to be made, in spite of the fact that the original was sent directly from Dresden to Berlin, and Henschke worked in Leipzig. This copy, which was discovered in Mendelssohn's estate,⁹⁹ is labeled in the composer's handwriting with the following reminder note to himself: *March composed for the celebration of the painter Cornelius' presence in Dresden; April 1841.*

Three Lost Children's Symphonies

The number of missing works by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy has shrunk in recent years. Nevertheless, evidence still exists of pieces that have, even within the 19th century, been presumed irretrievably lost.¹⁰⁰ Often, the record of these is limited to isolated or vague clues,¹⁰¹ single mentions, or anecdotes from a third party, such that the probability of one these pieces resurfacing or being identified as a work that is already known remains negligible. Despite that, surprises do still occur now and again, such as when the song "Das Menschenherz ist ein Schacht" MWV K 111 was rediscovered 140 years after the last trace of it had been seen in 1872.¹⁰² While these pieces' musical substance remains the most mysterious thing about them, in some cases, questions related to their scoring and the history of their origins are compelling as well.

This is certainly true of the so-called "Kindersinfonien" [children's symphonies], three of which are known to have existed (not to be confused with the "Jugendsinfonien" [adolescent symphonies]¹⁰³). The few surviving remarks made about them imply that, despite their name, these pieces are more at home in the genre of humorous instrumental music than in that of

95 *Bayreuther Zeitung*, no. 99 from April 27, 1841, pp. 393–394. The same wording, somewhat abridged and with slightly varying orthology in: *Der Adler. Allgemeine Welt- und National=Chronik, Unterhaltungsblatt, Literatur- und Kunstzeitung für die Oesterreichischen Staaten* 4 (1841), no. 100 (April 27), p. 657, as well as in: *Der Bayerische Eilbote* (Munich) 1841, no. 51 from April 28, 1841, p. 404. Further report in: *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* 41 (1841), no. 85 (May 1), pp. 339–340, also briefly mentioned in: *Kunstblatt* 22 (1841), no. 41 (May 25), p. 179.

96 Letter to Eduard Bendemann from April 15, 1841, v.s. note 94.

97 Letter to Eduard Bendemann of June 8, 1841, D-LEu, *Rep.* IX, 3, No. 217n, printed in: *Briefe aus Leipziger Archiven* [note 90], pp. 37–39, quotation on p. 39.

98 Letter from Eduard Bendemann to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy of June 19, 1841, GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 39*, Green Books XIII-260.

99 See Critical Report, description, Source D.

100 On this range of topics see Ralf Wehner, "It seems to have been lost": *On Missing and Recovered Mendelssohn Sources*, in: *The Mendelssohns: Their Music in History*, ed. by John Michael Cooper and Julie D. Prandi, Oxford etc., 2002, pp. 3–25, and *ibid.*, "Meine Oma hat da ein paar alte Noten ...". *Über verschollene und wieder aufgetauchte Mendelssohn-Quellen*, in: *Meisterwerke – Gefasst! Über ausgewählte Kompositionen und diverse wiederaufgefundene Werke von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, Beiträge des Leipziger Mendelssohn-Symposiums "Wissenschaft und Praxis" am 1. September 2005, published by the Gewandhaus zu Leipzig and the Internationalen Mendelssohn-Stiftung e. V., Leipzig, 2005, pp. 5–20.

101 Such as the "march piece with the high clarinet trill" Mendelssohn mentioned in 1828 that he had played for someone on the piano, but has so far not been possible to identify. See letter to the family of October 24, 1828, US-NYp, *MNY++ *Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix*, family letters, no. 51, printed in: *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 1, ed. and with comments by Juliette Appold and Regina Back, Kassel etc., 2008 (hereafter: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 1), pp. 253–255, quotation on p. 254.

102 Christie's, London, *Valuable Manuscripts and Printed Books* (May 21, 2014), lot 18 with facsimile, p. 24.

103 See Series I, Volumes 1–3 (1965–1972) of this edition.

serious symphonies, a supposition further reflected in the nomenclature of the Mendelssohn-Werkverzeichnis, which lists the pieces as MWV P 4, P 6, and P 8 rather than in the N group of works (symphonies).

The first reference to one of these pieces is found in a letter Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy wrote on Christmas Day, 1827: “Yesterday was very gay and lovely by the way. Felix wrote a Kinder-Symphonie for Rebecka with Haydn’sque instrumentation, which we performed, and which is extraordinarily funny.”¹⁰⁴ This piece marked the establishment of a little tradition in the Mendelssohn family of composing one of these “Kinder-Symphonies” and performing them on Christmas Eve, including that of 1828: “That same day Felix composed an adorable Kindersymphonie that was played twice to everyone’s enjoyment [...]”¹⁰⁵ In a footnote found in a book on his family’s history, Sebastian Hensel (1830–1898) commented about that quote: “It seems therefore that Felix composed two Kindersymphonien. Only the one has survived, I haven’t been able to find a trace of the second.”¹⁰⁶ An excerpt of this work was also played on Christmas the following year: “After everyone had embraced and said ‘merry Christmas’, the children executed, as an overture to Gansen’s piece, an allegro from Felix’s Kindersinfonie from Christmas last year.”¹⁰⁷

In the summer of 1829 – he was traveling in Scotland at this point – Mendelssohn was already entertaining thoughts of his next children’s symphony: “[...] but I’d also like to write occasional pieces, and the Kindersymphonie alone won’t do, even though I have assembled some splendid material for it, and already know the bagpipe, rule Britannia, and other national

melodies it contains by heart.”¹⁰⁸ Two and a half years later on Christmas Eve, 1831, Mendelssohn wistfully sat far from home in Paris, regretted having to head out for the opera, and pointed out: “[...] whether the orchestra will play any symphony as fine as mine with the diavolo della selva is highly questionable.”¹⁰⁹ With his reference to the “diavolo della selva” [devil of the forest] here, Mendelssohn was playfully alluding to a children’s instrument called the “Waldteufel”, a member of the friction drum family.¹¹⁰ It remains unknown in which of the three pieces written between 1827 and 1829 it was deployed. The existence of a third children’s symphony is further established in a letter Fanny Hensel wrote her brother much later: “Afterwards, we played all 3 Kindersymphonien, which were also repeated on New Year’s Eve in collaboration with the famous virtuoso Hr. Ernst. I don’t know if you remember, Felix, having written an agnolo for one of them. Paul performs it beautifully on a little white poodle to much acclaim.”¹¹¹ This quote, along with one other mention in a diary,¹¹² further confirms that the performance materials for the pieces were indeed still extant in 1847, that is, some twenty years after they were created.

A Military Piece for Thomas Attwood MWV P 9

While on a trip to England in 1829, Mendelssohn made the acquaintance of Thomas Attwood, an experienced composer and organist, and former student of Mozart’s.¹¹³ A close friendship quickly developed between the then sixty-three year old Attwood and twenty year old Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn visited Att-

104 Letter from Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Carl Klingemann of December 25, 1827, location unknown, printed in Hensel 1879 [note 77], vol. I, pp. 180–181. The ca. 170 letters from Mendelssohn and his family to Carl Klingemann were auctioned by J. A. Stargardt, Catalogue 560 (November 28, 1962), no. 1157, bought by a French dealer, and sold off either individually or in small bundles over the ensuing few years, such that they are now scattered to the four winds. The editor did however have access to a transcription of the collection, which had been made by a previous owner. Hereafter, all of the letters to Klingemann referenced will be quoted from this copy without any further specifications. On the fate of the entire Klingemann estate and the relationship between the two correspondents see Regina Back, “Freund meiner Musikseele”. *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und Carl Klingemann im brieflichen Dialog*, Kassel etc., 2014.

105 Letter from Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Carl Klingemann of December 27, 1828, location unknown, printed in Hensel 1879 [note 77], vol. I, p. 199.

106 Hensel 1879 [note 77], vol. I, p. 199. No trace remains now of the children’s symphony that was still extant at that point. For a general assessment of this book, of which an extraordinary number of copies was distributed see Roland Dieter Schmidt-Hensel, *Zwischen Geschichtsschreibung und Ahnenkult. Sebastian Hensel und seine Familienbiographie*, in: *250 Jahre Familie Mendelssohn* [note 64], pp. 175–202. On the copies and the history of their reception see also the afterword by Konrad Feilchenfeldt in the paperback edition published by the Insel-Verlag, Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, 1995, pp. 887–897.

107 Letter from the Mendelssohn Bartholdy family to Carl Klingemann of December 28–31, 1829 (section of the letter from Lea Mendelssohn Bartholdy of December 30), location unknown, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 1 [note 101], pp. 470–479, quotation on p. 474.

108 Letter to Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Wilhelm Hensel of August 11, 1829; D-B, *Depos. Berlin*, 3, 1, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 1 [note 101], pp. 372–373, quotation on p. 373.

109 Letter to Rebecka Mendelssohn Bartholdy of December 20–24, 1831, GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 13*, fols. 97–98, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 2 [note 12], pp. 437–441, quotation on p. 441.

110 According to Curt Sachs it was “the quintessential children’s instrument of the Christmas Market”, see Curt Sachs, *Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde*, 2., revised edition (= *Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen*; vol. XII), Leipzig, 1930 (hereafter: Sachs, *Musikinstrumentenkunde*), p. 117.

111 Letter from Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy of January 2, 1847, GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 51*, Green Books XXV-4, printed in: *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*. Collected, Edited and Translated with Introductory Essays and notes by Marcia J. Citron, [Stuyvesant, N. Y.], 1987, pp. 618–619, quotation on p. 619. The “Hr. Ernst” referred to here is the virtuoso violinist Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst (1814–1865).

112 “Once all of the gifts had been exchanged, we played the Kindersymphonien [sic], and the evening was very lively and pleasant.”, *Tagebuch. Angefangen 2ten Juni 1840. | bis Ende April 47* [Personal Diary. Begun on June 2, 1840. | through the end of April 47], D-B, *MA Ms. 162*, 2, pp. 233–234, printed in: *Fanny Hensel. Tagebücher* [note 11], p. 271.

113 F. G. E. [Frederick George Edwards], *Thomas Attwood (1765–1838)*, in: *The Musical Times* 41 (1900), pp. 788–794 with a particular focus on the relationship with Mendelssohn. See also the obituary *Attwood, Esq.*, in: *The Gentleman’s Magazine* 9 (1838), pp. 549–551.

wood many times, enthusiastically browsed his shelves of music, introduced him to his own compositions on the piano, gifted him with manuscripts of finished but yet unpublished works,¹¹⁴ and ultimately wrote a whole series of pieces for his older colleague.¹¹⁵ In 1837, he had the following inscription printed on the title page of the German first edition of his *Drei Präludien und Fugen* for Organ op. 37 (MWV Sammeldruck 15): “Dedicated with admiration and gratitude to HERRN THOMAS ATTWOOD Organist of the Royal Chapel in London”.¹¹⁶

In November of 1829, that is, towards the end of his six-month long stay in England, Mendelssohn visited Attwood for several days at his Norwood, Surrey home. Upon returning to London, he composed a piano and harp piece for his host and the man’s daughter, Caroline Eliza Attwood, which even imitates the sound their home’s doorbell made as they said goodbye: *The Evening Bell* MWV Q 20. One may assume that during this visit there was also talk of the same piece that was to be repeatedly mentioned in association with Attwood in the months that followed. At the end of 1829, Mendelssohn announced for the first time to Carl Klingemann that he: “would also like to send a military piece for Attwood.”¹¹⁷ Six weeks later, it was complete. In the accompanying letter he wrote: “I’m also sending the military piece for kings band with the best compliments & good wishes for Mr. Attwood [The English phrase “best compliments & good wishes” was Mendelssohn’s own in a letter otherwise written in German] [...]”.¹¹⁸ The “Militairmusik” was mentioned one more time due to its having been delayed en route.¹¹⁹ When Mendelssohn spoke of the “kings band” here, he was referring to the English king, George the IV’s, court band,¹²⁰ with

whom Thomas Attwood maintained a close connection both as an organist and a composer at the royal court.¹²¹ In 1818, the ensemble was comprised of 34 musicians¹²² and already enjoyed an excellent reputation.¹²³ Somewhat later, within the 1820s, the number of musicians was even expanded to a total of 42 players, including: twelve clarinets; three flutes and oboes each; two basset horns; four bassoons, horns, and trumpets each; two serpents; one alto- one tenor- and four bass-trombones; and, finally, two percussionists.¹²⁴

Carl Klingemann, who was finally able to send Mendelssohn’s piece to Attwood in late May of 1830, prophesized: “There’s something tragic for me in this piece for the band – the lord of the band lies¹²⁵ seriously ill, – I’m afraid he won’t hear you and your piece anymore!”¹²⁶ The dark premonition soon bore itself out. On June 26, 1830, the monarch did indeed die, and his band was dissolved soon after. What became of Mendelssohn’s piece in the aftermath remains unclear. In the event that it was not a completely new and otherwise unknown work, there are two possible known pieces with which it may have corresponded. One of these is the March in E-Flat Major MWV P 17, which bears the label *March for Harmoniemusik* in the English transcription in which it, along with two other works, has survived.¹²⁷ In light of the considerable size of the king’s band though, it is far more likely that he sent the only piece he had ever written for an all-wind ensemble up to that point: the Overture für Harmoniemusik, for which the sheet music exists in a version for eleven wind instruments (1826), and which a larger ensemble had performed one year before on February 3, 1829.¹²⁸

114 Thus on November 18, 1829, upon saying farewell, transcripts of “Tu es Petrus” MWV A 4 and the *Choral* “Christe, du Lamm Gottes” MWV A 5. Attwood was also in possession of a manuscript of “O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden” MWV A 8.

115 Supporting documents in the Mendelssohn-Werkverzeichnis. There are two fugues for organ four-hands MWV V 1 and one song MWV K 45. One *Kyrie Eleeson* for choir and organ, an early form of the *Responses to the Commandments* MWV B 27, originated in 1833 in response to an explicit request. Attwood also owned an early form of the Concert Overture no. 4 to “Das Märchen von der schönen Melusine” (The Tale of the Beautiful Melusina) op. 32 MWV P 12. Not all of the named manuscripts are extant.

116 Vertical lines indicate the beginning of a new line of text in the original document. In the English edition, the dedication was abbreviated (*Dedicated to Thomas Attwood Esq^r*) but there is an extant autograph draft with a longer passage: “dedicated to T. Attwood Esq. &c. as a token of sincere esteem & friendship”, GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 29*, fol. 41^r.

117 Letter from the Mendelssohn Bartholdy family to Carl Klingemann of December 28–31, 1829 [addition inserted by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy at the end of the letter], location unknown, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 1 [note 101], pp. 470–479, quotation on p. 479.

118 Letter from Felix and Rebecka Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Carl Klingemann of February 10, 1830, D-B, *N. Mus. ep. 3556*, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 1 [note 101], pp. 485–488, quotation on p. 487.

119 Letter to Carl Klingemann of April 10, 1830, privately owned, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 1 [note 101], pp. 508–510, quotation on p. 509.

120 Adam Carse, *The Prince Regent’s Band*, in: *Music & Letters* 27 (1946), no. 3 (July), pp. 147–155. The name of the ensemble was first Prince of Wales’ Private Band, then The Prince Regent’s Band, and following enthronement in 1820, The King’s Household Band. In addition to this ensemble there was also a smaller State Band (King’s Band of Music). The relationship between these two entities and their service to the court is detailed thoroughly in: Michael Joe Budds, *Music at the court of Queen Victoria: A study of music in the life of the queen and her participation in the musical life of her time*, Ph. D. University of Iowa, 1987, 3 vols.

121 Their official director in 1829 (and for several previous years) was the German born Christian Kramer.

122 Exact list of the instruments in: *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 1 (1818), p. 158.

123 “[...] it is esteemed the finest of Europe”, *ibid.*, pp. 158–159.

124 Anon. (Correspondent of the “Brighton Gazette”), *The Band of George the Fourth*, in: *The Musical World* 33 (1855), no. 39 (September 29), pp. 625–626. The article is based on the following newspaper article: *Reminiscences of the Band of George the Fourth*, in: *Brighton Gazette* from September 27, 1855, p. 5.

125 George IV. (1762–1830).

126 Letter from Carl Klingemann to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy of April 30, 1830, GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 28*, Green Books II-13.

127 On this see the thoughts at the end of the section profiling the “Various Marches for Düsseldorf” on the above p. XXXVI.

128 See above p. XXXII in the section “Overture für Harmoniemusik in C Major op. 24 MWV P 1”. Notably, the number of musicians (42) that were present to play the birthday serenade in Berlin is identical with that of the size of the king’s band. The king’s band would at any rate have been in a position to play the version for larger ensemble, even if they did not normally have access to a contrabassoon or an English bass horn.

A Fanfare for the Crown Prince MWV P 10

In contrast to the lost works profiled in the previous two sections, there is one miniature composition for which at least a part of the performance materials still exists today, namely, a four-measure long fanfare in E-Flat Major MWV P 10, which Mendelssohn wrote in 1833 soon after arriving in Düsseldorf. The occasion for it was a state visit from the Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, subsequently King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, which was celebrated with the full measure of pomp and circumstance befitting a person of his station. The musical highlight of the event was a partial performance of Handel's oratorio *Israel in Egypt* HWV 54, sung in German along with tableaux vivants. Mendelssohn studied Handel's output intensively over the course of his life and was particularly interested in this work.¹²⁹ He had initially arranged the work for a performance at the 15th Niederrheinischen Musikfest on May 26, 1833, and, five months later, selected several movements from it to perform on October 22, 1833, at a gala hosted by the Kunstakademie, about which he wrote his family a long, richly detailed report.¹³⁰ The only important fact for our present purposes is that a short fanfare sounded the moment the crown prince entered the hall. The instrumental parts written in Mendelssohn's own hand were not considered to be of any further practical use after the event and thus, even within the 19th century, became collectors' items, which is why they are now scattered across locations including Düsseldorf, Leeds, Paris, and unknown places.¹³¹ Because some of these parts are still missing, the fanfare must currently be treated as a fragment.

Symphony Fragments and Sketches

Little is known about the symphony fragment in C Major MWV N 19, on which Mendelssohn sporadically worked between the years of 1842 and 1846. The public did however learn relatively early of its existence, as George Grove listed the piano

reduction of a fragmentary symphony movement¹³² that was in the possession of the composer's daughter, Marie Benecke, in the article he wrote about Mendelssohn for his 1880 music encyclopedia. Precisely 100 years later, R. Larry Todd wrote an essay in which he pointed out several interesting aspects of the work as well as the fact that it had been relocated to Oxford.¹³³ Here, a bit of background information is necessary in order to contextualize the importance of the symphony fragment within the larger picture of Mendelssohn's whole symphonic output. In general, it is worth noting that Mendelssohn often alluded in his letters to certain pieces (mentioning, for example, a work's opening or some compositional progress he'd made) that he did not actually complete until much later, if ever at all. As such, remarks of his about having conceived or begun a piece should never be strictly interpreted as an indication that he had actually put pen to paper at that point.¹³⁴

In December of 1830 for example, he wrote from Rome: "[...] The plan for the symphony continues to exist on a very distant horizon for me and has shifted so much through the new revolution [in Paris] that I don't know if or how I'll ever get to it [...]"¹³⁵ One year later, meanwhile in Paris himself, Mendelssohn was forced to admit: "The revolution symphony has greatly receded from me since the masses messed with my concept of it; who knows if I'll ever pull it out again, now that I've seen the situation up close and experience daily all the little complications of it."¹³⁶

Mendelssohn was especially drawn to the genre of the symphony, a predilection, which did not come without its particular challenges. Time and again the origin stories of the four "large"¹³⁷ symphonies were marked by (sometimes quite long) interruptions, revisions, and restarts. Only two symphonies, the C Minor op. 11 MWV N 13 and the so-called "Scottish" Symphony in A Minor op. 56 MWV N 18, were ever released by Mendelssohn for publication, the latter of which he assigned the ordinal "No. 3", leaving, even now, the question open as to which of the symphonies should be "No. 2".¹³⁸ It is in no case the *Lobgesang* [Hymn of Praise] op. 52 MWV A 18, which

129 Ralf Wehner, *Mendelssohn and the Performance of Handel's Vocal Works*, in: *Mendelssohn in Performance*, ed. by Siegwart Reichwald, Bloomington, Indiana, 2008, pp. 147–170, as well as Annette Landgraf, *Händels 'Israel in Egypt'. Rezeptionsgeschichte von 1739 bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Beeskow, 2016 (= Studien der Stiftung Händel-Haus; 4), especially pp. 127–144.

130 Letter of October 26 and 28, 1833, to the family, documentation see note 43.

131 Itemization of locations and provenances see Critical Report.

132 *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A. D. 1450–1880)*, ed. by George Grove, vol. II, London, 1880, pp. 305–307. The piano reduction was arranged by Franklin Taylor.

133 R. Larry Todd, *An Unfinished Symphony by Mendelssohn*, in: *Music & Letters* 61 (1980) (hereafter: Todd, *Unfinished Symphony*), pp. 293–309.

134 The clearest example of this is the music to *König Oedipus* [King Oedipus] MWV M 15, of which Mendelssohn claimed to have finished a draft, but no evidence of any written music exists.

135 Letter to the family of December, 10 and 11, 1830 (letter section of December 11), GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 13*, fols. 27–30, printed in: Peter Sutermeister, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Briefe einer Reise durch Deutschland, Italien und die Schweiz und Lebensbild*, Zurich, 1958, pp. 81–92, quotation on p. 89.

136 Letter to the family of January 7, 1832, US-NYp, *MNY++ *Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix*, family letters, no. 143, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 2 [note 12], pp. 450–454, quotation on p. 452.

137 In contrast to the twelve "Jugendsinfonien" [adolescent symphonies] MWV N 1 to N 12, which were written between 1821 and 1823.

138 According to Thomas Schmidt, Mendelssohn always considered his Symphony in A Major MWV N 16, the so-called "Italian" Symphony, to be his second large symphony. A transcript of the work for the Philharmonic Society (1848) even bears the *Nº 2* on the title page, see description of the score in Series I, Volume 6 (2010) of this edition, p. 120.

Mendelssohn intentionally published without an opus number in 1841 as *Eine Symphonie-Cantate* [A Symphony Cantata].¹³⁹ The occasional occurrence of this piece still being identified as Symphony no. 2 can be traced back to an advertising strategy on the part of mid-19th century publishers, who, in an effort to impose a certain order on the categorization of Mendelssohn's symphonies, determined that the "Italian" Symphony should be no. 4 and slipped the sacred work, *Lobgesang*, into the no. 2 slot in the symphony series.

During the same period of time in which he was working on the *Lobgesang* [Hymn of Praise], Mendelssohn was also composing his "Scottish" Symphony, for which the score was finished on January 20, 1842, and, once the necessary revisions had been made, the orchestral version was published in the spring of 1843.¹⁴⁰ If a letter of his from September of 1842 is to be believed, Mendelssohn was already conceiving of his next symphonic work as early as the late summer of 1842: "[...] but I have finished one symphony now, wherewith some real progress was made, I hope, and I have a second in mind, which should get played over the course of the winter, if everything proceeds according to my wishes."¹⁴¹ And although he was still planning late that November "to also write down the C major symphony",¹⁴² as it happened, progress on the project actually ground to a halt instead. Professional duties and other endeavors, particularly some large-scale incidental works for the Prussian king, but also the completion of the dramatic cantata *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* [The First Walpurgis Night] op. 60 MWV D 3, all forced themselves into the foreground. If something of the symphony had indeed made it into notated form by that time, it then laid untouched. Remarks pertaining to it over the next few years took on a half-hearted tone, such as in 1843:

"[...] a symphony marches slowly past as well",¹⁴³ or in 1844: "[...] if possible, to also finish up a symphony I've begun"¹⁴⁴, and his admission: "the symphony is growing only slowly."¹⁴⁵ In the first half of 1845 however, Mendelssohn did come closer to making good on his intention. Multiple letters to close friends and family report that he had begun a symphony.¹⁴⁶ One letter even names the specific motivation: "In Paris they opened the Conservatoire concerts of this year with my A Minor symphony and played the Scherzo da Capo; that put me in the mood to have another one done by next winter, one I'm starting now."¹⁴⁷ In April of 1845 however, Moscheles learned of the difficulties Mendelssohn was having finishing some pieces for London: "But despite all the puzzling I've done over it, I still haven't found a piece suited for such concerts, that hasn't been heard in England before. Yes, if I could be certain of having my symphony that I'm now working on finished by then, how very gladly I would seize upon that; on the contrary, however, I am quite sure that fall will come and go before the piece can be performed, since I'm having to work on several things at once, and there isn't an end in sight with any of them."¹⁴⁸

In comparison to the vague statements Mendelssohn made the years before, the surviving sources for the fragmentary C Major Symphony confirm that the composer was in fact able to work more intensively on it in 1845. Concrete evidence of this includes: a fully composed score of the first movement that breaks off after 78 measures on the ninth page; an additional eleven pages of partially composed drafts, in which single voices outline essential musical developments; as well as a wealth of further sketches that don't solely relate to the first movement.¹⁴⁹ The Classically oriented model of instrumentation made up of doubled woodwind instruments, two horns and trumpets each,

139 Wolfram Steinbeck, *Die Idee der Vokalsymphonie. Zu Mendelssohns "Lobgesang"*, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 53 (1996), pp. 222–233; Christian Martin Schmidt, *Lobgesang – oder: Große Musik für Leipzig*, in: *Dem Stolz und der Zierde unserer Stadt. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und Leipzig*, ed. by Wilhelm Seidel, Leipzig, 2004 (= Leipzig, Musik und Stadt. Studien und Dokumente; vol. 1), pp. 163–172. The term "Sinfonie-Cantate" ["Symphony-Cantata"] appears once more in 1842, in that case in reference to *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* [The First Walpurgis Night] op. 60 MWV D 3 in the context of Mendelssohn writing of his intention "to finally make it into a symphony-cantata", letter to Lea Mendelssohn Bartholdy of November 28, 1842, US-NYp, *MNY++ Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix, family letters, no. 528, printed in: *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 9, ed. and with comments by Stefan Münnich, Lucian Schiwietz and Uta Wald in association with Ingrid Jach, Kassel etc., 2015 (hereafter: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 9), pp. 105–108, quotation on p. 106.

140 Treated at length in Series I, Volume 5 (2005) of this edition.

141 Letter to Alfred Julius Becher of September 10 and 11, 1842, Heinrich-Heine-Institut, Düsseldorf, 51.4898, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 9 [note 139], pp. 36–39, quotation on p. 36.

142 Letter to Lea Mendelssohn Bartholdy of November 28, 1842, see note 139.

143 Letter to Rebecka Dirichlet of August 10, 1843, location unknown, quotation from: Hensel 1879 [note 77], vol. III, p. 20.

144 Letter to Franz Hauser of March 3, 1844, location unknown, transcript in D-B, *MA Nachl.* 7, 30.1, pp. 113–114, printed in: *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 10, ed. and with comments by Uta Wald, Kassel etc., 2016 (hereafter: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 10), pp. 89–91, quotation on p. 90. It is in the context of ideas Mendelssohn was expected to propose to the Philharmonic Society in London.

145 Letter to Fanny Hensel of August 15, 1844, D-B, *MA Ep.* 105, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 10 [note 144], pp. 235–239, quotation on p. 236. It was one item on a list of pieces Mendelssohn wrote he was working on while in Soden.

146 Letter to Franz Hauser of January 25 and February 15, 1845 (letter section of February 15), location unknown, transcript in D-B, *MA Nachl.* 7.30.1, pp. 116–119, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 10 [note 144], pp. 387–389, quotation on p. 389; on the same day to Carl Klingemann, that the piece was still "on a very distant horizon", D-B, 55 *Ep.* 1076, printed in: *ibid.*, pp. 389–391, quotation on p. 391; to the two sisters on February 27, 1845, location unknown, printed in: Hensel 1879 [note 77], vol. 3, p. 221.

147 Letter to Paul Mendelssohn-Bartholdy of February 27, 1845, US-NYp, *MNY++ Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix, family letters, no. 677 and no. 678, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 10 [note 144], pp. 404–406, quotation on p. 406.

148 Letter to Ignaz Moscheles of April 12, 1845, University of Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, without signature (Album *Mendelssohn's Letters to Moscheles 1826–1847*), fol. 54, printed in: *Briefe von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy an Ignaz und Charlotte Moscheles*, ed. by Felix Moscheles, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 243–244, quotation on p. 243.

149 Described at length in the chapter "Sketches and Discarded Passages" at the end of the present volume.

timpani, and string instruments mirrors precisely that of the Symphony no. 1 and the “Italian” Symphony.¹⁵⁰

Evidence that the fragment must have been written in or before 1845 exists in some sketches of a different work notated in what were otherwise unused lines of the same staff paper. That piece, *Die Frauen und die Sänger* MWV F 32, was composed on October 30, 1845, and premiered as a vocal quartet at the Leipzig Schillerfest on November 11, 1845, under the title *Die vier Weltalter*.¹⁵¹

The last mention of the C Major Symphony was made in April of 1846. This time though, it was in a manner that casts doubt on whether any concrete progress was still being made at that point. In response to a question from Klingemann concerning Mendelssohn’s penchant for ending minor pieces in major keys,¹⁵² the composer explained: “You’re absolutely right about the 3 big minor pieces closing in 3 major keys. That is another reason why the next symphony will most certainly remain in C major from beginning to end. And there truly shall not be a chorale in it. About this, I actually have a multitude of curious ideas, but these I would rather share with you in person.”¹⁵³

The present volume also contains two additional ideas for symphonic works that have survived in writing. Both are bits of notation found sketched in the small-format notebooks Mendelssohn was in the habit of traveling with, ten of which still exist.¹⁵⁴ These are filled with drawings, miscellaneous notes, calendar entries pertaining to specific events, and occasionally, some musical notation, which, as a rule, served as reminders of pieces he had heard or was in the midst of planning. Two of these are relevant to our present purposes due to their titles. The first, sketches of themes for a symphony in A Minor [1836], includes incipits for three movements. What is noteworthy here is that the two opening chords of the third movement are identical to those with which another piece written around the same time begins, the *Trauermarsch* [Funeral March] in A minor for Norbert Burgmüller, thus introducing the possibility that Mendelssohn may have been intending to use that musical material again or develop it further.

The second notational sketch originated eleven years later. In mid-September 1847, that is, just a few weeks before his death, on a journey back from Switzerland to Leipzig, Mendelssohn made a brief stop in Fulda, where he jotted down around thirty measures of a symphony in B Minor. In keeping with the char-

acter of his logs, he made a note of the exact moment in time the themes occurred to him: “the 18th of September, at 5 o’clock in the morning, waiting for the post.”¹⁵⁵ The C Major symphony fragment and the sketches just described clearly demonstrate that Mendelssohn hardly considered his work in the symphonic genre complete after having published the “Scottish” Symphony.

Historical Instruments and Performance Practice

The orchestral works in this volume are, in some cases, written for instruments others than those most commonly used for Mendelssohn’s music, and must be examined more closely. The overall expansion of the orchestra that was taking place in the first third of the 19th century increasingly confronted composers and musicians with the need to reinforce the bass registers of compositions.¹⁵⁶ The Harmoniemusik tradition of the time was typified by a great deal of unison playing on the part of the woodwind instruments, especially flutes and clarinets, which led to the overall effect being strongly dominated by the higher registers. The bassoon and bass trombone alone were simply not up to the task of creating an adequate counterbalance. Particularly in the case of open air music played by the kind of large bands that were emerging in the military music domain, the disproportion between the dominant treble and more weakly carrying bass instruments presented composers, instrument makers, and musicians alike with a challenge that provoked quite different reactions. That being the case, it is no coincidence that multiple wind instruments were developed and used around the late 18th and early 19th centuries in order to ameliorate this apparent deficit. In Mendelssohn’s oeuvre, a total of five instruments designed to fortify the deeper registers appear in various works: the contrabassoon, the serpent, the English bass horn, the ophicleide, and finally – in one solitary case – the tuba. Generally speaking, the latter instrument, first developed in 1835 by the Prussian military musician Wilhelm Wieprecht in cooperation with the Berlin court instrument maker Carl Wilhelm Moritz, ultimately prevailed as the most commonly accepted solution to the bass problem.

An overview of the pieces in question is provided in the following table:

150 The “Scottish” Symphony is orchestrated for four horns instead of two, whereas the “Reformation” Symphony includes parts for the contrabassoon, serpent, and three trombones in addition to the other instruments scored in the Symphony no. 1.

151 R. Larry Todd was the first to point out this chronological connection in 1980, see Todd, *Unfinished Symphony* [note 133], with facsimile of the vocal sketches on p. 295.

152 Letter from Carl Klingemann to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy of March 31, 1846, GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 97*, fols. 7–8. The specific pieces referred to in that letter are the two piano trios op. 49 and 66 (MWV Q 29 and Q 33) as well as the “Scottish” Symphony.

153 Letter to Carl Klingemann of April 15, 1846, location unknown, printed in: *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 11, ed. and with comments by Susanne Tomkovič, Christoph Koop, and Janina Müller in association with Uta Wald, Kassel etc., 2016, pp. 265–267, quotation on p. 267.

154 GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn g. 1–10*, for more details on this source see Mendelssohn-Werkverzeichnis, MWV Z 4.

155 GB-Ob, *MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn g. 10*, fol. 25^v.

156 On this common theme referred to in wind music literature as the “bass problem” see especially Höfele, *Materialien und Studien* [note 25], pp. 40–46; Hofer, *Geschichte des Militärmarsches* [note 24], vol. II, pp. 536–538, and the section “Die Lösung des Bassproblems” [“The Solution to the Bass Problem”] in: Werner Bodendorff, *Historie der geblasenen Musik*, Buchloe, 2002, pp. 258–260.

Instruments	Timeframe	MWV
Contrabassoon	1828–1836	A 14, N 15, P 5, P 14, P 19
English bass horn	1826–1836	M 13, P 1, P 3 (autograph sources), P 14, P 17, P 18, P 19, Instrumentation Handel <i>Acis and Galatea</i>
Serpentone	1828–1836	A 14, N 15, P 5, Instrumentation Handel <i>Zadok the Priest</i>
Ophicleide	Primarily in the 1840s	A 25, D 4, D 5, D 6, M 13, M 16, P 3 (printed version)
Tuba	1846	D 6

The instrument that may seem the most exotic from today's perspective, but was in fact the most commonly used at the time, is the English bass horn, which Mendelssohn included in his scoring for a good ten years beginning in the mid-1820s. Under no circumstances to be confused with the double reed English horn, the English bass horn is a member of the brass instrument family. The organologist Curt Sachs described its origins and appearance as follows: "The most purely realized form of the serpent was already branching off in different directions by the end of the 18th century. REGIBO, an Italian orchestral musician in Lille, had around 1789 already taken its serpent shape away and replaced it with that of a bassoon. Out of this *Ophibaryton* or so-called *Russian Bassoon*, emerged around 1800 the *bass horn*, an instrument made of metal or wood with a long S-shaped bocal, often a bell in the shape of an animal head, and two keys at the beginning [...]. Because its inventor AL. FRICHTOT, despite being a Frenchman, lived in London, and the first producer, J. ASTOR, was an Englishman, this new sound tool came to be known on the continent – after 1815 – as the *English bass horn*. Despite major imperfections, and despite roughness and impurity, it survived in military bands alongside its more advanced relatives up into the 1830s."¹⁵⁷

Mendelssohn first encountered the instrument in 1824 when he heard the Kurkapelle play in Doberan¹⁵⁸ and, inimitably, later reported back to his family in Berlin: "It is a large instrument made of brass, has a lovely deep tone, and looks like a watering can or a syringe."¹⁵⁹ His enthusiasm for the instrument is reflected in a whole series of pieces, of which five are included in the present volume. The bass horn filled two functions in Mendelssohn's works: bolstering the bass register foundation and adding a new timbre to the orchestra. Accordingly, it appears in wind band repertoire (primarily marches), or is called upon

to create a special atmosphere¹⁶⁰ or signify a specific character. In Mendelssohn's adaptation of Georg Friedrich Handel's *Acis and Galatea* HWV 49, for instance, it is the instrument that accompanies the appearance of the monster Polyphem. In later years, Mendelssohn – keeping up with the most current advances in instrument making – replaced the bass horn with the ophicleide. The most concise example of this transition is seen in the case of the overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for which Mendelssohn's handwritten materials are all notated for the *Corno Inglese di basso*, while in the printed editions that he oversaw of the work (1832/1835), the part is designated for the ophicleide instead.¹⁶¹ When the *Ouverture für Harmoniemusik* op. 24 went to press in 1838, the individual parts were printed with the label "English bass horn or ophicleide",¹⁶² whereas the score that was posthumously released in 1852 identified the part as being for "contrabassoon and bass horn" and notated it on the same shared set of staff lines. The extent to which the earlier edition's inclusion of the option of playing the part on the ophicleide, a Parisian construction from 1817,¹⁶³ was a reflection of Mendelssohn's own preferences or, perhaps instead, a pragmatic decision on the part of the publishers can no longer be decisively determined.

What is clear is that Mendelssohn wrote parts explicitly for ophicleide in six of his pieces from the 1840s. Notably, they are, without exception, all pieces composed for large vocal-instrumental ensembles, among them: two pieces of incidental music (*A Midsummer Night's Dream* op. 61 MWV M 13 and *Athalia* MWV M 16), the oratorio *Elijah* op. 70 MWV A 25, and three secular pieces for male chorus and brass ensemble, of which two, the *Festgesang* MWV D 4 (or so-called "Gutenberg Cantata" from 1840) and *Bei Enthüllung der Statue Friedrich Augusts von Sachsen* [The Unveiling of the Statue of Friedrich August von Sachsen] MWV D 5, were conceived of for open-air performances. For the debut performance of the latter of those in Dresden on June 7, 1843, a total of six ophicleides even played a single part in unison, in an effort to match the power of the twelve-person-each horn, trumpet, and trombone groups. The last work of this series, the cantata *Festgesang an die Künstler* ["To the Sons of Art"] op. 68 MWV D 6, pointed to the dawning of a new era in 1846 insofar as it was to become Mendelssohn's sole piece to include a part written for the tuba (in combination with an ophicleide). The instrument was an absolute novelty at the time, having only been in existence for about ten years, and Mendelssohn's intent in enlisting it was to

157 Sachs, *Musikinstrumentenkunde* [note 110], S. 264.

158 For more on this see the Introduction to Series I, Volume 10A of this edition.

159 Letter to Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy of July 21, 1824, US-NYp, *MNY++ Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Felix*, family letters, no. 14, printed in: *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 1 [note 101], pp. 129–130, quotation on p. 130. Mendelssohn drew a picture of the instrument in the letter to his family of July 24, 1824, along with the words "This is what an English bass horn looks like.", US-NYp, *MNY++ Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Felix*, family letters, no. 15, Facsimile *ibid.*, p. 132.

160 Thus in the Concert Overture no. 1 to Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in E-Major op. 21 MWV P 3.

161 See Christian Martin Schmidt in the Introduction to Series V, Volume 8 (2000) of this edition, p. XXIX: "The printed editions thus reflect a reaction to the fact that the *Corno Inglese di basso* was an uncommon instrument and that it was unable to establish itself and was rarely found in a normal orchestra."

162 There was also an extra part labeled "Contra=Fagotto".

163 The inventor was the Frenchman Jean Hilaire Asté (called Halary), who obtained a patent for his development in 1821. The instrument was therefore relatively new, but use of it spread very quickly among the ensembles of the time.

provide a tonal counterbalance to the more than one thousand singers who were projected to be in attendance at the first German-Flemish Choral Festival in Cologne that year.¹⁶⁴

The Corno inglese di basso and the ophicleide are both direct descendants of an instrument that had been in existence since the Renaissance, the snake-like appearance of which directly suggests its name: the serpent. It is the bass instrument of the cornetto family and is played with a round (brass instrument) mouthpiece, with which good intonation was reputedly only achievable by highly experienced players.¹⁶⁵ As there was a prevailing sentiment in the 19th century that its tone poorly matched that of the other orchestral instruments, composers of the time, including Mendelssohn, usually paired it with similarly registered instruments, a workaround that both mellowed its characteristic sound while also amplifying it, thereby strengthening the overall harmonic foundation.

Mendelssohn's first use of the serpent was in his 1828 Concert Overture no. 3 *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt* [Calm Sea and a Prosperous Voyage] op. 27 MWV P 5 as well as in the so-called "Reformation" Symphony MWV N 15, specifically in the final movement with the chorale "Ein feste Burg" (1830). In both cases, it is paired with the contrabassoon. Both instruments play the same notes, with the contrabassoon sounding an octave lower than it is notated in the score. The contrabassoon, for its part, appears again in a different pairing – this time with the English bass horn – in two other pieces, the *Trauermarsch* [Funeral March] for Norbert Burgmüller MWV P 14 presented in this volume and the Processional March MWV P 19.

The serpent achieves greater independence and certainly the zenith of its utilization in Mendelssohn's works in the oratorio *St. Paul*, in which it is significantly featured in the overture, and in two large choruses, the final chorus of Part 1 (no. 22 "O welch eine Tiefe"), and the opening of Part 2 (no. 23 "Der Erdkreis ist nun des Herrn"). It appears again in the final chorus and the majestic chorus no. 15 "Mache dich auf, werde Licht", in that case supported almost the entire time by the contrabassoon. Incidentally, at the work's premier in 1836, one sole serpent player was called upon to hold his own against no fewer than 35 other wind players.¹⁶⁶ The archaic instrument was scored one final

time when Mendelssohn arranged Handel's Anthem *Zadok the Priest* HWV 258 for a performance at the Leipzig Gewandhaus on January 1, 1836, and, due to the absence of an organ, wrote out parts for multiple wind instruments, including the serpent, in an additional score.¹⁶⁷ The adaptation proved so popular over the following years that a little tradition was born of performing this Handel piece in the Gewandhaus at the beginning of every new year.¹⁶⁸

The serpent, English bass horn, and ophicleide – still widely used in Mendelssohn's day, especially in military bands – all succumbed to changes in instrument making and compositional techniques over the course of the 19th century, ultimately slipping into obscurity as obsolete relics of a bygone era. With the triumphant progress of the tuba, and the development of ever more brass instruments (cornon [corno torto], helicon, sax horns, Wagner tubas, etc.), the second half of the 19th century brought with it a flourishing of new tonal possibilities that rendered older instruments such as the English bass horn dispensable for normal orchestras. As such, Mendelssohn's works stem from an eventful period of transition, a time that witnessed the use of the serpent waning, the bass horn and the ophicleide rising as alternatives, and finally the emergence of new instruments capable of producing a more powerful sound than had ever been possible before. It was just a matter of a few short decades before the older instruments fell completely out of musicians' everyday use and were replaced by their modern more flexible successors. A tide as sweeping as this is impossible to reverse in a mere few years, a phenomenon which has given rise to a certain irony, namely that interpreters of Mendelssohn's music today are now confronted with a similar challenge as he himself faced in 1829 when planning the revival of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*: several of the instruments designated in the score had fallen completely out of use and were simply inaccessible to the musicians of the day. One consequence of this, among others, was that Mendelssohn replaced¹⁶⁹ the Oboi da caccia and Oboi d'amore in 1829 with clarinets and basset horns, respectively.¹⁷⁰

Almost two hundred years later, a comparable, albeit somewhat more diverse landscape has evolved as far as the instruments of Mendelssohn's time are concerned. On the one hand, a grow-

164 See Armin Koch, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys Festgesang an die Künstler op. 68*, in: *Schiller und die Musik*, ed. by Helen Geyer and Wolfgang Osthoff, Köln/Weimar/Wien, 2007, pp. 247–266.

165 On its use and lineage see Thomas Gebhardt, "Es gibt Schlimmeres als Serpente." *Ein nahezu vergessenes Instrument in Mendelssohns Orchester*, in: *Blickpunkt FELIX Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Programmbuch Drei Tage für Felix vom 30.10. bis 1.11.1994*, ed. by Bernd Heyder and Christoph Spering, Köln, 1994, pp. 89–96.

166 Thomas Gebhardt, *ibid.*, p. 95.

167 GB-Ob, *Deneke 27(3)*.

168 For more on the arrangement see Mendelssohn-Werkverzeichnis (MWV), pp. 506–507.

169 Since the 1990s, the examination of that arrangement of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* has very nearly developed into its own independent branch of research, see i.a. Sachiko Kimura, *Mendelssohns Wiederaufführung der Matthäus-Passion (BWV 244). Eine Untersuchung der Quellen unter aufführungspraktischem Aspekt*, in: *Bach-Jahrbuch 84* (1998), pp. 93–120; Christian Ahrens, *Bearbeitung oder Einrichtung? Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys Fassung der Bachschen Matthäus-Passion und deren Aufführung in Berlin 1829*, in: *Bach-Jahrbuch 87* (2001), pp. 71–97; Andreas Glöckner, *Zelter und Mendelssohn – Zur "Wiederentdeckung" der Matthäus-Passion im Jahre 1829*, in: *Bach-Jahrbuch 90* (2004), pp. 133–155; Peter Ward Jones, *Die Continuo- und Orgelstimmen zur Leipziger Aufführung der Matthäus-Passion im Jahre 1841*, in: "Zu groß, zu unerreichbar". *Bach-Rezeption im Zeitalter Mendelssohns und Schumanns*, ed. by Anselm Hartinger, Peter Wollny, and Christoph Wolff, Wiesbaden/Leipzig/Paris, 2007, pp. 315–328; *ibid.*, *Mendelssohn's Performances of the 'Matthäus-Passion': Considerations of the Documentary Evidence*, in: *Music & Letters 97* (2016) no. 3, pp. 409–464.

170 Mendelssohn also wrote parts for the corno di bassetto in four of his own compositions. Apart from the Overture für Harmoniemusik MWV P 1 and the *Trauermarsch* MWV P 14 presented here, there are also two chamber music pieces, that stemmed from Mendelssohn's friendship with the clarinet and basset horn virtuosi Heinrich and Carl Baermann: the two Concert Pieces for Clarinet, Basset Horn, and Piano in F Minor MWV Q 23 (1832) and D Minor MWV Q 24 (1833).

ing number of specialized ensembles have fortunately formed in recent years to embrace performing on reproductions of historical instruments in an effort to better understand how early 19th century compositions may have sounded at the time they were written. The fact remains however that the overwhelming majority of today's ensembles still play exclusively on modern instruments and have no access to those such as the serpent, or ophicleide, much less an English bass horn, and thereby remain inherently excluded from performing the original versions of the works in question. Then again, there is a growing desire to expand beyond the current constraints of demanding wind ensemble repertoire. In the past, this has specifically led to Mendelssohn's *Ouvertüre für Harmoniemusik*, widely regarded as a key work of symphonic wind music, being modified for a broad range of wind groupings, even including publications in which the piece has been transposed from C Major to B-Flat Major.¹⁷¹

The present edition's setting of the musical text is based first and foremost on the composer's original specifications, and thus foregoes certain changes often made for the benefit of more commonly played instruments, for instance, the transposition of individual clarinet parts, to name just one. That being said, the following section does provide some performance practice suggestions for those musicians who do not have access to all of the instruments designated in the score, but are nevertheless committed to creating a more authentic sound and adequately performing the work. The guidance offered here is based on practical advice the conductor Jochen Wehner summarized in a 2009 publication after performing the piece multiple times.¹⁷² To begin with, the two (high) F clarinet parts can be assigned to two E-Flat clarinets, and the C clarinet parts can be played on widely available B-Flat clarinets.¹⁷³ The darker and more delicate sounding basset horns, most markedly featured in Mozart's *Requiem* and *The Magic Flute* among other pieces can be substituted with two alto E-Flat clarinets (or alternately a bass clarinet for the lower part). The brass instruments in particular deserve some closer attention. First, the parts for the C horns can be written out for F horns. This is also true of the C trum-

pets, which, if need be, can be replaced by B-Flat trumpets. The parts for the *Corno inglese di basso* and the ophicleide, which as mentioned, are the lowest brass instruments Mendelssohn wrote for, can be performed on the modern baritone horn, euphonium, or – if necessary – an F tuba.

These suggestions are intended to increase the accessibility of repertoire that is otherwise seldom performed because the necessary instruments are not readily available. They do not however belie the fact that the use of original instruments should always be prioritized in performances of Mendelssohn's music today so that his sound ideal can be properly presented in our time as well.

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Ralf Wehner
(Translation: Amber McPherson)

171 See note 30.

172 Jochen Wehner, *Mendelssohn Bartholdy zum 200. Ein Einblick in das Œuvre der Bläser-Kompositionen*, in: *clarino-print. bläsermusik international* 6/2009, pp. 14–16 and 7–8/2009, pp. 8–9.

173 The extent to which the fact that the parts are written for B-Flat clarinets in the transcription of the marches MWV P 17–19 is a reflection of performance practices at that time, cannot be determined.