SOUTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

BROWN WORKING PAPERS IN THE ARTS & SCIENCES

Volume VII

(2007)

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Recommended Citation:

Cooper, J. Michael. (2007) The Unknown *St. Paul:* Bachian Impulses and Dramatic Spirit in Mendelssohn's First Oratorio," Brown Working Papers in the Arts & Sciences, Southwestern University, Vol. VII. Available at: http://www.southwestern.edu/academic/bwp/vol7/cooper-vol7.pdf.

THE UNKNOWN *ST. PAUL*:

BACHIAN IMPULSES AND DRAMATIC SPIRIT IN MENDELSSOHN'S FIRST ORATORIO

John Michael Cooper

One hundred and seventy years have elapsed since the publication in 1837 of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's first oratorio, *Paulus*. Already at the Düsseldorf premiere in May of the previous year, critics began to acclaim it the first worthy successor to Joseph Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* (The Creation, 1796-98) and *Die Jahreszeiten* (The Seasons, 1799-1801) – an astonishing assertion not only because of the vast number of new oratorios contributed by other reputable composers during the intervening years, but also because even Beethoven, whose cult had grown significantly during the period, had been able to achieve only modest success with his *Christus am Ölberge* (Christ on the Mount of Olives, 1803-1804; published 1811). Shortly after its premiere the *Davidsbündler* Johann Peter Lyser was able to credit *St. Paul* with having spread Germany's greatness to the New World as well as the Old, and Lyser's colleague Robert Schumann publicly positioned it as the critical antithesis of Meyerbeer's *Les Huegenots*, submitting that Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* was "the prophet of a glorious future . . . [whose] road leads to good fortune," while Meyerbeer's road "leads to evil."[1] Even Mendelssohn's later detractor Richard Wagner praised *St. Paul* in 1843 as "a work . . . that has shown with utter perfection what the highest flowering of art is, and that fills us with pride that we live in the time of its fulfillment."[2]

For all this acclaim, however, *St. Paul* has been no stranger to controversy. Heinrich Heine questioned its confessional authenticity in 1842 by declaring in the pages

of *Lutetia* that "the last thing that would ever occur to the author of these pages would be to find fault with the Christianness of the above-mentioned oratorio on account of the fact that Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy is by birth a Jew" and then comparing its music unfavorably with that of the *Stabat Mater* of Gioachino Rossini.[3] George Bernard Shaw condemned it and its generic successor *Elijah* nearly half a century later when he decried Mendelssohn's "despicable oratorio-mongering" and his "dreary fugue manufacture, with its Sunday-school sentimentalities and its Music-school ornamentalities."[4] And even recent commentators who are generally sympathetic to Mendelssohn, aware of *St. Paul*'s music-historical significance, and convinced of its worth are unable to find consensus on the reasons for its artistic and historical stature. In his 1963 biography of Mendelssohn and its 1980 revision, Eric Werner severely criticized St. *Paul* for its extensive use of chorales in what he called an inherently theatrical genre.[5] Leon Botstein countered Werner's critique by asserting that *St. Paul* is not theatrical and individualized in nature, but essentially didactic and communal – both an aesthetic affirmation of Mendelssohn's loyalty to the values and ideals of Judaism and a profession of pride in his position as grandson of Moses Mendelssohn, Enlightenment Europe's most eloquent philosophical advocate for religious tolerance.[6] But Jeffrey Sposato, examining the work's textual evolution and rigorously assessing the exegetical insights that it permits, points to the Lutheran Mendelssohn's selection and placement of clearly anti-Semitic texts in this oratorio as his declaration of loyalty to Christianity in an increasingly anti-Semitic Europe and an implicit disavowal of any theological indebtedness to Judaism.[7] Perhaps most vexingly, Françoise Tillard finds in this oratorio a symbolic manifestation of Mendelssohn's attitude toward the prospect of his older sister Fanny's publishing her

compositions: was it not St. Paul, Tillard asks, who denied women the right to be heard in worship services?[8]

The problem is obvious: given this oratorio's sharply polarized reception history and the likelihood that modern opinions have been informed by some ambiguous combination of the marginally familiar music and the conflicting, but overtly political, cultural agendas of the past century and a half, is it possible for modern scholars and musicians to grasp anything of what *St. Paul* represented to Mendelssohn and his contemporaries? Here is a work that has been construed as profoundly Christian, superficially Christian, and fundamentally Judaic; as dramatically intense and dramatically misguided, primarily theatrical and primarily pedagogical, fundamentally individualized and fundamentally communal, a proud declaration of allegiance to Mendelssohn's Judaic heritage and a fervent reassurance of the purity of his Christian piety. The various critiques agree on only two points: the integrity and originality of the oratorio's music, even if its dramaturgy is at times unconvincing; and this oratorio's historical stature as the essential historical phenomenon without which the later oratorios of Robert Schumann, Wagner, Liszt, Dvořák, Bruch, and Tippett, each in its own way, would have been virtually unthinkable.

The following remarks undertake to interrogate how we know *St. Paul* by assimilating its accepted position as a received historical text into a self-consciously synchronic examination of its position in the genre-history of the oratorio from the perspective of Mendelssohn and his contemporaries. At the core of the investigation are two issues: the features of the oratorio that, according to contemporary reports, contributed directly to its success; and the light that compositional decisions documented

in Mendelssohn's surviving manuscripts shed on these features. Both necessitate conjecture. But the extraordinary wealth of surviving libretto drafts, musical sketches, drafts, composition scores, and private correspondence leading up to the publication, together with the issues that attracted the attention of contemporary and modern critics, cannot be ignored; for together they offer clear insights into the composer's workshop and the issues that he dealt with in retelling the story of the apostle Paul in a fashion that exerted a remarkable hold on the contemporary imagination.

In order to answer these questions, the following pages review the most important stations in the complex and protracted genesis of *St. Paul*, and then use this information as the basis for a consideration of a number of movements that were composed and orchestrated for use in the oratorio but removed before its publication. As of this writing these movements remain unpublished, though they are due to appear in print for the first time in August 2007.[9] The insights they offer result in a tetracarpillary complex of ideas. Three parts of this complex concern theological, musical, and dramaturgical issues, matters that have already been extensively discussed in the literature on *St. Paul*, albeit without consideration of the abovementioned movements. The fourth and most important one concerns what Jeffrey Kallberg, in his work on Mendelssohn's contemporary Frédéric Chopin, has termed the "generic contract"[10]: the question of how the relationships between composer, performers, and listeners – and performers' and audiences' expectations – were conditioned by the historical repertoire and performance practices associated with a given work's genre, and how these conditionings in turn offer insight into the work's distinctive features, its reception, and so on. For the twenty-seven-year-old Mendelssohn's compositional decisions in creating and revising his first

contribution to the genre of the oratorio – and specifically in removing the full-scale movements that are the focus of these remarks – were certainly influenced by his cognizance of the public's perception of him as an individual of Jewish descent who had established youthful fame not only as a composer in his own right, but also as the key figure in the 1829 Berlin revival of J. S. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, and in so doing had not only made the "Bach revival" a public affair, but also resurrected the work that many considered the archetypal musical profession of the Lutheran faith.

I. Structure and Processes in the Final Version of *St. Paul*: A Synoptic Overview

Even a cursory review of the musical and dramatic structure of *St. Paul* reveals the means by which Mendelssohn was able to address the spirit of his own time without violating the spirit of the oratorio as a genre vested with a distinguished place in the historical repertoire. On the one hand, in its final version the work presents a logical and symmetrical dramatic structure that exudes formal mastery. It is cast in two parts and forty-five numbers, with each part comprising four dramatic scenes – not so labeled by the composer, but clear from the events in the plot – and each part framed by an opening and closing section that prepares the action of the part and comments on its significance (see Table 1).

On the other hand, the oratorio's carefully coordinated recurrences of important musical moments and crucial dramatic events clear reflects the techniques of reminiscence themes, thematic transformations, and Leitmotiv cultivated in contemporary operatic and musical/dramatic fare[11]: most obvious (and most discussed) among these is the role of the chorale "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme" (Awake, the voice calls to us),

which forms the subject of the Overture and recurs when Paul's eyes are opened to the risen Christ in No. 16 (see discussion below). Equally important, however, is the recurrence of the throbbing woodwind chords (first heard with the *divisi* women's chorus as the risen Christ addresses Paul on the road to Damascus), as He now (in the solo soprano) instructs Ananias to find and retrieve Paul; cf. Nos. 14 and 19 (cf. Exx. 1 and 2). And in these regards, too, the rejected numbers reveal the enormity of Mendelssohn's achievement. They offer a glimpse into a creative process that took a theologically and historical potent subject vested with substantial contemporary relevance, created on that subject a sprawling musical and dramatic concept overly fettered by the conventions of its genre, and gradually gave way to a masterpiece of Romantic music that, while still obviously predicated on generic assumptions of the oratorios of Bach, Handel, and Haydn, translated those assumptions into terms consistent with the rapidly developing nineteenth-century ideals of musical drama – ideas that would find their first full realization in *Elijah* (1846-47), a well as in Wagner's post-1849 music dramas. See examples 1 and 2.

II. Genesis and Publication

Among other things, recent scholarship on *St. Paul* has revealed that its compositional history was substantially more complicated than is generally known. To begin with, the frequently encountered suggestion that "Mendelssohn's librettist" for the work was his pastor friend Julius Schubring "with the help of Julius Fürst" (as Eric Werner put it in his 1963 biography and its 1980 revision)[12] is misleading on three counts: the final version of the libretto is the result of input from several disparate

sources, including Adolf Bernhard Marx; Fürst's role was at least as great as Schubring's (not the other way around); and the surviving libretto drafts and Mendelssohn's correspondence show that the composer himself was the dominant voice in compiling and arranging the scriptural texts.[13]

Moreover, *St. Paul* was not a largely isolated generic forerunner to *Elijah (Elias*), as is commonly assumed, but rather a compositional project whose chronology, drama, music, and theological ideas are closely bound up with several other works that are at turns more and less familiar. The most famous of these is Mendelssohn's work in adapting Sebastian Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*; the most obscure, his *Moses* libretto drafted for Marx.[14] In between stands another composition centering on Christianity and its relationship to non-Christian Others that, for Mendelssohn's contemporaries, at least approached the genre of the oratorio: the choral/orchestral "ballade" *Die erste Walpurgisnacht*, begun in 1830, first completed in 1833, and then overhauled in the early 1840s before being published as Mendelssohn's Op. 60 in 1844.[15] .

Finally – and most vexingly for scholars who wish for a compact summary of the work's genesis – Mendelssohn's work on *Paulus* was by no means one of sketching and drafting music to a securely established textual compilation, orchestrating that music, and then preparing a piano-vocal reduction of the product. Instead, he moved freely between advanced compositional stages and "pre-compositional" work on text and music, continuing to modify his ideas on text selection, textual arrangement, and scoring long after he had begun composing the music – and the piano-vocal figured integrally in this compositional process rather than being created after the fact, as one might assume.

As is well known, Mendelssohn undertook the task of composing an oratorio in November 1831, when Johann Nepomuk Schelble, director of the Frankfurt am Main Cäcilienverein, invited him to write a work in that genre for his ensemble.[16] By year's end Mendelssohn had prepared a draft collection of Biblical texts that traced the essentials of the work's plot, and by 10 March 1832 he was ready to approach his friend Eduard Devrient, who had sung the role of the Evangelist in the 1829 Berlin performances of the *St. Matthew Passion* and would later become a significant figure in nineteenth-century German theater reform, about assembling the libretto:

> I also have something to ask you, Eduard; answer me right away about it. I am to compose an oratorio for the *Cäcilienverein* [Frankfurt am Main] . . . for which I already have many designs in mind. The subject is to be the apostle Paul; in the first part: the stoning of Stephen and the persecution; in the second part: the conversion; in the third, the Christian life and preaching, and either his martyrdom or his farewell to the congregation. I would like the words to be chiefly from the Bible and chorale book, and a few free passages (the little Christian flock would sing, for instance, the chorales in the first part; I would take the principal features of Stephen's defense from the Bible). But I cannot put these texts together myself. Will you do it? You are better acquainted with the Bible than I, and know exactly what I want; it would give you little trouble.[17]

Devrient declined the invitation and recommended instead that the composer contact a mutual friend better versed in the Bible than he, either Schubring or Albert Baur

(both pastors).[18] Over the coming months, Mendelssohn drafted a new outline that would serve as a starting-point for his libretto-consultants. No fewer than eleven complete or partial libretto drafts were authored by him, Schubring, Fürst, and Marx between the spring of 1832 and October 1833.[19] Concurrent with all this work were a number of other important events in his personal and professional life: the deaths of his mentors, Goethe and Zelter; his ultimately unsuccessful candidacy to succeed Zelter as director of the Berlin *Singakademie*; the completion of several major compositions, including the first versions of the A-major ("Italian") Symphony and another choral/orchestral work centering on the themes of persecution and conversion, *Die erste Walpurgisnacht*; his direction of the Lower Rhine Music Festival in Düsseldorf; and his assumption of the position of Municipal Music Director in Düsseldorf beginning in the fall of 1833.

By the fall of 1834, after more than three years of intensive correspondence with his libretto-consultants, the textual foundations were established. At this point Mendelssohn began writing out his musical ideas for the texts that were already in place – but the compositional process became even more recursive than previously, for he now moved fluidly between textual drafts, textual revisions, musical sketches, musical drafts, full-score musical settings of selected texts, and the piano/vocal score of musical settings of the selected texts. In brief, from this point on the work developed concurrently on textual and musical levels, and in its full-score version and its piano/vocal version. He redoubled his efforts to complete the project when he left Düsseldorf to assume his new position as Music Director of the famed Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra in the Fall of 1835, and by November of that year he had written and rewritten so much text and so much music so many times that the oratorio scarcely bore any resemblance to the state it

had been in just six months earlier. This new, concentrated phase of work finally brought the work into a state that Mendelssohn deemed suitable for public performance.

Given on 22 May 1836 with a total of 536 performers before an assembled audience of more than 1,000 music-lovers from the continent and England, the oratorio's premiere created a sensation. Nevertheless, Mendelssohn insisted on undertaking yet more revisions, many of them extensive. The English and German versions of the chorus parts and the piano/vocal scores were finally engraved and published by N. Simrock (Bonn) and Ewer (London) in late November or early December, and the full orchestral/choral score appeared ca. February 1837. Two of the arias that had been removed late in the revision process were posthumously published in piano/vocal format only as Mendelssohn's *Zwei geistliche Lieder*, Op. 112, 1868, more than two decades after his death; fourteen additional movements survived in manuscript and remained unpublished until May 2007; and an unquantifiable number of movements were lost outright, consigned to the composer's wastebasket or lost forever in the lively auction-market for private collections of composers' autographs.

III. THE REJECTED MOVEMENTS

An overview of the surviving rejected movements intended for *St. Paul* is provided in Table 2. As transmitted in the sources, these movements fall into four groups:

- Movements that were composed and orchestrated ca. 1834-35, removed before the premiere, and collectively designated "10 Stücke zum Paulus" on the outer cover of a volume of miscellaneous manuscripts that

Mendelssohn had bound sometime after 1837.[20] In the following pages these movements will be designated "MN 28," after the volume's position in the original *Mendelssohn Nachlaß* (Mendelssohn estate) donated to the Königliche-Preußische Bibliothek (Berlin) in 1878.[21]

- Movements that are contained in one or more of the three surviving composition scores for the oratorio, but were removed before it was committed to print.[22]
- Fully composed movements that are individually transmitted in other manuscripts. Some of these movements survive only in copyist's manuscripts.
- Sketches[23]

The last three of these groups have already been extensively discussed in the scholarly literature. The first group, by contrast, has been discussed only in passing, even though the patriarch of Mendelssohn scholarship, Sir George Grove, appealed for a detailed study and their immediate publication already in 1909.[24] The movements in question are neither sketches nor drafts, but some ninety-two pages of fair-copy orchestral scores for movements that Mendelssohn considered sufficiently finalized to include them in the system of movement numbers at an advanced stage of composition. As portions of the drama whose texts and music were fully thought-out, developed, and revised before their deletion, they thus bear testament to the demands and opportunities that Mendelssohn found in his plot and in the oratorio as a genre according to the models of Bach, Handel, and Haydn – without, however, having yet been subject to the bewildering array of contradictory assessments that otherwise make a clear approach to

St. Paul so difficult. In a word, the rejected movements offer fresh insights not only into the issues and ideas that came into play as Mendelssohn created the work, but also into the work as a whole.

These rejected movements fall into four further groups when viewed in terms of genre, intended position in the oratorio's plot, and relationship to the final version of the work. They represent virtually every genre, section, and scene of the familiar version of the oratorio, including two scenes not present in the final version. The following remarks examine each of these groups in greater detail.

Movements that were replaced by stylistically similar but more compact movements or groups of movements (Nos. Ib, II, and VI)

Among the most problematical of the rejected movements is an early version of the so-called "revenge aria" of the unconverted Saul in Part I. In the MN 28 movements this aria is scored not for Saul alone, but for Saul and accompanying male chorus. In its role-distribution (solo bass for the eventual apostle) and tempo (*allegro molto*) this rejected version of the apostle's first appearance is almost identical to the familiar version (the second part of No. 12), but it uses a different textual source. In contrast to the familiar version, whose text is based on Psalms 59:13, 83:14, and 69:24,[25] the MN 28 version of the aria takes its text from Psalm 94:1-2 and 18:42. Although none of the MN 28 texts appears in any of the surviving libretto drafts, the paper-types of the autographs for both arias date from the period August 1835 – April 1836, and the MN 28 autograph is headed "No. 13" – a clear indication its position in the oratorio's overall sequence of movements had been established by that point.[26]

Previous drafts for the text of this aria and a full-score draft of the music[27] reveal that since at least 1832 Mendelssohn and his libretto consultants had consistently viewed this number as one that would be based on Psalm 83: 13ff ("Make them like tumbleweed, O my God, like chaff before the wind"),[28] and early in 1835 he sketched and drafted it as a B-minor aria for bass solo with orchestra.[29] Around August 1835, however, Mendelssohn drafted a significantly different revenge aria for Saul, now portraying him as the leader and inciter of a group of persecutors in the C-minor revenge aria for bass solo with men's chorus "Herr Gott, dess' die Rache ist, erscheine!" (Lord God, from whom vengeance comes, appear!), based on Psalms 94: 1-2 and 18: 42 (see Ex. 3.a-b). Working in the piano-vocal score, however, he then returned to the B-minor solo aria, crafting a longer version of the aria and portraying the Christians' persecutor as an introverted man torn by doubt as he pursues his calling, pleading (with words taken from Psalm 139) that God "search him" and "test him."[30] Ultimately, Mendelssohn decided on a more definitive characterization: the obsessive and monomaniacal persecutor familiar from the final version.[31] See examples 3 A and 3 B.

Mendelssohn's evident idea of portraying Saul as the inciter and leader of a group of implicitly Jewish persecutors of Christians is of course consistent with Jeffrey Sposato's hypothesis that at this early point in his career he attempted to publicly distance himself from his Jewish heritage, especially in the genre of the oratorio, whose history was overwhelmingly dominated by specifically Christian religious ideas – often (as in the case of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*) bearing patently anti-Semitic messages. After all, in this early reading it is not only Saul, but Saul accompanied by a mob of unconverted male voices (implicitly Jewish because of Saul's own confessional) that seeks God's

revenge against the Christians. This early consideration, however, ultimately underscores the composer's decision to omit the unconverted Jews from this scene, instead simply portraying the eventual apostle simply as a monomaniacal individual obsessed with brutally persecuting those who, in his view, sin against God.

Components of Deleted Scenes (Nos. IV and V)

Also among the rejected movements in MN 28 are two scenes whose texts were carefully selected and drafted, and whose music was fully composed, but that were removed before the work's premiere. One of these deleted scenes – depicting a sermon the converted Paul gives in Antioch and featuring an elaborate setting of the chorale "Mit unsrer Macht ist nichts getan" – will be discussed under "Chorales" below. The other depicts the apostle and Barnabas, incarcerated for their evangelizing, singing a duet praising God just before the great earthquake that eventually permits their release (Acts 16:25-31).

The idea for such a duet was established already in Mendelssohn's earliest surviving sketch or the work's libretto (22 December 1832), whereas the idea for including the earthquake scene was evidently first introduced later on by libretto consultant Julius Fürst; the scene was set to music sometime between April and August 1834.[32] The entire scene is cast in three sections. First comes the duet, an extended and songful *Lobgesang* that vividly demonstrates Mendelssohn's gift for richly idiomatic vocal melody and adumbrates the style of the Cavatina "Sei getreu bis in den Tod" (Be ye faithful unto death; No. 40) that would replace this scene in the final version (see Example 4a-b). The tranquility of this songful duet then succumbs to a sense of dramatic

urgency in the recitative-like earthquake scene during which the apostles seek to convert the jailer; and then, after a brief recollection of the music of the duet, to a setting of the chorale "O treuer Heiland Jesu Christ" (O true savior, Jesus Christ). There are two further noteworthy features about the duet. To begin with, it is scored for *divisi* violas, plus cellos and basses and doubled woodwinds, but no violins or oboes – an unusual style of orchestration that emphases the ensembles warm middle tones and calls attention to the solemnity of the moment. Second, this movement is one further example of what Eric Reimer has elsewhere termed "Mendelssohn's noble song" ("edler Gesang"):[33] it is a peaceful aria in ternary form in which the significantly abbreviated repeat of the "A" section also synthesizes elements of the central "B" with the material indigenous to itself, resulting in a form best diagrammed as A – B – A/B. The length of this scene and its remarkable music is probably partially accountable for Mendelssohn's eventual decision to reject it; for it comprises a total of about fourteen minutes' worth of music, as opposed to the significantly more compact 3½ minutes required for the material that replaced it in the final version. More important, however, was probably the fact that this scene, with its emphasis on the central message of the power of God and of the Christian message, would have been dramatically and theologically redundant with the message of Nos. 28-29: the D-minor *turba* chorus and chorale "So spricht der Herr, ich bin der Herr und außer mir ist kein Heiland" / "O Jesu Christe wahres Licht" (Thus sayeth the Lord: I am the Lord and beside me is no savior / O thou, the true and only light). The latter scene thus fulfills the same religious and dramatic function in a more compact and effective fashion. See examples 4 A and 4 B.

Music Written for Scenes Retained in Abbreviated Form in the Final Version

MN 28 also transmits music for a large scene of pagan choruses (*Heidenchöre*) that were intended to follow the recitative relating Paul's healing of the cripple at Lystra (after Acts 14:7-9). That these choruses played an important role in Mendelssohn's plans for the oratorio from early on is clear from his description of the scene as a "two-hour-long chorus" in Mendelssohn's earliest surviving libretto draft,[34] and from the fact he eventually planned or drafted no fewer than twelve individual movements that were to comprise the scene. The music he actually composed for the texts of this scene originally would have accounted for about sixteen minutes, but here, too, he opted for conciseness, ultimately retaining only about five minutes' worth of music (Nos. 33-35 in the final version). These movements thus reflect the proclivity for compression and conciseness that is a central characteristic of Mendelssohn's compositional process.

The progress of the originally composed sequence of movements, moreover, makes clear that Mendelssohn planned an extended dramatic intensification (*Steigerung*) of the gentiles' deification of the apostles Paul and Barnabas, leading to a dramatic climax as they rend their garments and cry out "Men, why are you doing this? We too are only men, human like you" (Acts 14:15). As shown in Example 5.a-g, the complex began immediately after the recitative relating the healing miracle, with a brass fanfare and tenor recitative in D major ("Danket dem Gott, dem Herrn aller Götter"; Thank ye the god, the lord of all gods). This was followed by a lilting women's chorus in G major, "Danket dem Gott, dem freundlichen Gott" (thank ye the god, the friendly god), marked with a gentle *con moto* tempo indication, and then by a more elaborate full chorus in D major, "Danket den Göttern" (thank ye the gods), implicitly a quicker *allegro*. The tonal

series of ascending fifths as the key centers continued to the next movement, the supplicatory "Seid und gnädig, hohe Götter" (O be gracious, ye Immortals; a newly composed text present in Mendelssohn's libretto drafts from 1832 on and retained even in the final version), set in A major with the prayerful tempo indication *andante*. The key then darkens to the relative minor (F-sharp minor, a key often associated with pagan religious fervor in Mendelssohn's music) for the longest chorus of the set – the elaborate "Lobt ihn mit Pfeifen" (praise him with flutes) before collapsing abruptly back to D minor for the apostles' rejection of the gentiles' heightening fervor. See examples 5 A – 5 G.

The music composed for this sequence of movements is nothing short of remarkable – and Mendelssohn's enthusiasm for it is clear not only from his enthusiastic description of the newly composed "Lobt ihn" in a letter to Moscheles dated 25 December 1834, but also from his evident attempt to retain the D-major chorus "Danket den Göttern" even after he had recognized the necessity of shortening the scene for the Düsseldorf premiere.[35]

Two further considerations probably influenced Mendelssohn's decision to eliminate most of the choruses composed for this important scene. First (and most obviously), their texts are selected from the Old Testament, but from a purely practical perspective it would have been confusing to have the New Testament heathen gentiles use the words of the Psalmist to sing the praise of the Christian apostles Paul and Barnabas. More generally, Mendelssohn's initial conception of the scene suggests that it would take the form of the sort of spectacle common in contemporary opera and many contemporary oratorios by Schneider, Spohr, and Klein, among others. Mendelssohn's

1829 description of the Hamburg *Singverein*'s performance of Spohr's *Die letzten Dinge* reveals, however, that he considered such dramatically vapid spectacle "sinful play with trivialities." "Jews," he continues, "are hanged when they poison a well; but I hope that music is worth just as much as a well – and so Spohr must die."[36] Rather, he sought a balance between spectacular and edifying elements in the plot – and by compressing this scene he achieved precisely that.

But perhaps the most musically moving of the scenes that were retained in abbreviated form in the final version is the scene of Paul's farewell to the assembled elders of the congregation at Ephesus. Since, as shown in Table 3, the textual differences between the original and final versions of this critical scene are minimal, it follows that Mendelssohn's decision to replace the original setting with its later counterpart must have had to do with the either the music itself or the implications of its interpretation of the text. The original interpretation tends, on the whole, to emphasize Paul – beginning with an extended and delicately scored ritornello that emphasizes his sorrow as he bids farewell to the assembled believers, as well as his fear of whatever cruel fate awaits him in Jerusalem (see Example 6). This poignantly lyrical section is followed by a recitative-like passage in which the apostle articulates the ideas that the music, has already expressed. Now, however, a new emphasis is added – for the orchestra suddenly falls silent at the words "unserm Herrn Jesum Christum" (our lord, Jesus Christ). With this new element added, the music assumes an ethereal tone as Paul alludes to his own coming martyrdom: "fahre hin gen Jerusalem, weiß nicht, was mir daselbst begegnen wird. Das aber weiß ich, dass ihr mein Angesicht nicht mehr sehen werdet" (travel to

Jerusalem; I do not know what I will find there, but I do know that you will never see my face again). See Table 3 and example 6.

As suggested above, because the musical worth of this original version of the crucial final scene in the oratorio's plot is probably beyond question, and because the material that replaced is it not shorter, we must look elsewhere. In this instance the problem seems to have been that the original version, despite all its musical beauties, is less about his message or his larger import as a model for contemporary believers than it is about Paul himself – *his* spiritual pain, *his* fear, *his* tears. The music with which Mendelssohn replaced this version supports this notion, for the final version places little emphasis Paul's sorrow and directs its semantic weight instead to the scene's religious origin, moving steadily towards a *forte* climax on the words "unsern Herrn Jesum Christum." Consequently, a scene whose first version revolved around the heroic titular martyr-saint became a scene that concentrated on the theological message that provides the foundation of the entire oratorio – the idea that Paul was only an ambassador of Christ. And while this revision accentuates the Christological cast of the oratorio as a whole, it is perhaps equally important for its influence on the performative nature of the work. In this new version, makes clear that latter-day listeners and performers were to view Paul not as a saint removed historically and culturally removed from themselves, but as a Christian with whom they could identify and a model for latter-day believers. Mendelssohn's oratorio thus retreats from the generic expectations of contemporary drama and assumes instead the character and import of a musical sermon – one that directly involves listeners in a fashion both with contemporary pietist thought and with the communal aspects of both Protestantism and Judaism.

Chorales (Nos. Ia, Vc, Vd, and second part of number IV).

Mendelssohn's self-conscious effort to cast his oratorio as a sermon that would use musical drama to communicate a profoundly religious message to a congregation of directly involved listeners is most readily evident in the chorales he composed for the work. As is well known, for Mendelssohn's contemporaries the chorales in *St. Paul* were familiar as a genre neither from art-music nor from Bach's cantatas – for in the mid-1830s Bach's cantatas and oratorios were only beginning to become generally familiar, and as of the mid-1830s few composers had employed chorales in the context of art-music. Rather, for Mendelssohn's contemporaries the chorales in *St. Paul* would have evoked first and foremost the experience of communal worship in the religious service itself.[37] They thus would have understood the chorales neither as "historicizing" (and thus historically retrospective or retrogressive) components of the work nor as "Bachian" elements, but as invocations of communal religious practice. In this light, it is particularly striking that Mendelssohn considered using some twenty-three full or partial chorales in this oratorio and ultimately rejected all but five of these. In a word, the chorale as a genre – or rather, the issue of employing chorales in order to enfranchise listeners in the experience of the work rather than having them merely participate passively – cost him as much time and effort as did all the other parts of the oratorio combined.

One striking feature of the chorales in *St. Paul* is that all are integrated into the plot, and several also fulfill an intrinsically dramatic function. There is ample precedent for the use of chorales and fugues in dramatic and quasi-dramatic contexts before this one; yet in those works the two are either simultaneous, nearly simultaneous (with the

chorales commenting on the imitative material), or entirely separated. For example, in Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* the chorales are either autonomous movements that function, like the chorus in Greek tragedy, as collective commentary on the events of the plot that drama unfolding in the surrounding movements, or as interjected or simultaneous commentaries on the drama unfolding in the other voices and/or parts within the same movement. This conventional function is represented by the first two chorales in *St. Paul* (Nos. 3 and 9, "Allein Gott in der Höh'" and "Dir, Herr, Dir will ich mich begeben").

New and different in *St. Paul*, however, is that the implicitly communal chorales are granted new semiotic power, functioning as the dramatic result, culmination, or resolution of the strife-ridden complexity of fugal textures. At its simplest, this new power is manifested in the chorale-fugues Nos. 29 and 36 ("O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht" and "Wir glauben all' an einen Gott," respectively) – movements whose overall texture and form essentially correspond to practices of Bach and other earlier composers, even though their integration into the oratorio's plot surpasses that in any precedents that would have been familiar to Mendelssohn.

The other chorales are more complicated – a fact that is announced already with the oratorio's Overture. As is well known, the Overture is based on two starkly contrasting stylistic elements: the A-major chorale "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," whose first three phrases are presented, Andante, as a gradual crescendo spanning the first twenty-seven measures but breaking off before the completion of the last repetition (see Ex. 7.a); and an orchestral fugue in A minor, allegro (♩ = 92) characterized by the distinctly angular melodic contours of its subject (see Ex. 7.b). These two elements are then contrapuntally juxtaposed in a protracted crescendo, and the tension is further

amplified with an accelerando to a new level of allegro (♩=112) at m. 113. The culmination of this wrestling for predominance occurs with the return to A major at m. 156, where the incipit of the chorale theme is stated once again in combination with the essential thematic material of the fugue, but the densely imitative textures and minor mode of the latter have submitted to the essentially homophonic textures of the former (see Ex. 7 and 8)

One striking feature of this handling of the venerable idea of employing fugal and chorale textures in the same movement is that Mendelssohn treats the chorale as the dramatic result – or better, resolution – of the inclemency and strife of the fugue. By implication the Overture to *St. Paul* foreshadows the oratorio's dramatic enactment of the theological message of the apostle, emphasizing the importance of the unified communal celebration of edifying ideas and the ultimate victory of the community of believers in the face of strife and inclemency. Moreover, in portraying this victory as a hard-won synthesis of stylistic elements that had initially been starkly antagonistic or even incompatible, this Overture established a pattern for one of the great musical-dramatic topoi of the later nineteenth-century – a gesture that set the precedent for the grandiose chorale-like finales of composers such as Brahms, Tchaikovsky, and Mahler.

Equally or more striking from the perspective of Mendelssohn's contemporaries, however, would have been that Mendelssohn leaves the chorale conspicuously incomplete in the Overture. For if we accept Armin Koch's argument that the composer employed chorale and chorale-like elements in his music in order to solicit listeners to "listen along" (*mithören*), mentally participating as individuals in the performance of music already familiar from an ecclesiastical and congregational context,[38] then it follows

that no such listener would have failed to wonder what had become of the chorale's last three lines, which deliver the essential religious message of the importance of believers' preparedness to receive Christ at His coming: "Wacht auf! der Bräut'gam kommt, steht auf! die Lampen nehmt. Halleluja! macht euch bereit zur Ewigkeit. Ihr müsset ihm entgegen gehn." ("Awake! The bridegroom comes; arise, take your lamps. Hallelujah! Prepare yourselves for eternity. You must go to receive him.") Because of this significant truncation, Mendelssohn's contemporaries would have perceived the victory at the end of the Overture as one that was still incomplete or somehow provisional – and the overture would have opened out into the Oratorio's plot itself. Only after Saul's encounter with the voice of the risen Christ on the road to Damascus would this initial arrestment be corrected, fulfilled – for here, finally, the chorale is stated *in toto*, complete with elaborate fanfares in the brass (see Ex. 9).

It remains to be observed that in the final version of *St. Paul* the texted chorales (i.e., those after the Overture) reveal a gradual but pronounced evolution in complexity (see Table 4).[39] The first two chorales (Nos. 3 and 9) belong to the plain or unadorned chorale style most directly associated with congregational singing, with the instruments doubling the voices *colla parte*. The full statement of "Wachet auf" (No. 16; see Ex. 9, above) elaborates on this style, interpolating brass fanfares amid the homorhythmic congregational sections, and this musical sophistication is further extended in No. 29 as the chorale "O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht" is subsumed into a "figured" idiom alongside the lush, stylistically modern figuration in the orchestra (Ex. 10). And the most complex of the chorales is the last one: the fugal chorus "Aber unser Gott ist im Himmel" (But our God is in heaven; end of No. 36), in which the chorale "Wir glauben all' an einen Gott"

(We all believe in one God) sounds in long note-values against the densely imitative polyphony of the other voices and instruments in a contrapuntal *tour de force* of which few if any of Mendelssohn's contemporaries were capable (Ex. 11 & 12). See Table 4.

The significance of this compositional intensification is underscored by the fact that it was arrived at only late in the creation of *St. Paul*, for from the libretto drafts up through advanced stages in the work's genesis Mendelssohn intermingled simple and figured chorale styles. The first example of this intermixture would have been the Oratorio's first vocal chorale, originally intended to come between the full chorus "Herr, der du bist der Gott" (Lord, you who are God) and the recitative "Die Menge der Gläubigen" (the body of believers), and eventually replaced by the simple chorale "Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr" (Only to God on high be glory). As shown in Example 12.a-c, this chorale – a setting of the first three strophes of "Ach, bleib mit deiner Gnade bei uns Herr Jesu Christ" (Ah, remain with us in your grace, Lord Jesus Christ) – presents the second of its three strophes in a lush, romantically figured setting, standing between the *colla parte* scoring of the first and third strophes. The presence of both chorale styles within a single number clearly would have undermined any plans Mendelssohn may have had for the sort of stylistic evolution evinced in the final version; and since Mendelssohn retained it in its originally planned position until early in 1835,[40] we may surmise that he began implementing his idea for that evolution only at that late date in the work's genesis. See examples 12 A – 12 C.

The same tension between simplicity and complexity in the context of implicitly congregational settings is evident in what is perhaps the most fascinating of the little-known movements for *St. Paul*: a setting of "Mit unsrer Macht ist nichts getan" (nothing

is done through our [own] power), strophes 2-4 of the most famous of all Lutheran chorales, "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott" (a mighty fortress is our God). Mendelssohn had already drawn on this chorale once in his career, in the D-minor Symphony ("Reformation"), composed in 1830-32 but withheld until its posthumous publication as his Fifth Symphony (Op. 107) in 1861. Now, sometime in the fall of 1835, he decided to use the chorale in his rapidly growing oratorio – first as the conclusion to Part I and then as the majestic conclusion to a deleted scene based on Paul's first sermon in Jerusalem (Acts 2). After an imposing brass fanfare in B-flat major this scene presents the apostle's words in an arioso and a modulation to D major via its dominant, A major, the chorale is first presented first by Paul alone (bass solo, *piano*) with gentle accompaniment from the woodwinds, then gradually taken up by the men and women of the assembled congregation, with steadily increasing density and complexity in the orchestral accompaniment. It culminates in a grandiose (if not bombastic) *fortissimo* statement that not only employs the full orchestra, chorus, and soloists, but also concludes with a congregational "Amen!" – the only such instance in any of Mendelssohn's surviving works either published or unpublished (Ex. 13).

All this corroborates the notion that the chorales in *St. Paul* perform a distinctly teleological function, or rather, that Mendelssohn used them not as anachronistic accommodations of convention, but in the service of a larger purpose: the full enfranchisement of the "congregation" of assembled listeners (i.e., the audience) in the work in order to aid in the effective conveyance of its plot and its theological import. Commutuality is the ultimate purpose and goal of drama.

IV. Closing Thoughts

If, as Armin Koch has proposed, *St. Paul* is the first of Mendelssohn's compositions to use chorales as stylistic elements that supplement and extend the work's biblical foundations, the question of the motivation for this usage remains open. The rejected numbers and the evident reasons for their deletion, viewed against the chronology of the Oratorio's genesis, suggest that the revisions were motivated by musical concerns as well as dramatic and theological ones. Most important, however, was the matter of how listeners were to *experience* this contribution to the work's genre – of how the emphatically spiritual content and import of a work that was expected to be performed outside the church could be conveyed in a fashion that would retain the immediacy of its religious *raison d'être*. The same musical, dramatic, and religious concerns that are presented by the obscure numbers discussed here may also be discerned in the final version of the work, but there they are less obvious and perhaps less compelling than they are in these rejected movements and obscure aspects. In combination with the movements retained in the final version, these lesser-known compositions shed new light on a creative process that reveals Mendelssohn's consistent efforts to avail himself of all the means the genre afforded him in the interest of achieving its ultimate goals.

But we must not lose sight of this fact: that the spirit that motivated Mendelssohn to explore this impulse is one born entirely of his own times. This spirit is neither merely an allusion to ecclesiastical experience, nor a concert imitation of genuine religious feeling, nor (to use Mendelssohn's own words) "a lifeless repetition of what has already been done."[41] For however much *St. Paul* has in common with the stylistic impulses of

the cantatas and oratorios of Sebastian Bach, the thoroughly dramatic spirit that realizes these impulses was one of the defining concerns of the musical world of Mendelssohn's own time. Equally important is that the issue of the so-called "fourth wall" – the imaginary boundary that separates performers from audiences and inhibits or proscribes the latter's enfranchisement in the goings-on on stage – seems to have been decisive in Mendelssohn's composition and rejection of much remarkable music for this oratorio. This active interest in the relationship between composer and auditors – between preacher and congregation – distinguishes Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* not only from its generic forebears, but also from other, contemporaneous works. The voice that speaks here is not primarily the voice of a composer, but that of a preacher, a teacher. It is a voice that adopts a deliberately didactic tone in order to mediate constructively between the creative and stylistic impulses provided by Bach and the dramatic spirit of mid-nineteenth-century musical narrative. .

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NOTES

[1] Johann Peter Lyser, "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy", in *Ein unbekanntes Mendelssohn-Bildnis von Johann Peter Lyser*, ed. Max F. Schneider (Basel, 1958), 38; Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 5th ed., ed. Martin Kreisig (Leipzig: n.p., 1914), I: 324.

[2] Richard Wagner, *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*, ed. Richard Sternfeld and Hans von Wolzogen, 5th ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 5: 147: "ein Werk, das uns [...] in aller Vollendung gezeigt [hat], welches ein Zeugniß von der höchsten Blüte der Kunst ist und das uns durch die Rücksicht, daß es in unseren Tagen geschaffen worden ist, mit gerechtem Stolz auf die Zeit, in der wir leben, erfüllt."

[3] Heine, *Lutetia* Part 2, Report No. 43, trans. Susan Gillespie in *Mendelssohn and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 358.

[4] See George Bernard Shaw, *London Music in 1888-89 As Heard by Corno di Bassetto (Later Known as Bernard Shaw) with Some Further Autobiographical Particulars* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1931), 71. The review was originally published on 23 February 1889.

[5] See Eric Werner, *Mendelssohn: A New Image of the Composer and His Age*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 287-94.

[6] See Leon Botstein, "The Aesthetics of Assimilation and Affirmation: Reconstructing the Career of Felix Mendelssohn," in *Mendelssohn and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 5-42 at 13 and 24; and especially his "Songs without Words: Thoughts on Music, Theology, and the Role of the

Jewish Question in the Work of Felix Mendelssohn," *Musical Quarterly* 77 (1993): 561-78.

[7] Jeffrey S. Sposato, The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition, Oxford, 2006 [recte 2005], 78-113.

[8] See Françoise Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn*, trans. Camille Nash (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1996), 000.

[9] The deleted movements will appear as the appendices in my forthcoming edition of *St. Paul* for BÄRENREITER URTEXT (BA 9071), due out in August 2007. For assistance in producing and proofing preliminary editions of the appended numbers I am grateful to Günther Schmidt, who on 8 October 1995 presided over the Robert-Schumann-Philharmonie (Chemnitz), the Heinrich-Schütz-Kantorei, and the St.-Andreas-Kantorei in the first performance of most of them, resituated into their original intended positions in the complete oratorio. A further debt of gratitude is extended to Leon Botstein, who with the Royal Scottish National Orchestra and Royal Scottish National Chorus committed those same numbers to recorded sound in 1997 as an appended disc to his brilliant reading of the oratorio (Arabesque Z6705).

[10] See Jeffrey Kallberg, "The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G Minor," in his *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Unviersity Press, 1986), 3-29.

[11] Most obvious among contemporary repertoires, of course, are Weber's *Der Freischütz* (1821) and Berlioz's *Episode in the Life of an Artist: Symphonie fantastique*, which Mendelssohn had known since his meeting with Berlioz in Rome in 1831.

[12] Eric Werner, Mendelssohn: A New Image, 288; Mendelssohn: Leben und Werk in neuer Sicht (Zürich: Atlantis, 1980), 304.

[13] See Sposato, *Price of Assimilation*, 78-88.

[14] Concerning the *Moses* libretto and its relationship to the *St. Matthew Passion* and *Paulus*, see Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation*, 58-77; and especially Martin Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier, *Mendelssohns "Paulus". Philologisch-analytische Studien*, Musikwissenschaft an der Technischen Universität Berlin, Bd. 2, Berlin: Mensch und Buch, 2004, 171-226.

[15] On *Die erste Walpurgisnacht*, see my edition of the first complete version for the Recent Researches of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries series of A-R Editions (Madison, Wisconsin; forthcoming 2007); and especially my *Mendelssohn, Goethe, and the Walpurgis Night: The Heathen Muse in Western Europe, 1700-1850* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2007).

[16] Letter of 13-17 November 1831 from Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Abraham Mendelssohn Bartholdy, quoted from Werner, *Mendelssohn. A New Image*, 529.

[17] Letter from Mendelssohn to Devrient, in Eduard Devrient, *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und seine Briefe an mich*, Dramatische und dramaturgische Schriften von Eduard Devrient, 10 (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1869), 136-37: "Doch habe ich dich auch Etwas zu fragen, Eduard, antworte mir doch gleich darauf. Ich soll für den Cäcilienverein ein Oratorium machen, . . . [wozu] ich mir hier schon Vieles . . . ausgedacht habe. Der Gegenstand soll der Apostel Paulus sein, im ersten Theil: die Steinigung Stephani und die Verfolgung, im zweiten Theil: die Bekehrung, im dritten das christliche Leben und

Predigen und entweder der Märthyrertod, oder der Abschied von der Gemeinde. Die Worte möchte ich aus Bibel und Gesangbuch hauptsächlich und dann Einzelnes frei haben (die kleine Christengemeinde sänge z.B. die Choräle im ersten Theile, die Vertheidigungsrede des Stephan nähme ich, in den Hauptzügen, aus der Bibel). Aber ich kann mir das nicht selbst zusammenbringen. Willst Du es thun? Du kennst die Bibel besser als ich, und weißt genau, wie ich es meine, und es kostete Dich wenig Arbeit."

[18] Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation*, 80.

[19] See Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation*, 81-82.

[20] Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. Ms. autogr. F. Mendelssohn Bartholdy 28.

[21] For an explanation of the Mendelssohn estate and the means by which the surviving autographs have been alternately dispersed and collected in various locations around the globe, see my "Knowing Mendelssohn: A Challenge from the Primary Sources," *Notes* 61 (2004): 35-95, esp. 52-56. See also Ralf Wehner, "'It seems to have been lost': On Missing and Recovered Mendelssohn Sources," in *The Mendelssohns: Their Music in History*, ed. John Michael Cooper and Julie D. Prandi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 3-25.

[22] These three volumes are held in the Bibliotheka Jagiellońska, Krakow (Mus. Ms. autogr. F. Mendelssohn Bartholdy 53, 54, and 55).

[23] See Douglass Seaton, "A study of a collection of Mendelssohn's sketches and otheraAutograph material, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Berlin Mus. Ms. Autogr. Mendelssohn 19" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1977).

[24] See his "Mendelssohn's Oratorio *St. Paul*," *The Musical Times* 50 (1909): 92-94.

[25] ("Consume them in wrath, consume them, that they may not be; [they will not concede] that thou alone, whose name is Jehovah, Art the Most High over all the earth; Pour out thine indignation upon them, And let the fierceness of thine anger overtake them")

[26] See Siegwart Reichwald *The Musical Genesis of Felix Mendelssohn's "Paulus"* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2001), 30–38, 229.

[27] This full-score draft is contained in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. Ms. autogr. F. Mendelssohn Bartholdy 19. See Seaton, "A Study," and Reichwald, *The Musical Genesis*, 86-88.

[28] Psalm 83: 14 in the Lutheran Bible that Mendelssohn used: "Gott, mache sie wie einen Wirbel, wie Stoppeln vor dem Winde"

[29] See Reichwald, *The Musical Genesis*, 86-88.

[30] "Erforsche mich" "Prüfe mich" Ps. 139:23: "Search me, O God, and know my heart; Try me and know my anxious thoughts."

[31] For a thoughtful discussion of the versions of the B-minor aria and an edition of the version transmitted in the piano-vocal score, see Ralf Wehner, "Ein anderer *Paulus*? Bemerkungen zu einer unbekannten Fassung des Mendelssohnschen Oratoriums," in "*Mit mehr Bewußtein zu spielen." Vierzehn Beiträge (nicht nur) über Richard Wagner*, ed. Christa Jost, Musikwissenschaftliche Schriften der Hochschule für Musik und Theater München, Bd. 4 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2006), 22-23 and 41-51.

[32] See Reichwald, *The Musical Genesis*, 57, 32.

[33] See Erich Reimer, "Mendelssohns 'edler Gesang': Zur Kompositionsweise der Sologesänge im *Paulus*," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 50 (1993): 44-71.

[34] Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 42, p. 7; see Reichwald, *The Musical Genesis*, 155-63.

[35] For Mendelssohn's description of the "Lobt ihn" chorus, see Felix Moscheles (ed.), *Briefe von Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy an Ignaz und Charlotte Moscheles,* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblodt, 1888), 105. The late retention of "Danket dem Gott" is evident from the fact that it is headed "No. 32," for Mendelssohn did not begin numbering the oratorio's movements until he started preparing specifically for the premiere sometime early in 1836. See Reichwald, *Musical Genesis*, 170-71.

[36] Letter of 14 April 1829 from Mendelssohn to his mother, trans. from *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Briefe*, ed. Rudolf Elvers (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1984), 59-60: "Aber die Composition ist . . . ein sündliches Spiel mit Kleinlichkeiten. Man hängt die Juden, wie sie einen Brunnen vergiften; aber die Musik ist ebensoviel werth, hoffe ich, als ein Brunnen, und somit muß Spohr sterben."

[37] See especially Armin Koch, *Choräle und Choralhaftes im Werk von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, Goettinger Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte,12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), esp. 5-6 and 21–52.

[38] See Koch, *Choräle und Choralhaftes*, 70–72.

[39] SeePeter Mercer-Taylor, Rethinking Mendelssohn's Historicism: A Lesson from *St. Paul*," *Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997): 208-229

[40] Reichwald, *The Musical Genesis*, 53–55.

[41] Cite

Table 1. Dramatic Structure of *Paulus*

Part	**[Scene]**	**[Section]**
I (Nos. 1-22)	[Opening] (Nos. 1-3)	
	[1] Capture, trial, and stoning of Stephen (Nos. 4-11)	[i] Capture and accusations (Nos. 4-5) [ii] Trial (Nos. 6-7) [iii] Stoning (Nos. 8-11)
	[2] Saul's persecution of the Christians (Nos. 12-13)	
	[3] Saul's conversion (Nos. 14-18)	[i] Jesus' appearance to Saul (Nos. 14-16) [ii] Saul's response (Nos. 17-18)
	[4] Paul's baptism (Nos. 19-21)	
	[Conclusion] (No. 22)	
II (Nos. 23-45)	[Opening] (No. 23)	
	[1] Paul and Barnabas are sent (Nos. 24-27)	
	[2] Paul's rejection by the Jews (Nos. 28-31)	
	[3] Paul's missionary work to the Gentiles (Nos. 32-40)	[i] Paul evangelizes the Gentiles (No. 32) [ii] The Gentiles' deification of Paul and Barnabas (Nos. 33-36) [iii] The Gentiles' rejection of Paul's message (Nos. 37-40)
	[4] Paul's farewell (Nos. 41-42)	
	[Conclusion] (Nos. 43-45)	

Table 2. Extant Rejected Movements Intended for *St. Paul*, Identified according to Intended Scene

I: Opening (replaced by Nos. 3 and 4 in the final version)
- I.a. “No 2” Chorale “Ach, bleib’ mit deiner Gnade”
- I.b. “No 3” Rezitativ: “Die Menge der Gläubigen” (Text: Acts 4:32; 6: 6-8, 10, 11) (inc.)

II: Saul’s Persecution of the Christians
- Aria (B) with male chorus: “No. 13” “Herr Gott, dess’ die Rache ist, erscheine! ” (Text: Ps. 94: 1-2; Ps. 18: 42)

III: Pagan Choruses
- III.a. Rezitative (T) „Danket dem Gott“ und Women’s Chorus “Danket dem Herrn, dem freundlichen Gott” (Text: Ps. 136: 1-2; Ps. 147: 8)
- III.b. Chorus: “No. 32” “Danket den Göttern” (Text: ?). At end: *attaca*
- III.c. Chorus: “Lobt ihn mit Pfeifen” (Text: Ps. 150: 4-6; Ps. 148: 9, 12, 3, 7, 8; Ps. 146: 8)

IV: Paul’s Sermon in Antioch
- Rezitative (B): “No. 28” “Die unter euch Gott fürchten” and Chorale “Mit unsrer Macht ist nichts getan” (Text: Acts 13: 26, 32, 35, 38, 39; Str. 2-3 of “Ein’ feste Burg”)

V: Prison Scene (replaced by Nos. 39-40 in the final version)
- V.a. Duet (T, B): “Gelobet sei Gott” (Text: 2 Corinthians 1: 3; Romans. 8: 35, 38-39). At end: *attaca*
- V.b. Rezitative (S): “Schnell aber ward ein großes Erdbeben” (Text: Acts 16: 26-31)
- V.c. Chorale: “O treuer Heiland Jesu Christ”

VI: Paul’s Farewell (replaced by No. 41 in the final version)
- Rezitative (S, B): “Paulus sandte hin und ließ fordern” (Text: Acts 20: 17-19, 21, 22, 25)

Table 3. Text for Paul's Farewell from the Elders of Ephesus (MN 28 and Final Version)

NB: < > = included only in MN 28; ___ = included only in final version

MN 28	*Final Version*
[Soprano Solo]:	[Soprano Solo]:
Paulus sandte hin und ließ fordern die Ältesten von der Gemeinde. <Als aber die zu ihm kamen sprach er> zu ihnen:	Paulus sandte hin und ließ fordern die Ältesten von der Gemeinde <u>zu Ephesus und sprach</u> zu ihnen:
[Paul]:	[Paul]:
Ihr wisset, <dass> ich allezeit bin bei euch gewesen und dem Herrn gedienet mit aller Demut und mit vielen Tränen und habe bezeuget den Glauben an unsern Herrn Jesum Christum. Und nun siehe, ich im Geist gebunden, fahre hin gen Jerusalem, <weiß nicht, was mir daselbst begegnen wird>. Das aber weiß ich, dass ihr mein Angesicht nicht mehr sehen werdet.	Ihr wisset, <u>wie</u> ich allezeit bin bei euch gewesen und dem Herrn gedient mit aller Demut und mit vielen Tränen und habe bezeuget den Glauben an unsern Herrn Jesum Christum. Und nun siehe, ich im Geist gebunden fahre hin gen Jerusalem, <u>Trübsal und Bande harren mein daselbst</u>. Ihr <u>werdet nie</u> mein Angesicht <u>wieder sehen</u>.
[Soprano Solo]:	[Soprano Solo]:
Sie weineten und sprachen:	Sie weineten und sprachen:

Table 4. Vocal Chorales and Chorale-Movements in Mendelssohn's *St. Paul*
(After Peter Mercer-Taylor, "Rethinking Mendelssohn's Historicism: A Lesson from *St. Paul*," *Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997): 208-29.

No. 3: „Allein Gott in der Höh" (4 vv, unadorned; orchestra c*olla parte*)
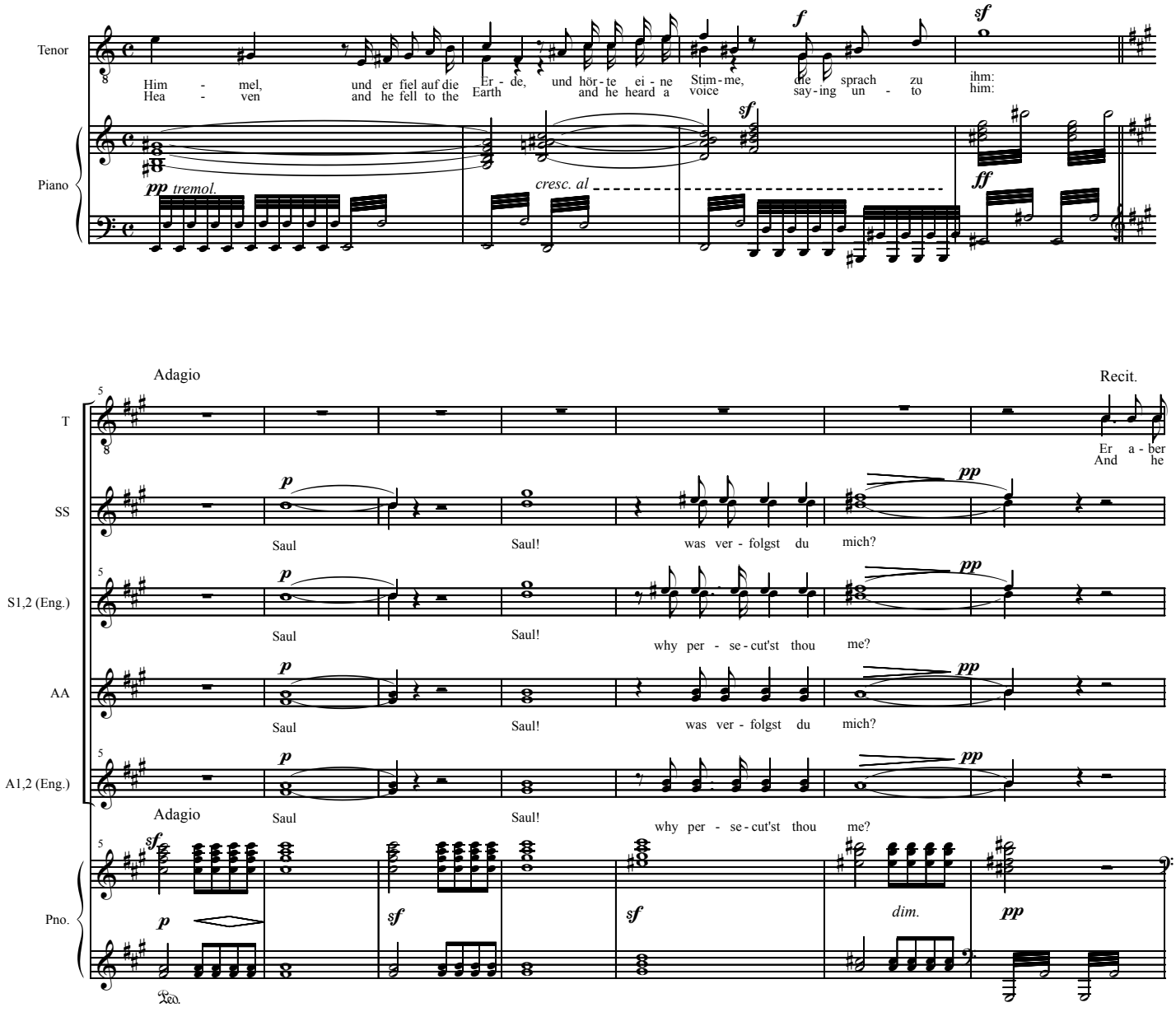
No. 9 (conclusion): „Dir Herr, dir will ich mich begeben" (3 vv, unadorned; orchestra c*olla parte*)
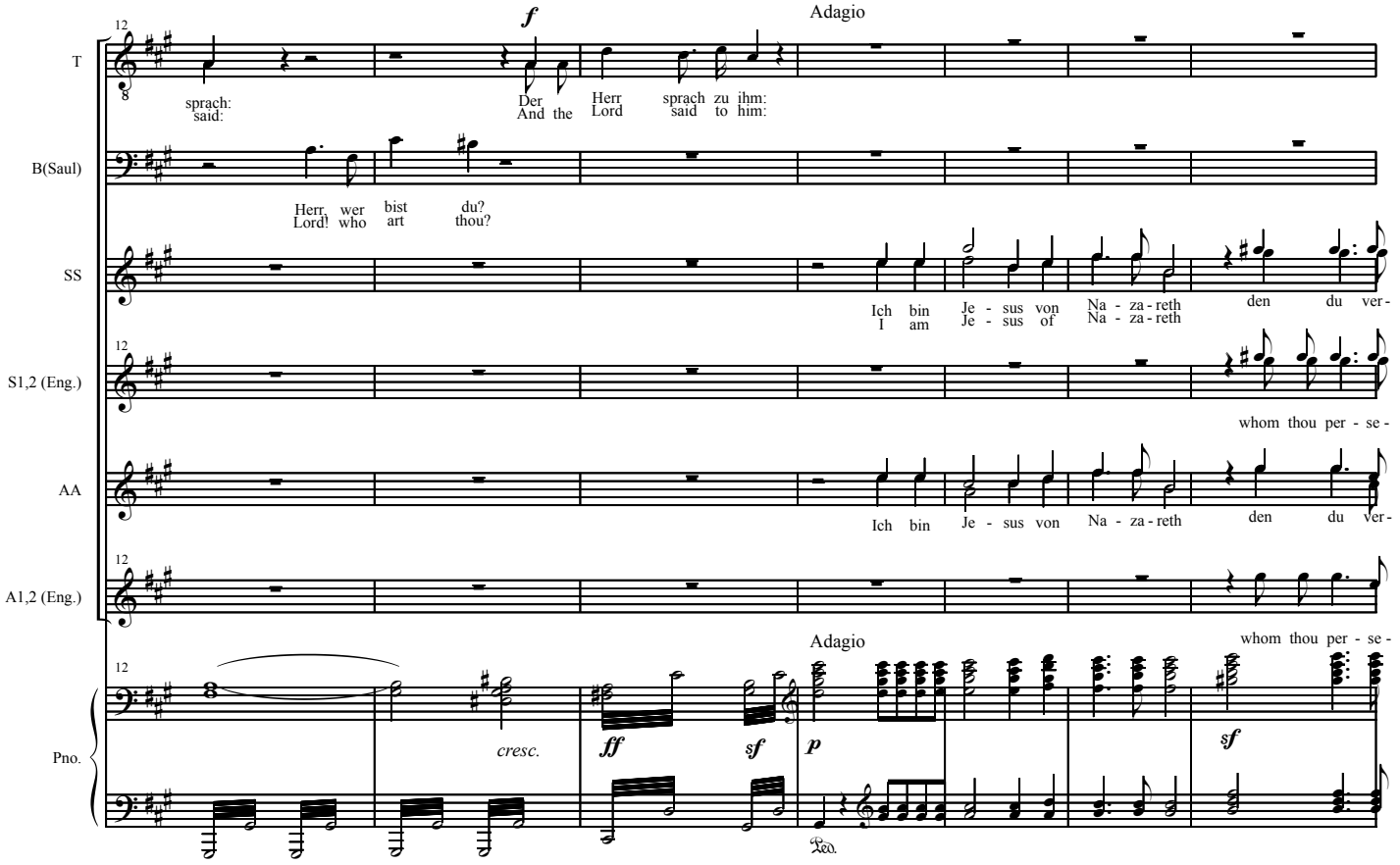
No. 16: „Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme" (4 vv, homophonic, with brass fanfares)
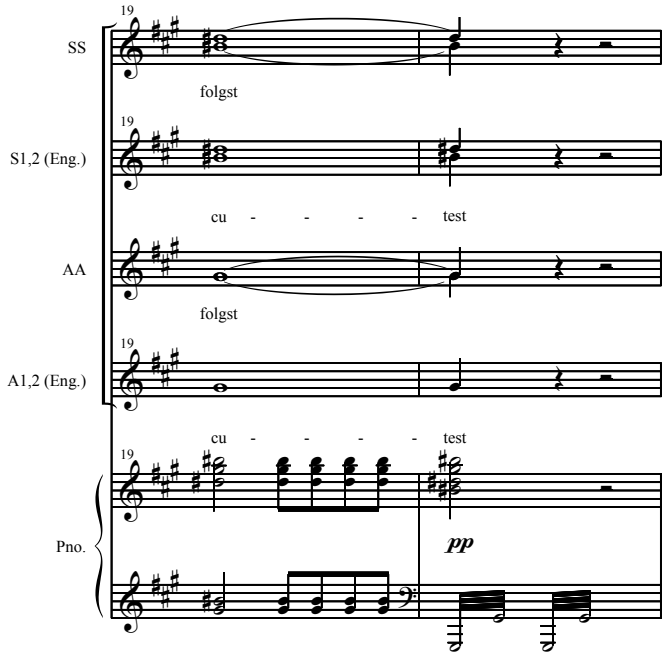
No. 29 (conclusion): „O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht" (4 vv, figured, with woodwinds, strings)

No. 36 (conclusion): „Wir glauben All' an einen Gott" (cantus firmus setting in 5 vv, double fugue; chorus with full orchestra)

Example 1. The Conversion (No. 14)
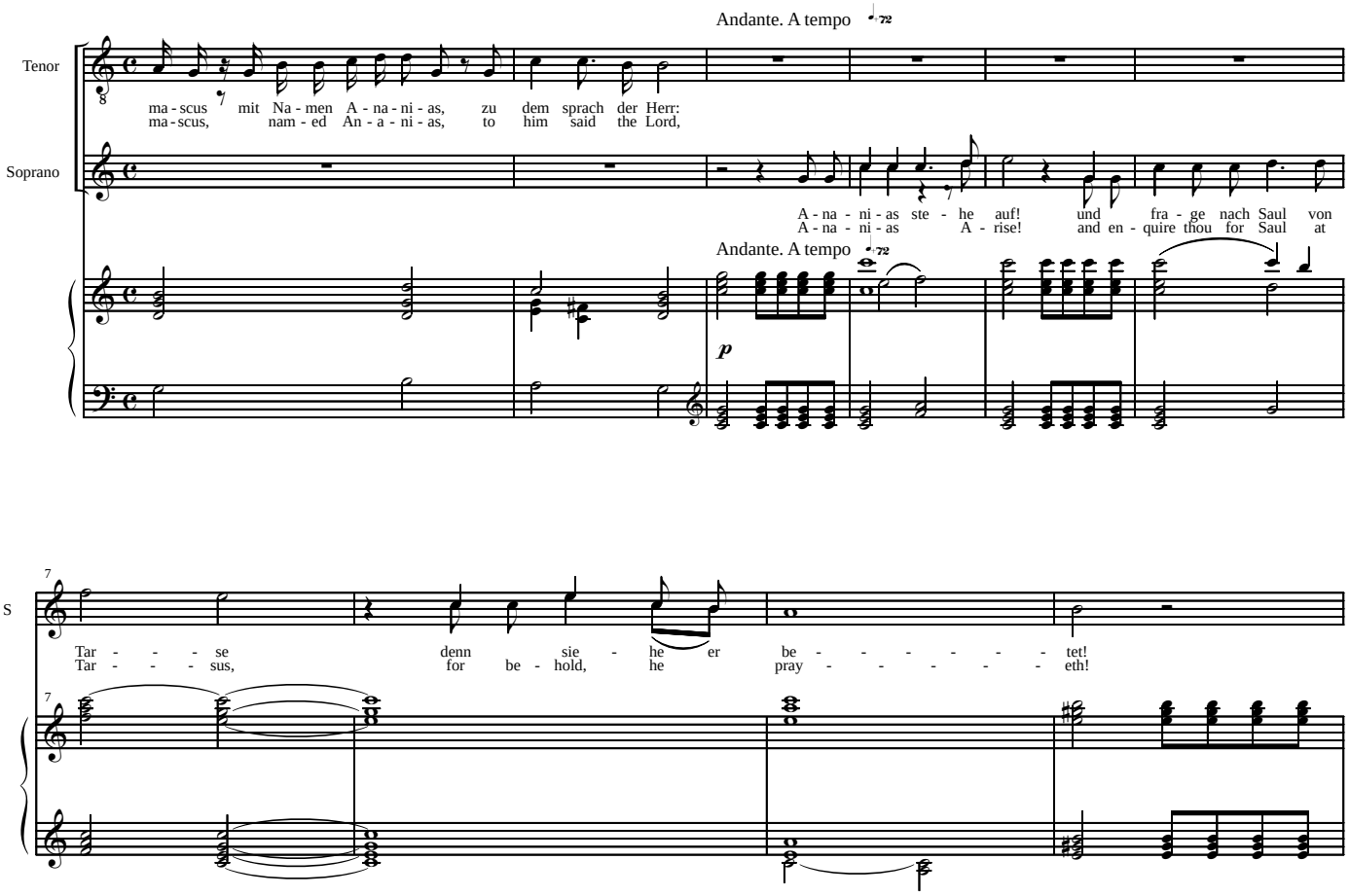



Adagio
T
sprach: said:
Der And the
Herr Lord
sprach zu ihm: said to him:
B(Saul)
Herr, Lord! wer who
bist art
du? thou?
SS
Ich bin I am
Je - sus von Je - sus of
Na - za - reth Na - za - reth
den du ver-
S1,2 (Eng.)
whom thou per - se -
AA
Ich bin
Je - sus von
Na - za - reth
den du ver-
A1,2 (Eng.)
whom thou per - se -
Adagio
Pno.
cresc.
ff
sf
p
sf
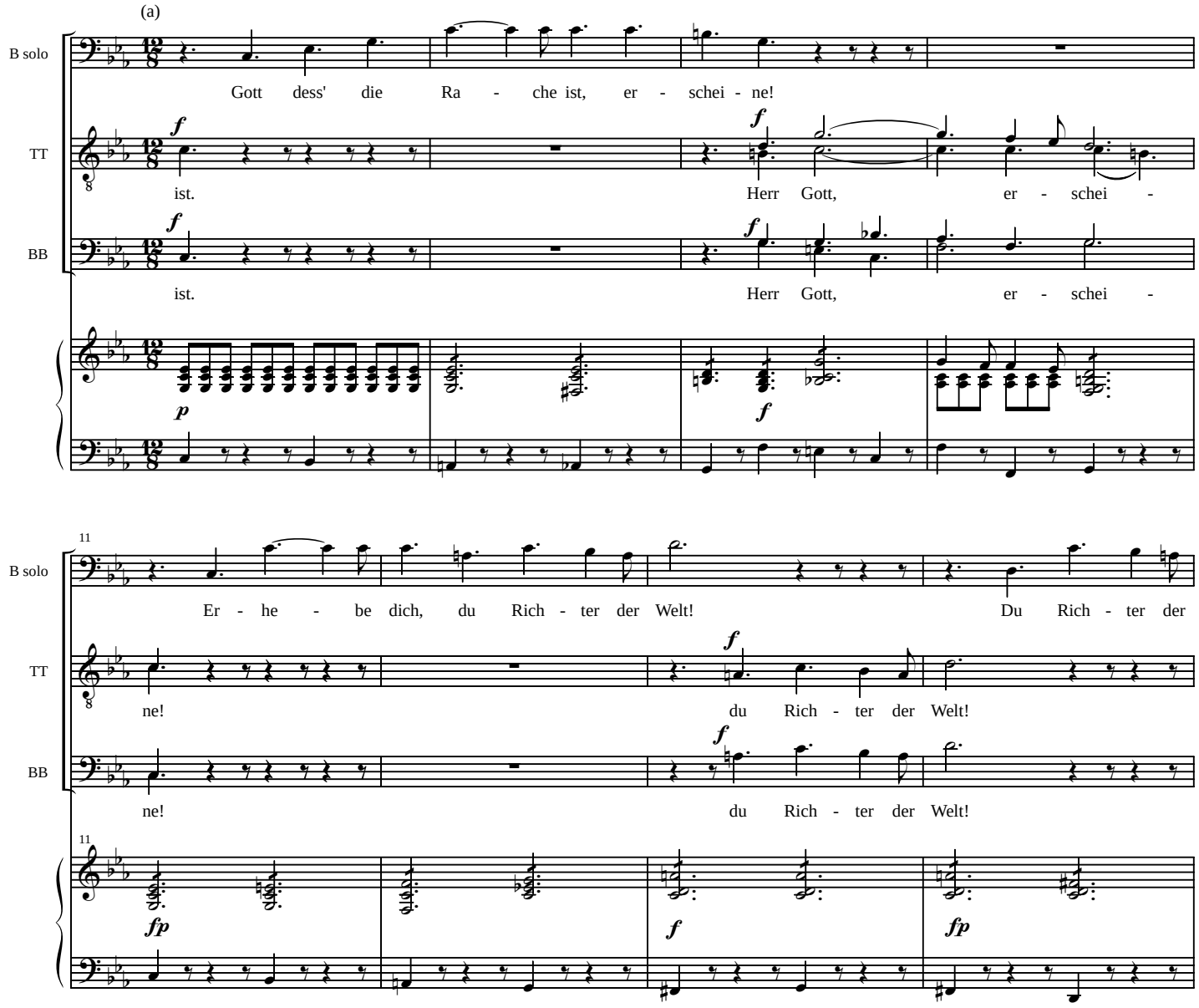

SS
folgst
S1,2 (Eng.)
cu - - - - test
AA
folgst
A1,2 (Eng.)
cu - - - - test
Pno.
pp
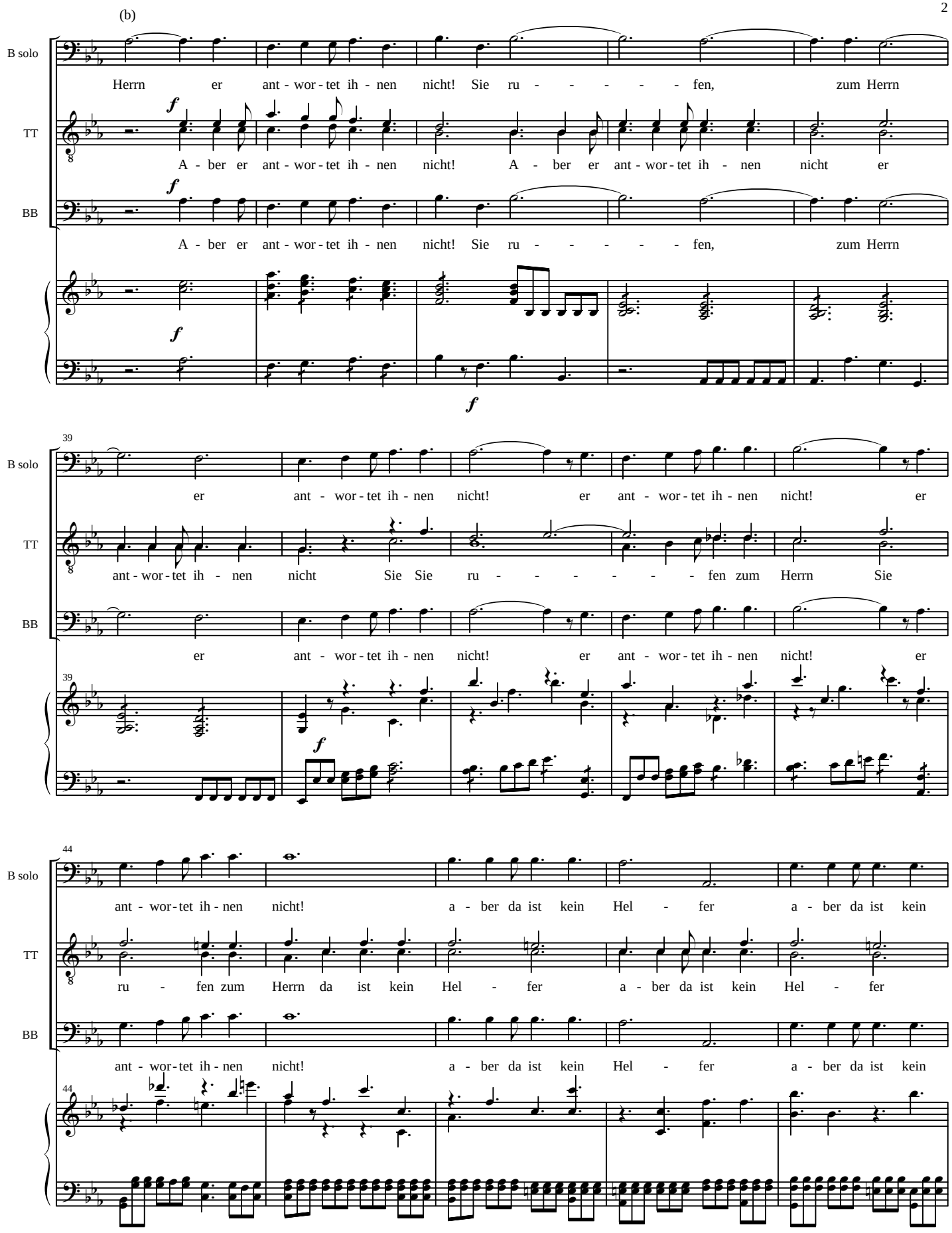
Example 2. No. 19: Ananias is called.

[Composer]
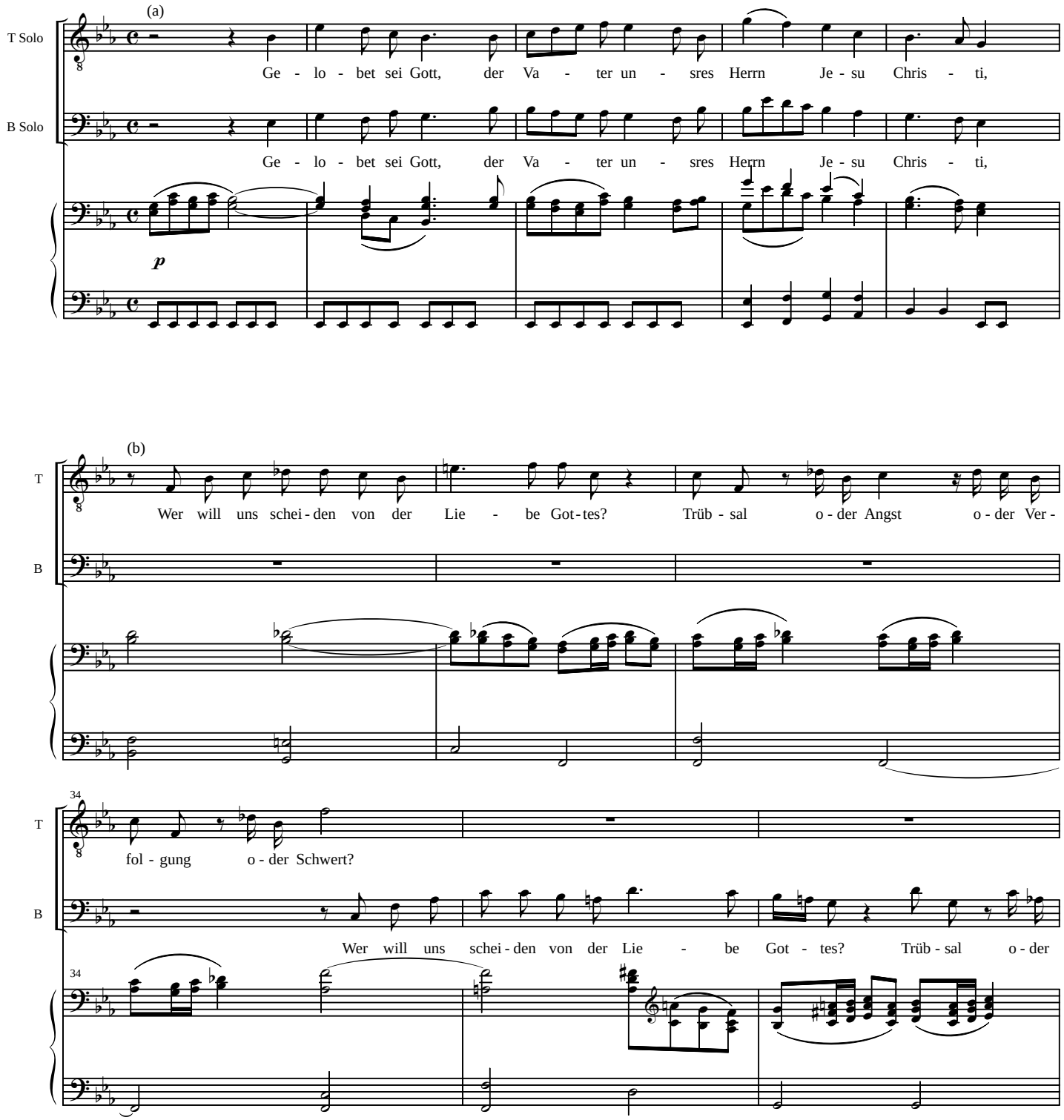


Example 3.a-b. Essential Thematic Material of MN 28 "Revenge" Aria
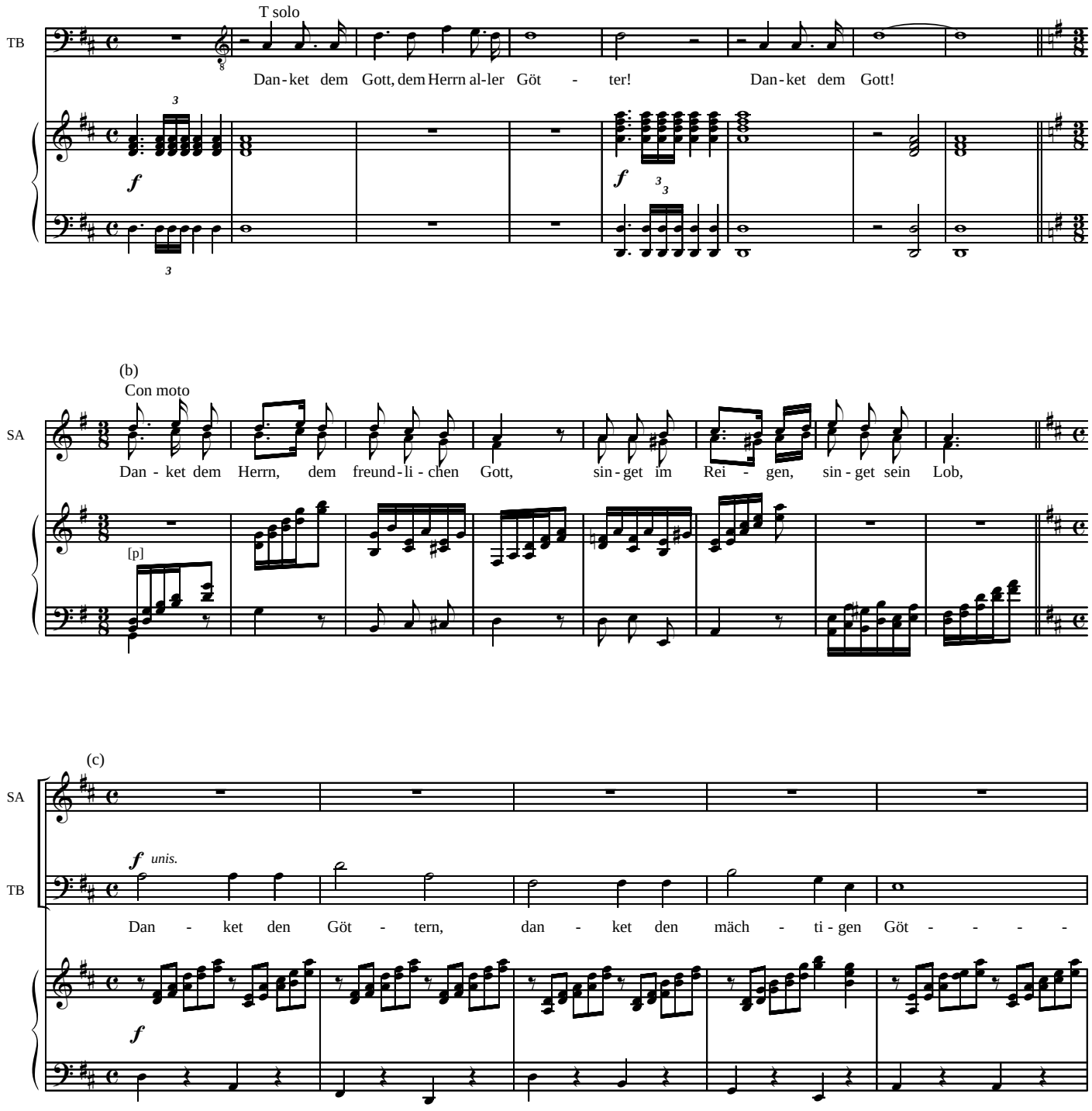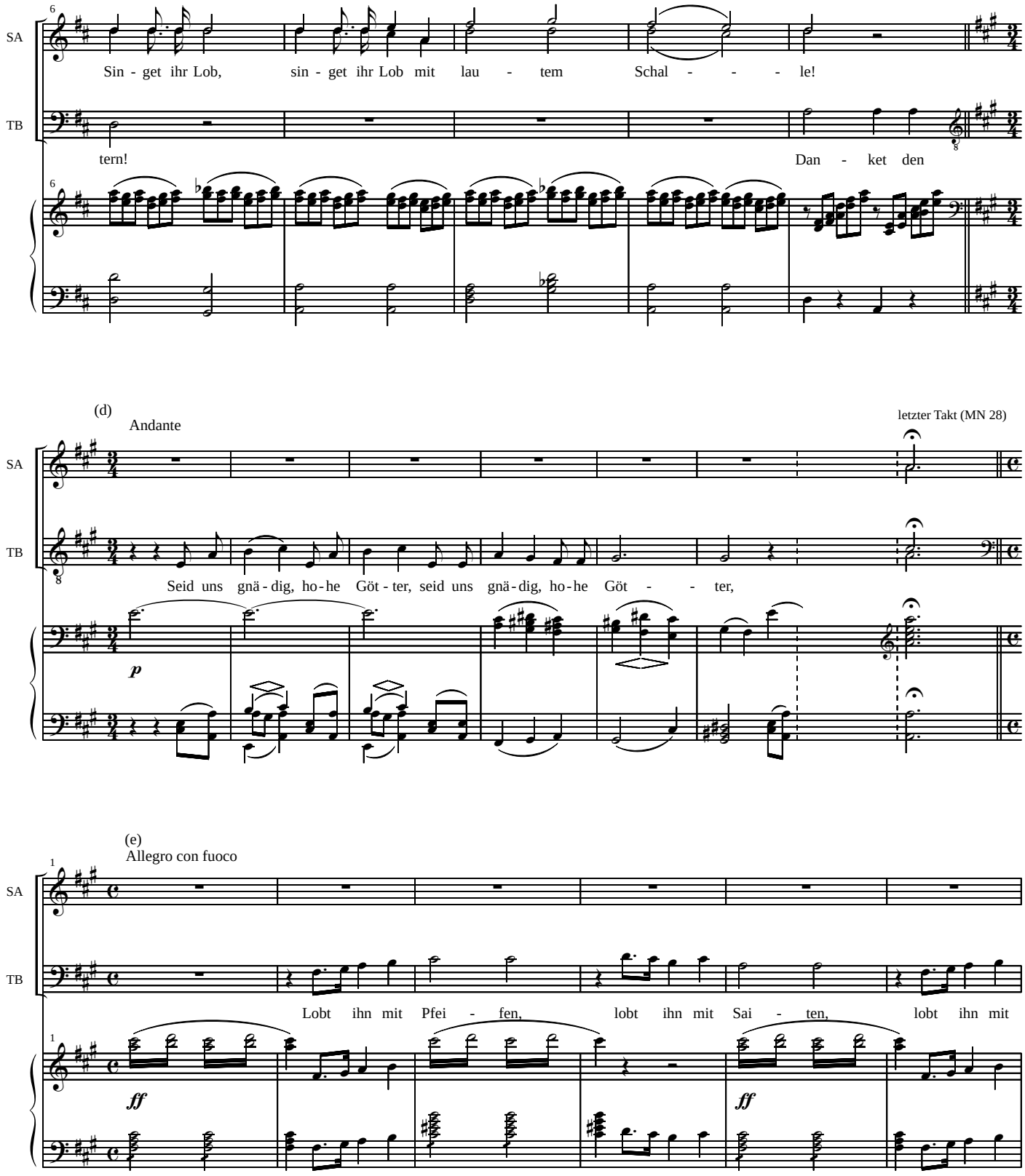



(b)
B solo
TT
BB
Herrn er ant - wor - tet ih - nen nicht! Sie ru - - - - - fen, zum Herrn
A - ber er ant - wor - tet ih - nen nicht! A - ber er ant - wor - tet ih - nen nicht er
A - ber er ant - wor - tet ih - nen nicht! Sie ru - - - - - fen, zum Herrn
39
er ant - wor - tet ih - nen nicht! er ant - wor - tet ih - nen nicht! er
ant - wor - tet ih - nen nicht Sie Sie ru - - - - - - fen zum Herrn Sie
44
ant - wor - tet ih - nen nicht! a - ber da ist kein Hel - fer a - ber da ist kein
ru - fen zum Herrn da ist kein Hel - fer a - ber da ist kein Hel - fer
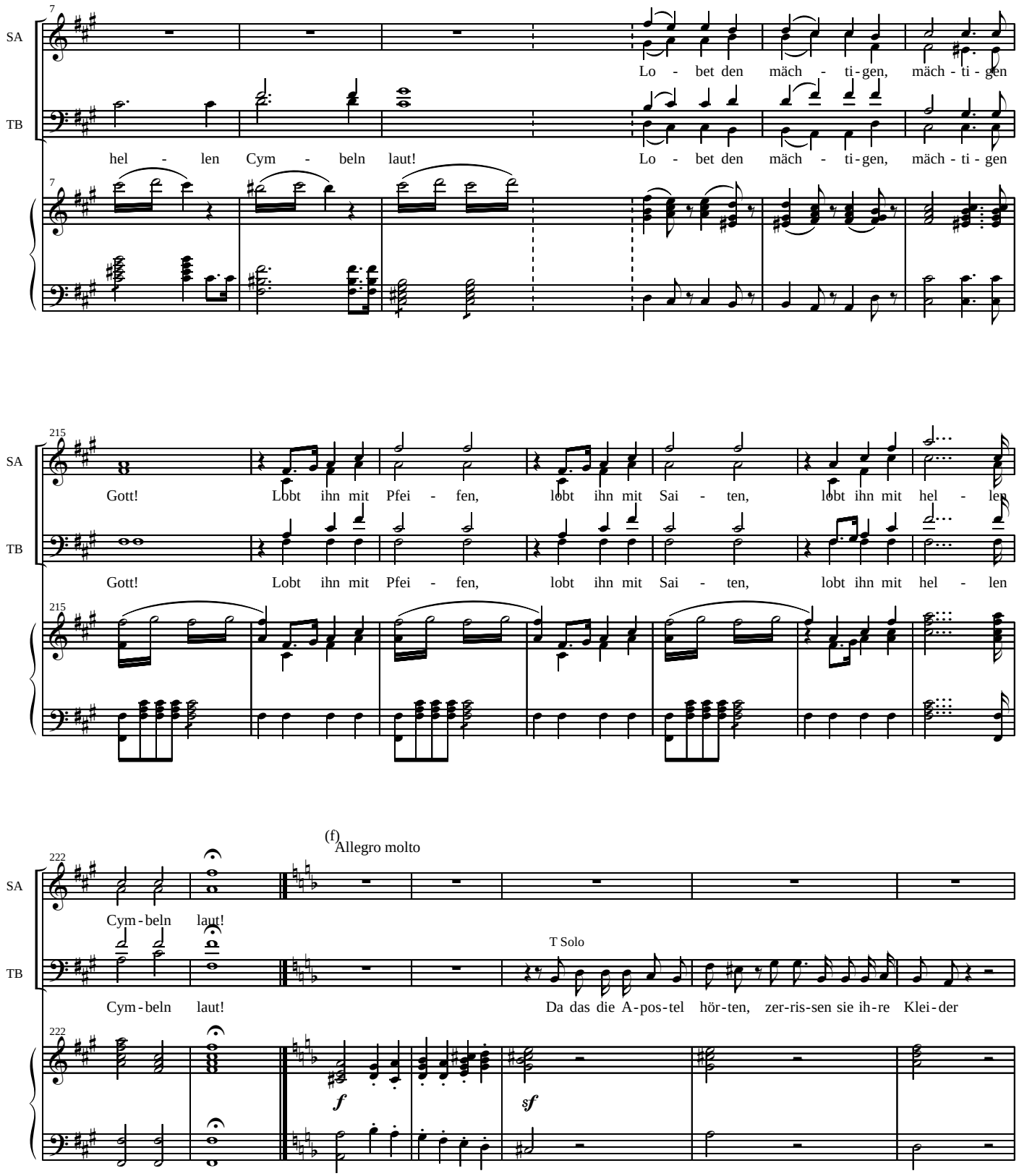
Example 4.a-b. Essential Thematic Material of "Prison Duet"
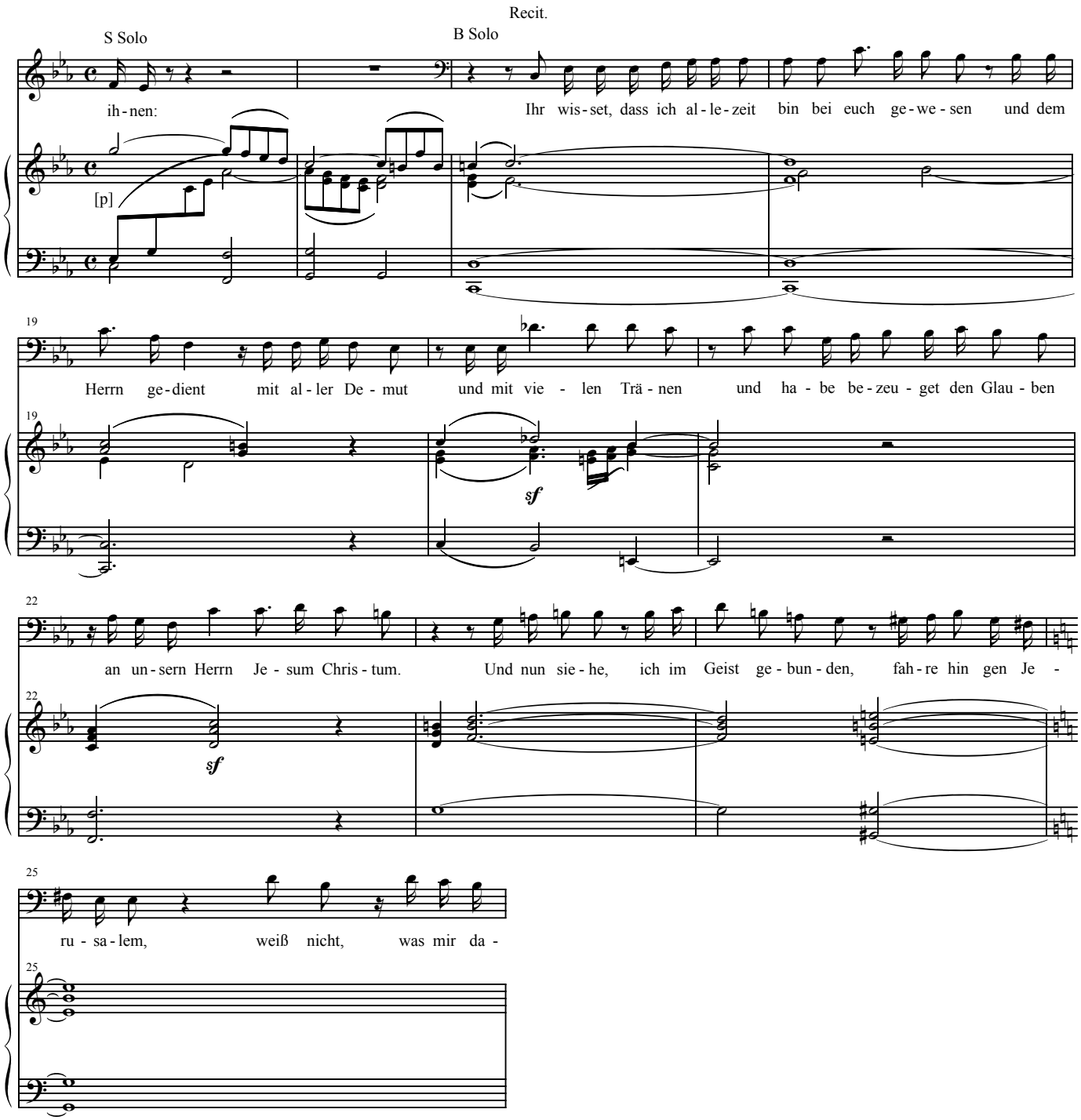


Example 5.a-g. Essential Thematic Material of "Pagan Choruses" in MN 28.
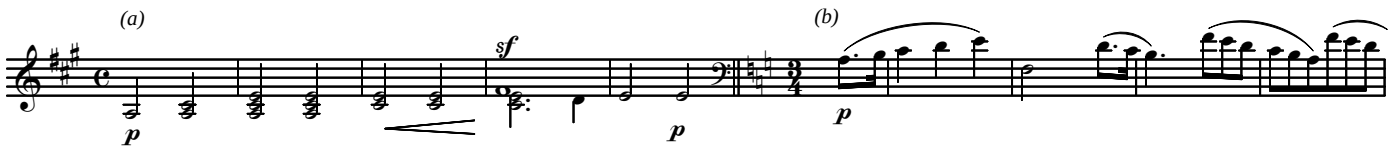



SA
TB
Sin - get ihr Lob, sin - get ihr Lob mit lau - tem Schal - - - le!
tern!
Dan - ket den
(d)
Andante
letzter Takt (MN 28)
Seid uns gnä - dig, ho - he Göt - ter, seid uns gnä - dig, ho - he Göt - - ter,
p
(e)
Allegro con fuoco
Lobt ihn mit Pfei - fen, lobt ihn mit Sai - ten, lobt ihn mit
ff
ff


7
SA
TB
hel - len Cym - beln laut!
Lo - bet den mäch - ti - gen, mäch - ti - gen
Lo - bet den mäch - ti - gen, mäch - ti - gen
215
Gott! Lobt ihn mit Pfei - fen, lobt ihn mit Sai - ten, lobt ihn mit hel - len
Gott! Lobt ihn mit Pfei - fen, lobt ihn mit Sai - ten, lobt ihn mit hel - len
222
(f) Allegro molto
Cym - beln laut!
Cym - beln laut!
T Solo
Da das die A - pos - tel hör - ten, zer - ris - sen sie ih - re Klei - der
f
sf
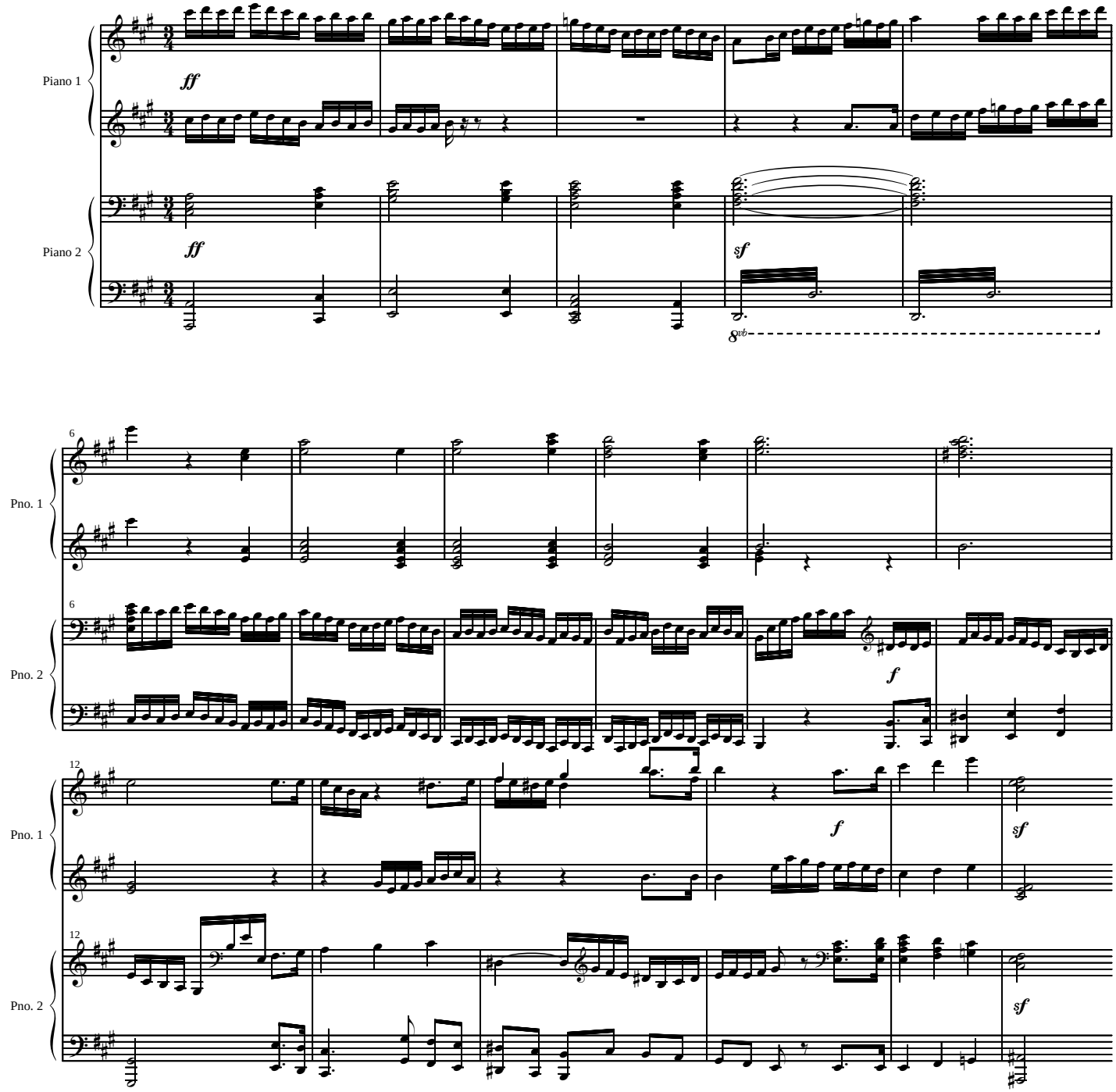
Example 6. Excerpt from Paul's Farewell at Ephesus (MN 28 Version).
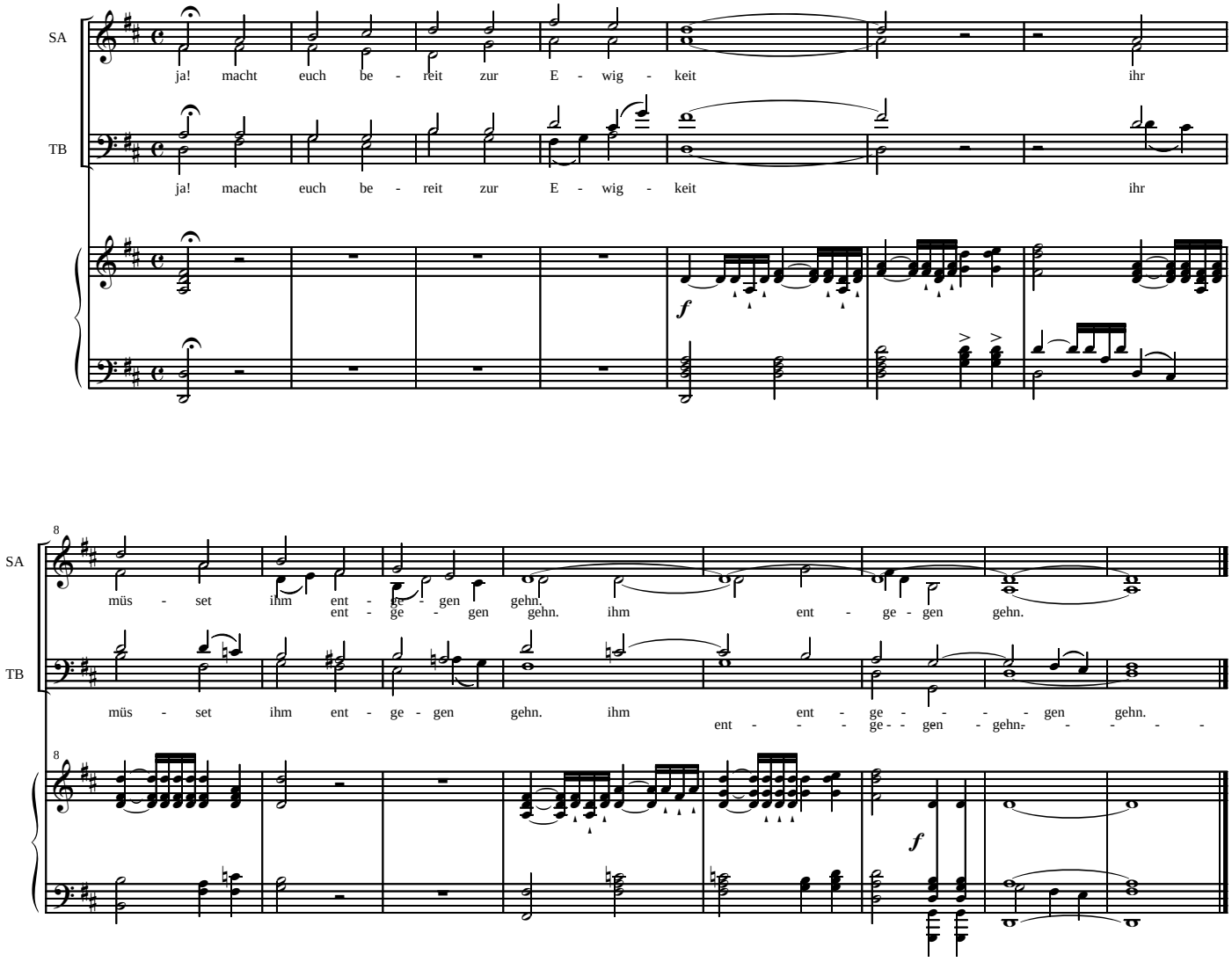


Example 7.a-b. Essential Thematic Material of Overture.
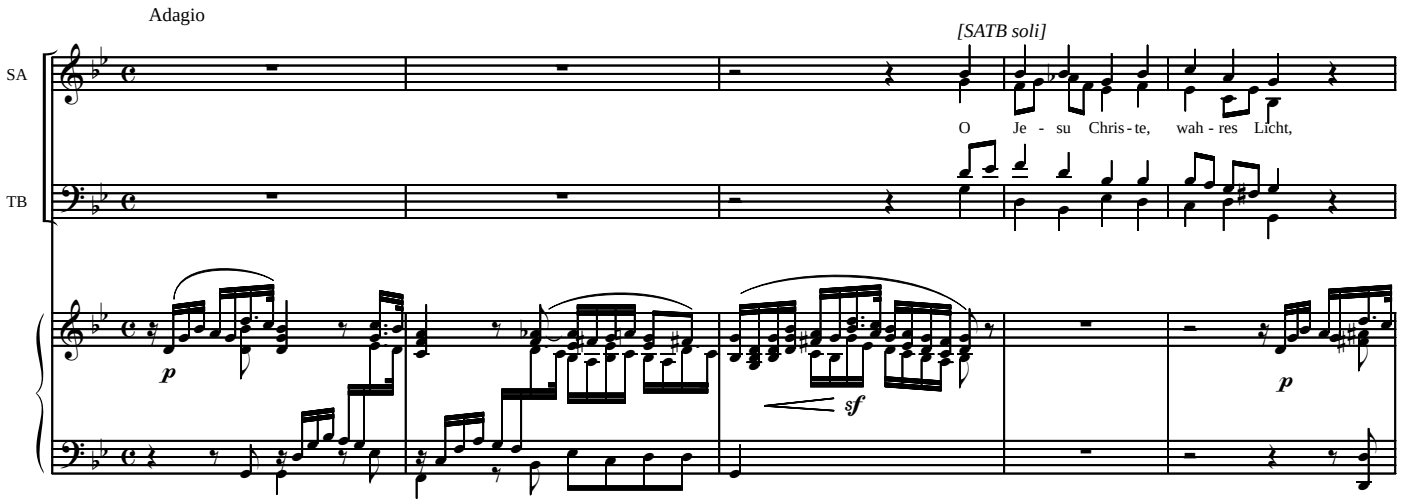


Example 8. Synthesis of Fugue and Chorale Themes near End of Overture.



Example 9. Fulfilment of Chorale "Wachet auf" (No. 16), with fanfares
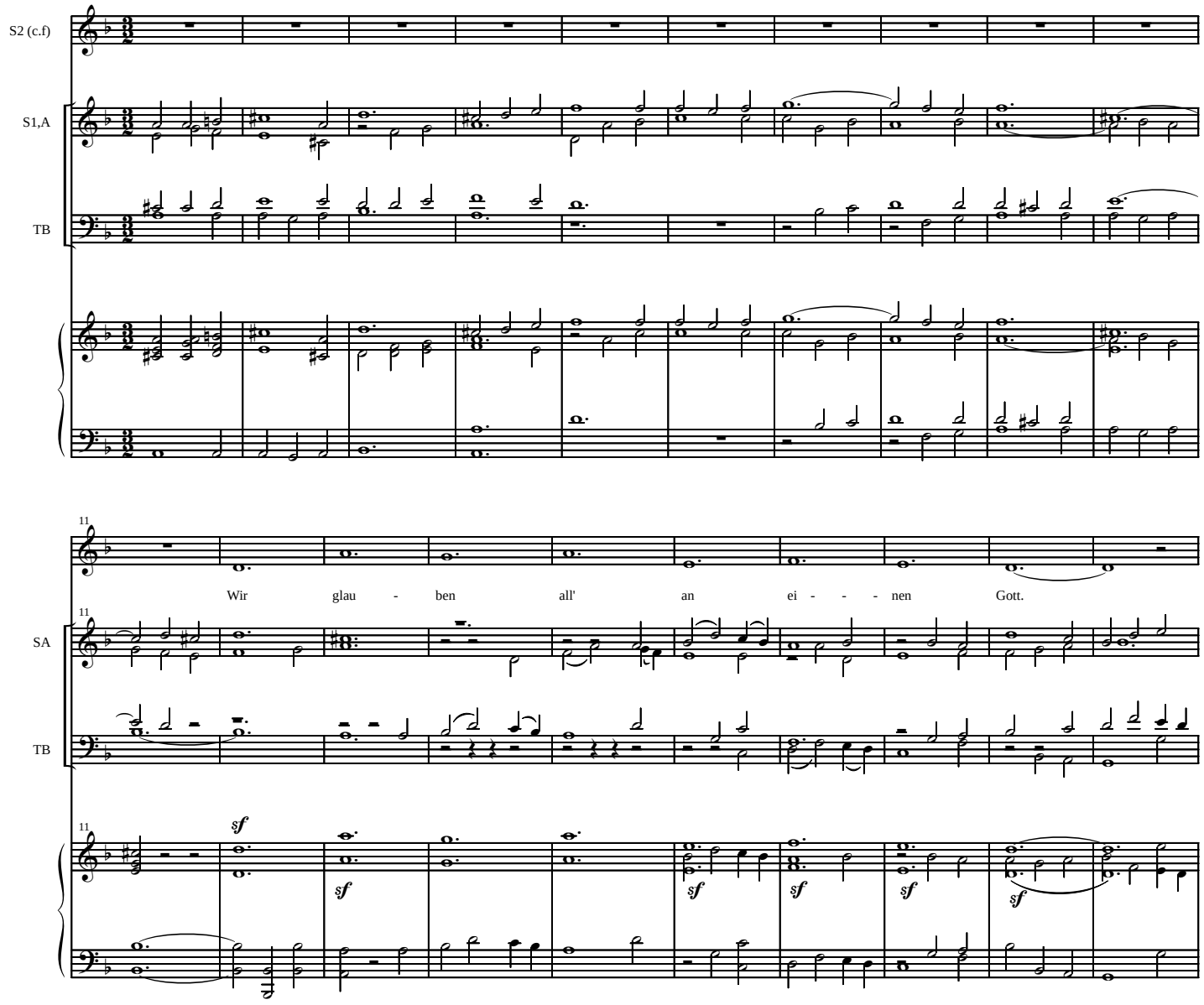


Example 10. Simple chorale style and modern idiom
in "O Jesu Christe wahres Licht" (No. 29)
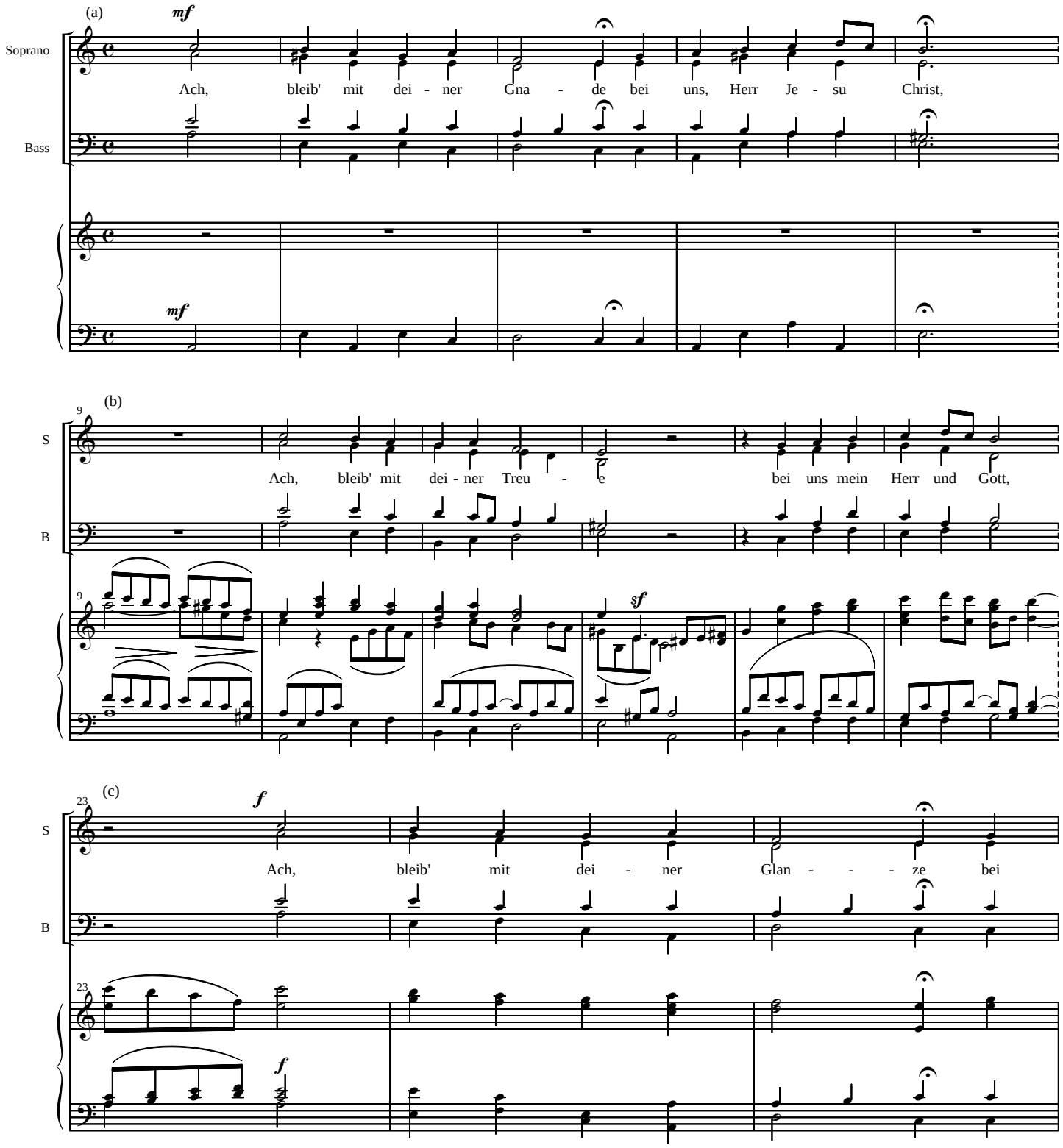


Example 11. Imitative Polyphony with Cantus Firmus in No. 36
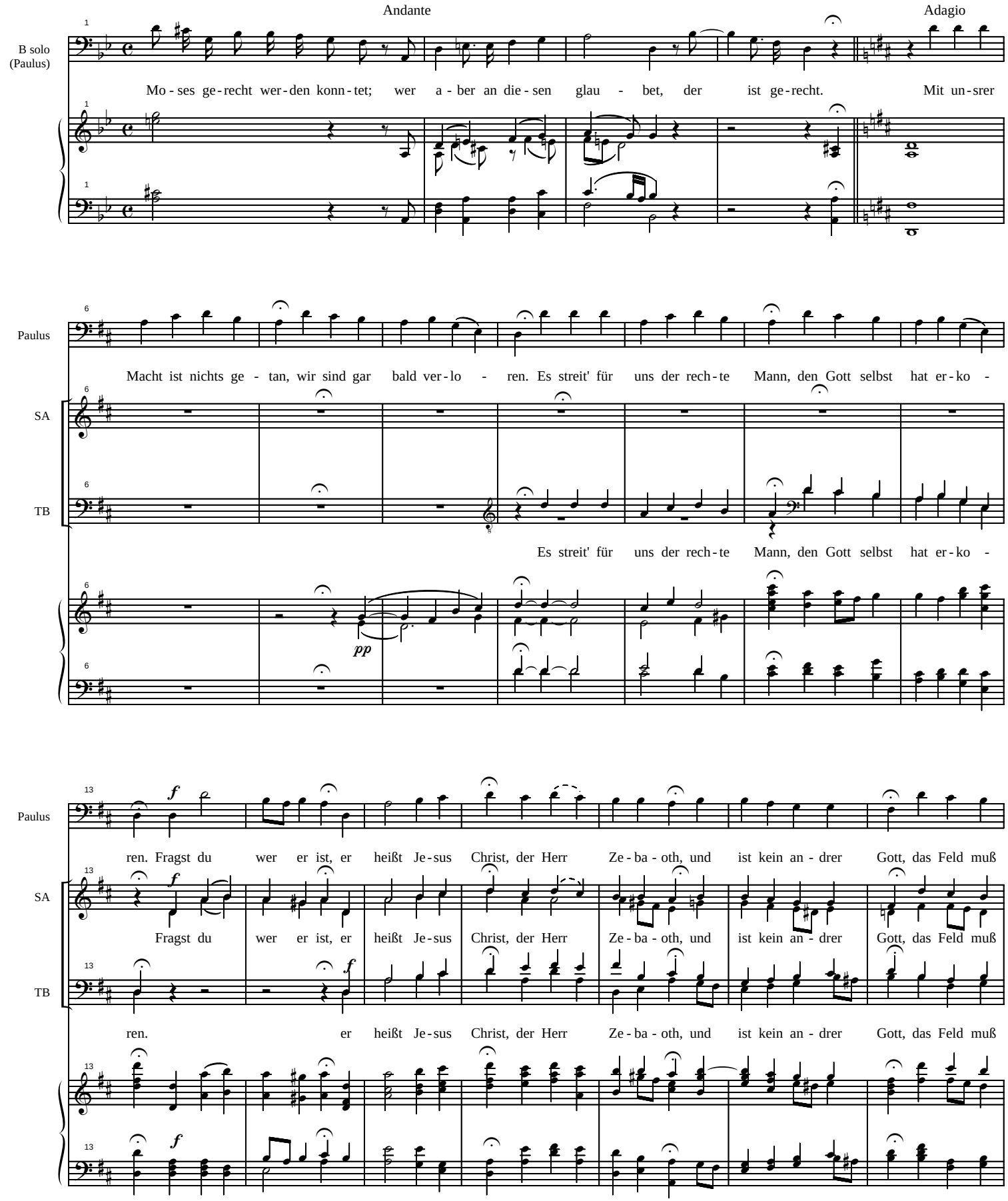
(NB: Text omitted in S1, A, T, and B. Reads: Aber unser Gott ist im Himmel! Er schaffet Alles was er will)
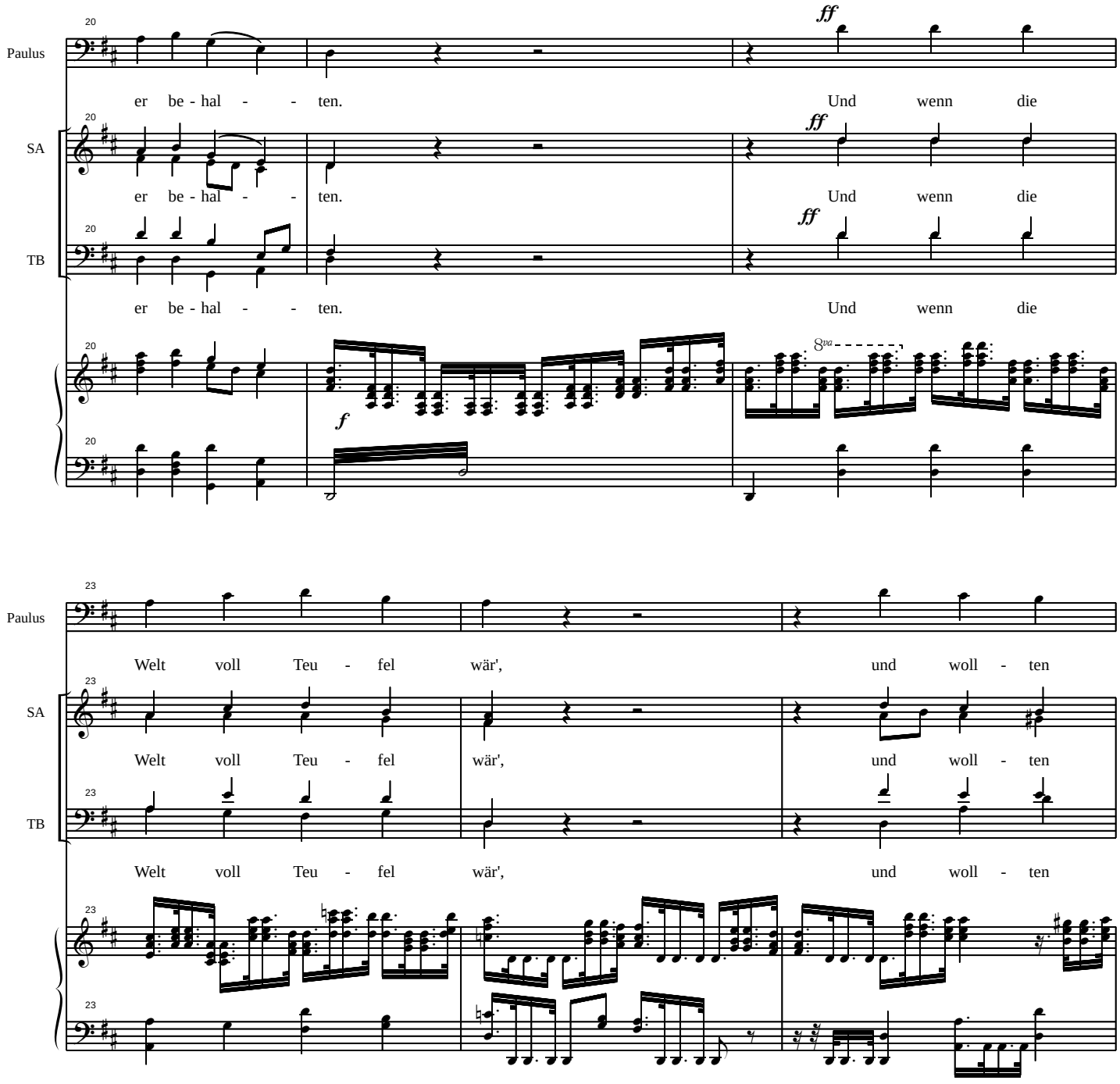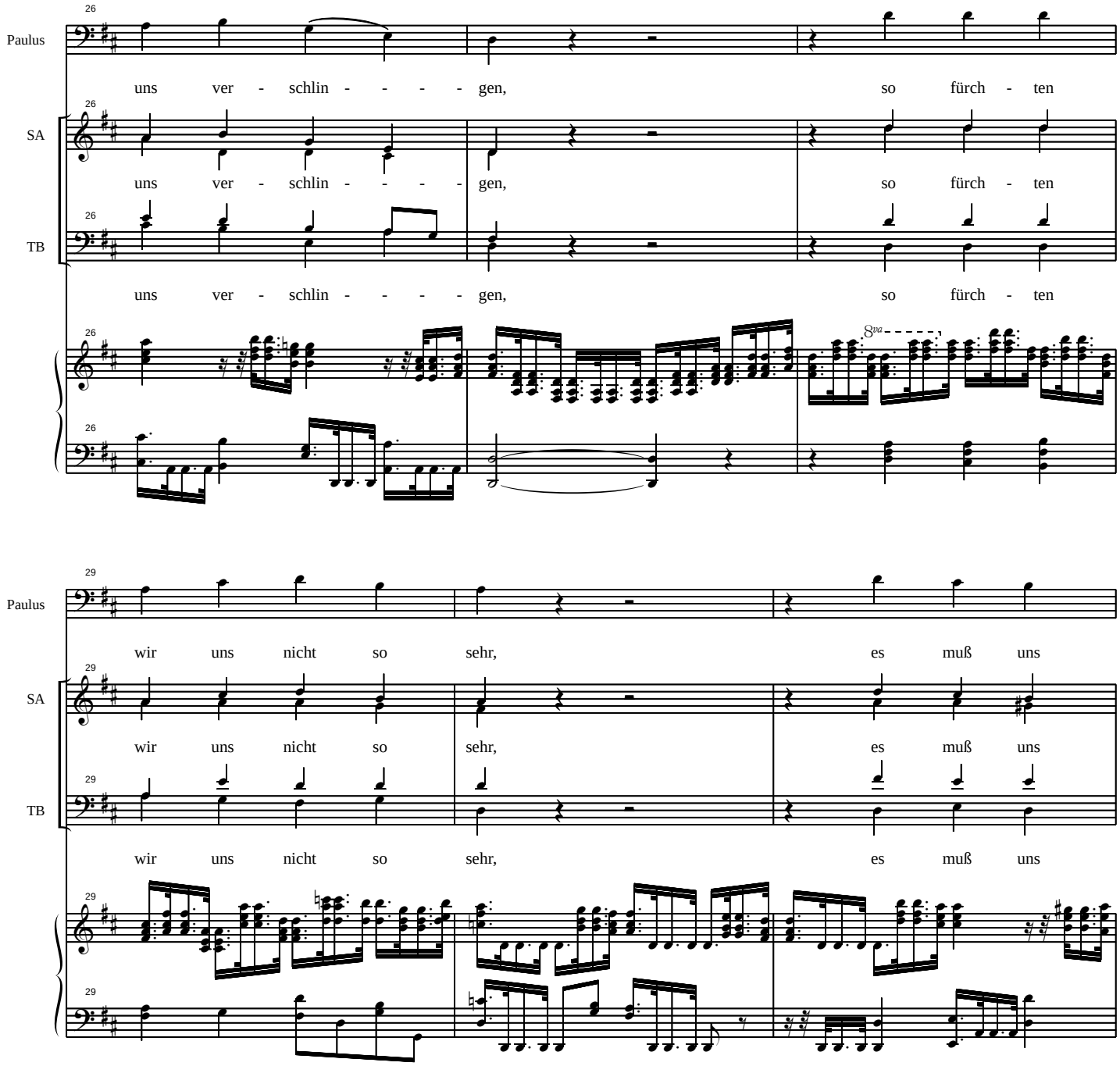


Example 12.a-c. Incipits of Str. 1-3 in "Ach, bleib mit deiner Gnade"
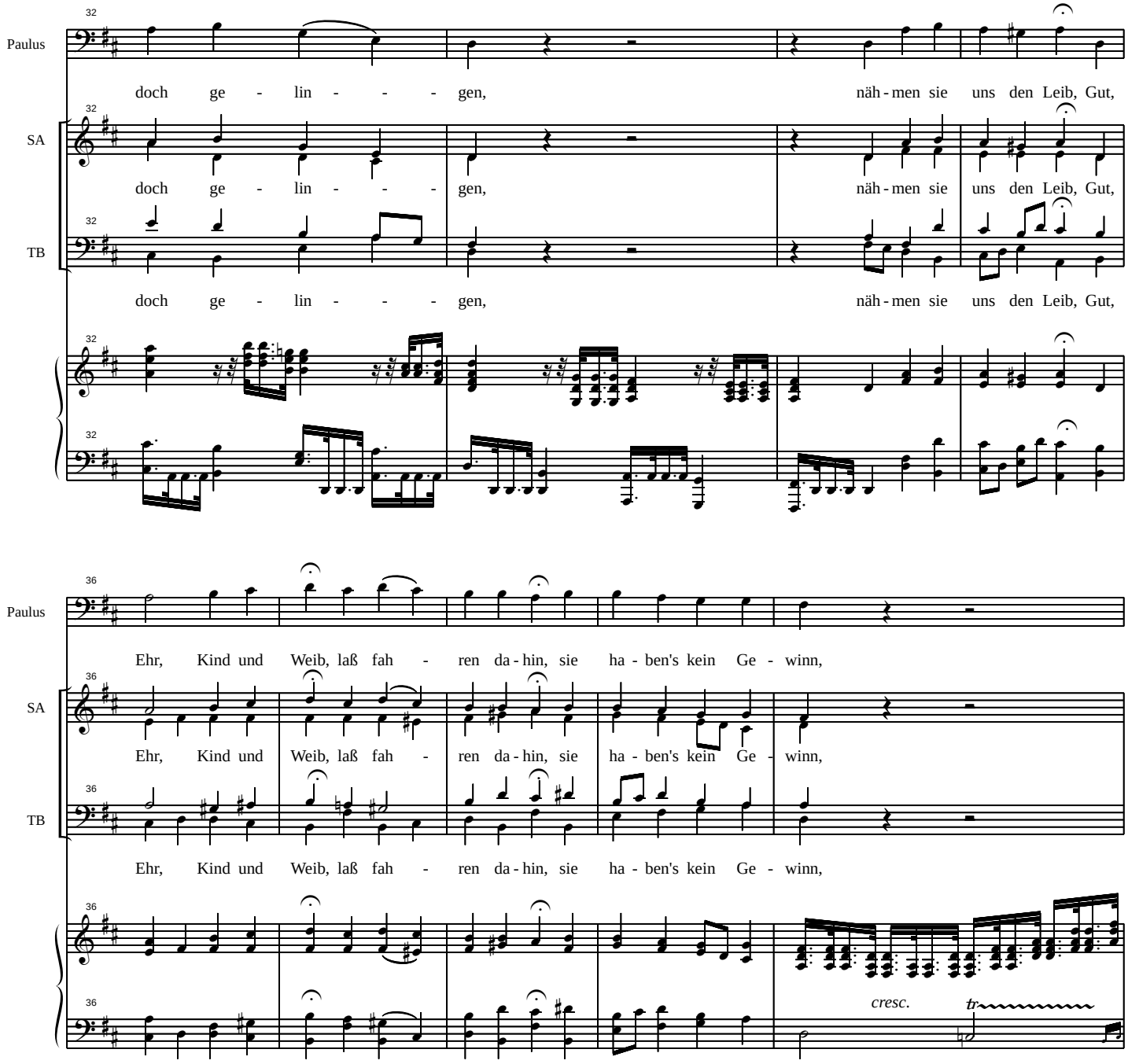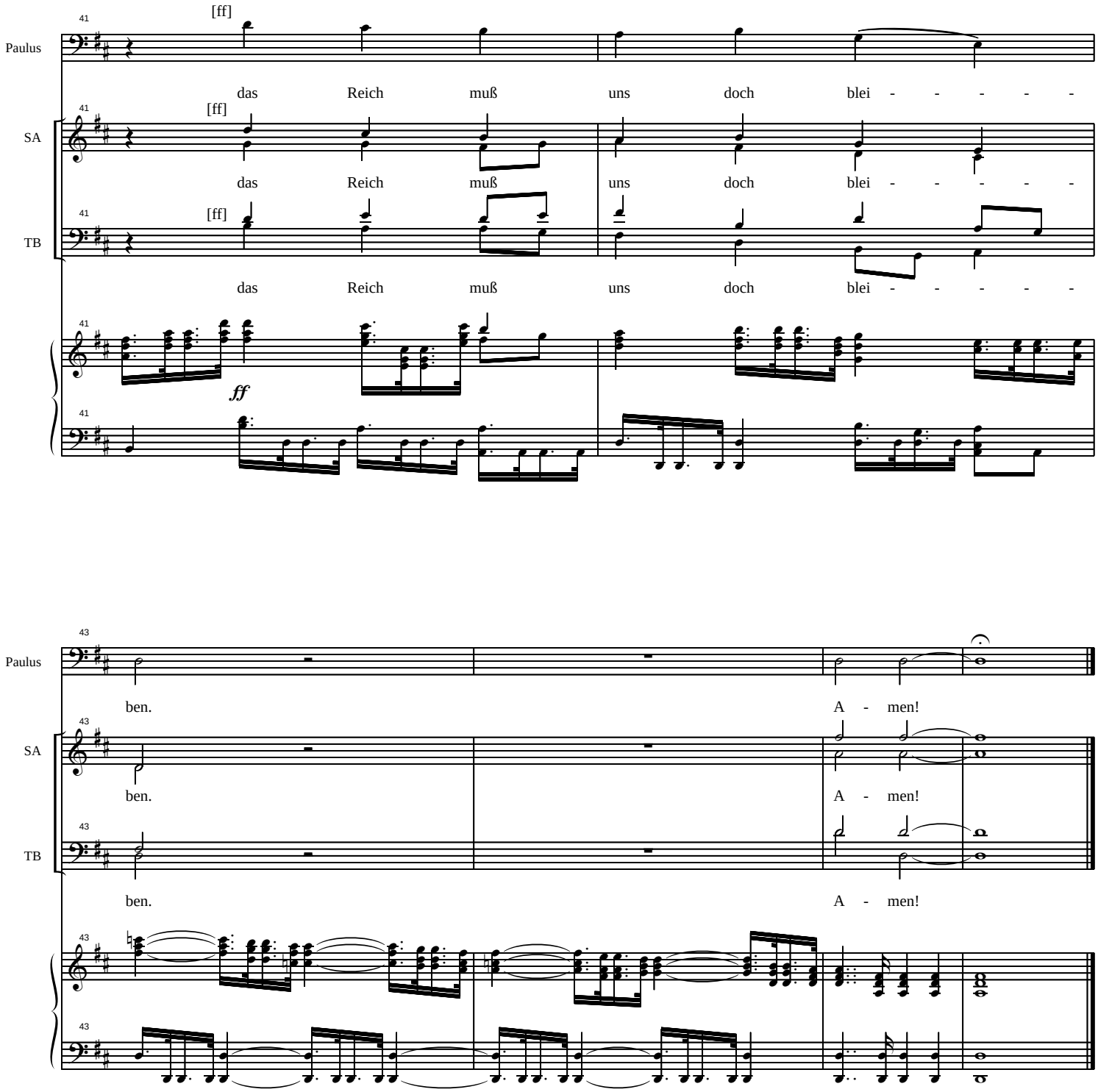


Example 13. Setting of "Mit unsrer Macht ist nichts getan" (MN 28)




Paulus
SA
TB
20
er be - hal - - ten.
Und wenn die
ff
f
8va
23
Welt voll Teu - fel wär',
und woll - ten


Paulus
SA
TB
26
uns ver - schlin - - - - gen, so fürch - ten
uns ver - schlin - - - - gen, so fürch - ten
uns ver - schlin - - - - gen, so fürch - ten
8va
29
wir uns nicht so sehr, es muß uns
wir uns nicht so sehr, es muß uns
wir uns nicht so sehr, es muß uns


Paulus
SA
TB
doch ge - lin - - - gen, näh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut,
doch ge - lin - - - gen, näh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut,
doch ge - lin - - - gen, näh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut,
Ehr, Kind und Weib, laß fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Ge - winn,
Ehr, Kind und Weib, laß fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Ge - winn,
Ehr, Kind und Weib, laß fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Ge - winn,
cresc.
tr


41
Paulus
[ff]
das Reich muß uns doch blei - - - - -
SA
[ff]
das Reich muß uns doch blei - - - - -
TB
[ff]
das Reich muß uns doch blei - - - - -
ff

43
Paulus
ben.
A - men!
SA
ben.
A - men!
TB
ben.
A - men!