

1 Back to the Future: Mendelssohn, Berlin, and the Protestant A Cappella Movement

1.1 A Need for Musical Reforms

Protestant churches saw drastic theological, liturgical, and musical changes in the early nineteenth century under Friedrich Wilhelm III, and the Mendelssohn family in Berlin had front-row seats. When Friedrich Wilhelm IV decided to reform the Prussian liturgy further, Felix Mendelssohn was the obvious choice to create a musical language that could match the liturgical reforms. Music was considered the essential and final element of the reforms centered around the Berlin Cathedral. This Element will focus on Mendelssohn's contributions to service music in Berlin and their impact on the emerging a cappella movement throughout Protestant Germany.

Liturgical reforms stood at the end of a broader process that touched on all aspects of Prussian life, from military and politics to economy and culture. The primary catalyst was the Napoleonic Wars. After humiliating defeats, military and administrative reforms brought about Napoleon's defeat. Friedrich Wilhelm III's success allowed him to make more fundamental changes to create a unified postwar Prussia. One example of his reforms is the complete reorganization of the educational system under the leadership of Wilhelm von Humboldt. The founding of the Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität in 1809 (renamed Humboldt-Universität in 1949) is a tangible result of his reforms.¹ Religion would also play a prominent role in the king's plans.

The first step for church reform was forming the Prussian Union Church in 1817, merging Reformed and Lutheran denominations. Friedrich Wilhelm III's plans for a unified Protestant church met stiff resistance once he started to implement a new liturgy, which he based on attempts by Friedrich Wilhelm I 100 years earlier. The liturgy took elements from Anglican worship, presumed to reflect the church rites of the third and fourth centuries, and combined them with the Lutheran Brandenburg liturgy from 1540. The king's bold aim was to create homogeneity in Prussian worship and offer Protestant worship that, to some extent, predated Roman Catholic liturgy. One of his liturgy's more unusual features was the de-emphasis of the sermon, placed at the end of the service, in favor of ritual. Various subsequent iterations added elements from other Lutheran liturgies and the *Book of Common Prayer*. The liturgy was initially introduced to services in the Prussian army, at the Berlin Cathedral, and the Garrison Church. When Friedrich Wilhelm III recommended its

¹ Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 312–344.

adoption throughout Prussia, the so-called *Agendenstreit* (Liturgical Dispute) ensued.²

The theologian and pastor of Trinity Church in Berlin, Friedrich Schleiermacher, played a central role in the Dispute, publishing two anonymous responses under the pseudonym *Pacificus Sincerus*. He questioned the king's authority in the first and offered a Lutheran viewpoint in the second. The 1823 and 1829 published versions of the prescribed liturgy represent pre- and post-Dispute iterations. Both include simple service music in the appendix. The twelve-page musical index of the 1823 *Liturgie zum Hauptgottesdienste an Sonn- und Festtagen und zur Abendmahlfeier für die evangelische Kirche des Preußischen Staats*³ included an Amen, Alleluia, and Sanctus from a Russian Mass, a Saxony Kyrie, and an Agnus Dei from a Swedish liturgy. As with the text selections, the king wanted broad representation. In 1824, the king personally asked for settings by Ukrainian composer Dmitry Bortnyansky at Königsberg and Palestrina scholar and composer Giuseppe Baini, active at the Sistine Chapel.⁴ The thirteen pages of music of the 1823 *Liturgie* grew to thirty-seven pages in the 1829 *Agende für die Evangelische Kirche in den Königlich-Preußischen Landen*.

The expanded 1829 musical settings were selected by Karl Friedrich Zelter, Felix Mendelssohn's composition teacher. The appendix consists of various settings of thirteen texts from the liturgy.⁵ The simple four-part responses included settings by Bortnyansky and presumably Friedrich Schneider. Zelter had delegated some of the needed compositional work for further settings to his student Eduard Grell, who would eventually work closely with Mendelssohn during his time at the Berlin Cathedral. Laura Stokes has offered a detailed discussion of the *Musik-Anhang* of the 1829 *Agende*. While the musical responses played an essential part in the liturgy, the settings were merely a vehicle to exclaim the words. No consideration was given to artistic expression; it was purely utilitarian. Furthermore, the *Agende* directed the responses to be sung by a male choir without accompaniment. Stokes concludes that despite the expansion of the appendix of the 1829 *Agende*, "the new church had brought with it not only a divisive new set of liturgical practices, but it had reduced the

² Anselm Schubert, "Liturgie der heiligen Allianz: Die liturgischen und politischen Hintergründe der Preußischen Kirchenagende (1821/22)," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 110, no. 3 (2013): 293–301.

³ *Liturgie zum Hauptgottesdienste an Sonn- und Festtagen und zur Abendmahlfeier für die evangelische Kirche des Preußischen Staats* (Berlin: Wilhelm Dieterici, 1823).

⁴ Schubert, "Liturgie der heiligen Allianz," 306.

⁵ Readers can access the [insert name of the SupMat content] at the following web page [insert URL for online resources].

scope of the musical repertoire tremendously.”⁶ Friedrich Wilhelm III’s new liturgy de-emphasized the sermon, offering instead more ritual that represented a wide range of Protestant, Catholic, and “pre-Catholic” liturgical traditions. Music was literally an afterthought (placed in the appendix) and lacked artistic merit. His son was determined to change that.

Historian Christopher Clark considers Friedrich Wilhelm IV “the last Prussian – perhaps the last European – monarch to place religion at the centre of his understanding of kingship. He was a ‘lay theologian on the throne,’ for whom religion and politics were inseparable. Long before his father’s death in 1840, the crown prince surrounded himself with like-minded Christian friends.”⁷ From his voluminous correspondence about theology, liturgy, and music with his most trusted advisors, Baron Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen and Count Friedrich Wilhelm von Redern, it is evident how much more importance they placed on the role of music in worship. Much of their conceptual framework was based on the work and opinions of lawyer and musicologist Carl von Winterfeld, who championed Lutheran Renaissance composers, in particular, Johannes Eccard, as the models for a proposed a cappella style for the Protestant liturgy while at the same time advocating for the composition of new music.⁸

Mendelssohn quickly became the king’s and his advisors’ first choice to enact reforms, as they had begun to outline musical reforms and plotted how to engage him:

With your majesty’s character, the difficulty of Felix Mendelssohn’s engagement, which I have not concealed, will find a simple solution. Were the two current musical positions, Spontini’s and Rungenhagen’s, not taken, Felix would not wish to have either, probably turn both down, which is what your majesty, as I believe, would prefer. It is about the reintroduction of the most beautiful and noble music into life, as much into the general life of the common folk as into the social life of the higher and highest classes of the most musical and most musically educated people in the world. It seems to me that this can happen through three thus far missing realities:

1. an outstanding educational institution for all music, in particular, the higher;
2. performance of true service music according to your majesty’s order;
3. performance of great, old and new oratorios – as a future branch of theater productions and already now as part of royal festivities and festivals;

⁶ Laura Stokes, “Music and Cultural Politics during the Reign of Friedrich Wilhelm IV” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2016), 139.

⁷ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 437.

⁸ James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 108–113.

Is that not enough for one man and master? I believe it is too much for anybody other than Felix Mendelssohn, and he would also not succeed under another king. Handel would have never become and continued to be the darling of the English nation, had not the ingenious Prince of Wales, George III's father, his oratorios enthusiastically loved, and had the rehearsals not been held in his presence in the Carlton House.⁹

Friedrich Wilhelm IV and his advisors saw the need for far-reaching reforms in church and sacred music, and Mendelssohn was their ideal candidate.

1.2 Director of Prussian Church Music: It's Complicated

1.2.1 Music and Politics: Reform by Committee

Mendelssohn thought he knew what he was getting into. After all, Berlin was his hometown, his siblings were entrenched in Berlin society, and the composer had already left Leipzig for Berlin two years earlier as part of King Friedrich Wilhelm IV's efforts to make Berlin a center for the arts. Yet commuting between Berlin and Leipzig was tiring, and Berlin's failure to create a conservatory had become a reality in Leipzig. Under Mendelssohn's leadership, Leipzig had become one of Europe's most important cultural centers, preserving its glorious past with a J. S. Bach monument and securing its future with an educational institution. Only the king's personal efforts and the prospect of completely reimagining Protestant church music overcame his hesitation – against his better judgment. As Director of Prussian Church Music, Mendelssohn finally had clear directives and would be able to effect groundbreaking reforms. Having been promised a professional choir and orchestra at his disposal, Mendelssohn would be able to write modern liturgical music – true church music. Unfortunately, what was supposed to be the pinnacle of Mendelssohn's musical career turned out to be a slowly unfolding nightmare.

Politics were at the heart of Mendelssohn's frustrations and seeming failure. As various stakeholders pushed competing reform ideals, Mendelssohn could not build consensus around his ideas about church music. As the outsider, he was constantly swimming upstream, fighting the establishment at the Berlin Cathedral at every turn. The value and prominence of music within the new liturgy were the main points of contention. Lack of support from the court left Mendelssohn without clear lines of authority, making it impossible for him to implement or even campaign for church music at a grander scale. As a result, his

⁹ Josias von Bunsen to Friedrich Wilhelm IV, October 30, 1840; Friedrich Nippold, *Christian Carl Josias Freiherr von Bunsen: Aus Briefen und nach eigener Erinnerung geschildert*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1869), 142–143. (Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the author.)

musical reforms shifted to the repertoire for the Cathedral Choir, offering psalms, verses, and a complete mass setting in a modern, highly expressive style that not only enhanced the worship but let the congregation experience worship on a deeper level. Since landmark studies by David Brodbeck, Wolfgang Dinglinger, Laura Stokes, and Julius Reder Carlson have already explored the political quagmire surrounding the liturgical reforms at the Berlin Cathedral, a brief sketch will suffice.¹⁰

It all began in November 1840, when Ludwig von Massow extended Friedrich Wilhelm IV's offer to Mendelssohn to found and lead an academy for music, which was part of a grand plan for Berlin's cultural development. Having been passed over in 1832 for the directorship of the Singakademie, Mendelssohn was skeptical. Negotiations dragged on for several years, which included relocating to Berlin from July 1841 to November 1842. During his stay in Berlin, Mendelssohn composed *Antigone*, BWV M 12. He decided against permanent relocation but was then offered the post of Director of Prussian Church Music. Further negotiations about Mendelssohn's role at the Berlin Cathedral and the establishment of a professional choir and orchestra made once again slow progress. On October 26, 1842, Mendelssohn met with the king to dissolve his contract. Yet Friedrich Wilhelm IV convinced Mendelssohn to take only temporary leave to Leipzig and to return to Berlin when everything was in place. Mendelssohn agreed and, three weeks later, was named Director of Prussian Church Music.¹¹

One year later, on November 25, 1843, Mendelssohn assumed the directorship in person, setting up what Brodbeck aptly called "A Winter of Discontent."¹² On April 10, 1844, only 136 days later, Mendelssohn disengaged from working directly with the Berlin Cathedral. During that brief period, the trajectory of liturgical and musical reforms within the Prussian Union Church was decided, and Mendelssohn was a central player. He would contribute further repertoire for several more years. Most of the behind-the-scenes politicking and negotiating happened behind closed doors. The intensity and acrimony of the deliberations are evidenced by Mendelssohn's avoidance of giving names and details in his letters. Correspondence between his sisters offers some names and details, leaving most things undocumented. We can surmise the difficulty of the task if we consider who the major stakeholders were.

¹⁰ Stokes, "Music and Cultural Politics"; Wolfgang Dinglinger, "Mendelssohn: General-Musik-Direktor für kirchliche und geistliche Musik," in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Kongreß-Bericht Berlin 1994*, ed. Christian Martin Schmidt (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1997), 23–37; Julius Reder Carlson, "Politics without Words: Mendelssohn and His Music in Restoration-Era Prussia (1841–47)" (PhD diss., University of California–Los Angeles, 2015).

¹¹ David Brodbeck, "A Winter of Discontent: Mendelssohn and the *Berliner Domchor*," in *Mendelssohn Studies*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 4–5.

¹² Brodbeck, "A Winter of Discontent," 1–32.

As discussed, Friedrich Wilhelm IV was the driving force behind the reforms, together with his trusted advisors, Bunsen and Redern. Bunsen spent most of his career in Rome and London. In Rome, he introduced Mendelssohn to Palestrina scholar Giuseppe Baini and the Papal Choir. Bunsen viewed the Catholic Renaissance repertoire and Anglican liturgy as models for worship in the Prussian Union Church. In 1842, Redern was named Director of Royal Court Music and *Geheimrat* to the king. Both Bunsen and Redern were instrumental in bringing Mendelssohn to Berlin. All three stayed on friendly terms with Mendelssohn during and after his time at the helm of Prussian church music.

Eduard Grell and August Neithardt were the musicians Mendelssohn worked most closely with during his time at the Berlin Cathedral. Grell enjoyed a long career as a church musician and was well established in Berlin. In 1839, he had become the organist at the Berlin Cathedral, and during the winter of 1843/44 he directed the Domchor. As a member of the Singakademie, he had gotten to know the Mendelssohn family. Grell was one of three candidates for the directorship of the Singakademie after Zelter's death. While he received only four votes during the contentious election, he nevertheless became Rungenhagen's assistant and the eventual director.¹³ Grell was a strong exponent of early church music and Palestrina's a cappella style.¹⁴ Neithardt had worked as voice teacher at the Domkirche since 1839, became Grell's assistant in 1843, and took over the directorship in 1845. As composers, both had presumably strong opinions about the future of Prussian church music.

Friedrich Strauß and Karl Wilhelm Moritz Sneathlage were the main pastors during Mendelssohn's tenure at the Domkirche. Strauß was also the spiritual advisor for the ministry of culture, giving him easy access to the king and his advisors. His book on the church year evidences his direct engagement regarding liturgical practices.¹⁵ While Sneathlage was newly hired at the time of Mendelssohn's arrival as a Reformed minister, he presumably preferred a cappella performances of psalms.

1.2.2 Politics and Music: The Questionable Value of Occasional Works

David Brodbeck has chronicled the many obstacles and political intrigues Mendelssohn faced that quickly doomed his reform attempts and cut his tenure short. Read within this context, the Domchor compositions have been

¹³ R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 265.

¹⁴ Reinhold Brinkmann and Bernd Wiechert, "Grell, (August) Eduard," *Grove Music Online*, 2001; accessed December 10, 2022. www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000011738.

¹⁵ Friedrich Strauß, *Das evangelische Kirchenjahr* (Berlin: Jonas, 1850).

mostly ignored by Mendelssohn scholarship. Recent cultural studies, however, by Julius Reder Carlson and Laura Stokes have offered more insights into Mendelssohn's brief time at the helm of Prussian church music. Carlson presents a reading of Mendelssohn's *Sechs Sprüche*, BWV B 42, 44, 50, 52, 54, and 55 through the lens of Prussian Restoration politics, suggesting that confessional allegiance "was not merely about faith, but was a structuring fact of modern life inseparable from class, nation, and political creed. In short: given the Restoration conception of 'religion,' Mendelssohn's sacred music may say more about his public relationship with the emerging German 'nation' than his personal relationship with God."¹⁶ Laura Stokes delves further into the political, cultural, and political complexities of what she coins "monarchical nationalism,"¹⁷ focusing on Mendelssohn's *Deutsche Liturgie*, BWV B 57. Both studies convincingly contextualize Mendelssohn's work at the Berlin Cathedral, presenting insights hitherto overlooked. Neither study takes a closer look at the repertoire as a whole, as these works seem to have limited artistic value, given their occasional nature. My analyses of Mendelssohn's Domchor compositions will present the other side of the coin, as I will explore the spiritual content in these carefully crafted pieces of church music.

Central to Mendelssohn's reform attempts was the formation of the Cathedral Choir, which was a direct outcome of Mendelssohn's discussions with the king, who wanted to provide Mendelssohn with an "instrument" worthy of his compositional ambitions. Initially, Mendelssohn was promised two ensembles: a choir and an orchestra. But, much to his chagrin, there seemed to be no movement on the formation of an orchestra while the choir was completely reorganized. Under the leadership of Major Einbeck, a choir of twenty-three sopranos, twenty-three altos, nine tenors, and fifteen basses was engaged in March 1843. Up until this point, Einbeck had tried unsuccessfully to create a viable choir. To show a commitment to Mendelssohn's activities, the king agreed to an ambitious restructuring of the Cathedral Choir with an annual price tag of almost 34,000 marks per year: All singers were engaged as professional members of the *Domkapelle*. Grell and Neithardt were put in charge of developing the choir, which would be, according to Einbeck, a well-trained ensemble within a year.¹⁸ The Domchor repertoire, listed in Table 1, reflects the court's limited commitment to focus primarily on a cappella performances.

¹⁶ Carlson, "Politics without Words," 92. ¹⁷ Stokes, "Music and Cultural Politics," 5.

¹⁸ Dinglinger, "Mendelssohn: General-Musik-Direktor," 29.

Table 1 Mendelssohn's music composed for the Domchor.**Lobwasser Psalms**

Modern edition: *Neun Psalmen und Cantique*. Edited by Pietro Cappalà.
 Stuttgart: Carus, 1996.

Psalm 24 “Dem Herrn der Erdkreis zusteht,” MWV B 34, dated November 13, 1843, premiered December 3, 1843, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 38/2, 181.

Psalm 2 “Worauf ist doch der Heiden Tun gestellt,” dated November 13, 1843, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 38/2, 181–182.

Psalm 93 “Gott als ein König gewaltiglich regiert,” dated November 13, 1843, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn*, 38/2, 182.

Psalm 98 “Nun singt ein neues Lied dem Herrn,” dated November 13, 1843, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 38/2, 182.

Psalm 100 “Ihr Völker auf der Erde all,” dated November 13, 1843, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 38/2, 183.

Psalm 31 “Auf dich setz ich, Herr, mein Vertrauen,” dated November 13, 1843, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 38/2, 183.

Psalm 91 “Wer in der Allerhöchsten Hut,” dated November 13, 1843, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 38/2, 183.

Eight-Part Psalms

Psalm 2 “Warum toben die Heiden,” MWV B 41, dated December 15, 1843, premiered on December 25, 1843, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 38/2, 219–228; revised March 1845, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 40, 25–33.

Modern editions: *Drei Psalmen*, op. 78. Edited by David Brodbeck. Stuttgart: Carus, 1997; *Psalmen*, op. 78. Edited by John Michael Cooper. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006.

Psalm 98 “Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied,” MWV A 23, dated December 28, 1843, premiered January 1, 1844, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 38/2, 241–267.

Modern edition: *Der 98. Psalm*, op. 91. Edited by R. Larry Todd. Stuttgart: Carus, 1987.

Psalm 100 “Jauchzet dem Herrn, alle Welt,” MWV B 45, dated January 1, 1844, premiered on January 7, 1844, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 39, 43–45.

Modern edition: *Jauchzet dem Herrn (Psalm 100)*. Edited by Günter Graulich. Stuttgart: Carus: 1990.

Psalm 43 “Richte mich, Gott,” MWV B 46, dated January 3, 1843, premiered February 25, 1844, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 39, 47–51; revised March 1845, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 40, 39–44.

Table 1 (cont.)

Modern editions: *Drei Psalmen*, op. 78, Brodbeck; *Psalmen*, op. 78, Cooper.
 Psalm 22 “Mein Gott, warum hast du mich verlassen,” MWV B 51, dated
 February 1844, premiered April 5, 1844, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków,
Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn 39, 55–65. In *Drei Psalmen*, op. 78.
 Modern editions: *Drei Psalmen*, op. 78, Brodbeck; *Psalmen*, op. 78, Cooper.

Six Verses

Modern Edition: *Sechs Sprüche*. Edited by Günter Graulich. Stuttgart: Carus, 1982.
Im Advent “Lasset uns frohlocken,” MWV B 54, dated October 5, 1846,
 premiered November 30, 1846, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms.*
autogr. Mendelssohn 41, 107–109.
Weihnachten “Frohlocket, ihr Völker,” MWV B 42, dated December 15, 1832,
 premiered December 25, 1843, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms.*
autogr. Mendelssohn 38/2, 229–231; revised March 1845, Biblioteka
 Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 40, 35–38.
Am Neujahrstage “Herr, Gott, du bist unsre Zuflucht,” MWV B 44, dated
 December 25, 1843, premiered on January 1, 1844, revised March 1843,
 Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 38/2,
 269–271.
In der Passionszeit “Herr, gedenke nicht unsrer Übeltaten,” MWV B 50, dated
 February 14, 1844, premiered February 25, 1844, Biblioteka Jagiellonska
 Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 39, 52–53; revised March 1845,
 Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 40, 47–48.
Am Karfreitag “Um unsrer Sünden willen,” MWV B 52, dated February 18,
 1844, premiered April 5, 1844, revised March 1845, Biblioteka Jagiellonska
 Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn* 39, 66–67.
Am Himmelfahrtstage “Erhaben, o Herr, über alles Lob,” MWV B 55, dated
 October 9, 1846, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms. autogr.*
Mendelssohn 41, 110–112.

Miscellanea

Chorale, “Herr Gott, dich loben wir” [*Te Deum*], MWV A 20, dated July 16,
 1843, premiered August 6, 1843, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus. ms.*
autogr. Mendelssohn 38/2, 199–216.
 Modern edition: *Herr Gott, dich loben wir*. Edited by Roe-Min Kok. Stuttgart:
 Carus, 1996.
 Chorale, “Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr,” MWV A 21, dated December 15,
 1843, premiered December 25, 1943, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, *Mus.*
ms. autogr. Mendelssohn 38/2, 232.
 Chorale, “Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her,” MWV A 22, dated December
 15, 1843, premiered December 15, 1943, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków,
Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn 38/2, 229.

Table 1 (cont.)

<p>“Heilig, heilig, heilig ist der Herr Zebaoth,” MWV B 47, composed January 1844, rehearsed on January 24, 1844, Schottenstift Bibliothek, Vienna, <i>Album Vesque von Püttlingen</i>. Modern edition: <i>Heilig</i> (1844), MWV B 47. Edited by Ralf Wehner. Leipzig: Breitkopf, 2009.</p>
<p>“Ehre sei dem Vater,” MWV B 48, Doxology for Psalm 100, dated January 17, 1844, revised March 1845, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, <i>Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn</i> 40, 45–46; further revised and transposed for inclusion in <i>Die deutsche Liturgie</i>, MWV B 57.</p>
<p>“Denn her hat seinen Engeln,” MWV B 53, composed August 15, 1844, for Friedrich Wilhelm IV after surviving an assassination attempt, premiered September 2, 1844, at Königsberg Cathedral, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, <i>Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn</i> 57, 1–4; revised later for inclusion in <i>Elijah</i>, MWV A 25. Modern edition: <i>Denn er hat seinen Engeln befohlen</i>. Edited by Günter Graulich. Stuttgart: Carus, 1996.</p>
<p><i>Die deutsche Liturgie</i>, MWV B 57, composed October 1846, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, <i>Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn</i> 41, 93–106. Modern edition: <i>Die deutsche Liturgie</i>. Edited by Judith Silber Ballan. Stuttgart: Carus, 1997.</p>

1.2.3 A Brief Stint with a Lasting Legacy

While Felix Mendelssohn spent less than five months working directly with the Berlin Cathedral clergy and musicians, he was nevertheless central to the establishment of mid-nineteenth-century, eight-part a cappella aesthetics. Church music and liturgy had always been a part of his spiritual and artistic experience, and he would stay engaged as a composer for the Berlin Cathedral Choir for the remaining four years of his life. As a reluctant and oftentimes frustrated reformer, Mendelssohn helped shape the trajectory of musical aesthetics and liturgical identity of nineteenth-century German Protestantism. Most, if not all, of the essential elements of the occasional works listed in Table 1 can be traced back to Mendelssohn’s work at the Berlin Cathedral from Advent 1843 to Easter 1844, revolving around the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus – the essence of Christian doctrine and worship. Remarkably, he set aside his own sound ideals in favor of the a cappella aesthetics held by other stakeholders and helped lay the foundation for the Protestant a cappella movement that lasted well into the twentieth century.